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presented by Celeste L. Andrews

candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy and hereby certify that it is worthy of acceptance.

Signature Catherine McKenna
Catherine McKenna (Sep 1, 2023 12:52 EDT)

Typed name: Prof. Catherine McKenna

Signature

Typed name: Prof. Daniel L. Smail

Signature Paul Russell
Paul Russell (Sep 2, 2023 10:51 GMT+1)

Typed name: Prof. Paul Russell

Date: August 31, 2023

TRIOEDD YNYS PRYDAIN AND THE TRANSMISSION OF MEDIEVAL WELSH NARRATIVES

CELESTE L. ANDREWS

Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Celtic Languages and Literatures.

Presented to the Department of Celtic Languages and Literatures,

Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts

August 31, 2023

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ABSTRACT

Dissertation Advisor: Catherine McKenna Author: Celeste L. Andrews

Trioedd Ynys Prydain and the Transmission of Medieval Welsh Narratives

Trioedd Ynys Prydain are a series of closely related texts, appearing in manuscripts from the second half of the thirteenth century forward, which serve as compendia of *cyfarwyddyd* (storytelling material) organized in triads, or groupings of three. Texts of these Triads survive in nineteen manuscripts dating from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries. This dissertation examines and contextualizes those nineteen texts to better understand how the *cyfarwyddyd* contained within them developed and circulated over that three-century period.

It approaches this effort in two ways. The first is to closely examine individual triads to identify their sources and better understand their transmission history. Part 1 consists of case studies of six triads, all of which belong to the category of "expanded narrative triads," those triads which resemble narrative prose passages. I argue in these case studies that these triads should be considered authored texts in their own right, and that each reflects the creative choices of its individual author.

The second approach, in Part 2 of the dissertation, is to think about how each surviving text of *Trioedd Ynys Prydain* came to be. I argue that the texts can often be shown as collections of multiple shorter, earlier texts which have been compiled by scribes and copyists. I have called these "microtexts." For the purposes of this dissertation, a "microtext" is a sub-section within a text of *Trioedd Ynys Prydain* which likely has its own transmission history and should be considered its own discrete part of the larger text. This dissertation argues that close readings of three texts of *Trioedd Ynys Prydain* – those in Peniarth 47, the Red Book of Hergest, and

Peniarth 50 -- provide convincing evidence that the scribes who developed these texts did so by compiling several shorter collections of *Trioedd Ynys Prydain* together. These shorter collections which were compiled together are microtexts.

Taken together, these two approaches demonstrate that *Trioedd Ynys Prydain* are authored texts that have been composed, expanded, and re-worked by the individuals who worked with this material over a three-century period between the thirteenth and sixteenth.

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The Manuscript Corpus

The following is a list of all nineteen manuscripts which contain medieval texts of TYP. These are the texts I refer to as the "TYP corpus" or "medieval TYP corpus" throughout this dissertation. I list them here for ease of reference and to give the reader an idea of the scope of the corpus at the outset of the dissertation. For discussions of each manuscript, see Appendix C.

1. NLW Peniarth MS 1 (Black Book of Carmarthen) *(fols. 14r-14v)*
   s.xiii^{med}, unknown hand, Priory of Carmarthen. Fragmentary text of *trioedd y meirch*.

2. NLW Peniarth MS 16 (part vi) *(fols. 50r-53v)*
   s.xiii^{2}, in the hand of X76. Early version text.

3. NLW Peniarth MS 45 *(pp. 293-301)*
   s.xiv^{1}, in the hand of X87. Early version text.

4.. NLW Peniarth MS 4 (White Book of Rhydderch, part 2) *(fols. 55r-59r)*
   s.xiv^{med}, in the hand of scribe D of the White Book, Strata Florida. White and Red version text.

5. Oxford, Jesus College MS 111 (Red Book of Hergest) *(fols. 144r-146v [cols. 588-98])*
   c. 1400, in the hand of Hywel Fychan, Ynysmorgan, Abertawe. White and Red version text.

6. NLW Peniarth MS 47 (part iv) *(pp. 17-27)*
   s.xv^{med}, in the hand of Siancyn ap Dafydd ap Gruffudd.

7. NLW Peniarth MS 50 (*Y Cwta Cyfarwydd*) *(fols. 74r-81r)*
   c. 1445, in the hand of Dafydd, Glamorgan (Neath abbey?)

8. NLW Peniarth MS 27ii *(pp. 87-88)*
   s.xv^{2}, in an unknown hand, North Wales. Contains *trioedd y meirch* only.

9. NLW Peniarth MS 51 (pp. 169-85)
   c. 1460-80, in the hand of Gwilym Tew. Follows the White and Red version.

10. NLW Llanstephan MS 12 *(pp. 47-8, 89)*
   s.xvi^{med}, in an unknown hand, South Wales. Contains *Tri chud a thri datcud* ("Three concealments and three disclosures," TYP 37) only.

11. NLW Peniarth 16 (part vii) *(fols. 55r-57v)*

s.xv^{med}, in the hand of Simwnt Fychan. Contains four biblically- and classically-derived triads and *24 marchog llys Arthur* only.

12. NLW Cwrtmawr MS 3 *(pp. 55-72, 91-94)*
    c. 1564, William Salesbury.

13. BL *Y Diarebion Cameräec (pp. 51-63)*
    c. 1567, William Salesbury. Printed book.

14. NLW Peniarth MS 77 *(pp. 304-07)*
    c. 1576, Thomas Wiliems. Follows the Early version.

15. BL Additional MS 15,047 *(fols. 54v-74v)*
    c. 1575-6, in the hand of Hywel ap Syr Mathew.

16. NLW MS 6434 *(fols. 132r-135r)*
    c. 1577, in the hand of Ieuan Llwyd.

17. BL Additional MS 31,055 *(fols. 24r-27v)*
    1591-96, in the hand of Thomas Wiliems.

18. Cardiff Central Library MS 2.26 *(pp. 59, 72-75)*
    s.xvi/xvii, in the hand of Sion Dafydd Rhys.

19. Cardiff Central Library MS 2.83 *(pp. 1-6)*
    s.xvi/xvii, in the hand of X1

Acknowledgements

This dissertation, the work of "only" the last four years or so, is the culmination of a journey that started when, more or less on a whim, I took my first medieval history class at Smith College in 2009 and decided – to the surprise of my family and friends – that I would shift away from my long-time interest in twentieth-century American history and study medieval Britain instead. It has been a long and sometimes difficult road since then; I would not have gotten through it without the help and support of many people who have been with me over this past decade of graduate studies, in my professional as well as personal lives, and often in both.

I have always been grateful to be part of an intellectual community of scholars who are as welcoming and supportive as they are knowledgeable. First and foremost, I must thank my supervisor, Catherine McKenna, who has been there for me since the first day I walked into her office in 2016. Catherine, with her kindness, knowledge, and good sense, has done more than anyone else to help turn my often disparate ideas into an actual dissertation. The other members of my committee, Paul Russell and Daniel Lord Smail, have also been very generous with their time, advice, and support and this dissertation has benefited tremendously from their suggestions and corrections.

Thank you Georgia Henley, Michaela Jacques, Aled Llion Jones, Huw Pryce, and Joseph Shack, who have been willing to listen to my ideas and offer their own ideas and advice, many of which helped to shape this project. I would also like to acknowledge the following scholars and teachers, all of whom have played an important role in my growth as a historian, medievalist, and Celticist: Ernest Benz, Joshua C. Birk, Cathryn Charnell-White, Craig Davis, Ian Hughes, James January-McCann, Joseph F. Nagy, Simon Rodway, and Natasha Sumner.

Thank you to Mary Violette and Steven Duede for their administrative support over the years; Mary in particular has talked me through many a problem and always been a friendly and helpful face. Thank you to the staff of the British Library, Cardiff Central Library, and especially the National Library of Wales for helping me to see the manuscripts which are the backbone of this dissertation, and to the staff of Harvard's Digital Scholarship Support Group, especially Jess Cohen-Tanugi, who helped me think through how to visualize my data. I have benefited from funding for research and travel from the Friends of Harvard Celtic and the Harvard Graduate School of Arts and Sciences. I must also acknowledge the help of Christine McQuade as well as that of Hans Zimmer, whose (Academy-Award-winning!) score for *Dune* has been my daily soundtrack for almost two years and became my almost-Pavlovian cue to get to work.

Perhaps the best thing to come out of these years has been the bonds of friendship that I have forged with many of my fellow graduate students. It is because of them that I will look back so fondly on these days, and I look forward to knowing them and working with them for many years to come. I want to highlight especially my dear friends and colleagues Lorena Alessandrini, Myrzinn Boucher-Durand, Colin Brady, Dylan Cooper, Mattlyn Córdova, Greg Darwin, Elizabeth Gipson, Mary Anne Gonzales, Llŷr Titus Hughes, Michaela Jacques, Kate Leach, Pat McCoy, Morgan Moore, Oisín Ó Muirthile, Heather Newton, Graham O'Toole, Shannon Parker, Sam Puopolo, Joe Shack, Sarah Stockdale, Nick Thyr, Jo Wolf, and Meghan Wooley. They have seen me at my best and my worst, talked through many ideas that shaped this project, celebrated victories, and bemoaned setbacks. Thank you all for everything. Outside of academia, I have taken great joy from the friendship of Dee Andrews, Gabe Caniglia, Jim Curtain, Kelly-Ann Daly, Allison Hewitt, Rachel Hewitt, Mark Hewitt, Meg Kilkelly, Claire

Kissil, Deb Matz-Rees, Julie Matz-Rees, Elizabeth Sherwood, Katie Thorp, and Jacob Tripp. Love you guys.

Finally, to Stephanie Dempsey, to my sister, Emily Andrews, and to my parents, Brenda Liss and Eric Andrews: you guys are my favorites. Thank you, I could not have done this without you. This dissertation is dedicated to my parents, as well as to the memories of the following people: Betty Andrews, Jim Andrews, Sue Andrews, Betty Bardsley, Bill Bardsley, Mia Kissil Hewitt, Don Kissil, Bobby Liss, Edith Liss, Nat Liss, Asa Watkins, Caroline Worth-Tyrrell, and Mary Zappile. It is also dedicated to the memory of Rachel Bromwich, without whose work none of this would have been possible.

And in the end, the love you make
is equal to the love you take.

Summer 2023.
Cambridge/Somerville, Mass.

Tri chyfarwyddyd yssydd: *Hengerdd, ystoriau, a barddoniaeth.*	There are three [types of] *cyfarwyddyd*: Early poetry, stories, and bardic learning.[1]

[1] From *trioedd cerdd*; quoted in Rachel Bromwich, *Trioedd Ynys Prydein: Triads of the Island of Britain*, 4th edition (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2014), lix.

INTRODUCTION

Among the first things one encounters when embarking on the study of medieval Wales, typically, are the stories. It might be Pwyll's meeting with Arawn, the king of Annwfn, or perhaps Culhwch setting off for Arthur's court. For many students who come across this material in, for example, an undergraduate medieval literature class, this is their only encounter with the world of medieval Wales. For a minority, however, these stories serve as an entrée to the larger world of Welsh and Celtic studies. Stories, both fully formed and fragmentary, are everywhere in the bits of the medieval Welsh world that are visible to us. Whether it is in the form of prose tales found in great manuscript collections like the White Book of Rhydderch or Red Book of Hergest, in the often obscure allusions and references of bardic poetry, in historical or pseudo-historical writing like *Historia Brittonum*, *Brut y Brenhinedd* and *Brut y Tywysogion*, or even in anecdotes in the legal texts, there are stories wherever you go. The material that made up these stories is known in Welsh as *cyfarwyddyd*.[1] This does not refer to the stories (*ystoriau*), tales

[1] The body of scholarship on medieval *cyfarwyddyd* is extremely vast and is referenced throughout this dissertation. In this note, I'd like to highlight only a few foundational or particularly helpful and important texts. Perhaps the most prominent voice on traditional *cyfarwyddyd* of the past half century has been Brynley F. Roberts. See the volume of his collected essays: Brynley F. Roberts, *Studies in Medieval Welsh Literature* (Lewiston, NY: E. Mellon Press, 1992), especially "Oral Tradition and Welsh Literature" (Chapter 1) and "Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Welsh Historical Tradition" (Chapter 2). Professor Roberts passed away as I was in the very final stages of work on this dissertation.

Other important work on this topic include: Ben Guy, *Medieval Welsh Genealogy* (Woodbridge, England: The Boydell Press, 2020); Jenny Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry* (Cambridge, England: D.S. Brewer, 1990); Patrick Sims-Williams, "Some Functions of Origin Stories in Early Medieval Wales," in *History and Heroic Age: A Symposium*, ed. Tore Nyberg, et al (Odense, Denmark: Odense University Press, 1985), 96-131; Rachel Bromwich, "The Character of Early Welsh Tradition," in *Studies in British History*, ed. Nora K. Chadwick (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1954), 84-136. Important reference works are the Notes to the Personal Names in Rachel Bromwich, *Trioedd Ynys Prydein: The Triads of the Island of Britain*, 4th edition (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2014) (henceforth *TYP*) and Peter C. Bartrum, *A Welsh Classical Dictionary: People in History and Legend up to about A.D. 1000* (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1993).

(*chwedlau*), or history (*hanes*) themselves but to the "stuff," in Patrick Ford's memorable and very technical phrase, that made up those larger wholes.[2]

Probably the greatest store of this *cyfarwyddyd*, this storytelling material, is *Trioedd Ynys Prydain*, which is known in English as the Triads of the Island of Britain, and which is the subject of this dissertation. The title *Trioedd Ynys Prydain* (henceforth TYP) refers to a series of closely related texts, appearing in manuscripts from the second half of the thirteenth century forward, which serve as compendia of *cyfarwyddyd* organized in triads, or groupings of three. Texts of TYP survive in nineteen manuscripts dating from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century. This dissertation will examine and contextualize those nineteen texts in order to better understand how the *cyfarwyddyd* contained within them developed and circulated over a period of three and a half or four centuries.

+ + +

Organizing information or material in threes is not unusual in human society generally; the Christian Trinity, for instance, comes immediately to mind as an example of this ubiquitous grouping. However, the prodigiousness of the triadic form reaches its height in the extant writings of medieval Wales and, to a lesser extent, its neighbor Ireland.[3] Triads were evidently a major element of scholarship of all kinds in medieval Wales – collections of triads survive in the earliest extant manuscripts onwards pertaining to the fields of law (*trioedd cyfraith*), poetic

[2] See Patrick K. Ford, "The Poet as *Cyfarwydd* in Early Medieval Wales," *Studia Celtica* 10 (1975), 152-62, esp. 158-59. Cf. Roberts, *Studies on Medieval Welsh Literature*, 2 and the anecdote included by Mary Carruthers (*The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 80) about the methods "a wide variety of people used to retain and recollect a wide variety of texts and other material (what [thirteenth-cenutry theologian and philosopher] Albert Magnus lumps together as '*negotia*' a word which usually means 'business' but in the context of memory training translates best as 'matters' or even 'stuff')."

On the meanings of *ystoria*, *chwedlau*, and *hanes*, see Sims-Williams, "Some Functions of Origin Stories in Early Medieval Wales," 99-100.

[3] For the best discussion of the global breadth and popularity of triads, see Fergus Kelly, "Thinking in Threes: The Triad in Early Irish Literature," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 125 (2003), 1-18 at 1-2. This is also the best study to date of the main Irish collection of triads, known as The Triads of Ireland.

composition (*trioedd cerdd*), proverbs or gnomes (known in the later medieval period as *trioedd Taliesin*), and medicine,[4] as well as a text known as *Y Trioedd Arbennig* (The Principal Triads), which lists the "three principal ones," (*tri un arbennig*) "three principal twos," (*tri dau arbennig*) "three principal threes," (*tri thri arbennig*) and so on up to the "three principal tens" (*tri deg arbennig*).[5] TYP is thus only one out of a handful of triadic collections which circulated in medieval Wales.

Despite its ubiquity and the range of subjects it encompasses, the triadic form in Welsh has been relatively little studied and under discussed. Rachel Bromwich, Morfydd E. Owen, Sara Elin Roberts, Paul Russell, Rebecca Shercliff, and Nia Wyn Jones have been the only people to contribute substantially to the scholarly conversation about Welsh triads since the work of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century antiquarians, though G.J. Williams and Eric Hamp have also made important points on a smaller scale.[6] The conclusions reached by this small cadre of scholars, especially those of Bromwich, who looms above the rest as the dominant voice in this field, have greatly influenced the understanding of the triadic form in the larger Celtic studies community and are thus quite influential.

[4] There is a derth of scholarship on the medical triads. There has been a recent 'boom' of scholarship on medieval Welsh medicine and healing charms (including work by Diana Luft, Deborah Hayden, and Katherine Leach) but, to my knowledge, to date none of it has focused on the triadic medical material.

[5] For a general discussion and overview of triadic writing and organization in medieval Wales, see Morfydd E. Owen, "Welsh Triads: An Overview," *Celtica* 25 (2007), 225-50. For an edition and discussion of the legal triads, see Sara Elin Roberts, *The Legal Triads of Medieval Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011). For an edition and discussion of *Y Trioedd Arbennig* see Morfydd E. Owen, "Y Trioedd Arbennig," *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 24 (1972), 434-50. For an edition and discussion of the proverbial and gnomic triads, see Morfydd E. Owen, "Trioedd hefut yw yrei hynn," *Ysgrifau Berniadol* 14 (1988), 87-133. The most complete recent discussion of the *trioedd cerdd* is Paul Russell, "Poetry by Numbers: The Poetic Triads in *Gramadegau'r Pencerddiaid*," in *Grammatica, Gramadach, Gramadeg*, ed. Deborah Hayden and Paul Russell (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2016), 162-80 but see also Michaela Jacques, "The Reception and Transmission of the Bardic Grammars" (unpublished PhD diss., Harvard University, 2020), 94-97; 165-74.

[6] As I prepared to submit this dissertation I became aware of Nia Wyn Jones's forthcoming article "*Trioedd Ynys Prydain* fel Testunau Hanes [*Trioedd Ynys Prydain* as History Texts]." Nia kindly shared an early version of this article with me but time constraints unfortunately made me unable to fully incorporate this work into the dissertation.

The consensus has long been that these collections of triads were developed by and for the learned classes of Wales, including poets, lawyers, and doctors, who used them as mnemonic devices to pass along information essential to their trades from generation to generation. According to this supposition, these triads and the material they carry originated during a period of oral transmission, usually thought to date to the twelfth century or earlier.[7] Eventually these triads were written down in manuscripts and incorporated into texts, so that, for instance, from the fourteenth century onwards, *trioedd cerdd* appear within bardic grammars and *trioedd cyfraith* appear within legal texts.[8] Inherent in this conventional outline is the idea that the older, 'original' triads, if they can be identified within the relatively late manuscript witnesses, represent the 'native' or vernacular tradition of medieval Welsh learning.

This conventional model is not without merit. It seems likely that medieval Welsh triads across disciplines did at one time act as mnemonic devices and, further, that the first collections of triads were developed by the Welsh learned classes for this purpose. Mary Carruthers has made a persuasive argument that memory training was an important part of medieval elementary education; the triad's short and repetitive form would have made it a useful tool for committing material to memory in a manner similar to what she describes.[9] The fact that triads appear in

[7] Rachel Bromwich is probably the most ardent proponent of the theory that triads were developed and used as mnemonic devices and that they circulated orally, see her discussion in *TYP*, liv and following. Owen (e.g. at "Welsh Triads," 227) and Roberts (*The Legal Triads*, e.g. 1; 10-11) follow Bromwich in adopting this model. Further, Michaela Jacques has noted that the "extreme fluidity" of the content as well as the ordering of the *trioedd cerdd* within texts of the bardic grammars "suggests a strong likelihood of oral transmission" ("The Reception and Transmission of the Bardic Grammars," 95). See my discussion of this issue below at p. 10.

[8] The earliest text of a bardic grammar containing *trioedd cerdd* is in NLW Peniarth MS 20, which Daniel Huws dates to c. 1330 (see Daniel Huws, *A Repertory of Welsh Manuscripts and Scribes, c. 800-c. 1800*, vol. I (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 2022), 342-43. The fullest and longest collections of *trioedd cyfraith* are found in the Blegywryd and Cyfnerth redactions of the Welsh laws, especially in BL Cotton Cleopatra A xiv and BL Harleian MS 4353 (Owen, "Welsh Triads," 235 and see also Huws, *Repertory*, I, 668 for the Cotton Cleopatra MS and ibid, 686 for the Harliean MS). For an in-depth discussion of *trioedd cyfraith*, see Roberts, *The Legal Triads*.

[9] See Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, especially 80-107. See also 7, where she writes: "*Memoria* meant, at that time [i.e. the medieval period], trained memory, educated and disciplined according to a well-developed pedagogy that was part of the elementary language arts – grammar, logic, and rhetoric. The fundamental principle is to 'divide' the material to be remembered into pieces short enough to be recalled in single units and to key these into some sort

manuscripts that initially acted as 'handbooks' for the learned classes, at least in the cases of the bardic grammars and legal texts, provides further indication that those triads may have been part of their professional training.

Where the model falls down, however, is in the fact that its proponents often focus only on the early history of the triadic collections and do not fully take into account the evidence from the manuscript corpora. While some of these collections, including the *trioedd cerdd* and *trioedd Taliesin*, seem not to have developed textual sophistication over centuries of manuscript transmission, this can certainly not be said of TYP or the *trioedd cyfraith*.[10] Both these latter collections do include triads which could be described as 'rudimentary' but so too do they include triads that can only be described as pieces of discourse. These "expanded" triads simply cannot have functioned as the mnemonic devices described by Carruthers and must have performed some other function in the context of the medieval manuscripts in which they survive.[11]

The fact that they are obviously later additions to the corpora – not part of any imagined "original" triadic text – does not take away from the fact that these expanded triads were an integral part of the text for the scribes who perpetuated the triadic collections over three centuries. One of the primary goals of this dissertation – perhaps *the* primary goal – is to re-center the discussion of TYP on the men of the later Middle Ages whose manuscripts gave us the TYP corpus as it can be read today. While I will, on occasion, have reason to discuss the earlier

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of easily reconstructable order. This provides one with a 'random-access' memory system, by means of which one can immediately and securely find a particular bit of information, rather than having to start from the beginning each time or laboriously to reconstruct the whole system, or – worse – relying on simple chance to fish what one wants out from the murky pool of one's undifferentiated and disorganized memory."

[10] See the discussion in Russell, "Poetry by Numbers," 167-68 and 172; and Sara Elin Roberts, "Tri Dygyngoll Cenedl: The Development of a Triad," *Studia Celtica* 27 (2003), 163-182.

[11] For my definitions of 'epithet + three names," formula triads (here called 'rudimentary' triads), partially-expanded triads, and fully-expanded triads, see below, pp. 17-18.

history of the corpus, I have not set out to uncover the "original," orally-transmitted, twelfth-century TYP collection and will conclude that it is unlikely such a collection existed.

RACHEL BROMWICH AND *TRIOEDD YNYS PRYDAIN*

It is impossible to discuss TYP or, indeed, any collection of Welsh triads, without invoking the work of Rachel Bromwich, whose edition of TYP was first published in 1961. Subsequent revised and enlarged editions followed in 1978, 2006, and 2014; all were published by the University of Wales Press.[12] In this dissertation, unless noted otherwise, I will be referring to and citing the 4th edition (2014) which was published posthumously under the supervision of Morfydd E. Owen and Dafydd Johnston. Dr. Bromwich died in 2010.[13]

It must be said first and foremost that this volume has been absolutely indispensable to me. This dissertation would not have been possible without it, as the citations and the condition of my first copy of it (which had to be replaced because it literally fell apart) will attest. There have been many times while writing that I have felt myself to be directly in conversation with Bromwich and, for this reason, it will be helpful to give a brief overview of the edition and Bromwich's arguments about the corpus right at the start.

The volume has essentially been broken down into four component parts: (i) a discussion of the manuscript tradition of TYP; [14] (ii) a discussion of the origin and development of TYP;[15] (iii) an edition of the text of TYP, including editions of four texts that are closely related to TYP

[12] A number of reviews of the volume in its various editions have been published since 1961. Two of the most important or noteworthy are Kenneth Jackson's review of the first edition in *Welsh Historical Review* 1.4 (1963), 82-86 and Paul Russell's review of the third edition, in *Welsh History Review* 23.3 (2007), 180-84.
[13] On the circumstances of the publication of the fourth edition see Bromwich, *TYP*, ix. Readers may note that the spelling *Prydain* I use throughout this dissertation is the Modern Welsh spelling, which is in contrast to the Middle Welsh spelling, *Prydein*, which Bromwich usually employs, including in the title of her book. I have done this in order to stay consistent in my use of Modern Welsh orthography, unless in a direct quote.
[14] Bromwich, *TYP*, xi-lii.
[15] Bromwich, *TYP*, liii-xcix.

as appendices;[16] and (iv) the Notes to the Personal Names,[17] which constitutes a summary of everything known about each figure who appears in TYP corpus. It is this final section which has made the volume so valuable even to scholars of Welsh literature who do not work directly with triads; these summaries, while dated in some respects, act as a shortcut into the scholarly discussion surrounding hundreds of figures from the historic body of *cyfarwyddyd*. It is the most straightforward of the four sections, however, and I will not dwell on it here.

Section (iii), containing the editions, requires a little more comment. The edition of TYP Bromwich created – and I use that word deliberately – should be understood as a construct. 97 triads are included, from all the medieval and early modern manuscripts, followed by supplementary editions of *Enwau ynys Prydain* (Appendix I),[18] *Bonedd gwŷr y Gogledd* (Appendix II),[19] *Tri thlws ar ddeg ynys Prydain* (Appendix III),[20] and *Pedwar marchog ar hugain llys Arthur* (Appendix IV).[21] Each triad is presented in Welsh, from the text of its earliest attestation in the manuscripts, with an English translation. A footer below the translation tells the reader which manuscripts this triad appears in, using Bromwich's shorthand for each manuscript, and gives whatever textual variations occur. This is followed by any explanatory or supplementary notes on the text Bromwich deemed helpful or necessary.

Bromwich paid a great deal of attention to what she called the "epithets" of each triad, the key- or head-words that appear in each title (e.g. *llaithglwyth*, *hael*, and so on) and the notes to most triads contain a discussion of the epithet's meaning and significance. While the meaning of some of these epithets is relatively straightforward, they are often very obscure or archaic

[16] Bromwich, *TYP*, 1-269. The appendices are discussed in the introduction at c-cxiii.
[17] Bromwich, *TYP*, 271-516.
[18] Bromwich, *TYP*, 246-55.
[19] Bromwich, *TYP*, 256-57.
[20] Bromwich, *TYP*, 258-65.
[21] Bromwich, *TYP*, 266-69.

compound nouns and, occasionally, the meanings are unclear.[22] A few are not attested outside TYP. For my part, I have deferred throughout this dissertation to Bromwich's definitions and interpretations of the epithets, unless otherwise noted; a full-scale reconsideration of these words could be an entire dissertation in itself; moreover, I am not sure that such a reconsideration is necessary.

The most constructed aspect of the volume is the order in which the triads appear, and it is significant that Bromwich prioritizes the earliest extant, non-fragmentary text of TYP, that of the mid-thirteenth-century manuscript NLW Peniarth MS 16. Bromwich places the 46 triads which appear in Peniarth 16 at the front of her edition, as TYP 1-46, in the order in which they appear in that manuscript. As she herself notes, doing so requires "subordinating" – her word – the order of the triads in later texts to that of Peniarth 16.[23] This is all fine and well if one is interested in the text of Peniarth 16 but badly distorts the versions of TYP that appear in other manuscripts.[24] The numbers Bromwich assigned to each triad remain convenient and often necessary, and I certainly use them throughout this dissertation (referred to as "TYP + number"), but the fact is that the order they imply is a construct, created by Bromwich in the mid-twentieth century.

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[22] An example of a very straightforward epithet is *hael* ("generous," GPC s.v. 'hael' and cf. Bromwich, *TYP*, 6-7). Additionally, *gwyndeyrn* ("fortunate lord," GPC s.v. 'gwyndeyrn' and cf. Bromwich, *TYP*, 8) and *defnyawc* ("man of substance," GPC s.v. 'deifniog[2]' and cf. Bromwich, *TYP*, 9) are examples of compound nouns whose meanings are nevertheless clear. But see, for example, Bromwich's treatment of *lleithicl6yth* (Bromwich, *TYP*, 1-2 and cf. GPC s.v. 'lleithiglwyth, lleithig lwyth'), *adwy(n)* (Bromwich, *TYP*, 70-1 and cf. GPC s.v. 'adwyn[1]'), or *engirya6l* (Bromwich, *TYP*, 206 and cf. GPC s.v. 'en|gir, en|gyr, en|gur').

[23] Bromwich, *TYP*, xi: "I have given precedence to preserving the order of the triads as they appear in Pen. 16, although to do so has involved subordinating to this order, the order in which the triads are given in the much more extensive collection of [the White Book and Red Book]. The reason for this choice is that I believe Pen. 16 to preserve an older arrangement and grouping of *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*…"

[24] Once she exhausted the triads found in Peniarth 16 (starting with TYP 47), Bromwich continued on to triads that don't appear in that manuscript, following the order of their earliest witnesses but skipping any triad with an earlier witness. The order of the Red Book TYP text, when given as their TYP numbers, is a good illustration of this. Out of sequence numbers represent triads that appear in Peniarth 16 and are therefore not indicated in the 'Red Book section' of Bromwich's edition: 47, 48, 49, 50, 35, 51, 52, 3, 12, 37, 44, 15, 53, 54, 55, 56, 47, 58, 31, 18, 13, 4, 59…

Bromwich's approach is utilitarian. She is primarily interested in the oldest version of the TYP corpus and in the *cyfarwyddyd* and epithets contained therein. This format allows each triad to receive adequate individual attention without the bloat that would come from printing every manuscript's version of every triad along with the considerable apparatus of explanatory notes. However, as Rebecca Shercliff has pointed out, this format serves to flatten the TYP corpus and, as the only version of TYP easily available to modern readers, gives those readers a warped sense of the corpus's nature.[25] For one thing, the footer setting out the many manuscript 'variants' that accompanies each triad is difficult to understand unless one is well-acquainted with Bromwich's system and shorthand, making it unlikely that scholars dipping quickly in and out of the volume will fully understand the corpus.

To counter this problem, I have included full diplomatic editions of all nineteen texts of TYP extant from the thirteenth through sixteenth centuries as Appendices A and B. It is my hope that these editions will go a long way to restoring the understanding of TYP as a dynamic, ever-changing series of related texts.

The "Origin and Development" of Trioedd Ynys Prydain

Bromwich entitles the second part of the introduction of her volume the "Origin and Development of *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*." This section of the volume has perhaps been the most influential of the book in the field of Celtic studies writ large, since it is in this section that Bromwich lays out her understanding of how the TYP corpus came to be and discusses its relationship to other medieval Welsh literature. Rather than recapitulating the entire discussion, I

[25] Rebecca Shercliff, "Arthur in *Trioedd Ynys Prydain*," in *Arthur in the Celtic Languages*, ed. Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan and Erich Poppe (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2019), 173-86, esp. at 174, where she writes: "Bromwich's edition presents a text which never actually existed…Aside from Peniarth 16…it is difficult to get a sense of which triads are found in the other collections or in what order."

would like to highlight here two important and influential assumptions Bromwich makes in order to question their validity. The first assumption is that TYP was developed by and for members of Wales' 'bardic order' – the *beirdd y tywysogion* – as a mnemonic index "formed for the benefit of those whose professional duty it was to preserve and hand on stories which embodied the oldest traditions of the Britons about themselves."[26] Hand-in-hand with this assumption is the idea that TYP underwent several generations of oral transmission, during which more senior poets painstakingly passed these triads down to their younger protégés, and that this corpus could therefore date back in origin as far as the early-twelfth century or even before.[27] I'd like to suggest that there is little evidence that the TYP corpus was developed and utilized by the poets specifically, rather than professional (or semi-professional) writers and storytellers generally.[28] Additionally – and crucially – I must stress that while, as I have discussed already in this introduction,[29] there is reason to think that TYP and the other medieval Welsh triads were initially developed as mnemonic devices that circulated orally for some period of time, the corpus as it survives today is fundamentally a written, manuscript-based one. It is not until the fifteenth century and later that texts of TYP begin to appear in the context of manuscripts written by poets or containing poetry; indeed, the texts of the Early version appear with *Brut y*

[26] Bromwich, *TYP*, lv. While there is some evidence that what I call the 'epithet + three names' formula-type triads began life as mnemonic devices, this explanation is insufficient to explain the later developments and expansions of triads evident throughout the corpus.
[27] See the sub-section of Bromwich's introduction entitled "Antiquity and Provenance," *TYP*, lxxxvii-xcix.
[28] Cf. Roberts, *Studies on Medieval Welsh Literature*, 2-3. An in-depth study of the rates of references and allusions to figures associated with TYP in both the bardic corpus and the corpus of medieval Welsh prose would be required to definitively state one way or another whether the court poets utilize TYP *cyfarwyddyd* more than writers of prose. I have not undertaken such a study (though I hope to in the future), so no such definitive proclamation is possible at this time. That being said, my work on this corpus has demonstrated to me, anecdotally, that the authors of the triads drew from a wide range of *cyfarwyddyd* and, in turn, that their work made its way into a similarly wide range of texts; the influence of TYP is by no means restricted to the bardic corpus. For an index of references to named figures within the bardic corpora see, Ann Parry Owen, "Mynegai i Enwau Priod ym Marddoniaeth Beirdd y Tywysogion." *Llên Cymru 20* (1997), 25-45.
[29] See above p. 4.

Brenhinedd and *Bonedd y Saint* while the White and Red version likely traveled with the other texts which survive today in the White Book of Rhydderch and Red Book of Hergest.

The second assumption, which follows the first, is that the *cyfarwyddiaid* who perpetuated this tradition (who, she assumes, are poets) "from the thirteenth century onwards progressively lost touch with the national inheritance of story" and that "the poets who used [TYP] progressively lost touch with all that had given to the names their original vitality."[30] Indeed, Bromwich is highly dismissive of later contributions to the corpus, writing:

> It may be said that this process [of "losing touch" with the "original vitality"] is reflected in the texts of *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* from a very early stage in the manuscript tradition, since the **inept comments** appended to a number of triads in the [White and Red] version […] betray for the most part a **complete ignorance on the part of the scribe who wrote them** as to the real meaning of the triad in question — and yet it has been shown that these comments must have already been present in an older text than that of the *Llyfr Gwyn* [i.e. White Book]. It is this use by the bards of the old names as a quarry for reference which is largely responsible for the continued copying of the manuscripts of TYP down to the seventeenth century.[31]

The central contention of this dissertation is that it is not the case that the scribes who copied and re-copied TYP over three centuries were ignorant or inept. Indeed, it is these scribes who created (often out of whole cloth) the corpus of TYP in the form in which it is found today. While there certainly is evidence of scribal errors and instances where a scribe seems to have been unfamiliar with a name or story, it is important to remember that these scribes were far closer to this material than modern scholars and it is important not to discount their cultural competence.

In Bromwich's eagerness to place TYP in a twelfth-century context, she loses sight of the fact that the texts of TYP that survive today are resolutely not twelfth-century texts.[32] Although

[30] Bromwich, *TYP*, lxii, lxiii.
[31] Bromwich, *TYP*, lxiii-lxiv. Emphasis mine.
[32] In terms of the date of the corpus, Bromwich emphasizes the significance of an apparent reference in *Tair lleithiglwyth* ("Three throne-burdens, TYP 1) to the controversy over St. Davids' archepiscopal primacy. Since this

dating individual triads is always difficult and often impossible, and although it is not sufficient to claim that a particular triad dates from a certain period only on the grounds that it enters the (extant) manuscript record at a certain time, I argue throughout this dissertation that most of the material found within the manuscript corpus of TYP belongs to the thirteenth century at the earliest. Furthermore, TYP continued to be revised and expanded throughout the centuries; some portion of the material from the later manuscripts in the corpus was composed or developed not long before it made its way onto the pages of fifteenth- or sixteenth-century manuscripts.

The Early version, White and Red version, and "Floating Sections"

The first section of Bromwich's introduction, dealing with the manuscript corpus of TYP, has also had far-reaching influence on the way TYP are understood in the field of Celtic studies and it is the section which has the most bearing on the project being undertaken in this dissertation, especially in Part 1. Bromwich identified two primary lines of manuscript transmission, which she called the Early version and White and Red version, respectively. The first of these, the Early version, follows the text of Peniarth 16, both in terms of the order of its triads and in the text of the triads itself. It is so called because Bromwich believed it preserved an "older arrangement and grouping" than that of the White and Red version, those texts which follow the texts of the White Book of Rhydderch and the Red Book of Hergest.[33]

Indeed, there are substantial differences between the text of TYP found in Peniarth 16 (and its close relative, the early-fourteenth-century text of Peniarth 45) and those in the White Book and the Red Book. The order in which the triads appear is entirely different, nearly two

debate began as early as the 1120s, Bromwich takes this as sufficient evidence to date this triad (and, thus, the entire Early version) to the twelfth century (Bromwich, *TYP*, xci). I argue against this argument in Chapter 7 (pp. 262-63). In my view, there is no reason to suppose that any expanded narrative triad in TYP dates from earlier than the early thirteenth century.

[33] Bromwich, *TYP*, xi.

dozen triads appear in the White and Red version texts which are missing from the Early version, and those triads that appear in both have often been significantly expanded or re-worked. These differences and their implications will be discussed in depth throughout this dissertation. The terms 'Early version' and 'White and Red version' are thus convenient short hand to invoke a dichotomy that is central to the question of TYP's transmission and I've adopted this short hand in this dissertation, as I have with Bromwhich's numbering system.

That being said, I must draw a clear distinction between my use of these terms and the way Bromwich uses them. When I refer to the "Early version," it is the texts of Peniarth 16 and Peniarth 45 to which I am referring; likewise, when I invoke the 'White and Red version,' I mean the texts found in the White Book and Red Book. This is in contrast to Bromwich, who persists in these categorizations for manuscripts down through the sixteenth century. Although she does not attempt to establish a stemma, she maintains that "affinities" with one version or the other can be perceived in the later manuscripts based on the order in which the triads appear in each text. One reason for this is simply that Bromwich based these categories on the content of these thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts and, naturally, they better reflect this period than they do texts written centuries later. Another, more fundamental reason is that the transmission history of TYP in the later Middle Ages is more complicated than Bromwich fully reckons with.

This is not to say that Bromwich does not acknowledge the complication. On the contrary, she makes it clear that there are many holes in the extant evidence:

> "The construction of a satisfactory stemma is not possible because of the nature of the material: all manuscripts omit triads which are represented in other manuscripts, and numerous intermediary texts have undoubtedly been lost. But the distinction between the two main versions, the Early Version (Pen. 16 and 45) and that of WR (White Book of Rhydderch and Red Book of Hergest), remains a valid one for the texts of TYP as a whole: in following the grouping of one or other versions the later

> manuscripts also present a text whose affinities are with this version. […] [E]ach of the manuscripts employed for the basic texts of triads 1-87 draws on written sources of at least equal antiquity with those which have survived."[34]

Bromwich is fundamentally correct in her analysis here: there certainly are clear distinctions between the texts of Peniarth 16 and 45 and those of the White Book and Red Book, and certainly later texts do follow the order of one or another of the versions, at least in fits and starts. However, by focusing so heavily on these two versions and, as a result, glossing over centuries of transmission history, Bromwich allows herself to miss the forest for the trees, or, perhaps, the trees for the forest. The problem is not that the Early version and the White and Red version don't exist in the manuscript record, or that the concept is unhelpful or misleading; the problem is that a close examination of the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century texts of TYP reveals that these two versions only begin to scratch the surface of the corpus's complicated transmission history.

Peniarth 47 is a good example of the problems inherent in this strictly binary categorization. Bromwich calls it a member of the Early version family of texts, "although the triads are not given in the same order," on the basis of "certain 'floating sections'…preserved intact," which are "sufficient in themselves to prove that the affinities…are with the Early Version rather than with that of [the White and Red version]."[35] The 'floating sections' to which she refers appear to be two runs of triads – triads 2-5 and 18-38 in this manuscript – which follow an order that is identical to that order found in Peniarth 16 (albeit with some omissions in the longer run). This is all well and good, but ignores the fact that the 33 remaining triads in Peniarth 47 do not follow Peniarth 16's order at all and many are not even found in the earlier

[34] Bromwich, *TYP*, xi-xii.
[35] Rachel Bromwich, *Trioedd Ynys Prydein: Triads of the Island of Britain*, 4th ed. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2014), xxv.

Early version manuscripts. Clearly, Peniarth 47 is a more complex manuscript than Bromwich acknowledges. This complexity is the subject of the second part of this dissertation; Peniarth 47 in particular is discussed in Chapter 5.

Approach and Scope

I have already indicated that the guiding principle of this dissertation is to understand that TYP are not a single text or single entity. Instead, they should be considered as a corpus of material that developed over several centuries. Each version of TYP should therefore be considered a text in its own right. These texts are closely (sometimes very closely) related to each other, but no two are identical. This dissertation aims to trace the development of the corpus by comparing these texts to each other and drawing out the differences between them. Additionally, by placing TYP in the larger context of medieval *cyfarwyddyd*, this dissertation aims to shed light on how that *cyfarwyddyd* developed over the medieval period.

I have chosen to focus in this dissertation on what I call the "medieval corpus" of TYP, that is, the nineteen texts of TYP in manuscripts dating from the mid-thirteenth century to c. 1600. Of these nineteen texts, ten date from the second half of the sixteenth century, reflecting the explosion of interest in TYP on the part of Welsh antiquarians in the Elizabethan period, including William Salesbury and a handful of his protégés and contemporaries. I realize that by including these late texts in the "medieval" corpus I am using that adjective very broadly and that many may question the contention that late-sixteenth-century Wales should still be considered medieval Wales. Indeed, I do not think it should be. However, the antiquarians of this period inherited TYP material from the *cyfarwyddiaid* of the fifteenth century and, in my view, the texts of TYP which were copied in the sixteenth century reflect the late medieval TYP tradition and, thus, continue to be of use for understanding that tradition. Copies of TYP continued to be made

into the nineteenth century, when it was included in the *Myvyrian Archiology*, but a change occurred after Salesbury's generation had passed; manuscripts began to pass from antiquarian to antiquarian and the tradition stopped being a living one in the same way. This antiquarian tradition deserves attention in its own right but I have had to exclude it from consideration in this dissertation because of the constraints of time and space.[36]

Those same constraints also influenced another aspect of this dissertation's scope. I am not able to discuss every text of TYP in detail or provide close readings of every triad, or even all the most intriguing triads. These texts are so rich and contain so many references to so many stories and figures that it is simply impossible to do them all justice. Providing a thorough discussion of every interesting tidbit found in TYP would be the work of several years and would require several hundred more pages. There is a great deal of material here that deserves more scholarly attention and, in a few places, I have noted my intention to return to a topic at a later date.

Another consequence of these constraints is that, especially in Part 2, I have given a great deal of attention to the White and Red version and other fifteenth-century texts while giving comparatively short shrift to texts related to the Early version. These texts are by no means absent from the dissertation; I often quote from Peniarth 16 and other Early version texts are discussed as needed, but they do not receive the same type of chapter-length investigation given to Peniarth 47, the Red Book of Hergest, and Peniarth 50. One reason I have chosen to focus on these later texts is because the Early version, and Peniarth 16 in particular, received so much attention in the work of Rachel Bromwich. It is my hope that, by shedding light on these later

[36] I do, however, briefly summarize the early modern and modern manuscript corpus in Appendix C, see pp. 506-09. Bromwich accounts for all of these manuscripts in her volume, see especially Bromwich, *TYP*, xxi-lii.

medieval TYP texts, I can begin to bring into focus the work of the scribes who copied, expanded, and developed the TYP corpus in the centuries after Peniarth 16 was written.

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I have divided the triads that appear in TYP into three categories on stylistic grounds: i) 'epithet + three names' formula triads, ii) partially expanded triads, and iii) expanded narrative triads. I refer to these three categories throughout this dissertation, so it is worthwhile to define these types before moving on.

The first of these types, 'epithet + three names,' formula triads, are the shortest and least detailed in the corpus. These are the strictly formulaic triads which consist of only a title and a list of three names and patronyms. *Tri hael* ("Three generous men," TYP 2) is a good example: *Tri hael enys Prydein: Nud hael mab Senyllt, Mordaf hael mab Seruan, Ryderch hael mab Tudwal tutclyt* ("Three generous men of the island of Britain: Nudd *hael* ("the generous") son of Senyllt, Mordaf *hael* son of Serfan, Rhydderch *hael* son of Tudwal tutclyd.")[37] This type of triad is likely the oldest of the three categories and may date back to the period of oral transmission.[38] For the purposes of this dissertation, the most important feature of 'epithet + three name' formula triads is that they lack narrative information entirely.

The second type, partially expanded triads, are any triads that diverge from the strict 'epithet + three names' formula but not provide enough narrative information to justify the "fully expanded" moniker. This is, admittedly, a very broad and somewhat subjective category. Examples of the "partially expanded" range from very bare triads which escape the 'epithet + three names' category merely by including common nominal phrases in their limbs, rather than

[37] This is the version that appears in Peniarth 16. For other versions, see Appendix B, pp. 385-86.
[38] On 'epithet + three names' formula triads and orality, see the discussion above, p. 17.

proper nouns,[39] to triads which have a short, often obscure sentence attached to them,[40] to triads that contain narrative information but not enough to glean a full story from them.[41] Partially expanded triads have almost always been re-worked and expanded at some point in their history and the most expanded of these, in particular, should be considered authored triads.

Finally, expanded narrative triads, such as *Tri gwrddfeichiad* ("Three powerful swineherds," TYP 26),[42] *Tri chyfor* ("Three levies," TYP 35),[43] and *Tri gwyr gwarth* ("Three men of shame," TYP 51), are the longest and most narratively-detailed triads in the corpus. They typically contain full sentences and provide enough narrative information that one can glean a complete story from them. It is often difficult to tell whether expanded narrative triads have been expanded from earlier, shorter versions.[44] These triads should be considered authored prose passages and typically display their author's creative choices.

Chapter Summary

This dissertation is divided into two parts and three appendices. Part 1 consists of three case studies of expanded narrative triads. In Chapter 1, I examine a single triad, *Tri gwrddechiad* ("Three powerful swineherds," TYP 26), in detail; in Chapter 2, I turn to a series of three triads: *Tair mad gyflafan* ("Three fortunate slaughters," TYP 32), *Tair anfad gyflafan* ("Three unfortunate slaughters," TYP 33) and *Tair anfad fwyallod* ("Three unfortunate hatchet-blows,"

[39] An example of this is *Tri llynghes cynniwair,* (TYP 15): *Teir llyges kynnierir enys Prydein: Llyges Llawr mab Eiryf, a llyges Di*ó*wng mab Alan, a llyghes Solor mab Murthach* ("Three roving fleets of the island of Britain: The fleet of Llawr son of Eiryf, and the fleet of Diwwng son of Alan, and the fleet of Solor son of Murthach.") This is the version of Peniarth 16.
[40] An example of this is *Tri tharw unben* (TYP 7): *Tri tharw* ó*nben enys Prydein: Elinwy mab Cadegyr, a Chynhaual mab Argat, ac Auaon mab Talyessin.* ***Tri meib beird oedynt ell tri*** ("Three bull-lords of the island of Britain: Elinwy son of Cadegyr, and Cynhafal son of Argad, and Afaon son of Taliesin. **They were all three sons of bards.**") This is the version of Peniarth 16.
[41] Two good examples of these are *Tri diwair deulu* ("Three faithful warbands," TYP 29) and *Tri anniwair deulu* ("Three unfaithful warbands," TYP 30), see Appendix B, pp. 413-17 and the discussion at pp. 126-29.
[42] See discussion in Chapter 1.
[43] See discussion in Chapter 3, pp. 84-124.
[44] See the discussion of the expansion of *Tri gwrddfeichiad* at pp. 47-48.

TYP 34); in Chapter 3, I examine a pair of triads, *Tri chyfor* ("Three levies," TYP 35) and *Tair ormes* ("Three oppressions," TYP 36). By delving into each of these triads in minute detail, I hope to accomplish two main goals. The first is to ask how well-known or well-attested the figures named in each triad are in the extant *cyfarwyddyd* outside TYP and consider what this reveals about the range of the triad's sources or influence. The second goal is to examine each triad from the standpoint of something that has been written by an individual and, often, re-worked, re-written, or re-interpreted over time. In doing so, I hope to restore the agency of these triads' authors and establish that each of these expanded, narrative triad has been shaped by the creative, authorial choices of an individual.

In Part 2, I examine the manuscript corpus of TYP in more detail. My primarily interest in this part is the "microtexts," or sub-sections within each text that, I contend, likely circulated independently at one time.[45] In Chapter 4, I examine the transmission history of the sub-section of TYP called *trioedd y meirch* ("the triads of the horses"). In Chapter 5, I examine the microtexts in the TYP text of NLW Peniarth MS 47, which dates from the mid-fifteenth-century. In Chapter 6, I apply the findings about microtexts from Chapter 5 to the TYP text in the Red Book of Hergest, a late-fourteenth- or early-fifteenth century manuscript, and its descendants in the chain of transmission. In Chapter 7, I examine the microtexts in the TYP text of another mid-fifteenth-century manuscript, NLW Peniarth MS 50, also known as *Y Cwta Cyfarwydd* ("the Short Guide").

Finally, following a conclusion, I have included three appendices. The first two provide the texts of the TYP corpus: Appendix A includes transcriptions of all nineteen TYP texts in full; in turn, Appendix B groups every version of every triad together. By providing two "views" of

[45] For a fuller definition of "microtexts," see the introduction to Part 2, pp. 139-46.

the TYP corpus, I hope to enable readers to view each TYP text as a cohesive whole and each triad in its textual context (in the case of Appendix A) as well as enabling them to compare the individual versions of triads against their counterparts in other texts. The third appendix, Appendix C, includes discussions of each of the nineteen manuscripts containing a text of TYP, their scribes, and their contents. I refer explicitly to these appendices on occasion throughout the notes of this dissertation but, I must note, I do not always note explicitly when it may be helpful for the reader to refer to them. I have, however, given the TYP number each time a new triad is introduced in order for the reader to easily find the text of the relevant triad in Appendix B.

TYP 26 P16 (Early) text (A2.26): Tri gwrdueichyat e*nys* P*rydein*:
Drystan m*ab* Tallwch, a gedwis moch March Meirchyawn hyt tra aeth y meichyat y erchi y Essyllt dyuo[*t*] yw gynnadyl. Ac Arthur yn keissyaȣ un hwch onadunt ac y dwyll ac y dreis a'e nys cauas.

A Phryderi m*ab* Pwyll Pen Annwnyn,[1] a gedwis moch Pen Daran Dy[*uet*] yg Glyn Cȣch yn Emlyn.

A Choll m*ab* Collȣrewy a gedwis Henwen hȣch Dallwyr Dallben a aeth yg Gordody hyt ym Penryn Austin yg Kernyw. Ac yn Aber Tarogi yg Went ys Coet y doeth y'r tir. A Choll map Collȣrewy a'e laȣ yn y gwrych pa ford bynnac y kerdei nac ar ȣor nac ar dir. Ac y maes gȣenith yg Went y dotwes gȣenithen, a gȣenynen. Ac yr y mae goreu lle y wenith a'e wenyn y lle hwnnȣ. Ac odyno yd aeth hyt yn Llonyon ym Penȣro. Ac yno y dotwes ar eiden a Gȣenynen. Ac odyna y kerdws hyt yn riw Kyuerchuch yn Eryri. Ac yno y dotwes ar geneu bleid. Ac ar gyw eryr a rodes y ȣenwaed o'r o Arllechwedd. A'r rei hynny ȣu Menwaed, ac eryr Brennach. Ac odyna yd aeth hyt y maendu yn Lla[*n*]ȣeir yn Aruon. Ac yno y dotwes a'r geneu cath. ~~Ac~~ [*A'r*] keneu hwnnȣ a ȣwrywys Coll m*ab* Collȣrewy y Menei. A honno wedy hynny ȣu gath Baluc.

TYP 26 P16 (Early) translation: Three powerful swineherds of the island of Britain: Drystan son of Tallwch, who tended the pigs of March Merchiawn while the swineherd went to ask Essylt to come to his trysting-place. And Arthur [was] seeking one of the pigs from them either by deceit or by force, but he did not get it.

And Pryderi son of Pwyll Head of Annwfn, who tended the pigs of Pendaran Dyfed in Glyn Cwch in Emlyn.

And Coll son of Collfrewy, who guarded Henwen, the sow of Dallwyr Dallben, who went [when] about to bring forth, to Penrhyn Awstin in Cornwall. And at Aber Tarogi in Gwent Is Coed she came to land. And Coll son of Collfrewy with his hand on her bristles wherever she went, whether by sea or by land. And in the Wheat Field in Gwent she brought forth a grain of wheat and a bee; and therefore that place is best for wheat and bees. And from there she went to Llonion in Pembroke, and there she brought forth a grain of barley and a bee. And therefore Llonion is the best place for barley. From thence she made for the Hill of Cyferthwch in Eryri; and there she brought forth a wolf-cub and an eagle. And Coll son of Collfrewy gave the eagle to Brernnach the Irishman of the North, and the wolf he gave to Menwaed son of […] of Arllechwedd; and these were [the wolf of] Menwaed, and the Eagle of Brennach. And from thence she went to the Black Stone in Llanfair in Arfon, and there she brought forth a kitten. And Coll son of Collfrewy threw that kitten into the Menai. And she was afterwards Palug's Cat

TYP 26 RBH (WR) text (A4.58): Tri gȣrueichyat ynys Brydein:
Pryderi uab Pȣyll Penn Annwn, ȣrth uȣch Pendaran Dyuet y datmaeth. Ac y sef moch oedynt y seithlydyn a duc Pȣyll penn Annȣnn. Ac a'e rodes y Pendaran Dyuet

[1] A pointing finger drawn in the margin draws attention to this name.

y Datmaeth. Ac y sef y lle y katwei: y Glynn Cuch yn Emlyn. Ac y sef achaɷs y gelwit hɷnnɷ yn ɷrueithat: kany allei neb na thaɷyll na threis arnaɷ.

A'r eil: Drystan uab Tallɷch ɷrth voch March uab Meirchyon, tra aeth y meichyat yn gennat a'r Essyllt. Arth*ur*, a March, a Chei, a Bedwyr a uuant ell petwar, ac ny chaɷssant kymmeint ac un banɷ, nac o dreis, nac o dɷyll, nac o ledrat y gantaɷ.

A'r trydyd: Coll uab Kallurewy, ɷrth uoch Dallwyr dallben yg Glynn [Dall]wyr[2] yg Kernyɷ, ac un o'r moch oed [dorra]ɷc,[3] Hennwenn oed y henɷ, a darogan oed yr hanuydei waeth ynys Prydein o'r torllɷyth. Ac yna y kynnulaɷd Arthur llu ynys Brydein, ac yd aeth y geissaɷ y diua, ac yna yd aeth hythen yg Gordodɷ, ac ym Pennrynn Haɷstin yg Kerniɷ, yd aeth yn y mor, a'r gɷrdueichyat yn y hol, ac y maes Gɷenith yg ɷent y dotwes ar w[*e*]nnithen a gɷennynen, ac yr hynny hyt hediɷ y mae goreu lle gɷenith a gɷenyn maes Gɷenith yg ɷent, ac yn Llouyon ym Pennuro y dotwes ar heiden a gɷenhithen, am hynny y diaerhebir a heid Llouyon. Ac yn riɷ Gyfuerthɷch yn Aruo[n] y dodwes ar geneu cath, a chyɷ eryr, ac y roet y bleid y Uergaed. Ac y roet yr eryr y breat tywyssaɷc o'r Gogled, ac ɷynt a hanuuant waeth onadunt. Ac yn Llanueir yn Aruon adan y maen du y dotwes ar geneu cath. Ac y ar y maen y byryaɷd y gɷrueichyat yn y mor, a meibon Paluc yn Mon, a'e magassant yr drɷc udunt. A honno uu Gath Baluc, ac a uu un o deir prif ormes Mon a uagɷyt yndi, a'r eil oed Daronɷy, a'r dryded Etwin urenhin Lloegyr.

TYP 26 RBH (WR) translation: Three powerful swineherds of the island of Britain: Pryderi son of Pwyll penn Annwn, with the pigs of Pendaran Dyfed his foster-father. And these pigs were the seven animals which Pwyll pen Annwn obtained. And he gave them to Pendaran Dyfed his foster-father. And this is the place they were kept: Glyn Cuch in Emlyn. And this is the reason that man was called a swineherd: because no one could take them [i.e. the pigs] from him by deceit or by force.

And the second, Drystan son of Tallwch by the side of the pigs of March son of Merchion, while the swineherd went as a messenger to Essylt. Arthur, and March, and Cai, and Bedwyr were all four [there], but they did not get as much as one piglet, neither by force, nor by deception, nor by stealing.

And the third: Coll fab C[o]llfrewy, with the pigs of Dallwyr dallben in Glyn Dallwyr in Cornwall, and one of the pigs was a pregnant [sow], Henwen was her name, and the prophecy was that the island of Britain would be worse off because of the womb-burden. And then Arthur gathered the host of the island of Britain, and went to seek to destroy her, and then the sow went into labor, and in Penrhyn Awstin in Cornwall she went to the sea with the swineherd after her. And in the wheat field in Gwent she brought forth a grain of wheat and a bee, and therefore until today the Gwenith field in Gwent is the best place for grain and bees, and in Llonion in Pembroke she brought forth a grain of barley and a bee. And because of that the barley of Llonion is proverbial. And on the slope of Gyferthwch she brought forth kittens and an eagle chick, and she gave the wolf [sic] to Mengaed

[2] Word is stained and partially illegible.
[3] Word is stained and partially illegible.

> and she gave the eagle to (?)Bergaed prince of the North. And they derived worse from them. were the worse things that sprung from them. And in Llanfair in Arfon, under the black stone, she brought forth a cat, and the swineherd flung it from the stone into the sea, and the sons of Paluc raised it on Môn [Anglesey], despite harm to themselves. And that was the Cath Paluc, and she was one of the great oppression of Môn which were raised there, and the second was Daronwy, and the third, Edwin king of England.
>
> + + +

Tri gwrddfeichiad ("Three powerful swineherds," TYP 26) is the longest and most extended of all the triads in the Early version of the TYP corpus and the second longest in the White and Red version.[4] It is also, by far, the most complex – some would say maddening. To date, the bulk of the commentary about this triad has been written by Rachel Bromwich, who discussed it in her edition of TYP as well as in several articles about the Trystan material, but it has also been discussed in some depth by John Rhŷs and John Carey.[5] Although Bromwich wrote in 1991 that the triad "appears untraditional" and that "it is tempting to regard it as a burlesque,"[6] she and others have, for the most part, approached this triad as an integral part of the Early version tradition and sought to place its most prominent figures – Coll fab Collfrewy and the sow Henwen – into the larger tradition of medieval *cyfarwyddyd.*

The following re-examination of *Tri gwrddfeichiad* will not assume that the stories of Coll, Henwen, or the triad itself as they appear in Peniarth 16, are necessarily very much older than that manuscript. Indeed, I intend to argue that it is an extension of an earlier, "epithet + three names" formula-type triad that was extended by an individual author not earlier than the popularization of the Continental Tristan tradition in the late-twelfth or early-thirteenth centuries and that it is meant to function as a comedic parody of Arthurian and etiological or topographical

[4] The longest triad in the White and Red version is *Tri gwyr gwarth* ("Three men of shame," TYP 51) which is derived almost entirely from Galfridian material by way of *Brut y Brenhinedd*. See Appendix B, pp. 439-42.
[5] Rhŷs's work on this triad will be discussed below pp. 37-38. For Carey's work on it, see John Carey, "Coll fab Collfrewy," *Studia Celtica* 16 (1981), 168-74.
[6] Rachel Bromwich, "The Tristan of the Welsh," in *The Arthur of the Welsh*, ed. Rachel Bromwich, A.O.H. Jarman, Brynley F. Roberts (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1991), 209-28 at 214.

texts. First, the three arms of the triad will be examined in turn, before turning to a discussion of the text's likely transmission history and its relation to the two other triads in which Coll fab Collfrewy is mentioned, *Tri lletfrithog* ("Three enchanters," TYP 27) and *Tri prif hud* ("Three great enchantments," TYP 28).

SWINEHERD I: DRYSTAN AP TALLWCH

Drystan (or Trystan, as he is known elsewhere in the Welsh material) is a figure derived from Brittonic tradition but he is a better known from the several Continental romances depicting his love affair with Isolt (*Es(s)yllt* in Welsh) and the resultant conflict with her husband, Mark (*March*). Apart from *Tri gwrddfeichiad*, Drystan appears in five other triads in TYP: *Tri galofydd* ("Three enemy subduers," TYP 19), *Tri thaleithiog cad* ("Three diademed battle-leaders, TYP 21), *Tri serchawc* ("Three lovers, TYP 71), *Tri chyndyniog* ("Three stubborn ones," TYP 72), and *Tri gogyfurd llys Arthur* ("Three peers of Arthur's court," TYP 73). Additionally, in the fifteenth-century Peniarth 47 TYP text, Drystan replaces Moruran eil Tegit as the owner of the horse Guelwgan Gohoewgein in *Tri gordderchfarch* ("Three lovers' horses," TYP 41). *Tri serchog*, *Tri chyndyniog*, and *Tri gogyfurd llys Arthur* also first appear in the Peniarth 47 text.[7] As Rebecca Shercliff has noted, the scribe or patron of this manuscript must have been particularly interested in Drystan's story.[8]

Every triad in which Drystan appears, apart from *Tri gwrddfeichiad*, gives very little narrative information about him. In stark contrast, the version of Drystan's story in *Tri gwrddfeichiad* is a fully developed narrative, albeit a brief one. The version of this limb in Peniarth 16 reads:

[7] The Peniarth 47 text is the subject of Chapter 5; on *Tri serchog*, see pp. 258-61.
[8] Rebecca Shercliff, "Arthur in Trioedd Ynys Prydein," in *Arthur in the Celtic Languages*, ed. Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan and Erich Poppe (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2019), 173-86 at 180.

> *Drystan mab Tallwch, a gedwis moch March Meirchyawn hyt tra aeth y meichyat y erchi y Essyllt dyuo[t] yw gynnadyl. Ac Arthur yn keissyaó un hwch onadunt ac y dwyll ac y dreis a'e nys cauas.*
>
> (Drystan son of Tallwch, who tended the pigs of March Merchiawn while the swineherd went to ask Essylt to come to his trysting-place. And Arthur [was] seeking one of the pigs from them either by deceit or by force, but he did not get it.)

The White and Red version is very similar except for the inclusion of some key Arthurian figures. This version also swaps the first two limbs, with Drystan's story following that of Pryderi. The version in the Red Book reads:

> *A'r eil: Drystan uab Tallóch órth voch March uab Meirchyon, tra aeth y meichyat yn gennat a'r Essyllt. Arthur, a March, a Chei, a Bedwyr a uuant ell petwar, ac ny chaóssant kymmeint ac un banó, nac o dreis, nac o dóyll, nac o ledrat y ganta6.*
>
> (And the second, Drystan son of Tallwch with the pigs of March son of Merchion, while the swineherd went as a messenger to Essylt. Arthur, and March, and Cai, and Bedwyr were all four [there], but they did not get as much as one piglet, neither by force, nor by deception, nor by stealing.)

Although this is not the place for an extended discussion of the Tristan romances and their relation to Celtic literature, it will be helpful to briefly summarize the scholarly debate around Trystan's place in medieval Welsh tradition. First, there is the question of his Celtic origin. It was taken for granted by scholars for much of the twentieth century that Trystan was a figure of Pictish legend whose story migrated into the rest of the Brittonic-speaking world sometime in the early Middle Ages and from there to the rest of Europe. The most important evidence for this theory came from the fact that the name *Drust*, from which the Welsh *Drystan* is often supposed to have been derived, is "particularly common"[9] in the Pictish king-lists. Furthermore, another name, *Talargan*, could be the basis for *Tallwch*, the name found in TYP for Drystan's father.

[9] Jenny Rowland, "Trystan and Esyllt," in *Arthur in the Celtic Languages*, ed. Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan and Erich Poppe (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2019), 51-63 at 52.

Rachel Bromwich was a particularly ardent advocate of this theory and wrote about it several times during her career.[10] The Pictish origin theory has lost some of its luster in recent decades, however, after Oliver Padel's strong counterargument that Béroul, the late twelfth-century author of a French-language Trystan romance, derived much of his narrative from Cornish material. The existence of a stone at Castle Dore in Cornwall, dated to the sixth century, which bears the name *DRVSTA[N]VS filius CVNOMORI* as well as an early medieval English charter dated to the year 967 in which the place name *hyrt eselt* (Esyllt's ford) is preserved are further evidence that this story has deep roots in Cornwall.[11]

Trystan is very sparsely attested in medieval Welsh tradition; the references to him in the TYP are one of the major sources for the Welsh Trystan and they have consequently received a great deal of attention.[12] The earliest reference to him in a Celtic language is found in one of two linked poems in the Black Book of Carmarthen, in which *Diristan* is said to be enraged at the coming of a dwarf.[13] A figure called Cyhëig, who is otherwise unknown, appears in both poems and may be the link connecting them.[14] It is unclear how central Trystan is to whatever narrative these poems allude to (if there even is a narrative here). Bromwich, who edited the poems, characteristically viewed them as a look-in at the early medieval Welsh traditions regarding

[10] Most notably: Rachel Bromwich, "Some Remarks on the Celtic Sources of 'Tristan,'" *Transactions of the Honorable Society of Cymmrodorion* (1953), 32-60; Bromwich, "The Tristan of the Welsh," 209-28, and Rachel Bromwich, *Trioedd Ynys Prydein: The Triads of the Island of Britain*, 4th ed. (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 2014), 331-34.

[11] O.J. Padel, "The Cornish Background of the Tristan Stories," *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 1 (1980), 53-81; for the stone inscription see 77-79; for *hyrt eselt*, see 65-66.

[12] Studies of this material not noted elsewhere include W.J. McCann, "Tristan: The Celtic Material Re-Examined," in *Gottfried von Strassburg and the Medieval Tristan Legend*, ed. Adrian Stevens and Roy Wisbey (Cambridge, England: D.S. Brewer, 1990), 19-28 and Helaine Newstead, "The Origin and Growth of the Tristan Legend," in *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages*, ed. R.S. Loomis (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1959), 122-33.

[13] An edition of this poem can be found in Bromwich, "The 'Tristan' Poem in the Black Book of Carmarthen," *Studia Celtica* 14/15 (1979/80), 54-65. There seems to be some disagreement over whether there is one poem or two connected poems; Bromwich speaks of it in the singular but Jenny Rowland writes of "two poems found together" (Rowland, "Trystan and Esyllt," 56).

[14] That this "rare name" is the link was suggested by Rowland, "Trystan and Esyllt," 57.

Trystan and Esyllt but Jenny Rowland has recently pushed back against that assumption, stating that the first, longer poem strikes her as a *dadolwch,* or apology poem.[15] In any case the poem is too obscure to glean anything approaching a narrative from it. For that we must turn to *Ystorya Trystan,* a text that appears in only one mid-sixteenth century manuscript.[16] This story depicts Trystan and Esyllt hiding out from March and Arthur in Coed Celyddon and is told in a mix of verse and prose. While the verse appears to be at least somewhat older than the prose (which was probably written in the sixteenth century), it is not clear how much older.[17] The existence of this tale shows that Trystan and Esyllt were known to some extent in late medieval Wales, but it is unclear to what extent this story is based on Welsh material as opposed to the Continental romances, how much the author of the later prose understood the earlier poetry, or how long before the production of the manuscript the tale can be dated.

In other words, while it is clear that there was *cyfarwyddyd* about Trystan circulating in medieval Wales, we know very little about it.[18] Contrast this with the situation on the Continent, where several romances about the love triangle between Tristan, Isolt, and Mark were known by the end of the twelfth century, including those by Béroul and Marie de France in French as well as Gottfried von Strassburg in German.[19]

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[15] Rowland, "Trystan and Esyllt," 57.

[16] An edition of *Ystorya Tristan* can be found in Ifor Williams, "Trystan ac Essyllt," *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 5.2 (1931), 115-29. Supplementary material is edited in E.D. Jones, "Trystan ac Esyllt," *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 13.1 (1949), 25-7. Cf. the discussion in Jenny Rowland and Graham Thomas, "Additional Versions of the Trystan *Englynion* and Prose," *National Library of Wales Journal* 22.3 (1982), 241-53. Cf. Tom Peete Cross, ed. and trans., "A Welsh Tristan Episode," *Studies in Philology* 17.1 (1920), 93-110; R.L. Thomson, trans., "The Welsh Fragment of Trystan (Trystan ac Essyllt)," in *The Tristan Legend: Texts from Northern and Eastern Europe in Modern English Translation*, ed. Joyce Hill (Leeds: Graduate Centre for Medieval Studies, 1977), 1-5.

[17] Rowland, "Trystan and Essyllt," 58.

[18] Allusions to both Trystan and Essyllt also appear in court poetry form the fourteenth century (see Ann Parry Owen, "Mynegai i Enwau Priod yng Ngwaith Beirdd y Bedwaredd Ganrif ar Ddeg," *Llên Cymru* 30 (2008), 35-89). But, as Rowland points out, only Dafydd ap Edmwnd can be shown to have known the story in any detail. (Rowland, "Trystan and Essylt," 60).

[19] An edition of the Béroul text can be found in Barbara N. Sargent-Bauer, ed., *The Romance of Tristran by Beroul and Beroul II: A Diplomatic Edition and a Critical Edition* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015; an edition

The depiction in *Tri gwrddfeichiad* of Drystan momentarily working as a swineherd for March's pigs is unknown from other versions of Trystan and Esyllt's story. The setup, however – Drystan conspiring to meet Esyllt, possibly behind March's back – is familiar enough from the better-known versions of their tale. As with the other two Welsh sources for Trystan, it is up for debate whether the author of this triad was borrowing from the Continental traditions about Tristan with which he was familiar or tapping into some "native" Welsh lore that has not otherwise survived. Over the past few decades, most commentators have become less willing to state with certainty that these texts demonstrate a fully native Welsh tradition untouched by the influence of the Continental material. That being said, there is a general consensus that there must have been stories about Trystan circulating in Wales at an early stage, though scholars are less willing to commit to an early date for the individual sources.[20]

Scholars agree that *Ystorya Trystan* is unlikely to be early enough to be uninfluenced by the Continental material. The late date of its only extant manuscript and its milieu, reminiscent of Arthurian romance, point to its being a relatively late composition.[21] On the other hand, it is more difficult to dismiss the Trystan poem(s) in the Black Book as late or influenced by Continental romance. The fact that they appear in the oldest surviving Welsh-language

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of Marie de France's lais can be found in Claire M. Waters, ed. *The Lais of Marie de France: Text and Translation* (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 2018); a German-language edition of Gottfried's work is Xenja von Ertzdorff, Doris Scholz, and Carola Voelkel, eds., *Tristan* (Munich: Fink, 1979).

[20] Padel, for instance, has said, "Tristan stories…probably travelled to Wales before the twelfth century, since there is adequate evidence to suggest that they were known there independently of the Continental romances" (Padel, "The Cornish Background," 80). Earlier in that same article, however, he says, "Only the first [the Black Book poems] and probably the second [*Tri gwrddfeichiad*] of these texts can be early enough to have any chance of representing native Welsh tradition untouched by Continental influence; it is even possible, though not very likely, that all three have been influenced by the Continental stories" (Padel, "The Cornish Background," 58). The most recent commentator, Jenny Rowland, writes: "As is the case of many other characters from the lost medieval literature of Wales, there is some evidence for knowledge of Trystan and his tale in *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*," (Rowland, "Trystan and Esyllt," 55). She later adds that *Tri gwrddfeichiad* "may attest to an otherwise unknown Trystan episode or, as Bromwich suggests, was in keeping with stories already known to the audience of the triads even if invented" (Rowland, "Trystan and Esyllt," 56).

[21] Rowland, "Trystan and Esyllt," 59-60.

manuscript gives these poems a certain gravitas that is hard to overlook and, perhaps more importantly, the presence of March and the mysterious Cyhëig gives the impression that this was once part of a now-lost narrative that told the story of the Welsh or Brittonic Trystan as it was known before he was subsumed by the Continental material. The fragmentary and vague nature of these poems only bolsters their mystique and makes it impossible to determine whether the poem(s) represent a "one off" piece of *cyfarwyddyd* unrelated to a larger story in circulation or a glimpse into an otherwise long-forgotten part of the Welsh tradition.

If, then, one of the sources for the Welsh Trystan may preserve some amount, however small, of "native" material and another is much less likely to, the third source – that is, *Tri gwrddfeichiad* – becomes critical to how much we can say about this Welsh Trystan. Unfortunately, the fact that there is no agreed-upon date for the triad makes it very difficult to say whether or not the triad's author was likely to be drawing on the Continental Tristan material for his Drystan episode. Still, as I noted above, the tendency has been for scholars to accept *Tri gwrddfeichiad* as evidence for the Welsh Trystan and regard the episode as more evidence of a lost Trystan tale native to Wales. This argument, however, is circular and does not hold up very well to scrutiny: it assumes that *Tri gwrddfeichiad* was composed during the twelfth century, before the influence of the Continental romances made their way to Wales. I am not at all sure that this is a safe assumption to make.

Something that complicates this picture even further is the inclusion of Arthur, who in this triad is "seeking one of the pigs from them them, either by deceit or by force." The fact that in the White and Red version, March, Cai, and Bedwyr join Arthur in his attempt to steal Drystan's pigs is often taken as part of the argument that the Early version of this triad is less developed than the later version. Although they are often found together elsewhere in the Welsh

tradition, *Tri gwrddfeichiad* is the only place in the corpus in which Arthur, Cai, and Bedwyr are mentioned together as a unit. It seems logical to presume that their inclusion in this later version is related to the growth of Arthur's presence in the White and Red version of the triadic corpus.[22] Further, it seems logical to think that the scribe who developed this version of the triad, being a member of the medieval Welsh intelligentsia that propagated this tradition, would have been sufficiently familiar with the *cyfarwyddyd* associating Cai and Bedwyr with Arthur and, therefore, simply threw them into the mix along with March, whom he knew to be the antagonist of the Drystan tale.[23]

More interesting, perhaps, is the rather negative depiction of Arthur in this episode. Modern readers are not accustomed to seeing Arthur attempting to gain anything "either by deceit or by force." It calls to mind some of the less-than-flattering depictions of Arthur found in eleventh- and twelfth-century texts such as *Culhwch ac Olwen* and some of the Cambro-Latin saints' Lives, as first suggested by Brynley Roberts.[24] This is an intriguing possibility that deserves fuller attention than it has so far received. It is possible that it was in his characterization of Arthur as a disruptive and problematic figure that the author of *Tri gwrddfeichiad* was pulling the most from "native" Welsh material.

Bromwich and R.S. Loomis both took Arthur's presence in this episode as evidence that Drystan had been drawn into the "Arthurian orbit" relatively early.[25] It is important to remember,

[22] It is worth stressing, however – and the Early version of this episode is a case in point – that Arthur is by no means absent from the Early version of the triadic corpus.
[23] Cai and Bedwyr are Arthur's near-constant companions in *Culhwch ac Olwen* (see Rachel Bromwich and D. Simon Evans, eds. *Culhwch ac Olwen: An Edition and Study of the Oldest Arthurian Tale* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1992), as well as in the Life of St Cadog (edited in A.W. Wade-Evans, ed. and trans., "Vita Sancti Cadoci," in *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogicae* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1944), 25-147.
[24] Brynley F. Roberts, "Culhwch ac Olwen, The Triads, Saints' Lives," in *The Arthur of the Welsh*, ed. Rachel Bromwich, A.O.H. Jarman, Brynley Roberts (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1991), 80-1.
[25] Both Bromwich and Loomis use the "Arthurian orbit" phrase. Bromwich, "Some Remarks on the Celtic Sources of Tristan," 35; Loomis, "A Survey of Tristan Scholarship," 573. It should be noted that Joseph Nagy has questioned this line of thinking, writing: "such doubts…are based on what I would argue is a questionable assumption, namely, that the attraction of the Tristan and Isolt story into the Arthurian 'orbit' was a secondary development that took

though, that both Bromwich and Loomis are assuming in this supposition that *Tri gwrddfeichiad* was composed in the twelfth century, an assumption that does not hold up to scrutiny. In my view, there is insufficient evidence to argue that Arthur's association with Drystan here points to the fact that they were already associated with each other in the "native" Welsh tradition, since it is just as likely that the author of this triad was simply pulling together two particularly popular characters of the day.

Indeed, given the lack of evidence regarding the Welsh Trystan, there is nothing to suggest that the Drystan episode in this triad is drawn from a fully-fledged "native" Welsh Trystan story, and I would suggest that it is more likely that it is a borrowing from the Continental Tristan cycle, which was well-known in England and Wales by the thirteenth century. Other than Drystan's role as a swineherd, which is integral to the conceit of the triad and is likely the invention of the triad's author, there is nothing in the relatively sparse Drystan narrative in *Tri gwrddfeichiad* that could not have been drawn from the Continental Tristan poems. On these grounds, I conclude that *Tri gwrddfeichiad* cannot be used as evidence for the Welsh Trystan and that the triad's author was drawing on that Continental material in this limb. Additionally, and most significantly, this dates the composition of *Tri gwrddfeichiad* at no earlier than the very late twelfth or early thirteenth century, after the Continental Tristan material had made its way to Wales.

SWINEHERD II: PRYDERI FAB PWYLL

place after the story had lost its connection with whatever Celtic roots it had in the first place." (Joseph Falaky Nagy, "The Celtic 'Love Triangle' Revisited" in *An XIV Comhdáil Idirnáisiúnta sa Léann Celteach Imeachtaí / Proceedings XIV International Congress of Celtic Studies*, ed. Liam Breatnach, Ruairí Ó hUiginn, Damian McManus, Katherine Simms (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 2015), 221-244 at 223.)

Pryderi fab Pwyll is by far the most well-attested and well-known of the three powerful swineherds in medieval Welsh literature. He is an important – some have argued central – figure in the Four Branches of the Mabinogi. Pryderi is the only character to appear in all four branches, though he plays only a minor role in some: the First Branch relays the story of his birth and upbringing,[26] the Second Branch mentions him briefly as one of the men who went to Ireland with Bendigeidfran,[27] he acts as Manawydan's too-rash friend in the Third Branch,[28] and he is slain by Gwydion, who steals Pryderi's swine and brings them back to Gwynedd, in the Fourth Branch.[29] These four tales constitute the vast majority of the extant narrative material from medieval Wales about Pryderi. The background and composition of the Four Branches, not to mention the part Pryderi himself played in that process, have been the subject of much scholarly debate for generations. Suffice it to say here that, apart from the Four Branches, *Tri gwrddfeichiad* holds the only *cyfarwyddyd* about Pryderi from which we can glean any kind of narrative. His name also appears, however, in "Preiddau Annwfn"[30] and "Golychaf-i Gulwyd,"[31] two poems in the Taliesin voice which appear in the Book of Taliesin, as well as in "Englynion y

[26] For this text, see R.L. Thomson, ed. *Pwyll Pendeuic Dyuet: The First of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi edited from the White Book of Rhydderch with varients from the Red Book of Hergest* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 2010).

[27] See Derick Thomson, ed. *Branwen uerch Lyr: The Second Branch of the Mabinogi edited from the White Book of Rhydderch with variants from the Red Book of Hergest and from Peniarth 6* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Adavanced Studies, 2003), line 389.

[28] For this text, see Ian Hughes, ed. *Math uab Mathonwy: Pedwaredd Gainc y Mabinogi* (Aberystwyth: Department of Welsh, University of Wales, 2000).

[29] For this text, see Ian Hughes, ed. *Math uab Mathonwy: The Fourth Branch of the Mabinogi* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 2013).

[30] "*Bu kyweir karchar Gweir yg Kaer Sidi, trwy ebostol Pwyll a* ***Phryderi****. Neb kyn noc ef nyt aeth idi -- / y'r gadwyn tromlas kywirwas ketwi*." ("Maintained was Gwair's prison in Caer Siddi / throughout Pwyll and **Pryderi's** story. No-one went there before he did -- / into the heavy grey chain guarding the loyal lad." Marged Haycock, ed. and trans., *Legendary Poems from the Book of Taliesin* (Aberystwyth: CMCS Publications, 2007), 435. Emphasis mine.)

It should be noted that the names Pwyll (GPC s.v. *pwyll* 'deliberation, consideration, **care**, caution') and Pryderi (GPC s.v. *pryder* '(cause of) anxiety, distress, concern; **care**, solicitude, charge, protection, etc.') complement each other and can probably be seen as a play on words.

[31] "*Ys kyweir vyg kadeir yg Kaer Siddi: / nys plawd heint a heneint a uo yndi, ys gwyr Manawyt a* ***Phryderi****."* ("Harmonious is the song in Caer Siddi: sickness and old age do not afflict those who are there, as Manawyd and **Pryderi** know." Haycock, ed. and trans., *Legendary Poems from the Book of Taliesin*, 277. Emphasis mine.)

Beddau,"[32]and in a few poems by the Gogynfeirdd dicating that Pryderi must have been known to some extent in Wales before he became inextricably linked with the Four Branches.[33] It is notable that the mysterious Caer Siddi seems to be associated with Pryderi in both of the Taliesin poems, but they are written in the intentionally-obscure style characteristic to the Taliesin persona and, unfortunately, no more detail can be gleaned from this. Aside from this nugget, no other narrative detail can be gleaned from these non-Mabinogi references.

To what extent, then, is this episode in *Tri gwrddfeichiad* related to the material from the Four Branches? The answer to this question is not straightforward. In the Fourth Branch, Gwydion steals a herd of Otherwordly pigs from Pryderi, which he had presumably received because of the connection Pwyll -- Pryderi's father and predecessor as prince of Dyfed -- had with the Otherworldly prince Arawn. Pryderi dies in an ensuing battle.[34] *Tri gwrddfeichiad* seems to reference these same pigs, as we see in the text of the Early version from Peniarth 16:

> *A Phryderi mab Pwyll Pen Annwuyn, a gedwis moch Pen Daran Dy[*uet*] yg Glyn Cóch yn Emlyn.*
>
> (And Pryderi son of Pwyll Head of Annwfyn, who tended the pigs of Pendaran Dyfed in Glyn Cwch in Emlyn.)

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[32] The seventh stanza in this poem reads in part: "*En aber Gwenoli / y mae bet Pryderi*" ("At the confluence of the Gwenoli / is the grave of Pryderi," Thomas Jones, ed. and trans., *The Black Book of Carmarthen: Stanzas of the Graves* (Sir John Rhys Memorial Lecture, British Academy, 1967), 118-9.) This attestation is corroborated by a note in the Fourth Branch which reads: "*Guydyon a oruu, a Phryderi a las, ac y[m] Maen Tyu[r]yawc, uch y Uelen Ryd y cladwyd, ac yno y may y ued.*" (Hughes, ed. *Math uab Mathonwy*, line 147.) ("…Gwydion triumphed and Pryderi was killed; and he was buried in Maentwrog, above Y Felenrhyd, and his grave is there." Sioned Davies, trans., *The Mabinogion* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2007), 51.)

[33] References to Pryderi appear in the work of the following *beirdd y tywysogion*: J.E. Caerwyn Williams with Peredur I. Lynch, ed. *Gwaith Meilyr Brydydd a'i Ddisynyddion*, Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion I (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1994), no. 26.38n; Jones, Nerys Ann and Ann Parry Owen, eds. *Gwaith Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr I*, Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion III (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1991), no. 21.67n; and Gruffudd Aled Williams, ed. *Gwaith Dafydd Benfras ac Eraill o Feirdd Hanner Cyntaf o Drydedd Ganrif ar Ddeg*, Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion VI (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1995), no. 23.18n. Because the date of the Four Branches is uncertain, it is difficult to say whether these twelfth-century poets drew on a tradition regarding Pryderi that pre-dates his appearance in the Four Branches, or not. This will remain an open question unless or until the composition and early transmission history of the Four Branches is better understood.

[34] See Hughes, ed. *Math uab Mathonwy*, 2-6.

A reader familiar with Pryderi only from his role in the Four Branches would be forgiven for thinking this version of the episode seems a little strange. Pendaran Dyfed might be a familiar name – he is mentioned briefly in the First Branch[35] – but he is not a particularly important figure in the Four Branches and there is nothing in that text which would suggest that Pryderi acted as his swineherd. Furthermore, the assertion that the pigs in question belonged to Pendaran Dyfed would seem to contradict the story as told in the Fourth Branch. I would suggest, following Bromwich,[36] that perhaps the author of the Early version of this triad was not actually familiar with Pryderi's story as we have it today in the Four Branches. It seems more likely that he was drawing on another strand of *cyfarwyddyd* regarding Pryderi, Pwyll, and Pendaran Dyfed that has now been lost.[37]

The Early version of this episode is very vague and requires the reader to fill in the gaps in the narrative with their own knowledge. Perhaps it comes as little surprise, then, that the White and Red version expands this episode, as we can see from the text of the Red Book:

> *Pryderi uab Pөyll Penn Annwn, өrth uөch Pendaran Dyuet y datmaeth. Ac y sef moch oedynt y seithlydyn a duc Pөyll penn Annөnn. Ac a'e rodes y Pendaran Dyuet y Datmaeth. Ac y sef y lle y katwei: y Glynn Cuch yn Emlyn. Ac y sef achaөs y gelwit hөnnө yn өrueithat: kany allei neb na thaөyll na threis arnaө.*
>
> (Pryderi son of Pwyll penn Annwn, with the pigs of Pendaran Dyfed his foster-father. And these pigs were the seven animals which Pwyll pen Annwn obtained. And he gave them to Pendaran Dyfed his foster-father. And this is the place they were kept: Glyn Cuch in Emlyn. And this is the reason that man was called a swineherd: because no one could take them [i.e. the pigs] from him by deceit or by force.)

[35] He appears at the very end of the First Branch, where he helps Rhiannon name her son and subsequently becomes Pryderi's foster-father. (Thomson, *Pwyll Pendeuic Dyuet*, ll. 615-36.)

[36] Indeed, Bromwich suggests that the variation in the versions of this episode indicates "it my be that the triad alludes to a different version of the story of the introduction of pigs into Gwynedd from the south from that which is recorded in PKM. The older text of the triad could be taken as implying that the swine were the property of Pendaran Dyfed in the first place." She goes on to suggest, following W.J. Gruffydd, that Pendaran Dyfed was "originally" Pryderi's father (Bromwich, *TYP*, 54).

[37] It would be tempting to speculate further that this was the story of their adventure in Caer Siddi, and therefore related to the tradition in Preiddeu Annwfn, but this would be straining the available evidence to a breaking point.

The reason for this expansion may be as simple as the author of the White and Red version of this triad being familiar with the text of the Four Branches and wanting to bring the text of this triad into line with that story. He does so by adding a sentence explaining that Pwyll had gifted the swine to Pendaran Dyfed after they had been given to him by Arawn. The White and Red version of TYP circulated in the White Book and Red Book alongside the Four Branches, and, presumably, the TYP texts in both the White Book and Red Book came from came from a common exemplar, which is now lost. It seems likely that the scribes working with this version of TYP would have been familiar with the Four Branches; they probably even had texts of them to hand.

However, upon closer consideration, this explanation is not fully satisfactory. This limb of the triad ends *"A sef achaȯs y gelwit hȯnnȯ yn wrueichiat: kany allei neb na thȯyll na threis arnaȯ."* ("And this is the reason that man was called a swineherd: because no one could take them [i.e. the pigs] from him by force.") Anyone familiar with the story of the Fourth Branch can attest that this is patently not the case there – Gwydion was easily able to deceive Pryderi, leading to Pryderi's death and, one assumes, to Gwynedd gaining Dyfed's swine.

In other words, one aspect of this episode's expansion brings the text closer in line with the Four Branches, and another brings it farther apart.[38] Bromwich has sensibly pointed out that the phrase "*na thȯyll na threis*" ("neither deceit nor force") must have been lifted from the Drystan episode's use of this exact phrase, but this does not address the narrative problem here.[39]

[38] The relationship between TYP and the Four Branches is a topic that is in desperate need of more attention. I hope to revisit this relationship soon and shed more light on the question of *Tri gwrddfeichiad*'s connection to the Four Branches as well as several other questions raised by reading the Four Branches and TYP in conjunction with each other.

[39] Bromwich. *TYP*, 57.

I do not have a solution to this conundrum, other than to speculate that perhaps this is a joke at Pryderi's expense meant to poke fun at him for being hoodwinked by Gwydion.[40]

SWINEHERD III: COLL FAB COLLFREWY

This third episode in *Tri gwrddfeichiad* jumps off the page as a fully-fleshed-out narrative, complete with a protagonist and hero – Coll – an antagonist and macguffin – Henwen – and a romp straight across the entirety of Wales. Perhaps the most striking fact about this episode is that, full-fledged narrative though it is, both Coll and Henwen are completely unknown in *cyfarwyddyd* outside of the TYP corpus.[41] Although this corpus is well-known for providing tantalizing snippets of narrative to the modern-day reader, this episode is unique in its degree of detail, coupled with the complete silence of the outside tradition. On top of this, it also differs generically from other triads in the corpus; there is a clear interest here in topography and etiology missing from other triads.

It will be useful to examine the Early version and White and Red version of this episode in turn, beginning with the text of the triad found in the Early version as it appears in Peniarth 16:

> *A Choll mab Coll6rewy a gedwis Henwen h6ch Dallwyr Dallben a aeth yg Gordody hyt ym Penryn Austin yg Kernyw. Ac yn Aber Tarogi yg Went ys Coet y doeth y'r tir. A Choll map Coll6rewy a'e la6 yn y gwrych pa ford bynnac y kerdei nac ar 6or nac ar dir. Ac y maes g6enith yg Went y dotwes g6enithen, a g6enynen. Ac yr y mae goreu lle y wenith a'e wenyn y lle hwnn6. Ac odyno yd aeth hyt yn Llonyon ym Pen6ro. Ac yno y dotwes ar eiden a G6enynen. Ac odyna y kerdws hyt yn riw Kyuerchuch yn Eryri. Ac yno y dotwes ar geneu bleid. Ac ar gyw eryr a rodes y 6enwaed o'r o Arllechwedd. A'r rei hynny 6u Menwaed, ac eryr Brennach. Ac odyna yd aeth hyt y maendu yn Lla[n]6eir yn Aruon. Ac yno y dotwes a'r geneu cath. ~~Ac~~ [A'r] keneu hwnn6 a 6wrywys Coll mab Coll6rewy y Menei. A honno wedy hynny 6u gath Baluc.*

[40] The possibility that the Coll fab Collfrewy episode of this triad was meant to be comical will be discussed below.
[41] Coll's appearences in *Tri lledfrithog* ("Three enchanters," TYP 27) and *Tri prif hud* ("Three great enchantments," TYP 28) will be discussed below.

> "And Coll son of Collfrewy, who guarded Henwen, the sow of Dallwyr Dallben, who went [when] about to bring forth, to Penrhyn Awstin in Cornwall. And at Aber Tarogi in Gwent Is Coed she came to land. And Coll son of Collfrewy with his hand on her bristles wherever she went, whether by sea or by land. And in the Wheat Field in Gwent she brought forth a grain of wheat and a bee; and therefore that place is best for wheat and bees. And from there she went to Llonion in Pembroke, and there she brought forth a grain of barley and a bee. And therefore Llonion is the best place for barley. From thence she made for the Hill of Cyferthwch in Eryri; and there she brought forth a wolf-cub and an eagle. And Coll son of Collfrewy gave the eagle to Brernnach the Irishman of the North, and the wolf he gave to Menwaed son of […] of Arllechwedd; and these were [the wolf of] Menwaed, and the Eagle of Brennach. And from thence she went to the Black Stone in Llanfair in Arfon, and there she brought forth a kitten. And Coll son of Collfrewy threw that kitten into the Menai. And she was afterwards Palug's Cat."[42]

John Rhŷs observed well over a century ago that "this story as a whole looks like a sort of device for stringing together explanations of the origin of certain place-names and of certain local characteristics."[43] Rhŷs includes this triad in his discussion of Welsh place-name stories and identified many of the locations represented here.[44] In short, their journey begins on the eastern side of the River Severn – according to Rhŷs, probably as far north as the Aust Cliff in modern-day Gloucestershire – and continues on to modern-day Portsketwett, in Gwent. From there it is a straight shot across South Wales to Pembrokeshire before heading abruptly north all the way to Snowdonia, and ending in Arfon, on the banks of the Menai Strait.

Rhŷs and Bromwich have both commented on the episode's apparent South-Welsh bias, giving Gwent and Pembrokeshire credit for wheat, barley, and bees and Gwynedd and Angelsey credit, in Rhŷs's memorable phrase, "for pests alone and scourges,"[45] i.e. the wolf of Menwaedd, the Eagle of Brynach, and the Cath Palug. Rhŷs further suggests that the "redactor" of this triad was "very hazy as to the geography of North Wales," apparently because Rhŷs had more success

[42] Translated by Rachel Bromwich, *TYP*, 50-1.
[43] John Rhŷs, *Celtic Folklore: Welsh and Manx* (Oxford, England: Clarendon Press, 1901), vol. II, 508.
[44] See the discussion at Rhŷs, *Celtic Folklore*, II, 506-08.
[45] Rhŷs, *Celtic Folklore*, II, 508. For Bromwich's comments, see Bromwich, *TYP*, 55.

in identifying the episode's South-Welsh locations than those in North Wales. He goes on to say that this "redactor" "doubtless" hailed from South Wales.[46]

I will defer to Rhŷs's expertise in Welsh geography, but I must push back against his use of the term "redactor" in this context. As I have alluded to above, it is clear to me that *Tri gwrddfeichiad* is an authored text, not a passage taken down from an oral tradition passed down from time immemorial. Strong individual interests and choices – an authorial voice – come through loud and clear in this episode. This is in strong contrast to the "epithet + three names" formula-type triads that precede *Tri gwrddfeichiad* in the earliest manuscripts and even in contrast to triads (such as *Tair mad gyflafan* ("Three fortunate slaughters," TYP 32) and *Tri chud a thri datcud* ("Three concealments and three disclosures," TYP 37)) in which small bits of narrative material have been added without substantially changing the frame of the triad. This episode tells a whole story – beginning, middle, and end – that must have been constructed and composed by an individual (or, less likely, a team of people working closely together). We may call this individual the author of *Tri gwrddfeichiad ynys Prydain*.

One may wonder whether Coll and Henwen's story was ever known outside of TYP, or if this author of *Tri gwrddfeichiad* made them up out of whole cloth. This question will be considered in more depth below. It will be enough, for now, to spare a few words on the names of these elusive figures. "Henwen" is straightforwardly understood as "Old White," hinting that this mischievous animal had her origins in Annwfn, as white animals often do in medieval Welsh literature.[47] As for Coll, Bromwich is clear in her opinion that this is the *coll* meaning 'hazel,' which she compares to St. Collen, the patron saint of Llangollen.[48] Another, perhaps more

[46] Rhŷs, *Celtic Folklore*, II, 508.
[47] Bromwich, *TYP*, 397. Cf. the Otherworldly pigs of the Pryderi episode of this triad.
[48] Bromwich, *TYP*, 315. She further notes the possibility that "Collfrewy" is in fact a matronymic rather than a patronymic, an interesting factoid that does not factor into my argument. cf. GPC s.v. *coll*[2].

common, meaning of *coll*, however, is 'loss.'[49] I would suggest that this is unlikely to be a coincidence and that the author was perhaps playing on the double meaning of his otherwise-unknown hero's name.[50] Another mysterious aspect of Coll is his position as a swineherd itself. As Bromwich has pointed out, "the role of Coll fab Collfrewy as *gwrduechiat* [is not] entirely clear."[51] We are told that Coll "*gedwis*" (> *cadw*) Henwen, which Bromwich translates as "guarded" and I translate as "tended," though it could also be translated as "kept," "defended," or "cared for."[52] Coll is also described as traveling with Henwen, *a'e law yn y gwrych pa ford bynnac y kerdei nac ar vor nac ar dir* ("with his hand on her bristles wherever she went, whether by sea or by land"); Henwen is clearly determining the trajectory of their journey, despite the implication of the use of *gedwis*.

The other characters who appear in this episode are just as obscure, if not more so, as Coll and Henwen. Menwaedd, who receives the wolf cubs, appears in *Tri chadfarchog* ("Three battle-horsemen," TYP 18) but is otherwise unknown.[53] Brynach Wyddel, who receives the eagle, is also unknown elsewhere and should not be confused with St. Brynach, who has churches dedicated to him in Pembrokeshire and Brecknock.[54]

There is more to be said about the Cath Palug, who was thrown into the Menai Strait by Coll. She is known by that name in the Welsh tradition in the tenth- or eleventh-century Arthurian poem "Pa gur yw y porthaur."[55] Bromwich has suggested that this large sea cat is

[49] GPC s.v. *coll*.
[50] I am grateful to Catherine McKenna for first suggesting this possibility to me.
[51] Bromwich, *TYP*, 55.
[52] GPC s.v. *cadawaf: cadw, †cadwyd, cedwi*.
[53] Bromwich, *TYP*, 449.
[54] Bromwich, *TYP*, 294.
[55] An edition of this poem is available in Brynley F. Roberts, "Rhai o Gerddi Ymddiddan Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin," in Astudiaethau ar yr Hengerdd: Studies in Old Welsh Poetry, eds. Rachel Bromwhich and R. Brinley Jones (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1978), 300-02. The section regarding the Cath Palug is at lines 80-9 and reads: "*Kei Win a aeth Von / Y dilein lleuon. / Y iscuid oet mynud / Erbin cath palug. / Pan gogiueirch tud / Puy guant cath palug. / Nau ugein kinlluc / A cuytei in y buyd / Nau ugein kinran.*" ("Fair Cei went to Môn to destroy monsters […]. His

related to the monster cats of Irish tradition and she has also drawn connections to *Le Capalu* of twelfth-century, French Arthurian literature.[56] Patrick Sims-Williams raises the possibility that, at least in "Pa gur," the Cath Palug might be best understood as a lion (the word used in that poem is *lleuon*[57]), with the difference between lions and wild cats perhaps not being fully understood in Wales at that time.[58] The similarities between these three traditions of monster cats is certainly suggestive, but for the purposes of this investigation it will be enough to say that the Cath Palug was circulating in *cyfarwyddyd* at least as far back as the tenth or eleventh centuries but that she is very rarely named in the Welsh material extant today.

The final figure who needs to be addressed in regard to the Early version of this episode is one who does not actually appear in the text: the Twrch Trwyth. This magical boar, whose story is best known from *Culhwch ac Olwen*,[59] is attested as early as the ninth-century *Historia Brittonum*.[60] In *Culhwch ac Olwen*, the Twrch Trwyth is said to have been pursued by Arthur out of Ireland, across Wales, into Cornwall, and then into the sea. He is a much more developed character than Henwen: he was once a king whom God transformed into a boar as punishment for his sins and he is accompanied by seven piglets. He has a razor and a comb between his two ears, which the giant Ysbaddaden Pencawr demands as one of the *anoethau*. Notably, it is the hunt for the Twrch Trwyth that finally gets Arthur himself to join the action in this tale, and he and several of his men are drawn into chasing the boar all over Wales. Bromwich has pointed out

shielf was a fragment(?) against cath paluc. When people ask "Who killed cath paluc?" Nine score fierce [men] fell for its food, nine score warriors." Translated by Bromwich, *TYP*, 474).

[56] Bromwich, *TYP*, 474.

[57] GPC s.v *llew*. "Pa gur" is the earliest attested instance of this word.

[58] Patrick Sims-Williams, "The Early Welsh Arthurian Poems," in *The Arthur of the Welsh*, ed. Rachel Bromwich, A.O.H. Jarman, Brynley F. Roberts (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1991), 33-71 at 45.

[59] The lengthy hunt of the Twrch Trwyth is found between lines 1057 and 1204 in Bromwich and Evans, eds. *Culhwch and Olwen: An Edition and Study of the Oldest Arthurian Tale* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1992).

[60] In *Historia Brittonum*, the Twrch Trwyth is mentioned in passing in the Mirabilia, see John Morris, *Nennius: British History and the Welsh Annals* (London: Phillimore, 1980), 42.

that Henwen's trip, which begins in Cornwall and ends at the Menai, is the reverse of the Twrch Trwyth's journey.[61]

These two episodes – Arthur and the Twrch Trwyth and Coll and Henwen – have many notable differences: the Twrch Trwyth episode in *Culhwch* is much longer and more detailed than that of Henwen; the Twrch Trwyth is depicted as being the leader of several other boars, while Henwen is a solitary sow; while both are humorous episodes in which pigs are chased across Wales, *Culhwch* is lacking the etiological element so notable in *Tri gwrddfeichiad*. Even so, both episodes include a spirited chase across Wales in which the author makes a point of mentioning by name every location that is visited. The interest in topography in both episodes is to the point that the detailing of geographic information bogs down the narratives. It is certainly tempting to conclude that these two episodes must be related, but I would caution against such a straightforward assumption. As Joan Radnor has demonstrated, *Culhwch ac Olwen* itself should be understood as an ironic and parodic response to eleventh- or twelfth-century Welsh storytelling.[62] While it is certainly possible, even probable, that the author of this triad had the Twrch Trwyth in mind when he created Henwen, I would argue that it is more likely that this episode is an exaggeration and parody of stories that would have been familiar to the author and his intended audience. It is similar to the project at work in *Culhwch ac Olwen*, not a direct response to that specific text.[63]

+ + +

[61] Bromwich, *TYP*, 56.
[62] See Joan N. Radnor, "Interpreting Irony in Medieval Celtic Narrative: The Case of Culhwch ac Olwen," *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 16 (1988), 41-59.
[63] Aside from the specifics of the chase of the Twrch Trwyth, Radnor's work on *Culhwch* can be fruitfully applied to this episode in the big picture. She, like many others who have commented on medieval literature in the past few decades, encourages modern readers of medieval Celtic narrative to approach these texts with the assumption that their authors were culturally competent in their own society and to consider the audience's reception of the text (Radnor, "Intereting Irony," 53-56). This approach has become the standard for thinking about these narratives in recent years but compare it to Bromwich's often contemptuous or dismissive attitude towards later versions of TYP (for examples of this attitude, see Bromwich, *TYP*, pp. xxiv, 32, and 48).

A different version of limb appears in the White and Red version of *Tri gwrddfeichiad*.[64] It is evident that the White and Red version is, at its core, closely related to the text of the triad found in the Early version texts. The most important elements of the Early version can be found in the White and Red version as well: Henwen is a pregnant sow, owned by Dallwyr Dallben, who travels from Cornwall to Gwent, Pembrokeshire, and Arfon in turn and is pursued by Coll fab Collfrewy. In Gwent and Pembrokeshire, Henwen "br[ings] forth" (*dotwes*) grains that account for great fertility in those localities while she brings monsters to Arfon. The preoccupation with etiological and topographical details also remains intact. The figures that have been introduced in the White and Red version of this text, while interesting in their own right, are cosmetic and do not fundamentally alter the basic text. It is clear that this version is an expansion of that found in the Early version, not something that was composed independently from the Early version. The version of this limb in the Red Book reads:

> *A'r trydyd: Coll uab Kallurewy, ǒrth uoch Dallwyr dallben yg Glynn [Dall]wyr*[65] *yg Kernyǒ, ac un o'r moch oed [dorra]ǒc,*[66] *Hennwenn oed y henǒ, a darogan oed yr hanuydei waeth ynys Prydein o'r torllǒyth. Ac yna y kynnulaǒd Arthur llu ynys Brydein, ac yd aeth y geissaǒ y diua, ac yna yd aeth hythen yg Gordodǒ, ac ym Pennrynn Haǒstin yg Kerniǒ, yd aeth yn y mor, a'r gǒrdueichyat yn y hol, ac y maes Gǒenith yg ǒent y dotwes ar w[e]nnithen a gǒennynen, ac yr hynny hyt hediǒ y mae goreu lle gǒenith a gǒenyn maes Gǒenith yg ǒent, ac yn Llouyon ym Pennuro y dotwes ar heiden a gǒenhithen, am hynny y diaerhebir a heid Llouyon. Ac yn riǒ Gyfuerthǒch yn Aruo[n] y dodwes ar geneu cath, a chyǒ eryr, ac y roet y bleid y Uergaed. Ac y roet yr eryr y breat tywyssaǒc o'r Gogled, ac ǒynt a hanuuant waeth onadunt. Ac yn Llanueir yn Aruon adan y maen du y dotwes ar geneu cath. Ac y ar y maen y byryaǒd y gǒrueichyat yn y mor, a meibon Paluc yn Mon, a'e magassant yr drǒc udunt. A honno uu Gath Baluc, ac a uu un o deir prif ormes Mon a uagǒyt yndi, a'r eil oed Daronǒy, a'r dryded Etwin urenhin Lloegyr.*
>
> ("And the third: Coll fab C[o]llfrewy, with the pigs of Dallwyr dallben in Glyn Dallwyr in Cornwall, and one of the pigs was a pregnant [sow], Henwen was her

[64] This version is found in the White Book of Rhydderch, the Red Book of Hergest, NLW Peniarth MS 51, BL Add. MS 31055, and NLW Cwrtmawr MS 3.
[65] Word is stained and partially illegible.
[66] Word is stained and partially illegible.

> name, and the prophecy was that the island of Britain would be worse off because of the womb-burden. And then Arthur gathered the host of the island of Britain, and went to seek to destroy her, and then the sow went into labor, and in Penrhyn Awstin in Cornwall she went to the sea with the swineherd after her. And in the wheat field in Gwent she brought forth a grain of wheat and a bee, and therefore until today the Gwenith field in Gwent is the best place for grain and bees, and in Llonion in Pembroke she brought forth a grain of barley and a bee. And because of that the barley of Llonion is proverbial. And on the slope of Gyferthwch she brought forth kittens and an eagle chick, and she gave the wolf [sic] to Mengaed and she gave the eagle to Bergaed(?) prince of the North. And they derived worse from them. were the worse things that sprung from them. And in Llanfair in Arfon, under the black stone, she brought forth a cat, and the swineherd flung it from the stone into the sea, and the sons of Paluc raised it on Môn [Anglesey], despite harm to themselves. And that was the Cath Paluc, and she was one of the great oppression of Môn which were raised there, and the second was Daronwy, and the third, Edwin king of England.")

Minor differences in the wording between this and the Early version text notwithstanding, this text has been expanded at two discrete points. Two sentences, regarding a prophecy (*darogan*) about Henwen's "womb-burden" (*torlluyth*)[67] and Arthur assembling an army have been introduced towards the beginning of the episode and the sub-triad on the *[t]eir prif ormes Môn* (the Three great oppressions of Môn) has been appended to the end. The introduction of prophecy and Arthur can perhaps be explained by the growing interest in both subjects in fourteenth-century Wales. It is also possible, as Bromwich suggested, that whoever expanded this triad did so under direct influence from stories about Arthur hunting the Twrch Trwyth.[68]

The *[t]eir prif ormes Môn* sub-triad raises more questions. It is the only example of a triad-within-a-triad in the TYP corpus. This triad is unattested elsewhere and it is one of very few examples of region-specific triads in the TYP corpus. Other examples of this phenomenon are *Tri unben Deiuyr a Brennych* ("Three lords of Deira and Bernicia," TYP 10)[69] and *Teir neges*

[67] The use of *torllwyth* ("womb-burden")here is striking, since this the epithet of another triad, *Tri dorllwyth* ("Three womb-burdens," TYP 70). This triad does not appear in either the Early version or the White and Red version; its earliest extant witness is in the fifteenth-century manuscript Peniarth 47, pp. 242-48.
[68] Bromwich, *TYP*, 55.
[69] Bromwich, *TYP*, 18. See discussion at pp. 54-57.

a gaat o Bowys ("Three messages which were obtained from Powys," TYP 55).[70] Interestingly, all three of these triads are associated with Deira and Bernicia or its famous ruler and arch-enemy of the Britons, Edwin. The use of the word *gormes* ("oppression") brings to mind another triad, *Teir gormes* ("Three oppressions," TYP 36), and it is interesting to note that *Tri gormes* does not appear in any manuscripts of the White and Red version, meaning that the reference to *gormesoedd* here is unlikely to be directly influenced by that triad.[71]

Bromwich posits that this sub-triad was included here because: "the scribe of [the White and Red version text] was reminded of another triad, equally uncomplimentary to Gwynedd, in which Palug's cat figured."[72] I am less convinced than she is that this triad was not composed by the scribe who expanded this episode himself in the same flight of fancy that led him to introduce Arthur to the proceedings a few lines above. Unfortunately, the figures named in the sub-triad do not cast much light on the triad's possible provenance. The elusive Cath Palug has been discussed above and Daronwy is unknown elsewhere except as the name of an obscure poem in the Book of Taliesin and as the name of a farm on Angelsey.[73] Edwin, king of England, is much more well known. He was the historical figure – the king of Deira and Bernicia and one of Bede's *bretwalda* – and is well attested as the foe of Cadwallon in the White and Red version of the TYP corpus.[74] Edwin is a figure that is almost entirely contained to the White and Red version and is all but unknown in Early-version TYP texts. It is clear that the scribes responsible

[70] Bromwich, *TYP*, 156. See discussion at pp. 196-98.
[71] See the case study of *Tri gormes* below, pp. 124-38.
[72] Bromwich, *TYP*, 58.
[73] Bromwich, *TYP*, 328. It seems impossible to determine whether the farm was named under the influence of this triad or poem, or if the name comes from a now-lost story about this *gormes* Daronwy himself. The latter strikes me as wishful thinking, however. In any case, it is strange to imagine naming one's farm after a *gormes* so perhaps the farm being called Daronwy is an unrelated coincidence.
[74] Bromwich, *TYP*, 339-40.

for developing the White and Red version of TYP – including these additions to *Tri gwrddfeichiad* – were very interested in Edwin.[75]

+ + +

What has preceded has been a lengthy and granular survey of all the various stories, characters, and questions at play in *Tri gwrddfeichiad*. It may be helpful to briefly summarize the key points before moving on to a discussion of this triad's transmission history. I have said that *Tri gwrddfeichiad*, as it exists in the Early version of the TYP corpus, is the work of a single author (or, possibly, a team of authors working closely together) who I have called "the author of *Tri gwrddfeichiad ynys Prydain*." The text of the Early version of this triad was expanded at a later date, to create the triad as it exists in the White and Red version. It is difficult if not impossible to say whether this was the work of a single scribe/author at a single point in time, or if these expansions took place over a longer period and several versions.

I have argued, further, that there is little reason to think of the Drystan episode in this triad as being a remnant of "native" medieval Welsh *cyfarwyddyd* about Drystan/Trystan. It seems more likely to be derived from the Tristan material of Continental romance, material that reached Wales by the early thirteenth century. If my argument is accepted this has obvious implications for the date of this triad's composition: the Early version of *Tri gwrddfeichiad* could not have been composed before the first decades of the thirteenth century (the earliest extant manuscript version, in Peniarth 16, dates from the third quarter of the thirteenth century). There is likewise nothing in the text of the Early version triad that demonstrates that the author had the

[75] On Edwin, see Chapter 2, pp. 61-64. Catherine McKenna suggests to me that, in this instance, the redactor of the White and Red version may be using Edwin as a stand-in for an oblique reference to Edward I and his assault (one could say 'oppression') of Gwynedd via Môn (see R.R. Davies, *The Age of Conquest: Wales, 1063-1415* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 351). Edward's activities in North Wales would certainly have been on the mind of a Welsh redactor working in decades before the production of the White Book; i.e. the early fourteenth century.

specific text of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi in mind in writing the short Pryderi episode found here; indeed, this episode may have been based on *cyfarwyddyd* about Pryderi that was not directly related to the Four Branches as they survive today.

The Coll fab Collfrewy episode in the triad's third limb is focus of *Tri gwrddfeichiad*, where the author was able to flex his creative ability. This is the longest and fullest narrative found in the Early version of the TYP corpus. The author seems to be preoccupied with etiological and topographical material, to the point of bogging down the narrative. I suggest that this episode should be compared to the Twrch Trwyth episode found in *Culhwch ac Olwen* and that *Tri gwrddfeichiad* is likely to have the same ironic and parodic agenda that Joan Radnor has argued is at play in *Culhwch ac Olwen*, though the author of triad 26 was not necessarily drawing from or commenting on that text specifically.

The scribe or scribes who expanded *Tri gwrddfeichiad* in the White and Red version did not re-write the triad, instead they made additions at certain discrete points. This indicates that there was a direct line of transmission between the Early version of this triad and the White and Red version. In the Drystan episode, Cai and Bedwyr have been added as Arthur's companions; this trio is well-attested elsewhere in medieval Welsh tradition but only occurs here within the TYP corpus.

A relatively large amount of detail has been added to the Pryderi episode in the White and Red version, which at once brings the material more closely in line with the narrative of the Four Branches on one point and seems to contradict it on another. It is important to remember that the Four Branches are extant in both the White Book of Rhydderch and Red Book of Hergest and likely circulated with the White and Red version of TYP for generations. I have

tentatively suggested that the contradiction may be a joke at Pryderi's expense, subtly pointing out how easily Gwydion was able to decieve him in the Fourth Branch.

The Coll episode adds the detail of a prophecy about the ill effects of Henwen's "womb-burden" and inserts Arthur and his retinue into the chase after Henwen (again bringing to mind the Twrch Trwyth episode in *Culhwch ac Olwen*). It also adds a sub-triad, the *Tair prif ormes Môn*, to the end of the episode.

THE TRANSMISSION HISTORY OF *TRI GWRDDFEICHIAD YNYS PRYDEIN*

Perhaps the most telling clue about the early history of this triad can be found in NLW Peniarth MS 47. This text of TYP can be regarded as a medley of several earlier versions of TYP; I will argue in Part 2 of this dissertation that this fifteenth-century text or one of its close predecessors was compiled by a scribe who copied triads out of four previously unrelated manuscripts.[76] One of the "smoking guns," so to speak, is the fact that *Tri gwrddfeichiad* appears twice in this text. The second time this triad appears in Peniarth 47 (as the thirty-first triad in the text) it is in the form of the familiar, Early-version, expanded triad discussed at length above. The first time, however, it takes the form of a standard, older, "epithet + three names"-type triad:

> *"Tri gwrdueichat Ynys Prydein:*
> *Pryderi mab Pǒyll Pen Anǒfyn, a Choll mab Collurewy, a Drystan*."
>
> "Three swineherds of the Island of Britain:
> Pryderi son of Pwyll Head of Anwfyn, and Coll son of Collfrewy, and Drystan."

It is my contention that this short version of *Tri gwrddfeichiad*, found in an earlier text of TYP which was preserved as part of the Peniarth 47 text, demonstrates that this triad did not begin life as an expanded triad. It existed alongside many other "epithet + three names" formula triads and I see no reason why it should not date back as far as any of those. This would suggest that at

[76] See Chapter 5, pp. 176-7 and following.

some point the author of *Tri gwrddfeichiad* must have come across this short version and chosen, for whatever reason, to build on it and create the extended version as we now know it.

All three of the swineherds appear in this short, formulaic version but it is a blank slate in terms of narrative. The most substantial thing I can see to note about this short triad is that Coll appears here in the second position; in all other extant versions of this triad his story makes up the third limb. More importantly, though, this would seem to indicate that Coll fab Collfrewy, or at least the name Coll fab Collfrewy, was not completely the invention of the author of triad 26.[77]

This, then, has implications for the two other triads in which Coll appears: *Tri lledfrithog* ("Three enchanters," TYP 27) and the White and Red version of *Tri prif hud* ("Three great enchantments," TYP 28). *Tri lledfrithog* is a short, 'epithet + three names' formula-type triad which is associated with Early version TYP texts, not those associated with the White and Red version:

> *TYP 27 P16 text:* Tri lleturithawc enys Prydein:
> Coll mab Collvrewy, a Menw mab Teirgwaed, a Drych eil Kibdar.[78]
>
> (*TYP 27 P16 translation*: Three enchanters of the island of Britain:
> Coll son of Collfrewy, and Menw son of Tairgwaedd, and Drych son of Cibddar.)

Tri prif hud, meanwhile, appears as a partially-expanded triad in the Early version and has been expanded further when it appears in the White and Red version:

> *TYP 28 P16 text:* Teir prif hut enys Prydein:
> Hut Math mab Mathonwy, a hut ǒthyr Bendragon, a hut Gwythelin gorr.
>
> (TYP 28 P16 translation: Three great enchantments of the island of Britain:

[77] That being said, we cannot entirely rule out the possibility that Siancyn ap Dafydd ap Gruffudd, the fifteenth-century scribe of Peniarth 47, or one of his scribal predecessors, replaced an earlier name to bring it into line with the Early version found later in the text. This would be impossible to prove either way but to assume so would be arguing from no evidence. I will proceed by assuming Coll was present in the original, short version of the triad.
[78] This triad appears only in the following Early version texts: in Peniarth 16, Peniarth 45, Peniarth 47, *Y Diarebion Camberäec*, BL Add. 15047, NLW MS 6434, and Cardiff MS 2.26. It is not found in texts associated with the White and Red version.

> The enchantment of Math son of Mathonwy, and the enchantment of Uthr Pendragon, and the enchantment of Gwythelin the dwarf.)
>
> *TYP 28 WBR text:* Teir prif hut ynys Brydein:
> Hut Math vab Mathonɔy a dysgaɔd y W[y]dyon vab Don, a hut Vthyr Bendragon a dysgaɔd y Venɔ vab Teir Gɔaed, a'r dryded, hut Rudlwm gorr, **a dysgaɔd y Goll vab Kollurewy y nei**.
>
> *TYP 28 WBR translation*: Three great enchantments of the island of Britain:
> The enchantment of Math fab Mathonwy, which he taught to Gwydion son of Dôn, and the enchantment of Uthr Pendragon, which he taught to Menw son of Tairgwaedd, and the third, the enchantment of Rhuddlwm the dwarf, **which he taught to Coll son of Collfrewy his nephew**.

If Coll is not the invention of the author of *Tri gwrddfeichiad* then we cannot dismiss his presence in these triads as simply "untraditional." In both these triads Coll is associated with magic and enchantment, an association which is entirely missing from *Tri gwrddfeichiad*. Yet, all three of these triads appear together as a so-called "floating section" in the Early version, so it is difficult to escape the conclusion that Coll's presence in all three is not merely a coincidence.[79] The picture is further complicated by the fact that, as previously noted, Coll does not appear in the Early version of *Tri prif hud* and is instead confined to the White and Red version of the triad, while *Tri lledfrithog* does not appear in the White and Red version at all. In other words, Coll does not appear in three successive triads anywhere in the TYP corpus but the three triads in which he does appear are closely associated with each other. It seems likely to me that the "floating section" of *Tri gwrddfeichiad, Tri lledfrithog*, and *Tri prif hud* existed in some version(s) the TYP corpus from an early period. At this early stage, Coll fab Collfrewy was present in *Tri gwrddfeichiad* and – probably – *Tri lledfrithog* but not *Tri prif hud*. It is tempting to speculate that perhaps Coll appears in *Tri lledfrithog* also under the influence of *Tri gwrddfeichiad* and that his presence in *Tri lledfrithog*, in turn, influenced the drift into *Tri prif*

[79] On the term "floating sections," see the discussion at p. 14 and pp. 140-43.

hud because of the thematic link between those two. The first stage of this process is visible in the Early version texts in Peniarth 16 and Peniarth 45 as well as a section of Peniarth 47 which, as will be discussed in Part 2, is related to the Early version.[80] At a slightly later stage, from which we have no extant manuscripts, Coll must have been introduced into the expanded text of *Tri prif hud* at a period when the "floating section" was still in place. Eventually, *Tri prif hud* broke off from *Tri gwrddfeichiad* and *Tri lledfrithog* in the White and Red version but Coll's presence in it still links that triad to its former neighbors.

The relationship of these three triads is laid out in the table below:

Table 1: The Relationship between TYP 26, 27, and 28 in the manuscript corpus

Manuscript	Early or WR?	Floating Section?	Triad 26	Triad 27	Coll mentioned in Triad 28
Pen. 16	Early	√	√	√	
Pen. 45	Early	√	√	√	
Pen. 47	Early	√	√	√	
White Book	WR		√		√
Red Book	WR		√		√
Pen. 51	WR		√		√
Cwrt. 3	WR		√		√
Pen. 77	Early		√		
BL Add. 15,047	WR		√		

Summary

Given all this evidence, I would put forward the following as a possible transmission history for *Tri gwrddfeichiad ynys Prydain* and the related traids *Tri lledfrithog* and *Tri prif hud*:

1. *Tri gwrddfeichiad* exists as a short, 'epithet + three names' formula-type traid, as seen in the first version of the triad in Peniarth MS 47.

[80] This is microtext 2 of the Peniarth 47 text; see Chapter 5, pp. 179-84.

2. At an early point, before *Tri gwrddfeichiad* had been expanded, the three triads *Tri gwrddfeichiad*, *Tri lledfrithog*, and *Tri prif hud* could be found in close proximity to each other, as is the case in the Early version text in Peniarth 16.
3. The author of *Tri gwrddfeichiad*, likely a thirteenth-century monk, expands the triad and creates the text that appears in the Early version; Peniarth 16 is the earliest extant witness to this version, which also exists in the closely-related Peniarth 45 text as well as in Peniarth 47. These manuscripts preserve the "floating section" of *Tri gwrddfeichiad, Tri lledfrithog*, and *Tri prif hud*.
4. Under the combined influence of the prose passage about Coll in *Tri gwrddfeichiad* and the thematic link between *Tri lledfrithog* and *Tri prif hud*, Coll fab Collfrewy is introduced into the expanded text of *Tri prif hud* at a time when the "floating section" is still intact. Coll had not previously appeared in this triad. There are no manuscript witnesses to this moment in TYP's history, but these expansions may have taken place around the same time as those below in #5.
5. Another scribe comes upon the TYP corpus and expands the Early version of *Tri gwrddfeichiad* at several discrete points. Most notable among these expansions are the addition of the *Tri prif ormes Môn* sub-triad at the end of the Coll episode and changes to the Pryderi episode that, it seems reasonable to assume, were made under the influence of the presence of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi in the same manuscript. The earliest extant manuscript witness to this new version is the White Book of Rhydderch (c. 1350), providing the early- to mid-fourteenth century as a *terminus ante quem* for the expansion of White and Red version text of the triad.

CHAPTER TWO: THE GOOD, THE BAD, AND THE HATCHET-BLOWS: *TAIR MAT GYFLAFAN*, *TAIR ANFAD GYFLAFAN* AND *TAIR ANFAD FWYALLOD:* A CASE STUDY

This case study examines three triads: *Tair mad gyflafan* ("Three fortunate slaughters," TYP 32), *Tair anfad gyflafan* ("Three unfortunate slaughters," TYP 33) and *Tair anfad fwyllod* ("Three unfortunate hatchet blows," TYP 34). A fourth, *Tri unben Deifr a Bryneich* ("Three lords of Deira and Bernicia," TYP 10) also plays a major role in the discussion, since it is combined with *Tair anfad gyflafan* in texts of the White and Red version. My interest here lies primarily in the ways these triads are related to each other.

Bromwich identified *Tair mad gyflafan* and *Tair anfad gyflafan* as an example of a "contrasting pair," two triads which represent concepts and characters that are the antithesis of each other. In Bromwich's view, "contrasting pairs" such as this could be straightforwardly explained as mnemonic devices; for her, the fact that these pairs exist and are often found together is clear evidence of for the origin, development, and transmission of TYP in an oral context.[1] In contrast to this, it is my view that these three triads should be viewed as written texts, albeit brief ones, which must have had a textual transmission over a relatively long period of time throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Tair mad gyflafan, *Tair anfad gyflafan*, and *Tair anfad bwyllod* represent an even more complex transmission history than is the case with *Tri gwrddfeichiad*, the subject of the previous case study. This evident complexity is compounded by the fact that many, if not most, of the figures named in these three triads are textual ghosts, unknown elsewhere in the extant corpus of *cyfarwyddyd*. One gets the sense that these three triads have been written and re-written over a probably prolonged period of time by a series of individuals, a few of whom imposed their own creative vision on these triads, sometimes

[1] See the discussion at Rachel Bromwich, *Trioedd Ynys Prydein: Triads of the Island of Britain* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2014), lxxxviii-xc.

contradicting the visions of earlier scribes. This has led to an unusual amount of variability within the texts of these triads. Although not an example of the unbridled authorial creativity we saw in the case of *Tri gwrddfeichiad*, the three triads in this case study demonstrate that the medieval scribes working with the TYP corpus had the freedom to change and develop aspects of these triads, even when they were not inventing *cyfarwyddyd* out of whole cloth.

THREE FORTUNATE SLAUGHTERS

The first of these three triads is *Tair mad gyflafan* ("Three fortunate slaughters," TYP 32), a triad each of whose three limbs is dedicated to one of the sons of a certain Disgyfdod, each of whom performed one of the fortunate slaughters. Disgyfdod's sons are also featured in another triad, *Tri unben Deifr a Bryneich* ("Three lords of Deira and Bernicia," TYP 10). These two triads are combined into one in TYP texts associated with the White and Red version. The two Early version triads and one White and Red version triad are set out below:

> *TYP 10 P16 (Early) text:* Tri unben Deiuyr a Brennych:
> Gall mab Disgyfdawt, ac Ysgafnell mab Disgyfdawt, a Diffydell mab Disgyfdawt.
> Tri meib beird oedynt ell tri.
>
> (*TYP 10 P16 (Early) translation:* Three lords of Deira and Bernicia:
> Gall son of Disgyfdod, and Ysgafnell son of Disgyfdod, and Diffydell son of Disgyfdod. All three of them were three sons of poets.)
>
> *TYP 32 P16 (Early) text:* Try wyr a wnaeth y teir mat gyflauan
> Gall mab Dysgyfdaɔt a ladaɔd deu ede[ryn] Gɔendoleu, ac yeu o eur a oed arnadunt. Dwy gelein o'r Kymry a yssynt ar eu kinyaɔ a dwy ar eu kwynos. Ac Ysgafnell mab Disgyfdaɔt a ladaɔt Edelfflet ɔrenhin Lloeygr. A Diffydell mab Dysgyfdawd [a laddodd] Gɔrgi Ganwlɔyt. A'r Gɔrghi hɔnnɔ a ladei gelein beunyd o'r Kymyry a dwy bob Sadɔrn rac y Sul vr un.
>
> (*TYP 32 P16 (Early) text*: Three men who performed the three fortunate slaughters:
> Gall son of Disgyfdod who killed the two birds of Gwenddolau, and a yoke of gold was on them. Two corpses of the Welsh were their lunch and two their dinner. And Ysgafnell son of Disgyfdod who killed Edelflet, king of England. And Diffydell

son of Disgyfdawd [who killed] Gwrgi Garwlwyd. And that Gwrgi used to slay a Welshman every day and two each Saturday so as not [to do] the same on Sunday.)

TYP 10 RBH (WR) text: Tri unben Deiuyr a Bryneic[*h*] a thri beird oedynt, a thri meib Dissynydaɔt, a wnaethant y teir mat gyflauan:

Diffeidell uab Dissynydaɔt, a wnaethant y teir mat gyflauan, Diffeidell uab Diffynydaɔt a ladaɔd Gɔrgi garɔlɔyt, a'r gɔr hɔnnɔ a ladei gelein beunyd o'r Kymry, a dɔy bop Saɔr[n] rac llad un y Sul. Sgafynell uab Diffynydaɔt, a ladaɔd Edelfflet fleissaɔc urenhin lloegyr. Gɔall uab Diffynydaɔt, a ladaɔd deu ederyn Gɔendoleu y rei oedynt yn kadɔ [*y*] eur a'e aryan, a deu dyn a yssynt beunyd yn eu kinyaɔ, a'r gymmeint arall yn eu kɔynos.

(*TYP 10 RBH (WR) translation:* Three lords of Deira and Bernicia, who were three bards, and three sons of Dissyndod, who performed the three fortunate slaughters:

Diffiedell son of Dissynydod who performed the three fortunate slaughters. Diffeidell son of Dissynydod, who killed Gwrgi *garwlwyd* ["rough gray"], and that man slew one of the Welsh every day, and two each Saturday, to avoid killing one on Sunday. Sgafynell son of Dissynydod, who killed Edelfled *fleisiog* ["the covetous"] the king of England. Gwall son of Diffynyndod, who killed those two birds of Gwenddolau who were guarding his gold and silver, and two men were

Disgyfdod and his sons, the heroes of *Tri unben Deifr a Bryneich* and *Tair mad gyflafan* are very obscure. Gall mab Disgfyddod and Diffydell mab Disgyfdod do not appear anywhere outside of the TYP corpus.[2] Disgyfdod himself is named in William Salesbury's additions to "Englynion y Beddau," which are found in the sixteenth-century manuscript NLW Peniarth MS 98ii, in which he is referred to as *Disgyrnin Disgyffeddawd*.[3] The third son, Ysgafnell, is named in a stanza from "Englynion y Clywaid," the earliest version of which is attested in the early-fifteenth-century Red Book of Talgarth, which is in the hand of Hywel Fychan.[4] The bareness of both of

[2] On Disgyfddod, Gall, and Diffydell, see Bromwich, *TYP*, 329, 355.

[3] This reference reads, "*Cicleu don drom dra thywawd / am fedd Disgyrnin disgyffeddawd*" ("I have heard a heavy wave upon the sand around the grave of Disgyrnin Disgyffeddawd.")(Thomas Jones, ed. and trans. "The Black Book of Carmarthen: the Stanzas of the Graves," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Sir John Rhŷs Memorial Lecture (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), 136-37.) On Peniarth 98ii, in which Salesbury's additions are preserved in the hand of John Davies of Mallwyd, see Daniel Huws, *A Repertory of Welsh Manuscripts and Scribes c. 800-c.1800* (Abersytwyth: National Library of Wales, 2022), vol. I, 377.

[4] The reference in "Englynion y Clywaid" reads: "*A glyweist-di a gant Yscafnell / Mab Dysgyfdawt, kat gymmell? / 'Nyt anregir tlawt o bell.*'" ("Have you heard who sang of Yscafnell / son of Dysgyfdawt, battle branch? / Distant misery is not given") (Haycock, ed. *Blodeugerdd Barddas o Ganu Crefyddol Cynnar*, 323). On the manuscript attestation, see Haycock, *Blodeugerdd Bardas*, 313 and Huws, *Repertory*, I, 65-66. On Ysgafnell, see Bromwich, *TYP*, 516.

these allusions, their relatively late date, and the fact that both are associated with scribes with well-documented connections to texts of TYP suggest that these allusions are likely to be influenced by TYP and are unlikely to be independent attestations of stories relating to Disgyfdod and his three sons. The fact that the spellings of Disgyfdod's name vary so widely further suggests that he was not a well-known figure. Since TYP gives the fullest account of this family – indeed it is the only source that relays any narrative material about them whatsoever – I would suggest that they were not part of a larger body of *cyfarwyddyd* circulating in late medieval Wales outside of TYP but that these triads are the main source for these figures and that other references to them can be traced back to TYP.

The identification of these three sons of Disgyfdod as lords of Deira and Bernicia, as in *Tri unben Deifr a Bryneich*, is incongruous. The names of all four members of this family are clearly Welsh, not English. It seems likely that the three sons of Disgyfdod have replaced three earlier names in *Tri unben Deifr a Bryneich*, possibly names of actual lords of Deira and Bernicia. Perhaps Disgyfdod and his sons were drawn into the orbit of this triad because of the presence of Edelfled, a seventh-century king of Deira and Bernicia, in *Tair mad gyflafan* – was he one of the original *tri unben*?[5]

Additionally, *Tri unben Deifr a Bryneich*'s assertion that "*Tri meib **beird** oedynt ell tri*" ("All three of them were three sons of **poets**") with its plural form of *bardd* (poet) does not fit well with the fact that all three are brothers from a single father. Even if we suppose that Disgyfdod was a poet (though this reference is our only indication of it), this plural noun does not make sense. This same exact phrase appears in another triad, *Tri tharw unben* ("Three bull-chieftains," TYP 7), which includes Afaon, the son of Taliesin – unambiguously the son of a

[5] This suggestion is, of course, highly speculative and is unlikely to ever be substantiated. Edelfled will be discussed in more detail below.

poet.[6] It seems unlikely, furthermore, that there would in actuality have been three lords of Deira and Bernicia who were sons of poets. For these reasons, I would challenge Bromwich's assertion that triad 33 "could be explained as a burlesque adaptation of [the White Book's version of *Tri tharw unben*]."[7] It seems to me just as likely, if not more likely, that the influence went in the other direction, despite the "epithet + three names" formula giving *Tri unben Deifr a Bryneich* the veneer of antiquity. I would further suggest, again tentatively, that the phrase "*Tri meib beird oedynt ell tri*" has been added to *Tri unben Deifr a Bryneich* under the influence of *Tri tharw unben*.[8] Alternatively, this may be an orally-derived formula that has made its way into the written TYP corpus only to a limited extant.[9]

Gwenddolau, his birds, and Gwrgi garwlwyd

Dysgyfdod's first son, Gall, is said to have killed "*deu ede[ryn] Gwendoleu*" ("two birds of Gwenddolau") who are described in the Early version as having "*yeu o eur…arandunt*" (a "yoke of gold…on them"). This is the only reference in the exant *cyfarwyddyd* to these birds, though Gwenddolau himself is well attested in poems from the Black Book of Carmarthen as Myrddin's lord who was killed in the battle of Ar(f)derydd.[10] Apart from this triad, he is also named in *Tri*

[6] The other two figures named in *Tri tharw unben* are Elinwy mab Cadegyr and Cynhafal mab Argad, both of whom are otherwise unknown (see Bromwich, *TYP*, 325 and 346).
[7] Bromwich, *TYP*, 73.
[8] They are both "*Tri unben*" triads, which could be the connection. It must be noted, however, that there are two other "*Tri unben*" triads in the Pen. 16 text between *Tri tharw unben* and *Tri unben Deifr a Bryneich*. These are *Tri lledyf unben* ("Three prostrate (humble) lords," TYP 8) and *Tri unben llys Arthur* ("Three lords of Arthur's court.," TYP 9). The relationship of these triads to each other, both thematically and in terms of their proximity to each other in the Early version, deserves more attention. I hope to return to this question at a later date.
[9] Another triad, *Tri glew* ("Three brave men," TYP 22) also lists *Tri meib* ("Three sons") of an otherwise obscure figure, in this case Haearnwedd *fradog* ("the treacherous"). The White and Red version describes this Haearnwedd as the mother of the *Tri glew* but their gender is not indicated in the Early version. On Haearnwedd, see Bromwich, *TYP*, 396.
[10] These poems are, from the Black Book of Carmarthen: "Afallennau Myrddin" (Jarman, ed. *Llyfr Du Caerfryddin* no. 16) and "Oianau Myrddin" (Jarman, ed. *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin* no. 17), from Peniarth 50: "Peiryan Vaban" (A.O.H. Jarman, ed. *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 14 (1952), 104-08, and from the Red Book of Hergest, "Cyfoesi Myrddin a Thaliesin." A forthcoming edition of the *Cyfoesi* is Ben Guy, "Kyuoessi Myrdin a Gǒendyd y Chǒaer," prepared for the AHRC-funded project "An Edition of the Welsh Merlin Poetry," Cardiff University.

tharw cadug ("Three bull-protectors," TYP 6), *Tri diwair deulu* ("Three faithful warbands" TYP 29), and *Tri marchlwyth* ("Three horse-burdens," TYP 44).[11] *Tri diwair deulu* and *Tri marchlwyth* are both expanded narrative triads but, of these, only *Tri diwair deulu* provides pertinent information regarding Gwenddolau himself.[12] We are told that the third faithful warband was "…*teulu Guendoleu mab Keidaw yn Arderyd, a gynhalyassant y urwydyr pythewnos a mis wedy llad eu harglwyd*" ("…the warband of Gwenddolau son of Ceidio at Arderydd, who continued the battle for two weeks and a month after their lord was killed"). This is in keeping with the narrative about him from the Black Book of Carmarthen poetry but it does not add to our knowledge of this figure to any real extent, except perhaps to say that his warband was faithful to him, which is hardly specific and merely the conceit of the triad.

Bromwich likens Gwenddolau's birds to birds in Irish tradition who "fly in couples, linked by a chain of gold or silver," and who are actually people who have been transformed into birds. She also draws a possible connection to Owain's ravens from *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy*[13] and further suggests that these birds, as well as the magical *gwyddbwyll* board attributed to him in *Tri thlws ar ddeg ynys Prydain*,[14] indicate that Gwenddolau had become a "legendary figure" who

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[11] On *Tri diwair deulu*, see the discussion at pp. 126-29, on *Tri marchlwyth*, see pp. 163-75.

[12] Gwenddolau's host is mentioned only in passing in *Tri marchlwyth*. The second horse-burden was borne by Cornan, who carried several men on his back "*y edrych ar vygedorth llu Gǒendoleu yn Arderyd*" ("to observe the dust of the host of Gwenddolau at Arderyd.")

[13] Bromwich, *TYP*, 74. For the Irish birds, see Myles Dillon, ed. *Serglige Con Culainn* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1974), lines 59-61: "*Níbo chían íarom co n-accatar dá én forsind loch ⁊rond dercóir etorro. Cansit céol mbec. Torchair cotlud forsin slóg."* ("A litte while after this they saw two birds flying over the lake, linked together by a chain of red gold. They sang a gentle song, and a sleep fell upon all the men who were there except Cu Chulainn." trans., Tom Peete Cross and Clark Harris Slover, *Ancient Irish Tales* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1936), 178.) Cf. *Aislinge Óenguso* (Francis Shaw, ed., Dublin: Browne and Nolan Ltd., 1934),102 and *Compert Con Culainn and Other Stories* (A.G. van Hamel, ed., Dublin: The Stationary Office, 1933), 3.

For Owain's ravens, see Melville Richards, ed., *Breudwyt Ronabwy allan o'r Llyfr Coch Hergest* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1948); trans. Sioned Davies, *The Mabinogion* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2007), 214-26.

[14] *Tri thlws ar ddeg ynys Prydain* has been edited and translated by Bromwich as Appendix III in *TYP* and in Peter C. Bartrum, ed., "Tri Thlws ar Ddeg Ynys Brydain (The Thirteen Treasures of the Island of Britain)," *Etudes Celtique* 10.2 (1963), 434-77. For this *gwddbwyll* board, see Bromwich, *TYP* App. III no. 12 (p. 259) and the note on pp. 262-3.

"had a prominence barely hinted at by the few surviving allusions."[15] In my view, this assertion is pushing the limits of the available evidence and may say more about Bromwich's desire to find lost gems of *cyfarwyddyd* in TYP than it says about the actual evidence for such a legendary Gwenddolau. While we cannot rule it out, it remains true that the only real storytelling material extant about Gwenddolau pertains to his role at Ar(f)deryd. The brief mentions of the Gwenddolau's birds and his *gwyddbwyll* board in *Tri thlws ar ddeg ynys Prydain* should be regarded as interesting footnotes to a "biography" of Gwenddolau, who led his men to Ar(f)deryd, not as equal parts of his narrative. In short, then, the birds of Gwenddolau named in triad 32 are just as obscure as Dysgyfdawt and his sons.

Another difficult figure appears in this limb: Gwrgi *garwlwyd*. Like the other figures discussed so far, Gwrgi is essentially unknown elsewhere in the *cyfarwyddyd* of medieval Wales.[16] He does not appear elsewhere in the TYP corpus. Bromwich has compared him to the Irish figure German *garbglas*, who is found in the *Táin Bo Culinge*, and on the basis of this suggests that Gwrgi should be thought of as a werewolf.[17] Although drawing too heavily on connections between Welsh *cyfarwyddyd* and the *Táin* is teacherous, this suggestion fits well with Gwrgi's name (*gwr* + *ci*, i.e. "man" + "dog" and *garwlwyd* "rough gray") as well as his depiction in *Tri mad gyflafan* as a human-eating monster. It should also be noted that Patrick Sims-Williams has drawn a connection between Gwrgi *garwlwyd* and the enigmatic reference to *garvluid*, whom Cei fought in "Pa gur yw y porthawr," the tenth- or eleventh-century poem

[15] Bromwich, *TYP*, 376.
[16] *Gwrgi* is relatively common as a Welsh personal name, however; one of Eliffer *gosgorddfawr*'s sons is named Gwrgi; he appears elsewhere in TYP and should not be confused with Gwrgi *garwlwyd* (see Bromwich, *TYP*, 385, 480-81). The name GURGI appears on an inscription, dated between the seventh and ninth centuries, at Llangors in Brecheiniog (Bromwich, *TYP*, 385).
[17] Bromwich, *TYP*, 385. Bromwich is here building on a note by Ernst Windisch, who calls attention to the connection between German *garbglas* and the phrase *garb glasruad*, used elsewhere in the *Táin* to denote wolves (see Ernst Windisch, ed. *Die altirische heldensage Táin bó Cúalnge, nach dem buch von Leinster* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1905), 586).

found in the Black Book of Carmarthen.[18] Sims-Williams goes as far as to suggest that this is "presumably an ellipsis for Gwrgi Garwlwyd…who is mentioned in the Triads."[19] A few lines earlier in the poem, Arthur is said to have "*amuc a chinbin*" ("fought with dog heads") in Edinburgh.[20]

So far I have glossed over perhaps the most sensational bits of the references to Gwenddolau's birds and Gwrgi *garwlwyd*. In the Early version, we are told of the birds that "*Dwy gelein o'r Kymry a yssynt ar eu kinyaw a dwy ar eu kwynos*" ("Two corpses of the Welsh were their lunch and two their dinner") and of Gwrgi that he "*ladei gelein beunyd o'r Kymry a dwy bob Sadwrn rac y Sul vr un*" (he "used to kill a corpse of the Welsh every day and two each Saturday so as not [to do] the same on Sunday"). The wording is slightly different in the White and Red version texts but the substance is the same. These are perhaps the two most grisly images in the corpus of TYP – it is easy to see why these slaughters were considered fortunate! It is also striking that these two phrases are fully-developed prose, complete with conjugated verbs and subordinate clauses. Much as we saw with *Tri gwrddfeichiad, Tri mad gyflafan* is a fully prosaic text which must have had an author. We will return to the question of the relationship between the Early and White and Red versions below, but for the time being I would like to stress the fact that *Tri mad gyflafan* is much more interested in its colorful monsters than in its heroes, the sons of Disgyfdod. All of the narrative material in this triad pertains to the monsters

[18] For this reference, see A.O.H. Jarman, ed. *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1982) no. 31 lines 48-49: "*Ar traethev trywruid / im amvin a garvluid*" ("On the shores of Tryfrwyd / fighting with Rough Grey" trans. Patrick Sims-Williams, "The Early Welsh Arthurian Poems," in *The Arthur of the Welsh* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1991), 42).
[19] Patrick Sims-Williams, "The Early Welsh Arthurian Poems," 42.
[20] Jarman, ed. *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin* no. 31 lines 43-44: "*ym minit eidin / amuc. a. chinbin*" ("On the mountain of Edinburgh / he fought with dogheads" trans. Sims-Williams, "The Early Welsh Arthurian Poems," 41). Note the plural – was Gwrgi one of a pack of werewolves current in the *cyfarwyddyd* contemporary with "Pa gur"? This is highly speculative, of course, but it is difficult to dismiss out of hand.

while Disgyfdod's sons are merely names fulfilling the necessary function of performing the fortunate slaughters. This reflects the author's greater interest in the monsters than in the heroes.

Dysgyfdod's sons, the heroes of this triad, are anonymous and even boring. Meanwhile, Gwenddolau's birds and Gwrgi *garwlwyd* are striking and exciting. Furthermore, they can both be connected, albeit tentatively, to what appears to be archaic *cyfarwyddyd* related to material in the Black Book of Carmarthen, though, as we have seen, the evidence is somewhat stronger for existing *cyfarwyddyd* about Gwrgi *garwlwyd* than it is for Gwenddolau's birds.

Edelfled and Edwin

Disgyfdod's second son, Ysgafnell (or Sgafynell in the White and Red version), is said to have killed "*Edelflet vrenhin Lloegyr*" ("Edelfled, king of England"). This is Aethelfrith, who ruled Deira and Bernicia together at the beginning of the seventh century.[21] As a literary figure, he is attested in Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*[22] as well as *Historia Brittonum,*[23] Geoffrey of Monmouth's *De gestis Brittonum,*[24] and TYP. He is best known for leading the victorious Northumbrian forces at the Battle of Chester, a military disaster for Gwynedd. His epithet, *flessiawc,* means "the twister" -- is this perhaps a reference to a reputation for treaty-breaking?[25] *Tri unben Diefr a Bryneich* and *Tri mad gyflafan* are the only sources for the story of Ysgafnell's involvement in his death and this is the only story told about him in the triadic

[21] On Edelflet, see Bromwich, *TYP,* 338-9 and Peter C. Bartrum, *A Welsh Classical Dictionary: People in Legend and History to AD 1000* (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1993), 250-1.
[22] See Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors, eds. *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 116, 140, 162, etc.
[23] Here, he is called *Aedlfred flesaur* (ch. 57) and *Eadlfered flesaur* (ch. 63). See John Morris, ed. and trans. *Nennius: British History and the Welsh Annals* (London: Phillimore, 1980).
[24] In Latin, Geoffrey renders his name *Edelfridus regem Northamhimbrorum* ("Edelfridus, king of Northumbria") which comes into *Brut y Brenhinedd* as *Edelflet*, identical to the form in TYP. (See Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, ed. Michael D. Reeve and trans. Neil Wright. Woodbridge, England: The Boydell Press, 2007, XI.189, XI.190 & etc.
[25] This is the suggestion of R. Gereint Gruffydd, "In Search of Elmet," *Studia Celtica* 28 (1994), 63-80 at 65. In *Historia Brittonum* he is known by the slightly different epithet *flesaur*, which Bartrum has updated to Mod. W. *ffleisawr* and memorably translated as "artful dodger." (Bartrum, *A Welsh Classical History*, 250). Cf. now, Rebecca Thomas, *History and Identity in Early Medieval Wales* (Woodbridge, England: Boydell and Brewer, 2022), 80.

corpus. In what follows, I will argue that Edelfled was superseded in Welsh tradition by another Northumbrian king, Edwin, which accounts for the decrease in references to Edelfled in the later Middle Ages as references to Edwin increased.

Tri mad gyflafan is the only triad in which Edelfled appears. It is much more typical to find references to another English king, Edwin, in TYP. Edwin does not appear in *Tri mad gyflafan* but he does appear in five triads throughout the TYP corpus. Like Edelfled, Edwin was king of Deira and Bernicia (reigned 617-633, succeeding Aethelfrith) and he is among those English kings referred to as *bretwalda* in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.[26] He is a prominent figure in Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, in which Bede claims that, aside from the kingdom of Kent, Edwin was the king of "all the nations" that made up the island of Britain.[27] In Welsh tradition, Edwin was known as the foe of Cadwallon, whose Powysian army clashed with Edwin's Northumbrian forces.[28] He became known as the avatar of English oppression. Two poems, several centuries apart, have been cited as evidence for the pervasiveness and long life of this association: Gwalchmai ap Meilyr's assertion in poem dated to the late 1150s that "*Gwalchmai y'm gelwir, gal Edwin a Eigyl*" ("I am called Gwalchmai, enemy of Edwin and the English")[29] and William Llŷn's description of England in the sixteenth century as "*[g]wlad Edwin*" ("Edwin's country").[30] However, I would argue that this is deceptive and that the evidence from TYP tells a slightly different story, a story that comes to light when we compare the transmission

[26] Bromwich, *TYP*, 339.
[27] "*…ita ut quod nemo Anglorum ante eum, omnes Brittaniae fines, qua uel ipsorum uel Brettonum prouinciae habitabant, sub dicione acciperet. Quin et Meuanias insulas, sicut et supra docuimus, imperio subiugauit Anglorum…"* ("…So, like no other English king before him, he held under his sway the whole realm of Britain, not only English kingdoms but those ruled over by the Britons as well. He even brought the islands of Angelsey and Man under his power, as we have said before.") (Colgrave and Mynors, eds. *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, 162 and 163.)
[28] On Edwin, see Bromwich, *TYP*, 339-40.
[29] J.E. Caerwyn Williams with Peredur I. Lynch, eds., *Gwaith Meilyr Brydydd a'i Ddisgynyddion*, Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion I (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1994), no. 9.51
[30] *Barddoniaeth William Llŷn* 13.18. Translation mine.

history of triads that name Edwin to triads that name his predecessor as king of Deira and Bernicia, Edelfled.

Edwin is named in the following triads: the White and Red version of *Tri gwrddfeichiad* ("Three powerful swineherds," TYP 26),[31] the White and Red version of *Tri gohoyw eddystyr* ("Three sprightly steeds," TYP 42),[32] *Tair neges a gaat o Bowys* ("Three messages that were obtained from Powys," TYP 55),[33] *Tri hualhogeon deulu* ("Three fettered warbands," TYP 62), and *Tri budyr Hafren* ("Three defilements of the Severn," TYP 69). All of these are triads (or, in the case of *Tri gwrddfeichiad*, a version of the triad) which are associated with the White and Red version, not the Early version. In other words, Edwin does not seem to have had a role in the Early version. This would suggest that Edwin's role as the metonym for all of England developed somewhat later than the main body of the Early version of TYP. If this is the case, Gwalchmai ap Meilyr was on the cutting edge of this trend in his utilization of Edwin.

The evidence from the poetry seems to bear this out. The first bardic reference to Edwin can be found in the aforementioned poem by Gwalchmai, dated c. 1157-9.[34] The next apparent reference to him does not come until about two centuries later, sometime in the years shortly before 1345, when Iolo Goch mentions an "*Edwin ddewin, brenin breiniawg*," ("Edwin the wizard [poet?], privileged king").[35] While Gwalchmai's poem unambiguously refers to the Northumbrian king, I would push back against the assumption that Iolo is referring to our Edwin, since the description of him as a *dewin* and his people (presumably the English) as *breiniawg*

[31] See the discussion of this reference in Chapter 1, pp. 44-45.
[32] See the discussion of this triad in Chapter 4, pp. 153-54.
[33] See the discussion of this triad in Chapter 6, pp. 196-98.
[34] See above note 29. On the date of the poem, see Williams with Lynch, eds., *Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion I* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1991), 195.
[35] See D.R. Johnston, ed. *Gwaith Iolo Goch* Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1988) no. 18.10: On the date of the poem, see ibid, xviii-xix.

both seem incongruous; Edwin was known as a personal name in medieval Wales.[36] Other references come from Rhisierdyn, who was at the height of his career in the 1360s and '70s,[37] his contemporary Gruffudd ap Maredudd,[38] and the fifteenth-century poet Rhys Goch Eryri.[39] In other words, there is only one unambigious reference to Edwin in the *Gogynfeirdd* corpus that dates from before the period when the White and Red Books were being developed between the mid-fourteenth and early-fifteenth centuries, exactly when we see a corresponding growth in references to Edwin in the TYP corpus.

Returning now to Edelfled and the triads under consideration in this case study, it appears that *Tri mad gyflafan*, including its reference to *Edelflet vrenhin Lloegyr*, represents a tradition regarding England's oppression of Wales that was current during the development of the Early version of TYP and was superseded in TYP by the growth in Edwin's popularity as the avatar of the English, echoed in the corresponding growth of references to him in the bardic corpus. While the theme of English oppression remained current and vital in *cyfarwyddyd* in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (that is, the period after the Edwardian conquest and during the Glyndŵr rebellion) it was increasingly centered on one seventh-century figure – Edwin – while other, perhaps lesser-known English figures fell out of the tradition. It is possible that Edwin's association with the famous Welsh hero Cadwallon gave him the potency to take on his role as the metonymic avatar for everything England.

+ + +

[36] Bromwich, *TYP*, 340.
[37] Nerys Ann Jones and Erwain Haf Rheinallt, eds., *Gwaith Sefnyn, Rhisierdyn, Gruffudd Fychan ap Gruffudd ab Ednyfed, a Llywarch Bentwrch* (Aberystwyth: Center for Welsh and Celtic Studies, 1996), no. 6.89: "*Clwyf dyedd adwedd Edwin – ddigoniant*" ("A wound of war was the end/death of Edwin's prowess") On Rhisierdyn's dates, see ibid, 47.
[38] Ann Parry Owen, ed., *Gwaith Gruffudd ap Maredudd III* (Aberystwyth: Center for Welsh and Celtifc Studies, 2007), no. 1.22. On Gruffudd's dates, see ibid, 1)
[39] See Dylan Foster Evans, ed., *Gwaith Rhys Goch Eryri* (Aberystwyth: Center for Welsh and Celtic Studies, 2007), 11.

I have made a number of tentative suggestions in the preceding discussion of these figures – the most one can do with evidence of this sort – so my conclusion here must likewise be very tentative: *Tri mad gyflafan* appears to have been the work of an author, one who may have been expanding or re-writing an "epithet + three names" formula-type triad that already existed. Dysgyfdod, his sons, and the birds of Gwenddolau do not appear in any other source and it is not possible to say for certain whether the author made them up out of whole cloth. There is some evidence that stories about Gwrgi *garwlwyd* were circulating in the *cyfarwyddyd* at a relatively early period, as we can see by the references to him in "Pa gur yw y porthawr," but he too is a very insubstantial figure in non-TYP *cyfarwyddyd*.[40] The Northumbrian king Edelfled also seems to have been part of earlier *cyfarwyddyd* that fell out of fashion in the later period as *cyfarwyddyd* about Edwin became more popular and seemingly overtook Edelflet in the tradition as the avatar of English oppression. These obscure figures notwithstanding, the grisly depictions of the birds of Gwenddolau and Gwrgi *garwlwyd* eating the bodies of Welshmen stand out as particularly vivid among the TYP corpus and it seems clear that these images came straight out of the author of *Tri mad gyflafan*'s imagination. Furthermore, it is clear that this author is more interested in his villainous monsters than he is in the heroic sons of Disgyfdod, whom he was content to leave undeveloped and who appear only as names that perform the requisite slaughters.

THREE UNFORTUNATE SLAUGHTERS

While neither *Tair anfad gyflafan* ("Three unfortunate slaughters," TYP 33) nor *Tair anfad fwyallod* ("Three unfortunate hatchet-blows," TYP 34) have been expanded to the extant that *Tri*

[40] Although the dates of both "Pa gur yw y porthawr" and the composition of this triad are unclear, it is clear that "Pa gur" is significantly older – by a matter of centuries – than the triad.

mad gyflafan has been, neither do they fit comfortably within the "epithet + three names" formula type. Instead, they are both partially-expanded triads, substantially shorter and less detailed than the previous triad, *Tair mad gyflafan. Tri anfad gyflafan* includes a small amount of narrative information, giving the name of the man who performed each unfortunate slaughter and the name of the man who was slaughtered, repeatedly using a relative particle and a conjugated verb: "…*a ladawd*…" ("…who killed…"). Likewise, *Tri anfad fwyallod* is also a partially-expanded triad. This one breaks from the strict 'epithet + three names' formula out of necessity, since the subjects of its limbs are the hatchet-blows themselves, not names.

It is evident that *Tri anfad gyflafan* has a strong interest in yr Hen Ogledd, or the Old North, the area of northern England and southern Scotland that was once a Brittonic polity; all six of the men named within this triad are strongly associated with this part of Britain. *Tri anfad fwyallod*, on the other hand, is more strongly associated with Gwynedd. I will argue in what follows that *Tair anfad gyflafan* represents the work of an author, working in Gwynedd, who was particularly interested in yr Hen Ogledd, that this author composed his triad under the influence of *Tair mad gyflafan*, and that *Tair anfad fwyallod*, also composed in Gwynedd, was in turn written under the influence of *Tair anfad gyflafan.*

Tair anfad gyflafan appears in eleven manuscripts, five of which follow the Early version while the remaining six follow the White and Red version; the latter will discussed in due course. First, I will examine the Early version of this triad.[41] The text in Peniarth 16 reads:

TYP 33 P16 (Early) text: Teir anvat gyflauan enys Prydein:

[41] Apart from Peniarth 16, the Early version of *Tair anfad gyflafan* also appears in Peniarth 45, Peniarth 47, and Cardiff 2.26.

> Heidyn mab Enygan a ladaϭd Aneiryn gwaϭtryd mech deyrn[42] beird, a Llaϭgat trϭm bargaϭt Eidyn a ladaϭd Auaon mab Talyeisin, a Llouan llaϭ diuo a ladaϭd Vryen mab Kynϭarch.
>
> (*TYP 33 P16 (Early) translation:* Three unfortunate slaughters of the island of Britain:
> Heiden son of Enygan who killed Aneirin of flowing verse, overlord of poets, and Llawgad *trwm bargod Eidyn*, who killed Afaon son of Taliesin, and Llofan *llaw difo* who killed Urien son of Cynfarch.)

With two exceptions, the figures named within the limbs of *Tair anfad gyflaflan* are completely obscure. The first exception is Aneirin, the famous *cynfardd* to whom the composition of the early Welsh poem the *Gododdin* is attributed. It is clear that Aneirin held pride of place for the developer(s) of *Tair anfad gyflafan*: he is called *Aneiryn gwawtryd mechdeyrn beird* (translated by Bromwich as "Aneirin of flowing verse, great prince of poets"[43]). This high-falutin title is curious considering that Aneirin does not appear in the TYP corpus aside from in *Tair anfad gyflafan* and *Tair anfad fwyllod*. This suggests that the individual who developed *Tair anfad gyflafan* was especially interested in material about this particular *cynfardd*, whereas other scribes who had a hand in forming TYP were less so.

Despite this apparent interest, the man the triad tells us killed Aneirin, Heiden fab Enygan, is otherwise unknown.[44] There is one reference to "*Heidyn haernde*" (Bromwich uncertainly translates this as "iron-hurling Heidyn") found in the Book of Aneirin but, as it is in the context of the *Gododdin*, which is set in the area around Edinburgh (*Eidyn* in Welsh), it is far

[42] On the loaded term *mechdeyrn* (GPC s.v. *mechdeyrn, mychdeyrn, machdeyrn* 'king, lord, monarch, emperor'), see Bromwich, *TYP*, 76-77 and Paul Russell, *Welsh Law in Medieval Angelsey* (Cambridge, England: Seminar Cyfraith Hywel, 2011), 54. This is the earliest attestation of the word listed in GPC.
[43] Bromwich, *TYP*, 75. The term *mechdeyrn* has attracted a great deal of attention (see Bromwich, *TYP*, 76-7) but I will pass over this discussion as it is not particularly relevant to the argument at hand. The same epithet found here, *gwawtryd* ("of flowing verse"), is used to describe Aneirin in the poem "Anrheg Urien;" interestingly, the White Book version of this poem is interpolated between parts of TYP in that manuscript. See Chapter 6, pp. 199-200 and Appendix C, p. 477.
[44] For Heidyn, see Bromwich, *TYP*, 396.

from certain that this is a reference to the Heidyn of this triad.[45] This name may have been used for several figures associated with stories about yr Hen Ogledd. There is also nothing of any substance that can be said about Heidyn's father, Enygan.[46] There is a Hedyn/Ehedyn who is mentioned briefly in *Canu Heledd* and in the *Bonedd y Awyr* genealogy but he appears to be a different figure (the son of Cyndrwyn, not Enygan) and there is no indication in any reference to him that he was said to have killed Aneirin.[47]

The death of Aneirin is famously alluded to within the *Gododdin* and, problematically, does not name Heidyn – or anyone – as his killer:

> *Er pan waned maws, mur trin*
> *Er pan aeth daear ar Aneirin*
> *Nw neud ysgarad nâd â Gododdin.*
>
> (Since the gentle one, the wall of battle, was slain,
> Since earth covered Aneirin,
> Poetry is now parted from Gododdin.)[48]

Bromwich has tried to alleviate this difficulty by suggesting, following Ifor Williams, that the too-short line "*Er pan waned maws, mur trin"* should be amended to "*er pan waned [H(e)idyn] maws mur trin*" and translated "Since [H(e)idyn] struck the courteous wall of battle, since earth went upon Aneirin…"[49] In my view, this amendation would cause more problems than it solves: there is nothing to suggest that *Tri anfad gyflafan* dates back anywhere near as far as the famously early *Gododdin* and it is a large leap to suggest that the individual(s) who developed

[45] Ifor Williams, ed. *Canu Aneirin* (Cardiff: William Lewis, 1938), l. 948 and note.
[46] See Bromwich, *TYP*, 350. She suggests that the "*guen gat*" found at Williams, ed. *Canu Aneirin*, l. 1257 might be the same as the Enygan of TYP. She notes that "the capitals E and G in Insular script are easily confused." In my view, this is arguing from, if not nothing, then very, very little.
[47] On Hedyn/Ehedyn mab Cyndrwyn, see *Canu Llywarch Hen*, ed. Ifor Williams (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1953), no. 11 lines 88c and 89a and notes, P.C. Bartrum, ed. *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1966), 85, and the discussion in Jenny Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry* (Cambridge, England: D.S. Brewer, 1990), 166-7. Rowland notes that hints toward Hedyn/Ehedyn in *Canu Heledd* are "too brief to really be worrisome."
[48] A.O.H. Jarman, ed. and trans. *Y Gododdin: Britain's Oldest Heroic Poem* (Llandysul, Wales: Gomer Press, 1988), lines 8-10.
[49] Bromwich, *TYP*, 79. See also Williams, ed. *Canu Aneirin*, line 647 and note.

this triad would have had access to material that is missing from both the A and B texts of the *Gododdin*.[50] It is much safer to assume that the story of Heidyn mab Enygan killing Aneirin was confined to TYP. If such a story ever did have a life outside of TYP, it has left no trace in the written record and likely had a very limited circulation.

The other perpetrators of the unfortunate slaughters, Llawgad *trwm bargod Eidyn* ("Heavy battle-hand of the border of Eidyn") and Llofan *llaw difo* (Llofan severing-hand"), are also unknown outside of TYP. Llawgad, who appears in the White and the Red version of this triad as Llongad *grwm fargod Eidin* ("Heavy battle-hand the bent of the border of Eidin") is not known from any other extant text and seems the most likely of this group to have been invented from whole cloth for this triad (and that's a high bar). The word play evident in his name only strengthens this impression. The man he is said to have killed, Afaon mab Taliesin, is better attested. He appears elsewhere in *Tri tharw unben* ("Three bull-chieftains," TYP 7) and *Tri aerfedog* ("Three battle-rulers," TYP 25) and brief references to him can also be found in *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy*[51] and the poem "Dadl y Corff a'r Enaid."[52] Nowhere else is there a reference to his death, however.

Llofan *llaw difo*, known alternatively in the White and Red version as Llofan *llaw difuro* ("Llouan the exiled hand") is said to have killed Urien fab Cynfarch, also known as Urien Rheged. This figure is mentioned briefly in the Urien cycle of the saga *englynion.* Jenny Rowland has called this Llofan a "doubtful figure" and has argued that his story is a "late

[50] See A.O.H. Jarman, *The Gododdin: Britain's Oldest Heroic Poem* (Llandysul, Wales: The Gomer Press, 1988), lxviii-lxxv.
[51] He appears twice as "Adaon uab Telessin" in Breuddwyd Rhonabwy: at p. 8, line 17 ("*'Idawc,' heb y Ronabwy, 'pwy y marchawc gynneu?' 'Y gwas ieuanc kymhennaf a doethaf a wneir yn y teyrnas honn, Adaon uab Telessin.*" "'Idawc,' said Rhonabwy, 'who was the last knight?' 'The most eloquent and wisest young men who is in this kingdom, Adaon son of Taliesin.") and in the list of Arthur's men at p. 29 line 26.
[52] See Marged Haycock, ed. *Blodeugerdd Barddas o Ganu Crefyddol Cynnar* (Llandybïe, Wales: Cyhoeddiadau Barddas, 1994) no. 21 lines 49-50.

invention" that should not be reconciled with the other narrative of Urien's death, found as early as the ninth-century *Historia Brittonum*, in which he is betrayed by a certain Morgant.[53] Urien himself is of course a well-attested and well-known figure from medieval *cyfarwyddyd* and stands as the second exception in this triad otherwise populated by mere names while serving to tie the triad even more closely to material about yr Hen Ogledd.

To sum up, *Tri anfad gyflafan* contains sparse allusions to three stories: the death of Aneirin, the death of the son of Taliesin, and the death of Urien Rheged. All three of these stories are associated with figures of yr Hen Ogledd; are not connected to any other stories found in the TYP corpus; and are barely attested elsewhere in medieval *cyfarwyddyd*, if they are known at all. I have pointed out elsewhere that material about yr Hen Ogledd is curiously sparse in the work of the *Gogynfeirdd* and other *cyfarwyddyd* from the later medieval period and I argued that any interest in this material in the later Middle Ages should be taken as being due to a personal interest on the part of individual authors or composers, not to a widespread cultural interest in yr Hen Ogledd.[54] I would suggest that *Tri anfad gyflafan* is an example of this phenomenon: it is the work of an individual interested in stories about yr Hen Ogledd, maybe especially stories about Aneirin, whom he apparently held in very high regard, or the *cynfeirdd* more generally, since he also names the son of Taliesin. He may have been working in Gwynedd, where interest in stories about yr Hen Ogledd was higher than elsewhere in medieval Wales.[55] It seems likely to me that this individual himself invented the stories about Llawgad killing Afaon and Llofan killing Urien, but it can not be said for certain that he was not drawing on *cyfarwyddyd* that was

[53] Jenny Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry*, 114-17.
[54] See Celeste L. Andrews, "What Stories Did Cynddelw Know About the Old North?" *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 39 (2019), 39-52.
[55] On the relationship between Gwynedd and the Old North, see Geraint R. Gruffydd, "On Gododdin to Gwynedd: Reflections on the Story of Cunedda," *Studia Celtica* 24/25 (1989/90), 1-14.

circulating orally in Gwynedd at the time but was never written down in more detail. When *Tri anfad gyflafan* became incorporated into the corpus of TYP, it circulated throughout Wales, spawning *Tri anfad fwyllod* and the version of this text as it appears in the White and Red version. References to Afaon and Llofan seem to have subsequently made their way into the texts of *Breuddwyt Rhonabwy*, "Englynion y Clywaid," and the saga *englynion*.[56]

It must be noted, however, that this is not an example of an individual being the author of a relatively long prose passage, as we saw in the cases of *Tri gwrddfeichiad* and, in a less extreme example, *Tair mat gyflafan*, but of someone composing his own triad of a more "traditional," if slightly expanded, type. *Tair anfad gyflafan* does not contain much narrative information outside of the names it supplies and almost adheres to the "epithet + three names" formula. Nevertheless, the partial expansion, and the repeated use of the relative particle and the conjugated verb *ladawd* ("killed") indicate that this triad was composed in written form, not orally, and that it was never intended as a mnemonic device. The author of this triad attempted to mimic the traditional form of a triad but did so without attention to its usefulness as a mnemonic tool, demonstrating that it was not intended for that purpose.

Bromwich believed that *Tair mad gyflafan* was developed to form a "contrasting pair" with *Tair anfad gyflafan* and that the latter was older than the former.[57] It seems more likely to me, however, that it was, in fact, the other way around. The figures named in *Tair mad gyflafan*, especially Gwrgi *garwlwyd*, are more widespread and seem to have been known from an earlier period than the figures named in *Tair anfad gyflafan* who, aside from Urien mab Cynfarch and Aneirin, all appear only in TYP or texts that are dependent on TYP. It thus seems more likely to

[56] The relationship between all three of these texts and TYP deserves attention, and I hope to return to this question at a later date.
[57] Bromwich, *TYP*, 73.

me that the "unfortunate slaughters" of *Tair anfad gyflafan* were developed in response to the "fortunate slaughters" of *Tair mad gyflafan*, not vice versa, and that the author of *Tair anfad gyflafan* used *Tair mad gyflafan* as a template from which to develop his own triad as an outlet for his particular interest in material about yr Hen Ogledd.

THREE UNFORTUNATE HATCHET-BLOWS

The final triad in this cluster is *Tair anfad fwyallod* ("Three unfortunate hatchet blows," TYP 34). This triad always appears alongside *Tair anfad gyflafan* in the Early version and, as will be discussed below, is combined with the former triad in the White and Red version.[58] Thus, it is clear that the two are not only closely related but were perceived to be closely related by the medieval scribes. The Early version of *Tair anfad fwyallod* reads:

> *TYP 34 P16 (Early) text:* Teir anɷat ɷwyllaɷt enys Prydein:
> Bɷyllaɷt Eidyn ym pen Aneiryn, a'r ɷwyllaɷt ym pen Golydan vard, a'r ɷwyllaɷt ym pen Iago mab Beli.
>
> (*TYP 34 P16 (Early) translation:* Three unfortunate blows of the Island of Britain:
> The blow of [H]eidyn[59] on the head of Aneirin, and the blow on the head of Golydan *fardd*, and the blow on the head of Iago son of Beli.)

I say that *Tair anfad fwyallod* is closely related to *Tair anfad gyflafan* for two reasons: the thematic connection between *anfad gyflafan* ("unfortunate slaughters") and "*anfad fwyallod*" ("unfortunate hatchet-blows") and the inclusion of Heidyn fab Enygan, who is said to have killed Aneirin, in both triads. As has already been discussed, this narrative is unknown outside of TYP. The figures named in the second and third limbs of *Tair anfad fwyallod*, Golydan *fardd* ("the poet") and Iago ap Beli, are a little better known than Heidyn and the other perpetrators of the

[58] The Early version of this triad is found in the following manuscripts: Peniarth 16, Peniarth 45, Peniarth 47, and Cardiff 2.26.
[59] On Heiden, see Bromwich, *TYP*, 79-80; 396-97.

unfortunate slaughters. Golydan, from this triad's second limb, is also in two other triads in the TYP corpus, *Tair gwith balfod* (Three hard slaps," TYP 53), in which he is said to have struck Cadwaladr *fendigeid*, and *Tri budyr Hafren* ("Three defilements of the Severn," TYP 69), in which he is said to have gifted one of these defilements to the king of Cornwall. Interestingly, both triads are found in texts of TYP associated with the White and Red version and not in Early version texts; *Tair anfad fwyallod* is thus the only triad to reference Golydan in the Early version of TYP. The only reference to Golydan outside of TYP is in a thirteenth-century poem by Phylip Brydydd which is clearly drawn from *Tri gwith balfod* and does not seem to be an independent reference to Golydan.[60] Iago mab Beli, meanwhile, who is featured in the triad's third limb, is found only in this triad within TYP but is relatively well attested in the early genealogies of Gwynedd.[61] He is also mentioned in *Annales Cambriae*, where he is said to have died at the battle of Chester.[62] Given Iago's association with Gwynedd, and the connection between Gwynedd and yr Hen Ogledd thanks to traditions about Cunedda's migration, noted above, it seems likely that *Tair anfad fwyallod* was composed in Gwynedd.

It seems clear that *Tair anfad fwyallod* was composed under the influence of *Tair anfad gyflafan*. It is not clear to me whether these three triads are the work of a single individual, or perhaps a

[60] Morfydd E. Owen et al, ed., *Gwaith Dafydd Benfras ac Eraill o Feirdd Hanner Cyntaf y Drydedd Ganrif ar Ddeg* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1995), no. 15.11-13: "*O gwnaeth Golydan gyflauan diryeit / (Bit ar y eneyt r enwired!) / Taraw Kadwaladr, colofon elyflu*" ("Since Golydan performed the wicked slaughter, the iniquity will be on his soul, the striking of Cadwaladr, piller of the host." trans. Bromwich, *TYP*, 299). The phrase "*colofon elyflu*" ("pillar of the host") here seems to echo another triad, *Tri phost cat* ("Three pillars of battle," TYP 5), though Cadwaladr does not appear in that triad.

[61] Iago appears in the following genealogies: Harliean genealogies §1 (Guy, *Medieval Welsh Genealogy*, 334); Jesus College MS 20 genealogies §22 (ibid, 342); Gwehelyth Morgannwg §2 (ibid, 347); the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies §11.1 (ibid, 361); Gutun Owain's recension of the Llywelyn ab Iorwrth genealogies §G1.8 (ibid, 392); and the Mostyn genealogies §1 (ibid, 431); the genealogy in *Historia Gruffudd ap Cynan* §1 (Bartrum, *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts*, 36); *Bonedd y Saint* §11, §72 (ibid, 56, 65); *Achau'r Saint* §47 (ibid, 71); and *Achau'r Brenhinoedd a Thywysogion Cymru* §1a, §28 (ibid, 95, 109).

[62] Bromwich, *TYP*, 403. Is it significant that this is the same battle in which Aethelfrith of Northumbira (Edelfled) was victorious against the Welsh?

team working together, or were developed over a longer period of time and only inspired by each other in turn. I have already noted that *Tair anfad gyflafan* and *Tair anfad fwyallod* seem to have been composed in Gwynedd; the evidence that *Tair mad gyflafan* was likewise composed in Gwynedd is not nearly as strong as for the other two but it does occur to me that the memory of Edlefled is more likely to have been preserved in Gwynedd, the kingdom's army having taken part in the battle of Chester, than Welsh kingdoms to the south or west.[63]

THE WHITE AND RED VERSION

Tair anfad gyflafan and *Tair anfad fwyallod* appear together as a single, merged triad in texts associated with the White and Red version. The version of this triad in the Red Book reads:

> *TYP 33 RBH (WR) text*: Tri gɔythɔr ynys Brydein a wnaethant y teir anuat gyflauan: Llofuan llaw diffro, a ladaɔd Uryen uab Kynuarch, Llongat grɔm uargot Eidin, a ladaɔd Auon uab Talyessin, a Heiden uab Euengat, a ladaɔd Aneirin gɔaɔtryd verch teyrnbeird, y gɔr arodei gan myɔ bob Sadɔrn yg herɔyn enneint yn Talhaearn, a'e treɔis a bwyell gynnut yn y phenn. A honno oed y dryded vɔyellaɔt. A'r eil, kynnuntei o Aberffraɔ, a dreɔis Golydan a bɔyall yn y benn. A'r tryded, [Iago][64] uab Beli a drewis y ɔr ehun a bɔyall yn y benn
>
> (*TYP RBH (WR) translation*: Three savage men of the Island of Britain who performed the three unfortunate slaughters:
> Llofan llaw diffro, who killed Urien son of Cynfarch, Llongad *grwm fargot Eidin* ("the Bent of the border of Eidyn[65]), who killed Af[a]on son of Taliesin, and Heidin son of Efengad, who killed Aneirin of flowing verse, daughter of the prince of poets: the man who would give 100 cows every Saturday in a vat of oil to Talhaearn and he struck her with a small axe on her head and that was the one of the three. And the second [was] the woodcutter from Aberffraw who struck Golydan with a blow on his head. And the third, Iago son of Beli, who was struck by a hatchet on his head by one of his own men.)

This triad has been significantly reworked from the version(s) that appear in the Early version. The White and Red version of this triad thus represents the work of a different individual from

[63] On the Battle of Chester, see Bartrum, *A Welsh Classical Dictionary*, 99-100.
[64] Name omitted from the MS.
[65] Translation by Bromwich, *TYP*, 75.

the one(s) who originally developed *Tair anfad gyflafan* and *Tair anfad fwyallod*, someone with a different creative vision.

As I noted above, several figures are given names or epithets in the White and Red version that differ from their names in the Early version. These include Llongad *grwm fargod Eidin* ("Llongad the Bent of the Border of Eidyn") (known in the Early version as Llawgad *trwm bargawt Eidyn* ("Heavy Battle-Hand of the Border of Eidyn")), and Heidin fab Efengad (known in the Early version as Heidyn fab Enygan). If these were merely variant forms of names, this could be chalked up to the effects of a long period of written transmission -- indeed, the variant version of Heidyn's patronym in this version could and probably should be put down to minim confusion – but the change to Llongad's name is more substantial and alters the nature of the word play.

Even more substantial is the fact that this triad has been transformed from the partially-expanded triad present in the Early version into a fully expanded narrative triad. A new scribe or redactor adds a relatively large amount of storytelling material that is not present in the Early version. This consists, chiefly, of additional information about the perpetrators of the blows on the heads of Golydan and Iago – about whom the Early version is entirely silent – as well as more detail in the story of Aneirin's death. Only one of these perpetrators is given a name. This is Talhaearn, who does not appear in any other triad, but is presumably the same as the *cynfardd* named alongside Aneirin, Taliesin, and others in *Historia Brittonum* as "Talhaearn *tataguen*" ("the father of inspiration").[66] He also appears in a poem from the Book of Taliesin, "Anghar Cyfyndod."[67] He is, in other words, likely to have been another example of a prominent figure in

[66] For Talhaearn, see Bromwich, *TYP*, 500; the *Historia Britonnum* quote can be found at John Morris, ed. *Nennius's British History* (London: Phillimore and Co., Ltd., 1980), 78.
[67] Here the name is spelled "Talhayarn." An edition and translation of this poem is found in Marged Haycock, ed. and trans. *Legendary Poems from the Book of Taliesin* (Aberystwyth: CMCS Publications), 106-66. "Talhayarn" is

the *cyfarwyddyd* of the earlier medieval period who gradually fell from popularity in later centuries. It is curious, therefore, that he appears here in what is likely to be a relatively late text, though it should be noted that Talhaearn here does not seem to have much connection with the *cynfardd* of earlier lore and exists only as a name in this triad, albeit one who is still associated with another famous *cynfardd*. That being said, Aneirin himself is not depicted as a *cynfardd* in this version of the triad either, instead, a scribal error (where the Early version gives *mechdeyrn beird* "overlord of poets," the White and Red version instead gives *me**r**ch teyrnbeird*) has led to Aneirin being described as the "daughter of the prince of poets." I have already argued above that *Tair anfad gyflafan* demonstrates an interest in material about *yr Hen Ogledd* that is missing elsewhere in the TYP corpus, and that this is likely due to the personal interests of the individual who developed this triad. It would stand to reason, therefore, that someone along this triad's line of transmission (perhaps the individual who revised this triad for the White and Red version himself, or a later scribe) was not familiar with *cyfarwyddyd* about Aneirin and, furthermore, was confused by the very unusual word *mechdeyrn*.[68]

Bromwich is particularly derisive about the additions here, writing that "[the White Book's] ill-conceived misinterpretations reach their height of absurdity in the rendering of this triad." She seems to take especial umbrage at the fact that that Aneirin is depicted as female, with a blow *yn y fen* ("on her head") as opposed to **yn y ben* ("on his head"). She concludes that "it is a tantalizing conclusion that the scribe of [the White and Red version] had before him a very corrupt copy of what appears to have been a fuller version of the triad than in Pen[iarth]

named at l. 71 ("*Kerdwn Duw yssyd / trwy ieith Talhayarn / bedyd budyd varn / a varnwys teithi / angerd vardoni."* "Let's approach God who is / -- according to the utterance of Talhaearn -- / the true judge of the worth of the world, / the ne who adjudged the qualities / of passionate song.") and l. 165 ("*Talhayarn yssyd / mwyhaf sywedyd*." "Talhaearn is / the greatest sage.")

[68] GPC s.v. *mechdeyrn, mychdeyrn, machderyn* 'king, lord, monarch, emperor.' *Tri anfad gyflafan* is the earliest attestation of this word given in the dictionary.

16."[69] I would like to push back strongly against the assertion that there is a "fuller version" of this story lurking behind this version of the triad. In my view, what is happening here is another example of a phenomenon we have seen elsewhere in these expanded triads – the scribe or redactor of the White and Red version has revised an Early version text of this triad by adding story telling material in discrete places. These revisions and additions represent that redactor's own creative vision and are likely his own invention.

In this case, three details have been added, one for each limb that has been carried over from the Early version of *Tair anfad fwyallod*. While the rest of this version of the triad is by no means identical to that found in the Early version, these three phrases are the only places in the text where new material has been introduced:

> 1. *y gŏr arodei gan myŏ bob Sadŏrn yg herŏyn enneint yn Talhaearn, a'e treŏis a bwyell gynnut yn y phenn* ("the man who would give 100 cows every Saturday in a vat of oil to Talhaearn and he struck her with an axe on her head")
> 2. *kynnuntei o Aberffraŏ, a dreŏis Golydan a bŏyall yn y benn* ("the woodcutter from Aberffraw who struck Golydan with a blow on his head.")
> 3. [Iago] uab Beli a drewis y ŏr ehun a bŏyall yn y benn ("Iago son of Beli, who was struck by a hatchet on his head by one of his own men.")

All of these details add an element of dark humor, somewhat reminiscent of the bodily comedy found in *Culhwch ac Olwen*, to a text that is quite dry in the Early version. This redactor has seized on the image of people being struck on the head with a hatchet and embellished it, thus highlighting the absurdity of the image. By inserting a character who performs the action of each blow this scribe has made it easier for the audience, whether reading or listening, to picture the action in their mind.

This scribe has developed a combined version of *Tair anfad gyflafan* and *Tair anfad fwyallod* that more closely resembles *Tair mad gyflafan*, its partner in the pair of triads about the

[69] Bromwich, *TYP*, 77.

fortunate and unfortunate slaughters, and eliminated the third triad in this sequence, which he may have considered superfluous to the "contrasting pair." Furthermore, the White and Red version of *Tair anfad gyflafan* mimics the style of *Tair mad gyflafan* as well as its absurdity and its grisly, if darkly humorous, violence. To this end, the phrase *pob Sadwrn* ("every Saturday") has been lifted directly from *Tair mad gyflafan* and inserted into this new *Tair anfad gyflafan* as a parallel. The detail of Iago ap Beli being struck on his head by *y wr e hun* ("one of his own men") likewise seems to echo the theme of *Tri anniwair deulu* ("Three unfaithful warbands, TYP 30), which appears on the same page of both the White Book and Red Book.

THE UNFORTUNATE SLAUGHTERS OF PENIARTH 51

Before concluding the discussion of this triad, I would like to make a few remarks on the version of it that appears in the mid-fifteenth-century manuscript Peniarth 51, which is in the hand of the poet Gwilym Tew.[70] The TYP text in Peniarth 51 is closely related to the White and Red version texts but, as Bromwich notes, often preserves alternate or corrupt readings. It is sometimes not clear if these alternate readings are due to errors on the part of Gwilym or a previous scribe or if they indicate that Gwilym's exemplar preserved alternate readings of the White and Red version which otherwise do not survive. In the case of *Tair anfad gyflafan,* the readings in Peniarth 51 are sufficiently different that they deserve their own comment. The text of this triad in Peniarth 51 is set out below, and I have again provided the version from the Red Book and emphasized the places where the two texts differ:

> *TYP 33 RBH (WR) text:* Tri gɔythɔr ynys Brydein a wnaeth **y** teir anuat gyflauan: Llofuan llaw diffro, a ladaɔd Uryen uab Kynuarch, Llongat grɔm uargot Eidin, a ladaɔd Auon uab Talyessin, a Heid**en** uab E**u**engat, a ladaɔd **Aneirin** gɔaɔtryd verch **teyrn**beird, y gɔr arodei gan myɔ bob Sadɔrn yg herɔyn enneint **yn**

[70] On this manuscript, see Appendix C, p. 485-88.

Talhaearn, a'e treɷis a bwyell gynnut yn y phenn. A honno oed y dryded vɷyellaɷt.

A'r eil, kynnuntei o Aberffraɷ, a dreɷis Golydan a bɷyall yn y benn. A'r tryded, [Iago] uab Beli a drewis y ɷr ehun a bɷyall yn y benn.

TYP 33 P51 text:[71] Tri gwythwr ynys Prydain a wnaeth**ant** tair anɷad gyɷlaɷan: **Lleɷɷan** llaw ddiɷro, a laddodd ɷrien ap Kynvarch, **Llonngrwm** Gargod Eithin, a laddodd Av**a**on ap Taliessin, Heid vab Eengad, a laddodd Gwadodd **ap** Dyrn beirdd **gwr oedd hwnnw a roi gan** muw bob Sadwrn mewn kerwyn eneint.

Tri bwallod ynys Prydain: Talhaearn a drewis ɷenrn yni ffen. A'r ail **kymɷdei** o Aberffro a drewis Golydan a bwyall ym benn. Y drydedd Iago ap **P**eli, a drewis wr ehun yni benn a gwyall.

Comparison of these two versions of *Tair anfad gyflafan* reveals that the content of Peniarth 51's version is not significantly different from that of the Red Book but the wording has changed in several places, a few phrases have been moved around, and several of the names differ between versions.[72] These changes do not indicate a period of oral transmission, in which case we would expect to see significantly more variation in wording; they are likewise too substantial to be chalked up to scribal error. I thus conclude that another scribe or redactor, having inherited the text of the White and Red version of *Tair anfad gyflafan*, made his own conscious edits and changes to suit his own sensibilities. In other words, this is a third individual to have left his creative stamp on *Tair anfad gyflafan*. Interestingly, this new version of the triad seems to recognize *Tair anfad fwyallod* as its own triad or, at the very least, a sub-triad. It is unclear to me whether this is due to the redactor being aware that *Tair anfad gyflafan* and *Tair anfad fwyallod* are two separate triads in the Early version, or if he just preferred to set these two concepts slightly apart from each other for his own creative reasons.

[71] The seventeenth-century antiquarian Robert Vaughan left extensive notes and corrections on the text of Peniarth 51, which I have omitted here. These corrections are noted in Appendices A and B.

[72] One of these names, *Au**a**on*, agrees with the reading of the White Book over the reading of the Red Book, following a pattern noted at Bromwich, *TYP*, xxix. See Appendix C, p. 487.

Conclusion

By way of summarizing the complexity of everything I have laid out above, I will briefly recap the sequence of events I am proposing for the transmission history of the four triads which have been the subject of this case study:

1. A short, "epithet + three names" formula-type triad exists called *Tri unben Deifr a Bryneich* ("Three lords of Deira and Bernicia"). This version of what would become TYP 10 as it survives today probably did not list the three sons of Disgyfdod and, instead, may have included the names of three Northumbrian lords or kings. I have very tentatively suggested that Edelfled (the seventh-century Northumbrian king Aethelfrith), who appears in *Tair mad gyflafan*, may have been one of them.
2. An individual, who we may call the author of *Tair mad gyflafan*, expands the triad to create a form which is close to the one that survives in Peniarth 16 and other Early version texts. He likely drew on *cyfarwyddyd* with which he was familiar, at least in the cases of Gwrgi *garwlwyd* and Edelflet *flessiog*, both of whom are attested at an early period. It is possible that this author was expanding a short, 'epithet + three names' formula-type triad called *Tair mad gyfladan* ("Three fortunate slaughters"), which may have circulated in a precursor to the Early version.
3. Somewhat later, *Tair anfad gyflafan* ("Three unfortunate slaughters," TYP 33) is written. It is possible, though in my view it seems unlikely on stylistic grounds, that the author of *Tair mad gyflafan* and the author of *Tair anfad gyflafan* were the same individual. The author of *Tair anfad gyflafan* was particularly, even uniquely, interested in material about Aneirin and yr Hen Ogledd and may have been working in Gwynedd.

4. *Tair anfad fwyallod* (“Three unfortunate hatchet-blows,” TYP 34) is written, building further on the themes of *Tair mad gyflafan* and *Tair anfad gyflafan*, especially the latter. It is more likely that the author of *Tair anfad gyflafan* and the author of *Tair anfad fwyallod* were the same individual than is the case with either and the author of *Tair mad gyflafan*. This triad was likely composed in Gwynedd.

5. At some point during this process, the sons of Disgyfdod, who originated in the text of *Tair mad gyflafan*, are drawn into the orbit of *Tri unben Deifr a Bryneich*, possibly because the expanded version of *Tair mad gyflafan* associated Disgyfdod’s sons with Edelfled, who in turn was associated with Deira and Bernicia.These three sons of Disgyfdod displace the original names in *Tri unben Deifr a Bryneich*.

This brings us to the status quo as it is found in Peniarth 16 and other Early version texts. The following are the innovations in the White and Red version:

6. There was likely a relatively long period of written transmission during which the forms of most of the names evolved. Alternatively, a single individual (the same as the revising redactor?) may have taken it upon himself to make major changes to these names. In any case, there is an unusually large difference in the name forms of these triads as compared to other triads which exist in both the Early version and the White and Red version.

7. By the time the earliest extant version of the White and Red version appears, in the form of the White Book of Rhydderch (c. 1350), the text of *Tair mad gyflafan* itself has changed only slightly, nothing out of the ordinary for a text that has likely been copied and re-copied, and no major, substantive additions have been made.

8. In contrast to *Tair mad gyflafan*, *Tair anfad gyflafan* and *Tair anfad fwyallod* have changed substantially. What were previously two triads have been merged into one and narrative detail has been added about each of the limbs of the "unfortunate hatchet-blows." This is the creative vision of an individual, who we may call the revising redactor of *Tair anfad gyflafan* and *Tair anfad fwyallod*.

9. A further revising redactor, inheriting the text of the White and Red version of *Tair anfad gyflafan* (probably along the White Book transmission line, as opposed to the Red Book line[73]), made further substantial changes to the form of the triad but did not significantly alter the *cyfarwyddyd* within the triad.

It is difficult to be precise about any date when these triads may have been composed, written, or revised. The dates of their earliest manuscript witnesses give us *termini post quem*, i.e. the third quarter of the thirteenth century for the Early version and c. 1350 for the White and Red version, leaving a gap of around eight decades, between the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, for the development between one and the other. This is complicated, however, by the fact that the Early version continued to be disseminated concurrent to the spread of White and Red version texts. Peniarth 51 and its version of *Tair anfad gyflafan* date from the middle of the fifteenth century, another century after the earliest witness to the White and Red version, but versions of the earlier White and Red version of the triad continue to appear in sixteenth-century texts.

There is sufficient evidence to show that the content of four triads – *Tri unben Deifr a Bryneich* ("Three lords of Deira and Bernicia," TYP 10), *Tair mad gyflafan* ("Three fortunate slaughters," TYP 32), *Tair anfad gyflafan* ("Three unfortunate slaughters," TYP 33), and *Tair*

[73] See comment above, note 71.

anfad fwyallod ("Three unfortunate hatchet-blows," TYP 34) – were developed (and, in many aspects, created out of whole cloth) by at least three or four individuals who, far from mindlessly copying the material put before them, each brought their own interests and creative vision to the material. Furthermore, the development of these triads was co-dependent and even circular: *Tair mad gyflafan* influencenced the composition of *Tair anfad gyflafan*, which in turn influenced the composition of *Tair anfad fwyallod* and the White and Red version revisions to *Tair anfad gyflafan* and *Tair anfad fwyallod* were, in turn, influenced by *Tair mad gyflafan*.

Finally, it is notable that these three triads appear to be isolated from the material present in other triads. With the exception of *Tair mad gyflafan*'s relationship with *Tri unben Deifr a Bryneich* at a relatively early period, the figures and stories found in this grouping of triads do not spread to throughout the corpus of TYP and, indeed, they seem to be archaic and half-forgotten (if they were ever well-known in the first place) by the time the White and Red version was in development.

CHAPTER THREE: *TRI CHYFOR* (*MYNET*) AND *TAIR ORMES* (*DYUOT*): A CASE STUDY

This chapter will consist of case studies of two related expanded narrative triads, *Tri chyfor a aeth o'r ynys hon ac ny doeth drachefyn wr un onadunt* ("Three levies that went from this island and not one of them returned," TYP 35; henceforth *Tri chyfor*), which will be discussed in the first part of this chapter, and *Tair gormes a doeth i'r ynys hon, a nyd aeth wr un drachefyn* ("Three oppressions which came to this island, and not one of them went back," TYP 36; henceforth *Tair gormes*), which will be discussed in the second part of this chapter.

I will argue in what follows that *Tri chyfor* is prosaic, narrative triad that was expanded from a shorter "original" by an author who used it as a vehicle for his own creative vision (much as was the case for *Tri gwrddfeichiad*, discussed in Chapter 1). The author of *Tri chyfor* was most interested in the second limb of his triad, featuring Yrp *lluyddog*. Yrp was an invention of this triad's author, who used the well-known and well-attested *cyfarwyddyd* in *Tri chyfor*'s first and third limbs to lend gravitas and authority to the comical treatment of Yrp in the second. I will argue further that *Tair ormes* was written some time after *Tri chyfor* and in response to it. The two triads do not share an author. The author of *Tair ormes* drew on material that was very important – even foundational – to the medieval Welsh historical imagination without providing his audience with any narrative detail, thus demonstrating that he wrote in an intellectual milieu where the references to the *gormesoedd* he invoked and their significance would have been understood.

PART I: *MYNET* (GOING)

TYP 35 P16 (Early) text: Tri chyuor a aeth o'r enys hon, ac ny doeth dracheuyn ɔr un onadunt:

ɔn, a aeth gan Elen luydaɔc a Chynan y braɔt.

Eil, a aeth gan Yrp lluydaɔc yn oes Cadyal mab Eryn, a doeth eman y erchi kymorth, ac nyt archei o bob pryf gaer namyn deu kymeint ac a delei gantaɔ idi. Ac ny doeth gantaɔ yr gaer gyntaf namyn ef a'e was. Ac ardustru ɔu rodi hynny idaɔ. A hɔnnɔ eissyoes lwyrhaf llu a aeth o'r enys hon. Ac ny doeth dracheuyn bych nep o nadunt. Sef lle y trigws y gwyr hynny: yn dwy enys yn emyl mor Groec. Sef yw y dwy enys hynny: Gals ac Auena.

Trydyd kyvor, a aeth gan Gaswallaɔn mab Beli, a Gwenwynwyn a Gɔanar meibyon Lliaɔs mab Nwyɔre, ac Aryanrot merch ɔeli eu mam. Ac o Arllechwed yd hanoed y gwyr hynny. Ac aethan y gyt a Chaswallawɔn eu hewtyr drwy vor yn ol y Cesaryeit. Sef lle y mae y gɔyr hynny: yg Wasgwyn.

A sef eiryf a aeth ym pob ɔn o'r lluoed hynny: ɔn ɔil ar ugeint. A'r rei hyny oed y tri aryan llu. Sef achaɔs y gelɔit y ɔelly: ɔrth ɔynet eur ac aryant yr enys ganthunt ac eu dethol wynteu o oreu y oreu.

(*TYP 35 P16 (Early) translation:* Three levies who went from this island, and not one of them returned.

One went with Elen Luydawc and Cynan her brother.

The second went with Yrp *lluydog* ["of the hosts"] in the time of Cadyal son of Eryn, who came here to seek assistance, and he did not ask for anything from each principal fortress except twice as many as might come with him to it. And no one came with him to the first fortress except himself and his serving boy. And it was insignificant for him to give that. And that was already the fullest host that went from this island. And it none of them ever returned. This is the place those men resided: in two islands on the edge of the Greek sea. These are those two islands: Gals and Avena.

The third levy went with Caswallawn son of Beli, and Gwenwynwyn and Gwanar sons of Lliaws son of Nwyure, and Aryanrot daughter of Beli their mother. And those men came from Arllechwedd. And they went together with Caswallawn their uncle across the sea after the *Cesariaid*. This is the place where those men are: in Gascony.

And this is the sum which went in each one of those hosts: twenty-one thousand. And those were the three silver hosts. This is why they were called thus: because of the going of the gold and silver of the island with them and they were selected from the best of the best.)

TYP 35 RBH (WR) text: Pann aeth llu y Lychlyn

Porth a aeth y gan Yrp luydaɔc hyt yn Llychlyn, a'r gɔr hɔnnɔ a doeth yman yn oes Gadyal y byry y erchi dygyfuor yr ynys honn. Ac ny doeth gantaɔ namyn ef a Mathuthauar y was. Ac y sef a archei o dec prif gaer ar hugeint yssyd yn o'r ynys honn: deu kymmeint a elei gantaɔ y bob un onadunt y dyuot gantaɔ ohonunt ymeith. Ac ny doei gantaɔ yr gaer gyntaf namyn ef a'e was, ac y bu ardustur gan

wyr yr ynys honn hynny. Ac y rodassant idaɷ, a hɷnnɷ uu lɷyraf llu o'r a aeth o'r ynys honn. Ac ef a oresgynnaɷd a'r gɷyr hynny y fford y kerdaɷd. Ac y sef lle y trigyaɷd y gɷyr hynny yn y dɷy ynys yn ymyl mor Groec: nyt amgen, Clas ac Auena.

A'r eil a aeth gan Elen luydaɷc, a Maxen wledic hyt yn Llychlyn ac ny doethan byth yr ynys honn.

A'r trydyd a aeth gan Gasswallawn uab Beli, a Gɷennɷynwyn, a Gwanar, veibon Lliaɷ uab Nɷyfre, ac Aryanrot verch Beli eu mam. A'r gɷyr hynny o erch a Heled pann anhoedynt, ac a aethan gyt a Chasswallaɷn eu hewythyr a ɷysc y Kessaryeit o'r ynys honn. Sef lle y mae y gɷyr hynny: yg Gɷasgɷyn.

Sef riuedi a aeth gan bob un onadunt: vn vil ar hugeint, a'r rei hynny uu tri aryan llu ynys Prydein.

(*TYP 35 RBH (WR) translation:* When a host went to Scandinavia [Brittany]

Aid went with Yrp Luydawc to Scandinavia [Brittany], and that man came here in the age of Cadial *y byry* to seek a rising [of the troops] of this island. And none came with him except Mathuthafar his servant. And this is what he asked for from the thirty principal fortresses which are in this island: for twice as many as went with him to each one of them to come away with him from them. And no one came with him to the first fortress except himself and his servant, and it was insignificant for those men of this island. And they gave it to him, and that was the largest host that went from this island. And with those men he conquered wherever he traveled. And this is the place where those men resided: on two islands near the Greek Sea: namely, Clas and Avena.

And the second, which went with Elen Luydawc and Maxen Wledic to Scandinavia [Brittany], and they never returned to this island.

And the third which went with Caswallawn son of Beli, and Gwennwynwyn, and Gwanar, sons of Lliaw son of Nwyfre, and Aryanrot daughter of Beli their mother. And those men descended from Erch and Heledd, and they went together with Caswallawn their uncle on the trail of the Cesariaid from this island. This is where those men are: in Gascony.

This is the total which went with each of these: 21,000, and those were the three silver hosts of the Island of Britain.)

THE EARLY VERSION

The Early version of *Tri chyfor* ("Three levies," TYP 35) appears in three manuscripts: Peniarth 16, Peniarth 45, and Peniarth 50. This version of the triad has been given the unwieldy title *Tri chyuor a aeth o'r enys hon, ac ny doeth dracheuyn yr un onadunt* ("Three levies which went from this island, and not one of them returned."). The title is a full sentence, demonstrating already that this is a written, prose text whose author did not expect it to function as a mnemonic

device; a characteristic which persists throughout the triad. The three limbs of the Early version will first be examined below in turn, before turning to changes introduced in the White and Red version.

The expanded narrative triad *Tri chyfor* is a mix of material that is familiar to modern readers and obscure material that appears to be the invention of this triad's author, much like the case of *Tri gwrddfeichiad*, discussed in Chapter 1. However, *Tri chyfor* relies heavily, in a way *Tri gwrddfeichiad* does not, on thematic material that is of integral importance to the way medieval Welsh people thought about Wales's history and the idealized, coherent whole of the island of Britain, called "*yr enys hon*" ("this island") in this triad. I will argue in what follows that the author uses the well-known, culturally-resonant material in the triad's first and third limbs to bolster the authority of a story and character of his own invention in the second limb.

CYFOR I: *A AETH GAN ELEN LUYDAWC A CHYNAN Y BRAWT*

The first limb of this triad, concerning Elen *luyddog* ("Elen of the hosts"), is very short but it cannot be dispensed with quickly. The Early version of this limb, in its entirety, reads: "*Un, a aeth gan Elen luydawc a Chynan y brawt*" ("One, which went with Elen *luyddog* and Cynan her brother"). This Elen is chiefly known from the prose tale *Breuddwyd Maxen,* in which she appears as the wife of Maxen wledig. Maxen himself appears in the White and Red version of this triad, which elaborates only slightly on the Early version: "*A'r eil a aeth gan Elen luyda6c, a Maxen wledic hyt yn Llychlyn, ac ny doethan byth yr ynys honn*" ("And the second, which went with Elen *luyddog,* and Maxen wledig to Scandinavia [Brittany],[1] and they never returned to this island").

[1] The confusion here between *Llychyn* (Scandinavia) and *Llydaw* (Brittany) will be discussed below along with other changes in the White and Red version, see p. 120.

Maxen is a reflex of the historical figure Magnus Maximus, who was declared emperor of Rome by Romano-British troops in 383.[2] His revolt was short-lived but Maximus remained an important figure in the medieval Welsh historical tradition for centuries after his death.[3] He appears as a dynastic ancestor in several genealogies.[4] By the twelfth century, however, his most important role in *cyfarwyddyd* was as the figure who led British troops out of Britain and into Armorica, thereby founding Brittany and leaving Britain itself open to the attacks of the Scots, Picts, and English. Apart from *Breuddwyd Maxen* and *De gestis Brittonum*, which will be discussed presently, the two chief sources for this tradition are Gildas's *De Excidio Britanniae* and *Historia Brittonum*.[5]

Maxen had become fully integrated into *cyfarwyddyd* by the twelfth century. His story is depicted in both Geoffrey of Monmouth's *De gestis Britonum*,[6] in which he is called

[2] Brynley F. Roberts, introduction to *Breudwyt Maxen* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 2005), xi-xci at xliii.

[3] The most recent discussion of this tradition is Ben Guy, "Constantine, Helena, Maximus: on the appropriation of Roman history in medieval Wales, c. 800-1250," *Journal of Medieval History* 44.4 (2018), 381-405. Other discussions include: R.M. Jones, "Macsen Wledig a'i berthynas â'r genedl," in *Cof Cenedl XV*, ed. Geraint Jenkins (Llandysul, Wales: Gomer Press, 2000), 1-28; J.F. Matthews, "Macsen, Maximus, and Constantine," *Welsh History Review* 11.4 (1983), 432-48; Gwyn Thomas, "O Maximus i Maxen," *Transactions of the Honorable Society of Cymmrodorion* (1983), 7-23.

[4] Maxen appears in the following genealogies: Harleian 3859 §2 (Ben Guy, *Medieval Welsh Genealogies* (Woodbridge, England: The Boydell Press, 2020), 334); Oxford, Jesus College 20 §4, §13, §19 (ibid, 340-42); *Gwehelyth Morgannwg*: §3 (ibid, 347-48); the Llywelyn ap Iorwerth genealogies: §9.1, §20, §G1.4, §G10.3 (ibid, 359, 368 394, 396; *Bonedd Gŵyr y Gogledd*: §11 (ibid, 428 and cf. Bromwich, *TYP, 256*); the Pillar of Eliseg l. 20 (Peter C. Bartrum, *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1966), 2); *Bonedd y Saint* §18, §63, §76 (ibid, 57, 63, 65); *Achau'r Saint* §24 (ibid, 70); *Achau Brenhinoedd a Thywysogion Cymru* 6*l*, 18*a*, 28 (ibid, 100, 106, 109) and cf. ibid, 130 (n. 14).

[5] Gildas, writing in the sixth century and painting Maximus as a great villain, provides the earliest mention of Maximus leading British troops away from Rome. This text is edited in Michael Winterbottom, ed. and trans. *Gildas: The Ruin of Britain and Other Works* (London: Phillimore & Co. Ltd., 1978), relevant portion at §§13-14 (pp. 20-21, 93).

Historia Brittonum is clearly based, in part, on the text of *De Excidio Britanniae* but it also introduces the strand of tradition regarding Maximus's troops ending up in Brittany, an element not found in Gildas's text. This text is edited in John Morris, ed. and trans. *Nennius: British History and the Welsh Annals* (London: Phillimore & Co. Ltd., 1980), relevant portion at §27 (pp. 24-25, 65).

[6] See Michael D. Reeve, ed. and Neil Wright, trans, *Geoffrey of Monmouth: The History of the Kings of Britain* (Woodbridge, England: The Boydell Press, 2007), Book 5.

Maximianus,[7] and in *Breuddwyd Maxen*, in which he is called Maxen wledig.[8] Scholars have tended to view these two depictions as representing parallel strands of tradition about Maxen that circulated, mostly independently from each other, in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Geoffrey had completed *De gestis Britonum* by 1139 but the date of *Breuddwyd Maxen* is less certain.[9] Ifor Williams assumed that the tale, at least in its "original" oral form, pre-dated *De gestis Brittonum.*[10] More recently, Brynley Roberts suggested a date of composition in the early thirteenth century.[11] There is unanimous agreement, however, that far from depending on Geoffrey for its material, *Breuddwyd Maxen* represents an independent strain of *cyfarwyddyd* about Maxen and, further, that it was written to support the goals of the rulers of Gwynedd.

Geoffrey does not name Maximianus's wife, who is the daughter of a certain king Octavius and a cousin of Maximianus's rival-turned-protégé Conanus. In *Breuddwyd Maxen*, she is Elen *luyddog*, the daughter of Eudaf and sister of Cynan – the hero of the first limb of *Tri*

[7] There is some confusion in Welsh sources regarding the name of this figure. Early on, he is known in Latin as *Maximus* and in Welsh as *Maxim guletic*. Later, *Maxim* became "erroneously latinized" to *Maximianus*, and this name appears in *Historia Brittonum*, *De gestis Britonum*, and some genealogies. Another Romano-British historical figure, *Maxentius* the son of *Maximianus* (d. 310) further confused the picture (See Roberts, *Breudwyt Maxen*, l-li).
[8] This text is edited in Roberts, *Breudwyt Maxen* (Dublin: 2005).
[9] Regarding the date of *De gestis* Brittonum, Henry of Huntington records seeing a copy of it in a library at Bec in that year. (Nia Wyn Jones, "Historical Writing in Medieval Wales," (unpublished PhD dissertation, Bangor University, 2013), 11.)
[10] Williams, *Breudwyd Maxen* (Bangor: Jarvis and Foster, 1920), xxi. After citing Alfred Nutt's opinion that the text is "certainly later than Geoffrey" and a consequence of subsequent interest in De gestis Britonum, Williams writes: "*Hwyrach mai dyna'r pryd y rhoddwyd ffurf derfyol ar y chwedl, ond mae'r gwahaniaethau pwysig rhyngddi a gwaith Sieffre yn ddigon o brawf i mis fod y traddodiadau y seilir hi arnynt yn llawer iawn hŷn na'i oes ef, ac yn gwbl annibynnol arno*." ("The textual form of the story is given a later date than that [i.e. later than *De gestis Brittonum*], but the important differences between it [i.e. *Breuddwyd Maxen*] and the work of Geoffrey are enough proof for me that the traditions it's based on are very much older than his [i.e. Geoffrey's] time, and completely independent from him.") Bromwich was apparently loath to disagree explicitly with Williams but she did tip-toe around the issue when she wrote "Geoffrey's account of Maximus is in several respects nearer to what was probably the original tradition" (Rachel Bromwich, "The Character of Early Welsh Tradition," in *Studies in Early British History*, ed. Nora K. Chadwick (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1954), 84-136 at 108-09. Cf. Roberts, *Breudwyt Maxen*, lxxxv n. 113.
[11] Roberts argues that *Breuddwyd Maxen* reflects a political perspective favorable to Llywelyn ap Iorwerth and argues on this basis that the text might be dated to c. 1215-17, when Llywelyn's political power was at its height. (See Brynley F. Roberts, "Breuddwyd Maxen Wledig: Why? When?" in Joseph Falaky Nagy and Leslie Ellen Jones, eds. *Heroic Poets and Poetic Heroes in Celtic Tradition: A Festschrift for Patrick K. Ford (CSANA Yearbook 3-4)* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2005), 303-14 at 310-12 and Roberts, *Breudwyt Maxen*, lxxxi-lxxxvi.)

chyfor. It thus seems safe to assume that the material in this triad was drawn from material related to Breuddwyd Maxen, as opposed to *De gestis Britonum*. Elen is not associated with Maxen in earlier sources. Her epithet *lluydawc* (Mod. W: *lluyddog*, 'having many warriors, having an army, warlike, bellicose' etc.')[12] is associated with St. Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great, in several genealogical texts.[13] Elen, the daughter of Eudaf Hen and wife of Maxen, appears only in this triad, *Breuddwyd Maxen*, and in the genealogical texts *Bonedd y Saint* and *Bonedd y Awyr*.[14] The epithet *lluyddog* is not associated with Maxen's wife Elen anywhere other than in *Tri chyfor*. If Roberts's suggestion of an early-thirteenth-century date for *Breuddwyd Maxen* is accepted, this has obvious implications for the date of triad 35's composition.

In *Breuddwyd Maxen*, Elen is depicted as building roads for the Roman army and, indeed, the Roman roads in Wales are still colloquially known in Welsh as *sarnau Helen* ("(H)elen's causeways").[15] Some scholars have argued from this that this is a "native" Welsh Elen, likely (according to this theory) a euhemerized goddess associated with roads, who became entangled in *cyfarwyddyd* with the Roman St. Helena, and that this 'native' Elen became drawn

[12] GPC s.v. *lluyddog, lleuddog.*
[13] Broadly, this Roman (H)elen is depicted two ways in the genealogies, as Elen ferch Coel, the mother of Constantine who found the Cross in Jerusalem, and as Elen the niece of Llywelyn and, in turn, the cousin of Maxen. References to Elen ferch Coel can be found in the following genealogical texts: Oxford, Jesus College MS 20 §13 (Guy, *Medieval Welsh Genealogy*, 341), §51 (ibid, 344); *Gwyhelyth Morgannwg* §3 (ibid, 348); the Llywelyn ap Iorwerth genealogies §G1.3 (ibid, 392), and the genealogy in *Vita Sancti Petroci* (Bartrum, *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1966), 20). Three genealogical texts provide longer, prose descriptions of Elen and her discovery of the Cross. These are: Harleian 3859 §2 (Guy, *Medieval Welsh Genealogy*, 334); *Bonedd y Saint* §14a (Bartrum, *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts*, 56); Oxford, Jesus College MS 20: §4 (Guy, *Medieval Welsh Genealogy*, 340). Elen, the niece of Llywelyn and cousin of Maxen appears in: the Llywelyn ap Iorwerth genealogies §9.1 (ibid, 359), §G10.3 (ibid, 396), §G1.4 (ibid, 392); and in *Bonedd y Arwyr* §17 (Bartrum, *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts*, 89).
[14] *Bonedd y Saint* §63 (Bartrum, *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts*, 63) and *Bonedd y Awyr* §33 (ibid, 94).
[15] See discussion at Roberts, *Breudwyt Maxen*, lxiv and Bromwich, *TYP*, 342. I am grateful to Llŷr Titus Hughes for his help in confirming that this term was still in current use in 2022.

to Maxen in turn because of his own associations with the Romano-British past.[16] However, Brynley Roberts has pushed back on this assumption, stating that there is no reason to assume the Elen of *Breuddwyd Maxen* and *Tri chyfor* developed from a pre-Christian goddess or that she was confused with St. Helena, since neither the given name Elen nor the epithet *lluyddog* are particularly uncommon in medieval Welsh tradition.[17] Indeed, I will return shortly to another figure who bears the *lluyddog* epithet.

Elen's brother, Cynan, is Cynan ap Eudaf who, like Maxen, is closely associated with the migration out of Britain and into Brittany.[18] In *Breuddwyd Maxen*, as in the triad, he is Elen's brother. In that story, Cynan and another brother, Gadeon, help Maxen (re-)conquer Rome through their cunning.[19] In the TYP corpus, apart from this reference in *Tri chyfor*, he is only known from a triad entitled *Llyma y tri lle y daliwyd arglwyddiaeth Gwynedd o gogail* "These are the three times when the lordship of Gwynedd was held by the distaff," TYP 97), which is extant only in the eighteenth-century Cardiff Central Library MS 4.22 (previous Cardiff MS 36) and is thus outside the scope of this dissertation.[20] Cynan ap Eudaf also appears in a handful of

[16] This was first put forward by Ifor Williams, who wrote that there were "*dwy Elen, un Rufeinig a'r llall yn Gymreig, a'r ddwy yn dwyn yr enw Elen Luyddog*" ("two Elens, one Roman and the other Welsh, and both carry the name Elen *luyddog*"). He follows John Rhŷs in his argument that she was a goddess (Ifor Williams, ed. *Breuddwyd Maxen*, xiv-xvi). Bromwich accepts this argument (Bromwich, *TYP*, 342-3).

[17] Roberts, *Breudwyt Maxen*, lxiv-lxvi. He notes, however, that "a tradition about Elen and Roman road-building was apparently in existence when the Breudwyt was being written."

[18] See Bromwich, *TYP*, 320-21.

[19] See Sioned Davies, trans. "The Dream of the Emperor Maxen," in *The Mabinogion* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2007), 103-110, especially 109. Cf. now Joseph Shack, "'A matter to none but the men of the island of Britain": Historical Revisionism and the Assertion of Brittonic Primacy in *Breudwyt Maxen Wledic*," *North American Journal of Celtic Studies* 7.1 (2023), 88-115 for an argument that Cynon (with Gadeon) is framed as the ultimate hero of *Breuddwyd Maxen*, to the denigration of Maxen himself.

[20] Bromwich, *TYP*, 244. The first limb of this triad reads, in part: *Un onaddunt yw Stadweul verch Gadvan ap Kynan ap Eudaf ap Caradoc ap Brân ap Llyr Llediaith…* ("One of them was Stadweul daughter of Cadfan ap Cynan ap Eudaf ap Caradog ap Brân ap Llyr Lleidiaith...") This is not derived from *Tri chyfor*, but comes directly from *Bonedd y Awyr* no. 27a (Bartrum, *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts*, 90), which reads: *Vn onaddunt yw Stradweul verch Gadean ap Kynan ap Eudaf ap Kyradawg ap Bran ap Llyr llediaith…* ("One of them is Stradweul daughter of Gadeon son of Kynan son of Eudaf son of Kyradawg son of Bran son of Llyr llediath…").

places in the Welsh genealogical tradition.[21] He is called Conanus Meriadocus in *De gestis Britonum* and Cynan Meiriadog in *Brut y Brenhinedd*;[22] in both, he is Eudaf's nephew, as opposed to his son.

As the founder of Brittany, Cynan of course plays an important role in the medieval Breton tradition.[23] He is also an important figure in the Brittonic prophetic tradition and appears in many prophetic poems, including an appearance as one of the messianic deliverers in the dramatic climax of the ninth-century poem "Armes Prydein Fawr."[24] It seems clear, however, that, like Elen, the Cynan named in *Tri chyfor* is most closely related with his counterpart in *Breuddwyd Maxen* (who is, in turn, more distantly related to Geoffrey's Conanus and *Brut y Brenhinedd*'s Cynan) and less so with his prophetic, Breton, and Cornish reflexes.

I began this discussion of this limb of *Tri chyfor* by pointing out its brevity, especially in comparison with the triad's subsequent limbs. The Early version is especially bare and requires familiarity with a great amount of outside material to contextualize. The White and Red version is only a little better, adding Maxen wledig to the picture and informing the reader that this levy went to *Llychlyn*. It is striking that, without the survival of *Breuddwyd Maxen* and the inclusion

[21] These include: Oxford, Jesus College MS 20 §4 (Guy, *Medieval Welsh Genealogy*, 340), §11 (ibid, 341); *Bonedd y Saint* §76 (Bartrum, *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts*, 65); Bonedd y Awyr §27a (ibid, 90), §30b (ibid, 93), §31 (ibid, 94).
[22] Reeve, ed. and Wrights, trans. *Geoffrey of Monmouth:* Book 5, especially §§81-88; Henry Lewis, ed. *Brut Dingestow* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1942), 72-80, etc.
[23] This figure appears as *Kenan* in the early twelfth-century *Cartulary of Quimperlé* (an edition of this text can be found at Léon Maitre and Paul de Berthou, *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Sainte-Croix de Quimperlé* (Renne, Brittany: Plihon et Hommé, 1904) as well as the *Life of St Goeznovius*. For a (brief) discussion of Cynan in the Breton context, see Leon Fleuriot, "Old Breton Genealogies and Early British Traditions," *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 26.1 (1974), 1-6 at 2 and, on the implications of the Breton Cynan being included in Welsh vaticinatory poetry, see David Dumville, "Brittany and Armes Prydein Vawr," *Etudes Celtiques* 20.1 (1983), 145-59. Cynan also appears in John of Cornwall's *Prophetia Merlini* (c. 1153). This text has been edited in Michael J. Curley, "A New Edition of John of Cornwall's Prophetia Merlini," *Speculum* 57.2 (1982), 217-49 and see also the discussion in Michael A. Faletra, "Merlin in Cornwall: The Source and Context for John of Cornwall's Prophetia Merlini," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 111.3 (2012), 304-338 at 330-33.
[24] Ifor Williams, ed. and Rachel Bromwich, trans., *Armes Prydein: The Prophecy of Britain* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1982), ll. 164-170. Cynan also appears in this poem at ll. 89, 182. See further Aled Llion Jones, *Darogan: Prophecy, Lament and Absent Heroes in Medieval Welsh Literature* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2013), 31-50.

of Maximianus in *De gestis Britonum*, this limb would be entirely indecipherable to modern readers. I would tentatively suggest that it may have been the case that medieval readers were also considerably better acquainted with the story of Elen, Maxen, and Cynan than with levies of Yrp *lluyddog* and Caswallon and that the author of *Tri chyfor* therefore did not feel it necessary to explain the story in more detail. *Breuddwyd Maxen* was circulating in manuscripts as early as the second half of the thirteenth century,[25] if the author of this triad was familiar enough with that text to draw on it here, is it not reasonable to suppose that his intended audience was also familiar with the tale?[26] 4

CYFOR II: *A AETH GAN YRP LLUYDDAWC*

The version of this limb found in Peniarth 16 reads:

> *Eil, a aeth gan Yrp lluydaǒc yn oes Cadyal mab Eryn, a doeth eman y erchi kymorth, ac nyt archei o bob pryf gaer namyn deu kymeint ac a delei ganthaǒ idi. Ac ny doeth ganthaǒ yr gaer gyntaf namyn ef a'e was. Ac ardustru ǒu rodi hynny idaǒ. A hǒnnǒ eissyoes lwyrhaf llu a aeth o'r enys hon. Ac ny doeth dracheuyn bych nep o nadunt. Sef lle y trigws y gwyr hynny: yn dwy enys yn emyl mor Groec. Sef yw y dwy enys hynny: Gals ac Auena.*
>
> The second went with Yrp *lluydog* ["of the hosts"] in the time of Cadyal son of Eryn, who came here to seek assistance, and he did not ask for anything from each principal fortress except twice as many as might come with him to it. And no one came with him to the first fortress except himself and his serving boy. And it was insignificant for him to give that. And that was already the fullest host that went from this island. And it none of them ever returned. This is the place those men resided: in two islands on the edge of the Greek sea. These are those two islands: Gals and Avena.

Far from the plethora of material relating to Elen, Maxen, and Cynan in *Tri chyfor*'s first limb, in its second we are plunged back into the world of otherwise unattested figures. This episode is an

[25] In fact, the earliest extant version of this text survives in Peniarth 16 part v, which was destined to be end up bound directly next to Peniarth 16 part vi, which holds our earliest Early version text. See Huws, *A Repertory of Welsh Manuscripts and Scribes, c. 800-1800*, vol. 1 (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 2022), 211, 340-1 and Roberts, *Breudwyt Maxen*, xi.

[26] Of course, this supposition requires the assumption that his intended audience was as well-acquainted with *cyfarwyddyd* as he was. But who are these triads for if not people already well-acquainted with *cyfarwyddyd*?

example of a cumulative tale, which is tale type Z21.1 in the Aarne-Thompson motif index.[27] Bromwich, somewhat uncharacteristically, posited that this limb seems to be "a mathematical fantasy invented by the maker of this triad."[28] The size of the host would increase exponentially as Yrp and his attendant moved from fortress to fortress – Peter Bartrum has calculated that Yrp would have left Britain with over a million men![29] – and the immense size of this host and the others invoked within the triad seems to be of fundamental importance to the triad.

Yrp *lluyddog* is unknown elsewhere in the TYP corpus and in medieval Welsh tradition overall. Moreover, "Yrp" is strange-looking in the scheme of Welsh personal names and, though Bromwich finds comparanda in a few names of Irish or Pictish origin, she concludes that is likely to be a "made up name."[30] Given that Yrp is depicted as a foreigner (we are told he *doeth eman* ("came here")), it seems reasonable that both could be true; possibly the author "made up" this name with other, Irish names in mind in order to heighten the sense of Yrp's foreignness.[31] It is not difficult to imagine the author, having been inspired by an unusual name which sounded to him like a certain word, building out this "mathematical fantasy" for his own amusement and for the amusement of his readers.

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[27] Stith Thompson, *The Folktale* (New York: The Dryden Press, 1946), 234: "Formula tales, especially chains and cumulative stories, though they have about them many qualities which belong to games and are therefore amusing to children and to those who never grow up, have aesthetic value of their own. Their essential formal quality is repetition, usually repetition with the continuing additions."

[28] Bromwich, *TYP*, 88, 516.

[29] Peter C. Bartrum, *A Welsh Classical Dictionary: People in History and Legend up to about A.D. 1000* (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1993), 739-40: "Yrp and his servant arrived at the first city. He brought one with him so he departed with two. After the second city he had four with him (2^2), after the third city there were eight (2^3). So after fourteen cities there would be 2^{14} = 16,384 men and after fifteen cities 32,768 men. But according to the Red Book version there were thirty cities. So after the thirtieth there would have been 2^{30} that is 1,073,741,824 men besides himself!"

[30] Bromwich, *TYP*, 516. She compares the following names to "Yrp": "Urbf" from the genealogies in *Vita Sancti Cadoci* and "Erp," "Erip" and "Irb" from the Pictish Chronicle, "so that the name might be of Irish or Pictish rather than of Welsh provenance." The sense that this figure was unknown to medieval scribes is reinforced by the fact that the scribe of Peniarth 50 was apparently unfamiliar with his name. In his rendering of this triad, this scribe wrote *irpluydaꝺc* – one word; later, a mark was added indicating where the word break should be.

[31] For discussion of the Irish language and Irish characters on medieval Welsh literature, see Patrick Sims-Williams, *Irish Influence on Medieval Welsh Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

Yrp's host is said to have left Britain "*yn oes Cadyal mab Eryn*" ("in the time of Cadial son of Eryn"). This figure is called *Cadyal y byry* (Cadial of the ?blows[32]) in the White and Red version; he is not known from any other source by either name until the seventeenth century.[33] Gals and Avena, the two islands in the Greek sea where Yrp's host is said to have stayed, are similarly obscure. Bromwich suggests that they were "corruptions of forms found in some late Latin source," and specifically posits that Galicia might be meant for Gals.[34] However, given the lack of evidence that these place names were known elsewhere, along with the inventiveness of this limb overall, I am not sure that such an origin is necessary. Gals, Avena, and even Cadial might be as much inventions of the author as Yrp himself.

The sparseness of what can be said about the narrative material in this limb, especially compared to the triad's first and third limbs, is in direct contrast to the interest the author of this triad seems to have had in it. It is my contention that this limb is the *raison d'être* of *Tri chyfor*, a playful and even comedic "mathematical fantasy" that manages to pack an entire story with beginning, middle, and end into just a few short lines: Yrp arrives in Britain from an unknown place, alone but for his servant, he travels the country in search of soldiers, and by the time he has visited every fortress in Britain he leaves with an enormous army. Furthermore, we are told that Yrp came to Britain *erchi kymorth* ("seeking assistance"); although it is not explained why

[32] I follow Bromwich in this translation, see the discussion below at p. 120.
[33] On Cadial, see Bromwich, *TYP*, 303 and below, p. 120. Robert Vaughan and Lewis Morris, antiquarians from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries respectively, mention Cadial in passing. Morris follows Vaughan in supposing that this Cadial is a certain "Cadell mab Geraint, the 43rd king of Brutus. (About this time, perhaps, the second Brennius and Belgius spoiled Macedon and Greece, and ruined the Temple at Delphos.)" (Lewis Morris, *Celtic Remains* (London: J. Parker, 1778), 426). Compare to Robert Vaughan (reproduced in Owen Jones, Edward Williams, and William Owen Pughe, eds. *The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales collected out of Ancient Manuscripts* (Denbigh, Wales: Thomas Gee, 1870), 391n): "*Ve allai Cadell m. Geraint, y 43 brenin wedi Brutus, oglych 300 mlywydd cyn Crist*." ("Could be Cadell m[ab] Geraint, the 43rd king after Brutus, around 300 years before Christ.") Bromwich (*TYP*, 303) suggests that Vaughan's source for this unclear reckoning might be a version of *Pedwar brenin ar hugain a farnwyd yn gadarnaf*; most versions of this text have not been edited. For an edition and translation of Text A, see Peter Bartrum, "*Y Pedwar Brenin ar hugain a farnwyd yn gadarnaf* (The Twenty Four Kings Judged to be the Mightiest)" *Etudes Celtiques* 12 (1968), 157-94.
[34] This possibility had been previously suggested by William Camden (see Morris, *Celtic Remains*, 426).

he needed this assistance, this is still more information about the motivation of a character than we get in either of the other limbs. It is clear that the author is invested in Yrp's story in a way he is not in the case of Elen's story or, as we will see below, that of Caswallon.

CYFOR III: *A AETH GAN CASWALLAWN MAB BELI*

The version of this limb found in Peniarth 16 reads:

> *Trydyd kyvor, a aeth gan Gaswallaǿn mab Beli, a Gwenwynwyn a Gǿanar meibyon Lliaǿs mab Nwyǿre, ac Aryanrot merch ǿeli eu mam. Ac o Arllechwed yd hanoed y gwyr hynny. Ac aethan y gyt a Chaswallawǿn eu hewtyr drwy vor yn ol y Cesaryeit. Sef lle y mae y gǿyr hynny: yg Wasgwyn.*
>
> The third levy went with Caswallawn son of Beli, and Gwenwynwyn and Gwanar sons of Lliaws son of Nwyure, and Aryanrot daughter of Beli their mother. And those men came from Arllechwedd. And they went together with Caswallawn their uncle across the sea after the *Cesariaid*. This is the place where those men are: in Gascony.

Although this episode is not nearly as bare as the "Elen" episode that makes up this triad's first limb, it is nevertheless similar in the sense it gives that it is drawing on well-established *cyfarwyddyd* while relaying very little narrative detail in its own right. Several of the names and terms found here – Caswallon, Beli, Arianrhod – have deep resonances in medieval Welsh tradition as it is extant today and even a few of the less well-known names – Gwenwynwyn and Gwanar, Arllechwedd, Cesariaid – have tantalizing, if speculative, connections to other texts. That being said, a closer reading of this limb reveals that it does not provide much in the way of narrative but is, in fact, something closer to a genealogy. Most of this episode is dedicated to explaining the parentage of Gwenwynwyn and Gwanar, their relationship with Caswallon, that they went after the *Cesariaid*, and that they (or their descendants?) are currently in Gascony. The author's interest here seems to be with explaining the relevant family relationships and giving a somewhat mechanical description of events rather than exploring the motivations for and

background to this campaign against the *Cesariaid*. The only narrative is what is required by the conciet of the triad – that a levy went away from Britain and never returned. This lack of characterization and narrative is perhaps especially frustrating in light of the fact that Bromwich and other commentators have often assumed that behind this and other references to Caswallon found throughout the TYP corpus lies an otherwise-forgotten narrative about this ancient British hero. I will argue in what follows that there is little evidence that this is actually the case.

Caswallawn (and Fflur, and Julius Caesar)

Caswallon (M.W. *Caswallawn*)[35] can be equated with the historical figure Cassivellaunos who, according to Julius Caesar's own account in *De Bello Gallico*, led an army against Caesar's attempted invasion of Britain in 55-54 BCE.[36] There is no agreement on whether Caswallon, as he appears in the surviving *cyfarwyddyd* from medieval Wales, was the result of a "genuine traditional memory" of Cassibellaunos or if stories about him were derived from Latin texts.[37] Whatever the case, it is clear that a storytelling tradition had grown up about him in Britain that cannot be found in Latin-language or Roman material.

Outside of the TYP corpus, Caswallon is known from the Second and Third Branches of the *Mabinogi*, where he is said to have taken control of Britain in Bendigeidfran's absence. The Romans go unmentioned in this story.[38] Caswallon is also named in genealogical texts, the

[35] See the discussion of Caswallon at Bromwich, *TYP*, 305-06 and Bartrum, *A Welsh Classical Dictionary*, 122-23.
[36] For Caesar's description, see H.J. Edwards, ed. and trans. *The Gallic War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), Book V §11.13-20).
[37] Bromwich, *TYP*, 305-06. For an argument that such a genuine culturally memory of Cassibellaunos persisted in medieval Wales, see John T. Koch, "A Welsh Window on the Iron Age: Manwydan, Mandobrachios," *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 14 (1987), 17-52.
[38] For the passage in the Second Branch, see Derrick Thomson, ed. *Branwen uerch Lyr* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 2003), ll. 412-23, trans., Sioned Davies, *The Mabinogion* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2007), 33.) The story of the Third Branch picks up right where the Second Branch left off, see Patrick K. Ford, ed. *Manawydan uab Llyr: Text from the Diplomatic Edition of the White Book of Rhydderch, by J. Gwenogvryn Evans* (Belmont, MA: Ford & Bailie Publishers, 2000), 1-2; trans. Davies, *The Mabinogion*, 35-6).

genealogies in Oxford, Jesus College MS 20 and *Achau Brenhinoedd a Thywysogion Cymru*, but he seems to have been occasionally confused for the similarly-named Cadwallon, another historically-derived figure, in genealogical texts.[39] Cynddelw names Caswallon in four poems,[40] after which he does not appear in the work of any other poet until the mid-fifteenth century, when Dafydd Epynt alludes to him.[41] His name also appears twice in the work of the early-sixteenth-century poet Lewys Morgannwg.[42]

Geoffrey of Monmouth based his account of the conflict between Cassibellaunos and Caesar on *De Bello Gallico*, not Welsh tradition, and refers to this figure as *Cassibellaunos filius Heli*.[43] Nevertheless, the translators of *Brut y Brenhinedd* recognized this Cassibellaunos as their Caswallon ap Beli and used this name for him.[44] This name carries over into *Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys*, a version of which is found within *Brut y Brenhinedd*, in which Caswallon is mentioned briefly, though the story is more interested in his brothers.[45]

The overall impression one gets from *cyfarwyddyd* from outside the TYP corpus, then, is that Caswallon ap Beli was a familiar figure to the *cyfarwyddiaid* but perhaps not a particularly popular one. Most texts in which he appears associate Caswallon with the Romans, especially Caesar, but the author of the Four Branches had no problem utilizing Caswallon in his own way,

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[39]. Oxford, Jesus College MS 20 §4 (Guy, *Medieval Welsh Genealogy*, 340). For *Achau Brenhinoedd a Thywysogion Cymry*, see Bartrum, ed. *Early Welsh Genealogical Texts*, 109 (no. 28). For the confusion with Cadwallon, see ibid, 110.

[40] For these poems, see Nerys Ann Jones and Ann Parry Owen, eds. *Gwaith Cynddelw I* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1991 no. 12.25n; no. 16.42; no. 24.134, and idem, *Gwaith Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr II* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1995), no. 3.22n. He is used as a standard for bravery in each of these references.

[41] See Owen Thomas, ed. *Gwaith Dafydd Epynt* (Aberystwyth, Wales: Center for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies, 2002) §14.31-36, For Dafydd's date see Thomas's introduction, p. 6.

[42] See A. Cynfael Lake, ed. *Gwaith Lewys Morgannwg* (Aberystwyth, Wales: Center for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies, 2004), §27.61-64 and §68.1-2.

[43] See Books 3 and 4 of *De gestis Britonum* (Reeves and Wright, ed. and trans., *The History of the Kings of Britain*, 66-80).

[44] See Henry Lewis, ed. *Brut Dingestow*, 20 and 44-55; Brynley F. Roberts, ed. *Brut y Brenhinedd: Llanstephan MS. 1 Version* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1984), 7-19.

[45] See Brynley Roberts, ed. *Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1975), ll. 1-3. Cf. Reeve, ed. and Wright, trans., *The History of the Kings of Britain*, 66-67 and Lewis, ed. *Brut Dingestow*, 44.

without any mention of the Romans. In this context, it is somewhat surprising that he appears in an unusually large number of triads within TYP compared to other figures. He appears in six triads overall: *Tri chyfor* and *Tair ormes*, the subjects of this case study, but also *Tri rodeddigfarch* ("Three bestowed horses, TYP 38), *Tri gwyr gwarth* ("Three men of shame," TYP 51),[46] *Tri aur grydd* ("Three golden shoemakers," TYP 67), and *Tri serchog* ("Three lovers," TYP 71).[47] Of these, only *Tri chyfor*, *Tair ormes*, and *Tri rodeddigfarch* appear in the Early version. The amount of *cyfarwyddyd* that can be gleaned about Caswallon from this version – even, as the example of *Tri chyfor* amply demonstrates, in the expanded narrative triads – is small. I have already noted that Caswallon's characterization and motivation is remarkably thin in *Tri chyfor* but, on the other hand, this triad gives us more characterization and motivation than either *Tair ormes* or *Tri rodeddigfarch*. In both of those, his name appears only in passing. In *Tri rodeddigfarch* is also very brief; we are told in that triad merely that Caswallawn's horse, Meinlas, was one of the "three bestowed horses." In other words, *Tri chyfor* is not only the fullest narrative source available in the Early version, it is the only narrative source.

However, another strain of *cyfarwyddyd* about Caswallon appears in manuscripts from the mid-fourteenth century onwards. This is the story of his apparent love for a woman named Fflur. The earliest reference to this romance occurs in *Tri aur grydd*, which is a White and Red version triad. Its first limb reads: "*Casswallawn uab Beli, pan aeth y geissaw Flur hyt yn Ruuein*" ("Caswallon son of Beli, when he went to seek Fflur as far as Rome.") This bare sentence gives us more narrative material than we get anywhere else about this love story. Another triad, *Tri serchog*, names Caswallon as one of the "three lovers." *Tri serchog* appears

[46] This triad, which appears in only White and Red version texts, is derived directly from Geoffrey by way of Brut y Brenhinedd and therefore tells us little about Caswallawn's role in non-Galfridian *cyfarwyddyd*.
[47] On this triad, see pp. 248-51.

only in the mid-fifteenth-century manuscripts, Peniarth 47 and Peniarth 50. These two manuscripts feature slightly different versions of this triad, one which mentions Fflur and one which does not. The version in Peniarth 47 is a strict "epithet + three names" formula-type triad that merely lists Caswallon as one of the three "lovers." The version in Peniarth 50, on the other hand, adds the phrase "*am Fflur ferch Vugnach Gorr*" ("for Fflur daughter of (?)Mugnach[48] the dwarf")[49] to this limb. No manuscript survives that contains both *Tri serchog* and *Tri aur grydd*, so these triads must have circulated independently of each other, but the sparseness of witnesses to *Tri serchog* and the lack of narrative detail in both triads makes it unclear how widespread and well-known the association of Caswallon and Fflur was in medieval Wales. Despite the fact that no manuscript survives in which they overlap, it is not possible to rule out the possibility that the person or people who developed *Tri serchog* were familiar with *Tri aur grydd* and drew on it for their own triad. Indeed, this emerges as perhaps the most likely explanation given the fact that Fflur is a marginal and obscure figure in every manuscript in which her name appears and the near-complete silence from the rest of medieval Welsh literature.

References to a woman named Fflur occur in several medieval Welsh poems, but only one of these references contains any narrative information.[50] The poem from which we do gain

[48] The name of Fflur's father is lenited in the only extant references to him and could either be *Mugnach Gorr* or *Bugnach Gorr*. Bromwich prefers the former on the basis of Iolo Morgannwg's rendering of this name as Mynach in his "Third Series" of triads, which he "translated" (i.e. forged himself and passed off as a translation) in the early nineteenth century. I follow Bromwich here with reservations for lack of any better option, though I do not consider Iolo a reputable source. (See Bromwich, *TYP*, 354 and Rachel Bromwich, "Trioedd Ynys Prydein: the Myvyrian 'Third Series,'" *Transactions of the Honorable Society of Cymmrodorion* (1969), 127-156 at 147).

[49] On Fflur, see Bromwich, *TYP*, 354 and Bartrum, *A Welsh Classical Dictionary*, 123 and 301. Both suggest *Flora* as a possible Latin equivalent of *Fflur*, though she is not named in any Latin-language source. Cf. the name of the Cistercian monastery *Strada Florida*, known in Welsh as *Ystrad Fflur*.

[50] There are five other references to Fflur in medieval Welsh poetry that do not offer much storytelling material, including three by Dafydd ap Gwilym (see Thomas Parry, ed. *Gwaith Dafydd ap Gwilym* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1963), no. 44.17n, no. 86.5 no. 111.8; one by Madog Benfras (see Barry Lewis, ed. *Gwaith Madog Benfras ac Eraill o Feirdd y Bedwaredd Ganrif ar Ddeg* (Aberystwyth: Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies, 2007), no. 6.7-8n; and one by Gruffudd ap Maredudd, see Ann Parry Owen, ed. *Gwaith Gruffudd ap Maredudd III* (Aberystwyth: Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies, 2007) no. 4.12n. Despite the lack of

some narrative material was written by Cynddelw in the twelfth century; it is therefore about 300 years older than the earliest Triadic references to Fflur. The relevant line in Cynddelw's poem reads: "*Rybu Ull kessar, keissyassei Fflur / y gan ut Prydein, pryd y hesgur*" ("There has been Julius Caesar, he had sought out Fflur from the lord of Britain, costly her care").[51] Cynddelw strikingly does not identify this "lord of Britain" as Caswallon. Thus, there is a very early reference to a relationship between *Caesar* and Fflur, but Caswallon is not explicitly associated with her until much later.

Caesar, who is usually known in medieval Welsh as *Ull Kessar,*[52] is not connected to Fflur directly anywhere in the Triadic corpus. The only possible hint to a connection is in *Tri anfad gynghor* ("Three unfortunate counsels," TYP 59), which says that one of the unfortunate counsels was, *Rodi y Vl Kessar a gǒyr Ruuein lle karneu blaen eu meirch ar y tir ym pǒyth Meinlas* ("To give to Julius Caesar and the men of Rome a place [for] the front feet of their horses on the land as payment for Meinlas"). Since, according to *Tri rodeddigfarch*, Meinlas was Caswallon's horse, this triad may imply a relationship between Caesar and Caswallon that isn't outright stated. Caesar appears in only one other triad, *Tri gwyr gwarth*.[53] Caswallon appears alongside Caesar in that triad, but Fflur is not mentioned.

storytelling material in the other poetic references to Fflur, it might be significant that some of them seem to paint Fflur in a negative light.

[51] Jones and Owen, eds. *Gwaith Cynddelw II* no. 17.69n. Translation by Bromwich, *TYP*, 354.

[52] On Julius Caesar, see Bromwich, *TYP*, 406. Apart from triad 59, he also appears in triad 51 (Trywyr gwarth / Three men of shame) (Bromwich, *TYP*, 138-9). Apart from the reference by Cynddelw quoted above, Caesar is also named by the following medieval Welsh poets: once by Casnodyn (see R. Iestyn Daniel, ed. *Gwaith Casnodyn* (Aberystwyth: Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies, 1999), no. 2.122-23n) and twice by Gruffudd ap Maredudd (see Barry J. Lewis, ed. *Gwaith Gruffudd ap Maredudd I: Canu i Deulu Penmynydd* (Aberystwyth: Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies, 2003) no. 4.56n, no. 5.126. He also appears in the Dinegstow version of *Brut y Brenhinedd* and the Red Book version of *Brut y Brenhinedd*.

[53] The first limb of this triad reads: *Vn onadunt, Auarǒy uab Llud uab Beli, ef a dyuynnaǒd Iulius Cesar a gǒyr Ruuein yr ynys honn yn gyntaf, a beris talu teir mil o bunnoed aryant bop blǒydyn yn deyruget o'r ynys honn y wyr Ruuein, o gyfryssed a Chasswallaǒn y ewythyr* ("One of them, Afarwy son of Llud son of Beli, he who first summoned Julius Caesar and the men of Rome to this island, and caused the payment of three thousand pounds of silver every year in tribute from this island to the men of Rome, because of a conflict with Caswallon their uncle").

Another detail about this limb of *Tri chyfor* that demands attention is the use of the term *Cesariaid* (MW *Cesaryeit*). This term is not found outside of this triad, though it appears in both the Early version and the White and Red version. However, a similar term, *Kessarogyon*, can be found in a poem from the Book of Taliesin.[54] Despite their obscurity, both terms can be translated without much trouble as "men of Caesar," referring to the Roman army led by Julius Caesar. According to this triad, Caswallon and his men pursued the *Cesariaid* out of Britain and never returned. Both Bromwich and Roberts point to a short reference in a late-eleventh-century poem by Ieuan ap Sulien as well as Geoffrey's account of Caesar's invasion, as evidence for a tradition regarding Caswallon driving Caesar's men out of Britain.[55] It does seem to be the case that both Ieuan and Geoffrey were familiar with a story about the ancient Britons' expulsion of Caesar's men but it must be noted that Ieuan does not mention Caswallon in his relatively short allusion to this campaign and certainly neither Geoffrey nor Ieuan imply that Caswallon's army had followed Caesar away from Britain and not returned. *Tri chyfor* is therefore our only source for the narrative that Caswallawn led a host away from Britain.

The following table summarizes the various references to Caswallon, Caesar, and Fflur, both inside and outside of the TYP corpus. Parentheses indicate sources in which a relationship may be implied but is not outright stated:

[54] See Marged Haycock, ed. and trans. *Prophecies from the Book of Taliesin* (Aberystwyth: CMCS Publications, 2013), no. 8.40-41.

[55] Bromwich, *TYP*, 87; Brynley F. Roberts, "Geoffrey of Monmouth and Welsh Historical Tradition," in *Studies on Medieval Welsh Literature* (Lampeter, Wales: Edwin Mellen Press, Ltd., 1992), 25-38 at 30. For Geoffrey of Monmouth's account see Reeve, ed. and Wright, trans., *The History of the Kings of Britain*, Book 4 §56.36-39; §56.70-§57.78. For Ieuan's poem, see Michael Lapidge, "The Welsh-Latin Poetry of Sulien's Family" *Studia Celtica* 8/9 (1973), 68-106 at 82-83 (ll. 54-55): "…*atque famosa natus sum gente Britonum / Romane quondam classi cum uiribus obstat, Iulus cum Cessar refugus post terga recessit*" ("For I am born of the famous race of Britons [which] once withstood the Roman army energetically, when Julius Caesar retreated, a fugitive.")

Table 2: References to Caswallon in Welsh literature

	Date or earliest witness	Caswallon & Caesar	Caesar & Fflur	Caswallon & Fflur	Caswallon	Caesar
De Bello Gallico	*s.i* BCE	x				
Poem by Ieuan ap Sulien	*s.xi*[2]					x
Geoffrey of Monmouth	*s.xii*[1]	x				
Poem by Cynddelw	*s.xii*[2]		x			
Second Branch of the Mabinogi	White Book of Rhydderch (*s.xiv*[med])				x	
Tri rodeddigfarch	NLW Peniarth MS 16 (*s.xiii*[med])				x	
Tri chyfor	NLW Peniarth MS 16 (*s.xiii*[med])	(x)			x	
Tair ormes	NLW Peniarth MS 16 (*s.xiii*[med])				x	
Tri aur grydd	White Book of Rhydderch (*s.xiv*[med])			x		
Tri anfad gynghor	White Book of Rhydderch (*s.xiv*[med])	(x)				x
Tri gwyr gwarth	Red Book of Hergest (*s.xiv/xv*)	x				
Tri serchog (P47)	NLW Peniarth MS 47 (*s.xv*[med])			(x)	x	
Tri serchog (P50)	NLW Peniarth MS 50 (s.xv[med])			x		

On the basis of these disparate references, Ifor Williams and scholars who've followed him have sought to re-construct a narrative concerning a love triangle between Caswallon, Fflur, and Julius Caesar.[56] This is a not unreasonable argument to make; as I have already mentioned, it is

[56] See the discussion at Ifor Williams, "Hen Chwedlau," *Transactions of the Honorable Society of Cymmrodorion* (1946), 41-43, Bromwich, *TYP,* 354 Bartrum, A Welsh Classical Dictionary, 122-23, and Brynley F. Roberts,

certainly striking that *Tri aur grydd* and *Tri serchog* cannot be found together in any extant manuscript. This may suggest that the story of Caswallon and his relationship with Fflur, despite being otherwise unknown today, was not confined to the TYP corpus and that the story was known to multiple people who worked on compiling the disparate versions of TYP, whether as part of oral tradition or from a narrative text that does not survive.[57] I am hesitant to jump to this conclusion, however; it would not be prudent to dismiss the possibility of a common ancestor between the Peniarth 50 text, which holds the expanded version of *Tri serchog* which includes the reference to Fflur, and the earliest witness to the *Tri aur grydd*.

Caswallon and Caesar, then, are two figures whose stories were certainly known to the purveyors of the Welsh storytelling tradition and whose association with each other remained a part of that tradition down through the centuries. However, Caswallon appears in a context without the Romans within the *Mabinogi* so it was possible for storytellers to use Caswallon without invoking Caesar. Fflur, on the other hand, and her association with these two men, is much more difficult to pin down. She is mostly a name without a story. It is very striking, however, that Cynddelw seems to have known a story about her and Caesar – and *not* Caswallon – as early as the twelfth century. Fflur and Caswallon are not linked to each other in any text that survives from before the middle of the fourteenth century, and that link is entirely confined to material from TYP. Based on this evidence, it seems clear that Fflur came into being as a Welsh woman loved by Caesar – perhaps this story was used to explain Caesar's motivations for attempting to invade Britain – but her relationship with Caswallon seems to be a secondary development and one that did not make much of an impact outside the TYP corpus.

"Geoffrey of Monmouth and Welsh Historical Tradition," in *Studies on Medieval Welsh History* (Lampeter, Wales: Edwin Mellen Press Ltd., 1992), 30.

[57] This is certainly Bromwich's opinion; she extrapolates a whole tradition regarding Caswallawn, his opposition to the Romans, and Fflur on the basis of these allusions to him in TYP (see discussion in her note on Fflur: *TYP*, 354).

Apart from the lack of overlap between witnesses to the *Tri aur grydd* and *Tri serchog*, which I have already noted, the table further illustrates that the triads associated with the proposed "love triangle" narrative are very strongly linked to the White and Red version of the Triads, whose earliest witness is in the mid-fourteenth-century White Book, as opposed to in the earlier version in Peniarth 16. The material from Peniarth 16 and other Early version texts focuses almost entirely on Caswallon alone, with only an implied reference to Caesar in the *Tri chyfor* and no mention of Fflur.

The following likely scenario thus emerges from the sum of these references: the story about a conflict between Caswallon and Julius Caesar first entered the TYP corpus by way of *Tri chyfor*, which in turn grew out of the memory of the historical conflict between these two men, perhaps via Geoffrey of Monmouth's interpretation of that story. The subsequent triads containing references to this story were developed as supplementary material to the story found in the *Tri chyfor* perhaps to answer questions that the text of that triad raises but fails to answer. Why is the Caswallon of *Tri chyfor* not content to merely run Caesar and his men out of Britain, as he is in Geoffrey's account of their conflict, but instead continues to pursue them away from the island? As if to answer this question, the *Tri aur grydd* explains that he went to Rome after Fflur. This would suggest that the addition of Fflur was a later development, brought in as an explanation for the rivalry between Caswallon and Caesar at a time when romances and love triangles, like those between Arthur, Guinevere and Lancelot or Tristan, Isolde, and Mark, were a major element of popular European literature. Given that the relationship between Caesar and Fflur was referenced by Cynddelw as early as the twelfth century, it seems likely that Caswallon was drawn into a pre-existing story about Caesar's love for a British woman named Fflur at a later date. After the twelfth century, these characters are linked to one another only within the

TYP corpus and these triads seem to be building on each other. Although it is impossible to completely count out the possibility that a full love triangle narrative about Caswallon, Caesar, and Fflur circulated in medieval Wales, this assumption is unnecessary and it is more straightforward to suppose instead that this cluster of references is evidence of the scribes who developed these triads interacting with and reacting to the material they had inherited from the forebears.

Arianrhod and her sons, Gwenwynwyn and Gwanar meibion Lliaws mab Nwyfre

Several more characters who appear in the third limb of *Tri chyfor* deserve attention. The first is Arianrhod (M.W. *Ar(y)anrot*) who, somewhat like Caswallon, is a figure whose notoriety and apparent importance to medieval Welsh tradition is undercut by the relative paucity of references to her in the extant sources.[58] She is best known from the Fourth Branch of the *Mabinogi*, where she is said to be the sister of Gwydion and Gilfaethwy and the mother of Lleu *llaw gyffes* and Dylan ail Ton.[59] The Fourth Branch identifies Arianrhod and her brothers as the children of Dôn, and, if Dôn is assumed to be their mother, the identity of their father is not specified.[60] Arianrhod does not appear in any other prose texts in medieval Welsh until the fifteenth-century *Hanes Taliesin*, in which Taliesin claims he was imprisoned three times in the "prison of Aranrhod."[61] A reference to her can also be found in "Cadair Ceridwen," a poem in the Book of Taliesin.[62]

[58] See Bromwich, *TYP*, 284-85 and Bartrum, *A Welsh Classical Dictionary*, 25-26.
[59] This text has been edited in Ian Hughes, ed. *Math uab Mathonwy* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 2013) and translated in Sioned Davies, trans. "The Fourth Branch of the Mabinogi," in *The Mabinogion*, 47-64 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).
[60] It is usually supposed, following John Rhŷs, that this Dôn is the Welsh reflex of the same goddess who became known as the Irish Danu, the apparent matriarch of the Túatha Dé Dannan. See Bromwich, *TYP*, 330 and Bartrum, *A Welsh Classical Dictionary*, 230-31. Bartrum points out that there is no textual reason to assume that Dôn is female and that Welsh antiquarians believed them to be a man.
[61] See Patrick K. Ford, trans. "The Tale of Gwion Bach and the Tale of Taliesin," in *The Mabinogi and Other Medieval Welsh Tales* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2019), 151-73 at 164.
[62] This poem reads, in part: "*Aranrot drem clot tra gwawr hinon, mwyhaf gwarth y marth o parth Brython; / dybrys am y [l]lys efnys afon, / afon a'e hechwys gwrys gwrth Terra: / gwenwyn y chynbyt kylch byt ed a / (nyt wy dyweit geu llyfreu Beda)*." ("Arianrhod, famed for her appearance surpassing the radiance of fair weather, / her terrifying

She otherwise does not appear in Welsh poetry until she is referenced in the work of two poets, Lewys Môn and Tudur Aled, both of whom were active in the late-fifteenth or early-sixteenth centuries.[63]

Arianrhod appears in two TYP triads apart from *Tri chyfor*. These are *Tri aur grydd* "Three golden shoemakers," TYP 67), and *Tair gwen rhiain* ("Three fair ladies," TYP 78), the latter of which survives only in Peniarth 47. It is striking that this spread of references to Arianrhod is very similar to that of Caswallon, described above; both characters appear in *Tri chyfor* as well as in *Tri aur gyrdd* and both appear in a triad found in its earliest (or, in the case of *Tri gwen rhiain*, its only) extant version in Peniarth 47. This is curious; did Arianrhod spread out of *Tri chyfor* and into the rest of the TYP corpus in a manner similar (if less prodigious) to the one I proposed for Caswallawn above?

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Gwenwynwyn and Gwanar are described in *Tri chyfor* as Arianrhod's sons and Caswallon's nephews, who traveled away from Britain in Caswallon's host. *Gwanar*, otherwise a well-attested common noun meaning 'lord, prince, leader, warrior,' is not found as a proper noun outside of this triad and one entry in the Book of Llandaff.[64] A little more can be said about his brother, Gwenwynwyn. This was the name of one historical figure, a son of Owain Cyfeiliog and the namesake of Powys Wenwynwyn. Another figure by this name, Gwenwynwyn mab Naf,

was the greatest shame [to come] from the region of the Britons; / a raging river rushes around her court, a river with its savage wrath beating against the land: destructive its snare as it goes round the world / (Bede's books don't tell lies)." (Marged Haycock, ed. and trans. *Legendary Poems from the Book of Taliesin* (Aberystwyth: CMCS Publications, 2007), no. 10.32-37.

[63] These are poems by Lewys Môn (see Eurys I. Rowlands, ed. *Gwaith Lewys Môn* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1975), no. 97.1-7) and by Tudur Aled (see T. Gwynn Jones, ed. *Gwaith Tudur Aled* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1926) no. 134.1-4).

[64] Bromwich, *TYP*, 373; GPC s.v. *gwanar*; for the reference to *guanar* in the Book of Llandaff, see J. Gwenogfryn Evans with John Rhŷs, *The Text of the Book of Llan Dâv: Reproduced from the Gwysaney Manuscript* (Facsimile edition, Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1979), p. 228 l. 3.

appears in *Tri llynghessog* ("Three seafarers," TYP 14) but this is an "epithet + three names" formula-type triad that does not give us any narrative material. Gwenwynwyn mab Naf also appears twice in the court list of *Culhwch ac Olwen* and once in *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy*.[65] Bromwich has put forward the suggestion that the Gwenwynwyn mab Lliaws of *Tri chyfor* should be equated with the slightly-better-attested Gwynwynwyn mab Naf thanks to a corruption of the patronym.[66] However, Lliaws mab Nwyfre is attested elsewhere in *Englynion y Clywaid*[67] and in a poem by Llywarch ap Llywelyn, datable to the late twelfth century. The editors of Llywarch's poetry have suggested, contrasting Bromwich, that this verse was the source of this name for the author of *Tri chyfor*.[68]

This picture is complicated even further when we consider a reference in the work of Llywarch's contemporary, Cynddelw, who wrote in one poem, dedicated to the historical Gwenwynwyn ap Owain Cyfeiliog, of the "*gvychuar gwanar Gwenwynwyn*" (the "fury of prince Gwenwynwyn").[69] The juxtaposition of the improper noun *gwanar* ("prince") and proper noun *Gwenwynwyn* is striking in the context of thinking about *Tri chyfor*, where Gwanar appears as Gwenwynwyn's brother. In light of all this evidence, I would suggest that Gwenwynwyn and Gwanar, the sons of Lliaws mab Nwyfre, are characters which were invented by the author of *Tri chyfor*, whose names were possibly derived from two poems from the corpus of the *beirdd y tywysogion*; this Gwenwynwyn mab Lliaws, therefore, should not be equated with Gwenwynwyn

[65] Rachel Bromwich and D. Simon Evans, eds. *Culhwch ac Olwen: An Edition and Study of the Oldest Arthurian Text* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1992), ll. 193-95; Melville Richards, ed. *Breudwyt Ronabwy allan o'r Llyfr Coch o Hergest* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1948), 19.
[66] Bromwich, *TYP*, 381.
[67] See Marged Haycock, ed. "Englynion y Clyweit," in *Blodeugerdd Barddas o Ganu Crefyddol Cynnar* (Llandybïe, Wales: Dinefwr Press, 1994), 313-37 at 327.
[68] See Elin M. Jones and Nerys Ann Jones, eds. *Gwaith Llywarch ap Llywelyn 'Prydydd y Moch'* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1991), no. 9.19-21n. In her note (p. 92), Jones writes "*Rhaid nodi'r posibilrwydd fod y triawd yn ddibynnol ar y ll[inell] hon*." ("The possibility must be noted that the triad is dependent on this line.")
[69] See Jones and Owen, eds. *Gwaith Cynddelw I* no. 18.24.

mab Naf. If this suggestion is accepted, it would follow that their relationship with Arianrhod, said here to be their mother, was similarly the invention of *Tri chyfor*'s author.

The triad tells us that Gwenwynwyn and Gwanar (and perhaps Arianrhod, though the text is ambiguous) were "*o Arllechwed yd hanoed y gwyr hynny*" ("from Arllechwedd [and] were descended from the men there"). Arllechwedd was a medieval *cantref* in Gwynedd, situated between the *cantrefi* Arfon and Rhos. Locating Arianrhod's family in Gwynedd is in keeping with her depiction in the Fourth Branch but she is not associated with Arllechwedd in particular in any other text.

Perhaps more interestingly, however, Arllechwedd is named twice elsewhere in the TYP corpus, once in *Tri chadfarchog* ("Three battle-horsemen," TYP 18) and once in *Tri gwrddfeichiad* ("Three powerful swineherds," TYP 26). In both these instances, though not here in *Tri chyfor*, it appears as part of the name *Menwaedd o Arllechwedd* ("Menwaedd of Arllechwedd"). Menwaedd, as we saw in the case study of *Tri gwrddfeichiad*, receives the wolf cubs that Henwen brings forth to Arfon. Arllechwedd is yet another example of this limb bringing together disparate names and locations – Caswallon, Gwenwynwyn, Gwanar, Lliaws mab Nwyfre, Arianrhod, Arllechwedd, Cesariaid, Gascony – which serves to lend gravitas to an episode which otherwise lacks motivation, characterization, and any more plot than is required by the conceit of the triad. It is therefore my contention that these names, and the gravitas they lend to this triad, are what interests the author of *Tri chyfor*; the plot, such as it is, is secondary.

Some (more) Speculation on The Development of the Early version of *Tri chyfor*

After the conclusion of the third limb of *Tri chyfor*, the text continues:

> *A sef eiryf a aeth ym pob ỏn o'r lluoed hynny: Un uil ar ugeint. A'r rei hyny oed y tri aryan llu. Sef achaws y gelwit y uelly wrth uynet eur ac aryant yr enys ganthunt ac eu dethol wynteu a oreu y oreu.*

> (And this is the sum which went in each one of those hosts: twenty-one thousand. And those were the three silver hosts. This is why they were called thus: because of the going of the gold and silver of the island with them and they were precious and the best of the best.)

Bromwich suggests that the title given here, "*y tri aryan llu*" ("the three silver hosts") should be considered the older, "original" title of this triad, as opposed to the much longer, prosaic title which appears at the head of this triad in the Early version, "*Tri chyuor a aeth o'r enys honn, ac ny doeth dracheuyn wr un onadunt*" ("Three levies which went from this island, and not one of them returned.")[70] In support of this, Bromwich compares Cynddelw's use of the phrase "*trydydd haearn llu*." ("third iron host").[71] She is especially interested in the form *aryan* ("silver") which, she argues, may be a corruption or derivation from the archaic word *aran* (Bromwich suggests the meaning 'great, huge'[72]) in this instance and in the name of the figure Ar(i)anrhod, discussed above.[73] This implies that an earlier version of this triad had the epithet "*Tri ar(y)an llu [?ynys Prydein]*" ("Three great hosts [?of the island of Britain]") and that the reference to "*uynet eur ac aryant yr enys ganthunt*" ("the gold and silver of the island going with them") was included because the original meaning of *aran* ("? great, huge") was lost and it was felt that some

[70] Bromwich, *TYP*, 87-88.
[71] See Jones and Owen, eds. *Gwaith Cynddelw II* no. 9.80n.
[72] Bromwich, *TYP*, 87.
[73] In her entry on Arianrhod in the Notes to the Personal Names, Bromwich writes: "It is…difficult to determine whether the first element [in the name] is *Aryan-* or *Aran-*. *Aranrot* appears consistently throughout the Fourth Branch of the Mabinogi…But *Aryanrot* is the spelling of the name in triad 35, in the texts of both Pen. 16 and the [Red Book]. In the mind of the triad's redactor there was clearly a connection between the name *Ar(y)anrhod* and the title *Tri Aryanllu* 'Three Silver Hosts.' If *Aryanllu* is the correct form of the compound in this title, then it may have affected the spelling of the proper name. Alternatively, there may be a genuine connection between the two names, which may have stood originally as *Aranrot, Aranllu*. *Aran* survives independently in the mountain names Yr Aran Mawr, Aran Benllyn, and in the diminutive Aren(n)ig, as well as in the name of the Scottish island of Ariainn […] and also as in the first element of a number of Gaulish proper names […] In all these instances the exact meaning remains uncertain, but 'huge,' 'round,' or 'humped,' would all be possible interpretations. […] The triad serves to emphasize the size of the *Tri Ar(y)anllu*, so that *Aranllu* may have been the original form of the epithet. (Bromwich, *TYP*, 284.)

explanation for *aryan* ("silver"), as the word was now understood, was needed.[74] I find this argument to be fundamentally convincing, if difficult to definitively substantiate; Bromwich's point that the immense size of these three levies appears to be central to the triad is particularly well taken, especially in reference to the "Yrp" episode with its exponentially-growing host and the enumeration of how many men left Britain with one of these hosts.

I have recounted Bromwich's argument here in some detail not only to endorse it but also because it is an indication that *Tri chyfor* once existed in a form that is different from how it appears in the earliest surviving TYP texts. As I discussed in the case study of *Tri gwrddfeichiad*, a "short" version of that triad exists, along with the more usual expanded narrative version, in the Peniarth 47 TYP text, which reads:

> *Tri gwrdueichat ynys Prydein:*
> *Pryderi mab Pwyll Pen Anwfyn, a Choll mab Collurewy, a Drystan.*
>
> (Three powerful swineherds of the Island of Britain:
> Pryderi son of Pwyll Pen Anwfyn, and Coll son of Collfrewy, and Drystan.)

No such "short" version of *Tri chyfor* survives, but I think its one-time existence can be surmised. What follows is a speculative reconstruction of the possible development of *Tri chyfor*. For this purpose, it will be helpful to continue to compare *Tri gwrddfeichiad* and *Tri chyfor*.

I argued in the previous case study that the author of *Tri gwrddfeichiad* expanded the "short" version of that triad found in Peniarth 47 and, in doing so, created an original prose text which reflected his own interests and creative vision. In that case, the author was particularly interested in a boar hunt story of his own devising involving Coll fab Collfrewy but he also took

[74] Bromwich: "The emphasis throughout the triad is on the size of the three hosts; so that from the information we are given 'great, huge' would be an appropriate epithet for them, if this is the meaning of *aran*. Pen. 16's explanation of the epithet 'because the gold and silver of the Island went with them,' comes somewhat lamely after an allusion to the number of men which composed each of the hosts, and it could well represent a secondary attempt to explain the epithet, after the original meaning of aran had been forgotten. Nevertheless, all the manuscripts favor *aryanllu* as against *aranllu*." (Bromwich, *TYP*, 87).

the time (not to mention the vellum) to elaborate on the better-known stories of Pryderi and Drystan, perhaps in order to bolster Coll's authority by association.

It seems reasonable to think that a similar process is underway in the case of *Tri chyfor*, though its earlier form is lost to us. I would thus suggest that *Tri chyfor* began its life in a form similar to this:

> *Tri aran llu ynys Prydein:*
> *Un, a aeth gan Elen a Chynan y brawt, eil, a aeth gan Yrp Lluyddawc,*[75] *trydyd, a aeth gan Caswallawn mab Beli.*
>
> (Three great hosts of the Island of Britain:
> One, which went with Elen and Cynan her brother; second, which went with Yrp Lluyddawc; third, which went with Caswallawn mab Beli.)

It is striking that this is not a strict "epithet + three names" formula-type triad; the nature of its content (i.e., the fact that the *lluoedd* (hosts), not individuals, are the subjects of the title) precludes such a form. The use of the abnormal order and a conjugated verb (*aeth*) sentence may be an indication, as I argued above was the case for *Tri anfad gyflafan*, that even in its original form this triad was designed to be transmitted through writing, not orally. If we assume, as I argued above, that the first limb reflects knowledge of *Breuddwyd Maxen* it might be dated to the early thirteenth century. At some point in this process, the by-then archaic adjective *aran* ('great, huge') may have been misconstrued as *aryan* ('silver'), causing the title of the triad to become *Tri aryan llu ynys Prydein* ("Three silver hosts of the island of Britain."). This is the form that the author of *Tri chyfor* would have come across, expanded, and made his own.

I have suggested that the author of *Tri chyfor* used his audience's familiarity with Elen, Cynan, and Caswallon to bolster the authority of Yrp, who, it seems likely, was the author's

[75] The possibility – or perhaps even likelihood – must be noted that the author of the extended version of *Tri chyfor* made up the name "Yrp *lluyddog*" (see discussion of this name above) and replaced an earlier name in this limb of the triad. If this is the case, the name that appeared in the presumptive short version cannot be recovered..

invention. In any case, it is clear that the Yrp episode is the centerpiece of *Tri chyfor*. I have argued above that this triad's better-known figures exist as little more than evocative names on the page; this is not the case for the Yrp episode, whose narrative is short but nevertheless complete.

SAINT URSULA: THE ADDITION OF PENIARTH 50

One manuscript, Peniarth 50, contains additional material following the conclusion of the main body of this triad:

> *Ac vn llu hayach vu gymeint ar tri hynny a aeth gyda Maxen wledic y Lydaó. A phan ddannonaódd Kynan Mairydaóc ac Dunaót tywyssaóc Kernyó y gaffel Vrsula y verch y daeth o'r Dylyedogyon vn vil ar ddec o vorynyon merthyr yssydd yg Holoyn, ac heuyt deugein mil o wragedd ereill, ac ny ddeuth yr vn drachefyn.*
>
> (And one was very nearly as large those three, [the one] which went with Maxen Wledig to Brittany. And when he sent Cynan Meriadoc and Dunawt prince of Cornwall to get Ursula his daughter, there came of the *Dylyedogion* 11,000 virgin martyrs who were in Cologne, and also 40,000 other women, and not one came back.)

This material is lifted in large part from *De gestis Brittonum*, perhaps via *Brut y Brenhinedd*.[76] It introduces two further characters, neither of which are known elsewhere in the TYP corpus. These are Ursula – known elsewhere as *saint* Ursula – and her father Dunod, the prince of Cornwall. This story was not part of Welsh *cyfarwyddyd* prior to Geoffrey including it in his work. Ursula, a fourth-century virgin martyr from Cologne, had become part of the German historical tradition by the ninth century.[77] A tenth-century Life of the saint depicts Ursula as a British princess who sailed the seas for three years before she came aground at Cologne and was murdered by Huns. This text, which hails from Cologne, claims that the story is based on a

[76] See Reeve, Michael D., ed. and Neil Wright, trans. *Geoffrey of Monmouth: The History of the Kings of Britain* (Woodbridge, England: The Boydell Press, 2007), Book V, §§87-88 (pp. 107-11).
[77] On Ursula, see Jane Cartwright, *The Cult of St Ursula and the 11,000 Virgins* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2016) and cf. Bartrum, *A Welsh Classical Dictionary*, 728-29.

British source, which, Bromwich speculates, may be why Geoffrey chose to include it in *De gestis Britonum*.[78]

Ursula's father, known here as Dunod (M.W. Dunawt), is drawn directly from Geoffrey's *Dionotus rex Cornubie* ("Dionotus king of Cornwall").[79] He should not be confused with another Dunod, known from *Tri phost cad (*"Three pillars of battle," TYP 5) and *Tri marchlwyth* ("Three horse-burdens," TYP 44), who is unrelated. Dunod's inclusion here, with a Welsh name that matches its rendering in *Brut y Brenhinedd*,[80] is the first indication that the author of this expansion to the triad was likely drawing on the *Brut* as a source: Ursula's father is not named in the tenth-century Life of St Ursula and the name Dionotus/Dunod is a Galfridian invention.[81] However, it is likely that *Brut y Brenhinedd* was not the only source for this expansion. Neither Geoffrey nor the *Brut* mention Cologne as the setting of this story, but Peniarth 50 does. Bromwich has argued that the author of this limb, "drew upon fuller information about this incident than is obtained either from the Welsh *Brut* or from the available texts of [*De gestis Britonum*]. Either the redactor drew upon a text of [*De gestis Britonum*] that is so far unidentified or else he was citing an independent knowledge of the Ursula legend."[82] The story was translated into Welsh independently from *Brut y Brenhinedd*; it is extant in a text called *Hystoria Gweryddon yr Almaen*, which can be found in the early-sixteenth-century NLW Peniarth MS 182, which is thought to have been translated from Latin by that manuscript's scribe.[83] However,

[78] Bromwich, *TYP*, 335.
[79] See Reeve, ed. and Wright, trans. *The History of the Kings of Britain*, Book V §§87-88.
[80] Lewis, ed. *Dingestow Brut* Book V, §15.
[81] Here and elsewhere where Galfridian material is incorporated into the triads, the authors and redactors of TYP consistently use the same Cambricized names for Geoffrey's characters as do the translators of the *Brutiau*. Of course, this does not preclude the possibility that at least some of these authors and redactors had read Geoffrey's work in Latin.
[82] Bromwich, *TYP*, 335.
[83] For the text, see Jane Cartwright, ed. *Hystoria Gweryddon yr Almaen: The Middle Welsh Life of St Ursula and the 11,000 Virgins* (Cambridge, England: Modern Humanities Research Association, 2020). For Peniarth 182, see Huws, *Repertory*, I, 412.

since Peniarth 50 is about three quarters of a century older than Peniarth 182, it cannot be the source for this limb. It is therefore possible that another version of Ursula's story was circulating in Welsh significantly before *Hystoria Gweryddon yr Almaen* was produced. It could just as well be the case, however, that the author of this expanded limb drew on Latin-language material with which he was familiar, possibly the same material as the later translator of the *Hystoria*.

Ursula's story occurs as an interlude between episodes about Maxen *wledig* in both Geoffrey and *Brut y Brenhinedd*; indeed, it directly follows the story of Maxen and Cynan's conquest of Brittany. It is therefore perhaps not surprising that a redactor of the TYP corpus, recognizing the story of the levy which went with Cynan to Brittany, chose to supplement the three limbs with the story of another levy which, in the mind of that redactor, was literally the continuation of the first. He may also have been inspired by a detail that is included in the text of *Brut y Brenhinedd* which reads:

> *Sef eiryf a gynnullvt o uerchet dylyedogyon, un uil ar dec, ac o wraged oed is eu breint y am uerchet y tirdiwyllodron a'r bileinnieyt, deu ugein mil.*
>
> (This is the number of noble daughters which were gathered: 11,000, and [the number] of women under their protection who were daughters of the farmers and the peasants: 20,000.)

This wording is very similar to the triad's *A sef eiryf a aeth ym pob ón o'r lluoed hynny: ón óil ar ugeint* ("And this is the number which went in each of those hosts: 21,000"). Indeed, the wording of these two passages is so close that it is difficult to escape the thought that one passage was influenced by the other in the first place. Again, it is not difficult to imagine our redactor, noticing this verbal similarity and being inspired to incorporate this episode into the triad.

The addition of this limb only exists in one manuscript; it is therefore a relatively minor detail in the textual history of this triad and TYP overall. It is significant, however, because it

demonstrates that substantial expansions of this material continued to be possible long into the textual history of TYP; this addition was composed perhaps as late as the second quarter of the fifteenth century. Furthermore, it is interesting that rather than being inserted directly after the related story in the first limb, the supplementary material is given as a fourth limb. The author of this limb chose to conform to the expected format of an expanded triad over keeping the related material together as one unit. However, upon closer inspection, it becomes evident that he somewhat missed the mark: he writes, *Ac vn llu* ***hayach*** *vu gymeint ar tri hynny…* ("And one host was **very nearly** as large as those three…"). This is a departure from the more usual format of a supplementary limb; it is more typical to see these types of additions be used to indicate one which is somehow *more* than the figures named in the first three limbs.[84]

"*Pann aeth llu y Llychlyn*": the White and Red version of *Tri chyfor*

So far, I have focused almost entirely on the Early version of *Tri chyfor* in this case study. In what follows, I will turn my attention to the White and Red version of this triad. It appears, under the alternate title "*Pann aeth llu y Llychlyn*" ("When the host went to Scandinavia"), in the texts of the White and Red version found in the Red Book, Peniarth 51, Cwrtmawr 3, and BL Add. 15,047. This triad does not appear in the White Book. That being said, given that the beginning of that text has been lost and *Tri chyfor* appears towards the beginning of the Red Book text, it's very likely that it once appeared as part of that lost material.[85] This triad is the fifth in the sequence in the Red Book, following four strict "epithet + three names" formula-type triads comparing figures from the classical and biblical traditions to Adam and Eve. The narrative

[84] Take, for example, *Tri thaleithiog cad* ("Three battle leaders," TYP 15): *Ac ỏn oed taleithyaỏc arnadunt wynteu ell tri: Bedwyr mab Bedraỏc oed hỏnnỏ.* ("And one was diademed above those three: that was Bedwyr son of Bedrawc.").
[85] See Appendix C, p. 474.

prose of *Tri chyfor*, introduced with its own heading in red ink, thus serves as an introduction to the more home-grown, Welsh elements of TYP and draws the audience into the world of *cyfarwyddyd*. It is followed, without a new heading, by another extended narrative triad, *Tri gwyr gwarth* ("Three men of shame," TYP 51), before the text reverts, at least temporarily, to "epithet + three names" formula-type triads under a new heading which reads "*Dechreu y trioedd yw y rei hynn*…" ("These triads begin…"). *Tri chyfor* and *Tri gwyr gwarth* thus form their own subsection in the White and Red version.[86]

As we have already seen in the case study of *Tri gwrddfeichiad* in Chapter 1, the White and Red versions of expanded triads add to the Early version only at certain, discrete points. In other words, they are not completely re-written or re-imagined versions of the Early version texts. The wording is often not exactly verbatim but, nevertheless, comparison of the texts of both versions reveals that the skeleton of the Early version triad remains intact in the White and Red version and but that new *cyfarwyddyd* has been added to it. This is certainly the case for *Tri chyfor*. The Early version and White and Red version of this triad are compared below; I have highlighted sentences and phrases in the Red Book text that do not appear in the Early version of this triad:

> *TYP 35 P16 (Early) text*: Tri chyuor a aeth o'r enys hon, ac ny doeth dracheuyn ỏr un onadunt:
>
> ỏn, a aeth gan Elen luydaỏc a Chynan y braỏt.
>
> Eil, a aeth gan Yrp lluydaỏc yn oes Cadyal mab Eryn, a doeth eman y erchi kymorth, ac nyt archei o bob pryf gaer namyn deu kymeint ac a delei gantaỏ idi. Ac ny doeth gantaỏ yr gaer gyntaf namyn ef a'e was. Ac ardustru ỏu indi hynny idaỏ. A hỏnnỏ eissyoes lwyrhaf llu a aeth o'r enys hon. Ac ny doeth dracheuyn bych nep o nadunt. Sef lle y trigws y gwyr hynny: yn dwy enys yn emyl mor Groec. Sef yw y dwy enys hynny: Gals ac Auena.
>
> Trydyd kyvor, a aeth gan Gaswallaỏn mab Beli, a Gwenwynwyn a Gỏanar meibyon Lliaỏs mab Nwyỏre, ac Aryanrot merch ỏeli eu mam. Ac o Arllechwed yd

[86] In other words, *Tri chyfor* is the first triad in the Red Book's second microtext. See the discussion in Chapter 5, pp. 192-94.

hanoed y gwyr hynny. Ac aethan y gyt a Chaswallawɔn eu hewtyr drwy vor yn ol y Cesaryeit. Sef lle y mae y gɔyr hynny: yg Wasgwyn.

A sef eiryf a aeth ym pob ɔn o'r lluoed hynny: ɔn ɔil ar ugeint. A'r rei hyny oed y tri aryan llu. Sef achaɔs y gelɔit y ɔelly: ɔrth ɔynet eur ac aryant yr enys ganthunt ac eu dethol wynteu a oreu y oreu.

TYP 35 RBH (WR) text: **Pann aeth llu y Lychlyn:**
Porth a aeth y gan Yrp Luydaɔ**c hyt yn Llychlyn**, a'r gɔr hɔnnɔ a doeth yman yn oes Gadyal **y Byry** y erchi **dygyfuor yr ynys honn**. **Ac ny doeth gantaɔc namyn ef a Mathuthauar y was.** Ac y sef a archei o dec prif gaer ar hugeint yssyd yn yr ynys honn. Deu kynnueint a elei ganthaɔ y bob un onadunt y dyuot ganthaɔ ohonunt ymeith. Ac ny doei gantaɔ yr gaer gyntaf namyn ef a'e was, ac y bu ardustur gan wyr yr ynys honn hynny. **Ac y rodassant idaɔ,** a hɔnnɔ uu lɔyraf llu o'r a aeth o'r ynys honn. **Ac ef a oresgynnaɔd a'r gɔyr hynny y fford y kerdaɔd.** Ac y sef lle y trigyaɔd y gɔyr hynny yn y dɔy ynys yn ymyl Mor Groec: nyt amgen, Clas ac Auena.

A'r eil a aeth gan Elen Luydaɔc, **a Maxen Wledic hyt yn Llychlyn ac ny doethan byth yr ynys honn.**

A'r trydyd a aeth gan Gasswallawn uab Beli, a Gɔennɔynwyn, a Gwanar, veibon Lliaɔ uab Nɔyfre, ac Aryanrot verch Beli eu mam. A'r gɔyr **hynny o erch a Heled** pann anhoedynt, ac a aethan gyt a Chasswallaɔn eu hewythyr **a ɔys**c y Kessaryeit o'r ynys honn. Sef lle y mae y gɔyr hynny yg Gɔasgɔyn.

Sef riuedi a aeth gan bob un onadunt, vn vil ar hugeint, a'r rei hynny uu tri aryan llu Ynys Prydein.

It is apparent from this comparison that, as is the case with *Tri gwrddfeichiad* as well as *Tair mad gyflafan*, the scribe who expanded *Tri chyfor* added sentences in a few places while, for the most part, otherwise leaving the text of the Early version intact. The smaller, more isolated changes may be due to misreadings or corruptions of the text. Still, the scribe who expanded this triad did make some substantive changes to the text, these include giving a name – Mathuthafar – for Yrp's servant. This figure is unknown elsewhere. Bromwich comments merely that the *Math* element is likely to be the same as in Math fab Mathonwy and that the ending may be a corruption of *-vawr*.[87] I would suggest the alternate possibility that the scribe who expanded this triad, getting in on the fun of this limb, created a foreign-sounding, vaguely-Irish-sounding name

[87] Bromwich, *TYP*, 441; cf. her discussion of Math's name, ibid, 438.

to pair with Yrp. At first glance, this addition appears to be somewhat sloppily done. It tells us that "*Ac ny doeth ganta6c namyn ef a Mathuthauar y was"* ("And none came with him except Mathuthafar his servant") and, later, reiterates "*Ac ny doei ganta6yr gaer gyntaf namyn ef a'e was"* ("And no one came with him to the first fortress except himself and his servant"). By adding the sentence about Mathuthafar but not deleting the sentence that already existed in the Early version, the scribe who expanded this triad created a redundancy within the text. Rather than assuming that this was a mistake on the part of the scribe, we might wonder whether this was a stylistic choice. This redundancy, or perhaps repetition, adds something to the text, which is about Yrp *lluyddog* going from fortress to fortress gathering more and more troops – the repetition is in the text. In any case, that Mathuthafar had become accepted as part of this tradition by the early modern period is indicated by the fact that "*Mathuthafar ei was*" ("Mathuthafar his servant") has been added in the margins of the Peniarth 16 text after "*Ac ny doei ganta6yr gaer gyntaf namyn ef a'e was"* in the hand of the late-sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century manuscript collector Jaspar Gryffyth, who once owned that manuscript.[88]

Perhaps the most substantial change made to the Red Book text of *Tri chyfor* is that it has been given a new title. Gone is the lengthy and somewhat clunky "*Tri chyuor a aeth o'r enys hon, ac ny doeth dracheuyn wr un onadunt*" ("Three levies who went from this island, and not one of them returned"); it has been replaced by the much more succinct "*Pann aeth llu y Lychlyn*" ("When a host went to Scandinavia"). This is the title that appears as a rubric in red ink to introduce the sub-section made up by *Tri chyfor* and *Tri gwyr gwarth*. This new title is puzzling in a few respects. First, it is surprising to see the triad proclaim that all these hosts were

[88] For the marginal notes in Peniarth 16 see above Appendix A, pp. 302-06, and Huws, *Repertory*, I, 341. It should be noted, however, that it seems more likely to me that Gryffydd had access to both versions when he was writing his note than that he independently knew a version of this story which included Mathuthafar.

bound for *Llychlyn* (Scandinavia).[89] Bromwich has convincingly proposed that this is a mistake for *Llydaw* (Brittany), the destination of Elen and Maxen's host.[90] That is all well and good, but it is still curious not only that the scribe who expanded this triad found it an appropriate title for a triad in which two of the three hosts are explicitly said to have other destinations (Yrp's host on the islands of Clas and Auena, Caswallon's in Gascony), but also that the story of the first host was not sufficiently associated with Brittany to avoid this mistake. The White and Red version of this triad also dispenses with the word *cyfor* ("levy") which, as we have seen, appears in the title of the Early version. It is replaced in the title of the White and Red version by *llu* ("host, army");[91] *Llu* is the much more common noun of the two and is the usual word denoting an army in Middle Welsh, so we may suppose that the redactor of the White and Red version replaced an obscure word with a more familiar one. However, if it was the case that an older version of *Tri chyfor* bore the title *Tri ar(y)an llu Ynys Prydain*, as I discussed above, it is possible that *llu* is the older usage and that *cyfor* is the innovation.

Another change made to in the Red Book text is that the Yrp episode, which is the second limb in the Early version, has switched places with the Elen episode, and is now the first limb of the triad, bumping the shorter Elen episode to the second limb. This may reflect the fact that the scribe who expanded this triad understood that the Yrp's story was the most important episode in

[89] This place name can also be found, indicating Scandinavia, during Glewlwyd *gafaelfawr*'s speech in *Culhwch ac Olwen* (Bromwich and Evans, ed. *Culhwch ac Olwen*, l. 119-20n) and in *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* (Richards, *Breudwyt Ronabwy*, 9.21 and 20.3).

[90] Bromwich, *TYP*, 88: "The fact that in [the second limb] the destination of the army of Elen Luyddog and Maxen is described as *hyt yn llychlyn* provides a strong argument in favour of the belief that Llychlyn in the triad is a corruption of Llydaw (Armorica), the traditional destination of the army of Maxen Wledig, and surely the nucleus around which this triad evolved. The two strokes of the *d* in *Llydaw* could at some point have been misread as *cl*. (The alteration of *Llychlyn* to *Llydaw* has in fact been inserted in the text of the Red Book by a later hand.)"

[91] Bromwich argued that the presence of the word *dygyfor* (GPC s.v. *dygyfor* 'stir, commotion, tumult; a rising or surging, a rushing, noise of waters; turbulent confluence; a gathering or mustering, levy, host, throng'), a compound of *cyfor* (GPC s.v. *cyfor* 'flow, flood; a surging, a rising, stir; muster, levy; multitude, abundance') in the White and Red version texts of this triad is evidence that cyfor was the original word in this context and that *llu* is an innovation (Bromwich, *TYP*, 83-4; see also Ifor Williams's discussion of these terms in "Nodiadau Ieithyddol: or, eryr, dygyfor, Eryri," *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 4.2 (1928), 137-141 at 138).

this triad and that he thought it deserved pride of place. A smaller difference in this limb is that Cadial, called "Cadyal mab Eryn" in the Early version texts, is known as "Cadyal *y byry*" in the White and Red version. Bromwich suggested that this *byry* is a plural form of *bwrw* ('throw, cast, blow') and thus the epithet could be translated Cadial "of the blows." According to Bromwich, the most likely reason for this change is that it is simply a corruption of the "mab Eryn" of the Early version. For lack of any other narrative information about this Cadial I see no reason to doubt her suggestion, since the epithet "of the blows" adds little to the themes or atmosphere of the Yrp episode.[92]

Another figure who is introduced into the text of *Tri chyfor* in the Red Book, Maxen wledig, has already been discussed at length above. As we have seen, the Red Book's text of this episode elaborates a little on the Early version's extreme conciseness: "*A'r eil a aeth gan Elen Luyda6c, a Maxen wledic hyt yn Llychlyn ac ny doethan byth yr ynys honn*" (And the second, which went with Elen Luydawc and Maxen Wledic to Scandinavia [Brittany], and they never returned to this island"). It can be seen here that Cynan has been entirely replaced in favor of Maxen in the Red Book text. The scribe who expanded this triad also gives us Elen and Maxen's destination -- *Llychlyn* -- and tells us "*ny doethan byth yr ynys honn*" ("they never returned to this island"). This final phrase becomes necessary in the context of the Red Book text because the Red Book's alternate title for this triad means that this important narrative information would otherwise be missing from this version.

The last difference between the two versions of this triad that must be mentioned is that the reference to Arllechwedd in the Early version has been replaced in the White and the Red

[92] Another possibility offered by Bromwich, which she sees as less likely than the corruption of "mab Eryn," is that *y byry* is a corruption of *y beri* ('to cause'), which could have been glossed *y erchi* and later confused with an epithet once *y erchi* became part of the main text (Bromwich, *TYP*, 89).

version by Erch and Heledd, place names that probably refer to locations in Cheshire and Shropshire, respectively.[93] Bromwich, following Eurys Rowlands, suggests that these "almost forgotten place names…were those which were original to the triad and that they were superseded by the more familiar name Arllechwedd in the Pen[iarth] 16 version."[94] Rowlands and Bromwich are inclined to give Erch and Heledd precedence over Arllechwedd because of a reference to them by Cynddelw.[95] I must say that I do not find this line of thinking convincing. I noted above that Arllechwedd connects *Tri chyfor* to other triads within the TYP corpus; Erch and Heledd do not. It seems more likely to me that the *Erch a Heledd* of the White and Red version rises from a misreading of *Arllechwedd* and that, perhaps, the scribe who expanded this triad took it for a pair of place names he was familiar with, whether from Cynddelw's poem or elsewhere. There is no reason to think that Erch and Heledd were the "original" places named in this triad.

SUMMARY OF PART I:

I have proposed the following stages in the development and transmission of this triad:

1. A "short version" of *Tri chyfor* exists, titled *Tri aran llu Ynys Prydain* ("Three (?)huge hosts of the Island of Britain"). This version was partially expanded, not a strict "epithet + three names" formula-type and, therefore, was likely developed in a written context. This version probably included Elen and Caswallon but it may be that the second limb named another, unknown figure in place of Yrp.

[93] On Arllechwedd, see above [*internal reference needed*]. On Erch and Heledd, see Bromwich, *TYP*, 86.
[94] Bromwich, *TYP*, 86. See also Rowland's discussion in his review of the first edition of *TYP*, Eurys I. Rowlands, "Adolygiad," *Etudes Celtiques* 6 (1961), 222-47.
[95] For this reference by Cynddelw, see Jones and Owain, *Gwaith Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr II* no. 4.122. Despite favoring the White and Red version because of this connection to Cynddelw, Bromwich is loath to put too much stress on the significance of the connection between the two: "There is no reason to suppose that Cynddelw's allusion to these places is dependent on the triad itself; it is more likely that both reflect independent knowledge of the places concerned" (Bromwich, *TYP*, 86).

2. As the term *aran* became archaic, the title of the triad was misunderstood as *Tri aryan llu Ynys Prydein* ("Three silver hosts of the Island of Britain").
3. At some point, the author of the Early version expanded this short version into something like how it appears in Peniarth 16 and subsequent texts that follow the Early version. He seems to have drawn on pre-existing material for the first limb, including *Breuddwyd Maxen*, but the second limb, containing the Yrp episode, as well as aspects of the third limb appear to be this author's own invention. If we accept the early-thirteenth-century date for *Breuddwyd Maxen* put forward by Brynley Roberts, this Early version text cannot have been composed earlier than that (Peniarth 16, the earliest manuscript version, dates to the second half of the thirteenth century).
4. The redactor of the White and Red version further expands *Tri chyfor*, adding material at several discrete points throughout the text, including changing the title and introducing Maxen wledig and Mathuthafar to the triad. It must have been written by the date of the common exemplar of the White and Red Book, and thus dates from no later than the first half of the fourteenth century.
5. Additional material was added at the end of the triad. This material, introducing Ursula, Dunod, and the *Dylyedogion* draws on Galfridian material and survives only in Peniarth 50 (c. 1445).

Thus, *Tri chyfor* was probably composed towards the beginning of the thirteenth century, under the influence of *Breuddwyd Maxen*, and was substantially expanded and revised twice (three times including the first expansion of the "short version") over the next century and a half. The final or nearly-final version of the White and Red version of *Tri chyfor* must have existed by the

middle of the fourteenth century (and likely somewhat earlier), by which time several versions of it were circulating throughout Wales

PART II: *DYUOT* (COMING)

> *TYP 36 P16 (Early) text*: Teir gormes a doeth y'r enys hon, ac nyt aeth ɔr un dracheuyn.
> ɔn onadunt kywdaɔt y Corryanyeit a doethant eman yn oes Caswallaɔn mab Beli ac nyt aeth ɔr un onadunt dracheuyn. Ac o'r Auia pan hanoedynt. Eil gormes, y Gwydyl Fychti ac nyt aeth ɔr un dracheuyn. Tryded gormes, y Saeson, a Hors a Hengyst yn benaduryeit arnadunt.
>
> *TYP 36 P16 (Early) translation*: Three oppressions which came to this island, and not one man went back:
> One of them, the people of the Coraniaid who came here in the age of Caswallon son of Beli and of them not one man returned. And they sprung from Arabia. The second oppression, the Irish Picts and not one of them returned. Third oppression, the English, and Hors and Hengyst [were] leaders over them.)

Tri chyfor appears in nine manuscripts ranging in date from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries. That triad's pair, *Tair ormes* ("Three oppressions, TYP 36), by contrast, had nowhere near the reach of its counterpart. It is extant in only three manuscripts, all of which follow the Early version. These are Peniarth 16 (*s.xiii*^{2}), Peniarth 45 (*s.xiv*^{1}), and Peniarth 50 (c. 1445). It seems improbable that a triad such as this, with its references to pseudo-historical events that were deeply resonant in the medieval Welsh historical imagination, would have been disinteresting to and completely discarded by the redactors of the White and Red version who took up *Tri chyfor* with enthusiasm. Indeed, as Bromwich notes, it appears that *Tri gwyr gwarth* ("Three men of shame," TYP 51) plays a similar role to *Tair ormes* in the White and Red version, where it consistently appears side-by-side with *Tri chyfor*.[96]

[96] See Bromwich, *TYP*, 140-41.

Tair ormes also differs considerably from *Tri chyfor* in style. The author of *Tair ormes* writes in complete, prosaic sentences but does not wish to invent his own material or even imprint his own style onto his work. Nevertheless, he felt comfortable adding his own material to the corpus and thus must not have thought that corpus was too inviolable to add his own material to it. The result is a triad which is certainly discursive – this author absolutely does not feel the need to conform to the 'epithet + three names' formula – but which does not reach the heights of expansion, or imagination, found in the other triads elsewhere in the Early version.[97] This is in direct contrast to the very extended and inventive style of *Tri chyfor*. I argued above that the first and third limbs of *Tri chyfor* function to lend gravitas and respectability to the elaborate second limb which contains a story of the author's own invention. *Tair ormes*, on the other hand, gives equal attention to each of its three limbs. Furthermore, as we will see presently, *Tair ormes* shows very little interest in fleshing out the narrative elements of the triad; the author is not interested in explaining the meaning of the three *gormesoedd* or imparting much of a narrative about them. Perhaps he assumed that that his audience was already familiar with stories about these *gormesoedd* or, just as likely, he did not feel that a triad was the venue for narrative detail.

CONTRASTING PAIR?

Bromwich characterizes *Tri chyfor* and *Tair ormes* as a "contrasting pair."[98] In her view, contrasting pairs date back to a presumed period of oral transmission and, along with "floating sections" provide the chief evidence for her argument that "the triads [i.e. TYP] were originally

[97] Beside *Tri chyfor*, the following triads come readily to mind: *Tri gwrddfechiaid*, *Tair mad gyflafan*, and *Tri marchlwyth* ("Three horse-burdens," TYP 44).
[98] See Bromwich, *TYP*, 84; Bromwich does mention here that *Tair ormes* is only extant in the Early version, but does not pick up on any implications of this fact in terms of what that means for this "contrasting pair." These implications are the subject of this section.

preserved and transmitted orally."[99] Including *Tri chyfor* and *Tair ormes*, Bromwich identifies four examples of contrasting pairs in the TYP corpus.[100] One pair, *Tri diwair deulu* ("Three faithful warbands," TYP 29) and *Tri anniwair deulu* ("Three unfaithful warbands," TYP 30), is a useful counterpoint to the pairing of *Tri chyfor* and *Tair ormes*. The Early version texts of these two triads reads:

> *TYP 29 P16 (Early) text:* Tri diweir deulu enys Prydein:
> Deulu Catwallaɔn mab Catuan, a uuant seith mlyned y gyt ac yn Ywerdon, ac yn hynny o yspeit ny o uynassant dim idaɔ, rac goruot arnadunt y adaɔ. A'r eil teulu Gauran mab Aedan, a aethan y'r mor dros eu harglwyd. A thrydyd teulu Guendoleu mab Keidaɔyn Arderyd, a gynhalyassant y ɔrydyr pythewnos a mis wedy llad eu harglwyd. Sef oed riuedi teuluoed pob un o'r gɔyr hynny: vn canwr ar ugeint.
>
> (*TYP 29 P16 (Early) translation:* Three faithful warbands of the island of Britain: The warband of Cadwallon son of Cadfan, who were with him in Ireland for seven years and in that period they did not ask anything of him for fear that they would be obliged [to go away from] him. And the second, the warband of Gafran son of Aeddan, who went to the sea for their lord. And the third, the warband of Gwenddolau son of Ceidio in Arderydd, who continued the battle for six weeks after their lord had been killed. This is the number of warbands of each of those men: twenty-one hundred.)
>
> *TYP 30 P16 (Early) text:* Tri anyweir deulu enys Prydein:
> Teulu Goronwy peuyr o Bellyn, a omedassant eu harglwyd o erbynnyet y gɔenwynawyw y gan Lleu llaɔ gyffes yn llech Oronwy ym blaen Kynuael. A theulu Gɔrgi a Pheredur, a adaɔassant eu harglwyd yg caer Greu, ac oet ynllad udunt drannoeth ac Eda glunɔawr, ac yna y llas ell deu. A theulu Alan Fyrgan, a ymchuelassant y ɔrthaɔ hyt nos ac ellɔng a'e weissyon Gamlan ac yno y llas.

[99] See her discussion at *TYP* pp. lvii-lvix and lxxxviii-xc; this quote is from p. lxxxviii. On "floating sections," see pp. 14, 140-43.

[100] These are: *Tri diweir deulu* ("Three faithful warbands," TYP 29) and *Tri anniwair deulu* ("Three unfaithful warbands," TYP 30), discussed presently; *Tri mad gyflafan* ("Three fortunate slaughters," TYP 32) and *Tri anfad gyflafan* ("Three unfortunate slaughters," TYP 33), discussed in Chapter 2; and *Tri chud a thri datcud* ("Three fortunate and unfortunate concealments," TYP 37). See Bromwich, *TYP*, lxxxviii-lxxxix. She further suggests, in a note, that *Tri gwaw(y)frud* ("Three red-speared bards," TYP 11) and *Tri oferfeird* ("Three amateur bards," TYP 12) should "probably be regarded as a contrasting pair" (*TYP*, lxxxix, n. 146) on the basis that "just as the *gwaywrud beirdd* were bards who also took part in fighting (the proper occupation of princes) – so the *oferfeird* were princes who were not above occupying themselves with poetry" (ibid, 24). Interestingly, she does not include *Tair prif rhiain Arthur* ("Arthur's three great queens," TYP 56) and *Tair caredigwraig* ("Three concubines," TYP 57) in this list, presumably because she dismissed them as being late additions to the corpus. On these triads, see pp. 265-68.

(*TYP 30 P16 (Early) translation:* Three unfaithful warbands of the island of Britain:
The warband of Goronwy *pefyr* from Benllyn, who refused to receive the poison spear from Lleu *llaw gyffes* [for] their lord in Llech Oronwy at the head of Cynfael. And the warband of Gwrgi and Peredur, who left their lord in Caer Greu, who had a time the next day to fight with Eda *glunfawr*, and then both of them were killed. And the warband of Alan Fyrgan, who turned against him during the night and left him with his servants [at] Camlan and he was killed there.)

Both *Tri diwair deulu* and *Tri anniwair deulu* are even more widely attested than *Tri chyfor*; they appear, always beside each other, in thirteen manuscripts.[101] The two triads are very similarly formatted, each limb following the formula '*teulu* [name] + [rel. clause giving some narrative detail].' This is a strong indication that these two triads were written by the same author (or, less likely, one author mimicking another very successfully) and that they were designed to be read together. These are fully expanded triads; their author clearly has no compunction introducing fully grammatical sentences with conjugated verbs and relative clauses into the triadic corpus and the explanations of why each warband is considered faithful or unfaithful are integral to his work. He does not, however, construct full narratives around any of the warbands like those found in *Tri gwrddfeichiad* or *Tri chyfor*.

Admittedly, a few things keep the triads' formats from being completely identical, the first being that the second and third limbs in *Tri anniwair deulu* begin *A theulu…*("And the warband…") where *Tri diwair deulu* gives *A'r eil…* ("And second…") and *A thrydyd* ("And third…"). The second, more significant, difference is that *Tri diwair deulu* ends by giving the total number of men who made up the three warbands (*vn canwr ar ugeint* (2,100) while the Early version of *Tri anniwair deulu* is silent on the matter of numbers. However, lo and behold, the White and Red version adds a tag informing the reader that the exact same amount, *vn kanȯr*

[101] These are Peniarth 16, Peniarth 45, the White Book, the Red Book, Peniarth 47, Peniarth 50, Peniarth 51, Cwrtmawr 3, *Y Diarebion Camberäec*, BL Add. 15,047, NLW MS 6434, Cardiff 2.26, and Cardiff 2.83.

ar ugeint,[102] made up the numbers of the three unfaithful warbands. I might speculate that this asymmetry is do to this final sentence already being an interpolation in the Early version, perhaps derived under the influence of the similar concluding sentence of *Tri chyfor*, which directly precedes it in the manuscript.[103] The redactor of the White and Red version who, as we have repeatedly seen in other case studies, filled out the corpus with discrete additions where he saw fit, then added his own final sentence to *Tri anniwair deulu*, thus bringing it back in line with its twin by contributing a final sentence that mirrored the one he found in *Tri diwair deulu*.

Tri diwair deulu and *Tri anniwair deulu* are thus a "true" contrasting pair – written by a single author, designed to be read in conjunction with each other, and traveling together throughout the manuscript corpus. Turning back to the subject of this case study, we see that this is not the case for *Tri chyfor* and *Tair ormes*. Indeed, their titles mirror each other – compare *Tri chyuor a aeth o'r enys hon, ac ny doeth dracheuyn ỏr un onadunt* ("Three levies which went from this island and not one of them returned") and *Teir gormes a doeth y'r enys hon, ac nyt aeth ỏr un dracheuyn* ("Three oppressions which came to this island and not one of them returned") – and both triads are concerned with calamities that have befallen the island of Britain, but this is where the similarities between the two end. I will argue in what follows that the differences between *Tri chyfor* and *Tair ormes* suggest that these two triads were not, in fact, developed as a pair but that *Tair ormes* was written by a different individual from *Tri chyfor*, apparently as an extension of *Tri cyfor*'s themes. They are not, in contrast to *Tri diwair deulu* and *Tair anniwair deulu*, a "true" contrasting pair.

[102] This is the spelling of the White Book text.
[103] This kind of 'drift' can be seen elsewhere in the corpus; see, for instance, my argument in the case study of triads 32, 33, and 34 about how the sons of Dysgyfdawd came to be called the three lords of Deira and Bernicia in *Tri unben Deifr a Brynach* in Chapter 1, pp. 54-57.

THE *GORMESOEDD*

Gormes, 'oppression,' the epithet of *Tair ormes* – was an extremely loaded word in medieval Wales.[104] It refers to the successive waves of invasions which the Welsh people endured between the first and twelfth centuries CE. The inclusion of the concept of *gormesoedd* in *Tair ormes* makes it one of the most politically explicit in the TYP corpus. Although the use of the phrase *ynys Prydain* throughout makes the corpus overall *implicitly* political, and although enemies of the Welsh occasionally appear, most triads do not invoke the forces which have worked against the Welsh in such a direct manner as this. As discussed above, *Tri chyfor* draws on the motif, which dates back to Gildas in the sixth century, of soldiers deserting Britain and leaving her vulnerable to successive invasions. *Tair ormes* picks up this theme and takes it to the logical next step: the consequences of the levies' desertion.

Evidently, *Tair ormes* is also closely related to the prose tale *Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys*. The similarities – both in terms of story and in terms of themes – between the triad and prose tale, combined with the tale's triadic structure, make it impossible to discuss one without the other. Copies of *Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys* can be found in both the White Book and Red Book alongside the other 'Mabinogion' tales as well as in certain recensions of *Brut y Brenhinedd*.[105]

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[104] As Patrick Sims-Williams has noted ("Some Functions of Origin Stories in Early Medieval Wales," in *History and Heroic Tale: A Symposium*, ed. Tore Nyberg, et al. (Odense, Denmark: Odense University Press, 1985), 105), "the manifold significance of the word *gormes* is revealed by the dictionary entry:" "oppression by an alien race or conqueror, tyranny, violence, burden, vexation, plague, pestilence; destruction, encroachment, intrusion, attack, invasion; rapacity, greed; oppressor, afflictor, enemy, attacker, encroacher; oppressive animal or monster; devourer, pillager, rapacious person or animal; huge person or thing, person or thing of unusual size" (GPC s.v. *gormes*). On the concept of *gormesoedd* see ibid, 105-6 and Bromwich, *TYP*, 91-2.

[105] This text has been edited in Brynley F. Roberts, ed., *Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 2005). This tale can be found in all recensions of *Brut y Brenhinedd* except the Dingestow version and the version found in NLW Peniarth MS 44. This is the only 'Mabinogion' tale that occurs in two different contexts (ibid, xi). The best and most in-depth discussion of *Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys* is Kelly Ann Randell, "Kings Over the Water: Narrative Strucutre in Some Middle Welsh Prose Tales," unpublished PhD diss., (University of Cambridge, 2011). Randell argues, in part, that *Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys* exists in more than one version in its manuscript corpus and that those versions have been "modified to suit the purposes of the redactors"

In the *Brutiau*, this tale follows the assertion that Beli mawr had three sons: Lludd, Caswallon, and Nynhyaw (Nennius). The translator of the Llanstephan MS 1 version, apparently interrupting his own translation of the Latin text, tells us, "*A herwyd y kyuarwydyt, petwaryd mab idaw uu Lleuelis*" ("And according to the *cyfarwyddyd*, his fourth son was Llefelys")[106] before relating this discrete tale in which Lludd, with the help of his brother Llefelys, overcomes three mysterious *gormesoedd* facing the island of Britain.[107] Only the first of these *gormesoedd*, the *Coraniaid*, can be found in both the tale and the triad but, nevertheless, the similarities have been sufficient to convince scholars that they must be directly related. In Bromwich's view, *Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys* is an "imperfect rendering" of *Tair ormes*, "due either to the narrator's ignorance or to deliberate alteration of the original triad."[108] This statement is steeped in her assumption that *Tair ormes* and the rest of the Early version triads are very ancient. However, I would like to push back against this assumption.

There is no agreed-upon date for the composition of the *Cyfranc*. Some have postulated that it must post-date Geoffrey of Monmouth's work on *De gestis Britonum* (completed c. 1138) since he does not include a version of the story in his text, though this does not hold up to scrutiny. In any case, it was circulating throughout Wales along with *Brut y Brenhinedd* by the early thirteenth century.[109] If we allow ourselves to suppose that *Tair ormes* could likewise have been composed as late as the early thirteenth century, not significantly earlier, it begins to seem

(quote at ibid, 64). This is interesting in the context of my argument about TYP undergoing a similar process given that both texts were developed at a similar time in similar (if not identical) milieaux.

[106] Roberts, ed., *Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys*, 1.

[107] Roberts, ed., *Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys*, 2: (Davies, trans., *The Mabinogion*, 111-12)). More work could and should be done exploring the idea that the Cyfranc itself, as illustrated here, is structured as a triad, but that is outside the bounds of this case study.

[108] Bromwich, *TYP*, lxxvii. Roberts, similarly, simply states that "the tale is a popular reworking of the triad which moves away from the historical tradition of repulsing invaders to folk-lore themes of freeing the land from supernatural oppressors" (Roberts, *Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys*, xviii). Cf. Randell, "Kings Over the Water," 38-41.

[109] Roberts, *Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys*, xv. Cf. Randell, "Kings Over the Water," 16-21.

unlikely that the *Cyfranc* would be based on *Tair ormes*.[110] On the contrary, and at the risk of falling into an argument about the chicken or the egg, it is just as likely, if not more so, that the triad was inspired by the tale as the other way around. The *Cyfranc* has a great deal more narrative detail than the triad; if the author of the *Cyfranc* did draw on *Tair ormes* he must have had at least one other source or have embellished large amounts of the tale.

The tone of this triad also sticks out in comparison with the tone of *Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys*. Both texts are concerned with the *gormesoedd* but, nevertheless, the *Cyfranc* manages to maintain a fantastic and relatively lighthearted tone;[111] Lludd, with the help of Llefelys, is able to defeat each of the three *gormesoedd* and the rightful British kings remain in political control.[112] The triad, on the other hand, which is grounded in what the author likely believed was historical truth, speaks plainly about the threats the Welsh people have faced, and states just as plainly that "*nyt aeth ỏr un dracheuyn*" ("not one man went back"). The two texts have surface-level similarities but they could not be more different in terms of their literary milieu. In my view, this likely indicates that there was not a direct connection between the two texts at all but that they are merely the two most well-known examples of a more widespread trope or theme of *gormesoedd* with which Britain was inflicted. Perhaps this theme was especially popular near the beginning of the thirteenth century. Echoes of this theme can perhaps be found, on a

[110] A date no earlier than the beginning of the thirteenth century is likely in view of my argument above that *Tri chyfor* was influenced by *Breuddwyd Maxen*, which Brynley Roberts has dated to the early thirteenth century.
[111] My contention that the *Cyfranc* is fantastical and lighthearted may strike one as in direct contrast to Brynley Roberts's description of the tale's style as "rather bare" (Roberts, *Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys*, xxxi) and his statement that it has a "factual tone and unimaginative expression" (xxix). I should make clear that while Roberts was concerned in those passages with the style of the *Cyfranc*'s Latin, I am thinking more of the tale's plot, which includes magical creatures and unexplained phenomena.
[112] To be fair, this 'happy ending' only really exists when *Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys* appears as a stand-alone tale, in the context of the *Mabinogion*. In the context of the *Brutiau*, it is merely a chapter within the larger story of British history, which ultimately ends in conquest.

metaphorical level, in the Second and Third Branches of the *Mabinogi* and more literally in the handful of texts referenced below.[113]

Turning now to the *gormesoedd* themselves, the *Coraniaid*, the *gormes* which appears in both first limb of *Tair ormes* and in the *Cyfranc*, are unknown outside these two texts.[114] The triad gives very little detail about the *Coraniaid*, saying only *doethant eman yn oes Caswallaỏn mab Beli ac nyt aeth ỏr un onadunt dracheuyn. Ac o'r Auia pan hanoedynt.* ("they came here in the age of Caswallon son of Beli and of them not one man returned. And they came from Arabia."). *Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys*, by contrast, describes them as a foreign, invading race with the apparently supernatural ability to hear anything whispered anywhere on the island of Britain.[115] Several explanations have been put forward about the origin of this people, including their being: (i) a memory of the Coritani, a pre-Roman Celtic tribe found in Ptolemy;[116] (ii) a race of

[113] In referencing the *Mabinogi,* I am thinking of possible metaphorical interpretations of these texts in which Bendigeidfran's conflict with Ireland in the Second Branch and the wasteland faced by Manawydan and Cigfa in the Third Branch are interpreted as oblique references to the Norman *gormes* (see Sioned Davies, trans. *The Mabinogion*, especially pp. 32-3 and 40).

[114] This discussion relies heavily on the note on the *Coraniaid* at Bromwich, *TYP*, 92-93. Cf. Randell's suggestion that this might be a corruption of the *Cesariaid* of *Tri chyfor* (Randell, "Kings Over the Water," 40) and cf. John Koch's comments on this form at John T. Koch, "Gallo-Brittonic *Tasc(i)ounos* 'Badger-slayer' and the Reflex of Indo-European $g^{w}h$" *Celtic Lingustics* 1 (1992), 101-118 at 111-112.

[115] On the Coraniad in the *Cyfranc*, see Roberts, ed., *Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys*, xxxii-xxxiii.

[116] This was the theory put forward by Lewis Morris, who wrote that the Coraniaid were "one of the three molestors of Britain…This is a nation or colony of strangers said to have come to Britain in the time of Lludd ap Beli, which was before the Roman conquest, and are said to be originally Asiatics. These may be the people called by Roman writers *Coritani*. (See Camden, who could give no account of them.) It is probable they were Germans, for Lludd went over to Gaul to advise with his brother Llefelys about them; so they were not Gauls" (Morris, *Celtic Remains*, 100). This theory was refuted by Ifor Williams, who argued it was impossible on linguistic grounds and that *Coraniaid* is a late formation on the model of *Brytainiaid* (Ifor Williams, *Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys* (Bangor, Wales: Jarvis a Foster, 1922), xii). Roberts has noted (*Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys* (2005), xxxii), in response to this: "His [Lewis Morris's] earlier view […] that 'it is hopeless…to expect our charlatans to leave off identifying the mythic Coranians with the historical Coritani of Roman Britain' is certainly more correct."

dwarves;[117] (iii) a Welsh reflex of the fairy folk, similar to the Irish Túatha Dé Danann;[118] and (iv) a corruption of *Cesariaid*, representing the Roman invaders.[119] The latter two of these theories carry more weight than the former, but even so, it seems unlikely that a firm conclusion could be reached on the basis of the available evidence and it would be a mistake to allow ourselves to be bogged down in questions of the *Coraniaid*'s origin. It seems more pertinent to me to note that the author of *Tair ormes* felt comfortable mentioning the *Coraniaid* in passing with little explanation; this could suggest that he assumed his audience would be familiar with the term, whether from *Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys* or another source. However, as I noted above, the lack of narrative detail is characteristic of this triad, so it could equally suggest that the author felt that an explanation was unnecessary in a triadic context.

The subjects of the next two limbs of *Tair ormes* are much better attested than the first. The second limb of reads, *Eil gormes, y Gwydyl Fychti ac nyt aeth ǿr un dracheuyn* ("The second oppression, the Irish Picts and not one of them returned"). The *Gwyddyl Fficti* ("Irish Picts")[120] represent the historical Picts of northern Britain. Together with the Scots, they appear in Gildas, Bede, *Historia Brittonum*, and *De gestis Britonum* as the archetypal threats faced by the Welsh in the aftermath of Rome's abandonment of the island in the fourth century.[121] Indeed,

[117] *Cor* is the Welsh word for 'dwarf' (GPC s.v. *cor*). This explanation was originally suggested by John Rhŷs and was subsequently accepted by Williams (*Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys* (1922), xiii) and Bromwich (*TYP*, 92). However, as Roberts points out (*Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys* (2005), xxxii), there is no indication in the text of the Cyfranc nor in the triad that the *Coraniaid* are dwarves.

[118] Ifor Williams argued strongly in favor of this theory (Ifor Williams, *Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys* (1922), xii-xiv; Bromwich *(TYP*, 92), expanding on Williams's theory, further draws a connection between the term *Coraniaid* and the Breton word *Korriganed* 'fairies' (see the entry in the Breton historical dictionary Devri (devri.bzh) s.v. '*korriganenn* (pl. *korriganed).*' I am grateful to Myrzinn Boucher-Durand for her help with this term) and pointed out the similarities between Welsh fairy folk invading Britain here and the Irish narrative of the Túatha Dé Danann invading Ireland in the *Lebor Gabála Érenn*.

[119] Bromwich, *TYP*, 92.

[120] See note in Bromwich, *TYP*, 93.

[121] For the Picts in Gildas, see Michael Winterbottom, ed. and trans., *Gildas*, §19; for Bede, see Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B Mynors, eds. and trans., *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 16-19, for *Historia Brittonum*, see Morris, ed. and trans., Nennius, §12.

the threat of the Picts and Scots was the impetus for Voritgern enlisting the help of the subjects of the third limb, Hengest and Horsa. The same term, *Gwyddyl Fficti*, is used to indicate the Picts in a prophetic poem attributed to Taliesin[122] as well as in *Brut y Brenhinedd*. A translator or scribe of the Dingestow version of *Brut y Brenhinedd* inserts a reference to this triad, writing: "*Ac yr hynny hyt hediw y maent yn ormes heb uynet ohonei*" ("And from then until today they [the Picts] are an oppression that does not go from [the island of Britain]").[123] The Dingestow *Brut* circulated alongside the Early version of TYP, which may account for the influence of the triad on that version of the *Brut.*[124]

Hengest and Horsa, the subjects of the third limb of *Tair ormes*, are the legendary fathers of the English people and thus villains to the Welsh and heroes to the English. The triad tells us: *Tryded gormes, y Saeson, a Hors a Hengyst yn benaduryeit arnadunt* ("Third oppression, the English, and Hors and Hengyst [were] leaders over them").[125] They first appear in Bede and subsequent references to them (notably in *Historia Brittonum*, *De gestis Brittonum*, and the ninth-century prophetic poem "Armes Prydain") likely derive from that text, whether directly or indirectly.[126] The authors of each of these texts put his own personal stamp on the story but it

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The Picts ('*Picti*') appear throughout *De gestis Brittonum* as antagonists, and sometimes uneasy allies, of the British (see the index of Reeve, ed. and Wright, trans., *History of the Kings of Britain*, 302). One reference early on seems to briefly echo *Historia Brittonum* and the sentiment found in the previous texts: Reeve, ed. and Wright, trans., *History of the Kings of Britain*, Book IIII §70.2-5 (pp. 86-87). Overall, however, the Picts owe most of their 'screen time' in this work to Geoffrey's imagination.

[122] See Marged Haycock, ed. and trans. *Prophecies from the Book of Taliesin* (Aberystwyth, Wales: CMCS Publications, 2013), 100-01, ll. 9-16.

[123] See Lewis, ed. *Brut Dingestow*, 60-1, Book IV §17.

[124] On the relationship between the Dingestow *Brut* and the Early version, see Appendix C,pp. 468-69.

[125] On Hengest and Horsa, see Bromwich, *TYP*, 398.

[126] For Hengest and Horsa in Bede, see Colgrave and Mynors, ed. and trans., *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, Book 1, §15; for *Historia Brittonum*, see Morris, ed. and trans., *Nennius*, §31 (and see the discussion in David N. Dumville, "Kingship, Genealogies, and Regnal Lists," in *Histories and Pseudo-Histories of the Insular Middle Ages* (Aldershot, England: Variorum, 1990), 72-104 (XV), especially p. 80); for Geoffrey of Monmouth's use of Hengest and Horsa see Reeves, ed. and Wright, trans., Book VI §§98-99 (pp. 122-29); for Hengest and Horsa in "Armes Prydain" see Ifor Williams, ed. *Armes Prydein: The Prophecy of Britain*, trans. by Rachel Bromwich (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1982).

remains broadly the same: Two brothers, Hengest and Horsa, and their men arrive from Germany in three ships and are welcomed in by the British king Voritgern (known in Welsh as *Gwrtheyrn*) on the condition that they help Vortigern ward off the Picts and Scots. For this, Vortigern rewards them with the island of Thanet. The brothers take advantage of Vortigern's hospitality and arrange for the compatriots to settle in Britain. Just like that, the period of cultural unity on the island of Britain is over and the period of English oppression has begun. This story thus held huge cultural resonance in medieval Wales but, conspicuously, it is *not* a story that is told explicitly within *Tair ormes* or any other triad in the TYP corpus. These brothers are also mentioned in one other triad, *Tri anfad gynghor* ("Three unfortunate counsels," TYP 59), in which we are told that the second unfortunate counsel was "*gadel Hors a Hengest a Ronwen y'r ynys hon*" ("to allow Hors and Hengest and Rhonwen onto the island").[127] However, *Tair ormes* and *Tri anfad gynghor* can only be found together in one text of TYP, Peniarth 50, and *Tri anfad gyflafan* does not appear in the Early version.[128] This story, without mentioning Hengest and Horsa by name, is also partially told in the second limb of *Tri gwyr gwarth*, another triad that does not appear in the Early version.[129] Thus, despite the central place this story held in the medieval Welsh imagination and its many attestations elsewhere, it appears only briefly and sporadically in the TYP corpus, especially the Early version.

I pointed out above that the author of *Tair ormes* gives very little detail about the *Coraniaid* in the first limb. This is even more true for the second and third limbs, both of which simply allude to the *gormes* in order to invoke them without giving any narrative detail. The

[127] Some versions of this story include the figure of Rhonwen, Hengest's daughter with whom Vortigern falls in love, marries, and on whose account he betrays the British.
[128] Intriguingly, both triads appear in Peniarth 50's second microtext, which appears to be a unique mixture of Early version and White and Red version material that is not extant in any other manuscript. This may indicate that *Tair ormes* and *Tri anfad gynghor* had more textual interaction than the surviving mauscripts otherwise indicate.
[129] This limb begins: "*A'r eil yô Gôrtheyrn gôrtheneu, a rodes tir gyntaf y Saesson yn yr ynys hon*" ("And the second is Gwrtheyrn *gwrthenau*, who gave the first land of the island of Briton to the English").

author of *Tair ormes* was not interested in composing fully expanded limbs of the type we saw in *Tri chyfor* but nor was he attempting to replicate the "epithet + three name" formula. Still, the relatively short text of *Tair ormes* would hold a huge amount of meaning for a culturally competent audience. This author may have been drawing directly from Gildas, *Historia Brittonum*, *De gestis Britonum*, or some combination of the three. More to the point, however, *Tair ormes* invokes some of the most powerful forces in the medieval Welsh historical imagination without offering any explanation for their significance or providing any narrative detail. This restraint speaks to an author who felt narrative detail was stylistically unnecessary in a triadic context (even, as I have argued, one who was writing in direct response to the expanded narrative triad *Tri chyfor*) but also speaks to the fact that he was writing in an intellectual milieu in which he could be confident that these references and their significance would be understood by his audience.

Finally, I have mentioned a few times in this case study that *Tri gwyr gwarth* ("Three men of shame," TYP 51) appears to have displaced *Tair ormes* as the pair of *Tri chyfor* in the White and Red version. It seems likely that this change was due to the decision of one person – probably the author of *Tri gwyr gwarth* himself – who took it upon himself to replace *Tair ormes* with a triad that had similar themes but which was much more narratively detailed than the relatively sparse *Tair ormes*. Thus, the much longer and more detailed *Tri gwyr gwarth* became the dominant triad on the theme of *gormesoedd* in TYP from the mid-fourteenth century onwards.

SUMMARY OF PART II:

I have proposed the following major points regarding the development of *Tair ormes*:

1. *Tair ormes* was written at a later date and by a different individual than *Tri chyfor*. The author of *Tair ormes* was presumably inspired by the themes he found in *Tri chyfor* but did not feel obligated or inclined to match the proceeding triad in its level of narrative detail.
2. This triad appears in Peniarth 16 and, therefore, must have been composed prior to the creation of that manuscript in the second half of the thirteenth century. It does not appear in any White and Red version text and, thus, likely post-dates the divergence of the two versions. This, in turn, suggests that the divergence between the two versions happened prior to the second half of the thirteenth century, that is, at least a century before the creation of the White Book around the middle of the fourteenth century.
3. The tone of *Tair oromes* differs considerably from that of both *Tri chyfor* and the prose tale *Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys*. While the *Cyfranc* addresses similar themes and contains the only other extant reference to the *Coraniaid*, the differences in the way the two texts approach this material and the fact that the *Cyfranc* contains much more narrative detail than the triad, is sufficient to create doubt that there was a direct connection between them. If a direct connection must be hypothesized, it seems more likely that the triad is based on the tale, not vice versa.
4. The Picts and Hengest and Horsa appear only briefly here in the triad's second and third limbs. The sparseness of these limbs is in direct contrast to the power the Picts and the Saxons held over the medieval Welsh historical imagination. The author *could* have elaborated on these *gormesoedd* but chose not to, either because he assumed his audience was well-versed in them already or because he did not feel it was necessary or appropriate in a triadic context, or both.

5. Nevertheless, he thought the topic of *gormesoedd* was important enough to merit composing a new triad about them. This is significant for two reasons: (i) it demonstrates the import of *gormesoedd* to the Welsh intelligencia of the early- to mid-thirteenth century and (ii) demonstrates that the author felt it was possible to add his own material to TYP, illustrating that the corpus was perceived as fluid and not untouchable at this period

MICROTEXTS: INTRODUCTION TO PART 2

In Part 2 of this dissertation, I will argue that the texts of TYP, as we have them today in surviving manuscripts, can often be shown to be collections of multiple shorter, earlier texts in their own right which have been compiled by the scribes of our manuscripts. I have called these "microtexts." They account for several details in these texts whose significance has been overlooked, including the occasional duplication of triads within a single text, headings that sometimes appear redundant, and Bromwich's "floating sections." Before proceeding to the chapters of Part 2, I must briefly define what I mean by "microtexts" and place this discussion in the context of scholarship on medieval Welsh intellectual or learned elite overall.

I have borrowed the term "microtext" from a concept that has recently come out of work on early medieval England, in which they are broadly defined as any small text.[1] In that context, the concept of "microtexts" is used to emphasize the fact that every use of written language is a text in its own right. I must make it clear that I am using the term differently and to describe a much more specific phenomenon.[2] For the purposes of this dissertation, a "microtext" is a sub-section within a text of TYP which, I argue, likely has its own transmission history and should be

[1] See Ursula Lenker and Lucia Kornexl, eds. *Anglo Saxon Micro-texts* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2019). They define "micro-texts" in their introduction (p. 1) as follows: "It is such "short texts", ranging from one word (often a name) to a few sentences or a limited number of verses, that are in the focus of this volume. These do not only appear on parchment but can be found on all kinds of materials – e.g. wood, stone, metal, textile – and on sundry objects such as coins, pieces of lead sheet or garments. They are scripted in he Latin alphabet or, to a minor extent, in runes or both scripts, and may be a (more or less essential) integral part of the original physical design of their carrier medium. Not infrequently, however, do they take the form of subsequent additions, filling different kinds of marginal or otherwise peripheral positions on the media displaying them, but they by no means serve merely supplementary functions: by providing snapshots of Anglo-Latin and Old English literacy in practice, they are indispensable puzzle pieces that help to create a fuller image of 'what was once a living language'"

I would like to thank Oisín Ó Muirthile for suggesting this term to me when I was struggling with how to best express this concept.

[2] My use of the term is very similar to that of Hans Souer in his chapter of the collection: "A Text within a Text: St Augustine's Prayer at the Beginning of Soliloquia and its Old English Version," in *Anglo-Saxon Micro-texts*, ed. Ursula Lenker and Lucia Kornexl (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2019), 307-16.

considered its own discrete part of the larger text.[3] They are texts-within-texts. It is almost always impossible to demonstrate completely conclusively that these microtexts once circulated independently from the larger collections of TYP that survive today. Nevertheless, I hope to show in Part 2 that close readings of three texts of TYP – those in Peniarth 47, the Red Book of Hergest, and Peniarth 50 – provide convincing evidence that the scribes who developed these texts did so by compiling several, shorter collections of TYP (i.e. the microtexts) together. This evidence includes details about which triads appear in which microtexts but, more generally, also includes stylistic and thematic trends changes between microtexts that, to date, have been largely unexplained and under-discussed by scholars.

"Floating sections"

The fact that sub-sections exist within many, or even most, of the medieval TYP texts has not escaped the notice of previous scholars. Egerton Phillimore commented on the fact that tangible "groups" of triads existed, with each "appearing as a separate unit" as far back as 1886.[4] However, the most influential work on these "groups," came, of course, from the work of Rachel Bromwich. She writes:

> "[There are] [c]ertain features of *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* which indicate that the triads were originally preserved and transmitted orally […] These consist in the arrangement of the triads in groups and contrasting pairs, and the appearance of 'floating sections' in some of the later manuscripts which produce the order of

[3] I should note that the use of "micro-" here is relative. These microtexts are, by definition, short*er* than the larger, "macro-" text of TYP within which they appear but they are not always very short. One microtext in the Red Book, for instance, contains 34 triads, more than many "full" TYP texts. It is their existence within a larger text that makes them "micro."

[4] Phillimore was writing about a fragment of NLW Peniarth MS 12 (then known as Hengwrt MS 202), which today is recognized as quire 22 of the White Book of Rhydderch (see Appendix C p. 476). Remarkably, Phillimore goes onto suggest something along the lines of my current argument: "Perhaps from this fact may be drawn the conclusion that originally each of the groups was quite independent of the other groups, and that their union in one whole was merely the work of copyists who extracted them from older MSS., and is not attributable to the original compilers of this version of the Historical and other Triads." (Egerton Phillimore, "A Fragment from Hengwrt MS 202," *Y Cymmrodor* 7 (1886), 89-154 at 99-100). Phillimore's very cogent analysis seems not to have gained much attention, especially in the wake of Bromwich's work about 80 years later.

> certain groups of triads in the Early version. It will be seen that the arrangement of the triads in groups and pairs is more apparent in the Early Version than in that of [the White and Red version]; and it is inherently probable that this version preserves the triads in an older grouping, and one which in its essentials goes back to the period of oral transmission."[5]

Note that she takes for granted that the presence of these 'floating sections' must indicate that these sections must have "originally" been "preserved and transmitted orally." Furthermore, for Bromwich, the concept of 'floating sections' is intrinsically linked with the idea that there are two 'main' versions of TYP, the Early version and the White and Red version. They almost form an ouroboros; texts can be sorted into versions by virtue of their floating sections, but the floating sections are only visible once these versions have been identified – and all of this together is rooted in the assumption that TYP were developed and transmitted orally. Similarly, the idea of 'floating sections' is intrinsically linked with TYP's origin as a collection of memonic devices by and for members of the Welsh bardic order, the *Gogynfeirdd*. She writes:

> "Trioedd Ynys Prydein […] were evolved as a part of the teaching given by the poets to their juniors; pupil bards being required to learn the triad sequences by heart. As such, the various groups of triads originated simply as mnemonic devices; and Trioedd Ynys Prydein came into being as an aid to the recollection of the repertoire of narrative material which the young bard was in the process of mastering. It is easy to believe that the system of grouping the triads in sequences and contrasting pairs, and the reappearance in the fifteenth-century manuscripts of 'floating sections,' or short groups of triads which correspond in their order with the order of the triads in the Early Version are to be accounted for as survivals of this original arrangement of Trioedd Ynys Prydein for mnemonic purposes."[6]

It will be noted that Bromwich makes a logical leap in this passage: having stated that these triads functioned as "aid[s] to recollection," she simply says "it is easy to believe" that the contrasting pairs and 'floating sections' are "survivals" of this earlier, orally-transmitted

[5] Bromwich, *TYP*, lxxxviii. These "floating sections" are best illustrated by the table Bromwich included on pp. xiii-xv, entitled "Plan Showing the Relation Between the Main Texts of *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*."
[6] Bromwich, *TYP*, lviii-lix.

mnemonic devices.[7] Crucially, nowhere Bromwich does articulate an argument for this connection between the 'floating sections' and TYP's origin as mnemonic devices; her assumption of this connection is baked into her approach to TYP from the beginning.

The concept of 'floating sections' was first put forward by J. Enoch Powell in 1937. He argued that the "floating" passages he and others had observed in manuscripts of the Blegywyrd recension of Welsh laws were due to later additions to the text, originally marginalia or whole pages introduced to a text at a later date, being incorporated into the main body of the work by subsequent copyists. Powell attributed the differences in the order and placement of these 'floating sections' to decisions made by individual copyists about the "most appropriate" place for these insertions.[8] He also argued for the one-time existence of a book of legal triads, separate from collections of laws, which were gradually incorporated into the law books to form the legal manuscripts as we have them today.[9] Powell's theories have been criticized by Christine James on the basis that this gradual incorporation of later additions would result in "at least a few"[10] additions to or differences between the triads which came from this supposed book of triads, since the surviving copies would have been made at different points during this process – but differences do not occur in the corpus of the Blegywryd recension; these manuscripts are identical in content, if not in order and placement.[11]

[7] This line of thinking was first put forward at G.J. Williams and E.D. Jones, *Gramadegau'r Pencerddiaid* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1934), lxxxcviii, xci.
[8] See J. Enoch Powell, "Floating Sections in the Laws of Howel," *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 9.1 (1937), 27-34, esp. 28-29 and cf. Stephen J. Williams and J. Enoch Powell, *Cyfreithiau Hywel Dda yn ôl Llyfr Blegywryd* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1942), xli-xlvi.
[9] Williams and Powell, *Llyfr Blegywryd*, xlii.
[10] My translation of James's original Welsh, which reads "*o leiaf ychydig*." (Christine James, "Golygiad o BL Add. 22,356 o Gyfraith Hywel Yngŷd ag Astudiaeth Gymharol Ohono â Llanstephan 116," unpublished PhD diss. (Aberystwyth University, 1984), xlviii).
[11] James, "Golygiad o BL Add. 22,356," xlvii-xlviii. According to James, aside from a some scribal errors and gaps in the manuscripts, the entire corpus of these legal triads has "*yr un traethigau yn union a geir ynddynt*" (exactly the same tractates and wording within them").

The concept of floating sections, in the context of the legal manuscripts, is thus firmly grounded in a written, manuscript transmission context. This is in stark contrast to Bromwich's conception of them in TYP. Placing Bromwich's writing about 'floating sections' in the context of Powell's and James's work, then, makes it clear that this assumption is not shared by other scholars who have worked on the phenomenon of 'floating sections' and that it is not necessarily a sound or safe assumption to make.

Legal "tractates"

The question of 'floating sections' is not the only place where comparing the TYP corpus with the corpus of legal texts from medieval Wales is helpful. There has been a great deal of scholarship written about the origin, development, and use of law texts in medieval Wales. These laws are collectively known as the Laws of Hywel Dda, after the ninth-century king of Gwynedd who, the story goes, first commisioned them.[12] The textual history of these law texts is complex; there are three main Welsh-language recensions (known as the Blegywryd, Cyfnerth, and Iorwerth recentions) as well as Latin-language versions.[13] Although these recensions differ from each other in significant ways, and despite significant disagreements between scholars regarding the origin and early history of the Welsh legal corpus, there is general agreement on two important points: first, that all the surviving recensions ultimately descend from a common exemplar which included a prologue, a tractate relaying the laws of the king's court, and a tractate relaying the 'laws of the country' and, second, that none of the surviving legal texts can be older than the late twelfth century.[14]

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[12] Huw Pryce, "The Context and Purposes of the Earliest Welsh Lawbooks," *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 39 (2000), 39-63 at 39.
[13] Pryce, "The Context and Purposes," 40-41. There is reason to believe that the ur-text of the laws, so to speak, was written in Latin and that the Welsh-language recensions, which now survive in greater quantities than the Latin, represent translations from Latin into Welsh.
[14] Pryce, "The Context and Purposes," 45, 40.

These law texts are all made up of sub-sections, which scholars of the Welsh laws call "tractates." These are discrete parts of the law texts, written at different times by different individuals, which were brought together in a compilation to create a recension or sub-recension of the laws. These tractates could be mixed and matched between versions to form a new legal compilation, as Thomas Charles-Edwards has shown.[15] It is my contention that the microtexts within texts of TYP behave similarly to these legal tractates – they can be and are expanded, re-arranged and re-organized, and compiled to create new, longer texts.

In her work on the medieval Welsh bardic grammars, Michaela Jacques has shown that the redactors of those grammars re-arranged and re-categorized material in order to better suit their practical uses.[16] Taken together, the bardic grammars, law texts, and TYP make up a large porportion of the work that was done by the intellectual, learned elite of medieval Wales. Although it is not the focus of this dissertation, an important point I would like to highlight is that the compilation, expansion, and re-arrangement evident within the microtexts of TYP is not limited only to this corpus but appears to be a hallmark of the surviving intellectual work from medieval Wales across genres and fields.

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In Part 2 of this dissertation, I will identify and discuss these "microtexts" in three TYP texts: Peniarth 47, the Red Book of Hergest, and Peniarth 50. Like the chapters in Part 1, these should be considered "case studies" of these three texts. Microtexts are certainly not limited to these three manuscripts, however. Every later medieval TYP text that is not fragmentary shows signs

[15] See Thomas Charles-Edwards, "Relationship of the Tractates in Latin Redactions A and B to those in Llyfr Iorwerth and Llyfr Cyfnerth," in *The Welsh Law of Women: Studies Presented to Professor Daniel A. Binchy on his Eightieth Birthday 3 June 1980*, ed. Dafydd Jenkins and Morfydd E. Owen (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1980), 180-85.

[16] Michaela Jacques, The Reception and Transmission of the Bardic Grammars in Late Medieval and Early Modern Wales," (unpublished PhD diss., Harvard University, 2020), especially 134-50.

of compilation. This is especially the case for sixteenth-century texts, which may be typified by the TYP text in BL Add. 15,047. This text begins following the mostly Early-version-derived text of *Y Diarebion Camberäec* for its first 36 triads before becoming more closely related to the White and Red version for its final sixteen triads. Proverbial triads interrupt the TYP material between these two sections, or microtexts. *Y Diarebion Cambraëc*, in turn, itself diverges from the Early version and more closely resembles the White and Red version after 25 triads.[17]

In my view, this is strong evidence that these texts have been compiled from shorter collections of TYP material at some point during their transmission history. This was not necessarily the work of the scribe of BL Add. 15,047, or William Salesbury, who printed *Y Diarebion Camberäec.* It is almost impossible to know when such compilations were made. However, as I argue throughout Part 2, that their material is sometimes demonstrably later than other TYP material and, thus, it is clear that these texts were edited and expanded at least into the fifteenth century. The existance of a text of *trioedd y meirch* alone, in Peniarth 27ii, bears witness to the fact thaSee t it was possible for smaller, more specialized texts of TYP to circulate outside of larger collections into the fifteenth century.[18] Peniarth 27ii is further evidence that such comparatively short texts existed but were eventually subsumed into larger collections; every other surviving witness to *trioedd y meirch* is incorporated into a larger collection.

Part 2 begins with an examination of those surviving versions of *trioedd y meirch* (Chapter 4). I propose a stemma of each text's relationship to each other and, subsequently, discuss the relationship between the various versions of the expanded narrative triad among the horse triads, *Tri marchlwyth* ("Three horse-burdens," TYP 44). Then, I embark on close readings

[17] See the discussion in Chapter 6, p. 219-23 and Appendix C, pp. 495-96.
[18] See the discussion of Peniarth 27ii in Chapter 4, p. 151 and following, and Appendix C, p. 483-84.

of three TYP – Peniarth 47 (Chapter 5), the Red Book of Hergest (Chapter 6), and Peniarth 50 (Chapter 7) – and identify the microtexts within them.

CHAPTER FOUR: *TRIOEDD Y MEIRCH* (TRIADS OF THE HORSES)

To my knowledge, the *trioedd y meirch* (the triads of the horses) are the only part of TYP that has previously been discussed as a coherent sub-section with its own transmission history.[1] Horse triads appear in ten manuscripts,[2] where they are always grouped together.[3] In some manuscripts, these triads are marked off with their own heading.[4] In other cases, however, *trioedd y meirch* are simply included in the collection without any indication that they are different from the other triads. Modern scholarship has tended to afford them an element of gravitas and a patina of antiquity, owing, at least in part, to the fact that a fragment of four of these horse triads survives in the Black Book of Carmarthen, the earliest surviving manuscript written entirely in Welsh. Another, obvious reason *trioedd y meirch* have been seen as a cohesive unit is that they are clearly related to each other on thematic grounds – except for the final two in the series, which give us the names of the principal oxen and principal cows, respectively – the triads of the horses are about horses.[5]

These triads are also united by a slight alteration to the "epithet + three names" formula: we are given the personal name of each horse as well as the name and patronymic of its owner, so the

[1] See Rachel Bromwich, "Triads of the Horses," in *The Horse in Celtic Culture: Perspectives from Medieval Wales*, ed. Sioned Davies and Nerys Ann Jones (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997), 102-120 and Rachel Bromwich, *Trioedd Ynys Prydein: Triads of the Island of Britain*, 4th edition (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2014), lxxx-lxxxvii.

[2] These manuscripts are: NLW Peniarth MS 1 (Black Book of Carmarthen), NLW Peniarth MS 16, NLW Peniarth MS 4 (White Book of Rhydderch), Oxford, Jesus College MS 111 (Red Book of Hergest), NLW Peniarth MS 47, NLW Peniarth MS 50, NLW Peniarth MS 51, NLW Peniarth MS 27ii, NLW Cwrtmawr MS 3, Y Diarebion Camberaec, and BL Add. MS 15,047.

[3] The exception to this is the expanded triad *Tri marchlwyth* ("Three horse-burdens," TYP 44), which in a few cases appears mixed in with other triads.

[4] These headings appear in: NLW Peniarth MS 4 (White Book of Rhydderch), Oxford, Jesus College MS 111 (Red Book of Hergest), and NLW Peniarth MS 47. The significance of headings in these manuscripts is discussed at length below.

[5] The inclusion of the cow triads begs the question of whether there was ever a collection of *trioedd y fuch* ("triads of the cows") of which only these two survive. I am inclined to think that this was not the case and that the two cow triads are later innovations inspired by the horse triads, but it is impossible to rule out the possibility.

formula becomes "[horse's name] *march* [owner's personal name] *mab* [patronym]."[6] For the most part, *trioedd y meirch* adhere strictly to this formula, though there is certainly room for expansion and innovation. There is one long, fully expanded triad among the *trioedd y meirch*, this is *Tri marchlwyth* ("Three horse-burdens," TYP 44).[7] In some texts associated with the Early version (what I call below the B text of *trioedd y meirch*), *Tri marchlwyth* is followed by the two triads within the *trioedd y meirch* corpus which diverge from the horse theme. These are *Tri prif ychen* ("Three principal oxen," TYP 45) and *Tri prif fuch* ("Three principal cows," TYP 46). These triads may not be about horses, but they do not stray from the topic of beasts of burden. Nevertheless, it is clear that there is a substantive difference between these final three triads in the *trioedd y meirch* and those that precede them, all of which conform to the *trioedd y meirch* forumla. This difference, combined with the fact that *Tri prif ychen* and *Tri prif fuch* do not appear in manuscripts associated with the White and Red version (what I call below the C text of *trioedd y meirch*), leads to the conclusion that these three triads are later innovations which were not written until after the divergence of the Early version and the White and Red version. Furthermore, two more additional, otherwise-unknown triads appear in Peniarth 47.[8]

It is clear, therefore, that the *trioedd y meirch* were not seen as sacred or untouchable by scribes of the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries and that at least some of these men had no more compunctions about making changes and additions to them than any other part of TYP. That being said, it remains an open question how many of these "changes" can be credited to choices made by

[6] Compare, for instance, the 'epithet + three names' formula-type triad *Tri hael* ("Three generous men," TYP 2): "Tri hael ynys Prydain: Nudd hael, Mordaf hael mab Serwan, Rhydderch hael man Tudwal tudglyd" to the *trioedd y meirch* formula in *Tri roddedigfarch* ("Three bestowed horses," TYP 38): "**Meinlas march** Caswallon mab Beli, **Melyngan mangre march** Lleu llaw gyffes, a **Lluagor march** Caradog friechfras." Both triads here are taken from the Peniarth 16 text.

[7] See discussion of this triad's transmission history below, pp. 163-75.

[8] These are *Tri roddeddigfarch* ("Three bestowed horses," TYP 46A) and *Tri ryddegfarch* ("Three coursing horses," TYP 46B).

individual scribes in *trioedd y meirch*'s transmission history as opposed to simply being differences that came about naturally through the process of transmission. Another problem is differentiating between deliberate, conscious changes to the corpus as opposed to changes which arose from copying or spelling errors. This is especially the case for names, which tend to be less familiar to and more difficult for scribes than other types of words. I will pay special attention to these questions in what follows. As I have indicated elsewhere,[9] if any text of TYP is derived from oral tradition, the fragment of *trioedd y meirch* in the Black Book of Carmarthen is the likeliest candidate. This raises questions about the transmission history of *trioedd y meirch* overall, questions which are only intensified by the fact that the versions of the horse triads, as they have come down to us in the surviving manuscripts, are especially fluid and variable, as Bromwich notes, writing:

> "A comparison of the variant manuscript readings indicates that a considerable degree of confusion has taken place in transmission of these triads. Both the forms of the horses' names and the names of their owners are liable to differ in various versions of each triad. This in itself suggests that the confusion goes far back into the oral stage of transmission, and that the extant texts may be based on variant oral versions."[10]

While I am inclined to agree with her that *trioedd y meirch* is likely to have initially circulated orally, as I have already indicated, I see no reason why these variations must go "far back" into the oral tradition. Indeed, it is possible to track the patterns of these differences in the surviving (written) corpus of *trioedd y meirch*; I have indicated those patterns in the table below. The colors in the table indicate which texts of *trioedd y meirch* are related to each other and tracks the spread of certain versions of horse triads throughout the corpus. It may be useful to refer back to this table throughout this section.

[9] See discussion at Appendix C, p. 466.
[10] Bromwich, *TYP*, lxxxi.

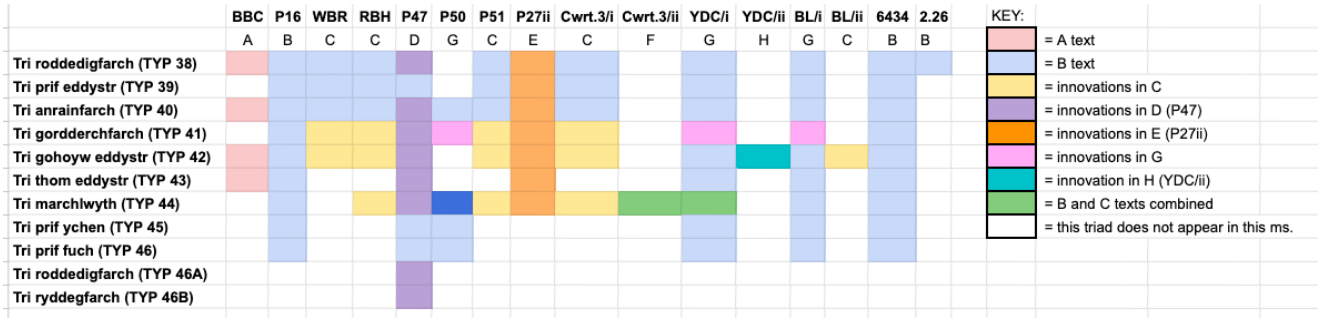


Table 3: Versions of trioedd y meirch, *including from the Black Book of Carmarthen, Peniarth 16, the White Book of Rhydderch, the Red Book of Hergest, Peniarth 47, Peniarth 50, Peniarth 51, Peniarth 27ii, Cwrtmawr 3, Y Diarebion Camberaec, BL Add. 15,047, NLW MS 6434, and Cardiff MS 2.26.*

Given this large degree of variation, it is not difficult to see why Bromwich wrote that there was a "great deal of confusion" when it came to *trioedd y meirch*, and maybe "confusion" is one word for it. However, it belies the fact that the differences that appear are consistent and correspond along lines of transmission.

It becomes clear that there five written versions of the *trioedd y meirch* corpus in circulation by the fifteenth century, which I have called A, B, C, D, and E. The A text, the version of *trioedd y meirch* found in the Black Book of Carmarthen (s.xiii^{med}), is the earliest of these. The only surviving 'pure' version of the B text is found in Peniarth 16 (s.xiii^{2}) but it was clearly influential; horse triads derived directly from the B continued to be copied through the sixteenth century. A and B presumably share a common ancestor, which we may call *X. This ancestor may have circulated orally and may date as far back as the early thirteenth or late twelfth century.[11] Subsequently, further innovations were made to B in manuscripts associated with the White and Red version of TYP (first extant in the White Book, s.xiv^{med}), creating what I have called C. C

[11] I can offer no concrete evidence for these dates, but I consider it likely that some version of *trioedd y meirch* were in circulation around this time on the basis that both the Black Book and Peniarth 16 date to around the middle of the thirteenth century. Since Peniarth 16 must have had a written exemplar (see the discussion in Appendix C, p. 471), it seems likely that B was first written down by the second quarter of the thirteenth century. They were, presumably, circulating orally prior to that but of course, the grounds for an earlier date become shakier and shakier the farther back one goes. An orthographictal study of these texts – which is outside the bounds of this dissertation – would shed more light on this question.

contains three triads which are identical to B and three which appear in substantially different forms than they do in B.

Two unique versions occur in D (Peniarth 47) and E (Peniarth 27ii), both of which were written around the middle of the fifteenth century. D represents a compilation of two earlier *trioedd y meirch* texts, one descended from B and the other a combination of A and C. E, on the other hand, does not seem to derive from B and appears to represent an otherwise-unknown version of *trioedd y meirch* descended from *X. The fact that the TYP text in Peniarth 27ii does not contain any non-horse triads lends even further interest; apparently it was possible, even as late as the middle of the fifteenth century, to find versions of *trioedd y meirch*, circulating without their cousins in the larger TYP corpus, in versions un-related to B or C. Further, it is clear that it becomes more common for single horse triads to appear in books written in the sixteenth century, either admist non-horse triads (as is the case in Cardiff 2.26) or as alternate versions of horse triads that appear elsewhere in the text (as is in the case for Cwrtmawr 3, *Y Diarebion Camberäec*, and BL Add. 15,047).

A close reading of *trioedd y meirch* will demonstrate how I determined these relationships. There are two types of variations present in *trioedd y meirch*. The first type, in which the order of the names or limbs varies, is relatively common.[12] Take, for instance, the case of *Tri anrheithfarch* ("Three horses of plunder," TYP 40):

> *TYP 40 A text (BBC):* Tri anreith march Inis P[ri]dein:
> Carnawlauc march Owein mab Vrien, a Bucheslum seri march Gugaun Cletywrut, a Tauautir Breichir m[arch][13] Kadwallaun fil K[atuan].

[12] For examples other than *Tri anrheithfarch*, quoted below, see Appendix B, p. 429-30.
[13] This manuscript uses a "m." abbreviation for *march* that is identical to the abbreviation for *mab* in other manuscripts. I have indicated my expansion of the abbreviation here but not elsewhere. It occurs at every subsequent use of *march* in this manuscript.

> *TYP 40 B text (P16):* Tri anreinɷarch enys Prydein:
> Carnaɷlaɷc march Ewein mab Vryen, a Thanaɷthir march Catwallaɷn mab Catuan, a Bucheslom march Gwgawn gledyfrud.

When one looks past the orthographic differences, it becomes apparent that although the names appear in different orders, these two versions of the triad contain substantially the same *cyfarwyddyd*, aside from the fact that A gives provides the horse Bucheslom with the epithet *seri* (? 'of the causeway'[14]), which B omits. The second type of variation occurs when the name in one of the limbs has been entirely swapped out with a different name. In these cases the *cyfarwyddyd* contained within the triad has been substantially altered. This is the case for *Tri thom eddystr* ("Three steeds of burden," TYP 43):

> *TYP 43 A text (BBC):* Tri t[*h*]om etystir Inis Pridein:
> Arwul melin march Passcen fil Vrien, a Du hir **terwenhit** march **Selyw mab Kynan Garrvin**, a **Drudluid** march Ryterch Hael.

> *TYP 43 B text (P16):* Tri thom edystyr enys Prydein:
> Du march **Brwyn mab Kynadaf**, ac Arɷwl ɷelyn march Pasken mab ɷryen, a **Rudlwyt** march Ryderch hael.

While these have enough in common that there can be no doubt that they are the same triad, the differences between the names preserved within each of them effectively means that they preserving different *cyfarwyddyd* – if we assume that TYP are meant to accurately preserve and transmit the storytelling material of medieval Wales, this could be seen as a clear example of their failing in their primary objective. The good news is that it allows us to see the process of transmission in action. References to both Selyw fab Cynan Garwyn and Brwyn fab Cynadaf are attested elsewhere in medieval Welsh *cyfarwyddyd*, especially in genealogies,[15] and either one would have been a fine addition to the body of *trioedd y meirch*.

[14] This meaning of this word found in the Black Book text, *seri*, is uncertain. See Ifor Williams, "Nodiau cymysg: seri," *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 11.3 (1944), 148-49, Bromwich, *TYP*, 107-08, and GPC s.v. *seri*.
[15] For Selyf fab Cynan Garwyn, see Bromwich, *TYP*, 497. For Brwyn fab Cynadaf, see Bromwich, *TYP*, 294.]

Both of these types of variation – that of order as well as content – between B and C can be seen from the comparison of the texts of *Tri gordderchfarch* ("Three lovers' horses," TYP 41) and *Tri gohoyw eddystr* ("Three sprightly steeds," TYP 42) in B and C, respectively:

> *TYP 41 B text (P16):* Tri gorderchɷarch enys Prydein:
> **S**erlaf march Dalldaf eil Cunin cof, a **Rudurych** march Rahaɷt **eil Morgant**, a Guelwgan gohoewgein march **Moruran eil Tegit**.
>
> *TYP 41 C text (RBH):* Tri gordercharch ynys Brydein:
> **Ff**erlas march Dalldaff eil Kunin, a Gwelɷgan gohoewgein march **Keredic uab Gɷawllaɷc**, a **Gɷrbrith** march Raaɷt. **Tri pym uarch ynys Brydein a dugant y tri marchlɷyth y mae henweu dracheuyn.**
>
> *TYP 42 B text (P16):* Tri **gohoew** edystyr enys Prydein:
> Llwyt march Alser mab Maelgwn, a Gɷineu **godwf** hir march Kei, **a Chethin carnaɷlaw march Idon mab Enyr Gɷent.**
>
> *TYP 42 C text (RBH):* Tri **thom** edystyr ynys Brydein:
> Gɷineu **gɷdɷc** hir march Kei, **a Grei march Edɷin**, a Lluyd march Alser uab Maelgɷn.

It is clear that C's version of these triads has a very different transmission history than the version in B. Some of the differences, like C's substitution of *Fferlas* for *Serlas,* or the substitution of *Gɷineu **gɷdɷc** hir* for *Gɷineu **godwf** hir*, are probably due to scribal misreadings or other types of corruption somewhere along the line of written transmission. Others are more difficult to account for. Both triads substitute alternative names in at least one limb: C's *Tri gordderchfarch* gives *Keredic uab Gɷawllaɷc* where B reads *Moruran eil Tegit* and *Gwrbrith* where B reads *Rhuddfrych*; C's version of *Tri gohoyw eddystr* gives *Grei march Edɷin* where the B text reads *Cethin carnɷlaw march Idon mab Enyr Gwent.* This later triad is alternatively titled *Tri **thom** eddystr* in C, itself a significant difference.

It's possible that the scribe who expanded B to create C drew on versions of *Tri godderchfarch* and *Tri gohoyw eddystr* which ultimately derived from oral tradition -- I am thinking here of seemingly arbitrary changes like the substitution of *Gwrbrith* for *Rhuddfrych* or *Grei* for *Cethin carnawlaw* – but I see no reason to conclude that they came wholesale, and exactly

as we have them, from oral tradition. Indeed, as I have already noted, other differences between B and C may be put down to scribal errors, indicating written transmission. We saw in Chapter 1 that triads in the White and Red version have often been discretely expanded, not completely re-written; the changes made to triads in C do not follow this pattern. It is possible to speculate, though no concrete evidence is likely to come to light, that C represents the melding of B with another, otherwise-unattested version we may call *Y. Even if this hypothetical exemplar is not accepted, it seems difficult to escape the conclusion that the White and Red version of *trioedd y meirch* (that is, C) was compiled, re-written, and/or developed by a different individual from the one who expanded triads elsewhere in the White and Red version.

It is notable, furthermore, that four triads found in B, including the three I already identified above as departing from the other *trioedd y meirch* on stylistic grounds, do not appear in C. Therefore, B and C must have diverged before the composition of these triads, that is, before Peniarth 16 was written around the middle of the thirteenth century. This lends further intrigue to the observation that the long, expanded triad *Tri marchlwyth* ("Three horse-burdens," TYP 44) appears elsewhere, apart from its fellow horse triads, in the Red Book.[16]

The already complex situation becomes even more so when we turn to the unique versions of *trioedd y meirch* found in Peniarth 47 (D) and Peniarth 27ii (E), both dating from the mid-fifteenth century. Each presents its own problems. It becomes clear that there was no 'standard' version of *trioedd y meirch* by this period, and the texts that were in circulation were extremely fluid.

At first glance, D appears to be the more straightforward of the two; it agrees with B in three of its ten triads (these are *Tri prif eddystr* ("Three chief steeds," TYP 39), *Tri prif ychen*, and

[16] It presumably once appeared in the White Book as well but is missing today thanks to a lacuna in that text, see below Appendix C, p. 474.

Tri prif fuch) while the rest are unique either in their order or their content, or both. This leads naturally to the initial conclusion that D represents a substantially reworked version of *trioedd y meirch* which was ultimately descended from B. However, a closer look at the text's unique triads shows that they are much closer to either C or A and that none of them seem to derive from B. This can be demonstrated through comparing two triads from D to their counterparts in A, B, and C. First, take the example of *Tri gohoyw eddystr* ("Three sprightly steeds," TYP 42):

> *TYP 42 D text (P47):* Tri gohoyɔ edestyr ynys Prydein:
> **Meinlas march Kaswallaɔn mab Beli**, a Grei march Etwin, a Llɔyt march Allych mab Maelgɔn.
>
> *TYP 42 A text (BBC):* Tri gohoev etystir inis Pridein:
> Guynev godvff hir march Kei, Ruthir ehon tuthbleit, march Gilberd mab Kadgyffro, a Kein caled march Gualchmei.
>
> *TYP 42 B text (P16):* Tri gohoew edystyr enys Prydein:
> Llwyt march Alser mab Maelgwn, a Gɔineu godwf hir march Kei, a Chethin carnaɔlaw march Idon mab Enyr Gɔent.
>
> *TYP 42 C text (WBR):* Tri thom edystyr ynys Brydein:
> Gɔineu gɔdɔf hir march Kei, **a Grei march Edwin**, **a Lluyd march Alser ap Maelgɔn**.

It is clear that the D text of this triad is more closely related to C than it is to A or B. Indeed, there is virtually no overlap in either content or order between the texts of D and A. On the other hand, despite the incongrous substitution of Meinlas for Gwinau, who appears in every other version of this triad, D agrees with C over B in its order and its use of Grai, Edwin's horse, in the second limb.[17] The opposite is the case, however, when we turn to *Tri anrheithfarch* ("Three horses of plunder," TYP 40):

> *TYP 40 D text (P47):* Tri anreithuarch ynys Prydein:

[17] One difference between D and C – D's reading of *Allych* where C has *Alser* – seems likely to be due to a scribal error or other corruption within the text.

> **Canaɷthar** march Catwallaɷn mab Catuan, a Bacheslɷn **serch** march Gɷgaɷn gleifrud, a **Charnaflaɷc** march Owein mab Vryen.
>
> *TYP 40 A text (BBC)* Tri anreith march Inis P[ri]dein:
> Carnawlauc march Owein mab Vrien, a Bucheslum **seri** march Gugaun Cletywrut, a Tauautir Breichir m[arch][18] Kadwallaun filius[19] K[atuan]
>
> *TYP 40 B text (P16):* Tri anreinɷarch enys Prydein:
> Carnaɷlaɷc march Ewein mab Vryen, a Thanaɷthir march Catwallaɷn mab Catuan, a Bucheslom march Gwgawn gledyfrud.
>
> *TYP 40 C text (WBR):* Tri anreithuarch ynys Brydein:
> Karnaflaɷn march Ywein ap Vryen, a Thauaɷt hir march Katwallaɷn ap Katuan, a Bucheslom march Gɷgaɷn kedlyf rud.

Again, D differs to some extent from every other version of this triad. No other version gives this reading of the horse's name in the third limb – *a Charnaflawc march Owein mab Vryen*, as opposed to the more usual a *Thanawthir* or other variants that start with *T-* and end in *-tir/thir*. However, D follows the order of A over the alternative order seen in B and C. Even more strikingly, D follows A in its reading of *Buchelsum serch* (> *Bucheslum seri*, 'Bucheslum ? of the path'[20]). As Bromwich notes,[21] this is a tell-tale sign that it must be related to A, the only other text to describe Bucheslum thus.

To sum up, then, D seems to be closely related to A, B, and C in turn. How can this puzzle be resolved? One part of the solution comes when we zoom out and examine the order in which the *trioedd y meirch* triads appear in Peniarth 47, or D.[22] The final four triads in the text are *Tri marchlwyth* (which we will return to presently), *Tri prif eddystr*, *Tri prif ychen*, and *Tri prif fuch* – the four triads that are derived from B. This leads to the conclusion that the scribe of D (either

[18] This manuscript uses a "m." abbreviation for *march* that is identical to the abbreviation for *mab* in other manuscripts. I have indicated my expansion of the abbreviation here but not elsewhere. It occurs at every subsequent use of *march* in this manuscript.
[19] This and the subsequent use of *filius* are the only examples I have seen which use *filius* in place of *mab* in the medieval TYP corpus.
[20] See above note 14.
[21] Bromwich, *TYP*, 108.
[22] See Appendix A, p. 337.

Siancyn ap Dafydd, the scribe of Peniarth 47, or one of his predecessors) added material from B after he had finished copying another exemplar. This other exemplar, which we may call *Z, appears to have been a compilation in its own right of A and C. *Tri roddedigfarch* ("Three bestowed horses," TYP 46A) and *Tri ryddegfarch* ("Three coursing horses," TYP 46B), the two *trioedd y meirch* unique to D, appear to have been part of *Z. This exemplar compilation may have taken its A-text triads from a longer version of A than survives in the Black Book of Carmarthen, which included those two otherwise-unknown triads, although this can only be speculative.

Interestingly, the unique version of *Tri marchlwyth* in D is more closely related to C in its first limb but more closely related to B in its second and third limb.[23] This may suggest that the scribe's *Z exemplar broke off in the middle of that long triad and he copied the rest from another text he had handy.[24] He may have noticed that this second exemplar (B) included some triads not included in *Z and chosen to supplement his new text with them. This not only suggests that the scribe of D had access to multiple exemplars of *trioedd y meirch* but also that A was circulating in writing at the time of this compilation.[25]

The affinities of E are even more diverse than those of D. As I have already noted, the seven *trioedd y meirch* here make up the entirety of Peniarth 27ii's TYP text. None of the triads in E are unique to E; versions of them all can be found in other texts of *trioedd y meirch*. What makes E a confounding member of the *trioedd y meirch* corpus, however, is that every triad here differs in some way from its cousins in other manuscripts and the A, B, and C texts seem to take turns being closely related to the triads found here. Two, *Tri roddeddigfarch* ("Three bestowed horses," TYP

[23] See Appendix B, pp. 433-37.
[24] Another implication of this observation is that, unlike the C-text *trioedd y meirch* found in the White Book and the Red Book, *Z included *Tri marchlwyth* among the other horse triads.
[25] When exactly that time was is difficult to determine. The *terminus ante quem* is the middle of the fifteenth century, when Peniarth 47 was written, but long before that manuscript's creation its version of TYP goes remains, for me, an open question.

38) and *Tri prif eddystr* ("Three chief steeds," TYP 39), contain all three of the names found in the other versions of these triads but appear here in an order that does not match any other known *trioedd y meirch* text. Two others, *Tri thom eddystr* ("Three steeds of burden," TYP 43) and *Tri gohoyw eddystr* ("Three sprightly steeds," TYP 42), follow the order of B but give an alternate name in the third limb. Meanwhile, the version of *Tri anrheithfarch* ("Three horses of plunder," TYP 40) found here follows the order of A and *not* the order of B. Indeed, orthographic differences aside, E's text of *Tri anrheithfarch* is very similar to the version found in A, except that E omits the adjectives A uses to describe the horses in its second and third limbs.[26] Finally, the first limb of E's version of *Tri gordderchfarch* ("Three lovers' horses," TYP 41), which reads *Fferlas march Dallda Kunin kof*,[27] agrees with C over B in its spelling of *Fferlas* and with B over C in its inclusion of the adjective *cof*. The second and third limbs both include names which are not found in any other version of this triad, sometimes appearing closer to B and sometimes appearing closer to C.[28]

E, then, appears to be a hodgepodge of A, B, and C. As is the case with D, it seems likely that E was compiled from all three earlier versions of *trioedd y meirch*. The differences between E and its cousins are not as straightforward as additions or expansions an individual scribe would make for creative reasons; some triads in E have seen multiple accretions that probably took place

[26] Compare A (Black Book of Carmarthen): "*Tri anreith march Inis P[ri]dein: Carnawlauc march Owein mab Vrien, a Bucheslum* ***seri*** *march Gugaun Cletywrut, a Tauautir* ***breichir*** *m[arch] Kadwallaun filius K[atuan]*" and E (Peniarth 27ii): "*Tri anrreithuarch ynys Brydain: Kynavlaw march Ywain ap Vrien, a Buchesdom, march Gwgon Gleddyfrudd, a Thauawyr, march Gydwallawn ap Kadvan*" to B (Peniarth 16):) "*Tri anreinɷarch enys Prydein: Carnaɷlaɷc march Ewein mab Vryen, a Thanaɷthir march Catwallaɷn mab Catuan, a Bucheslom march Gwgawn gledyfrud*." On the significance of the appearance or non-appearance of *seri*, see the discussion of D above and note 14.

[27] Compare C's ***F(f)****erlas march Dalldaff eil Kunin* with B's *Serlaf march Dalldaf eil Cunin* ***cof***.

[28] Compare the second and third limbs of E, "*[…], **Arwlvrith** march Kahawt ail Morgan, a **Chornach arwch** march Marvrynn ail Tegid*" to B's "*[…]a Rudurych march **Rahaɷt eil Morgant** a Guelwgan gohoewgein march **Moruran eil Tegit***" and those of C (the White Book), "*[…] a Gwelwgan goheɷgein march Keredic ap Gɷwallaɷc, a Gɷrbrith march **Raaɷt**. […]*" and another C text, those of *Y Diarebion Camberäec*, "*[…] Ruddvrych march **Rahawt eil Morgant**, Gwelwgan gohoiwgam march **Morvran ail Tegit***."

over a long period of time, as several individuals brought their own knowledge of the *trioedd y meirch* corpus to bear on the text. Perhaps the fact that E escaped the clutches of the larger TYP corpus allowed these changes to continue over a longer period of time than those that became part of the homogenizing process of TYP's transmission. No text that survives seems to be directly related to E, and so it stands alone as a reminder of the great variety and fluidity that was possible between versions of *trioedd y meirch* by the fifteenth century.

Two mid-sixteenth-century versions of *trioedd y meirch*, the early printed book known as *Y Diarebion Camberäec* and NLW Cwrtmawr MS 3 (both compiled by William Salesbury), contain duplicate triads. In the case of *Y Diarebion Camberäec*, this triad is *Tri gohoyw eddystr* ("Three sprightly steeds, TYP 42).

> *TYP 42 B text (P16):* Tri gohoew edystyr enys Prydein:
> Llwyt march Alser mab Maelgwn, a Gόineu godwf hir march Kei, a Chethin carnaόlaw march Idon mab Enyr Gόent.
>
> *TYP 42 B text (YDC #21):* Tri gohoivv eddestyr ynys Brytain:
> Llwyd march Alser 'ap Maelgwn, Gwineu gwddw hir march **Syr** Cei, Cethin carnawlaw[29] march Iddon 'ap Eynyr Gwent.
>
> *TYP 42 C text (WBR):* Tri thom edystyr ynys Brydein:
> Gόineu gόdόf hir march Kei, a **Grei** march Edwin, **a Lluyd** march Alser ap Maelgόn.
>
> *TYP 42 C text (YDC #39):* Tri [*hoyw*] eddestyr ynys Britain.
> Gwinau gwddw-hir march Cai hir, **Gregar** march Edwin, **Ellwyd** march Alser ap Maelgwyn.

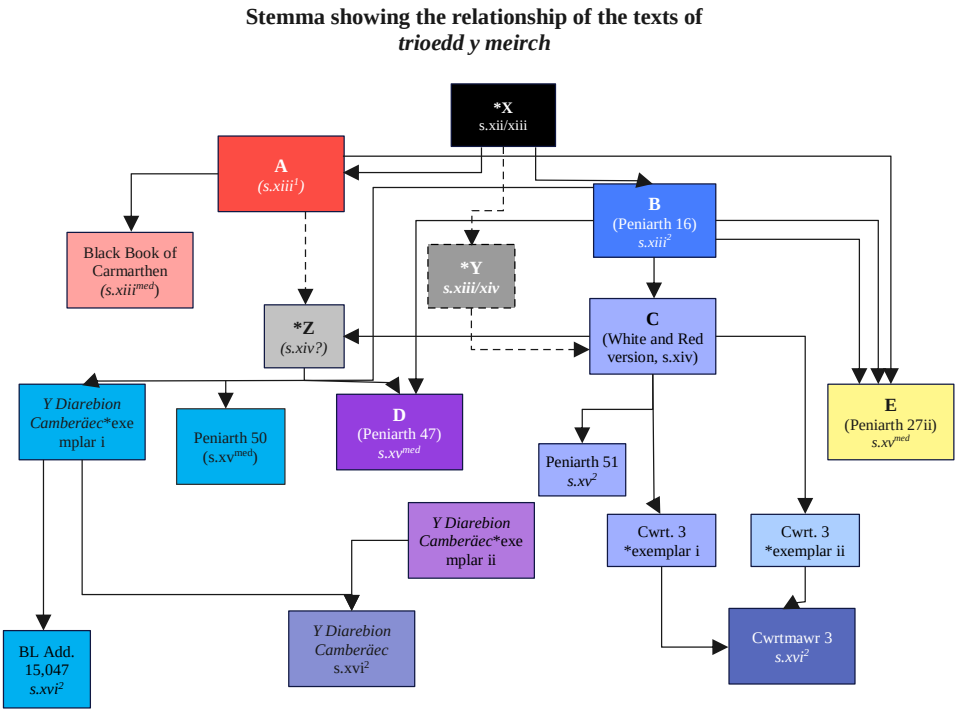
The first version of *Tri gohoyw eddystr* in *Y Diarebion Camberäec* is basically identical to B and is straightforwardly descended from it.[30] The version found in the slightly later manuscript BL Add. 15,047 is similarly related to B.[31] The second version in this book, meanwhile, follows the order of

[29] Correcting hand: "*Carnaflawc*"
[30] I say 'basically identical' because the orthography in *Y Diarebion Camberäec*'s version has been modernized and Cai is referred to with the honorific "Syr" not present in the Peniarth 16 B text.
[31] BL Add. 15,047 also refers to Cai as "Syr Cai" and adds that he is *o Warrwig* ("from Warwick').

C and seems to be descended from it, but the names in the second and third limbs have been altered. This is probably due to a fifteenth- or sixteenth-century scribe being more familiar with the name *Gregar* than *Grei* and mistaking *a Lluyd* ("and Lluyd") for a single word.[32]

Below, I have set out a proposed stemma of all the surviving texts of *trioedd y meirch*. This is not meant to be exhaustive but is intended merely to illustrate how the surviving texts of *trioedd y meirch* are related to each other. Intervening 'generations' have certainly been lost along some or all of the lines. I have included exemplars in the stemma only when duplicate triads have made it necessary to account for a text's relationship to two or more earlier texts. On a few occassions, involving the hypothetical exemplars *Y and *Z, I have used dotted lines to indicate that I consider these connections to be more speculative than others.

Table 4: Stemma of trioedd y meirch



[32] To be clear, these two changes are not necessarily the work of William Salesbury himself more likely to have been in Salesbury's exemplar. Along those same lines, both changes need not have been introduced by the same scribe or at the same time.

The final element to be discussed regarding *trioedd y meirch* is their relationship to the poem known as *Canu y meirch* ("Song of the horses"), which survives in the thirteenth-century manuscript the Book of Taliesin (NLW Peniarth MS 1). This poem is quite corrupt and difficult to understand, but it is clear that it includes a list of horses' names, many of which overlap with the names in *trioedd y meirch*. Bromwich writes that "a triadic arrangement is discernable throughout" the list of names and that "obviously there exists a close connection between the poem and the extant versions of *Trioedd y Meirch*."[33] However, Marged Haycock, who has edited the poem, disputes this argument, noting that although quite a few names do overlap between the poem and triads, the names of the horses and the names of their owners usually do not correspond between the two.[34] For my part, I will chart a path between these two opposing stances. In my view, the degree of overlap between names which appear in *trioedd y meirch* and those which appear in *Canu y meirch* is too great to be dismissed out of hand, especially in this run of lines towards the end of the horse list (all of the emphasized names appear in at least one text of *trioedd y meirch):*

> "*…a march Taliesin, a march* ***Lleu****, lletuegin, a 'Phebyrllei' llwynin a* ***'Grei'*** *march Cunin,* ***'Kornan'*** *kynheiwawc,* ***'Awyd'*** *awydawc.* ***'Du Moroed'*** *enwawc, march* ***Brwyn*** *Bron Bradawc, a'r tri '****Carnaflaw'*** *nyt ant hynt hilaw.* ***'Kethin'*** *march Keidaw,* ***karn aflaw*** *arnaw,* ***'Yscwydurith'*** *yscodic gorwyd llemenic, march Ryderch rydic,* ***'Llwyt'*** *lliw cellëic, a 'Llamrei llam elwic…*"[35]
>
> ("…and Taliesin's horse, and Lleu's nurtured horse, and well-hung 'Strong Dun,' and Cunin's horse 'Grey', 'Cornan,' the supportive, 'Awydd' the eager, Famous 'Black of the Seas',[36] Brwyn Crafty-Breast's horse, and the three 'Clefted' [geldings]

[33] Bromwich, *TYP*, lxxxiv. Cf. her edition and translation of the poem's horse list on lxxxii.
[34] Marged Haycock, *Legendary Poems from the Book of Taliesin*, no. 15 (Aberystwyth: CMCS Publications, 2007), 387-88: "The comparisons above do not suggest that our poet was necessarily drawing on the horse triads rather than on his own store of names. It is hard to discern the 'triadic arrangement' perceived in parts of the poem by Rachel Bromwich […] Neither is it possible to fully endorse the view that 'obviously there exists a close connection between the poem and extant versions of Trioedd y Meirch. The triad-makers did not avail themselves of horse names in the poem […] and conversely, neither did our poet make use of the information found in the extant triads. Where the same name occurs, the match between owner and horse does not correspond. It is also difficult to see how the assumed antiquity of the horse triads can be backed up by the Book of Taliesin poem which has no telling archaisms which require it to be dated before the twelfth or thirteenth century" Cf. her concordance of the names between the poem and the trioedd y meirch corpus on the same pages.
[35] Haycock, ed. and trans. *Legendary Poems of the Book of Taliesin* no. 15.35-51.
[36] On this name, see below p. 165.

> who'll never go out to stud. Ceidio's horse 'Cethin' with a cloven hoof, skittish 'Dappeled Withers', a bounding steed, wrathful Rhydderch's horse, 'Grey', stag-coloured, and 'Grey Leaper' with useful leap…")

I find it difficult to believe that it is a complete coincidence these names appear in both *trioedd y meirch* and *Canu y meirch*. Haycock's point that the horse names rarely correspond to owners which are attributed to them in *trioedd y meirch* is well taken, however. I am therefore led to the conclusion that the names of these horses were 'in the ether,' so to speak, of early-thirteenth-century *cyfarwyddyd*. It seems unlikely that the triads were directly derived from the poem, or vice versa, but it seems very likely that *cyfarwyddiaid* of this period had access to a list of horse names – perhaps, as Bromwich thought, the names of the horses of Welsh legendary heroes, or perhaps merely names that were typical for Welsh horses – and that both the poet of *Canu y meirch* and the author of the *trioedd y meirch* drew from the same source or similar sources.

Trioedd y meirch thus stands as a coherent sub-section of TYP with thematic integrity and a unique transmission history which can – indeed, *should* – be discussed separately from the transmission history of TYP overall. It seems likely that these triads circulated orally in their distant past, and the possibility of oral versions being passed in parallel to the written counterparts cannot be discounted, but the written transmission of *trioedd y meirch* dates back to at least the mid-thirteenth century and evidence of alternate spellings, scribal errors or otherwise, points to a robost history of copying. In what follows, I will examine the evidence for additional sub-sections within the TYP corpus, now considering parts of that corpus which have not been previously discussed as coherent sub-sections.

The Development of Tri marchlwyth ynys Prydain *("Three horse-burdens of the island of Britain," TYP 44)*

I have referred on several occasions to the long, expanded horse triad *Tri marchlwyth* ("Three horse-burdens," TYP 44). In what follows, I will discuss this triad in more depth. It stands out from its fellow *trioedd y meirch* in two major ways: first, by virtue of being an expanded triad and, second, the fact that it appears apart from the other horse triads in the White and Red version. These facts alone make it worthy of further scrutiny and, when scrutiny is applied, it becomes clear that *Tri marchlwyth* has a transmission history that is distinct from that of its fellow *trioedd y meirch*. This study is very granular, focusing on how the details of the triad changed over time. These details are often tiny and, in the scheme of things, rather unimportant. However, by tracing the development of this expanded triad through its nine surviving manuscript witnesses, certain patterns emerge which allow us to establish how these nine versions are related to each other.

The earliest witness to *Tri marchlwyth ynys Prydain* is Peniarth 16. Several additions have been made to the text when it re-appears, about a century and half later, in the Red Book of Hergest. I have emphasized the differences between the two texts:

> *TYP 44 B text (P16):* **Tri meir[*ch*] a dugant y** tri marchlwyth:
> Du **Moro** march Elidir mwynɔaɔr, a duc **arnaɔ** seith nyn a hanner o Benllech yn y Gogled hyt ym Penllech y Mon. Sef seith nyn oedynt: Elidir mwynɔawr, a Eurgein y wreic, **merch Ewein Gwyned,** a Gɔyned, a Gɔynn da gyɔet, a Gɔyn da reinyat, a Mynach Naomon y gyghorwr, a Phrydelaɔ menestyr y walloɔyat, ac Aryanɔagyl y was, a **Gelbeineuin** y goc a nouyes a'e dwylaɔ ar Bedrein y march, a hɔnnɔ ɔu hanner y dyn.
>
> Er eil marchlwyth a duc Cornan march meibyon Elifer, a duc Gɔrgi a Pheredur arnaɔ, a Dunaɔt ɔwr, a Chynɔelyn drwsgyl y edrych ar ɔygedorth Gɔendoleu Arderyd.
>
> E trydyd marchaɔelwyth a duc Heich march maibyon Gɔerthmɔl wledic, **a duc Gɔeir, a Gleis** a Arthanat yn erbyn **allt** ɔaellwr yg Keredigyaɔn yn dial eu tat.
>
> ("Three horses **who carried** the three horse-burdens:

Du Moro [Black of the seas?], the horse of Elidir mwynfawr, who carried **upon himself** seven and a half men from Benllech in the North as far as Penllech in Anglesey. These were the seven persons: Elidir mwynfawr, and Eurgain his wife, the daughter of **Owain Gwynedd**, and Gwynedd, and Gwyn the good companion, and Gwyn the good cup-bearer, and Noamon the monk his counselor, and Predelaw the cupbearer his server, and Arianfagyl his servant, and Gelbeinfyn his cook, who swam with both his hands on Bedrain the horse, and that was the half man.

The second horse-burden, which Cornan, the horse of the sons of Eliffer, carried, who carried Gwrgi and Peredur upon him, and stout Dunod, and clumsy Cynfelyn, to look at the battle-fog of Gwenddolau [in] Arderydd.

The third horse-burden, which was carried by Heich the horse of the sons of Gwerthmwl wledig carried, who carried Gweir, and Gleis, and Arthanat up the hill of Maelor in Ceredigion to avenge their father.")

TYP 44 C text (RBH): Tri marchlǒyth **ynys Prydein**:
Du **y moroed** march Elidyr mǒynuaǒr, a duc seith nyn a hanner **arnaǒ** o Benn llech **Elidir** yn y Gogled, hyt ym penn llech **Elidyr** ym Mon. Sef seith nyn oedynt: Elidyr mǒynuaǒr, ac Eurgein **uerch Vaelgǒn** y wreic, a Gǒynn da gyued, a Gǒyn da reiniat, a Mynach Naǒmon y gynghorǒr, a Phetryleǒ vynestyr y wallonyat, ac Aran uagyl y was, ac **Albeinyn** y goc, a noeues a'e dǒylaǒ ar Bedrein y uarch, a hǒnnǒ uu hanner y dyn.

A'r eil marchlǒyth a duc Coruann march meibon Eliffer **gosgorduaǒr**, a duc Gǒrgi a Pheredur arnaǒ, **ac nys gordiwedaǒd neb namyn Dinogat uab Kynan Garwynn y ar y Kethin kyflym ac aruidiaǒt ac aglot a gauas yr hynny hyt hediw**, a Dunaǒt wr **uab Pabo**, a Chynuelyn drǒsgyl y edrych ar vygedorth **llu** Gǒendoleu **yn** Arderyd.

Y trydyd marchlǒyth a duc Erch march meibon Grythmǒl wledic, **a duc arnaǒ, Achleu** ac Arthanat, yn erbyn **riǒ** Uaelaǒr yg Keredigyaǒn y dial eu tat.

("Three horse-burdens of the island of Britain:
Du [Black] of the seas, the horse of Elidir mwynfawr, who carried seven and a half men upon himself from Benllech Elidir in the North as far as Penllech Elidir on Angelsey. These were the seven men: Elidir mwynfawr, and Eurgain daughter of Maelgwn his wife, and Gwynn the good companion, and Gwyn the good champion (?),[37] and Nawmon the monk his counselor, and Phetrylew the cupbearer his server, and Aranfagyl his servant, and Alneinyn his cook, who swam with two hands on Bedrain his horse, and that was the half man.

And the second horse-burden, which was carried by Corfann the horse of the sons of Eliffer gosgorddfawr, who carried Gwrgi and Peredur upon himself, and he did not overtake anyone except Dinogad son of Cynan Garwyn on Kethin *cyflym* ("the swift") and he led and carried and obtained that [burden] until today, and Dunod wr son of Pabo, and Cynfelyn drwsgyl to watch the battle-fog of Gwenddolau's host in Arderydd.

[37] Here I follow Bromwich's suggested interpretation of the Red Book's alternate reading *da remiad*, though this appears to be a scribal error, as no other text of *Tri marchlwyth* follows this reading, even those which agree with the Red Book at other points. See Bromwich, *TYP*, 395.

> The third horse-burden, which was carried by Erch the horse of the sons of Grythmwl wledic, who carried upon himself Achleu and Arthanad, up the slope of Maelor in Ceredigion to avenge their father.")

A few of these differences – for instance, the change between *a duc* ***arnaȣ*** *seith nyn a hanner o Benllech* and *a duc seith nyn a hanner* ***arnaȣ*** *o benn llech* – can be regarded as non-substantive changes that occurred during the normal processes of copying and re-copying. However, several other differences are substantial, adding to the content of the *cyfarwyddyd* being transmitted and, occasionally, altering it. These are only two of the nine total extant versions of *Tri marchlwyth*. In what follows, I will establish a relative chronology of this triad's development through a comparison of all nine of these texts.[38] I will argue for the existence of several exemplars (which I have called *X, *Y, *Z, *C^1, and *C^2, respectively) from which the surviving texts of *Tri marchlwyth* are descended.

The texts of the *X family are Peniarth 16 (s.xiii^2) itself, as well as *Y Diarebion Camberäec* (s.xvi^{med}) and BL Additional MS 15,047 (s.xvi^2). These two later texts of *Tri marchlwyth* are the only ones to agree with Peniarth 16, the earliest manuscript in the corpus, in almost all cases without showing any of the various changes which would be implemented later. Given that three centuries separate Peniarth 16 from the other *X-family texts, it seems likely that other texts preserving *X were created which have not survived.

Peniarth 16 must have belonged to a slightly different branch than that of *Y Diarebion Camberäec* and BL Add. 15,047, however. It is the only manuscript to claim that Elidir mwynfawr's wife Eurgain was the daughter of the twelfth-century king Owain Gwynedd.[39] Every other version of this triad refers to Eurgain as "the daughter of Maelgwn" (this is presumably the

[38] The full texts of all these versions can be found at Appendix B, pp. 333-37.
[39] For this historical figure, see R.R. Davies, *The Age of Conquest: Wales 1063-1415* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1991), especially 48-49 and Chapter 3.

sixth-century king Maelgwn Gwynedd).[40] The genealogical text *Bonedd y Saint* also states that Eurgain was Maelgwn's daughter.[41] This strengthens the impression that Peniarth 16's reading of *Owein Gwyned* reflects a mistake on the part of a copyist somewhere along the chain of transmission who was familiar with the twelfth-century king Owain but perhaps not with his legendary predecessor Maelgwn and made an effort to 'correct' the text. Peniarth 16 also gives a unique reading of the name of the horse in the triad's first limb. In this manuscript, the horse's name is rendered *Du moro* while all other manuscripts give *Du moroedd*. I agree with Bromwich that the reading *Du moro* should be considered a corruption or mistake. A comparison with the other surviving texts of *Tri marchlwyth* makes it clear that Peniarth 16's reading of the name is the outlier; every other text calls this horse *Du moroedd*.

Next, we come to the *Y text of *Tri marchlwyth*. This family saw a few changes made to the triad's text but has only one definite member, Peniarth 27ii (s.xv^{med}).[42] Apart from *X-family texts, every manuscript containing *Tri marchlwyth* adds the name *Elidir* to the placenames in the first sentence of the second limb.[43] This is presumably a reference to Elidir mwynfawr, the owner

[40] For Maelgwn Gwynedd, see Bromwich, *TYP*, 428-32.
[41] The relevant section of that text reads *Eurgein uerch Uaelgwn Gwyned m. Catwallawn llawir m. Einiawn yrth m. Cuneda wledic* (Peter C. Bartrum, *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1966), 63). It should be noted that *Bonedd y Saint* can often be found alongside TYP in the manuscripts; it appears in Peniarth 16 dpart vi, Peniarth 45, the White Book, and Peniarth 27ii.
[42] The second, condensed version of *Tri marchlwyth* found in Cwrtmawr 3 may also be descended from *Y but it is hard to say; this will be discussed in more detail below.
[43] Compare Peniarth 16's *a duc arnaó seith nyn a hanner o Benllech yn y Gogled hyt ym Penllech y Mon* ("…who carried upon himself seven and a half men from Benllech in the North as far as Penllech on Angelsey") to the Red Book's *a duc seith nyn a hanner* ***arnaó*** *o Benn llech* ***Elidir*** *yn y Gogled, hyt ym penn llech* ***Elidyr*** *ym Mon* ("…who carried seven and a half men upon himself from Benllech **Elidir** in the North as far as Penllech **Elidir** on Angelsey") There is no known place in the Old North known as Benllech or Benllech Elidir, though there is a Benllech in Angelsey (see Bromwich, *TYP*, 121). It's possible that North Wales is meant by *yn y Gogledd* ("in the North") here – not the Old North – but given Angelsey's location off the northwest coast of North Wales, the Old North seems more likely. Bromwich suggests (citing personal correspondence from Idris Foster) that 'Elidir' here could be derived from a borrowing of Irish *leitir* 'side of a hill, steep ascent or descent,' but, in my view, this is unnecessary given the fact that it is obviously derived from the personal name *Elidir mwynfawr* in this context..

of the horse in this limb.[44] *Y also sees the addition of the epithet *gosgorddfawr* ("great/large warband") to Eliffer, the man carried on the horse's back in the triad's second limb.[45]

Two further changes were made in *Z, from which Peniarth 47 is descended. Interestingly, both of these changes would remain somewhat fluid and not achieve their 'final form' until the *C^2 exemplar, still farther down the line. The first of these is the insertion of the preposition *yn* into the final sentence of the triad's second limb. All texts prior to *Z read *y edrych ar ỏygedorth Gỏendoleu Arderyd* (lit. "to the look at the battle-fog of Gwenddolau of Arderydd").[46] This refers to the battle of Arderydd and Gwenddolau, a lord of the Old North who died in this battle.[47] As it stands in these early versions, this sentence is somewhat ambiguous and difficult to understand; it is not clear, unless one is already familiar with the story, that Gwenddolau is the name of the lord and Arderydd the name of the battle. *Z makes the small but important change of added *yn*: *y edrych a'r vygoderth Gwendoleu mab Keidaỏ* ***yn*** *Aryfderyd* ("to look at the battle-fog of

[44] For Elidir mwynfawr, see Bromwich, *TYP*, 345. This is the only triad in which Elidir is named, but he does appear in *Bonedd Gwŷr y Gogledd* no. 12, which reads: "Elidir m6yna6r m. Gorust Prioda6r m. Dyfynwal Hen" (Bromwich, *TYP*, 257). Perhaps the most significant place Elidir appears in the medieval *cyfarwyddyd* is in the Privileges of the Men of Arfon, which is extent today in NLW Peniarth MS 29 (the Black Book of Chirk). The connection between this text and TYP deserves more attention than it has been given. See Bromwich, *TYP*, 491-92 and Morfydd E. Owen, "Royal Propaganda: Stories from the Law-Texts," in *The Welsh King and His Court*, ed. T.M. Charles-Edards, Morfydd E. Owen, and Paul Russell (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000), 224-54, especially 238-46.

[45] Eliffer is not an unknown figure, but he does not seem to have made much of a mark outside the TYP corpus. See Bromwich, *TYP*, 347-48. Apart from *Tri marchlwyth*, this figure appears in *Tri lledyf unben* ("Three prostrate/humble lords," TYP 8), where he is said to be the father of Peredur and the grandfather of Gwgon Gwron. This genealogy is echoed in *Bonedd Gwyr y Gogledd* (§5, Bromwich, *TYP*, 256). Eliffer also appears in *Tri prif fuch* ("Three chief cows," TYP 46). One suspects, given their close textual relationship, that Eliffer may have been introduced to *Tri prif fuch* under the influence of *Tri marchlwyth*. Outside of TYP, an allusion to Eliffer appears in the poem *Ymddiddan Myrddin a Thaliesin* ("The Dialogue of Myrddin and Taliesin"), extant in the Black Book of Carmarthen; the reference reads: "seith meib Eliffer" ("seven sons of Eliffer") (see A.O.H. Jarman, ed. *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1982), no. 1.29).

[46] This is the text of Peniarth 16.

[47] Other allusions to Gwenddolau in TYP include *Tri tharw cadug* ("Three bull-protectors," TYP 6), *Tri anniwair deulu* ("Three unfaithful warbands," TYP 29, and the related triads *Tri unben Deifr a Brynnach* ("Three lords of Deira and Bernicia, TYP) and *Tri wyr a wnaeth y teir mat gyflafan* ("Three men who performed the three fortunate slaughters," TYP 32). He is also mentioned in *Bonedd Gwyr y Gogledd* (§6, Ben Guy, *Medieval Welsh Genealogy* (Woodbridge, England: The Boydell Press, 2020), 428) and *Tri thlws ar ddeg* (§12, Bromwich, *TYP*, 260) and plays an important role in the 'Myrddin cycle' of early Welsh poetry. See Bromwich, *TYP*, 375-76 and Celeste L. Andrews, "What Did Cynddelw Know About the Old North?" *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 39 (2020), 39-52 at 45-47.

Gwenddolau son of Ceidio **in** Arfderydd"), thus helping to clarify that Gwenddolau was *in* Arderydd, not *from* Arderydd.[48] Still, though, the phrase is somewhat difficult to parse, but it was not until later, in the *C^2 family, that someone added the word *llu* between *fygoderth* and Gwenddolau – "the battle-fog of Gwenddolau's *host*," finally making it clear that it was the warband led by Gwenddolau, not the man alone, who caused such an uproar as to leave battle-fog on the field.

Moving on from *Z, we come next to *C^1 and *C^2, two families which associated with texts that are part of the White and Red version (what I have called C in my discussion of the *trioedd y meirch* corpus overall above). It is in these manuscripts – Cwrtmawr 3, Peniarth 51, and the Red Book – that *Tri marchlwyth* appears outside of the usual confines of *trioedd y meirch* and, instead, can be found in amongst the more general TYP triads. C1, which represents the exemplar of Cwrtmawr 3's first version of the triad, introduces two superficial changes. The first is in the alternate reading of the name of Elidir mwynfawr's cook (*y gog*): *X, *Y, and *Z texts all give this cook the name *Gelbeineuin.*[49] Cwrtmawr 3 and the Red Book, meanwhile, read *Albeinyn*.[50] This difference is likely due to a copying error, in which *a Gel-* was collapsed into *Al-*.This seems to indicate that Elidir's cook was not a well-known character and it was possible for his name to

[48] This is the text of this phrase in Peniarth 47, the only text directly descended from *Z. Apart from the insertion of *yn* it also demonstrates a few quirks of this manuscript's text of *Tri marchlwyth*. It is the only text of the triad to give Gwenddolau the patronymic mab Keidiaw; this was probably added within the text of Peniarth 47 itself, or one of its immediate predecessors, under the influence of *Tri tharw catug* and *Bonedd Gwyr y Gogledd*, both of which identify Ceidio as Gwenddolau's father. For the alternate spelling of Arderydd with an *f* in the first syllable see Nerys Ann Jones, "Hengerdd in the Age of the Poets of the Princes," in *Beyond the Gododdin: Dark Age Scotland in Medieval Wales*, St. John's House Papers 13 (St. Andrews, Scotland: The Committee for Dark Age Studies, University of St Andrews, 2013), 41-80 at 46.

[49] This is the spelling of the name in Peniarth 16; the spelling varies throughout the corpus but it remains constant that texts in these first three families use a spelling beginning with *Gel-* or *Gil-* while *C texts (with the exception of Peniarth 51, see note below) give a name beginning in *A-*.

[50] Peniarth 51 gives the cook the alternate name *Blinwyn*. Since this name is confined to this text, this change (a misreading or scribal error?) must have originated in the work of this manuscript's scribe, Gwilym Tew, or one of his immediate predecessors.

miscopied (I suspect, in fact, that this cook and his fellows are the inventions of *Tri marchlwyth*'s original author; all of these figures are textual ghosts).

*C[1] also sees the substitution of the phrase *allt Vaelwr* ("the hill of Maelor") for *riw Vaelwr* ("the slope of Maelor") in the triad's final phrase. This change is interesting, given that the semantic difference between these two words is so slight as to be arbitrary. It seems unlikely this could arise from a misreading of the text. In another case it might be argued that this difference is reflective of oral transmission, in which the sense was transmitted with a slightly different wording, but in the context of such a clearly prosaic, *written* triad that seems unlikely. I can offer no satisfying explanation here, other than to speculate that some scribe along the way simply liked one word better than the other.

The changes discussed thus far have all been relatively minor differences which, mostly, came about through the normal processes of copying and re-copying a text over a few centuries. A word has been added here or there, but many of these differences can be explained by minor scribal errors or the corruption of exemplars. This is the case for one of the changes made in the final family of *Tri marchlwyth* texts, *C[2], but not with the second. To take the simpler change first, the two texts descended from *C[2], Peniarth 51 and the Red Book, are the only two to give one of the men carried by the horse in the second limb, Dunod *wr* ("the stout"), the patronymic *fab Pabo* ("son of Pabo"). This addition was probably made under the influence of another triad, *Tri phost cad* ("Three pillars of battle," TYP 5), in which Dunod consistently appears with this patronymic across the manuscript corpus.[51]

[51] He is not, however, given with the epithet *wr* in any text of *Tri phost cad*. Peniarth 47 comes closest, reading: *Tri phost kat ynys Prydein: Dunaȯt mab Vwrr, Pabo, ac Uryen Reget, a Chynȯelyn drȯsgyl.* This appears to be a corrupt reading, with the insertion of the epithet *wr* (perhaps under the influence of *Tri marchwlyth*?) confusing a subsequent scribe who mistook it for a patronymic; note that, as a consequence, this version of the triad has four limbs.

On Dunawt, see Bromwich, *TYP*, 335-36. Apart from TYP, he is probably best known from saga *englynion* associated with Llywarch Hen, in which his name appears three times (see Jenny Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry* (Cambridge, England: D.S. Brewer, 1990), 415, 419, 424 and 106-07). His death is noted in the year 595 in the

More substantially, *C^2 adds an entire phrase to the second limb. Whereas *X, *Y, *Z, and *C^1 texts simply list the men whom Cornan carried, going directly from Gwrgi and Peredur to Dunawt, the Red Book interjects *ac nys gordiweda6d neb namyn Dinogat uab Kynan Garwynn y ar y Kethin kyflym ac aruidia6t ac aglot a gauas yr hynny hyt hediw* ("and no one overtook him except Dinogat son of Cynan Garwyn on quick Cethin, and he received censure (?)[52] and shame from that up until today"). As Bromwich notes, Peniarth 51 inserts this phrase at the end of the limb, not as an interjection within the list of names. Bromwich believes that the Red Book's reading is corrupt and that Peniarth 51 is following the (now missing) text of the White Book. This may well be the case, though I would not entirely discount the possibility that Gwilym Tew, the scribe of Peniarth 51, or one of his predecessors edited the text in order to improve the flow.[53] It is most likely, however, that this sentence began as a marginal note in *C^2 that was treated differently by subsequent scribes who incorporated it into the body of the text.

One more change to the text of *Tri marchlwyth* remains to be addressed. This is the gradual change that took place within the final phrase of the triad's third limb. Compare the text of Peniarth 16 to that of the Red Book, which represent the beginning and end of the process, respectively:

> *TYP 44 *X text (P16):* E trydyd marcha6elwyth a duc **Heich** march maibyon G6erthm6l wledic, **a duc G6eir**, **a Gleis a Arthanat** yn erbyn allt 6aellwr yg Keredigya6n yn dial eu tat.

Annales Cambriae (see John Morris, ed. and trans. *Nennius: British History and the Welsh Annals* (London: Phillimore, 1980), 86) and he appears in the Harlaeian genealogies (§11, see Guy, *Medieval Welsh Genealogy*, 335), in the Jesus College MS 20 genealogies (Guy, *Medieval Welsh* Genealogy, 343), and in the Llywelyn ap Iorwerth genealogies (Guy, *Medieval Welsh Genealogy*, 336), and *Bonedd Gwyr y Gogledd* (§4, Guy, *Medieval Welsh Genealogy*, 428 and cf. Bromwich, *TYP*, 256).

[52] Here I follow Bromwich in my translation of *aruidiawt*, an otherwise unattested word whose meaning is uncertain. See Bromwich, *TYP*, 122.

[53] Bromwich, *TYP*, 121: "The last sentence…has plainly been given in the wrong order in the text of [the Red Book]…the sense requires that it should come at the end, and not in the middle of the names listed as constituting the second *marchlwyth*." It should also be noted that while Bromwhich states here that "it may be presumed" that Peniarth 51 is following the White Book, she states elsewhere (*TYP*, xxix) that "The text is so inaccurate it seems impossible that it could have been taken down directly from either [the White Book] or [the Red Book]."

("The third horse-burden, which Heich the horse of the sons of Gwerthmwl wledig carried, **who carried Gweir, and Gleis, and Arthanat** up the hill of Maelor in Ceredigion to avenge their father.")

*TYP *C^2 text (RBH):* Y trydyd marchlȣyth a duc **Erch** march meibon Grythmȣl wledic, **a duc arnaȣ, Achleu ac Arthanat,** yn erbyn riȣ Uaelaȣr yg Keredigyaȣn y dial eu tat.

("The third horse-burden, which was carried by Erch the horse of the sons of Grythmwl wledic, who carried **upon himself Achleu and Arthanad**, up the slope of Maelor in Ceredigion to avenge their father.")

The three sons of Gwerthmwl wledig which the horse carried in Peniarth 16 (*X) have become two by the time of the Red Book (*C^2), Peniarth 16's Gwair having been completely lost from the text. The name of Gwerthmwl's second son, Glais/Achlau, has also been altered significantly. An examination of the other texts shows that the names of Gwerthmwl's sons is the most fluid element of *Tri marchlwyth*; no two texts of the triad share an identical reading of these names, as can be seen by these examples:

TYP 44 *Y text (P27ii): A'r trydydd march meibion Gwythmwl Wledic **a dduc arnaw Gwair a Chlais ac Arthenad** yn erbyn yr allt Vaylwr yn Geredigiawn i ddial i tad.
TYP 44 *Z text (P47): Trydyd marchlȣyth a duc **Heid** march meibon Gyrchuȣl wledic **a duc Gweir a Gleis ag Archegnat** yn erbyn allt Vaeloaȣr yg Ceredigyaȣn y dial eu tat.

TYP 44 *C1 text (C3i): Trydydd marchlwyth a dduc Erch march meibion Drychmwl wledic **a dduc arnaw Garv a Chlaû ac Arllanad** yn erbyn y rhyw i ddial y'w tad.

TYP 44 *C^2 text (P51): Trydyd marchlwyth a ddug [*Erch*] march [*meibion*] Gyrthmȣl wledig. **Gwaw ac Archeu Arthanad** yn erb[*yn*] rriw ȣaelawr yn[*g*] Heredigion a ddial eȣ tad.

It is clear that the *G* in *Gleis* was mistakenly read as a *C* and, from there, received aspirate mutation trigged by the conjunction *a* ("and") and thus rendered *a Chlais*. This error happened more than once, as we can see from a comparison of the *Y and *Z texts, the earlier of which contains this error while the latter does not, despite otherwise being the next step in the triad's

development. From here the name of Gwerthmwl's second son continued to evolve, from *a Chlais* to *a Chlaû* in *C[1] and then to *Achleu* in the Peniarth 51 text of *C[2], where the conjugation came to be understood as the first letter of the name.[54] The name of Gwerthmwl's two other sons also evolve throughout these texts. The first son, Gwair, is only dropped entirely in the text of the Red Book; no other version of the triad only names two sons. It is also worth noting that the name of the horse in this limb changes from *Heich*/*Heid* to *Erch* in the *C[1] family. This degree of fluidity, as we saw with the case of Elidir's cook, indicates that these characters were not well known to the scribes who copied and recopied this triad. Furthermore, again as in the case of Elidir's household, the sons of Gwerthmwl are textual ghosts who are likely to have been the invention of the triad's 'original' author. It was therefore up to subsequent scribes to decipher and interprete these unknown names as they saw fit.

All that is left is to consider the case of Cwrtmawr 3's second version of *Tri marchlwyth*, which I have not given much attention to throughout this discussion. This version appears in the second set of triads found in this manuscript. It reads:

> Tri marchlwyth ynys Brydain:
> Dû 'r moroedd Eilidr awynvawr, a ddûc saith nyn arno o Benllech yn y Gogle[dd] ym Henllech Elidr ym Mon. Yr ail, lwyth vû Gorvûan march meibion Oli[ffer] Gosgorddvawr. Y trydydd marchlwyth vû Erth Grithmwl wledic.
>
> ("Three horse-burdens of the island of Britain:
> Du [Black] of the seas of Eilidr *awynfawr* ["great reined"], who carried seven men upon himself from Benllech in the North to Henllech Elidr on Angelsey. The second burden was [that of] Corfûan, the horse of the sons of Oliffer *gosgorddfawr*. The third horse-burden was [that of] Erth of Grithmwl wledic.

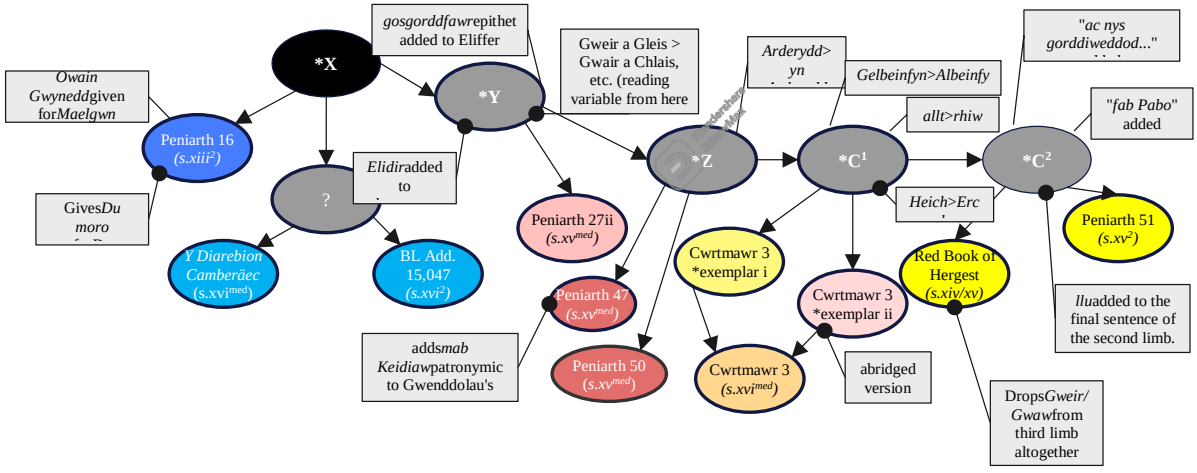
This version is noticeably shorter and more bare than other texts of *Tri marchlwyth.* The first limb has lost its distinctive list of the seven men Du carried and the second and third limbs have been

[54] The Peniarth 51 TYP text is often problematic (Bromwich has called it "very confused and corrupt," *TYP* xxii), this perhaps mistaken reading is characteristic of the kinds of changes/differences/mistakes found in this text.

stripped of almost all of their storytelling material and give only the bare minimum of information in a format which is remarkably close to the *trioedd y meirch* variant of the 'epithet + three names' formula discussed above. This must have been a deliberate creative choice on the part of some scribe, though his motivation for this remains obscure. These changes make it difficult to plot its placement on the chronology of the triad's development, since many of the diagnostic details have been dropped. Luckily, however, the horse in the third limb is given the name *Erch*, indicating that it cannot have been shortened earlier than the *C^1 exemplar.

Below, I have included a stemma summarizing the processes described above. As with the stemma describing the relationship of the *trioedd y meirch* corpus, it shows only the surviving witnesses to this triad and is not meant to be exhaustive. It is likely that intervening exemplars have been lost throughout this network. Indeed, it is striking that *Y, *Z, and *C^1, not to mention Peniarth 16's cousins in *Y Diarebion Camberäec* and BL Add. 15,047, are all represented only by copies which must have been made centuries after their earliest exemplars.

Table 5: Stemma of Tri marchlwyth ynys Prydain



Stemma showing the development of*Tri marchlwyth*("Three horse-burdens," TYP 44)

Two fifteenth-century manuscripts associated with the White and Red version of TYP – the Red Book and Peniarth 51 – appear at the end of a spectrum that begins with the flagship Early version text Peniarth 16. I argue in Part 1 of this dissertation that the White and Red version of TYP has been altered in discrete, isolated places and that it is not a large-scale rewrite of any part of TYP. Here, in the case of *Tri marchlwyth*, we can see that process happen. The differences which present themselves when the Peniarth 16 text of this triad is read side-by-side with its counterpart in the Red Book happened gradually over a period of time, not all at once, and were the result of many small changes made, often by accident but sometimes by design, in the work of several scribe through whose hands *Tri marchlwyth* passed.

CHAPTER FIVE: TYP IN PENIARTH 47: A FIFTEENTH-CENTURY COMPILATION

> *Hyt hynn y dywetpǫyt y trioed arbennic, a thrioedd y milwyr, a thrioedd y gwraged. Traethǫn bellach trioed y meirch.*
>
> ("To here has been expressed the principal triads, and the triads of the warriors, and the triads of the women. I will relate further the triads of the horses.")

This sentence follows the forty-sixth triad in Peniarth 47's TYP text. The scribe, whom Daniel Huws has identified as a certain Siancyn ap Dafydd ap Gruffudd,[1] did very little to make this sentence in particular stand out; it is in the same dark ink as the main body of text, without any decoration. His only concession to this brief departure from the triadic format is to start a new line, but this is easy to miss as he was almost to the end of the previous line in any case. The plainness of their inclusion helps disguise the fact that these two sentences are the most explicit explanation of a scribe's process in the entire medieval corpus of TYP.

It is my contention that the four types of triads the scribe refers to – *trioedd arbennig*, *trioedd y milwyr*, *trioedd y gwragedd*, and *trioedd y meirch* – constitute microtexts within the larger Peniarth 47 TYP text, which contains 57 triads in total. By 'microtexts,' I mean sub-section of the text which once existed and, presumably, circulated independently before being brought together into a single collection by the scribe or compiler of this manuscript or its exemplar.[2] Reading closely, it is possible to see the seams where these microtexts have been stitched together by a compiler, whether that was Siancyn ap Dafydd himself or one of his predecessors in the line of transmission. As we will see, each microtext has its own characteristics and peculiarities. Although this statement by the compiler has been remarked on a

[1] Daniel Huws, *A Repertory of Welsh Manuscripts and Scribes, 800-1800* (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 2022), Vol. I, 355-56..
[2] See the introduction to Part 2, pp. 139-40.

few times before,[3] to my knowledge no one has observed that the types of triads to which the statement refers correspond with perceivable seams between sections of the larger text, nor that similar seams occur within several other TYP texts.

Microtext 1: Trioedd Arbennig

Table 4: Showing the trioedd arbennig *microtext of Peniarth 47, including the distribution of sources of individual triads, the distribution of triad types, the distribution of title endings, and the proportion of triads in this microtext which are unique.*

# in P47	TYP #	mss spread	triad type	unique?	title genitive
1	17				
2	3				
3	4				
4	5				
5	6				
6	70				
7	21				
8	71				
9	72				
10	19				
11	26				
12	73				
13	74				
14	75				
15	37				
16	76				
17	77				

KEY:

MANUSCRIPT SPREAD:
- = earliest extant version of this triad is in P47
- = a version of this triad with its limbs in an alterate order appears in P16
- = a version of this triad with substantial changes in content appears in P16
- = this version of this triad is unique to P47

TRIAD TYPE:
- = epithet + three names formula
- = partially expanded triad

GENITIVE IN THE TITLE:
- = "ynys Prydain"
- = "llys Arthur"
- = other

The first of these microtexts, which the compiler calls the *trioedd arbennig* ("principal triads"), comprises the first seventeen triads in Peniarth 47. Nine of these seveteen triads can be found in the Early version texts in Peniarth 16 and Peniarth 45, albeit in a very different order, while the other eight appear here for the first time in the surviving TYP corpus. There is apparently a relatively close relationship between the *trioedd arbennig* microtext and the roughly-contemporary manuscript Peniarth 50; only five of these seventeen triads cannot be found in that manuscript. Fourteen of seventeen *trioedd arbennig* in Peniarth 47 are 'epithet + three names' triads. Two are partially expanded, with long, prosaic titles combined with relatively short

[3] See Rachel Bromwich, *Trioedd Ynys Prydein: Triads of the Island of Britain*, 4th ed. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2014), xxii and lxxxi and Morfydd E. Owen, "Welsh Triads: An Overview," *Celtica* 25 (2007), 225-50 at 234.

limbs.[4] Only one, *Tri gwyn dorllwyth* ("Three blessed womb burdens," TYP 71), is a fully expanded triad. A different version of the *Tri gwyn dorllwyth* is found in Peniarth 50, making it unlikely that either of these two texts was copied directly from the other. Two triads in this microtext omit the expected genitive ending in their titles;[5] three use the alternative *llys Arthur* ("of Arthur's court"); the remaining twelve use the more usual *ynys Prydain*.

Among the triads that make up this microtext, two in particular stand out as anomalies. These are short versions of *Tri gwrddfeichiad* ("Three powerful swineherds," TYP 26) and *Tri chud a thri datcud* ("Three concealments and three disclosures," TYP 37). Both are well attested elsewhere as very long, fully expanded triads – indeed, the long version of *Tri gwrddfeichiad* appears elsewhere within this manuscript.[6] Unlike their longer counterparts, however, the short versions found here are both unique to the text of Peniarth 47. These triads, taken with the nearly 30% of triads in this section which are either unattested in earlier manuscripts or appear in alternate forms unique to the Peniarth 47 text, lead to the conclusion that the *trioedd arbennig* microtext is unrelated to any other known text or microtext of TYP. It is tempting to go astep further and say that this microtext is likely to be quite archaic, on the basis that it is the only witness to the seemingly-archaic, short versions of *Tri gwrddfeichiad* and *Tri chud a thri datcud*. It may be that the title *Trioedd arbennig*, which is more usually associated with an unrelated collection of non-narrative triads, reflects an awareness on the compiler's part that this microtext was older than

[4] These are *Tri dyn goreu ǒrth ysp a phellennignyon ynys Prydein* ("Three men of the island of Britain who were best to guests and strangers," TYP 75) and the triad here titled *Tri matcud ynys Prydein pan gudyǒyt a thri anuatkud pan datkudyǒyt* ("Three fortunate concealments of the island of Britain when they were buried and three unfortunate concealments when they were disclosed," TYP 37). This latter triad will be discussed presently.

[5] These are *Tri serchaǒc* ("Three lovers," TYP 71) and *Tri chyndynyaǒc* ("Three stubborn ones," TYP 72). Neither are attested elsewhere. An unidentified seventeenth- or eighteenth-century hand added *ynys Brydain* to the title of the former (and filled in the missing personal name from the first limb) but left the latter unaltered (for the early modern hand, see Huws, *Repertory*, I, 356).

[6] The presence of these two versions of *Tri gwrddfeichiad* served as the "smoking gun" or "give away" that the Peniarth 47 TYP text was likely a compilation of multiple shorter, older TYP texts, see Chapter 1, p. 47.

the others and somehow special.[7] *Arbennig*, which I have translated in this context as "principal" has a semantic range that also includes "foremost," "supreme," and "marvelous."[8] It is difficult to substantiate this proposed antiquity, however, because it is impossible to discount the possibility that the short versions of *Tri gwrddfeichiad* and *Tri chud a thri datcud* found here were contracted (or perhaps we could say "un-expanded") at a later point, perhaps by a scribe writing out a collection of triads from memory. In any case, it is clear that this microtext represents a witness to a medieval collection of TYP that is otherwise unknown.

Microtext 2: Trioedd y Milwyr

Table 5: Showing the distribution of characteristics of the microtext known as trioedd y milwyr

# in P47	TYP #	mss spread	triad type	unique?	title genitive
18	7				
19	8				
20	9				
21	10				
22	11				
23	13				
24	14				
25	15				
26	16				
27	18				
28	23				
29	24				
30	25				
31	26				
32	27				
33	28				
34	29				
35	30				
36	31				
37	33				
38	34				

KEY:

MANUSCRIPT SPREAD:
- = an identical version of this triad appears in P16
- = a substantially different version of this triad appears in P16
- = this version of this triad is unique to P47
- = waiting to compare to P50.....

TRIAD TYPE:
- = epithet + three names formula
- = partially expanded triad
- = fully expanded triad

GENITIVE IN THE TITLE:
- = "ynys Prydain"
- = "llys Arthur"
- = other

The second microtext, which the compiler calls the *trioedd y milwyr*, or 'the triads of the warriors', is the longest of all the sections in Peniarth 47, comprising twenty triads. This section appears to be closely related to the corresponding section of Peniarth 16 and Peniarth 45, though it does not seem to be a direct copy of either and triads that appear in those earlier manuscripts

[7]See Morfydd E. Owen, "Y Trioedd Arbennig," *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 24 (1972), 434-50 and the introduction, pp. 2-3.
[8] GPC s.v. 'arbennig.'

are omitted here.[9] In many ways, this is the microtext which is the most familiar – not to say comforting – to the modern reader. All of these triads are extant in other texts and are relatively untroublesome. Perhaps the most striking characteristic of the *trioedd y milwyr* section is that it contains a great many more expanded triads than the others; three of the four fully expanded triads found in this manuscript are in this section (the fourth is *Tri marchlwyth* ("Three horse-burdens," TYP 44), as well as seven partially expanded triads.[10]

It is not just a matter of length, however; there is a substantive difference between the expanded and partially expanded triads in this microtext and those elsewhere in the manuscript. The *trioedd y milwyr* section is the only part of the Peniarth 47 text in which expanded triads impart narrative information – that is, *cyfarwyddyd* which actually imparts a story, not merely a list of names. It is instructive to compare the character of the *trioedd y milwyr* triads to the handful of partially expanded or expanded triads found in the other microtexts of Peniarth 47. With the exception of *Tri marchlwyth*, which has a unique transmission history as part of *trioedd y meirch* and will be discussed below, these triads in the other microtexts add words but

[9] The forms of *Tri llynges cynniwair* ("Three roving fleets," TYP 15) and *Tri chadfarchog* ("The battle-horsemen," TYP 18) appear here in forms that are different from any other TYP text, indicating that it cannot be directly related to either Peniarth 16 or Peniarth 45, unless these changes were made during the writing of Peniarth 47 itself. Notably, as we saw above, the *trioedd arbennig* section has a similar 'close but not a direct copy' kind of relationship with Peniarth 50. It should also be noted that this microtext in Peniarth 47 text omits the same triads that are missing from the Peniarth 45 text (TYP 12, 17, 25, see Appendix C, pp. 471-72) and therefore seems to be more closely related to Peniarth 45 than Peniarth 16.

[10] The expanded triads here are the long version of *Tri gwrddfeichiad* ("Three powerful swineherds," TYP 26), *Tri diwair teulu* ("Three faithful warbands," TYP 29) and *Tri anniwair teulu* ("Three unfaithful warbands," TYP 30). The partially expanded triads are *Tri tharw unben* ("Three bull-lords," TYP 7), *Tri unben Deifr a Brynych* ("Three lords of Deira and Bernicia," TYP 10), *Tri llynges cyniwair* ("Three roving fleets," TYP 15), *Tri chatfarchog* ("Three battle-horsemen," TYP 18), *Tri prif hud* ("Three great enchantments," TYP 28), *Tri anfad gyflafan* ("Three unfortunate slaughters," TYP 33), *Tri anfad fwyallod* ("Three unfortunate hatchet-blows," TYP 34). These can be further categorized by the style of expansion: *Tri tharw unben* and *Tri unben Deifr a Brynych* both tack the phrase "*Tri meib beird oedynt ell tri*" ("All three were sons of bards") onto the end of what are otherwise standard 'epithet + three names' formula-type triads; *Tri llynges cyniwair*, *Tri chatfarchog*, and *Tri prif hud* are all very close to the 'epithet + three names' formula except that their content necessitates the inclusion of a noun in each limb; and *Tri anfad gyflauan* and *Tri anfad fwyallod*, which form a pair, are both fully prosaic and narrative-heavy but fall short of full expansion in terms of length and narrative detail.

generally not story. Take, for example, *Tri gwyn dorllwyth*, which we have already encountered in the discussion of the *trioedd arbennig* section above:

> *Tri gwyn dorllóyth ynys Brydein:*
> *Vryen mab Kynuarch ac Aráwn mab Kynuarch a Lléw mab Kynuarch o Neuyn verch Brychan Brecheniyáwc eu mam. A'r eil Owein mab Vryen a Moruud uerch Vryen ac Anarun archescob Llydáw o Vodron merch Auallach eu mam. Y trydyd oed Gwrgi a Pheredur meibion Eliffer Gosgorduáwr ac Ardun eu chwaer a Dyrw […] -dyl a Chornan eu march, a Thonllóy eu bówch.*
>
> (Three holy womb-burdens of the island of Britain:
> Urien son of Cynfarch, and Arawn son of Cynfarch, and Llew son of Cynfarch from Nefyn daughter of Brychan Brecheiniog their mother. And the second, Owain son of Urien and Morfudd daughter of Urien, and Anarun archbishop of Brittany from Modron daughter of Afallach their mother. The third was Gwrgi and Peredur sons of Eliffer *gosgorddfawr* and Ardun their sister and […] and Cornan their horse, and Tonllwy their cow.)

There is a lot of *cyfarwyddyd* here, in the sense of names that carry cultural resonance and references which seem to be calling out for explanation.[11] This is amplified by the fact that each limb of this triad has its own triadic structure, tripling the amount of *cyfarwyddyd* stuffed into a relatively short passage. But what there is not is narrative. Who are these people, and why are they considered *gwyn dorllwyth* ("holy womb-burdens")? The triad does not tell us.

Another example is *Tair anniwair wraic* ("Three unfaithful wives," TYP 80), which appears in the third microtext (discussed below):

> *Teir aniweir wreic ynys Pyrdein. Teir meirchet Kuluanawyt Prydein:*
> *Essyllt vngwen a Phenarwan, a Bun gwreic Flamdóyn. Ac vn oed aniweirach no'r tri hynny: Gwenhóyuar gwreic Arthur kanys gwell gór y gwnai hi gyweilyd idáw no neb.*

[11] Urien ap Cynfarch (known elsewhere as Urien Rheged) is certainly a well-known figure in the historical traditioon of medieval Wales (see Bromwich, *TYP*, 508-12), as is his son Owain ap Urien Rheged (Bromwich, *TYP*, 467-72). Brychan Brycheiniog (Bromwich, *TYP*, 294-95) and Modron ferch Afallach (Bromwich, *TYP*, 449-51), meanwhile, are evoke a sense of mythological significance more than they call to mind any specific story. While none of the remaining names in this triad are entirely textual ghosts, references to them are few and far between and they are certainly not well-known characters.

> (Three unfaithful women of the island of Britain. Three daughters of Culfanawyd Prydain:
> Fair-haired Esyllt, and Penarwan, and Bun the wife of Fflamddwyn. And one was more unfaithful than those three: Gwenhwyfar wife of Arthur, since she disgraced a better man than anyone.)

The story of Gwenhwyfar's infidelity has remained well-known into the modern day, so it is easy for us to fill in the details ourselves and to perhaps miss that this triad does not actually provide any narrative details, only that (as the triad's title implies) Gwenhwyfar was an unfaithful wife.[12] Similarly, Esyllt's story has come down to us.[13] The two sisters who appear with her in this triad, however, are textual ghosts, and the extant references to Culfanawyd are ambigious.[14] A modern reader may be excited to see a reference to Fflamddwyn, who is named in poems which have been (arguably unsoundly) attributed to the "historical" Taliesin,[15] but that excitement is deflated by the complete lack of any narrative information to be found here about him.

Returning to the *trioedd y milwyr*, compare the two examples above with the triads we find in this microtext. *Tri gwrddfeichiad* ("Three powerful swineherds," TYP 26), which appears in its usual, fully-expanded form as the thirty-first triad in this text. I argued in Chapter 1 that this triad contains the full story, with a beginning, middle, and end, of Coll fab Collfrewy and his chase of the boar Henwen. Similarly, the contrasting pair *Tri diwair deulu* ("Three faithful warbands," TYP 29) and *Tri anniwair deulu* ("Three unfaithful warbands," TYP 30), while less long-winded than *Tri gwrddfeichiad*, similarly impart specific narrative details: Cadwallon's

[12] For Gwenhwyfar, see Bromwich, *TYP*, 376-80.
[13] For Esyllt, see Bromwich, *TYP*, 350-52.
[14] The only reference to Penarwan noted by Bromwich comes from a note by Robert Vaughan, who seems to be drawing from this triad and does not seem particularly well-informed on her: "His [Owain's] wife was Penarwen, the daughter of Culvanawyd Prydein, with whom for licentious and unchaste life I presume he did not long cohabit, and therefore he had no children by her" (Bromwich, *TYP*, 477). Meanwhile, Bun's entry in Bromwich's Notes to the Personal Names simply tells us that the name means "maiden" and to consult Fflamddwyn's note (Bromwich, *TYP*, 295).
[15] These poems are "Gweith Argoet Llywfein" (Ifor Williams, ed. *The Poems of Taliesin* (Dublin: Institute for Advanced Studies, 1968), no. IV, 6-7) and "Marwnad Owain" (ibid, no. X, 12). Cf. Bromwich, *TYP*, 353.

warband spent seven years in Ireland with him without asking any favors, Gwenddolau's warband continued on the battlefield for six weeks after their lord's death, Gwrgi and Peredur's warband refused to fight the forces of Eda Glinfawr at Caer Greu, *et cetera*. Similar details appear in the pair of triads which round out this microtext, *Tair anfad gyflafan* ("Three unfortunate slaughters," TYP 32) and *Tair anfad fwyallod* "Three unfortunate hatchet-blows," TYP 33). Nothing close to this level of narrative detail appears in any other microtext in Peniarth 47.

One more triad from the *trioedd y milwyr* section deserves comment. This is *Tri chadfarchog* ("Three battle-horsemen," TYP 18), a partially expanded triad which appears as the twenty-seventh triad in this text. The text of this triad in Peniarth 47 reads:

> *Tri chat uarchaȣt ynys Prydein:*
> *Caradaȣc vreichuras, a Meiwed o Arllechwed, a Llyr llurygaȣt, ac yr tri hynny englyn, eilynt y Tri chat uarchaȣc: Menwed, a Llyr llurygaȣc, a cholofyn yn Kymry Cradaȣt.*
>
> ("Three battle-horsemen of the island of Britain:
> Caradog freichfras, and [Menwaedd] of Arllechwedd, and Llyr *lluyddog* [of the hosts], and those three weaved an englyn of the three battle-horses: [Menwaedd], and *Llyr lluyddog*, and Caradog, pillar of the Welsh.)

This exact form of this triad is unique to the text of Peniarth 47; it begins in the vein of the version of *Tri chadfarchog* found in Peniarth 16 and other Early version texts,[16] which is simply an 'epithet + three names' formula-type triad. However, it goes on and seems to morph into something similar to the version of this triad found in White and Red version texts.[17] As I noted

[16] The Peniarth 16 version of this triad reads: *Tri chatuarchaȣc enys Prydein: Caradaȣc Ȣreichuras, a Menwaed o Arllechwed, a Llyr lluydaȣc* ("Three battle-horsemen of the island of Britain: Caradog Freichfras, and Menawedd of Arllechwedd, and Llyr lluyddog").
[17] The text of this triad in the White Book reads: *Tri annȣyl llys Arthur, a thri chatwarchaȣc. Ac ny mynassant ben teulu arnadunt eirioet, ac y kant Arthur e[n]glyn: Sef yȣ vyn tri chat varchaȣc: Meued, a Llud llurygaȣc, a cholouyn Kymry Karadaȣc.* ("Three dear ones of Arthur's court, and three battle-horsemen. And they did not ever wish for another penteulu above them, and Arthur sang an englyn: These are my three battle-horsemen: Menedd, and Llurgog, and Caradog pillar of the Welsh").

above, this microtext overall is very closely related to the Early version, and so it is notable to find such clear evidence of influence from the White and Red version in this context. It is apparent that, somewhere along the way, a scribe or copyist had access to both the Early and White and Red versions of this triad and, for whatever reason, chose to carry over some elements of the White and Red version into what is otherwise an Early version text.

Interestingly, *Tri chadfarchog* is far from the only triad in this microtext which has an alternate version in the White and Red version, but it is the only one to draw on that alternate version in the *trioedd y milwyr* microtext. Moreover, the fact that this combined version does not appear in any of the later manuscripts in which the Early version of this triad appears,[18] suggests that the Peniarth 47 text is not directly related to any of them.

Microtext 3: Trioedd y Gwragedd

Table 6: Displaying the distribution of characteristics of the microtext known as trioedd y gwragedd.

# in P47	TYP #	mss spread	triad type	unique?	title genitive
39	78				
40	50				
41	79				
42	66				
43	80				
44	56				
45	57				
46	58				

KEY:
MANUSCRIPT SPREAD:
= P47 is the earliest witness to this triad
= WB and RB contain a substantially different version this triad
= an earlier, identical version of this triad appears in WB and RB
= this version of this triad is unique to P47
= waiting for P50...
TRIAD TYPE:
= 'epithet + three names' formula-type triad
= partially expanded triad
GENITIVE IN THE TITLE:
= "ynys Prydain"
= "llys Arthur"
= other

The third microtext, which the compiler calls the *trioedd y gwragedd* (triads of the women), differs from the two previous microtexts in that it is clearly unified thematically and bears a name with a clear meaning – all of these triads are about women. By contrast, no women appear outside of matronymics anywhere else in the Peniarth 47 text. It is the shortest microtext in the

[18] These are *Y Diarebion Camberäec*, Peniarth 77, and BL Add. 15,047.

manuscript, containing only eight triads. Most of the triads in this section conform to the 'epithet + three names' formula, with two exceptions. One, *Tair anniwair wraig* ("Three unfaithful wives," TYP 80), has already been discussed at length above. The second, *Tair gwragedd a gafas pryd Efa* ("Three women who received the beauty of Eve," TYP 50), is associated in other manuscripts with a separate set of biblically- or classically-derived triads, not the *trioedd y gwragedd*. This triad is quite short and two of its limbs conform to the 'epithet + three names' formula. However, both the triad's title and its second limb devolve into grammatical phrases, including preverbal particles, conjugated verbs, and genitive constructions – very much unlike the 'epithet + three names' formula.[19]

Apart from its thematic integrity, the *trioedd y gwragedd* microtext is notable for being more closely related to the White and Red version than any other microtexts in this manuscript; five of these eight triads appear in the TYP texts of the White Book and Red Book and the remaining three are found only in Peniarth 47 and Peniarth 50. None of these triads are associated with the Early version texts of Peniarth 16 or Peniarth 45. Still, no triad in this microtexts appear in both the Red Book and Peniarth 50, and it cannot be directly related to either. This manuscript's versions of two of these triads, *Tair prif rhiain Arthur* ("Arthur's three great queens," TYP 56) and *Tair cariadwraig* ("Three concubines," TYP 57), It is, therefore, another microtext which appears to be uniquely preserved in Peniarth 47. One gets the sense that some scribe along the way has deliberately curated a collection of triads about women, from a White and Red version text and another source (perhaps Peniarth 50 or a related text), and brought them together as the *trioedd y gwragedd*.

[19] The second limb reads *ac Elen vannaȣc y wreic y bu distryȣ Troea trȣy y phen* ("and famous Elen, the woman through whose beauty Troy was destroyed.")

Microtext 4: Trioedd y Meirch

Table 7: Displaying the distribution of the characteristics associated with the microtext known as trioedd y meirch.

# in P47	TYP #	mss spread	triad type	unique?	title genitive
47	42				
48	43				
49	40				
50	46B				
51	41				
52	46A				
53	38				
54	44				
55	39				
56	45				
57	46				

KEY:

MANUSCRIPT SPREAD:

= a substantially different version of this triad appears in P16

= an identical version of this triad appears in P16

= P47 is the earliest & only witness to the triad

= this version of this triad is unique to P47

TRIAD TYPE:

= epithet + three names formula-type triad

= partially expanded triad

= fully expanded triad

GENITIVE IN THE TITLE:

= "ynys Prydain"

Finally, we come to *trioedd y meirch*. This microtext follows m *trioedd y gwragedd* after the scribe's note, quoted at the beginning of this discussion, saying "Traethɷn bellach trioed y meirch" ("I will relate further the triads of the horses"). For good measure, a heading follows, giving the title of this sub-section as "*Trioed y meirch*;" this is the only heading which appears in the Peniarth 47 text.

The version of *trioedd y meirch* found within the text of Peniarth 47 differs significantly from others found in the TYP corpus. There are ten horse triads in this text. I discuss this corpus in much more detail elsewhere.[20] For now, it will suffice to say that this microtext descends from a version of *trioedd y meirch* which is a combination of two earlier versions, one of which survives in the Black Book of Carmarthen and the other of which survives in the White Book and the Red Book.

Conclusion

Whichever scribe created the version of TYP which has come down to us in Peniarth 47, whether that be Siancyn or one of his predecessors, must have had access to at least four separate, written texts of TYP. Three of these four microtexts – the ones the text refers to as *trioedd arbennig*,

[20] See Chapter 4, pp. 155-57.

trioedd y gwragedd, and *trioedd y meirch* – appear to represent versions of TYP which are otherwise unknown in the surviving corpus. One, *trioedd y milwyr*, is very closely related to Peniarth 16 and Peniarth 45, texts associated with the Early version. *Trioedd y milwyr*'s resemblence to these Early version texts led Bromwich to conclude that the Peniarth 47 text should be categorized as a member of the Early version as well. She writes: "Although the triads are not given in the same order as in the Early Version…it will be seen that certain 'floating sections' are preserved intact in [Peniarth] 47…These are sufficient in themselves to prove that the affinities of both manuscripts are with the Early Version rather than that of [the White and Red version]."[21] Although she goes on to note, referring to the *trioedd y gwragedd*, that this manuscript "contains in addition a few triads which are represented in [the White and the Red version] but not in the Early Version" and that Peniarth 47's version of *trioedd y meirch* "is certainly not dependent on that of the Early version,"[22] she does not linger on the implications of these observations.

In my view, the implications are quite major. For one thing, the evidence from Peniarth 47 suggests that there were more versions of TYP circulating during the first half of the fifteenth century than has hitherto been realized, and that the lines of TYP's transmission during this period are even more complicated than previously thought. Furthermore, the appearance here of two previously unknown triadic collections (or three, if we include the alternate version of *trioedd y meirch*) likely indicates that the dichotomy of 'Early version versus White and Red version' is too simplistic, papering over how complicated the lineage of the TYP corpus had become by the middle of the fifteenth century. In the following sections, I will interrogate to what extent these microtexts are prevalent in other medieval TYP texts and, as a consequence,

[21] Bromwich, *TYP*, xxv:
[22] Bromwich, *TYP*, xxv.

whether the ‘Early versus White and Red’ model is valid or helpful for any period of the corpus’s history.

CHAPTER SIX: "*TRIOEDD YW RHAI HYN*": MICROTEXTS IN THE RED BOOK OF HERGEST

Once one's eyes have been opened to the existence of microtexts in Peniarth 47, it quickly becomes obvious that there are also microtexts within the TYP texts of the White Book of Rhydderch and the Red Book of Hergest. In what follows I will examine the text of the Red Book in detail in order to demonstrate that, like Peniarth 47, this text of TYP (or, more accurately, an exemplar in its lineage) has been compiled from as many as six microtexts.[1]

Headings and sub-headings are relatively uncommon in most manuscript texts of TYP. We saw above that only one heading appears in Peniarth 47, introducing *trioedd y meirch,* and even this is exceptional in the overall context of the corpus. Conversely, four headings appear throughout the body of the Red Book text. Additional to the headings, oversized capitals in red ink introduce each section. It is my contention that these headings coincide with the "seams" between the microtexts out of which the Red Book TYP text has been created.

The first, at the very beginning of the text, refers to the four biblically- and classically-derived triads which head this text: "*Tri dynyon a gaǒssant gampeu Adaf*" ("Three men who received the virtues of Adam"), thus creating a triad in its own right out of the first three triads in the text. The next introduces the text's fifth triad, the first in this text to be fully expanded: "*Pann aeth llu y Lychlyn*" ("When a host went to Scandinavia").[2] A subsequent long, expanded triad, *Tri gwyr gwarth* ("Three men of shame," TYP 51) follows on without a new heading. Then,

[1] It is preferable to use the TYP text in the Red Book as the example here and in other discussions of these two closely-related texts, despite the fact that the White Book is about half a century older than its counterpart, because the Red Book contains the fuller text thanks to a lacuna at the beginning of TYP in the White Book (see Appendix C4/C5, p. 474. Still, it should be kept in mind that the texts in these two manuscripts are extremely closely related and, lacuna aside, are identical with only a few small exceptions.

[2] This is *Tri chyfor* ("Three levies," TYP 35) and it clearly refers specifically to the text of that triad (see Appendix A, p. 422.

before the seventh triad in the text,[3] another heading reads: "*Dechreu y trioed yɔ y rei hynn*" ("These triads begin here"). This is suprising, given that six triads have already occurred previous to this heading, seeming to contradict the heading. Eight triads later, there are three blank rubricated lines before the text begins again with *Tri neges a gafas o Bowys* ("Three messages which were received from Powys," TYP 55), which begins with an oversized capital in red ink. Then, a very similar – redundant, even – heading appears, telling us: "*Trioed yɔ rei hynn*" (These are some triads"). Finally, nearly three dozen triads later, a final heading introduces the Red Book's version of *trioedd y meirch*: "*Trioed y meirch yɔ y rei hynn*" ("These are some triads of the horses").

Bromwich dutifully notes these headings without very much comment and does not seek to draw conclusions about them, though one can perhaps detect some bemusement on her part as she comments on a few of the pecularities associated with these sub-sections.[4] However, a close reading of the text reveals that these peculiarities can be explained if we treat these sub-sections as microtexts.

Microtext 1: "Tri dynyon a gaɔssant gampeu Adaf"

*Table 8: Displaying the distribution of characteristics associated with the microtext "*Tri dynyon a gaɔssant gampeu Adaf*"*

# in RB	TYP #	mss spread	triad type	title genitive
1	47			
2	48			
3	49			
4	50			

KEY:
= earliest extant version of this triad in the TYP corpus is in the Red Book
= partially expanded triad
= neither "ynys Prydain" nor "llys Arthur"

This first microtext, containing only four triads, stands out from the rest of the TYP corpus on thematic grounds. These triads are mostly derived from biblical or classical sources. The first

[3] This is *Tri goruchel garcharor* ("Three exalted prisoners," TYP 52).
[4] Bromwich, *TYP*, xx-xxi. She writes that *Pan llu aeth y Llychlyn* "introduces two triads…to the first of which alone [the Red Book]'s subheading is applicable." Elsewhere, Bromwich notes that *Tri neges a gafas o Bowys* is "introduced by a red initial letter, as though it were the beginning of a new group," and that the expanded triad in *trioedd y meirch*, *Tri marchlwyth* ("Three horse-burdens," TYP 44) is "misplaced and occurs in the middle of section 3."

three triads compare the man named in each limb to Adam while the fourth compares the women named in its limbs to Eve. These are the only four triads in the TYP corpus to draw substantially from biblical material, or, indeed, from material outside the "native" Welsh tradition. Indeed, they resemble the religious triads that tend to be associated with texts of *trioedd Taliesin* more closely than they do the rest of the triads associated with TYP.

All of these triads are partially expanded and three of the four follow an identical formula: *Tri dyn a gauas* + virtue + *Adaf* ("Three men who received" + virtue + "of Adam").[5] All three also include an almost-identical supplemental sentence in the body of the triad, which reads: *Kyn* [virtue in the equative] *oedynt yll tri ac Adaf ehun* ("Each of the three were as [virtue in the equative] as Adam himself").[6] The fourth triad represents an innovation on this formula. It substitutes Eve for Adam and provides a brief description of the three women included in the triad.

This microtext is missing from the White Book, owing to the lacuna, but it is safe to assume that it once headed that text of TYP, as it does that of the Red Book. This microtext appears in only two other manuscripts, both of which date to the mid-sixteenth century: Peniarth 77 and Simwnt Fychan's section of Peniarth 16.[7] The four triads appear without any other TYP material in Simwnt's text, following another text of non-narrative *cyfarwyddyd*, *Pedwar*

[5] These three triads are *Tri dyn a gafas cadernid Adaf* ("Three men who received the strength of Adam," TYP 47), *Tri dyn a gafas pryd Adaf* ("Three men who received the appearance of Adam," TYP 48), *Tri dyn a gafas doethineb Adaf* ("Three men who received the wisdom of Adam," TYP 49).

[6] For example, the first of these three triads (TYP 47) reads: *Tri dyn a gauas kedernit Adaf: Ercwlf gadarn, ac Ector gadarn, a Sompson gadarn. Kyn gadarnet oedynt yll tri, ac Adaf ehun* ("Three men who received the strength of Adam: strong Hercules, and strong Hector, and strong Sampson. Each of the three were as strong as Adam himself").

[7] This is part vii of NLW Peniarth MS 16, in the hand of the sixteenth-century antiquarian Simwnt Fychan. It should not be confused for Peniarth 16 part vi, which contains the thirteenth-century witness to the Early version. See Appendix C, pp. 489-91.

marchog ar hugain llys Arthur (“Twenty-four knights of Arthur’s court”).[8] In Peniarth 77, they are introduced by a heading which reads: *Naw nyn a wnaethbwyd yn gyflawn o Adda* (“Nine men who were created in the perfection of Adam”). Remarkably, this microtext does not appear in Peniarth 51 or Cwrtmawr 3, two texts which are otherwise closely associated with the White and Red version.

Microtext 2: Pann aeth llu y Lychlyn

*Table 9: Displaying the distribution of characteristics of triads associated with the microtext "*Pann aeth llu y Lychlyn*"*

# in RBH	TYP #	mss spread	triad type	title epithet	KEY:	
5	35					= a version of this triad with substantial changes in content appears in P16
6	51					= earliest extant version of this triad is in the RBH
						= fully expanded triad
						= neither "ynys Prydain" nor "llys Arthur"
						= "ynys Prydain"

This microtext represents a distinct shift from the previous one, in terms of both style and content. The reader is immediately thrust into the world of Welsh *cyfarwyddyd* as we move away from the strictly formulaic triads about the men who received the virtues of Adam and towards the free-style narrative prose of its two long, expanded triads, *Tri chyfor* (“Three levies,” TYP 35)[9] and *Tri gwyr gwarth* (“Three men of shame,” TYP 51).[10] The heading which introduces this microtext, which reads *Pan aeth llu y Llychlyn* (“When a host went to Scandinavia”), refers specifically to the first limb of *Tri chyfor*, which describes the host that left Britain with Elen *lluyddog* and Maxen wledig, and does not account for any of the material in the two subsequent limbs of that triad or *Tri gwyr gwarth*. This may be because, as Bromwich suggests, these two triads were intended to be a pair.[11] *Tri gwyr gwarth* appears to displace another triad, *Tair*

[8] This text has been edited in Bromwich, “Pedwar Marchog ar Hugain Llys Arthur (Twenty-Four Knights of Arthur’s Court)” *Transactions of the Honorable Society of Cymmrodorion* (1956), 116-32 (for this particular text see especially #7 on p. 119) and cf. Bromwich, *TYP*, 266-69.
[9] The version of *Tri chyfor* which appears in the Red Book is, unsurprisingly, the one associated with the White and Red version. It also appears in Peniarth 51, Cwrtmawr 3, and BL Add. 15,047.
[10] Subsequent to the Red Book, appears in Peniarth 51, Cwrtmawr 3, BL Add. 15,047 and Cardiff 2.83.
[11] Bromwich, *TYP*, 140-41: “The two triads together for a subsection to themselves, and it would thus seem that they are intended to bear a special relation to each other.”

gormes ("Three oppressions," TYP 36), which acts as the counterpart to *Tri chyfor* in the Early version.[12] Bromwich goes so far as to call *Tri gwyr gwarth* a "readaptation" of *Tair gormes,* pointing out that the version in Peniarth 51 uses the *Tair gormes* title for the triad known in the Red Book as *Tri gwyr gwarth* and that "the *Trywyr Gwarth* are the men who were responsible for for introducing the *teir gormes* into Britain."[13]

Tri gwyr gwarth is also significant for being the only triad in the White and Red version whose content has been drawn entirely from the Galfridian tradition, via *Brut y Brenhinedd.*[14] . It therefore represents a major departure from the rest of the White and Red version, which is, in general, independent of Geoffrey's influence. It is also the longest triad in the TYP corpus, surpassing even *Tri gwrddfeichiad* in its length. In other words, *Tri gwyr gwarth* is an extended piece of narrative prose which draws material from *Brut y Brenhinedd* into TYP and, it seems likely, is a deliberate reworking of the themes of the Early version's *Tair gormes* triad. It is the work of an individual (or, less likely, a team) whose creative choices survive today in the Red Book and Peniarth 51. We cannot be sure if it was the same individual who made another creative choice – the choice to include the pair of long, expanded triads that is *Tri chyfor* and *Tri gwyr gwarth* near the front of this compilation of TYP, between the religious triads which open this text and the collection of more standard, though still expanded, triads that make up the next microtext.

[12] *Tair gormes* does not appear in any White and Red version text.
[13] Bromwich, *TYP,* 141. Since *Tri gwyr gwarth* is only extant in its full version in the Red Book and Peniarth 51, the title in Peniarth 51 raises the possibility that *Tri gwyr gwarth* is a reletively recent innovation in the Red Book text. Further, since this section of the White Book text is missing, we cannot be certain what title that text's version bore.
[14] Direct reference to the Galfridian tradition is rare within the TYP corpus but *Tri gwyr gwarth* is not unique in this respect outside of the White and Red version: Peniarth 50's version of *Tri gwyndorllwyth* ("Three fair (holy) womb-burdens," TYP 70) also draws directly from the tradition in *Brut y Brenhinedd*.

Microtext 3: Dechreu y trioed yo y rei hynn

*Table 10: Displaying the characteristics of the triads associated with the microtext "*Dechreu y trioed yo y rei hynn*"*

# in RBH	# in WBR	TYP #	mss spread	triad type	title epithet
7	--	52			
8	--	3			
9	--	12			
10	--	37			
11	--	44			
12	--	15			
13	1	53			
14	2	54			
15	3	55			

KEY:	
MANUSCRIPT SPREAD:	
	= earliest extant version of this triad is in RBH and/or WBR
	= an identical version of this triad appears in P16
	= a version of this triad with its limbs in a different order appears in P16
	= a version of this triad with substantial differences appears in P16
TRIAD TYPE:	
	= 'epithet + three names' formula-type triad
	= partially expanded triad
	= fully expanded triad
TITLE EPITHET:	
	= "ynys Prydain"
	= neither "ynys Prydain" nor "llys Arthur"

This next microtext contains a total of nine triads, triads 7 through 15 in the Red Book. It is the first of two microtexts in this manuscript which clearly demonstrate the difference between the versions of TYP found in this manuscript and in Peniarth 16. The most striking characteristic of the third and fourth microtexts is the diversity of triad type and the degree to which triads that are confined to the White and Red version have been interspersed with triads that are extant in the Early version manuscripts. Five out of the nine triads in this microtext can be found in the Early version in some form. These can be further divided into triads which are identical to their Early version counterparts,[15] triads which are identical to their counterparts except for the fact that their limbs appear in a different order,[16] and triads which have substantial differences in content between the two versions.[17] Two triads in this microtext adhere strictly to the 'epithet + three names' formula, one can be classified as partially expanded, and the remainder are fully

[15] Only one of these appears in this microtext: *Tri gwyndeyrn* ("Three fortunate princes," TYP 3).
[16] Again, there is only one example in this microtext, this is *Tri oferfeirdd* ("Three frivilous bards," TYP 12). Compare the limbs of Peniarth 16 (*Arthur, a Chatwallaɔn mab Catuan, a Rahaut eil Morgant*) with those of the Red Book (*Arthur, a Raaɔt eil Morgant, a Chatwallaɔn uab Katuan*).
[17] These are *Tri chud a thri datcud* ("Three concealments and three disclosures," TYP 37), *Tri marchlwyth* ("Three horse-burdens," TYP 44), and *Tri llynges cynniwair* ("Three roving fleets," TYP 15), whose differences may possibly be chalked up to manuscript corrpution or scribal error: compare the text of Peniarth 16 (*Llyges* ***Llawr*** *mab* ***Eiryf****, a llyges* ***Diɔwng*** *mab Alan, a llyghes Solor mab* ***Murthach***) with that of the Red Book (*Llynghes* ***Lary*** *uab* ***Pryf****, a llynghes* ***Dignif*** *uab Alan, a llynghes Solor uab* ***Urnach***).

expanded. The large concentration of fully expanded triads here is quite striking; they make up a far greater percentage of the triads in this microtext than in others.

One of these fully expanded triads, *Tri chud a tri datcud* ("Three concealments and three disclosures," TYP 37) contains *cyfarwyddyd* about how each of the concealments was disclosed that is not found in its Early version counterpart. Another fully expanded triad, *Tri marchlwyth* ("Three horse-burdens," TYP 44), strikingly, appears here outside the context of *trioedd y meirch*, to which it is confined in the Early version.

Following a run of six triads which are known in the Early version, the final three triads in this microtext are innovations of the White and Red version; all three are fully expanded and all three receive their earliest witness in the White Book.[18] These triads are especially interesting and deserve more attention than they have received. The first two, *Tair gwith balfod* ("Three sinister hard slaps," TYP 53) and *Tair drud heirfa* ("Three violent ravagings," TYP 54), are notable for their interest in Arthur's wife Gwenhwyfar, her relationship with Medrawd, and the consequence of that relationship – that is, the battle of Camlan, where Arthur and Medrawd both met their deaths. Gwenhwyfar is not particularly well-attested in TYP so the attention paid to her here is striking.[19] We can see that *Tair drud heirfa* is especially preoccupied with the love triangle dynamic while, in *Tair gwith balfod*, Gwenhwyfar is one of three victims, all of whom would have been well-known to the fourteenth- or fifteenth-century readers of the Red Book of Hergest:

TYP 53 RBH text: Teir gɷith baluaɷt ynys Prydein:

[18] The White Book text begins with the first of these three triads, *Tair gwith balfod* ("Three sinister hard slaps," TYP 53), following the end of the lacuna. Most of the title is missing and the first word of the text is *Prydein*.
[19] Apart from these two triads, she also appears in the famous triad *Tair prif riain Arthur* ("Arthur's three great queens," TYP 56), sometimes called the "three Gwenhwyfars" triad, *Tri anniwair wraig* ("Three unfaithful wives," TYP 80), and *Tair ofergad* ("Three futile battles," TYP 84). Of these, none appear in any Early version text and only the first appears in the Red Book.

> Vn onadunt a drewis Matholɔch Wydel ar Vranwen uerch Lyr. A'r eil a drewis Gɔenhɔyfach ar Wenhɔyuar, ac o achaɔs hynny y bu weith kat Gamlan wedy hynny. A'r drydyd a drewis Golydan uard ar Gadwaladyr bendigeit.
>
> (Three sinister hard slaps of the island of Britain:
> One of them, which Matholwch the Irishman struck upon Branwen daughter of Llyr. And the second which Gwenhwyfach struck upon Gwenhwyfar, and for that reason the battle of Cad Camlan happened after that. And the third, which the poet Golydan struck upon Cadwaladr the blessed.)
>
> *TYP 54 RBH text:* Teir drut heirua ynys Prydein:
> Vn onadunt pan doeth Medraɔt y lys Arthur yg Kelli Wic yg Kernyɔ, nyt edewis na bɔyth na diaɔt yn y lays nays treulei, a thynnu Gɔenhyuar heuyt o'e chadeir unrenhinyaeth. Ac yna trewis paluaɔt arnei. Yr eil drut heirua pan doeth Arthur y lys Medraɔt, nyt edewis yn y llys nac yn y cantref na bɔyt na diaɔt.
>
> (Three violent ravagings of the island of Britain:
> One of them, when Medrod came to Arthur's court in Celliwig in Cornwall, he left neither food nor drink in the court that he did not consume, and he also drew Gwenhwyfar from her royal throne. And then he struck a blow upon her. The second violent ravaging, when Arthur came to Medrod's court, he did not allow any food or drink in the court or in the *cantref*.)

These two triads can be contrasted with the triad that follows them and finishes off this microtext, *Tair neges a gahat [sic] o Bowys* ("Three messages which were received from Powys," TYP 55). Despite the fact that it is a fully expanded triad like the previous two and unlike the preceding triads in this microtext, the focus of *Tair neges* shifts sharply away from stories known all over Wales and towards material which is specific to the region of Powys:

> *TYP 55 RBH text:* Teir neges a gahat o Bowys:
> Vn onadunt yɔ kyrchu Myngan o Veigen, hyt yn Llansilin, erbyn anterth drannoeth, y gymryt y kynnedueu y gan Gadwallaɔn vendigeit, wedy llad Ieuaf a Gryffri. Yr eil yɔ kyrchu Griffri hyt ym brynn Griffri erbyn y bore drannoeth wrth ymchoelut ar Edwin. Yr dryded un kyrchu Howel uab Ieuaf hyt yg Kerediguaɔn, Owein Gɔyned y ymlad a Ieuaf ac a Iago yn yr aerua honno.
>
> (*TYP 55 RBH translation:* Three messages which were received from Powys:
> One of them the fetching of Myngan from Meigen, as far as Llansilin, by early the next day, to obtain the customs of blessed Cadwallon, after killing Ieuaf and Gryffri. The second the coming of Griffri as far as in Bryn Griffri by the next

> morning to turn over Edwin. The third one the coming to Howel son of Ieauf as far as Ceredigion, that Owain Gwynedd[20] had killed Ieuaf and Iago in that battle.)

The places referenced here, apart from Ceredigion, are all little-known locations in Powys and this triad in particular draws on *cyfarwyddyd* that is firmly rooted in Powysian tradition.[21] All three limbs appear to refer to stories associated with the battle of Meigen. There are indications that Cadwallon was strongly associated with a victory at Meigen and that this battle loomed large in the historical tradition of Powys but no narrative telling the full story of this encounter survives.[22] The stories in this triad are specific in detail but vague when it comes to an overall narrative – does this indicate that Ieuaf and Griffri were once household names, at least in Powys, whose story has been lost to time? Perhaps, but these figures are all but textual ghosts and, as Bromwich's comments about them duly illustrate, nothing of substance can be said about them aside from the fact that Griffri and Ieuaf are both relatively common names.[23] The only

[20] Bromwich interprets the reading of *ovein Góyned* in the White Book as "*o fein Gwynedd*," i.e. "from the stones as Gwynedd." Following Egerton Phillimore, she identifies this as a specific place "on the Berwyns between Llanrhaiadr ym Mochnant and Llandrillo yn Edernion." Bromwich thus takes the Red Book's reference to Owain Gwynedd to be corrupt and states that it "indicates greater familiarity on the part of the scribe with the name of the twelfth-century ruler of Gwynedd than he had with the geography of Powys." She continues, saying, "later copyists of this version were content to follow him, and automatically to reproduce a blunder that made no sense" (Bromwich, *TYP*, 160).

[21] According to Bromwich, "[t]here is a Llansilin between Llanfyllin and Oswestry in the old kingdom of Powys" (Bromwich, *TYP*, 159). Bryn Gryffri is harder to identifiy; Lewis Morris believed that it was in Powys (Lewis Morris, *Celtic Remains* (London: J. Parker, 1878), 208).

[22] See Bromwich's discussion of this battle at *TYP*, 157-59. The idea that this battle was held up as especially significant in Powysian history is based, in large part, on references to this battle by Cynddelw and other medieval Welsh poets: the most significant occurs is Cynddelw's *Breintiau Gwŷr Powys* ("The Privileges of the Men of Powys"), which closes with the stanza "*Gwŷr Powys, pobl ddisgywen, / Cad orllawes orllawen, / Pedwair cynneddf, cadw cadr urdden, -- ar ddeg / Yr ddugant o Feigen*" ("Men of Powys, proud people, / Intense, victorious battle, / Fourteen customs, maintaing powerful dignity, / They were brought from Meigen") (Nerys Ann Jones and Ann Parry Owen, eds. *Gwaith Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr I*, Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion III, (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1991), no. 11.76-80); cf. CBT III no. 10.80n, no. 24.20n and the reference by Prydydd y Moch at Elin M. Jones and Nerys Ann Jones, eds. *Gwaith Llywarch ap Llywelyn 'Prydydd y Moch,'* Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion V (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1991), no. 10.4. For a discussion of the meaning and significance of *Breintiau Gwŷr Powys*, see David Stephenson, *Medieval Powys: Kingdom, Principality, and Lordships, 1132-1293* (Woodbridge, England: The Boydell Press, 2016), 196-97.

[23] See Bromwich, *TYP*, 159: "The name [Griffri] is borne by members of the Powys dynasty in the eighth and ninth centuries, though there appears to be no other reference to a contemporary of Cadwallon who bore the name, or to the Ieuaf who here accompanies him…Nor is it clear – though it seems most probable – that the Griffri of [the first limb] is the same person as the Griffri of [the second limb], whose name appears to be commemorated in Bryn Griffri." Cf. *TYP*, 366.

known reference to either figure outside of this triad comes from the eighteenth-century antiquarian scholar Lewis Morris, who believed they were Powysian generals in the campaign against the Northumbrian Edwin. But, as Bromwich notes, "he quotes no source for this" and it appears that belief grew out of an extrapolation from this triad itself.[24]

The contrast between the well-known, possibly Galfridian-influenced material of the first two expanded triads in this microtext and the obscure, Powysian material of the third is therefore quite striking. On top of this, the sense of a break between *Tair drud heirfa* and *Tair neges* is further compounded by the fact that, although no heading interrupts the text here, there is literally a break on the page. Four blank, rubricated lines separate the *Tair drud heirfa* and *Tair neges* in the Red Book and, serving to emphasize this break even more, *Tair neges* begins with an oversized capital "T" in red ink – just like other triads which head up each microtext.[25] The version of *Tair drud heirfa* in this manuscript lacks a third limb, and it may be that the scribe, noticing that his exemplar was presumably defective, left space to return and complete the triad later. This break also occurs in the White Book but has been obscured by the fact that a sixteenth-century hand has provided a third limb, expanding on the original text and. In doing so, the blank rubricated lines have been filled in.[26] And, as was the case in the Red Book, the version of *Tair neges* in the White Book begins with an oversized capital "T" in red ink. Therefore, we can say with certainty that the common exemplar of the White Book and Red Book texts did not

[24] Morris, *Celtic Remains*, 253: "Ieauf and Griffri were generals of the Powys forces in a battle fought between Cadwallon Fendigaid and Edwin King of the Saxons, and were both killed, and succeeded by Myngan. (Tr. 63.) See Tr. 75…" Cf. Bromwich, *TYP*, 159 nad 366.

[25] For this, see image 289 (fol. 145r) of the Red Book of Hergest (Jesus College MS 111), Digital Bodleian, University of Oxford, accessed January 5, 2023, https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/9bf187bf-f862-4453-bc4f-851f6d3948af/surfaces/c2aaaebf-ffce-41ce-b4b9-fbd386370db5/.

[26] The later hand has written: "*A'r drydydd drut heirfa, pan ddeuth Aeddan Vradawc hyt yn Alclut y lys Rhytherch Hael nyt adewis na bwyt na llyn na llwdn yn fyw*" ("And the third costly ravaging, when Aeddan Fradog came as far as Alclut to the court of Rhydderch Hael, he chose neither food nor drink nor a living beast"). This closely follows the text of Peniarth 50 and Peniarth 77. Peniarth 51 and Cwrtmawr 3 follow the White Book and Red Book in not giving a third limb of *Tair drud heirfa* (see Appendix B, pp. 444-45). For the date of the hand, see Bromwich, *TYP*, 153.

include a third limb of *Tair drud heirfa* but can also say, slightly more hesitantly, that this exemplar did include this space between the two triads.

I would suggest that *Tair gwith balfod* and *Tair drud heirfa*, the first two expanded triads in this microtext, reflect a common interest in Galfridian-derived material regarding Gwenhwyfar and a common style and that we may therefore conclude that they share a common author. In contrast, *Tair neges* most probably was not written by that same individual and, indeed, the physical evidence from the manuscript suggests it may have come from a different source entirely but could nevertheless be found in sequence after *Tair gwith balfod* and *Tair drud heirfa* as early as the common exemplar of the White Book and Red Book texts. This would seem to indicate that the process of compiling texts of TYP from shorter microtexts was occuring as early as the first half of the fourteenth century, when the White Book and Red Book's exemplar may have been produced. For now, it will be sufficient to note that the oversized capital and space between two triads may indicate that the scribes of both the White Book and Red Book texts perceived *Tair neges* to form its own sub-section within the texts they copied, perhaps because of its unrepentantly Powysian material, but both scribes chose to place it following two triads which were similarly long and narratively detailed without a new heading.

Interlude

As noted above, the fourth microtext in the Red Book introduces itself with a heading that is redundant in this context and, as was the case for the previous microtext, contains many triads that are known only in White and Red version texts and many more which, although they are extant in Peniarth 16, are significantly different from their counterparts in the Early version.

Turning again to the evidence from the White Book provides an explanation for the redundant heading. In that manuscript: the previous microtext closes with *Tair neges* and is

followed by the White Book's version of *Enwau ynys Prydain* ("Names of the island of Britain") and a text of the poem *Anrheg Urien* ("The Gift of Urien").[27] Both are introduced with their own headings.[28] In my view, this likely indicates that there was non-TYP material between the third and fourth microtexts in the common exemplar of the White Book and Red Book (perhaps the White Book follows its exemplar and this material was *Enwae ynys Prydain* and *Anrheg Urien*). The redundant headings in the Red Book, then, are the result of the scribe of that book bringing material closer together that he recognized as being part of TYP and leaving the now-redundant heading intact.

Microtext 4: Trioed yɷ y rei hynn

With 35 triads, the fourth microtext of the White and Red version is the longest within the Red Book text. Seventeen of these are 'epithet + three names' formula-type triads, eleven are partially expanded, and six are fully expanded. The final triad in this microtext is *Tri goruchel garcharor* ("Three exalted prisoners," TYP 52), an alternate version of which appears in the third microtext.

Thirteen of the triads in this microtext are only found in texts of TYP that are associated with the White and Red version, but the remaining 22 – nearly two thirds of the microtext – can also be found in Peniarth 16 and other manuscripts related to the Early version. None of these 22 triads are identical to their counterparts in Peniarth 16, however; seven have seen their limbs re-

[27] For *Enwae ynys Prydain*, see Appendix B, pp. 460-62. The version which is interspersed with TYP in the White Book is the shorter version of EYP, which has been edited and translated as Appendix I in Bromwich, *TYP*, 246-255. A longer version of EYP follows TYP in the Red Book and in Peniarth 50. Cf. A. Joseph McMullen, "*Enwae ac Anryfeddodau Ynys Prydain* and a Tradition of Topographical Wonders in Medieval Britain," *Studia Celtica fennica* 9 (2012), 36-53; McMullen provides a summary of the longer version at p. 49.

Anrheg Urien, which is written in the Taliesin persona, is extant in the White Book as well as in the Red Book at fols. 261r-261v (cols 1049-50). A diplomatic edition of the version found in the Red Book has been published in J. Gwenogvryn Evans, ed. *The Poetry of the Red Book of Hergest* (Llanbedrog, Wales: J. Gwenogvryn Evans, 1911), 17-18.

[28] These read "*Enweu ynys Brydein hɷ hynn*" ("These are the names of the island of Britain") and "*Anrec Vryen yɷ hon yma weithion*" ("This here is [lit. these are] the composition of the the Gift of Urien"), respectively.

arranged[29] and sixteen have seen substantial changes or additions made to their text. Many of the triads in this microtext that are substantially different from their counterparts in Peniarth 16 can be called "mixed": not only have changes been made to the sense of the triad, but the order of the limbs is different as well.

The category of triads that reflect differences in their texts between the Early version (represented by Peniarth 16) and the White and Red version (represented by the Red Book) can be further divided into five subcategories:

(*i*): Those in which the name in one limb has been replaced by a different name. So, for example, in *Tri chynweisiad* ("Three chief officers," TYP 13) Peniarth 16's "***Caradaȣc mab Bran**, a Chaȣrdaf mab Caradaȣc, ac Owein mab Maxen wledic*" becomes "***Gȣydar uab Run uab Beli**, ac Owein uab Maxen wledic, a Chaȣrdaf uab Kradaȣc*" in the Red Book.[30]

(*ii*): Those in which the White and Red version adds a small amount of narrative information to the triad as it existed in the Early version. An example of this is *Tri gosgordd adwy* ("Three breach retinues," TYP 31). While Peniarth 16 only tells us who led each of these *gosgorddion* ("*Gorgord Myndaȣc Eidyn, a gosgord Melyn mab Kynuelyn, a gosgord Dryon mab Nud*"), the White and Red version adds information about where the *gosgorddion* became "breach" – whatever that means.[31]

[29] Triads whose limbs appear in different orders in the Early version versus the White and Red version are: *Tri hael* ("Three generous men," TYP 2), *Tri deifniog* ("Three well-endowed men," TYP 4), *Tri phost cad* ("Three pillars of battle," TYP 5), *Tri unben llys Arthur* ("Three lords of Arthur's court," TYP 9), *Tri llyngesog* ("Three sea-farers/fleet owners," TYP 14), *Tri galofydd* ("Three enemy subduers," TYP 19), and *Tri ysgymydd aerfau* ("Three slaughter-blocks," TYP 24).

[30] The other members of this subcategory are: *Tri gwaywrudd beirdd* ("Three red-speared bards," TYP 11), which swaps out the Early version's *Tristfardd bardd Urien* for *Arofan bardd Selen ap Cynan* in the White and Red version and *Tri thrahaog* ("Three arrogant men," TYP 23), in which Sawyl *ben uchel* is the only name which remains consistant across versions – the Early version names Pascen fab Urien and Run fab Einion while the White and Red version gives Gwibai *drahaog* and Rhufon *pefyr drahaog*.

[31] For a discussion of the meaning of *adwy* in this context, see Bromwich, *TYP*, 71. The other members of this subcategory are: *Tair prif hut* ("Three great enchantments," TYP 28), the White and Red version tells us who taught

*Table 11: Displaying the distribution of the characteristics of triads associated with the microtext "*Trioed yɷ rei hynn*"*



# in RBH	# in WBR	TYP #	mss spread	triad type	title epithet
16	4	56			
17	5	57			
18	6	58			
19	7	31			
20	8	28			
21	9	13			
22	10	4			
23	11	59			
24	12	21			
25	13	20			
26	14	14			
27	15	9			
28	16	7			
29	17	10			
30	18	33			
31	19	25			
32	20	5			
33	21	2			
34	22	22			
35	23	23			
36	24	8			
37	25	19			
38	26	24			
39	27	60			
40	28	61			
41	29	62			
42	30	29			
43	31	30			
44	32	17			
45	33	63			
46	34	64			
47	35	65			
48	36	66			
49	37	11			
50	38	52			

KEY:

MANUSCRIPT SPREAD:
- = earliest extant version of this triad in the TYP corpus is in the White Book
- = a version of this triad appears with limbs in an alternate order in P16
- = a version of this triad with substantial changes in content appears in P16

TYPES OF TRIADS:
- = epithet + three names formula
- = partially expanded triad
- = fully expanded triad

GENITIVE IN THE TITLE:
- = "Ynys Prydain"
- = "Llys Arthur"
- = other

(*iii*): Those in which it is the Early version that adds a small amount of narrative information. This occurs in two triads: *Tri thaleithiog cad* ("Three diademed battle leaders," TYP 21), which is an 'epithet + three names' formula-type triad in the White and Red version. The Early version adds, "*Ac vn oed taleithyaɷc arnadunt wynteu ell tri: Bedwyr mab Bedraɷc oed hɷnnɷ* ("And one was diademed above those three: that was

each magician their enchantments; *Tri aerfeddog* ("Three battle-leaders," TYP 25), this is an 'epithet + three names' formula-type triad in the Early version but the White and Red version adds "Sef achaɷs y gelwit ɷy yn ereudogyon: ɷrth dial eu kamoc eu bed" ("This is why they were called battle-leaders: because they avenged their stepping on their grave"); *Tri glew* ("Three brave men," TYP 22), again an 'epithet + three names' triad in the Early version, while the White and Red version adds: "*Ny doynt o gat namyn eu geloreu. Ac y sef oedynt y rei hynny: tri meib Gleissiar Gogled o Haearnwed uradaɷc eu mam*" ("They did not come [away] from battle except [on] their biers. And this is [who] those men were: three sons of Glessiar Gogledd, from treacherous Haearnwedd, their mother") (on the three sons of Glessiar Gogledd, see Bromwich, *TYP*, 44 and Celeste L. Andrews, "What Did Cynddelw Know About the Old North," *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloqiuium* 39 (2019), 1-14 at 10-11).

Bedwyr son of Bedrog"). The other, *Tri tharw unben* ("Three bull lords," TYP 7), is similarly supplemented in the Early version with the incongruous explanation "*Tri meib beird oedynt ell tri*" ("All three were three sons of bards").

(*iv*): The case of *Tri unben Deira a Brennych* ("Three lords of Deira and Bernicia," TYP 10), which in the White and Red version is combined with the material *Tri gwyr a wnaeth y tair mat gyflafan* ("Three men who performed the three fortunate slaughters," TYP 32) to make a long, fully expanded triad out of what is a straightforward, partially expanded triad in the Early version.

(*v*): The case of the contrasting pair *Tri diwair deulu* ("Three faithful warbands," TYP 29) and *Tri anniwair deulu* ("Three unfaithful warbands," TYP 30). These two triads must have existed as a contrasting pair before the Early version and White and Red version diverged but, after the divergence, grew away from each other as individuals on both sides of the divergence expanded the triads with additional material.

This microtext, like the third microtext discussed above, is clearly related to the texts which became the Early version, but has been substantially reworked and revised since the two versions diverged.

Microtext 5: Trioed y meirch yϭ y rei hynn

Table 12: Displaying the distribution of characteristics of triads associated with the microtext trioedd y meirch yϭ y rei hynn

# in RBH	# in WBR	TYP #	mss spread	triad type	title genitive
51	39	38			
52	40	39			
53	41	40			
54	42	42			
55	43	41			

KEY:	
	= an identical version of this triad appears in P16
	= a version of this triad with substantial changes in content appears in P16
	= this is an 'epithet + three names' formula-type triad (TyM subvariant)
	= this triad uses the "ynys Prydain" in its title

This microtext, as its heading states, is the White and Red version of *trioedd y meirch*.[32] All triads in this microtext adhere to the variation on the 'epithet + three names' formula associated with *trioedd y meirch*; no scribe has provided supplemental narrative information as they copied these triads. However, that does not mean the horse triads here are identical to their counterparts in the Early version.[33] As I have already noted, the one expanded triad associated with *trioedd y meirch*, *Tri marchwlyth* ("Three horse-burdens," TYP 44), is omitted from the White and Red version of this collection and, instead, appears alongside several other expanded triads in the Red Book's third microtext. The horse burdens are not entirely absent from the White and Red version of *trioedd y meirch*, however; the following sentence appears within this text, referencing the missing triad: *Tri pennuarch*[34] *ynys Brydein a dugant y tri marchlóyth y mae henweu dracheuyn* ("Three packhorses of the island of Britain who carried the three horse-burdens which are named above").[35] As this sentence appears in both the texts of the White Book and Red Book, it must go at least as far back as their common exemplar. It is possible that a scribe, recognizing that he had already copied *Tri marchlwyth* from another exemplar, chose to skip over it as he copied out this microtext but left a short note where *Tri marchlwyth* appeared in his exemplar.

[32] This is what I have called C in my discussion of the *trioedd y meirch* corpus, see the discussion at pp. 153-54.
[33] I argue in my discussion of *trioedd y meirch* that the White and Red version of the horse triads collection (C) is directly descended from that of the Early version (B), but has been substantially re-worked.
[34] A later correcting hand has altered this to *pynnuarch*. GPC includes *penuarch* as a variant under its definition of *pynfarch* 'packhorse' (GPC s.v. *pynfarch*) but it could also possibly be construed as "chief" or "lead horse."
[35] See Appendix A, p. 324.

Microtext 6: These are even more triads

Table 15: Displaying the distribution of characteristics of triads associated with the sixth microtext

TYP #	# in RBH	# in WBR	mss spread	triad type	title genitive
26	56	44			
18	57	45			
67	58	46			
68	59	47			
69	60	48			

KEY:	
	= a version of this triad with substantial changes in content appears in P16
	= earliest extant version of this triad in the TYP corpus is in the White Book
	= fully expanded triad
	= partially expanded triad
	= "ynys Prydain"
	= "llys Arthur"
	= other title genitive

This final microtext is the only one I have identified that is not introduced with its own heading – it follows immediately the final horse triad without a physical break in either the White Book or Red Book. However, the start of the very long, expanded triad *Tri gwrddfeichiad* ("Three powerful swineherds," TYP 26) is a clear break from the preceding *trioedd y meirch*, both in content and in format. The version of *Tri gwrddfeichiad* in the Red Book has seen substantial additions and changes to the version found in Peniarth 16 and other Early version texts; the earliest extant text of this version of the triad is in the White Book.

Four partially expanded triads follow *Tri gwrddfeichiad*, all four of which deserve more attention than they have thus far received and all present their own problems. One of these is *Tri aur grydd* ("Three golden shoemakers," TYP 67). This triad is one of the best known among the TYP corpus (perhaps a better word would be notorious) because of the explicit reference to it within the text of the Fourth Branch of the Mabinogi.[36] This reference has never been satisfactorily explained, but this is not the place to dwell on this question. Another is *Tri budyr Hafren* ("Three defilements of the Severn," TYP 69), which is the final triad in the Red Book text. Although it conforms to the "*tri* + [noun] + [genitive]" formula we have come to expect

[36] "'Who are the people on the ship?' said Aranrhod. 'Shoemakers,' they said. 'Go and see what kind of leather they have, and what sort of work they are doing.' They went. When they arrived, Gwydion was colouring Cordovan leather with gold. Then the messengers returned and told her. […] Then everything vanished into dulse and seaweed. And Gwydion pursued the craft no more. But because of that occasion he was called one of the Three Golden Shoemakers" (Davies, trans. *The Mabinogion*, 56).

from titles of triads, it is somewhat surprising to see such a specific geographic location as the Severn in the genitive position. In this respect, *Tri budyr Hafren* can be compared to two other triads in the TYP corpus which also cite very specific locations as their genitives: *Tair neges a gaad o Bowys* ("Three messages which were received from Powys," TYP 55) and *Tri porthawr gwaith perllan Fangor* ("Three gate-keepers at the Battle of Bangor Orchard," TYP 60). All three are partially expanded triads which do not appear in any Early version text, but do appear in the White Book, Red Book, and Cwrtmawr 3.

Tri chadfarchog ("Three battle-horsemen," TYP 18), which is the second triad in this microtext and follows directly *Tri gwrddfeichiad*, is perhaps the triad that undergoes the most change between the Early version and the White and Red version. It has been substantially re-worked from its earlier attestation in the Early version, as can be seen when the two versions are set side-by-side:

> *TYP 18 Early version (P16):* Tri chatuarchaɷc enys Prydein:
> Caradaɷc ɷreichuras, a Menwaed o Arllechwed, a Llyr lluydaɷc.
>
> ("Three battle-horsemen of the island of Britain:
> Caradog Freichfras, and Menwaedd of Arllechwedd, and Llyr lluyddog.)
>
> *TYP 18 WR version (RBH):* Tri annɷyl llys Arthur, a thri chatuarthaɷc, ac ny mynuassant penn teulu arnadunt eiryoet. Ac y cant Arthur e[n]glyn:
>
> Sef yɷ vyn tri chatuarchaɷc:
> Mened, a Llud lluruga ɷc, a cholovyn Kymry Karadaɷc.
>
> (Three dear ones of Arthur's court, and three battle-horsemen, and they never wanted a *penteulu* above them. And Arthur sang an englyn:
>
> These are my three battle-horsemen:
> Menedd, and Llud llurugog, and Caradog column of the Welsh.)

What was a fairly standard and formulaic 'epithet + three names'-type triad in Peniarth 16 has been transformed into a triad-within-a-triad in the Red Book (*Tri annwyl llys Arthur* does not appear outside of this context) and – uniquely amongst the TYP corpus – *Tri chadfarchog* is now

framed as an *englyn* (a type of Welsh verse) sung by Arthur! This recalls moments in Welsh narratives where characters "sing an *englyn*" more than it does other triads in this corpus. These *englynion* often contain narrative information but, other than in this instance, are never use a narrative frame.[37] The degree to which *Tri chadfarchog* has been expanded is thus more in line with the difference between the 'short' versions of *Tri gwrddfeichiad* and *Tri chud a datcud* found in Peniarth 47 and their more-common expanded counterparts, which are the work of individual authors, than it is with the changes and additions made to already-expanded triads between the Early version and White and Red version. It has been completely re-written from the ground up, with the kernel of the 'epithet + three names'-formula remaining but the context completely changed.

Tri brenin a fuant o feibion eillion ("Three kings who were from sons of bondsmen," TYP 68) follows *Tri chadfarchog*. It is immediately clear that this triad is a departure from the others. The title is not a full sentence, but it is certainly discursive, with a conjugated verb, relative particle, and a preposition, and it is lacking the genitive that normally occurs in titles. This title is in contrast to its formulaic body, which gives the names of three men – Gwriad fab Gwrian, Cadafel fab Cynneddw, and Hyfaidd fab Bleiddig – without any narrative information except the general localities in which they lived. None of these figures is named more than once within the TYP corpus, though at least two, if not all three, are mentioned elsewhere.[38] In my

[37] At the risk of composing my own triad, three prominent examples of characters singing *englynion* are worth noting in parallel: i) in the Second Branch of the Mabinogi, that sung by Efnysien as he kills the Irishmen hidden in bags of flour (Derick S. Thomson, *Branwen uerch Lyr* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1968), 13); Sioned Davies, trans. *The Mabinogion* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2007), 31); ii) in the Fourth Branch, those sung by Gwydion to Lleu, when the latter is in the form of an eagle (Davies, trans. *The Mabinogion*, 62-63), and iii) in Culhwch ac Olwen, that sung by Arthur to Cai (Bromwich and Evans, eds. *Culhwch ac Olwen*, ll. 975-84; Davies, trans. *The Mabinogion*, 206-07).

[38] Gwriad is said here to be a king of Gwynedd. A character with this name and patronymic is not known elsewhere, though the names *Gwrien* and *Gwriad* are listed in very close proximity to each other in both the *Gododdin* (A.O.H. Jarman, ed. and trans. *The Gododdin: Britain's Oldest Heroic Poem* (Llandysul: Gomer Press, 1988), ll. 331-2) and *Englynion y Beddau* (Thomas Jones, ed. and trans. *The Black Book of Carmarthen 'Stanzas of the Graves'*, Sir John Rhŷs Memorial Lecture, *Proceedings of the British Academy* 53 (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), englyn

view, this triad is likely the work of an antiquarian author who was interested in Wales's distant history; from its references we can surmise he may have had access to some combination of *Historia Brittonum*, *Annales Cambriae*, *Brut y Tywysogion*, and genealogical texts, though it's possible he was drawing on material lost to us. Moreover, the relative obscurity of these references, combined with the fact that none of these figures appear to have been named in the work of the court poets, puts *Tri brenin a fuant…* in a slightly different milieu than other triads; these names seem to have been taken from learned historical sources, themselves their own sort of cyfarwyddyd, but perhaps different from the cyfarwyddyd from which the poets and storytellers drew.

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3). Bromwich suggests, plausibly, that the triad may refer to Gwriad ap Elidyr, the father of Merfyn Frych and founding of a Gwynedd dynasty, whose patronym was later confused because of "influence" from the two poems. See Bromwich, *TYP*, 390 and the Oxford, Jesus College MS 20 genealogies §§17, 19 (Ben Guy, *Medieval Welsh Genealogy* (Woodbridge, England: The Boydell Press, 2020), 342).

Cadafel is another king of Gwynedd. He is best known from a passage of *Historia Brittonum*, chapter 65 (which Bromwich characterizes as "confused"). This passage refers to the battle of Winwaed (which *Annales Cambriae* dates to 657), where Penda of Mercia was killed by Oswiu of Northumbria: *Solus autem Catgabail, rex Guenedotae regionis, cum exercise suo evasit de nocte consurgens, quapropter vocatus est Catgabail Catguommed* ("But Cadafael, king of the country of Gwynedd, was the only one to escape with his army, by rising up in the night; and so he was called Cadafael the Battle Dodger") (John Morris, ed. and trans. *Nennius: British History and the Welsh Annals* (London: Phillimore, 1980), 38, 79-80). Bromwich cogently draws a connection between this passage and the triad *Tri anniwair deulu* ("Three unfaithful warbands," TYP 30), in which Alan Fergan's warband is said to have turned against him *hyd nos* ("during the night") at the battle of Camlan. See Bromwich, *TYP*, 295-6.

Hyfaidd is said to be a king of Deheubarth. His death is noted in *Annales Cambriae* in the year 892 (Morris, *Nennius*, 90) and in *Brut y Tywysogion* in the year 893 (Thomas Jones, ed. *Brut y Tywysogion, or the Chronicle of the Welsh Princes: Red Book of Hergest Version* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1955), 10-11). Bromwich explains that he is included in this triad because his claim to the throne of Deheubarth was through his mother, Tangwystl, not his father (Bromwich, *TYP*, 402). Cf. Harleian genealogies §2 (Guy, *Medieval Welsh Genealogies*, 334).

Bromwich posits that the inclusion of the Dyfed king Hyfaidd in this trio with two kings of Gwynedd in *Tri brenin a fuant*… "can only be dictated by the purpose of satire" and that, therefore, the triad may date back to ninth-century Dyfed, "during or soon after the reign of King Hyfaidd, and may be taken as a significant expression of the nationalist opposition to the pro-English policy of the rulers of Dyfed which found voice some forty years after Hyfaidd's time in *Armes Prydein*" (Bromwich, *TYP*, 189). This seems to me extremely unlikely, given that there is no reason to think the TYP corpus dates any further back than the twelfth century. Indeed, the fact that this triad is partially expanded and does not conform to the 'epithet + three names' formula indicates that it circulated in writing, not orally, and, since it does not appear in any Early version texts, seems to post-date the divergence of the Early version and White and Red version. 544

It will be clear by now that the five triads which make up this final microtext have complex backgrounds. All five must be thought of as authored texts – albeit very short texts – which reflect the interests of those individual authors, be it *cyfarwyddyd* connected to the Mabinogi, as in *Tri aur grydd*, the distant history of Wales, as in *Tri brenin a fuant…*, or material of special interest to Powys, as in *Tri budyr Hafren*. It appears that these shorter, authored triads became attached to *Tri gwrddfeichiad* – itself a triad with a clear authorial voice, as discussed in Chapter 1 – at some point at or before the early fourteenth century. This microtext does not seem to have circulated independently of the White and Red version after the fourteenth century, however. Outside of the White Book and Red Book, these triads appear in this order only in Cwrtmawr 3, which follows the order of the White and Red version overall and thus is not an independent witness to this microtext. Furthermore, the fact that, unlike the other microtexts in the Red Book, this one is not introduced by a heading may indicate that these triads already followed *trioedd y meirch* in the text from which the scribe, or compiler, of the White Book and Red Book's common exemplar copied them.

Table 14: Showing the distribution of characteristics associated with the full text of the White Book of Rhydderch and Red Book of Hergest.

TYP #	# in RBH	# in WBR	triad type	mss spread	title genitive
47	1	--			
48	2	--			
49	3	--			
50	4	--			
35	5	--			
51	6	--			
52	7	--			
3	8	--			
12	9	--			
37	10	--			
44	11	--			
15	12	--			
53	13	1			
54	14	2			
55	15	3			
56	16	4			
57	17	5			
58	18	6			
31	19	7			
28	20	8			
13	21	9			
4	22	10			
59	23	11			
21	24	12			
20	25	13			
14	26	14			
9	27	15			
7	28	16			
10	29	17			
33	30	18			
25	31	19			
5	32	20			
2	33	21			
22	34	22			
23	35	23			
8	36	24			
19	37	25			
24	38	26			
60	39	27			
61	40	28			
62	41	29			
29	42	30			
30	43	31			
17	44	32			
63	45	33			
64	46	34			
65	47	35			
66	48	36			
11	49	37			
52	50	38			
38	51	39			
39	52	40			
40	53	41			
42	54	42			
41	55	43			
26	56	44			
18	57	45			
67	58	46			
68	59	47			
69	60	48			

KEY:

= earliest extant version in WBR/RBH

= an identical version of this triad appears in P16

= a version of this triad with its limbs in a different order appears in P16

= a version of this triad with substantial differences appears in P16

TRIAD TYPE:

= 'epithet + three names' formula

= partially expanded

= fully expanded

TITLE GENITIVE:

= "ynys Prydain"

= "llys Arthur"

= other

MICROTEXTS IN MANUSCRIPTS WHICH ARE RELATED TO THE WHITE BOOK AND RED BOOK VERSION

Six manuscripts from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are closely related to the text(s) found in the White Book of Rhydderch and Red Book of Hergest. These are NLW Peniarth MS 51 (s.xv^{2}), NLW Cwrtmawr MS 3 (s.xvi^{med}), *Y Diarebion Camberäec* (s.xvi^{2}), BL Additional MS 15,047 (s.xvi^{2}), NLW MS 6434 (s.xvi^{2}), and BL Additional MS 31,055 (s.xvi^{ex}). Two more, NLW Peniarth MS 16 part vii (that is, Simwnt Fychan's section) (s.xvi^{med}) and NLW Peniarth MS 77 (s.svi^{2}), contain versions of microtexts that follow the White and Red version but do not appear in any other later medieval TYP texts. None of the TYP texts found in these eight manuscripts are identical to the text of the Red Book, or to each other, and all omit at least some triads found in the Red Book. However, these omissions notwithstanding, all eight follow the order of the Red Book exactly, which is sufficient to indicate that they are in some way descended from the thirteenth- or fourteenth-century exemplar of the White Book and Red Book TYP text(s). I willdiscuss each of these texts in turn and argue that they represent "cherry-picked" selections from the White and Red version, chosen by scribes in the later Middle Ages who produced condensed collections of TYP which, we may assume, reflected their own personal tastes and interests or those of their patrons.

It would be impractical to exhaustively account for every difference between these later medieval texts and the text of the Red Book, but these differences are noted below in Table 15. I will discuss only the most interesting and revealing differences in depth. Reference should also be made to Appendices A and B throughout, as needed.

The first manuscript related to the White and Red version is Peniarth 51, the miscellany of the poet Gwilym Tew, which was written between 1460 and 1480.[39] This manuscript omits the biblically- and classically-derived triads that are the Red Book's first microtext and opens with the long, expanded triad *Tri chyfor* ("Three levies," TYP 35), which is the fifth triad in the Red Book sequence. This is followed by *Tri llynges cynniwair* ("Three roving fleets," TYP 15), the Red Book's twelfth triad. From there, Peniarth 51 continues to follow the order of the Red Book text almost exactly until *Tri hael* ("Three generous men," TYP 2),[40] which is the twenty-second triad in Peniarth 51 and the thirty-third in the Red Book. After *Tri hael,* Peniarth 51 inserts the six triads it had skipped over before (nos. 6-11 in the Red Book text) before returning to the point at which it left off, resuming at *Tri glew* ("Three brave men," TYP 22; no. 34 in the Red Book and no. 29 in Peniarth 51) and continuing to follow the order of the Red Book text to its conclusion.[41] The Peniarth 51 text concludes with *Tri gwrddfeichiad* ("Three powerful swineherds," TYP 26), omitting the three triads which follow it in the Red Book text.[42]

The TYP text in Cwrtmawr 3, which was written by the Welsh humanist William Salesbury about a century after Peniarth 51, in the middle of the sixteenth century, is actually two separate texts.[43] It will be convenient to refer to them as Cwrtmawr 3i and Cwrtmawr 3ii. Cwrtmawr 3i begins with *Tri goruchel garcharor* ("Three supreme prisoners," TYP 52), the first triad in the Red Book's third microtext, and continues to the end of the Red Book's fifth

[39] See Appendix C, pp. 485-89.
[40] I say "almost" exactly because Peniarth 51 omits *Tair neges a gafas o Bowys* ("Three messages which were receieved from Powys," TYP 55).
[41] Peniarth 51 omits *Tri goruchel garcharor* ("Three supreme prisoners," TYP 52), which appears in the Red Book at no. 50, between *Tri marchlwyth* ("Three horse-burdens," TYP 44) at the end of the *trioedd y meirch* sequence and the long, expanded triad *Tri gwŷr gwarth* ("Three men of shame," TYP 51). This is the second version of *Tri goruchel garcharor* in the Red Book, so it may be that Gwilym or one of his scribal predecessors noticed the redundancy and omitted it.
[42] These are *Tri chadfarchog* ("Three battle-horsemen," TYP 18), *Tri aur grydd* ("Three golden shoemakers," TYP 67), *Tri brenin a fuant o feibion eillion* ("Three kings who were from sons of bondsmen," TYP 68), and *Tri budyr Hafren* ("Three defilements of the Severn," TYP 69).
[43] See Appendix C, pp. 492-94.

microtext, omitting the Red Book's second witness to *Tri goruchel garcharor* at the end of that microtext. Another triad, *Tri gwydd ellyll* ("Three wild spectres," TYP 64), is also omitted but, otherwise, Cwrtmawr 3i follows the order of these two Red Book microtexts exactly sans omissions. The short version of *Enwau ynys Prydain* ("The names of the island of Britain") comes between the two microtexts, as it does in the White Book text.

Other, proverbial triads follow the conclusion of the Cwrtmawr 3i TYP text without any break or heading. About twenty pages later, Cwrtmawr 3ii appears. It contains eight triads, encompassing the second microtext in the Red Book and the first five triads in the third; those five are duplicates of triads which have already appeared in Cwrtmawr 3i. Although Cwrtmawr 3ii's triads are substantially different from their versions in both the earlier part of this text and in the Red Book, they continue to follow the order of the Red Book exactly. Cwrtmawr 3ii concludes with a version of *Tri gwesti gwenfededig* ("Three blessed visitors," TYP 82), a triad which is also extant in Peniarth 50 and BL Add. 31,055 but not the Red Book or any other texts related to it, and another version of *Enwau ynys Prydain*.

The TYP text in BL Additional MS 31,055, which was written by the humanist Thomas Wiliems in the final decade of the sixteenth century, is very closely related to that of Cwrtmawr 3i, though it is much shorter.[44] Comparison of BL Add. 31,055 to the other White and Red version texts shows that the redactor, either Wiliems or one of his predecessors, copied triads in three bursts. The first burst of six triads corresponds to triads 14-19 in the Red Book text. This run is interrupted by a few other pieces of non-narrative *cyfarwyddyd*, including *Pum brenin llwyth Cymry* ("Five kings of the tribes of the Welsh") and *Pymtheg llwyth Gwynedd* ("Fifteen lineages of Gwynedd"). The second burst of five corresponds to the Red Book's triads 35-38 and

[44] See Appendix C, pp. 500-02.

41, and the final burst of five triads corresponds to the sixth and final microtext in the Red Book, which are triads 56 to 60 in that manuscript. *Tri gwesti gwenfededig* ("Three blessed visitors," TYP 82) concludes the run of TYP in this manuscript; it appears amongst the proverbial triads that follow the TYP material.

All in all, then, three manuscripts from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries – Peniarth 51, Cwrtmawr 3, and BL Add. 31,055 – can be shown to exactly follow the order of the White and Red version, though all of these are better described as 'selections' from the White and Red version, rather than wholesale copies of it. Were these selections the choice of the scribes of the surviving manuscripts themselves, or had they already been made in their exemplars? Were these selections made because of the personal interests of indvidual scribes, or were they dictated by what they had access to? These questions are impossible to answer with any certainty from the limited evidence of the surviving manuscripts.

It is striking, however, that Cwrtmawr 3ii begins in the same place in the White and Red version sequence as do Peniarth 51 and another sixteenth century manuscript that will be discussed presently, BL Add. 15,047. Each of these begins with the two expanded triads that make up the Red Book's second microtext, *Tri chyfor*. Cwrtmawr 3i, meanwhile, begins at the beginning of the Red Book's third microtext. Furthermore, it is notable that both Peniarth 51 and Cwrtmawr 3 follow the White Book over the Red Book in their readings of *Tri prif riain Arthur* ("Arthur's three great queens," TYP 56)[45] and *Tri anfad gyflafan* ("Three unfortunate slaughters," TYP 33).[46] This may indicate that the ancestors of these manuscripts were not

[45] A scribal error in the Red Book has left the second limb of this triad in that manuscript reading *a Gǒenhǒyuar uerch uab Greidyaǒl* ("and Gwenhwyfar daughter of son of Greidiol") whereas the White Book and the later texts in Peniarth 51, Cwrtmawr 3i, and BL Add. MS 31,055 all give some rendering of the name Uthr fab Greidiol has the patronym. BL Add. MS 15,047, meanwhile, simply renders it as Gwenhwyfar verch Gredaivgol.
[46] The personal name "Iago" is missing from the third limb of the sub-triad in *Tri anfad gylfafan* in the Red Book. This name can be found in every subsequent witness to the White and Red version of this triad.

copied directly from the Red Book itself, though it is also possible that subsequent scribes corrected the obvious errors in the Red Book's version of those triads.

The fact that both Peniarth 51 and Cwrtmawr 3 omit the Red Book's first microtext (and, in the case of Cwrtmawr 3i, its second) but closely follow the text of its subsequent manuscripts may indicate that the biblically- and classically-derived triads that make up the Red Book's first microtext were a later addition to the compilation of these various microtexts. Alternatively, it may be the case that later copyists chose to omit the bibically- and classically-derived triads because they were not drawn from the specifically Welsh *cyfarwyddyd* that interested the later medieval poets and early modern antiquarians. It is unfortunate that the lacuna in the White Book prevents us from knowing whether these 'non-Welsh' triads were included in that collection.

Two sixteenth-century manuscripts do preserve these biblically- and classically-derived triads, however. These are Peniarth 16 part vii (i.e. Simwnt Fychan's text) and Peniarth 77. The bulk of Simwnt's section of Peniarth 16 is made up of his version of *Pedwar marchog ar hugain llys Arthur* ("Twenty-Four Knights of Arthur's Court).[47] Simwnt followed this triad-adjacent piece of non-narrative *cyfarwyddyd* with the four biblically- and classically-derived triads that head the Red Book text. These are the only TYP triads in Simwnt Fychan's section of Peniarth 16. These biblically- and classically-derived also appear at the close of Peniarth 77. The first section of this manuscript's text (its triads 1-8) are derived from the Early version and will be discussed in Chapter 2. These are followed by three triads (triads 9-11) that seem to be related to the text of Peniarth 50. The text's final four triads (triads 12-15) are the biblically- and classically-derived triads.

[47] See Appendix A, pp. 349-50

None of these triads exactly follow the wording of the Red Book text when they appear in Simwnt Fychan's text or Peniarth 77, although they do appear in an identical order in all three texts. Simwnt Fychan's text, on the whole, is closer to the text of the Red Book than to that of Peniarth 77; his version follows the Red Book in including the formula *Kyn […] oedynt yll tri ac Adaf ehun* ("Adam himself was as […] as were each of the three"). This formula is not found in any of these four triads as they appear in Peniarth 77, and in every case the versions of these triads in that manuscript differ from the Red Book in either their wording, the order of their limbs, or both. Even so, Simwnt Fychan's text is not identical to that of the Red Book.[48] Interestingly, the fourth and final of these biblically- and classically-derived triads, *Tair gwraged a gafas pryd Efa* ("Three women who received the form of Eve," TYP 50), which is the only triad of the four to compare the characters in its limbs to Eve, not Adam, is also the only one to appear outside the bounds of this short sequence. It also appears within the *trioedd y gwraged* ("triads of the women") microtext in Peniarth 47.

The fact that these four triads appear in two sixteenth-century texts, divorced from the rest of the White and Red version, suggests that they were circulating independently in the later Middle Ages. How late must remain an open question since, as ever, it is impossible to tell whether it was the scribes of these two manuscripts themselves, or one of their predecessors, who determined the content of these texts. That disclaimer aside, it is striking that none of the surviving manuscripts which follow the White and Red version just discussed – that is, Peniarth 51, Cwrtmawr 3, BL Add. 31,055 – include this set of four triads, nor does *Y Diarebion Camberäec* or its descendents BL Add. 15,047 and NLW 6434, discussed below. This, combined with the major differences between these triads in terms of content and theme, strengthens the

[48] See Appendix B, pp. 438-39.

argument that the biblically- and classically-derived triads were not part of the 'original' White and Red version, but an addition to the corpus made either in the Red Book by Hywel Fychan himself, or by one of his immediate predecessors, after that branch had diverged from the exemplar(s) from which these later White-and-Red-version manuscripts descend. One could go so far as to say that perhaps these four biblically- and classically-derived triads should not be considered part of the TYP corpus proper, since they are so distinct from the other triads. The fact that they exist side-by-side with TYP triads in two manuscripts – the Red Book and Peniarth 77 but, notably, not Simwnt Fychan's text – should not hinder us from coming to this conclusion; non-TYP triads can be found following TYP in several sixteenth-century manuscripts.[49]

Table 15: Showing the relationship of the Red Book, White Book, Peniarth 51, Cwrtmawr 3i, Cwrtmawr 3ii, Peniarth 77, Peniarth 16 part vii (Simwnt Fychan's text), and BL Add. 31,055.

TYP #	# in RBH	# in WBR	# in P51	# in Cwrt. 3i	# in Cwrt. 3ii	# in P77	# in SV	# in 31055	triad type	title genitive
47	1	--	--	--	--	12	1	--		
48	2	--	--	--	--	13	2	--		
49	3	--	--	--	--	14	3	--		
50	4	--	--	--	--	15	4	--		
35	5	--	1	--	54	--	--	--		
51	6	--	23	--	55	--	--	--		
52	7	--	24	1	56	--	--	--		
3	8	--	25	2	57	--	--	--		
12	9	--	26	3	58	--	--	--		
37	10	--	27	4	59	--	--	--		
44	11	--	28	5	60	--	--	--		
15	12	--	2	6	--	--	--	--		
53	13	1	3	7	--	--	--	--		
54	14	2	4	8	--	11	--	1		
55	15	3	--	9	--	--	--	2		
56	16	4	5	10	--	--	--	3		
57	17	5	6	11	--	--	--	4		
58	18	6	7	12	--	--	--	5		
31	19	7	8	13	--	--	--	6		
28	20	8	9	14	--	--	--	--		
13	21	9	10	15	--	--	--	--		
4	22	10	11	16	--	--	--	--		
59	23	11	12	16	--	--	--	--		
21	24	12	13	17	--	--	--	--		
20	25	13	14	18	--	--	--	--		
14	26	14	15	19	--	--	--	--		

KEY:

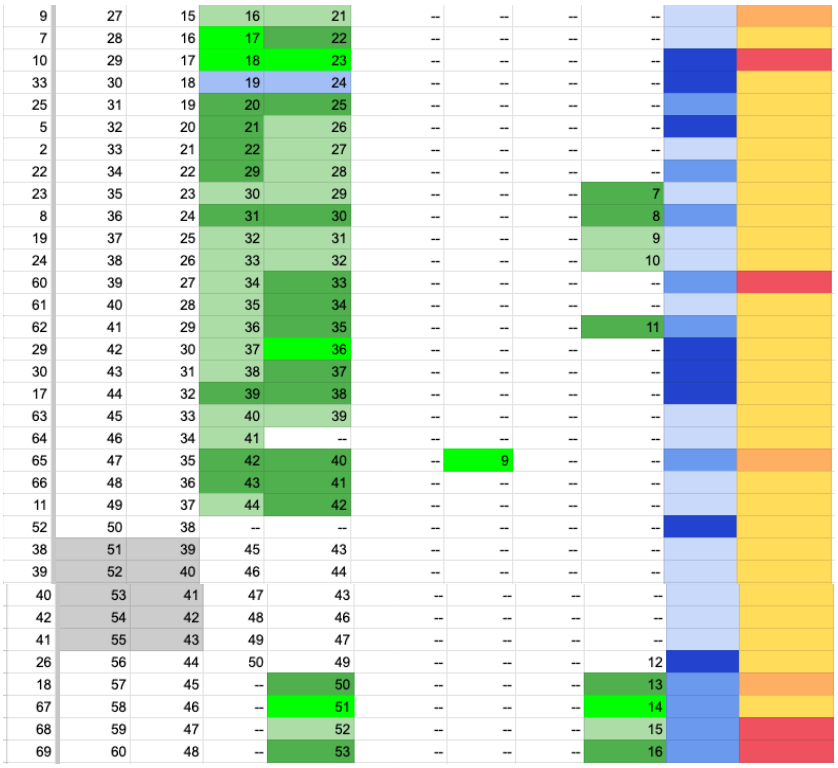
MANUSCRIPT SPREAD:
- = identical to RBH
- = different wording from RBH
- = limbs are in a different order from RBH
- = substantially different from RBH
- = follows WBR over RBH
- = follows P16/P45 over RBH

TRIAD TYPE:
- = 'epithet + three names' formula
- = partially expanded
- = fully expanded

TITLE GENITIVE:
- = "ynys Prydain"
- = "llys Arthur"
- = other

[49] This is the case in Cwrtmawr 3, *Y Diarebion Camberäec*, BL Add. 15,047, and BL Add. 31,055; see the relevant sections of Appendices A and C and especially the discussion below.

Table 15 (Continued)



9	27	15	16	21	--	--	--	--		
7	28	16	17	22	--	--	--	--		
10	29	17	18	23	--	--	--	--		
33	30	18	19	24	--	--	--	--		
25	31	19	20	25	--	--	--	--		
5	32	20	21	26	--	--	--	--		
2	33	21	22	27	--	--	--	--		
22	34	22	29	28	--	--	--	--		
23	35	23	30	29	--	--	--	7		
8	36	24	31	30	--	--	--	8		
19	37	25	32	31	--	--	--	9		
24	38	26	33	32	--	--	--	10		
60	39	27	34	33	--	--	--	--		
61	40	28	35	34	--	--	--	--		
62	41	29	36	35	--	--	--	11		
29	42	30	37	36	--	--	--	--		
30	43	31	38	37	--	--	--	--		
17	44	32	39	38	--	--	--	--		
63	45	33	40	39	--	--	--	--		
64	46	34	41	--	--	--	--	--		
65	47	35	42	40	--	9	--	--		
66	48	36	43	41	--	--	--	--		
11	49	37	44	42	--	--	--	--		
52	50	38	--	--	--	--	--	--		
38	51	39	45	43	--	--	--	--		
39	52	40	46	44	--	--	--	--		
40	53	41	47	43	--	--	--	--		
42	54	42	48	46	--	--	--	--		
41	55	43	49	47	--	--	--	--		
26	56	44	50	49	--	--	--	12		
18	57	45	--	50	--	--	--	13		
67	58	46	--	51	--	--	--	14		
68	59	47	--	52	--	--	--	15		
69	60	48	--	53	--	--	--	16		

Y Diarebion Camberäec *and its descendants*

Three more TYP texts dating from the second half of the sixteenth century contain microtexts that are related to the White and Red version. These are the printed book *Y Diarebion Camberäec* (printed by William Salesbury in 1567),[50] BL Additional MS 15,047 (copied by Hywel ap Mathew in 1575-76),[51] and NLW MS 6434 (copied by Ieaun Llwyd in 1577).[52] All three of these texts are evidently very closely related to each other and I will examine their relationship in what follows. It is evident that the copy of *Y Diarebion Camberäec* held today in the British Library – the only surviving copy of the book – is missing its final pages, which would contain the conclusion of the book's triadic text, as well as the front of the book. Alun

[50] See Appendix C, pp. 494-96.
[51] See Appendix C, pp. 498-500.
[52] See Appendix C, p. 500.

Mathias has argued that NLW 6434 is a direct copy of *Y Diarebion Camberäec* and acts as a witness to the lost triads of the printed book.[53] In my view, however, the situation is more complicated than Mathias realizes. I will argue that the TYP texts in both NLW 6434 and the near-contemporary BL Add. 15,047 are very closely related to *Y Diarebion Camberäec*, but neither is an exact copy of the printed book.[54]

The TYP text in *Y Diarebion Camberäec* can be broken into two parts. The first part is related to the Early version while the second part, which we may call *Y Diarebion Camberäec* (ii), begins with the twenty-sixth triad in the printed book and follows the order of the White and Red version, omissions notwithstanding, in a similar way to the microtexts in Peniarth 51, Cwrtmawr 3, and BL Add. 31,055, discussed above. *Y Diarebion Camberäec* (ii) includes twelve triads derived from the White and Red version and concludes with a single horse triad.[55] These TYP triads are followed, without any new heading or other break in the text, by six non-TYP triads before the text breaks off abruptly where the surviving portion of the book ends.

We may now turn to NLW 6434. Although Mathias has written that "it can be said in complete confidence"[56] that this manuscript is a copy of Salesbury's book, a comparison of the contents of these two texts (given in Table 16 below) shows that NLW 6434 is missing the final

[53] Mathias points to the fact that, on two occassions, NLW 6434 reproduces mistakes that also appear in *Y Diarebion Camberäec*. He argues that this makes it very likely that it is a direct copy. See Alun Mathias, "Gweithiau William Salesbury," *Journal of the Welsh Bibliographical Society* 7.3 (1952), 125-43, especially 126-27.
[54] Mathias is admittedly more interested in establishing that NLW 6434 contains a copy of William Salesbury's prologue ("*llythr annerch*") to *Y Diarebion Camberäec*, which has been lost from the printed book as it survives today, than in the book's missing ending.
[55] These include *Tri glew* ("Three brave men," TYP 22), *Tri galofydd* ("Three enemy-subduers," TYP 19), *Tri phorthwr gwaith perllan Fangor* ("Three gatekeepers of the battle of the Bangor orchard," TYP 60), *Tri aur gelain* ("Three noble (splended) corpses," TYP 61), *Tri hualhogeon* ("Three fettered warbands," TYP 62), *Tri hualog* ("Three fettered men," TYP 17), *Tri tharw ellyll* ("Three bull-specters," TYP 63), *Tri gwydd ellyll* ("Three wild specters," TYP 64), *Tri thrwyddedog* ("Three licensed guests," TYP 65), *Tri diwair* ("Three chaste women," TYP 66), *Tri gwayfrudd beirdd* ("Three red-speared bards," TYP 11), and *Tri gohoyw eddystr* ("Three sprightly steeds," TYP 42). This corresponds to the Red Book's triads 34, 37, 39-41, 44-49, and 54. See the relevant sections of Appendices A and B.
[56] My translation of the original Welsh, which reads "*gellir dweud yn gwbl hyderus*" (Mathias, "Gweithiau William Salesbury," 127).

eight TYP triads found in *Y Diarebion Camberaec*. It is not the case that this is due to a loss of text from NLW 6434 itself, since the elision happens mid-way through a column in the middle of a page and the text continues without break or comment. Although NLW 6434 follows the text of *Y Diarebion Camberäec*'s first, Early-version-derived section exactly, it contains only the first four triads of *Y Diarebion Camberäec* (ii). After the fourth of its White-and-Red-version-derived triads, NLW 6434 lists twenty proverbial triads. From that point on, the NLW 6434 TYP text no longer resembles the text of *Y Diarebion Camberäec*.[57] According to the argument put forward by Mathias, NLW 6434's subsequent TYP triads have been copied from *Y Diarebion Camberäec*'s now-lost ending.[58] There is no room to doubt that the TYP text in NLW 6434 is, indeed, very closely related to that of *Y Diarebion Camberäec*, but the eight triads missing from NLW 6434, in my view, make it unlikely that Ieaun Llwyd, the scribe of NLW 6434, copied at least this section of the text directly from *Y Diarebion Camberäec*.[59]

Introducing BL Add. 15,047 into this discussion complicates the situation even further. Like NLW 6434, BL Add. 15,047 follows the first section of *Y Diarebion Camberäec* exactly. Unlike NLW 6434, though, BL Add. 15,047 continues to follow *Y Diarebion Camberäec* (ii) passed the point where the text breaks off in NLW 6434 to the end of the printed book's surviving text, while also inserting two triads that do not appear anywhere else in the TYP corpus and another which does not appear in either *Y Diarebion Camberäec* or NLW 6434.[60] All in all, this section of BL Add. 15,047 contains fourteen triads, including ten that follow the text of *Y Diarebion Camberäec* (ii) exactly and three which are unique to BL Add. 15,047, and the

[57] Compare the texts at Appendix A, pp. 359-63 and 372-76.
[58] Mathias, "Gweithiau William Salesbury," 126.
[59] Of course, it is impossible to rule out the possibility that Ieaun chose to omit the eight triads in question for some reason, but I can see no indication that this is the case nor any rhyme or reason for his doing so.
[60] These are *Tri chyfanedd fardd llys Arthur* ("Three entertaining bards of Arthur's court," TYP 87A), *Tri bardd cad oedd yn llys Arthur* ("Three bards of war who were in Arthur's court," TYP 87B), and *Tri prifardd* ("Three principal bards," TYP 87). It is striking that these form a mini-microtext of triads about bards.

final horse triad, which both texts have in common.[61] BL Add. 15,047, then, appears to follow *Y Diarebion Camberäec* more closely than does NLW 6434. Mathias does not mention BL Add. 15,047 and does not appear to have been aware of its close resemblance to these other two texts.

The TYP texts of both NLW 6434 and BL Add. 15,047 are interrupted by several non-TYP triads at or near the point where *Y Diarebion Camberäec* breaks off; twenty proverbial triads appear in NLW 6434 while thirteen proverbial triads appear in BL Add. 15,047.[62] More TYP triads follow the proverbial triads in both manuscripts. It is interesting to note, as Table 16 shows, that the triads given in these second bursts correspond to each other. The two manuscripts contain exactly the same triads, with the exception of *Tri goruchel garcharor* ("Three exalted prisoners," TYP 52), which is included in BL Add. 15,047 but missing from NLW 6434. Indeed, the versions of these triads in the two manuscripts tend to be more closely related to each other than they are to either the Early version or the White and Red version, often differing from each other only orthographically. An example can be found in *Tri rhuddfoaog* ("Three red-reapers," TYP 20). Compare the versions of this triad found in Peniarth 16 (the Early version), the White Book (the White and Red version), BL Add. 15,047, and NLW 6434, respectively:

> *TYP 20 P16 text:* Tri ruduoaɔc enys Prydein:
> Arthur, a Run mab Beli, a Morgant mwy[n]uaɔr.
>
> *TYP 20 WBR text:* Tri rud uoaɔc ynys Brydein:
> Run ap Beli, a Lleɔ llaɔ gyffes, a Morgan mɔynnaɔc, ac vn oed ruduogach no'r tri: Arthur oed y henɔ: blɔydyn ny doy na gɔellt na llyssey y ford y kerdei yr vn o'r tri, a seith mlynyd ny doy y ford y kerdei Arthur.
>
> *TYP 20 BL Add. 15,047 text:* Tri ruddnawg ynys Brydain:
> Rvn ap Beli, Llew llaw gyffes, Morgan mawynvawr. Ag vn oedd ryveddach na'r tri hynny: Arthur ni ddai na gwellt na llysse fordd i kerddai Arthur a'i lv.

[61] Compare the texts at Appendix A, pp. 359-62 and pp. 364-71.
[62] See NLW 6434 fols. 133r-133v and BL Add. 15,047 fols. 65v-67v, respectively. These triads are not included in Appedices A or B but deserve more attention than they have thus far received. I have not compared these two texts exhaustively but they are certainly not identical texts or copies from the same exemplar.

> *TYP 20 NLW 6434 text:* Tri rvddvawg ynys B*rydain*:
> Rɔn ap Beli, Llew llaw gyffes, a Morgan mynɔawr. Ac ɔn oedd ryɔeddach no'r tri hyny: Arthɔr oedd hwnw: o bleit na dda gwellt na llysiae ffordd y gorddai Arth6r a'i lɔ.

It is evident that these represent three different versions of the same triad: one belonging to the Early version, one belonging to the White and Red version, and one which BL Add. 15,047 and NLW 6434 share in common which is different from both earlier versions. *Tri rhuddfoaog* is not alone in this phenomenon; seven of the seventeen triads in this section of BL Add. 15,047 follow this same pattern.[63] Two more, *Tri hynaif byd* ("Three oldest men of the world," TYP 92) and *Tri marchog llys Arthur* ("Three knights of Arthur's court," TYP 86), are extant in these two manuscripts and no others.

It seems clear from this evidence that BL Add. 15,047 and NLW 6434 share a common exemplar for this section, but another wrinkle makes their relationship still more complicated. Although BL Add. 15,047 and NLW 6434 contain exactly the same triads and verbatim or nearly-verbatim wording, the triads do not appear in the same order. In BL Add. 15,047, the proverbial triads mentioned above are followed by a burst of seventeen TYP triads, then more proverbial and religious triads and, finally, a text of *Y Trioedd Arbennig*.[64] In NLW 6434, the proverbial triads are followed by thirteen TYP triads, then more proverbial and religious triads, then a text of *Y Trioedd Arbennig* and, finally, three more TYP triads. In other words, the TYP triads in BL Add. 15,047 are given in one fell swoop but these same triads are broken up into two parts in NLW 6434.

[63] These are *Tri chyfor* ("Three levies," TYP 35), *Trywyr gwarth* ("Three men of shame," TYP 51), *Tri chud a thri datcud* ("Three concealments and three disclosures," TYP 37), *Tri mat gyflafan* ("Three fortunate slaughters," TYP 32), and *Tri anfad gyflafan* ("Three unfortunate slaughters," TYP 33). It is striking that all of these, with the exception of *Tri rhuddfoaog*, are long, expanded triads with particularly interesting and complicated transmission histories.

[64] See Appendix A, p. 371. On *Y Trioedd Arbennig*, see introduction, pp. 2-3.

NLW 6434's three final triads are formatted on the manuscript page differently than the preceding text(s) and appear to be in a slightly different hand; it seems likely that they were a (slightly?) later addition, though undoubtedly part of the same project. Close comparison of the NLW 6434 text and that of BL Add. 15,047 reveals that the three triads of NLW 6434's final burst of TYP material correspond to the three triads that comparison to the BL Add. 15,047 text reveals were omitted in its previous burst. In other words, it seems clear that the three final TYP triads in NLW 6434 were added sometime after the text was initially copied in order to include the exact material included in BL Add. 15,047.

Table 16: Showing the relationship between the White-and-Red-version-derived triads in Y Diarebion Camberaec, *BL Add. 15,047, and NLW 6434. Key on next page.*

TYP #	# in DC	# in 15,047	# in 6434	mss spread	triad type	title genitive
46	25	24	25			
22	26	25	26			
19	27	26	27			
60	28	27	28			
61	29	28	29			
62	30	29	--			
17	31	30	--			
63	32	31	--			
64	33	32	--			
65	34	33	--			
66	35	34	--			
11	36	35	--			
87A	--	36	--			
87B	--	37	--			
87	--	38	--			
42	37	39	--			
BREAK						
35	--	40	31			
51	--	41	45			
52	--	42	--			
37	--	43	44			
15	--	44	32			
53	--	45	33			
56	--	46	34			
57	--	47	35			
58	--	48	36			
59	--	49	46			
20	--	50	37			
14	--	51	38			
32	--	52	39			
33	--	53	40			
25	--	54	41			
92	--	55	42			
86	--	56	43			

Table 16 (Continued)

KEY:	
	= an identical version appears in P16
	= a version of this triad with substantial differences appears in P16
	= an identical version of this triad appears in RBH
	= a version of this with substantial differences appears in RBH
	= wording differs slightly from YDC
	= substantially different from YDC
	= unique to BL Add. 15,047
	= not directly related to either the Early or WR versions
	= BL Add. 15,047 and NLW 6434 are largely identical (some wording might vary)
	= substantial differences between BL Add. 15,047 and NLW 6434
	= the last microtext in NLW 6434 is filling in triads missing from BL Add. 15,047
TRIAD TYPE:	
	= 'epithet + three names' formula
	= partially expanded
	= fully expanded
TITLE GENITIVE:	
	= "ynys Prydain"
	= "llys Arthur"
	= other

This complex situation can be summed up by the following points:

(*i*): NLW 6434 and BL Add. 15,047, both of which date to the mid-1570s, follow the text of *Y Diarebion Camberäec* (1567) almost exactly, but only up to a point. The section(s) of these texts derived from the White and Red version of TYP is particularly problematic.

(*ii*): Contrary to the argument point forward by Alun Mathias, NLW 6434 is unlikely to be (entirely) a direct copy of *Y Diarebion Camberäec*, based on the fact that it omits eight triads which *Y Diarebion Camberäec* includes and which are also included in BL Add. 15,047. It may be argued from this that BL Add. 15,047 is a better source than NLW 6434 for the material which would have once appeared in the lost ending of *Y Diarebion Camberäec*. That being said, BL Add. 15,047 includes three triads which do not appear in *Y Diarebion Camberäec* (two of which are completely unattested elsewhere in the TYP corpus), so this manuscript is also unlikely to be a direct copy of *Y Diarebion Camberäec*.

(*iii*): BL Add. 15,047 and NLW 6434 share sixteen TYP triads which do not appear in *Y Diarebion Camberäec* (it cannot be certain whether they would have once appeared in the lost ending of the printed book or not). These two manuscripts appear to be very closely related to each other – more closely than any other manuscript containing these triads – in this section.

(*iv)*: However, the text of NLW 6434 omits three triads which are included in BL Add. 15,047, indicating again that these two manuscripts are likely to be direct copies of each other or from the same exemplar. Those three missing triads were later copied into NLW 6434, indicating that someone (likely the scribe Ieaun Llwyd) noted their absence and rectified it.

Y Diarebion Camberäec, BL Add. 15,047, and NLW 6434 are thus three very closely related texts, but it is clear that none of them is a direct copy of another. All three TYP texts appear in a context with other triadic texts, including texts of *Y Trioedd Arbennig* and closely related texts of proverbial and religious triads. In other words, these manuscripts seem to represent part of a large collection of triadic material that was in circulation in the second half of the sixteenth century, probably due the rise in antiquarian interest in *cyfarwyddyd* and other "old Welsh" material during this period. It seems likely that several other closely related texts have not survived and that the TYP texts in *Y Diarebion Camberäec*, BL Add. 15,047, and NLW 6434 were copied from very similar, though not identical, texts that have since been lost.

My examination of these three texts has brought up more questions than it has answered: the relationship between the Early-version-derived first microtext of *Y Diarebion Camberäec*

and these two manuscripts remains problematic.[65] Similarly, the later addition to NLW 6434 of the exact three triads missing when one compares to the text to that of BL Add. 15,047 is curious and striking. In my view, the most plausible explanation is that the scribes of BL Add. 15,047 and NLW 6434 compiled their texts from multiple sources and exemplars, again reinforcing the suggestion that several closely related triadic texts were in circulation during this period.

[65] This is especially the case in light of Mathias's conclusion that the *llythr annerch* extant in NLW 6434 is a copy of Salesbury's otherwise-lost prologue to *Y Diarebion Camberäec* (Mathias, "Gweithiau William Salesbury," 127-29). I am aware that by questioning Mathias's conclusions about relationship between NLW 6434 and *Y Diarebion Camberäec* I am potentially throwing his conclusion about the authorship of this *llythr annerch* into doubt, but this is a complicated question which is outside the bounds of this dissertation. It deserves more attention.

CHAPTER SEVEN: PENIARTH 50: ANOTHER FIFTEENTH-CENTURY COMPILATION

This section will be a discussion of NLW Peniarth MS 50, a manuscript which is nearly contemporary to Peniarth 47. This well-known manuscript, also known as *Y Cwta Cyfarwydd* ("The Short Guide"), was written in Glamorgan in the middle of the fifteenth century. The manuscript contains a large amount of prophetic, historical, genealogical, and religious texts; Peniarth 50's TYP text thus appears in the context of a compilation of wide-ranging *cyfarwyddyd*.[1] Although it lacks a "smoking gun" colophon like that of Peniarth 47 or headings of the type found in the Red Book of Hergest, discussed below, close examination of the TYP text in this manuscript reveals "seams" between microtexts similar to those visible in Peniarth 47. The TYP text of Peniarth 50 thus represents a second fifteenth-century compilation of TYP microtexts and expands our view of what TYP material was available to scribes in the middle of the fifteenth century. I will once again discuss each microtext in turn.

Microtext 1: Religious material

Table 17: Displaying the distribution of characteristics of triads associated with Peniarth 50's first microtext.

TYP #	# in P50	mss spread	triad type	title genitive
81	1			
82	2			
83	3			

KEY:	
	= this triad is unique to P50
	= P50 is the earliest version
	= partially expanded triad
	= "ynys Prydain"
	= other title genitive

Peniarth 50's TYP text begins in the middle of a page. A heading in now-faded red ink that reads "*Trioed y. p.*," – "y. p." is a very common abbreviation for *ynys Prydain* – makes it clear that the manuscript's scribe, Dafydd, viewed this as the beginning of the TYP text. This confirmation is particularly helpful in this case, since none of the triads in Peniarth 50's first microtext appear in

[1] See Appendix C, pp. 480-83.

any earlier TYP text and all are more concerned with religious material ("ecclesiastical legend," is Bromwich's phrase[2]) than they are with secular Welsh figures, which is unusual within the TYP corpus.[3] This first microtext contains only three triads: *Tri saintaidd linys* ("Three saintly lineages," TYP 81), *Tri gwesti gwenfededig* ("Three blessed visitors," TYP 82) and *Tri chorff a wnaeth Duw er Theilo* ("Three bodies which God made for Teilo," TYP 83). Bromwich is so taken by the strength and specificity of Peniarth 50's interest in St. Teilo that she concludes that *Tri gwesti gwenfededig* and *Tri chorff*, "which [the scribe Dafydd] prefixed to the beginning of his collection, are the personal contribution of the scribe of this manuscript [i.e. Dafydd himself]."[4]

Of these three triads, *Tri gwesti gwenfededig* is by far the most straightforward. It would conform to the 'epithet + three names' formula were it not for the inclusion of the preposition *o* ("from") instead of the more standard genitive construction; this does not essentially change the meaning of the triad's title. This triad is also the most widespread of the triads in this microtext, also appearing in two sixteenth-century TYP texts, Cwrtmawr 3 and BL Add. 31,055. All in all, *Tri gwesti gwenfededig* is a fairly unproblematic later-medieval addition to the TYP corpus. Its two fellow triads in this microtext are more complex.

Tri saintedd linys opens the Peniarth 50 text. This is the earliest extant witness to this triad, which lists Joseph of Arimathea, Cunedda wledig, and Brychan Brecheiniog as the three dynastic founders whose family trees include saints.[5] The only other instance of *Tri saintaidd linys*

[2] Rachel Bromwich, *Trioedd Ynys Prydein: Triads of Island of Britain*, 4th edition (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2014), 217.
[3] See my discussion of the biblically- and classically-derived triads associated with the White and Red version below, pp. 213-16. A key distinction between this microtext and the one discussed in that section below is that all the religious figures named here are of Welsh origin or, in the case of Joseph of Arimathea, are associated with a particular Welsh story.
[4] Bromwich, *TYP*, xxvii.
[5] Joseph of Arimathea is a rare example of a biblical (or, more properly, an apocryphal) figure who became localized in Britain in Welsh *cyfarwyddyd*. He first appears in the early medieval Gospel of Nicodemus, in which he is portrayed as a secret Christian in Pontius Pilate's army who conspires to send the Holy Grail away from Jerusalem (edited in H.C. Kim, ed., *The Gospel of Nicodemus: Gesta Salvadoris* (Toronto, Canada: Pontifical Institute on Medieval Studies, 1973); this story was eventually translated into Welsh as *Efengyl Nichodemi* (Ceridwen Lloyd-

in the medieval corpus of TYP is in Cardiff 2.26, where it is given the title *Tri gwelygordd saint ynys Brydain* ("Three lineages of saints of the island of Britain").[6] It appears, along with the

Morgan, "*Y Seint Greal*," in *Arthur in the Celtic Languages*, ed. Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan and Erich Poppe (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2019), 165; an edition can be found in J.E. Caerwyn Williams, "Efyngel Nicodemus," *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 14 (1952), 252-273.William of Malmesbury's adaptation of this story introduced the idea that Joseph himself had traveled to Britain with the Holy Grail and that he had founded the monastery at Glastonbury (see discussion in J. Armitage Robinson, *Two Glastonbury Legends: King Arthur and St Joseph of Arimathea* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1926), . This story was in circulation in Britain by the late-twelfth or early-thirteenth century and entered the Welsh-language *cyfarwyddyd* tradition in *Ystoria Saint Greal* (an edition of this text can be found in Thomas Jones, ed. *Ystoryaeu Seint Greal: Rhan I: Y Keis* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1992). Joseph appears in *Tri saintaidd llinys* and another triad from Peniarth 50, *Tri marchog a ennillodd y grael* ("Three knights who achieved the grail"), which will be discussed below, pp. 268-72, but he does not appear in the TYP corpus outside of Peniarth 50. See Bromwich, *TYP*, 405-06; Peter C. Bartrum, *A Welsh Classical Dictionary: People in History and Legend up to about AD 1000*, 2nd edition (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1993), 447-50.

Cunedda, the legendary founder of Gwynedd, was said to be the ancestor of several dynastic founders in their own right, including Ceredig (Ceredigion) and Merion (Merionydd). He is featured on this account in several genealogical texts, including the Harleian genealogies (see Ben Guy, *Medieval Welsh Genealogy* (Woodbridge, England: The Boydell Press, 2020), 334-37 at §§1, 2, 17-18, 26, 32) and the Oxford, Jesus College MS 20 genealogies (see ibid, 338-44 at §§6-7, 21-2, 39-46, 47b, 48, 49c, 50) as well as *Bonedd y Saint* (see Peter C. Bartrum, *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2016), 51-67 at §§1-11, 21(J), 29(G), 43(FG), 51(G), 52(G), 57, 95). For other genealogical references see the indices at Guy, *Medieval Welsh Genealogy*, 496 and Bartrum, *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts*, 179. According to the *Historia Brittonum*, Cunedda migrated from Manaw Gododdin to North Wales, thus connecting Gwynedd to the cultural heritage of the Old North (see Morris, *Historia Brittonum*, §62 at pp. 37, 79). A poem from the Book of Taliesin is titled *Marwnad Cunedda* (see Marged Haycock, ed. and trans., *The Legendary Poems from the Book of Taliesin* (Aberystwyth: Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies, 2007), 488-502) and an allusion to him appears in an early-fourteenth-century poem by Gruffudd ap Dafydd ap Tudur (see Dafydd Johnston et al, ed. *Gwaith Dafydd ap Tudur, Gwilym Ddu o Arfon, Trahaearn Brydydd Mawr ac Iorwerth Beli*, Cyfres Beirdd y Uchelwyr (Aberystwyth: Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies, 1995), no. 2.26). This is the only triad in the medieval TYP corpus to name Cunedda. See Bromwich, *TYP*, 316-18; E.G. Bowen, "Tair Gwelygordd Saintaidd Ynys Prydain," *Studia Celtica* 5 (1970), 1-14 at 6-10.

Brychan was the legendary, eponymous founder of the early medieval kingdom of Brycheiniog in south-central Wales. He is known from the saint's Life *Vita Sancti Cadoci* (see Bartrum, *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts*, 24-25 at §46a) and *Cognacio Brychan* (see ibid, 17-19 at §§1, 5-13, 15, 16) but the most extended attention is paid to him in the genealogical text *De situ Brecheniauc* (see ibid, 14-16, §§1, 5-14) which claims that he had ten sons and twenty-four daughters and that most of them became saints – in keeping with the subject of this triad. He is, of course, central to *Plant Brychan*, another genealogical text (ibid, 81-84) and also appears in the Jesus College MS 20 genealogies (Guy, *Medieval Welsh Genealogies*, 338-44 at §§1-3, 8) and *Achau'r Saint* (Bartrum, *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts*, 68-71 at §§23, 50). The twelfth-century Latin writers Gerald of Wales and Walter Map both mention Brychan, as does the twelfth-century *bardd y tywysogion* Prydydd y Moch (Elin M. Jones with Nerys Ann Jones, *Gwaith Llywarch ap Llywelyn 'Prydydd y Moch,'* Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion V (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1991), no. 24.59). He also appears in *Tri gwyndorllwyth* ("Three blessed womb-burdens," TYP 70) as well as *Tri gwragedd a fu i Frychan Frycheiniog* (discussed presently). See Bromwich, *TYP*, 294-95; Bartrum, *A Welsh Classical Dictionary*, 71-75. Bowen, "Tair Gwelygordd Saintaidd," 11-14; Charles Thomas, *And Shall These Mute Stones Speak?: Post-Roman Inscriptions in Western Brittany* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1994), 131-62.

[6] See Bowen, "Tair Gwelygordd Saintaidd," 1-14. *Gwelygordd* is essentially a synonym for *llinys*, though it can also carry a valance of "tribe" or "family." See GPC s.v. *gwelygordd, golygordd*.

Llinys is a relatively late loan word from English; GPC's first listed attestation is from c. 1400 (GPC s.v. llinys, lines); this may be a further indication that the triad is a fifteenth-century composition.

closely related triad *Tair gwragedd a fu i Frychan yn briod* ("Three women who were married to Brychan," TYP 96), apart from the rest of the TYP amidst genealogical material.[7] This is not the only instance of TYP material being included outside of full-scale TYP texts while maintaining its triadic structure (the version of *Tri chud a thri datcud* ("Three concealments and three disclosures," TYP 37) in NLW Llanstephan MS 12 is another example[8]) but it is unusual. Notably, the Cardiff 2.26 version of this triad replaces Peniarth 50's Joseph of Arimathea with Caw of Prydyn (or Pictland), a figure associated with the Old North.[9] Bromwich considers this to be the "original" version of the triad, on the basis that Caw is a better fit for the triad's pattern of dynastic ancestors. Indeed, the inclusion of Caw here means that the three (perceived) major centers of Welsh heritage – North Wales, South Wales, and the Old North – are all represented. Bromwich also points out that the fifteenth-century poet Lewys Glyn Cothi names Caw in his allusion to the triad.[10] The Peniarth 50 TYP text seems particularly interested in the legend of the Holy Grail and it seems plausible that the compiler of the text that comes down to us in Peniarth 50 supplanted

[7] See Appendix A, p. 380. The Cardiff 2.26 version of *Tri saintaidd linys* appears to have been more widespread than its Peniarth 50 counterpart and appears in several early modern TYP texts which are outside the bounds of this dissertation; the Peniarth 50 version, on the other hand, only appears in the later texts in Robert Vaughan's Peniarth 185 (Bromwich, *TYP*, 211).

[8] See Appendix C, pp. 488-89.

[9] Caw is as the father of twenty-four sons, including Hueil ap Caw and St. Gildas (his legendary persona, not the historical author of *De excidio Britanniae)*. He plays a part in both Life of St. Gildas by Rhuys and by Caradog of Llancarfan (both Lives have been published together in Hugh Williams, ed. and trans., *Two Lives of Gildas by a Monk of Rhuys and Caradoc of Llancarfon*, facsmilie edition (Felinfach, Wales: Llanerch Enterprises, 1990), as well as the *Vita Sancti Davidi* (see A.W. Wade-Evans, ed. *Life of St David* (New York: McMillan, 1923), 4 and the extensive note at 73-75). He is described as a giant in *Vita Sancti Cadoci* (see A.W. Wade-Evans, ed. and trans., "The Life of St. Cadog," in *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogicae* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1944), 141). His sons are listed in the following genealogical tracts: *Bonedd y Saint* (Bartrum, *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts*, 51-76 at §§59, 60, 87n., 90) and *Achau'r Saint* (ibid, 68-71 at §§20, 31), *Plant Brychan* (ibid, 81-84 at §5), and *Bonedd y Awyr* (ibid, 85-94 §3). Nineteen sons of Caw appear in the court list of *Culhwch ac Olwen* (Rachel Bromwich and D. Simon Evans, eds., *Culhwch ac Olwen: An Edition and Study of the Oldest Arthurian Tale* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1992), ll. 206-13) and Caw himself appears twice wihtin the narrative of that prose tale: it is Caw who slays the boar Ysgithrwyn Benbeirdd (ibid, ll. 1018-20) and collects the blood of the Very Black Witch (ibid, l. 1228). Caw does not appear in the medieval TYP corpus outside the reference to him in the Cardiff 2.26 version of this triad. See Bromwich, *TYP*, 306-08.

[10] See Dafydd Johnston, ed. *Gwaith Lewys Glyn Cothi* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1995), no. 226.53.

Caw, who may have been falling out of the current *cyfarwyddyd* by the fifteenth century, in order to include Joseph of Arimathea.

The third and final triad in Peniarth 50's first microtext is *Tri chorff a wnaeth Duw er Theilo,* which is unique to Peniarth 50. This triad reads:

> *Tri chorff a wnaeth Duw er Theilaw:*
> *Vn yssydd yn Llandaff y Morgannwc, yr eil yn Llanteilo vawr, a'r trydydd ym Hen Alun yn Dyfet, mal y dyweit yr Ystorya.*
>
> ("Three bodies which God made for Teilo:
> One which is in Llandaff in Morgannwg, the second in Llanteilo Fawr, and the third in Penalun in Dyfed, as the History tells us.")

The *Ystorya* referred to is the Life of St. Teilo found in the twelfth-century Book of Llandaff,[11] which includes an account of how three churches miraculously came to possess bodies of the saint, whom they all claimed as their patron.[12] In all likelihood, this story arose from rival claims and counterclaims on the part of all three churches.[13]

It is striking that, although this triad is not a long, expanded triad in the style of some others, its style is nevertheless discursive, packing no less than three conjugated verbs into a few short phrases, and it is one of the only examples in the TYP corpus of a triad making explicit reference to an outside, written source. The triad's author is not at all interested in The only other example of this is in the Peniarth 50 version of *Tri marchog a enillodd y Grael* ("Three knights who won the Grail," TYP 86), discussed below as part of the fifth microtext,[14] which is longer and more expanded than other examples of this triad.[15] There is nothing to suggest that

[11] Bromwich erroneously identifies it as *Ystoria Saint Greal* (Bromwich, *TYP*, 214).
[12] An edition of this Life of St. Teilo can be found in J. Gwenogfryn Evans, ed., *The Text of the Book of Llan Dâv: Reproduced from the Gwysaney Manuscript*, facsmilie edition (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1979), 97-118. See also the discussion in G.H Doble, *Lives of the Welsh Saints* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2013), 162-206.
[13] Bromwich, *TYP*, 215-16 and Doble, *Lives of the Welsh Saints*, 164.
[14] See discussion of this triad below, pp. 268-72.
[15] See Appendix B, p. 459.

the TYP text of Peniarth 50 is any closer to the written tradition than its contemporary Peniarth 47, but it does emerge as a text that is particularly uninterested in obscuring its relationship with the written tradition.

Microtext 2: Expanded triads

Table 18: Displaying the distribution of characteristics of triads associated with Peniarth 50's second microtext

TYP #	# in P50	mss spread	triad type	title genitive
36	4			
35	5			
37	6			
54	7			
84	8			
59	9			
62	10			
52	11			
17	12			
29	13			
30	14			

KEY:	
MANUSCRIPT SPREAD:	
	= appears in P16
	= a version with substantial differences appears in P16
	= appears in WR
	= earliest surviving version is in P50
	= a version with substantial differences appears in WR
TRIAD TYPE:	
	= epithet + three names formula
	= expanded triad
GENITIVE IN THE TITLE:	
	= "ynys Prydain"
	= other

After an interlude in which the first of Peniarth 50's two versions of *Enwau ynys Prydain* appears, Peniarth 50 returns to TYP material proper. The second microtext in this manuscript contains eleven triads altogether (triads 4-14 in the manuscript). Notably, ten of these eleven triads are relatively long and expanded. The only exception is *Tri hualog* ("Three fettered men," TYP 17), whose adherence to the "epithet + three names" formula appears incongruous in this context.

Although the vast majority of the triads found in this microtext are widespread and can be found in earlier manuscripts, it does not appear that this microtext derived from any earlier surviving TYP text. It is a unique combination of Early version triads and triads which belong to the White and Red version. The microtext opens with versions of *Tri chyfor* ("Three levies,"

TYP 35) and *Tri gormes* ("Three oppressions," TYP 36) which follow the Early version.[16] The second triad is a version of *Tri chud a thri datcud* which also follows the Early version but with differences that are unique to this text. A close reading reveals elements of both the Early version and the White and Red version as well as some *cyfarwyddyd* that does not survive in any other version of this triad. There follow five triads which do not appear in texts associated with the Early version. These generally follow the text(s) of the White and Red version. The only exception to this is *Tri ofergad* ("Three futile battles," TYP 84), a triad which appears only in Peniarth 50 and the sixteenth-century manuscript Peniarth 77.

This microtext, then, seems to have been compiled by someone who had access to an Early-version TYP text and a White-and-Red-version TYP text, and perhaps a third which contained *Tri ofergad.* This is evidently a curated collection. The compiler brought together almost all of the longest and most expanded triads in the TYP corpus (*Trywyr gwarth* ("Three men of shame," TYP 51) is a notable exception). The only possible conclusion is that this was an active, creative choice on the part of the compiler.

Microtext 3: The Early version

Table 2: Distribution of the characteristics of triads associated with Peniarth 50's third microtext

TYP #	# in P50	mss spread	triad type	title genitive
2	15			
3	16			
4	17			
5	18			
6	19			
8	20			
11	21			
12	22			
20	23			
21	24			
23	25			
28	26			
33	27			
32	28			

KEY:
= a version with substantial differences appears in P16
= appears in P16

TRIAD TYPE:
= epithet + three names formula
= partially expanded triad

GENITIVE IN THE TITLE:
= "ynys Prydain"
= other ending

[16] Indeed, *Tri gormes* does not appear in any manuscripts associated with the White and Red versions (see the discussion in Chapter 3, pp. 136-37.

Of all the microtexts in the Peniarth 50 text, this one is the most closely related to the Early version. These triads appear in the same order as they do in the Early version, albeit with several omissions or jumps, giving this microtext the appearance of one of Bromwich's 'floating sections.'[17] Ten of the fourteen triads follow the 'epithet + three names' formula, three are partially expanded triads, and one – the final triad in this microtext, *Tri mad gyflafan* ("Three fortunate slaughters," TYP 32) – is an expanded triad. *Tri mad gyflafan* is also the only triad in this microtext to omit the phrase *ynys Prydain* ("of the island of Britain") from its title; it is replaced by another genitive phrase, "*tri meib Deisysdaȣt*" ("three sons of Dysysdawt").

Eleven of these fourteen triads follow the wording of the Early version's oldest manuscript, Peniarth 16, or have differences that would have come about through the normal process of written transmission. The first three triads, however, differ significantly from their versions in Peniarth 16. These are *Tri hael* ("Three generous men," TYP 2), *Tri gwyndeyrn* ("Three fortunate princes," TYP 3), and *Tri deifynog* ("Three well-endowed men," TYP 4). The fact that these three triads are some of the most widespread in the TYP corpus makes the differences especially interesting. The three triads are compared to their Peniarth 16 counterparts, below, with the differences emphasized:

> *TYP 2 P16 (Early version) text:* Tri hael enys Prydein:
> Nud hael mab Senyllt, Mordaf hael mab Seruan, Ryderch hael mab Tudwal tutclyt.
>
> *TYP 2 P50 text:* Tri hael ynys Prydein:
> Nudd hael mab Seinyllt, a Mordaf mab Seruan, a Rydderch hael mab Tudwal tutglyt. **Ac Arthur ehun oedd haelach no'r tri.**
>
> *TYP 3 P16 (Early version) text:* Tri gwynderyn enys Prydein:
> Ewein mab ȣryen, Run mab [Ma]elgwn, **Ruuaȣn beuyr** mab Dewrarth wledic.

[17] See the discussion regarding 'floating sections' above, p. 149-50. This phemonenon of following the order of one of the versions with omissions is very common in manuscripts from the sixteenth century, see the discussion in Chapter 6, pp. 213-22.

TYP 3 P50 text: Tri gwyndeyrn ynys Prydein:
Owein mab Vrien, a Run mab Maelgɔn Gɔynedd, a **Pheuyr** mab Dorarch wledic.

TYP 4 P16 (Early version) text: Tri deifnyawc enys Prydein:
Gwalchmei mab Gwyar, a Llacheu mab Arthur, a **Riwallawn wallt banhadlen.**

TYP 4 P50 text: Tri deifuaɔc ynys Prydein:
Gɔalchmei mab Gɔyar, a Llacheu mab Arthur, a **Pheredur mab Efraɔc.**

There are three types of differences between these three pairs. The first, *Tri hael,* has seen a complete grammatical sentence affixed to its body, turning it from a strict 'epithet + three names' formula-type triad to a partially expanded triad. The addition (which can be translated "And Arthur himself was more generous than the three") is a formulaic construction also found in a handful of other triads.[18] It represents an active choice on the part of a copyist to alter *Tri hael* and introduce Arthur into the canon of "generous men." On the other hand, the personal name Rhufon has been dropped from the third limb of *Tri gwyndeyrn*. In contrast to the active choice made in *Tri hael,* this is likely to be a scribal error that turned the adjectival epithet *pefr* ("shining") into the name of the third fortunate prince. Finally, the name in the third limb of *Tri deifniog* – Rhiwallon *wallt banhadlen* ("broom haired") – has been replaced by Peredur mab Efrog. This wholesale changing of a triad's limbs is not uncommon in the TYP corpus and is a classic hallmark of alternative lines of transmission.

It does not seem to be the case, then, that the three triads at the beginning of the Peniarth 50 TYP have been deliberately altered by a compiler or editor. It is more likely that these triads, which had been in written circulation for at least two centuries by the time the Peniarth 50 text was copied, have undergone changes that came about through the normal processes of that

[18] These are the White and Red version of *Tri rhuddfoag* ("Three red-reapers," TYP 20), the Early version of *Tri thaliethog* ("Three diademed battle leaders," TYP 21), *Tri goruchel garcharor* ("Three supreme prisoners," TYP 52), and the Peniarth 47 version of *Tri anniwair wraig* ("Three unfaithful wives," TYP 71). Cf. the formula in the biblically- and classically-derived triads, see the discussion in Chapter 6, pp. 190-91.

transmission. It is striking, though, that the first three triads in this microtext show substantial differences while the remaining eleven more closely follow the text of Peniarth 16. This raises the possibility (probably impossible to substantiate) that these three triads were copied from a different exemplar than the rest of this microtext.

Microtext 4: Text related to P47

Table 20: Distribution of characterisics of the triads associated with Peniarth 50's fourth microtext.

TYP #	# in P50	mss spread	triad type	title genitive
53	29			
70	30			
71	31			
66	32			
80	33			

KEY:	
	= a version with substantial differences appears in WR
	= a version with substantial differences appears in P47
TRIAD TYPE:	
	= epithet + three names formula
	= partially expanded triad
GENITIVE IN THE TITLE:	
	= "ynys Prydain"

In sharp contrast to the preceding microtext, none of the five triads in Peniarth 50's fourth microtext are associated with the Early version. Four of these five triads have counterparts in the TYP text of Peniarth 47, a manuscript which is nearly contemporary to Peniarth 50. Indeed, only the first triad in this microtext, *Tair gwith balfod* ("Three sinister blows," TYP 53), does not appear in Peniarth 47. Two of these five triads, *Tair gwith balfod* and *Tri diweir* ("Three chaste wives," TYP 66), have counterparts in the White and Red version. It is clear, however, that this microtext is not directly related to either the White and Red version nor the Peniarth 47 text, since all five triads are substantially different than their counterparts in those versions. Furthermore, the four triads which this microtext has in common with Peniarth 47 do not appear as a single unit in that manuscript; they are triads nos. 6, 8, 42, and 43 in Peniarth 47 and belong to its *trioedd arbennig* and *trioedd y gwraged* microtexts, respectively. In-depth discussions of all five triads in the microtext follows here. Each of the five presents its own issues and raises its

own questions but, taken as a whole, this microtext provides a snapshot of *cyfarwyddyd* that was available – and interesting – to the compiler of the TYP text in Peniarth 50. This discussion will reveal a line of transmission which encompasses both Peniarth 50 and Peniarth 47. Nevertheless, significant differences persist throughout the versions of these triads in the two manuscripts and they must have diverged from each other well before our two surviving witnesses to this line of transmission were copied in the middle of the fifteenth century.

+ + +

Tair gwith balfod ("Three sinister blows," TYP 53)[19] is one of the most widespread and well-attested triads in this microtext. Its first appearance is the mid-fourteenth century White Book of Rhydderch,[20] and it also appears in the Red Book of Hergest (s.xv^{in}), Peniarth 51 (s.xv^{med}), Cwrtmawr 3 (s.xvi^{med}), BL Add. 15,047 (s.xvi^{2}), NLW MS 6434 (s.xvi/xvii) and Cardiff 2.83 (s.xvi/xvii).[21] The version in Peniarth 50 thus comes relatively early in the triad's transmission history, but it is nevertheless at least a century later than its earliest surviving witness in the White Book.

The eight versions of this triad can be divided into four categories: the first is the version of the White and Red version, which appears only in the White Book and Red Book; the second is a version which appears only in Peniarth 50; the third is a version which must be derived from the White and Red version and appears in Cwrtmawr 3 and NLW 6434;[22] the fourth is a version

[19] Although I normally defer to Bromwich's translations of the triads' titles, here I have altered her translation. Rendering *palfod* as "blow" (rather than Bromwich's "hard slap") is in better keeping with the use of *palfod* below.
[20] The beginning of the TYP text in the White Book is missing (see Appendix C, p. 474) and *Tri gwith balfod* is the first triad to appear in the manuscript after the lacuna. Most of the triad's title is missing and it begins with the word "Prydein." The version in the White Book is otherwise identical to the version in the Red Book.
[21] See Appendix B, pp. 443-44.
[22] The version from Cwrtmawr 3 reads: "*Vn a roes Matholwch Wyddel i Vranwen verch Lyr. Yr ail, a drewis Gwenhwyvar ar Wenwyfar ac o'r achos hynny y bû waith cad Camblan. Yr ail [sic], a drewis Golidan vardd ar Gadwaladr vendigaid.*" ("One, which Matholwch the Irishman gave to Branwen daughter of Llŷr. The second,

which must be derived from the Peniarth 50 version and appears in Cardiff 2.83.[23] The texts of this triad from the Red Book and from Peniarth 50 read as follows:

> *TYP 53 RBH (WR version) text:* Teir gɔith baluaɔt ynys Prydein:
> Vn onadunt a drewis Matholɔch Wydel ar Vranwen uerch Lyr. A'r eil a drewis Gɔenhɔyfach ar Wenhɔyuar, ac o achaɔs hynny y bu weith kat Gamlan wedy hynny. A'r drydyd a drewis Golydan uard ar Gadwaladyr bendigeit.
>
> (*TYP 53 RBH (WR version) translation:* Three sinister blows of the island of Britain:
> One of them, which Matholwch the Irishman struck upon Branwen daughter of Llŷr. And the second, which Gwenhwyfach struck upon Gwenhwyfar, and because of that afterwards there was the battle of Cad Camlan. And the third, which Golydan the bard struck upon Cadwaladr the blessed.)
>
> *TYP 53 P50 text:* Tri anuat paluaɔt ynys Prydain:
> Paluaɔt Mathaɔch ar Vranwen verch Llyr, a phaluaɔt Arthur ar Vedraɔt, a phaluaɔt Gwenhɔyuar ar Wenhɔ[…].[24]
>
> (*TYP 53 P50 translation:* Three unfortunate blows of the island of Britain:
> The blow of Mathawch [sic] on Branwen daughter of Llŷr, and the blow of Arthur on Medrod, and the blow of Gwenhwyfar on Gwenhwyfach.)

A few major differences between these two versions are immediately apparent. The Red Book version is significantly more expanded than that of Peniarth 50. It is formed from three complete, grammatical sentences and provides some narrative detail (albeit a small amount) in its second limb. By contrast, the version found in Peniarth 50 is only slightly partially expanded and is very similar to the formula found in other partially-expanded triads like, for instance, *Tair llynghes cynnairir* ("Three roving fleets," TYP 15) or *Tri prif hud* ("Three great enchantments," TYP 28).

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which Gwenhwyfar struck upon Gwenhwyfar and because of that was the battle of Cad Camlan. The second [sic], which Golydan the bard struck upon Cadwaladr the blessed.")

[23] The version in Cardiff 2.83 reads: "*Kyntaf fo balfod Mythonwch ar Fronwen ferch Llɔr, a'r ail balfod fo balfod Arthɔr a Fedrod yn y gad Gamlan, a'r drydydd balfod fo balfod Wenhwyfar ar Wenhwyfar arall.*" ("First was Matholwch's blow upon Bronwen daughter of Llŷr, and the second blow was Arthur and Medrod's blow in the battle of Camlan, and the third blow was Gwenhwyfar's blow on the other Gwenhwyfar.") The relationship between the TYP text of Peniarth 50 and that of Cardiff 2.83 is discussed below, pp. 277-79.

[24] Damage to the manuscript has rendered the rest of this name illegible. Bromwich (*TYP*, 150) reads *Wenhyɔach* but I am unable to confirm this reading.

The content of the version of this triad in Peniarth 50 is also substantially different from the earlier text found in the Red Book. First, the title has changed from *Tair gwith balfod* ("Three sinister hard slaps") to *Tri anfad balfod* ("Three unfortunate blows"). Golydan's blow against Cadwaladr is gone completely from Peniarth 50.[25] Instead, the conflict between Gwenhwyfar and Gwenhwyfach has moved from the second limb to the third (with the women's roles reversed)[26]

[25] Golydan is mostly unknown outside of the TYP corpus. Apart from *Tri gwith balfod*, he also appears in *Tri anfad gyflafan* ("Three unfortunate slaughters," TYP 33) and *Tri anfad bwyllod* ("Three unfortunate hatchet-blows," TYP 34) as well as *Tri budyr Hafren* ("Three defilements of the Severn," TYP 69). The only reference to Golydan in poetry comes from Phylip Brydydd, who seems to be referencing this triad: "*O gwnaeth Golydan gyflauan diryeit / (Bit ar y eneyt r enwired!) / Taraw Kadwaladr, colofon elyflu*" ("Since Golydan performed the wicked slaughter, the iniquity will be on his soul, the striking of Cadwaladr, pillar of the host.") (Morfydd E. Owen, ed., *Gwaith Dafydd Benfras ac Eraill o Feirdd Hanner Cyntaf y Drydydd Ganrif ar Ddeg* (*Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion VI*) (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1995) no. 15 lines 11-13 (p. 211); trans. Bromwich, *TYP*, 299). See Bromwich, *TYP*, 364.

Cadwaladr *fendigaid* ("the blessed") is much better known. He is said to have been king of Gwynedd during the seventh century, and *Annales Cambriae* and *Historia Brittonum* both seem to indicate that he died from plague in the final quarter of that century (see John Morris, ed. and trans. *Nennius: British History and the Welsh Annals* (London: Phillimore, 1980), pp. 87, 46 for *Annales Cambriae*; pp. 79, 38 for *Historia Brittonum*). He is also known as one of the messianic heroes promised to return in the prophetic poem *Armes Prydain* (see Ifor Williams, ed. *Armes Prydain: The Prophecy of Britain*, trans. Rachel Bromwich (Dublin: Institute for Advanced Studies, 1982), ll. 163-5). On his epithet, *bendigaid*, see Glenys Goetnick, "The Blessed Heroes," *Studia Celtica* 20/21 (1985), 87-109 at 100. See Bromwich, *TYP*, 298-99.

The tradition that Cadwaladr died from plague is in contrast to the tradition found in TYP and a few references in poetry to a violent death, including the reference by Phylip Brydydd quoted above and this reference from *Cyfoesi Myrddin a Gwendydd y Chwaer*: "*...pa leas a dvc Kadwaladyr? / As gvan gvaev o ergrywyd llog / a llav kynn diwedyd / dybyd Gymry gvarth o'r dyd.*" ("What death will carry off Cadwaladr? A shaft from the splinters of a ship will pierce him by the hand o an unbaptised man(?), shame will come to the Cymry because of that day." (Manon Bonner Jenkins, ed. "Kyuoessi Myrdin a G6endyd y ch6aer," in "Apsects of the Welsh Prophetic Verse Tradition in the Middle Ages: Incorporating Textual Studies of Poetry from 'Lyfr Coch Hergest' (Oxford, Jesus College, MS cxi) and 'Y Cwta Cyfarwydd' (Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS Peniarth 50)," PhD diss. (University of Cambridge, 1990), ll. 304-07; trans. Bromwich, *TYP*, 298). As obscure as this reference is, it's clear that it does not conform to the tradition found in TYP and Phylip's poem. See Bromwich's discussion at *TYP*, 152; 298-99.

[26] Gwenhwyfar is, of course, Arthur's famous queen, better known in English by her French name Guinevere. She is an integral part of Arthuriana after Geoffrey of Monmouth, including in Welsh, but Gwenhwyfar is little-known in the surviving pre-Galfridian Welsh tradition except in a few bare references in the early prose tale *Culhwch ac Olwen*: she is listed in Arthur's list of his possessions ("*a Gwenhvyuar uy gwreic*" ("and Gwenhwyfar my wife"), Bromwich and Evans, eds. *Culhwch ac Olwen*, l. 161 (p. 6)) and in the tale's court list alongside her sister in a line that seems to echo the triad *Tri prif riain Arthur* ("Arthur's three great queens," TYP 56): ("*Y am Wenhwyuar, Penn Rianed yr Ynys honn, a Gwenhwyach y chwaer*" ("To Gwenhwyfar, chief queen of this island, and Gwenhwyach her sister"), l. 358 (p. 13)). The fact that this evidence is so scant leads Bromwich to assert that "evidence for a pre-Geoffrey tradition of Gwenhwyfar in Wales is highly doubtful." (See Bromwich, *TYP*, 376-80, at p. 377). Apart from this triad, Gwenhwyfar also appears in *Tri drud heirfa* ("Three violent ravagings," TYP 54), *Tri anniwair wraig* ("Three faithless wives," TYP 80, and *Tri ofergad* ("Three futile battles," TYP 84), as well as the well-known and confounding *Tri prif riain Arthur*, sometimes called the Three Guineveres triad. The tradition about Gwenhwyfar's sister, Gwenhwyfach or Gwenhwyach, is equally sparse. She is mentioned once in *Culhwch ac Olwen*, in the passage cited above, and twice in the TYP corpus, here in *Tri gwith balfod* and in *Tri ofergad*. She always appears in tandem with Gwenhwyfar. The questions about the apparent connection between *Culhwch ac*

while a blow struck by Arthur against Medrod is the subject of the second limb.[27] The only limb that remains stable in the two versions is the first, which lists Matholwch's blow upon Branwen, one of a handful of allusions in TYP that echo the Four Branches of the Mabinogi.[28] The narrative detail about one of the blows leading to the battle of Camlan is gone, but the fact that the conflict between Arthur and Medrod is invoked in its place ensures that the battle is not far from the informed reader's mind – according to the version of the story which was current during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the two men killed each other at Camlan.[29] One cannot escape the suspicion that the influence of one version's second limb lurks in the background of

Olwen and these triads and Gwenhwyfach's origin deserve more attention than they have thus far received; I hope to return to them in the future.

[27] Although it is not made completely explicit, this seems to be a reference to the battle of Camlan, in which Arthur and Medrod (better known in English as Mordred) killed each other. The earliest reference to this battle comes in *Annales Cambriae*: the entry for 537 reads, "*Gueith Camlann in qua Arthur et Medraut corruerunt…*" ("The battle of Camlann, in which Arthur and Medraut fell…," Morris, ed. and trans. *Nennius: British History and the Welsh Annals*, 85; 45). This could be interpreted as a very early witness to the tradition of a conflict between Arthur and Medrod, but it is likely that this entry in the annal is a later interpolation (see Thomas Charles-Edwards, "The Arthur of History," in *The Arthur of the Welsh*, ed. Rachel Bromwich, A.O.H. Jarman, Brynley F. Roberts (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1991), 1-32 at 28). Perhaps significantly, Camlan is not listed as one of Arthur's battles in *Historia Brittonum* (see Kenneth Jackson, "Once Again Arthur's Battles," *Modern Philology* 43.1 (1945), 44-57 at 56). This tradition was popularized by Geoffrey of Monmouth (see Michael D. Reeve, ed. and Neil Wright, trans., *Geoffrey of Monmouth: An Edition and Translation of* De gestis Brittonum *(*Historia Regum Britanniae*)* (Woodbridge, England: The Boydell Press, 2007), 250-53), but allusions to the battle also occur in the work of the court poets. Other notable references occur in the court list of *Culhwch ac Olwen* (in which a trio – or perhaps a triad – of saints are said to have been present at the battle; Bromwich and Evans, eds., *Culhwch ac Olwen*, ll. 226-31 (p. 9)) and *Englynion y Beddau* (A.O.H. Jarman, ed., *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin gyda Rhagymadrodd, Nodiadau Testunol, a Geirfa* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1982) no. 18.36) and *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* (Richards, ed. *Breudwyt Ronabwy allan o'r Llyfr Coch Hergest* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1948), 4.30, 5.11-12). Five TYP triads allude to the battle of Camlan and, as Bromwich put it, these triads "contribute substantially" to the body of extant *cyfarwyddyd* relating to Camlan. Apart from *Tri gwith balfod*, these triads are: *Tri anniwair deulu* ("Three unfaithful warbands," TYP 30), *Trywyr gwarth* ("Three men of shame," TYP 51), *Tri anfad gynghor* ("Three unfortunate counsels," TYP 59), and *Tri ofergad* ("Three futile battles," TYP 84). See Bromwich, *TYP*, 167-70.

[28] This occurs in the Second Branch of the Mabinogi, during Branwen's unhappy time in Ireland after she is married to the Irish king Matholwch. Notably, the triad is inconsistent with the text of the Second Branch as it has come down to us. The Second Branch attributes the blow upon Branwen to Matholwch's cook, not Matholwch himself: *"…a pheri y'r kygyd, gwedy bei yn dryllyaw kic, dyuot idi a tharaw bonclust arnei beunyd.*" ("…and they had the butcher come to her every day, after he had chopped up meat, and give her a box on the ear.") (Derick S. Thomson, ed. *Branwen uerch Lyr* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 2003), ll. 219-21 (p. 8), trans. Davies, *The Mabinogion*, 28.) It will be noted that, unlike some other instances of TYP triads being cited within the Four Branches, the text here does not explicitly refer to the triad.

[29] See above note 23. The version of Cardiff 2.83 makes this connection explicit, saying that the second blow was "Arthur and Medrod's in the battle of Camlan."

the other. In the abstract, however, it is difficult to know in which direction that influence flowed.

That being said, as I have discussed in more detail in the case studies in Part 1, in general, it seems likely that the longer, more expanded version of a triad is the later, more developed version.[30] Certainly, though the prose is not grammatically complicated or particularly artistic, the choices to include conjugated verbs and prepositions and to include the detail about the battle of Camlan are just that – choices made by an author. The version found in Peniarth 50, on the other hand, is comparatively rote and does not demonstrate the same level of interest in the material. In light of this, I conclude that the Red Book's version of *Tri gwith balfod*, despite appearing in the written record about a century before the version in Peniarth 50, is the later, and more developed version. Peniarth 50, then, seems to preserve an older, less developed, and less widespread version of this triad, whose original title was likely *Tri anfad balfod*.[31] *Tri gwith balfod* is exceptional among its fellow triads in this microtext in that a parallel version became very widespread.

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The next triad, *Tri gwyn dorllwyth* ("The fair (holy) womb-burdens," TYP 70), appears in three manuscripts: Peniarth 50, its near contemporary Peniarth 47, and the late-sixteenth-century manuscript Cardiff 2.83.[32] I have emphasized the differences between the versions of Peniarth 47 and Peniarth 50:

[30] Though it is also possible for a triad to become less expanded. See, for instance, the development of *Trywyr gwarth* ("Three men of shame," TYP 51) in the sixteenth-century manuscripts NLW Cwrtmawr MS 3 and Cardiff Central Library MS 2.83 (see Appendix B, p. 441.

[31] This use of the adjective *anfad* ("unfortunate") is paralleled in the titles of three other triads: *Tri anfad gyflafan* ("Three unfortunate slaughters," TYP 33), *Tri anfad bwyallod* ("Three unfortunate hatchet-blows," TYP 34), and *Tri anfad gynghor* ("Three unfortunate counsels," TYP 59) Bromwich (*TYP*, 150) reaches the same conclusion about the original title and suggests that *Tri gwith balfod* may have once been included in the cluster of triads dealing with fortunate or unfortunate slaughters, concealments and disclosures, levies, etc.

[32] On the relationship between Peniarth 50 and Cardiff 2.83, see the discussion below, pp. 277-79.

TYP 70 P47 text: Tri gwyn dorllɷyth ynys Brydein:
Vryen mab Kynuarch, ac **Araɷn** mab Kynuarch, **a Lleɷ** mab Kynuarch o Neuyn verch Brychan Brecheniyaɷc eu mam. A'r eil Owein mab Vryen a Moruud uerch Vryen **ac Anarun archescob Llydaɷ** o Vodron merch Auallach eu mam. Y trydyd oed Gwrgi a Pheredur meibion Eliffer gosgorduaɷr **ac Ardun eu chwaer a Dyrw […] -dyl a Chornan eu march, a Thonllɷy eu bɷch.**

TYP 70 P47 translation: Three blessed (holy) womb-burdens of the island of Britain:
Urien son of Cynfarch, and **Arawn** son of Cynfarch, and **Llew** son of Cynfarch from Nefyn daughter of Brychan Brecheiniog their mother. And the second, Owain son of Urien and Morfudd daughter of Urien **and Anarun archbishop of Brittany** from Modron daughter of Afallach their mother. The third was Gwrgi and Peredur sons of Eliffer *gosgorddfawr* [of the great retinue], **and Ardun their sister, and Dryw […] -dyl and Cornan their horse, and Tonllwy their cow.**)

TYP 70 P50 text: Tri gwyndorlɷyth ynys Prydain:
Vrien **ac Euddel** plant Kynuarch **hen y vuant yn vn torllɷyth yghallon** Nevyn verch Vrychan eu mam. A'r eil Ywein mab Vrien a Morwyd **y chwaer y vuant yn vn dorllɷyth yghallon** o Modron verch Auallach. Y trydydd, Gɷrgi a Pheredur **a Cheindrych penn askell** plant Eliffer gosgorddua6r **a vuant yghallon Eurddel verch Gynuarch eu mam.**

(*TYP 70 P50 translation:* Three blessed (holy) womb-burdens of the island of Britain:
Urien **and Efrddel**, children of **old** Cynfarch **who were one womb-burden in the womb** of Nefyn daughter of Brychan their mother. And the second, Owain son of Urien and Morwydd **his sister who were one womb-burden in the womb** of Modron daughter of Afallach. The third, Gwrgi and Peredur and **Ceindrych *pen asgell* [wing headed]**, children of Eliffer *gosgorddfawr* [of the great retinue] **who were in the womb of Efrddel daughter of Cynfarch their mother**.)

The two versions of this triad appear to be separate expansions of the same original. Both versions share their title as well as the basic structure of their limbs. Urien fab Cynfarch remains the name on which the first limb is built in both versions and the same is true for Owain fab Urien in the second limb and Gwrgi and Peredur in the third limb.[33] It is likely that an older,

[33] It is striking that all three limbs refer to figures associated with the Old North. Urien fab Cynfarch is also known as Urien Rheged, a king of the Old North who is known from a wide range of *cyfarwyddyd*. He is associated with the *cynfardd* Taliesin (for an edition of these poems, see Ifor Williams, ed. *The Poems of Taliesin* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1968); references to Urien within this collection are indexed at p. 174), and is the subject of a cycle of saga *englynion* (see Jenny Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry: A Study and Edition of the Englynion* (Cambridge, England: D.S. Brewer, 1990), 75-119) and appears in *Historia Brittonum* (Morris, ed. and

now-lost version of this triad also included a reference to Nefyn daughter of Brychan Brycheiniog in the first limb, Owain's sister Morfudd and their mother Modron ferch Afallach in the second, and named Eliffer *gosgorddfawr* as the father of Gwrgi and Peredur in the third, since those elements are also common to both extant versions.[34] It is impossible to discern

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trans., *Nennius*, 79; 38), as well as several genealogies (see Guy, *Medieval Welsh Genealogies*, 335, 339, 343, 355, 359, 426, 428, and index at 519) and poems by the *Gogynfeirdd* (references are listed at Bromwich, *TYP*, 511-12). Remarkably, he is not referenced in the *Gododdin*, despite the poem's and his own strong associations with the Old North. See Bromwich, *TYP*, 508-12; Bartrum, *A Welsh Classical Dictionary*, 632-35. A summation of the references to Urien is discussed in Patrick Sims-Williams, "The Death of Urien," *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 32 (1996), 25-56.

Owain ap Urien (not to be confused with another Owain, the son of Maxen wledig) is the figure who ultimately became one of Arthur's Knights of the Round Table – he is the eponymous hero of the Welsh romance *Owain* or *Iarlles y Ffynnon* (edited in R.L. Thomson, *Owein or Chwedyl Iarlles y Ffynnawn* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1975) and translated in Sioned Davies, *The Mabinogion*, 116-38) and the counterpart of the French Yvain, popularized by Chretien de Troyes (see the edition in David F. Hult, ed. *Le Chevalier au Lion, ou, Le roman du Yvain* (Paris: Livre le poche, 1994). It is not clear whether he was drawn into the Arthurian world because he was included in *De gestis Brittonum* by Geoffrey of Monmouth, or whether Geoffrey inherited this association. Bromwich notes that Geoffrey only names him once, calling him *Hiwenus* (Reeve, ed. and Wright, trans., *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, 250-51) and it is clear that he had a life of his own in Welsh tradition as one of Urien's sons. Like his father, Owain appears in the early poetry attributed to Taliesin (in two poems edited by Ifor Williams: *Gwaith Argoed Llwyfain* (Williams, ed. *The Poems of Taliesin*, 6) and *Marwnad Owain* (Williams, ed. *The Poems of Taliesin*, 12), and in the saga *englynion* (see Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Englynion*, 97). He also appears in *Englynion y Beddau* (see Thomas Jones, ed. and trans., *The Black Book of Carmarthen 'Stanzas of the Graves'*, Proceedings of the British Academy 53 (London: Oxford University Press, 1967) 120-21), *Bonedd y Saint*, where he is said to be the father of St. Kenitgern (see Bartrum, *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts*, 56), *Tri thlws ar ddeg* (Bromwich, *TYP*, 259) and *Pedwar marchog ar huagin* (Bromwich, *TYP*, 266). Curiously, however, Owain does not appear in *Historia Brittonum* or *Culhwch ac Olwen*. Owain and ravens associated with him play a prominent role in the prose tale *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* (see Melville Richards, ed. *Breudwyt Ronabwy* beginning on p. 11). Apart from *Tri gwyndorllwyth*, Owain appears in the following triads: *Tri gwyndeyrn* ("Three fortunate princes," TYP 3), *Tri gwaw(y)frud beirdd* ("Three red-speared bards," TYP 11) and *Tri anreithfarch* ("Three horses of plunder," TYP 40). See further Bromwich, *TYP*, 467-72 and Bartrum, *A Welsh Classical Dictionary*, 518-22.

Taken as a whole, TYP provide the fullest account of Gwrgi and Peredur, said to be two sons of Eliffer *gosgorddfawr* (on Eliffer, see Bromwich, *TYP*, 345-46). Apart from *Tri gwyndorllwyth*, they also appear in the following triads: *Tri unben lledyf* ("Three prostrate/humble lords," TYP 8), *Tri anniwair deulu* ("Three unfaithful warbands," TYP 30), and *Tri marchlwyth* ("Three horse-burdens," TYP 44). Outside of TYP, they are best attested in the genealogical collections (see Guy, *Medieval Welsh Genealogies*, 335, 339, 396, 428, and index at 505. It is somewhat striking that there is a great deal of overlap between genealogies which reference Urien ap Cynfarch (see above) and Gwrgi and Peredur, an overlap which conforms to the Peniarth 50 version of *Tri gwyndorllwyth*). *Annales Cambriae* records their deaths in the year 580 (Morris, ed. and trans., *Nennius*, 86, 45). See Bromwich, *TYP*, 480-81 and Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry*, 110-14.

[34] Nefyn, or Nyfain, the daughter of Brychan Brychaniog, wife of Cynfarch, and mother of Urien and his brothers, is primarily known from genealogical texts, especially those associated with the lineage of Brychan Brycheiniog. She appears in the following genealogies: De situ Brecheniauc (§12.14, see Bartrum, ed. *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts*, 15), Cognatio Brychan (§15.14, see Bartrum, ed. *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts*, 18), the Llywelyn ap Iorwerth genealogies (§1.3.5, see Guy, ed. *Medieval Welsh Genealogies*, 355), and Brychan Brecheiniog a'i blant (§3.13, see Guy, ed. *Medieval Welsh Genealogies*, 426). All of these references contain the same basic *cyfarwyddyd*, sometimes adding or omitting extraneous names, but keeping intact the core of Nyfain's husband, Cynfarch fab Meirchion and her son, Urien. The Jesus College MS 20 genealogies, quoted in the body of the text below, indicate that Urien's mother was named Drynwin. Bromwich, and the indexes of Guy and Bartrum, all agree that this is a

whether an even older, 'epithet + three names' formula-type triad lay behind the version from which the two expansions were made, or if *Tri gwyndorllwyth* began its life as a partially expanded triad.[35]

This twice-expanded triad gives the modern reader a glimpse of two different processes for the expansion of the same material. The individual who expanded the Peniarth 47 version introduced two additional sons of Cynfarch – Arawn and Llew – to the first limb to form a triad-

simple mistake for Nyfain. Nyfain does not appear in any poetry and this is her only reference in the TYP corpus. See Bromwich, *TYP*, 463.

Morfudd, or Morwydd, the sister of Owain and daughter of Urien, is another obscure figure. She is known from *Tri gwyndorllwyth* and the triad which immediately succeeds it both in Peniarth 47 and Peniarth 50, *Tri serchog* ("Three lovers," TYP 71, see discussion below) and from a single reference in the poetic corpus, by Gruffudd ap Maredudd, which may allude to the *Tri serchog* story ("*O gariad Eigr deg eirian / A chariad glwysferch Urien, / Echwynodd bardd ar harddlun / Ucheniad Uthr a Chynon*." ("(From the love of fair, bright Eigr [i.e. Igraine] / And the love of the pleasant daughter of Urien, / A poet lamented the beautiful figure, / A sigh of Uther and Cynon"), Ann Parry-Owen, ed. *Gwaith Gruffudd ap Maredudd III: Canu Amrywiol*, Cyfres Beirdd y Uchelwyr 24 (Aberystwyth: Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies, 2007), no. 4.21-24). Intruigingly, Morfudd also appears int the *Culhwch ac Olwen* court list (Bromwich and Evans, eds. *Culhwch ac Olwen*, l. 366). This Morfudd ferch Urien should not be confused with one of the objects of the poet Dafydd ap Gwilym's affections, also named Morfudd. See Bromwich, *TYP*, 453.

A folktale telling how Urien Rheged came to have children with Modron, usually taken to be a euhemerized goddess, has been preserved in a manuscript form the sixteenth century (see Huw's description of Peniarth 147 part i at *Repertory* I, 399). In it, Urien meets Modron on the bank of a ford, who tells him "'…I was fated to wash here until I gained a son from a Christian. And I am a daughter of the King of Annwfn. And come here at the end of the year and you will get the boy.' And he came thus and got there a son and daughter, none other than **Owein ap Urien and Morfydd ferch Urien**" (emphasis mine, see discussion in Bromwich, *TYP*, 450 and Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry*, 234; translation by Bromwich from a Welsh original). This is the only reference in surviving *cyfarwyddyd* outside of *Tri gwyn dorllwyth* that suggests an association between Modron and Urien, and it is difficult to escape the suspicion that this late folktale has been influenced by the triad. Bromwich writes, "Whatever may be the possible age of a story about Modron and Urien, the reference which is introduced to it here [i.e. in *Tri gwyn dorllwyth*] is incidental to the main purpose of the triad, which is evidently to illustrate the miraculous fertility of Nefyn daughter of Brychan" (*TYP*, 198). Modron is more usually taken to the be the mother of Mabon, another figure often thought to be a euhemerized diety (Mabon appears most notably in *Tri goruchel garcharor* ("Three exalted prisoners," TYP 52) and in a passage from *Culhwch ac Olwen* in which he is released from prison (see Bromwich and Evans, eds. *Culhwch ac Olwen*, ll. 920-28 (p. 33), translation at Davies, trans. *The Mabinogion*, 205). See Bromwich, *TYP*, 449-51; for Mabon, see *TYP*, 424-28; for Afallach, see 274-75.

[35] It is not difficult to imagine an original, 'epithet + three names' formula version of this triad reading something along the lines of, "*Tri gwyn dorllwyth ynys Brydein: Uryen fab Cynfarch, Owain fab Urien, a Gwrgi a Pheredur meibion Eliffer gosgorddfawr*" ("Three fair (holy) womb-burdens of the island of Britain: Urien son of Cynfarch, Owain son of Urien, and Gwrgi and Peredur sons of Eliffer gosgorddfawr").

within-a-triad.[36] He also introduced Anarun the archbishop of Brittany to the second limb,[37] and a whole entourage associated with Gwrgi and Peredur in the third limb (the manuscript is damaged at this point and the names of the members of this entourage have been partially lost, but references to their sister Ardun, their horse Cornan, and their cow Tonllwy remain legible).[38] It is clear that most of the *cyfarwyddyd* introduced into this version has been drawn from *Brut y Brenhinedd*, the only exception being Gwrgi and Peredur's sister, Ardun, who is associated with the family of St. Tysilio in *Bonedd y Saint*. In other words, this version of *Tri gwyndorllwyth* does not represent some otherwise-lost "native" Welsh material, nor is this material the invention of the individual who composed this expanded version. Instead, the scribe who expanded

[36] Arawn and Llew have been imported from Geoffrey of Monmouth by way of *Brut y Brenhinedd*. The name Arawn is used to render Urianus and Loth's brother Anguselus (see Jones, ed., *Brut Dingestow* §9.9 (p. 152) and Reeve, ed. and Wright, trans., *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, §9.9 (pp. 202-04)). It is striking that *Arawn* is also the name of a character in the First Branch of the Mabinogi but, as Bromwich notes, the two do not seem to be related. Llew is the equivilant of Geoffrey's Loth, the king of Scotland who is the father of Sir Gawain, see Jones, ed., *Brut Dingestow*, §8.21 (p. 140) and Reve, ed. and Wright, trans., *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, §139 (pp. 188-89).

Other references to these figures in *cyfarwyddyd* are similarly derived from *Brut y Brenhinedd* and/or *Tri gwyn dorllwyth* itself. These include references in the genealogical text *Bonedd yr Arwyr* (see Bartrum, ed. *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts*, 87), in *Pedwar marchog ar hugain* ("Aron ap Kenvarch," Bromwich, *TYP*, 267), one reference in a poem in the Black Book of Carmarthen (Jarman, *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin*, no. 40.10) and two references in the poetry of Gruffudd ap Maredudd (see Barry Lewis, ed. *Gwaith Gruffudd ap Maredudd I: Canu i Deulu Penmynydd* (Aberystwyth: Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies, 2003), nos 7.87-88 and 8.9). See Bromwich, *TYP*, 279-80, 413-14.

[37] The only other appearance of Anarun in the surviving *cyfarwyddyd* is in the same passage of *Bonedd yr Arwyr* cited above that names Arawn and Llew. Bromwich notes that this reference makes Anarun the son of Cynfarch and brother to Urien, Llew, and Aron (i.e. Arawn), which is inconsistent with the triad where he is the son of Urien, brother of Owain, and grandson of Cynfarch. Bromwich, *TYP*, 278.

[38] *Bonedd y Saint* lists an Arddun *bennaskell* in the lineage of St. Tysilio (Bartrum, ed., *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts*, 59; a very similar lineage appears at ibid, 63 (in *Achau'r Saint*)). Since this same epithet is given to Ceindrech, Ardun's equivilent in the Peniarth 50 version of this triad, Bromwich concludes "[i]t is likely that Ardun Pen Askell is the name to be restored in this triad […] Evidentally there has been confusion between the name in the triad and the Ardun Benn Ascell of *Bonedd y Saint*." Cynddelw also references Ardun in an awdl to Tysilio, calling the saint "*mab Garduun ardunic vawred*" ("a youth as greatly honorable as (G)ardun (Nerys Ann Jones and Ann Parry Owen, eds., *Gwaith Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr I* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1991), no. 3.17n). See Bromwich, *TYP*, 280.

The horse Cornan also appears in *Tri marchlwyth* ("Three horse-burdens," TYP 44); the version of that triad in Peniarth 47 reads: "*Y dyn a duc yr eil marchlǒyth a duc Cornan march meibion Eliffer gosgorduaǒr, a duc Gǒrgi a Pheredur…*" ("The second horse-burden carried the [men], and Cornan the horse of the sons of Eliffer, who carried Gwrgi and Peredur…"). Tonllwyd, "the horse of the sons of Eliffer *gosgorddfawr*," also appears in *Tri prif fuch* ("Three chief cows," TYP 46).

Peniarth 47's version of *Tri gwyndorllwyth* pulled names from *Brut y Brenhinedd*, the most popular Welsh-language text of the Middle Ages, to create his version.[39]

By contrast, the version of *Tri gwyndorllwyth* in Peniarth 50 has been expanded to include different names and it has a distinctive structure which could be seen as an authorial voice. In place of Cynfarch's sons Arawn and Llew, the Peniarth 50 version of the triad names Urien's sister, Efrddyl, and refers to Cynfarch as Cynfarch *hen* ("Cynfarch the old").[40] In the third limb of this version, Gwrgi and Peredur gain a sister, called Ceindrech *pen asgell* ("wing headed"),[41] and we are told that Urien's sister Efrddyl was their mother. No names have been added to the second limb. Perhaps even more striking than this different *cyfarwyddyd* is the repeated use in each limb of the formulaic phrase "*y vuant yn vn torllo͛yth yghallon* [mother's name]" ("who were one womb-burden in the womb of [mother's name]") This short phrase must be the composition of the scribe who expanded Peniarth 50's version of *Tri gwyn dorllwyth*; it stands out for its use of *y* as a relative particle (the particle *a* is more common in relative clauses) and in its archaic use of the word *cal[l]on*, which is more usually translated as "heart," but here refers to the women's wombs.[42] It seems clear that the author of this version of the triad meant to

[39] On the popularity of *Brut y Brenhinedd*, see Katherine Himsworth, "Brut y Brenhinedd," in *Arthur in the Celtic Languages*, ed. Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan and Erich Poppe (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2019), 95-109 at 95-97. This is not the place to discuss the tension between the "native" and "Galfridian" strands of medieval Welsh *cyfarwyddyd* but it must be noted, in passing, that this scribe probably would not have consideered the tradition in *Brut y Brenhinedd* to be less "Welsh" than any non-Galfridian, "native" *cyfarwyddyd* he knew. I make this distinction here in order to make it clear that this material can be easily traced to a well-documented source, in stark contrast to much of the other material preserved in this microtext.

[40] This triad is one of the most prominent references to Eferddyl, or Efrddel, the daughter of Cynfarch. The other prominent reference to her is in the *canu Urien* saga englynion: "*Handit euyrdyl aflawen henoeth. / a lluossyd amgen. / yn aber lleu llad uryen. / Ys trist euyrdyl or drallawt heno. / ac or llam am daerawt. yn aber lleu llad ei brawt*." ("Efrddyl is mournful tonight / and many others / In Aber Lleu was the killing of Urien. / Efrddyl is mournful because of his tribulation tonight / and because of the fate which has befallen me. / In Aber Lleu was the killing of her brother," Rowland, ed. and trans. *Early Welsh Saga Poetry*, 423, 479). She also appears in a handful of genealogies already noted above for containing the lineage of the family of Cynfarch, namely *De situ Brecheniauc*, Brychan Brycheniog a'i blant, and the Jesus College MS 20 genealogies.

[41] On Ardun, see note 38 above and Bromwich, *TYP*, 311.

[42] On *cal[l]on*, see Bromwich, *TYP*, 197.

emphasize the women who carried these three womb-burdens, which may account for the fact that he introduced two women to his version – Ceindrech, an obscure textual ghost, and Efrddyl, who is otherwise primarily known from genealogies.

As Bromwich notes, an additional witness to this triad can be found in a list of Brychan Brycheiniog's daughters in the genealogies in Oxford, Jesus College MS 20. It reads:

> "*Drynwin verch Vrachan mam Vryen [ac] Erduduyl gỏynn dorliud. Owein m. Vryen a Morud verch Vryen. Gỏrgi a Phredur ac Arthur Penuchel*[43] *a Tonllut a Hortuan a Dyrnel, trydyth gwyn dorliud.*"[44]
>
> (Drynwin, daughter of Brychan, mother of Urien [and] Efrddyl of the fair (holy) womb-buden. Owain son of Urien and Morfudd daughter of Urien. Gwrgi and Peredur and Arthur *penuchel* [high-headed] and Tonllwyd and Hordfan and Dyrnel, the third fair (holy) womb-burden.")

Daniel Huws has dated this manuscript to the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, or about half a century before either Peniarth 47 or Peniarth 50 was copied.[45] Bromwich argues, on the basis of the genealogy's archaic orthography, that the text likely dates back farther.[46] Although both Peniarth 47 and Peniarth 50 both date from the mid-fifteenth century, there can be little doubt that the triad itself is older. The passage in the genealogy appears to be more closely related to the Peniarth 47 version of the triad than to the Peniarth 50 version, despite the inclusion of Efrddel, whose name could have been gleaned from one of the other genealogical texts in which she figures. One wonders if the list of Gwrgi and Peredur's entourage is a direct borrowing from the genealogy into the triad or vice versa, but this cannot be determined.

[43] Note that this same epithet, *penuchel* ("high-headed") is used to describe Sawyl in *Tri thahog* ("Three arrogant men," TYP 23). Cf. Bromwich, *TYP*, 496.
[44] Guy, *Medieval Welsh Genealogies*, 339 (Jesus College MS 20 §3.5).
[45] Huws, *Repertory*, I, 738-39.
[46] Bromwich, *TYP*, 196.

The overall impression one gets from an examination of the two versions of *Tri gwyndorllwyth,* then, is that more than one individual came across this triad and thought it worthwhile to compose an expanded version. Such expansions are indicative of an intellectual and scribal milieu in which this sort of expansion was relatively common. While the author of the Peniarth 47 version was content to plug in the names of Urien's family, pulled from the very popular *Brut y Brenhinedd,* the author of the Peniarth 50 version undertook a more fundamental, if more repetitive, re-write of the material and went to more obscure genealogical texts for his additional *cyfarwyddyd*. This, combined with the evidence of the parallel passage in the Jesus College MS 20 genealogies, demonstrates that these scribes/authors had access to these and other genealogical texts alongside their exempla of TYP and that material from the two intermingled.

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Tri serchog ("Three lovers," TYP 71) follows *Tri gwyn dorllwyth* in Peniarth 50. This triad appears as an 'epithet + three names' formula-type triad in Peniarth 47 while the version in Peniarth 50 is partially expanded. It does not appear in any other manuscripts. The two versions read:

> *TYP 71 P47 text:* Tri serchaɔc [*Ynys Brydein Cynon*] Klytno, a Chaswallaɔn mab Beli, a Drystan.
>
> (*TYP 71 P47 translation:* Three lovers [*of the island of Britain Cynon*] [son of] Clydno, and Caswallon son of Beli, and Drystan.)
>
> *TYP 71 P50 text:* Tri serchaɔc ynys Prydain:
> Caswallaɔn mab Beli am Phlur verch […]nach […] Drystan mab […] gwraic March y ewythyr, a Chynon mab Clytno am Uorwydd uerch Vrien.[47]
>
> (*TYP 71 P50 translation:* Three lovers of the island of Britain:

[47] Damage to the manuscript has rendered this triad partially illegible. I have filled in the likely missing elements in my translation.

> Caswallon son of Beli for Fflur daughter of [Fug]nach, Drystan son of [Tallwch for Esyllt] wife of March his uncle, and Cynon son of Clytno for Morwydd daughter of Urien.)

It is clear that the Peniarth 50 version represents the work of an individual who saw fit to add *cyfarwyddyd* to the short triad he inherited but it is not entirely clear where that individual obtained that *cyfarwyddyd*. Tristan and Iseult, the Continental counterparts of Dystan and Esyllt, were very well known in the fifteenth century.[48] The stories of Caswallon and Fflur and especially Cynon and Morfudd are more obscure and more difficult to explain. As I discussed in more depth in Chapter 3, although references to Caswallon are widespread in the TYP corpus, there is little evidence that *cyfarwyddyd* about him circulated widely in medieval Wales outside TYP. I argue that references to Caswallon within TYP spread from the expanded narrative triad *Tri chyfor* ("Three levies," TYP 35).[49] It is particularly difficult to determine how well known the story of Caswallon's love for Fflur and the supposed love triangle of Caswallon, Fflur, and Julius Caesar was in medieval Wales, because the only surviving references to Fflur are in *Tri serchog* and one other triad and a handful of very bare references to her by the court poets.[50]

Cynon ap Clydno, meanwhile, is a figure who is best known from the *Gododdin* but also makes a few, fleeting appearances in later *cyfarwyddyd*.[51] His apparent lover, Morfudd, is known

[48] On Drystan and Esyllt, see Chapter 1, pp. 24-41 and Bromwich, *TYP*, 331-34, 350-52.
[49] On Caswallon and Fflur, see Chapter 3, pp. 97-106 and Bromwich, *TYP*, 305-06, 354.
[50] Fflur also appears in *Tri aur grydd* ("Three golden shoemakers," TYP 67), which states, "*aeth [i.e. Caswallon] y geissio Flur hyt yn Ruuein*" ("He [i.e. Caswallon] went to see Fflur as far as Rome"). The tradition about Caswallon and Caesar – or lack thereof – was the subject of a paper I gave at the Seventeenth International Congress of Celtic Studies, "And they went with Caswallon over the sea after the Cesariaid": Were there stories about Caswallon and Julius Caesar in medieval Wales?."
[51] Cynon ap Clydno is one of the most prominent warriors in the *Gododdin*; he appears several times (see A.O.H. Jarmon, ed. and trans., *Y Gododdin: Britain's Oldest Heroic Poem* (Llandysul, Wales: Gomer Press, 1988), references indexed at p. 201). Amongst these references is the passage which claims that Cynon was one of four survivors of the battle of Catraeth, along with the poet Aneirin; Ifor Williams has argued that this section of the poem is a later interpolation and that Cynon was in fact the *only* survivor of the battle (see Ifor Williams, *Canu Aneirin gyda Rhagymadrodd a Nodiadau* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1938), liii-lviii), an argument Bromwich examined and ultimately rejected (see Rachel Bromwich, "Cynon fab Clydno," in *Astudiaeth ar yr Hengerdd: Studies in Old Welsh Poetry*, ed. Rachel Bromwich and Brynley F. Roberts (Cardiff: University of Wales

outside the TYP corpus only from a sparse reference in the court list of *Culhwch ac Olwen.*[52] Strikingly, Cynon does not appear in TYP outside of the dual versions of this triad in Peniarth 47 and Peniarth 50 and in an addition made to Peniarth 50's version of *Tri anfad gyflafan* ("Three unfortunate slaughters," TYP 33).[53] Morfudd only appears in this triad and *Tri gwyndorllwyth*, which immediately precedes *Tri serchog* in both manuscripts.

Bromwich suggests that a verse by Gruffudd ap Maredudd, composed in the fourteenth century, refers to "the story alluded to in Triad 71 (or perhaps the triad itself)."[54] Indeed, the version in question does appear to reference a love story the poet knew about Cynon and a daughter of Urien, but Gruffudd does not mention Morfudd by name:

> *O gariad Eigr deg eirian*
> *A chariad glwysferch Urien,*
> *Echwynodd bardd ar harddlun*
> *Ucheniad Uthr a Chynon*.
>
> (For the love of fair, bright Eigr [i.e. Igraine]
> And the love of the pleasant daughter of Urien,
> A poet lamented the beautiful figure,
> A sigh of Uther and Cynon.)

It seems likely that is, indeed, a specific reference to the *Tri serchog* triad, as Bromwich suggests, but this alone does not point towards a longer narrative about Cynon and Morfudd that

Press, 1978), 151-64) and cf. A.O.H. Jarman, "The Arthurian Allusions in the Book of Aneirin," *Studia Celtica* 25/25 (1989/90), 15-27 at 23.

Tri serchog is the only triad in which Cynon appears. References to him elsewhere survive in *Englynion y Beddau* (Jones, ed. and trans., *Stanzas of the Graves*, §§9, 11), one poem by Cynddelw (Jones and Owen, eds., *Gwaith Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr I*, no. 9.8) and one by Llywelyn Fardd (Catherine McKenna, ed., *Gwaith Dafydd Benfras ac Eraill*, no. 7.18), and one more by Dafydd Benfras (Costigan (Bosco), ed., *Gwaith Dafydd Benfras ac Eraill*, no. 31.64). He also appears in *Bonedd y Saint* (Bartrum, ed., *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts*, 57 no. 15) and, more prominently, in the prose tale *Owein* (Thomson, ed., *Owein*, ll. 3, 17, 26, etc.). A very limited amount of narrative cyfarwyddyd can be gleaned from the sum of these disparate references.

[52] On Morfudd, see above, note 34. A possible connection between this section of *Culhwch*'s court list – the list of women, which comes at the end of the larger court list – and TYP deserves more attention than it has received.

[53] Bromwich suggests that the compiler or redactor of this version of *Tri anfad gyflafan* intended to group together several characters who shared the epithet *Eidyn* (Bromwich, *TYP*, 327).

[54] Bromwich, *TYP*, 453.

circulated in medieval Wales.[55] I cannot escape the suspicion that Morfudd's presence in Peniarth 50's version is due to influence from *Tri gwyndorllwyth*, which, as I've already noted, precedes *Tri serchog* in both Peniarth 47 and Peniarth 50 and that her association with Cynon was the invention of the individual who wrote the expanded version of this triad.

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The fifth and penultimate triad in this microtext, *Tair diwair* ("Three faithful wives," TYP 66), is the only triad in this microtext to appear in Peniarth 50 and Peniarth 47 as well as in texts associated with the White and Red version.[56] These manuscripts give three distinct versions of the triad:

> *TYP 66 RBH (WR version) text:* Tri diweir ynys Prydein:
> Ardun wreic Gatcor uab Goroluyn, ac Eueilian wreic Wydy drȯm, ac Emerchret wreic Uabon uab Dewengen.
>
> (*TYP 66 RBH (WR version) translation:* Three faithful [wives] of the island of Britain:
> Ardun wife of Cadgor son of Gorolfyn, and Eneilian wife of Gwydyr *drwm*, and Emerchred wife of Mabon son of Dewengen.)
>
> *TYP 66 P50 text:* Tri diwerwreic ynys Prydain:
> Treul difefyl verch Llygessa6c la6 hael, Gwenfedon verch Druda6l tutklyd, a Thegey Eur6ron.
>
> *TYP 66 P50 translation*: Three faithful wives of the island of Britain:
> Flawless Treul daughter of Llynghessog generous hand, Gwenfedon daughter of Tudwal tudclyd, and fair-breasted Tegau.
>
> *TYP 66 P47 text:* Teir diweirwreic ynys Prydein:

[55] Both Peniarth 47 and Peniarth 50, the only two surviving manuscripts to include *Tri serchog*, date to the mid-fifteenth century, well after Gruffudd ap Maredudd's flourit. However, it is of course very possible that the expanded version which comes down to us in Peniarth 50 was written quite a while before it was written down in that manuscript.

[56] These include the White Book of Rhydderch, Red Book of Hergest, Peniarth 51, Cwrtmawr 3, *Y Diarebion Camberäec*, and BL Add 15,047. I quote the version from the Red Book here; the remaining versions of *Tri diwair wraig* follow the White/Red Book text. See Appendix B, pp. 453-54.

> Treul diueuyl verch Llynghessaɔc laɔ hael, a Gwenvedon merch Trudaual tutklut, a Thegeu eururon. Ac un diweirach no'r teir: Hemythryd verch Vabon mab Dyfynwyn.
>
> (*TYP 66 P47 translation:* Three faithful wives of the island of Britain:
> Flawless Treul daughter of Llynghessog generous hand, and Gwenfedon daughter of Trudafal tudclyd, and Tegau *eurfron* ("golden-breasted"). And one was more faithful than the three: Hemythryd daugher of Mabon son of Dyfynwyn.)

The versions of Peniarth 50 and Peniarth 47 are more closely related to each other than the version in the White and Red version texts, which is a partially expanded triad that does not include any extra *cyfarwyddyd*. The Peniarth 50 version is also partially expanded without any extra *cyfarwyddyd* but its limbs name three different women than those present in the White and Red version. While the White and Red version gives the names Arddun, Efeilian, and Emerchred, Peniarth 47 and Peniarth 50 give Treul, Gwenfedon, and Tegau *eurfron* ("golden-breasted"). Peniarth 47 alone among all the surviving versions of this triad adds a fourth, comparative limb, stating that a certain Heinrythryd ferch Mabon was a more faithful wife than the previous three.

Tair diwair must stand among the most obscure triads in the TYP, owing to its two separate versions (Bromwich comments that "were it not for the addition in [Peniarth 47's fourth limb], which supplies one of the names found in the [White and Red] version, one would conclude it to be a different triad"[57]) and the fact that almost all the characters named in the triad are textual ghosts. Aside from Tegau *eurfron*, whose story survives in one eighteenth-century manuscript, no *cyfarwyddyd* of any consequence survives regarding any of these figures.[58] It

[57] Bromwich, *TYP*, 184. She is referring to Emerchred wraic Mabon fab Dewengen, but it must be noted that the spelling of this name is very different in the Peniarth 47 text than it is in the Red Book.
[58] Bromwich's notes on these figures tend to be very short and sparse. For Arddun, see *TYP*, 280; although she doesn't explicitly state it, Bromwich's note seems to imply that she believes Arddun, wife of Cadgor mab Gorolfyn is the same as Arddun, daughter of Eliffer *gosgorddfawr*, who appears in *Tri gwyndorllwyth*. For Cadgor, see *TYP*, 296. For Efeilian, see *TYP*, 341; Efeilian also appears in some versions of *Bonedd y Saint* (see Bartrum, ed. *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts*, 65 (72)) along with her husband Gwydyr *drwm* (for Gwydyr, see *TYP*, 395). It seems likely that the reference in *Bonedd y Saint* is influenced by this triad. On Emerchred, see *TYP*, 347; on her husband

must be concluded that a redactor somewhere in the textual history of what became the Peniarth 47 and Peniarth 50 versions of this triad chose to re-write it, keeping the *Tair diwair ynys Prydain* title but replacing the names in all three limbs. This is the version that appears in Peniarth 47. It is possible that Treul, Gwenfedon, and Tegau are the invention of this redactor and that references to them – to the extent they exist – grew out from this triad, rather than that the triad reflects stories that were already in circulation when the triad was composed. Another redactor, somewhat later, added a fourth limb which employed the comparative, *ac un [comparative form of the epithet] no'r tair* ("and one was more [epithet] than the three") formula used in several earlier triads. This was probably done by an individual who was familiar with the White and Red version of the triad, since this limb incorporates the name of one woman, Emerchred, who appears in the older version. This is the version of *Tair diwair* that appears in Peniarth 50.

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In both Peniarth 50 and Peniarth 47, *Tair diwair* is followed by *Tair anniwair wraig* ("Three unfaithful wives," TYP 80), forming a contrasting pair that acts as a conclusion to this

Mabon fab Dewengen (apparently not the same as Mabon fab Modron?), see *TYP*, 424. On Treul, see *TYP*, 507; on her husband, Llyngessog *llaw hael* ("Seafarer of the generous hand"), see *TYP*, 418. On Gwenfedon, see *TYP*, 376. Of these, Cadgor, Emerchred, Mabon, Treul, Llynghessog, and Gwenfedon are textual ghosts.

The most well-attested figure in *Tri diwair*, by far, is Tegau *eurfron* ("golden-breasted"), though no references to her exist from before the fourteenth century. She also appears in *Tair rhiain ardderchog llys Arthur* ("Three splendid women of Arthur's court," TYP 88), which appears in BL Add. 31,055 and a few later TYP manuscripts that are outside the bounds of this dissertation (see Bromwich, *TYP*, 230). Tegau also appears in the Peniarth 267 version of *Tri serchog* (this manuscript dates to the seventeenth century; see *TYP*, xxxix-xl, Huws, *Repertory* I, 438-39, Appendix C, p. 506. Her mantle is one of the treasures added to the Peniarth 77 version of *Tri thlws ar ddeg* (see *TYP*, 259) – making it the fourteenth of thirteen treasures – and she appears as a standard of chastity in several poems by the *cywyddwyr* (listed in Bromwich's note) in which she is sometimes said to have been the wife of Caradog *freichfras*.

The most detailed version of Tegau's story in Welsh survives only in a single, late-eighteenth-century manuscript, NLW MS 2288 (see Huws, *Repertory* I, 180). In this story, Tegau is the only woman in Arthur's court who is able to pass the test of three chastity-testing devices, include a mantle. On this story, see Graham Thomas, "Chwedlau Tegau Eurfron a Thristfardd, Bardd Urien Rheged," *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 24.1 (1970), 1-9 and Bromwich's extended note at *TYP*, 503-06.

microtext.[59] This contrasting pair is a relatively late development; it does not exist in the White and Red version. *Tair anniwair* seems to have been composed to create such a pair with *Tair diwair*, it is only extant in Peniarth 47 and Peniarth 50. The two versions have several significant differences, which I have highlighted below:

> *TYP 80 P47 text:* Teir aniweir wreic ynys Pyrdein. Teir meirchet Kuluanawyt Prydein:
> Essyllt vngwen, a Phenarwan, a Bun gwreic Flamdȣyn. **Ac vn oed aniweirach no'r tri hynny: Gwenhȣyuar gwreic Arthur kanys gwell gȣr y gwnai hi gyweilyd idaȣ no neb.**
>
> (*TYP 80 P47 translation:* Three unfaithful wives of the island of Britain. Three daughters of Culfanawyd of Britain:
> Singularly fair Essyllt, and Penarwan, and Bun **wife of Fflamddwyn. And one was more unfaithful than those three: Gwenhwyfar wife of Arthur, since she had a better man for a spouse than anyone.**)
>
> *TYP 80 P50 text:* Tri aniwreic ynys Prydain, tri merchet Kynawc Prydain:
> Essylt vygwen **gordderch Trystan**, a Penarwan **gwreic Owein mab Vrien**, a Bun **[gwreic] Run**.
>
> (*TYP 80 P50 translation*: Three unfaithful wives of the island of Britain, three daughters of Cynog of Britain:
> My fair Esyllt **mistress of Trystan**, and Penarwan **wife of Owain son of Urien,** and Bun **[wife of] Rhun**.)

As is the case with *Tri gwyndorllwyth*, the two extant versions of this triad appear to represent two separate expansions of a shorter original. These two triads share a title and three names in three limbs in common: Essyllt, Penarwan, and Bun.[60] They agree in giving Essyllt an epithet, though it differs slightly. In Peniarth 47 the epithet is *ungwen* ("singularly fair") but one letter has been altered in Peniarth 50, making it *vygwen* ("my fair").[61] All three are the daughters of

[59] On contrasting pairs, see Chapter 3, pp. 126-29.
[60] While Essyllt was very well known in fifteenth century Wales (see discussion in Chapter 1, pp. 24-31), the women purported here to be her sisters, Penarwan and Bun, are textual ghosts. For Essyllt, see Bromwich, *TYP*, 350-52, for Penarwan, see *TYP*, 476-77; for Bun, see *TYP*, 295.
[61] It seems likely that both versions have been altered slightly and that *vyn gwen* ("my fair") was the reading of the exemplar. The nasal cluster *ng* was inconsistently spelled in Middle Welsh and could easily have fallen out of the Peniarth 47 exemplar.

one man, Culfanawyd or Cynog Prydain, in both versions.[62] They differ in format and in the *cyfarwyddyd* that has been added.

The version in Peniarth 47 identifies Bun as the wife of Fflamddwyn but does not give the names of Essyllt's or Penarwan's spouses.[63] This version uses the same *ac un [comparative form of the epithet] no'r tair* ("and one was more [epithet] than the three") formula employed in that manuscript's version of *Tair diwair*, discussed above, and names Gwenhwyfar as the most unfaithful wife, reasoning that since Arthur is the best man, his unfaithful wife must be the most unfaithful. It can be assumed that the individual who expanded this version of the triad drew on Continental material about Guinevere's adulterous affair with Lancelot, which was an extremely popular story in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The version of this triad in Peniarth 50, meanwhile, does not include the comparative fourth limb and instead gives the names of the unfaithful wives' spouses. Essyllt is *gordderch Trystan* ("mistress of Trystan"); Penarwan is

[62] See Bromwich, *TYP*, 316. The version of this name in Peniarth 50, "Kynawc" is likely to be a corruption of unusual "Kuluanawyt," since the latter is the name given to this figure in other sources. The name *Culfanawyd* also appears in a poem by Cynddelw (Jones and Owen, eds. *Gwaith Cynddelw I*, no. 26.72) and in another poem by Gwgon Brydydd (R. Geraint Gruffudd, ed. *Gwaith Dafydd Benfras ac Eraill*, no. 17.4); both poems refer to Cynon fab Culfanawyd, though no other *cyfarwyddyd* connects him to a son named Cynon. Culfanawyd also appears in the court list of *Culhwch ac Olwen* (Bromwich and Evans, eds. *Culhwch ac Olwen*, l. 253). Bromwich suggests that the use of the epithet *vyngwen* given to Essyllt in that same court list (ibid, l. 372), parellel to the epithet given to her in Peniarth 50 this triad, may indicate that the *cyfarwyddyd* in *Tri anniwair* is quite a bit older than we would otherwise think. I would push back on this suggestion; the list of the ladies in Arthur's court, which comes at the end of the overall court list, appears to be related in some way to this particular microtext and it is more likely that the repetion of the epithet is a symptom of that relationship and not indicative of the age of this tradition. As I said in the above note, this requires more investigation.

[63] Fflamddwyn (the name may be translated "Flame bearer") seems to have been a military leader among the northern English who fought in a conflict against Rheged and was killed by Owain fab Urien. He is best known from two references to him in poems in the Book of Taliesin which Ifor Williams thought were composed by the "historical Taliesin," "Gwaith Argoed Llwyfain (Williams, ed., *Poems of Taliesin*, no. 6.7) and "Marwnad Owain" (ibid, no. 10.11). There are also two references to him by the *beirdd y tywysogion*, one by Cynddelw (Nerys Ann Jones and Ann Parry Owen, eds., *Gwaith Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr II* (Aberystwyth: University of Wales Press, 1995), no. 9.108) and one by Llygad Gwr (Peredur I. Lynch et al, *Gwaith Bleddyn Fardd a Beirdd Eraill Ail Hanner y Drydydd Ganrif ar Ddeg* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1996), no. 24.148). This is the only triad in which Fflamddwyn's name occurs.

gwreic Owein mab Urien ("wife of Owain fab Urien");[64] and Bun is associated with Rhun.[65] The addition of these spouses parallels the expansion of Peniarth 50's version of *Tri serchog* discussed above, which gives the names of the women the *tri serchog* loved. That triad immediately precedes the contrasting pair of *Tri diwair* and *Tri anniwair*, and it is possible these additions were made by the same scribe. Since both Penarwan and Bun are textual ghosts, and since Bun's association with Rhun may be in conflict with Peniarth 47's assertion that she was married to Fflamddwyn, it seems likely that these spouses were the invention of that scribe.

Since *Tri anniwair* appears alongside *Tri diwair* in both manuscripts, the pairing of these two triads must predate either text's expansion. In that case, and given the close parallel between the two, it seems likely that the same individual who wrote Peniarth 47's version of *Tri diwair* also composed the fourth limb of *Tri anniwair* and that he intended them to continue as a contrasting pair. The scribe who expanded *Tri anniwair* in Peniarth 50, meanwhile, seems to have inherited a version of *Tri diwair* that named the fathers of the three faithful wives and a version of *Tri anniwair* that did not do the same for the unfaithful wives. I might put forward the (unprovable) hypothesis that the scribe added the names of the spouses to *Tri anniwair* to make it more closely parallel its pair.

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[64] No other medieval source identifies Penarwan as Owain's wife. The seventeenth-century antiquarian Robert Vaughan may have been obliquely commenting on this silence, and was certainly drawing on *Tri anniwair* as his source, when he wrote in his notes on his text of TYP, preserved today in NLW MS 2019: ""His [Owein's] wife was Penarwen [sic] the daughter of Culvanawyd Prydein with whom for her licentious and unchaste life I presume he did not long cohabit, and therefore had no children by her." (Quoted at Bromwich, *TYP*, 476-77; cf. ibid, xlvi and Huws, *Repertory* I, 176).

[65] The text of Peniarth 50 gives this limb as *a Bun Rhun*, making it unclear what the relationship was between the two (or even which Rhun is meant; Bromwich includes four individuals named Rhun in her notes (*TYP*, 490-93)). I follow Bromwich (*TYP*, 210) in presuming a spousal relationship was meant; since that would parallel the format of the second limb. Alternatively, it's possible that a story existed about an adulterous relationship between Bun and Rhun (which would be parallel to the first limb) since Peniarth 47 tells us her husband was Fflamddwyn. Like Penarwan, Bun is unknown outside this triad.

The preceding discussion has revealed a microtext in Peniarth 50 that is more closely related to the text of Peniarth 47 but cannot be directly related to it. Although three out of the five triads here are only extant in Peniarth 47 and Peniarth 50, it is clear that the relationship between the two texts is different for each triad. To summarize:

1) Peniarth 50's version of *Tri gwith balfod* ("Three sinister hard slaps," TYP 53), which is called *Tri anfad balfod* ("Three unfortunate blows") in this text, represents an older, less developed version of the triad than what survives in the White and Red version. It does not appear in Peniarth 47.

2) The versions of *Tri gwyndorllwyth* ("Three fair (holy) womb-burdens," TYP 70) in Peniarth 47 and Peniarth 50 represent two separate expansions of the same original. The expansion in Peniarth 47 relies on material gleaned from *Brut y Brenhinedd* while the expansion in Peniarth 50 draws on genealogical texts.

3) The version of *Tri serchog* ("Three lovers," TYP 71) in Peniarth 50 has been partially expanded to include the names of the women the men in each limb loved. The version in Peniarth 47 remains an 'epithet + three limbs' formula triad.

4) The versions of *Tri diwair* ("Three faithful wives," TYP 66) found in Peniarth 47 and Peniarth 50 represent a different strand of transmission than the version of this triad extant in White and Red version texts. The version in Peniarth 47 has been expanded to include a fourth, *ac un [comparative form of the epithet] no'r tri* ("and one was more [epithet] than the three") type limb while the version in Peniarth 50 remains an 'epithet + three names' formula triad.

5) *Tri anniwair* ("Three unfaithful wives," TYP 80) forms a contrasting pair with *Tri diwair* and succeeds it in both Peniarth 47 and Peniarth 50, but does not appear in any of the White and Red version texts alongside that version of *Tri diwair*. As is the case with *Tri gwyndorllwyth*, the two versions of this triad represent separate expansions of the same original; the version in Peniarth 47 parallels the expansion of *Tri diwair* in that manuscript, while Peniarth 50's version parallels the expansion of *Tri serchog*.

The investigation into this microtext has made some things details clear. It must have diverged from the White and Red version quite early – before the White Book of Rhydderch was created in the mid-fourteenth century – since its versions of both *Tri gwith balfod* and *Tri diwair* diverge so significantly from those other manuscripts (strikingly, however, none of these triads appear in the Early version).[66] It also clear that while this microtext in Peniarth 50 is certainly far more closely related to the text of Peniarth 47 than any other, the two texts diverged far enough back in their histories to have developed significantly away from each other. Finally, it seems clear that someone with a tendency to expand triads has passed over this microtext since it diverged from Peniarth 47; Peniarth 50's versions of *Tri gwyndorllwyth*, *Tri serchog*, and *Tri anniwair* all feature expansions that are unique to this text.

Several questions remain, however. This microtext's precise relationship to Peniarth 47 is a difficult question. The four triads the microtext shares in common with Peniarth 47 are not a unit in the latter manuscript.[67] The fact that some of Peniarth 47's most obscure triads are

[66] It is tempting to assume that the remaining three triads – *Tri serchog*, *Tri gwyndorllwyth*, and *Tri anniwair* were composed later (and *Tri anniwair*, as I have already argued, almost certainly was) but it is also possible that belonged to another, otherwise-lost strand which is as old as the triads extant in the Early version and White and Red version.

[67] As I noted above, these triads are nos. 6,8, 42, and 43 in Peniarth 47. Notably, despite many interevening triads, they appear in the same order as they do in Peniarth 50; one possibility is that the Peniarth 50 text represents a curated collection of the sort that become more popular (or possibly merely more visible) in the sixteenth century.

grouped together in this microtext seems too specific to be a coincidence, but exactly how this came to be remains a mystery. Another aspect of this microtext that stands out is the high proportion of textual ghosts or very obscure figures, often apparently gleaned from genealogical texts, named in these triads. It is unlikely we will ever know whether characters like Fflur or Nyfain ferch Brychan Brecheiniog were picked from obscurity by the individuals who composed or developed these triads (or, in cases such as Penarwan and Bun, simply invented by them) or if they were well-known figures within the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century storytelling tradition.

Microtext 5: Arthurian triads

Table 21: Displaying the characteristics of triads associated with Peniarth 50's fifth microtext.

TYP #	# in P50	mss spread	triad type	title genitive
1	34			
85	35			
56	36			
57	37			
86	38			
75	39			
74	40			

KEY:
MANUSCRIPT SPREAD:
= appears in P16
= unique to P50
= appears in WR with substantial differences
= appears in P47 with substantial differences
TRIAD TYPE:
= epithet + three names formula
= partially expanded triad
= expanded triad
GENITIVE IN THE TITLE:
= "ynys Prydain"
= "llys Arthur"

The contrasting pair of *Tri diwair* and *Tri anniwair* is followed in Peniarth 50 by a cluster of seven triads, all of which draw on Arthurian material. While Arthur and characters associated with him appear throughout the TYP corpus and in almost every TYP text, Peniarth 50's fifth microtext is the only place where they seem to have been deliberately brought together in a single unit. Several of the triads in this microtext spurn the usual *ynys Prydain* formula in their

titles for a genitive formula that explicitly names Arthur.[68] The sense that these seven triads were deliberately collected together is further strengthened by the wide range of their manuscript witnesses: one is paralleled in the Early version, two have parallels in the White and Red version, two have parallels in Peniarth 47, and two are unique to Peniarth 50. These are not the only triads in Peniarth 50 to feature Arthur, however. He also appears throughout the second and third microtexts but, interestingly, not in the first, fourth, sixth, or seventh.[69]

The first triad in this microtext is none other than *Tair lleithiglwyth* ("Three throne-burdens," TYP 1), the triad which opens manuscripts associated with the Early version.[70] Aside from Peniarth 50, *Tair lleithiglwyth* is always the first triad in the manuscripts in which it appears, so it is perhaps not surprising to find it at the head of this microtext:

> *Teir lleithclóyth ynys Prytein:*
> *Arthur yn pen teyrned ym Mynwó, a Dewi yn pen esgyb, a Maelgón Góyned yn pen hyneif. Arthur yn pen teyrned yg Kelli Wig yg Kernyó, a Bitwini escob yn pen esgyb, a Charatawc ureichuras yn pen hyneif. Arthur yn pen teyrned ym pen Rionyd yn y Gogled, a Chynteryn garthwys yn pen esgyb, a Garthmul wledic yn pen hyneif.*[71]

[68] In every case except *Tri prif rhiain Arthur* and *Tri cariadwraig Arthur*, these triads use the alternative *llys Arthur* formula, which is not uncommon throughout the TYP corpus. One could argue that since Arthur's queen(s) and mistresses were likely to reside at his court, the formula is implied in the case of the two exceptions. It does seem to be the case, as Bromwich argues (*TYP*, 17, 283), that this type of triad is much more common in the White and Red version and a relatively late development but I would caution against putting too much weight on this idea; one example of the *llys Arthur* formula – *Tri unben llys Arthur* ("Three lords of Arthur's court," TYP 8 – survives in Peniarth 16 and other Early version texts (see Appendix B, p. 293-94.

[69] The best discussion of Arthur's role in TYP is Rebecca Shercliff, "Arthur in *Trioedd Ynys Prydain*," in *Arthur in the Celtic Languages* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2019), 173-86. In light of my arguments regarding microtexts, more work needs to be done on the distribution of Arthur himself, other Arthurian characters, and the influence of Geoffrey of Monmouth throughout the TYP corpus. I hope to return to this question at a later date.

[70] *Tair lleithiglwyth* also appears in Peniarth 16, Peniarth 45, and Peniarth 77. Bromwich includes Peniarth 51 in her list of manuscripts containing this triad (Bromwich, *TYP*, 1) but this appears to be an error.

[71] This is the version of *Tair lleithiglwyth* found in Peniarth 45, not Peniarth 50. Unfortunately, the damage done to Peniarth 50's TYP text by gall stains is at its worst at this point in the text and *Tair lleithiglwyth* and the following triad, *Tri prif llys Arthur* ("Arthur's three principal courts," TYP 85), are only partially legible. Because of this, it is impossible to compare the text in Peniarth 50 to its counterparts in the Early version. This is regretable since such comparison could bring to light valuable information about *Tair lleithiglwyth*'s transmission history. For a partial transcription of Peniarth 50's version of *Tair lleithiglwyth*, see Appendix B, p. 385, for an explanation for the gall stains, see Appendix C, p. 482.

> (Three tribal thrones (throne-burdens) of the island of Britain:
> Arthur, chief of princes in Mynyw, and Dewi chief of bishops, and Maelgwn Gwynedd chief of elders. Arthur chief of princes in Celli Wig in Cornwall, and bishop Bitwini chief of bishops, and Caradog *friechfras* ["strong-arm"] chief of elders. Arthur, chief of princes in Pen Rhionydd in the North, and Cynderyn *garthwys* [St. Kentigern] chief of bishops, and Garthmul wledig chief of elders.)

This triad is unique among expanded triads in TYP in that its expansion does not provide any narrative information but, instead, transforms a triad that named important cities in Britain's three regions into three triads naming three important figures in the three cities. Each limb features Arthur prominently as the *pen teyrned* ("chief of princes") of each region, giving the impression that Arthur simultaneously held sway everywhere throughout Britain.[72] The *cyfarwyddyd* alluded to in this triad is typical of the mixture of well-known people and places and figures who are all but textual ghosts that characterizes TYP overall: Arthur himself, as well as Dewi (St David), Maelgwn Gwynedd, Celli Wig, Cyndeyrn garthwys (St Kentigern), and Caradog *friechfras* ("strong-arm") are well-attested elsewhere, while bishop Bitwini and Pen Rhionydd are little-known and seem to have been plucked from obscurity and included here.[73]

[72] This is perhaps the most explicit reference in the TYP corpus to British (i.e. Welsh) sovreignty over the island of Britain, though to some degree this is implied by the very existance of the collection. Bromwich notes that this is echoed in *Tri prif llys Arthur* ("Arthur's three principal courts," TYP 85) (discussed below) and in *Enwae ynys Prydain* "[b]ut the assertion of Arthur's sovreignty (and thus of British sovereignty) in Cornwall, Wales and the North looks like an intentional contradiction of the statement made in EYP, that each of the three *taleithieu* [regions] were to be held under the crown of London" (Bromwich, *TYP*, 1-2). In general, the question of *ynys Prydain* and its meaning in TYP and medieval Wales overall requires much more investigation.

[73] A huge amount has been written about the Welsh Arthur. For introductory surveys, see Bromwich, *TYP*, 280-83; Rachel Bromwich, A.O.H. Jarman, and Brynley F. Roberts, eds., *The Arthur of the Welsh: The Arthurian Legend in Medieval Welsh Literature* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1991); O.J. Padel, *Arthur in Medieval Welsh Literature* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000); Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan and Erich Poppe, *Arthur in the Celtic Langauges* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2019). On Dewi, or St. David, the patron saint of Wales, see Bromwich, *TYP*, 328; J. Wyn Evans and Jonathan Wooding, eds., *St David of Wales: Church, Cult, and Nation* (Woodbridge, England: The Boydell Press, 2007). On Maelgwn Gwynedd, see Bromwich, *TYP*, 428-32; Juliette Wood, "Maelgwn Gwynedd: A Forgotten Welsh Hero," *Trivium* 19 (1984), 103-117. On Celli Wig, often said to be the site of Arthur's court, see Bromwich, *TYP*, 3-4; Oliver J. Padel, "Cornwall and the Matter of Britain," in *Arthur in the Celtic Languages* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2019), 263-80 at 265. On Cyndeyrn garthwys, or St. Kentigern, the patron saint of Glasgow, see Bromwich, *TYP*, 322-23; John Reuben Davies, "Bishop Kentigern Among the Britons," in Steve Boardman, John Reuben Davies, and Ella Williamson, eds., *Saints' Cults in the Celtic World* (Woodbridge, England: The Boydell Press, 2009), 66-90. On Caradog *freichfras*, see Bromwich, *TYP*, 304-05. On bishop Bitwini, see Bromwich, *TYP*, 295. On Pen Rhionydd, see Bromwich, *TYP*, 4.

Perhaps notably, Dewi, Maelgwn Gwynedd, and Cynderyn all appear in the genealogical text *Bonedd y Saint*, which is found alongside TYP in both of the Early version texts, Peniarth 16 and Peniarth 45.

Bromwich argues that this triad was composed in the twelfth century as part of the (ultimately unsuccessful) effort to grant Wales an episcopal see at St Davids (known as Mynyw in Welsh), which began in the 1130s and continued through the century, and that it was appended to the front of the Early version, which would have previously begun with *Tri hael* ("Three generous men," TYP 2).[74] I have no doubt that the expanded version of this triad, if not the triad as a whole, was developed or composed at a later date than the 'epithet + three names' formula-type triads it precedes in the Early version and that, like other expanded triads, it represents the work of an individual – perhaps someone who thought a triad delineating Britain's three regions was a fitting beginning to this collection. Likewise, it is not unreasonable to think that knowledge of the conflict over an episcopal see at St David's is reflected in *Tair lleithiglwyth*'s first limb. However, I would caution against the need to push this triad's composition back into the twelfth century on that account – I argued in Part 1 of this dissertation that the Early version as it appears in Peniarth 16 and Peniarth 45 likely came into being in the early thirteenth century; it is not difficult to imagine that knowledge of the campaign for St Davids' episocopal primacy

[74] Bromwich, *TYP*, xci: "It is apparent that the first triad in the Early Version, *Teir Lleithicl6yth* [sic], is of a character entirely different from all the others in the collection, and that it presents problems unique to itself. The place-names alluded to link it with *Enweu Ynys Prydein*…rather than with any other group of triads within TYP. But the fact that *Mynyw* is named as the seat of the third *lleithiclwyth* in place of EYP's *Aberffraw*…at once suggests topical implications for the episcopal status of St. David's. **We can hardly doubt that the *Teir Lleithicl6yth* is an addition made to the material (derived from either written or oral sources) as was available to the redactor…It is far more natural to suppose that the original first triad in TYP was *Tri hael*, the most popular and widely-known of all the triads, and one which is cited most frequently**…The *Teir Lleithicl6th* leaves no doubt as to the sympathies of the scribe who commited to writing the triads of the Early Version…He presented his own triad as an essential part of the canonical body of bardic tradition enshrined in *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*, and in doing so made an impassioned attempt to support his claims on behalf of St David's with the full weight of ancient authority." (Emphasis mine.) On the conflict over a Welsh episcopal see, see R.R. Davies, *The Age of Conquest: Wales 1063-1415* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1991), 190-91.

persisted in monastic scriptoria at least into the first decades of the new century. If the monk who composed *Tair lleithiglwyth* was in his middle age or older, he may even have remembered those events personally.

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The second triad in this Arthurian microtext is *Tri prif llys Arthur* ("Arthur's three principal courts," TYP 85), a triad which is unique to Peniarth 50. It reads:

> [Tri prif lys Arthur:
> Kaerllion ar Wysg yg Kymry,][75] a Chelli wic yg Hernio, a Phenryn Rioned yn y Gogledd. Teir prif oyl ynys Prydain, yn y teir prif lys: Pasc, a Nadolic, a Sulgwyn.
>
> (Arthur's three principal courts:
> Caerllion-on-Usk in Wales, and Celli Wig in Cornwall, and Penrhyn Rhionydd in the North. Three principal festivals of the island of Britain, in the three principal courts: Easter, and Christmas, and Whitsun.)

As Bromwich notes, this is clearly related to the older, longer, and more wide-spread triad *Tair lleithiglwyth* as well as to *Enwae ynys Prydain*.[76] Two versions of *Enwae ynys Prydain* appear in close proximity to the TYP in Peniarth 50. The first, shorter version appears between the text's first and second microtexts and the second immediately follows the conclusion of the TYP text.[77] *Tri prif llys Arthur* seems to echo in particular this section from the shorter of the two versions:

> *Sef a delit ohonei coron y their taleith, ac yn Llundein gwiscaо y goron. Ac ym Henryn Rrianedd yn y Gogledd y hyn vn o'r taleithedigyon, ac o Aberfraо yr eil, ac o Gernyо y trydydd.*[78]
>
> (There should be a crown of its [i.e. the island of Britain's] three regions, and the crown should be worn in London. and one of these regions is in Penrhyn Rhionydd

[75] The bad staining in this section of Peniarth 50, noted above in note 71, continues into this triad. I have reconstructed the title and first limb of this triad from Bromwich's reading (*TYP*, 223).
[76] Bromwich, *TYP*, 223.
[77] On *Enwae ynys Prydain*, see Bromwich, *TYP*, c-civ, 246-55 and A. Joseph McMullen, "*Enwae ac Anrhyfeddodau Ynys Prydain* and a Tradition of Topographical Wonders in Medieval Britain," *Studia Celtica Fennica* 9 (2012), 36-53. This family of texts deserves more attention, especially in regard to its relationship to TYP.
[78] See Appendix A, 332.

in the North, this is one of the regions, and from Aberffraw the second, and from Cornwall the third.)

It is clear that *Tri prif llys Arthur*, this passage in *Enwae ynys Prydain*, and *Tair lleithiglwyth* are all drawing on the same or very similar *cyfarwyddyd*. The three references to Penrhyn Rhionydd are especially telling, since this place name is almost entirely unknown from other sources.[79] Given this connection, it is very interesting – though not particularly surprising – to find them all in such close proximity to each other in Peniarth 50. A few key differences stand out, however. The most obvious and most significant is the different centers named in Wales: *Tair lleithiglwyth* situates the Welsh *lleithiglwyth* in Mynyw, or St. Davids, *Tri prif llys Arthur* places Arthur's Welsh court in Caerlleon, and *Enwau ynys Prydain* says the Welsh crown is in Aberffraw. All of these places have specific literary or political connotations which may be suggestive of the different identities of their authors.[80] Furthermore, while both *Tair lleithiglwyth* and *Tri prif llys Arthur* specifically name Celli Wig as the center in Cornwall, *Enwae ynys Prydain* does not and simply says that the third crown is *o Gernyw* ("from Cornwall"). These differences may appear minor and unimportant at first glance, but they are telling of the different interests and priorities of the individuals who adapted this material in each passage.

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The pair of *Tair lleithglwyth* and *Tri prif llys Arthur* is followed by another pair, *Tair prif rhiain Arthur* ("Arthur's three principal queens," TYP 56), and *Tair cariadwraig Arthur* ("Arthur's

[79] Several scholars have suggested possible identifications of Penrhyn Rhionydd but no satisfactory explanation has ever been put forward. All that can be said about this place with any certainty is that it is in the Old North. Apart from *Enwae ynys Prydain* and the triads discussed here, the only surviving reference to this place is in one late-sixteenth-century version of *Ystoria'r Llong Foel* (see Brynley F. Roberts, ed., "Ystoria'r Llong Foel," *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 18.4 (1960), 337-62 at 357). See Bromwich, *TYP*, 4.

[80] On the significance of Mynyw, see discussion above [internal reference needed]. Aberffraw was the seat of power of the prince of Gwynedd and its inclusion in *Enwae ynys Prydain* may indicate that its author or compiler was from or associated with that kingdom. Caerlleon is the location of Arthur's court in Geoffrey of Monmouth and its inclusion in *Tair prif llys Arthur* may indicate influence from *Brut y Brenhinedd*.

three concubines," TYP 57), gleaned from the *trioedd y gwragedd* microtexts in both Peniarth 47 and the White and Red version. *Tair prif rhiain Arthur*, sometimes called the "three Gwenhwyfars" triad, is the confounding triad in which three apparently separate women named Gwenhwyfar are said to be Arthur's queens.[81] These are Gwenhwyfar ferch Cywyrd Gwent, Gwenhwyfar ferch Gwythyr fab Greidiol, and Gwenhwyfar ferch Gogfran *gawr* ("the giant"). None of these men are associated with Gwenhwyfar outside of TYP.[82] Three versions of this triad are compared below:

> *RED BOOK (#16)* Teir prif riein Arthur:
> Gɷennhɷyuar uerch Gɷryt Gɷent, a Gɷenhɷyuar uerch [Uthyr] uab Greidyaɷl, a Gɷenhɷyuar uerch Ocuran gaɷr.
>
> *Pen. 47 (#39)* Teir prif wraged Arthur:

[81] I follow Bromwich in translating *rhiain* as "queen" but, as she notes (*TYP*, 161), in Middle Welsh it could also mean simply "maiden" or "lady." Cf. the use in *Tair rhiain ardderchog llys Arthur* ("Three splendid (famous) maidens of Arthur's court," TYP 88) at Bromwich, *TYP*, 230 and GPC s.v. *rhiain*.

[82] Cywyrd is called "Cywyrd *Keint*" in Peniarth 47 and Peniarth 50 but Cywyrd *Gwent* in all other extant versions. According to Bromwich, this is a reference to the river Ceint in Angelsey, not to the south-eastern English county Kent. This figure is known elsewhere only in *Englynion y Clyweit* (§69, see Marged Haycock, ed. *Blodeugerdd Barddas o Ganu Crefyddol Cynnar* (Llandybïe, Wales: Dinefwr Press, 1994, 329), a reference which may be derived from the triad. See Bromwich, *TYP*, 327.

Although the triad invariable gives its second patronym as a variant of *Uthyr*, Bromwhich points out that this must be a lenited form of *Gwythyr*, a Cambriazation of *Victor* (on the confusion caused in this triad by changing lenition practices, see Bromwich, *TYP*, 162). Gwythyr fab Greidiol is known elsewhere primarily from *Culhwch ac Olwen*, especially in the episode about the abduction of Creiddylad, in which Gwythyr is the primary antagonist of Gwyn ap Nudd (see Bromwich and Evans, eds., *Culhwch ac Olwen*, ll. 176, 942, and 988, 1205-29). His genealogy is given in *Bonedd y Arwyr* (§22, see Bartrum, ed., *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts*, 89-90) and a handful of poems allude to a "Gwythyr" without giving his patronym. None of these texts suggest that Gwythyr had a daughter named Gwenhwyfar, nor that he was the father-in-law of Arthur. See Bromwich, *TYP*, 395-96.

Gogfran *gawr* ("the giant"), or perhaps Ogrfan, is also said to be Gwenhwyfar's father in BL Add. 31,055's version of *Tair gwith balfod* ("The sinister blows," TYP 53) as well as in the version of the seventeenth-century TYP text in NLW Peniarth MS 252 (see Appendix B, p. 444; for Peniarth 252, see Appendix C, p. 506 note 255). It seems likely that this addition to *Tair gwith balfod* was made under the influence of *Tair prif rhiain Arthur*. He is not associated with Gwenhwyfar outside of TYP. There is a great deal of confusion about this figure's name; several references in the work of the *Gogynfeirdd* call him *Ogyruan* while the *cwywyddwyr* tend to use *Gogfran*. It is plausible to think that the name was re-analyzed by later poets. I am less convinced by Bromwich's suggestion that "[p]erhaps an early hero, *Og(y)rfan*, known to tradition, became later confused with *Gogfran Gawr*, a giant who was the reputed father of Gwenhwyfar" (Bromwich, *TYP*, 363). This figure appears a handful of times in early modern and modern Welsh folklore, including in the writing of Thomas Pennant and Owen Jones. See Bromwich, *TYP*, 363-64, especially for references in the poetry. See Chris Grooms, *The Giants of Wales: Cewri Cymru* (Lampeter, Wales: The Edwin Mellen Press,1993), 208-10, especially for place names associated with Gogfran, and Bartrum, *A Welsh Classical Dictionary*, 584-85.

> Gwenhwyϭar verch Ogyrnan gawr, a Gwenhyϭyuar merch Kywryr Geint, a Gwenhϭyuar merch Gϭythur mab Greidyaϭl gallonyd.
>
> *PEN. 50 (#36)* Teir prif wragedd Arthur:
> Gwenhϭyuar uerch Wrthunan gϭor, a Gwenhϭyuar uerch Gϭrthyr mab Greidiaϭl, a Gwenh6yuar uerch Gwryd Ceint.

Aside from differences in orthography and in Cywyrd's epithet, these three names are consistent throughout the versions of this triad across the Red Book, Peniarth 47, and Peniarth 50 but their order varies, with Peniarth 47 and Peniarth 50 presenting a different order of the limbs than the one in the White and Red version.[83] It thus seems likely that this triad belongs to the same group of triads as those in Peniarth 50's fourth microtext, (triads associated with Peniarth 47),discussed above. I would suggest that *Tair prif rhiain Arthur* is unlikely to hold any genuinely ancient or archaic *cyfarwyddyd* regarding the pre-Galfridian Welsh Gwenhwyfar. It is much more likely that it was the composition of an individual in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, and that references to these figures in the surviving poetry and folklore reflect the influence of this triad, not the other way around. While the appearance of a single personal name in all three limbs of the triad is certainly unusual, it is not necessarily out of step with the strange and sometimes humorous details found throughout the TYP corpus.

It is clear that, once again, Peniarth 50's version of the second triad in this pair, *Tair cariadwraig*, is more closely related to the version that appears in Peniarth 47 than to the version of the same triad found in the White and Red version. Three versions of this triad are compared below:

[83] This triad also appears in several other manuscripts associated with the White and Red version (the White Book, Peniarth 51, Cwrtmawr 3, BL Add. 15,047, NLW 6434, and BL Add. 31,055). As ever, they follow the text of the Red Book (albiet including a personal name in the second limb, which the Red Book omits here) and can be subsumed under it for the purposes of this discussion.

TYP 57 RBH text: A'e deir karedicwreic oed y rei hynn:
Indec uerch Arȣy hir, a Garwen uerch Henin hen, a Gȣyl verch Endaȣt.

TYP 57 P47 text: Teir prif karyatwreic Arthur:
Garwen uerch Henni, a Gwyl verch Entaȣt, ac Indec verch Anarȣy hir.

TYP 57 P50 text: Tair prif gar[i]adoc wragedd Arthur:
Garwen uerch Henin, a G[ȣy]l uerch Enaȣd, ac Indec uerch Anarȣy hir.

All three names in this 'epithet + three names' formula triad remain constant throughout the three versions, minor differences in spelling notwithstanding, but Indec ferch Arwy hir appears in the first limb in the Red Book's version, while she is named in the third limb in both Peniarth 47 and Peniarth 50.[84] Additionally, the titles differ; the Red Book and Peniarth 47 agree on the epithet *cariadwraig* while Peniarth 50 prefers the plural form *[c]ar[i]adoc wragedd*, but I would not consider this a substantial change. Additionally, the versions in Peniarth 47 and Peniarth 50 are lacking the partially-expanded, prosaic title found in the White Book and Red Book.[85] This title, which begins "*A'e…*" ("And his…") explicitly links *Tair cariadwraig* to the preceding *Tair prif rhiain* in a way that is unique in the TYP corpus. In other texts, these two triads seem to be paired together merely on thematic grounds. It is apparent that, like its pair *Tair prif rhiain Arthur*, *Tair prif cariadwraig* belongs to the group of triads which diverged from the White and Red version and later re-appeared in Peniarth 47 and Peniarth 50.

+ + +

The fifth triad within this microtext is *Tri marchog o llys Arthur a enillodd y grael* ("Three knights of Arthur's court who won the grail," TYP 86). *Tri marchog* is a triad that was conceived

[84] The version I attribute to the Red Book here is replicated in all other extant versions of this triad, besides Peniarth 47 and Peniarth 50. Those versions can be found in the following manuscripts: the White Book, Peniarth 51, Cwrtmawr 3, BL Add. 15,047, NLW MS 6434, and BL Add. 31,055. It will be noted that this is exactly the same distribution as for *Tair prif rhiain Arthur*, again strengthening the impression that the two triads traveled as a pair.
[85] Notably, none of the texts which follow the order of the limbs in the White Book and Red Book text(s) (named in note 83 above) use this partially-expanded title; it is confined to the White Book and Red Book.

of, written, and circulated entirely in a written milieu. In Bromwich's view, it is "probably the contribution of the redactor of Pen[iarth] 50," who, she argues, was particularly interested in the legend of the Holy Grail and Joseph of Arimathea.[86] The Peniarth 50 version of this triad is the earliest extant witness to it. That version reads:

> TYP 86 P50 text: Tri marcha6c o lys Arthur a enilla6d y Greal, ac eu duc y nef:
> Galaad 6ab La6nslod y lac, a Pheredur 6ab Efra6c iarll, a Bort vab brenhin Bort. A ddeu gyntaf oeddynt wery o gryff, a trydydd oedd ddiweir am na wnaeth pecha6t kna6da6l ont vnweith, a hynny dr6y brouedigaeth yn y amser y enilla6dd ef […][87] o verch Brenyn Brangor yr honn a vu ymherodres yn Constino[byl], o'r honn y deuth y genedlaeth v6yaf o'r byt, ag genedlaeth Joseph o Aramathea y hanoeddyn yll, ag o lin Dau[id] brof6yt mal y tystolaeth *Ystorya y Grael*.
>
> (TYP 86 P50 translation: Three knights of Arthur's court who won (achieved) the Grail, and they carried [it] to heaven:
> Galahad son of Lancelot du Lac, and Peredur son of earl Efrog, and Bort son of King Bort. And the first two were virgin of body, and the third was pure, since he committed a carnal sin only once. And that through temptation at the time that he won […] by the daughter of King Brangor, who was emperess in Constantinople, from her came the greatest nation in the world, and the nation of Joseph of Aramathea sprung from that one, and from the line of the prophet David according to the attestation of the *Ystorya Grael*.

This is an adaptation of material associated with the Arthurian Vulgate cycle. It is not difficult to determine where the triad's author found this material; notably, he explicitly names his source – *Ystoria Saint Greal*, the fourteenth-century Welsh translation of two French Vulgate romances, *La Queste del Saint Graal* and *Perlesvaus*. These two separate French texts are brought together in the Welsh *Ystoria* as though they are part one and part two of a single narrative, though they repeat and contradict each other in several places.[88] *Tri marchog* recapitulates the climax and

[86] Quote at Bromiwich, *TYP*, 226. See also ibid, xxvii-xix and the discussion of Peniarth 50's first microtext, above pp. 227-32, which Bromwich also concluded contained triads composed by this manuscript's scribe, Dafydd.
[87] The scribe has left a blank space on the page, omitting the personal name.
[88] Bromwich, *TYP*, 225. On *Ystoria Saint Greal*, also known as *Y Saint Greal*, see now Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan, "*Y Seint Greal*," in *Arthur in the Celtic Languages* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2019), 158-69. An edition of the first part of this text, that which is a translation of *La Queste del Saint Graal*, is in Thomas Jones, ed., *Ystoryaeu Seint Greal: Rhan I: Y Keis* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1992).

theme of the first part of the *Ystoria*, the part which is a translation of *La Queste del Saint Graal*, and it reflects *La Queste*'s stress on the importance of chastity. Galahad is the only knight of the Round Table who is able to succeed in his quest for the Grail, thanks to his flawless chastity and overall lack of sinfulness. This is in stark contrast to Galahad's father, Lancelot, who despite being an exemplary knight fails in the quest because of his sinful adulterous affair with Guinevere.[89] It is perhaps somewhat surprising to see a triad so heavily reliant on *Ystoria Saint Greal*, which urvives in just two medieval copies; *Tri gwyr gwarth*, the only other TYP triad that is an straight adaptation of material derived from a medieval Welsh prose text, is based on *Brut y Brenhinedd*, by far the most popular text in circulation in medieval Wales. *Tri marchog*, then, is a testament to interest in the Vulgate material on the part of at least one individual who worked to develop the Peniarth 50 TYP text. Despite the apparently small circulation of *Ystoria Saint Greal*, it is not surprising that fifteenth-century Welshman would be eager for Arthurian material, which was still one of the most popular cycles in Europe.[90]

Versions of *Tri marchog* also survive in two sixteenth-century manuscripts, BL Add. 15,047 and NLW MS 6434.[91] Both are much shorter and may be classified as partially-expanded

[89] Lloyd-Morgan, "Y Seint Greal," 159. On Lancelot, see Bromwich, *TYP*, 406-08. Lancelot as we know him first appears in Chretién de Troyes's *Erec et Enid* and his *Le Conte de la Charette* and the German poem *Lanzelet* (no critical edition of this text has been published to date, however, see Thomas Kerth, trans., *Lanzelet* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005)). All three of the poems date to the late twelfth century. Bromwich writes, "As an Arthurian hero, Lancelot is a secondary introduction of Breton-French origin…In the thirteenth-century Vulgate romances he finally supersedes the earlier hero Gawain…as the peer of Arthur's knights, just as his son Galahad…supersedes the earlier Perceval…as the Grail hero" (Bromwich, *TYP*, 407). *Tri marchog* is the only TYP triad to name Lancelot, and *Ystoria Saint Greal* is the only major medieval Welsh work in which he appears; he is not mentioned by any *Gogynfeirdd*, though he is named by a handful of the *cywywddwyr* (see Bromwich, *TYP*, 407). Cf. Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan, "Lancelot in Wales," in *Shifts and Transpositions in Medieval Narrative: A Festschrift for Dr. Ellspeth Kennedy* (Cambridge, England: D.S. Brewer, 1994), 169-79.

[90] Lloyd-Morgan includes an anecdote that is another example of an individual's particular interest in *Ystoria Saint Greal*: one monk at the monastery of Valle Crucis enlisting none other than the poet Guto'r Glyn to retrieve a copy of it. Guto records the request in one of his poems. (see Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan, "Manuscripts and Monasteries," in *Monastic Wales: New Approaches*, ed. Janet Burton and Karen Stöber (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2013), 209-27 at 220-21).

[91] The version in NLW MS 6434 is closely related to that of BL Add. 15,047 but not identical. See Appendix B, p. 459.

triads. It is clear that these versions are less dependent on material gleaned from *Ystoria Saint Greal*. The version in BL Add. 15,047 reads:

> TYP 86 BL Add. 15,047 text: Tri marchoc gwyry a gafas gwaed yr Arglwydd yn ghastell Garbyn yn orthwag: Predur ap Efrog, Gwalchmai ap Gwynar, Bwrt ap Lawnslod.
>
> (TYP 86 BL Add. 15,047 translation: Three chaste knights who discovered the blood of the Lord in the strong castle Garbyn:
> P[e]redur son of Efrog, Gwalchmai son of Gwynar, Bort son of Lancelot.

Apart from the significant expansion of the Peniarth 50 version, which does not have a parallel in any other text in the medieval corpus, the names in the limbs also differ. Peniarth 50 names Galahad where BL Add. 15,047 gives Gwalchmai, perhaps demonstrating the scribe's strong personal interest in that character.[92] The figure in the third limb of both versions, Bort, sees his parentage change between them. Peniarth 50 tells us he is the son of a king, also named Bort but, according to BL Add. 15,047, he is the son of Lancelot.[93] Peredur is the only figure who remains

[92] On Gwalchmai, see Bromwich, *TYP*, 367-71 and Bartrum, *A Welsh Classical Dictionary*, 343-46. This is a wide-spread and well-known figure in medieval Welsh *cyfarwyddyd* whose notoriety spread when he was drawn into Geoffrey of Monmouth's work and, from there, into the Continental Arthurian cycle as Sir Gawain. He is best known today as the protagonist of the fifteenth-century Middle English poem *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* but would have been known to medieval Welsh audiences from traditions derived from Chretién de Troyes's poem *Perceval* (see Keith Busby, ed., *Perceval (Le Conte du Graal)* (London: Grant and Cutler Ltd., 1993)) and other earlier Continental texts. Bartrum sums up Gwalchmai's role in Continental-derived Welsh material thus: "He is one of the stock figures of Arthur's Court and there is not a single Arthurian Romance in which he does not appear. If he is not always the best knight of the court that is only because the romance was written to celebrate the exploits of some other knight. In many he serves as a touchstone or foil, against whom the prowess of the hero-knight is measured. The Welsh recognised Gawain as their Gwalchmai and when they adapted the French romances Gawain always became Gwalchmai" (Bartrum, *A Welsh Classical Dictionary*, 345). In Wales, apart from Geoffrey of Monmouth, the romances, and the corpus of TYP, Gwalchmai is referred to in *Englynion y Beddau* (see Thomas Jones, ed. and trans., *The Black Book of Carmarthen 'Stanzas of the Graves'*, Sir John Rhys Memorial Lecture (London: Proceedings of the British Academy, 1967), §8), *Culhwch ac Olwen* (see Bromwich and Evans, eds., *Culhwch ac Olwen*, ll. 345, 404), *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* (Richards, ed. *Bredwyt Ronabwy*, 19.12). There is a reference in William of Malmesbury's work to a certain Walwen, a nephew of Arthur and a prestigious warrior whose tomb was reportedly discovered by an English king (quoted in translation at Bromwich, *TYP*, 368). This Walwen is often taken by scholars to be a Gwalchmai-like figure. Apart from *Tri marchog*, Gwalchmai appears in the following TYP triads:

[93] On Bort, see Bromwich, *TYP*, 290. Like Galahad and Lancelot, Bort (French *Bohort de Gannes*, the son of king *Bohort*) came into the Welsh tradition via *Ystoria Saint Greal*, which describes him thus: "*Ac ynteu a dywawt mae Bwrt a Gawns oed y henw. 'A mab brenhin Bort wyf, a chevynderw y Lancelot*'" ("And he said that his name was Bort *Agawns* [ie. Bohort de Gannes]. 'And I am the son of king Bort, and cousin to Lancelot.") (Jones, ed. *Ystoryaeu*

constant between the two versions, though he moves from the second limb in Peniarth 50 to the first in BL Add. 15,047.[94]

The shorter version of the triad in BL Add. 15,047 is thus less closely related to *Ystoria Saint Greal* than its counterpart in Peniarth 50. Galahad, the hero of the Grail story, is gone completely from this version and Bort, whom Peniarth 50 identifies as the son of king Bort, is said in BL Add. 15,047 to be the son of Lancelot in Galahad's place.[95] However, another important difference is that the version of *Tri marchog* in BL Add. 15,047 is specifically interested in *castell Garbyn*, the castle which is known in *Ystoria Saint Greal* as *kastell Corbennic* and in *La Queste del Saint Graal* as *chastel del Corbenyc*.[96] This is a detail from the

Seint Greal, l. 3206-07). The version of *Tri marchog* in BL Add. 15,047 thus seems to a misremembering or misinterpretation of that tale.

[94] This Peredur, another knight of the Round Table, should not be confused with another Peredur in TYP, the brother of Gwrgi and son of Eliffer *gosgorddfawr*. This is Chretién de Troyes's Perceval (see again Busby, *Perceval*) and Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival*. In Welsh literature, he is the eponymous hero of the prose tale *Peredur* (see Glenys Goeinck, ed. *Historia Peredur uab Efrawg* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1976) and he also appears prominently in *Gereint fab Erbin* (see Robert L. Thomson, ed., *Ystorya Gereint uab Erbin* (Dublin: Institute for Advanced Studies, 1997)). He also appears, as *Peredur Paladyr Hir* ("Peredur Long Spear") in the court list of *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* (Richards, ed., *Breudwyt Ronabwy*, 19.17). References to figures named Peredur in *Englynion y Beddau* (Jones, ed. and trans., *Stanzas of the Graves*, §22: *mab Peredur penwetic* ("son of Peredur of Penweddig") and the *Gododdin* (Jarman, ed. and trans., *Y Gododdin*, l. 342: *Peredur Arfau Dur* ("Peredur of the steel weapons") cannot be conclusively linked with this Peredur. The relationship between the Welsh Peredur and his Continental counterpart has been the subject of a great deal of debate (see Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan and Erich Poppe, "The First Adaptations from French: History and Context of a Debate," in *Arthur in the Celtic Languages*, ed. Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan and Erich Poppe (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2019), 110-116 and Rachel Bromwich, "First Transmission to England and France," in *The Arthur of the Welsh*, ed. Rachel Bromwich, A.O.H. Jarman, Brynley F. Roberts (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1991), 273-98). For a list of references to Peredur by the poets (no bardic references survive before the second half of the thirteenth century), see Bromwich, *TYP*, 480. Apart from *Tri marchog*, Peredur also appears in *Tri deifniog* ("Three well-endowed men," TYP 4). See Bromwich, *TYP*, 477-80; Bartrum, *A Welsh Classical Dictionary*, 616-18; Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan, "Historia Peredur ab Efrawg," in *Arthur in the Celtic Languages*, 145-57; Ian Lovecy, "Historia Peredur fab Efrawg," in *The Arthur of the Welsh*, 171-82; Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan, "Peredur in Wales," in *The Changing Face of Arthurian Romance: Essays on Arthurian Prose Romances in Memory of Cedric Pickford*, eds. Alison Adams, Armel H. Diverres, and Karen Stern (Woodbridge, England: The Boydell Press, 1986), 78-96.

[95] Bort identifies himself as Lancelot's cousin in *Ystoria Saint Greal*, see above note 93. However, a genealogy found in two sixteenth-century genealogies lists "*Bwrdd ap Bwrdd ap Lawnsslod brenin Gassgwin*" ("Bort son of Bort son of Lancelot king of Gascony") (see Peter C. Bartrum, "Arthuriana From the Genealogical Manuscripts," *National Library of Wales Journal* 14.2 (1965), 242-245 at 245).

[96] Jones, ed. *Ystoryaeu Seint Greal*, 309.

plot of story of the quest for the Grail that could not have been gleaned from Peniarth 50's version of the triad.

It is apparent, therefore, that someone with knowledge of the Grail quest story (either via the Welsh *Ystoria Saint Greal* or from another source) had a hand in the development of BL Add. 15,047's version of *Tri marchog* at some point. Nevertheless, the differences between the two versions make it clear that they cannot be directly related. I would suggest a possible explanation for this discrepancy is that the two versions of *Tri marchog* represent two separate expansions of a shorter triad which highlight different aspects of the Grail legend according to the interests of the scribe who expanded them. In the case of the Peniarth 50 version, the redactor is interested in Joseph of Arimathea and stresses the importance of chastity. The scribe of the version found in BL Add. 15,047 and NLW MS 6434, on the other hand, is interested specifically in the episode which took place in *castell Gorbyn*.

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This Arthurian microtext concludes with two triads, both of which survive only in Peniarth 47 and Peniarth 50. These are *Tri dyn gorau wrth ysp a phellennigion* ("Three men who were best to guests and strangers," TYP 75) and *Tri anheol* ("Three who could not be exiled," TYP 74). There is evidentally a close relationship between t these triads; they appear side-by-side in both manuscripts. It seems likely that the versions of these triads in Peniarth 47 and Peniarth 50 share a common ancestor. However, neither triad is identical in both versions and it is apparent that one or more scribes have left their mark in the intervening time since they diverged from each other.

The three limbs of *Tri dyn gorau* include only personal names and patronyms without any additional narrative information. However, its long, formula-defying title consigns it to the partially expanded category of triads. The two versions of this triad read:

> *TYP 75 P47 text:* Tri dyn goreu ɔrth ysp a phellennignyon ynys Prydein:
> Gwalchmei mab Gɔyar, a Gadɔy mab Gereint, a Chadeiryeith saidi.
>
> (*TYP 75 P47 translation*: Three men who were best to guests and strangers of the island of Britain:
> Gwalchmai son of Gwyar, and Gadwy son of Geraint, and Cadairiaith *saidi* (? "of the hilts"[97]).)
>
> *TYP 75 P50 text:* Tri dyn goreu yn llys Arthur ɔrth osp a phellenic:
> Gwalchmei mab Gɔyar, a Gadwy mab Gereint, a Chadyryieith mab Saidi.
>
> *TYP 75 P50 translation:* Three men of Arthur's court who were best to guests and strangers:
> Gwalchmai son of Gwyar, and Gadwy son of Geraint, and Cadiariaith son of Saidi.

These versions are almost identical to each other, orthographical differences in the title notwithstanding, except that Peniarth 50 includes the formulaic phrase *llys Arthur* ("of Arthur's court") in its prosaic title while its counterpart in Peniarth 47 does not.[98] It seems likely that this formula was added to Peniarth 50's version of the triad in order make a triad, which otherwise has no Arthurian material in it at all, fit into a compilation of triads pertaining to Arthur and his court.

Tri dyn gorau may have been included in this grouping in the first place because of its close proximity to *Tri anheol*, which includes the *llys Arthur* formula in both of its extant versions. *Tri anheol* immediately precedes *Tri dyn gorau* in Peniarth 47 and immediately follows

[97] This is an especially tortured rendering since *saidi* is not one of the plural forms of this noun supplied in GPC and is unlikely that this was meant as a sensical epithet, since it appears as a patronym in the Peniarth 50 version. That being said, see GPC s.v. *said* 'hilt, haft, handle, tong.'

[98] The title in Peniarth 50 reads "*Tri dyn goreu yn **llys Arthur** ɔrth osp a phellenic*." The corresponding title in Peniarth 47, meanwhile, reads, "*Tri dyn goreu ɔrth ysp a phellennignyon ynys Prydein*." See Appendix B, p. 464.

it in Peniarth 50. Unlike *Tri dyn gorau, Tri anheol* is a straightforward 'epithet + three names' formula triad:

> *TYP 74 P47 text:* Tri anhynodaɷc llys Arthur:
> Vchei mab Gɷryon, a Choldaɷc mab […],[99] a Gerenhyr mab Gerenyaɷc hen.
>
> (*TYP 74 P47 translation:* Three not famous men of Arthur's court:
> Uchei son of Gwrion, and Coldog son of […], and Gerenhir son of old Gereniog.)
>
> *TYP 74 P50 text:* Tri anheol o lys Arthr:
> Echau mab Gɷrgɷff, a Choldawc mab Gwynn, Genau hir mab gemennon.
>
> (*TYP 74 P50 translation*: Three men who could not be exiled from Arthur's court:
> Uchei son of Gwrgwff, and Coldog son of Gwynn, and tall Genau son of old Gemeirnon.)

Its limbs contain the same names as those found in the Peniarth 50 version, but there is more variation in their spelling than is the case for *Tri dyn gorau.* More significantly, where Peniarth 50 gives the epithet *anheol*, Peniarth 47 gives *anhynodog* ("not famous" or "unrenowned").[100] The fact that an entirely different epithet is used in Peniarth 47 than in its corresponding triad in Peniarth 50 may be explained by the fact that a triad with the same title -- *Tri anhynodog llys Arthur* – appears only four triads later in the text of Peniarth 47; it is possible that this duplication was caused by a copying error.[101]

\+ + +

A few points will suffice to sum up what has been said about the fifth microtext in Peniarth 50. The most striking characteristic of this section is its Arthurian theme. All seven of its triads name

[99] No patronymic here in the MS.
[100] Bromwich explicates *anheol* as the negative prefix *an + de(h)ol* 'to exile or expel.' See Bromwich, *TYP*, 205.
[101] This subsequent is TYP 77, the triad whose title Bromwich translates as "Three wanderers of Arthur's court," based on her interpretation of the variant reading of this epithet as *anhyfodog* in Robert Vaughan's seventeenth-century TYP text Peniarth 185 (see Appendix C, p. 514 note 251) and Bromwich, *TYP*, 207). TYP 77 is a variant of *Tri trwyddedog llys Arthur, a thri anfodog* ("Three licensed guests of Arthur's court, and three wanderers," TYP 65).

Arthur explicitly, and many of them use the *llys Arthur* formula or a related formulation in their titles. In one instance – that of *Tri dyn gorau yn llys Arthur wrth osp a phellenig* – the *llys Arthur* formula may have displaced the *ynys Prydain* formula, which appears in the only other extant version of this triad. This may have been done purposefully to introduce an Arthurian element to an otherwise non-Arthurian triad in order to fit it in this section.

Another indication that this Arthurian theme has been deliberately constructed is the fact that the triads which make up this microtext have been gathered from notably disparate sources. While other sections of Peniarth 50 contain triads that are related to one or two other TYP texts, the fifth microtext has one triad which appears in the Early version (*Tair lleithiglwyth)*, two which are related to the White and Red version (*Tair prif rhiain* and *Tair prif cariadwraig*), two related to the text of Peniarth 47 (*Tri dyn gorau* and *Tri anheol*), one which is unique to the Peniarth 50 text among the medieval TYP corpus (*Tri prif llys*) and one whose earliest witness is in Peniarth 50 (*Tri marchog*). This wide range of associations, paired with the strength of this microtext's Arthurian theme, is indicative of a process of compilation. Someone in the transmission history of this text set about to gather together Arthurian-themed triads from a range of sources and copy them out together in what became this microtext. This microtext thus represents the clearest example available to us of a section of TYP which has been constructed with a thematic purpose in mind in the later period of TYP transmission.

Microtext 6: Early version and trioedd y meirch

Table 22: Displaying the characteristics of triads associated with Peniarth 50's sixth microtext

TYP #	# in P50	mss spread	triad type	title genitive
22	41			
24	42			
44	43			
45	44			
46	45			
40	46			
41	47			

KEY:
MANUSCRIPT SPREAD:
= appears in P16
= appears in WR
= a version with substantial differences appears in WR
TRIAD TYPE:
= epithet + three names formula
= partially expanded triad
= expanded triad
GENITIVE IN THE TITLE:
= "ynys Prydain"

The final microtext in Peniarth 50 contains seven triads, five of which are associated with *trioedd y meirch*. These triads are *Tri glew* ("Three brave men," TYP 22), *Tri ysgymydd aerau* ("Three slaughter blocks," TYP 24), *Tri marchlwyth* ("Three horse-burdens," TYP 44), *Tri prif ychen* ("Three principal oxen," TYP 45), *Tri prif fuch* ("Three prinipal cows," TYP 46), *Tri anreithfarch* ("Three horses of plunder," TYP 40), and *Tri gordderchfarch* ("Three lovers' horses," TYP 41). Unlike texts of *trioedd y meirch* in some other manuscripts, there is no heading or break on the page here that introduces the horse triads or sets them apart from the rest of the TYP text. As is always the case when *trioedd y meirch* appears amongst a larger collection of triads, however, they do come at the very end of the text. This version of *trioedd y meirch*, which is a descendent of the B (Peniarth 16) text of *trioedd y meirch* and a cousin of the text found in the second exemplar of *Y Diarebion Camberäec*, has already been described in my discussion of *trioedd y meirch*, above. Peniarth 50's version of *Tri marchlwyth*, also discussed above, is a descendent of the *Z text of that triad and a cousin of the version in Peniarth 47. This microtext, then, is closely related to the Early version of TYP but shows influence from the TYP text in Peniarth 47.

This influence is surprising in the larger context of *trioedd y meirch*; as I demonstrated in Chapter 4, the text in Peniarth 47 (*trioedd y meirch* text D) is very different from all other horse

triad texts.[102] However, it is less surprising given the close relationship between the texts of Peniarth 47 and Peniarth 50 seen throughout this chapter. A likely explanation for this mix of *trioedd y meirch* texts B and D – a mix which is somewhat odd on its face – is that someone (probably the individual who brought this microtext together with those which are related to Peniarth 47) had access to both the B and D and simply chose to copy D's version of *Tri marchlwyth* into his version of TYP. He may have done so because the text of *Tri marchlwyth* in his copy of the B text was missing or damaged, or perhaps it was simply a matter of personal preference.

The five *trioedd y meirch* that conclude the TYP text in Peniarth 50 are preceded by two triads which are not horse triads but which cannot belong to the previous, Arthurian-themed microtext because neither of them contain any Arthurian elements whatsoever. Both of these triads appear in both the Early version and the White and Red version; comparison of the versions in Peniarth 50 reveals that they are more closely related to the Early version texts in Peniarth 16 and Peniarth 45 than they are to those in the White Book and Red Book. The first of these triads is *Tri glew* ("Three brave men," TYP 22). The various versions of it are compared below:

> *TYP 22 P16 (Early) text:* Tri glew enys Prydein, tri meib Haearnɔed ɔradawc:
> Grudnei, a Henben, ac Edenaɔc.
>
> *TYP 22 RBH (WR) text:* Tri gleɔ ynys Prydein:
> Grudnei, a Henbrien, ac Aedenaɔc. Ny doynt o gat namyn eu geloreu. Ac y sef oedynt y rei hynny: tri meib Gleissiar Gogled o Haearnwed uradaɔc eu mam.
>
> *TYP 22 P50 text:* Tri glew ynys Prydain, tri meib Haearned vradaɔc:
> [Grudnei,][103] a Henpen, ac Edenaɔc.

[102] See discussion in Chapter 4, p. 151.
[103] Damage to the manuscript at the bottom right-hand corner of the page has made this name illegible.

This is a partially-expanded triad in both the Early version and White and Red version, but has been expanded differently in each version. Peniarth 50 follows the expansion of the Early version rather than its more prosaic counterpart in the White and Red version.[104]

The next triad, *Tri ysgymydd aerau* ("Three slaughter-blocks," TYP 24) is a straightforward 'epithet + three names' formula-type triad whose limbs follow the order of Early version:

> *TYP 24 P16 (Early) text:* Tri ysgymyd aeruaeu enys Prydein:
> Gilbert mab Catgyffro, a Moruran eil Tegit, a Gɔgaɔn gledyfrud.
>
> *TYP 24 RBH (WR) text:* Tri esgemyd aereu ynys Prydein:
> Moruran eil Tegit, a Gɔgon gledyfrud, a Gilbert katgyffro.
>
> *TYP 24 P50 text:* Tri ysemyd aereu ynys Prydain:
> Gilbert mab katgyffro, a Moruran eil Tegit, a G6ga6n gledyrud.

The proximity of these Early version-derived triads to a text of *trioedd y meirch* derived from the B (Peniarth 16) text suggests that these two triads were gleaned from the same, Early-version source as Peniarth 50's *trioedd y meirch* and therefore belong to this microtext. I can offer no coherent hypothesis for why *Tri glew* and *Tri ysgymydd aerau* in particular were included, other than a whim of the copyist.

[104] Only two other versions of *Tri glew* also follow to the Early version text: Peniarth 45 and Peniarth 77. Several more follow the White and Red version: the White Book, Peniarth 51, Cwrtmawr 3, *Y Diarebion Camberäec*, BL Add. 15,047, and NLW MS 6434.

Cardiff 2.83's relationship to Peniarth 50

Table 23: Displaying the distribution of characteristics of the triads in Cardiff Central Library MS 2.83

TYP #	# in C 2.83	# in P50	mss spread	triad type	title genitive
37	1*	6	--	--	--
54	2*	7	--	--	--
59	3*	9	--	--	--
62	4	10			
52	5	11			
17	6	12			
29	7	13			
30	8	14			
2	9	15			
4	10	17			
5	11	18			
6	12	19			
8	13	20			
11	14	21			
53	15	29			
70	16	30			
51	17 (p. 101)	--			

* These triads are too fragmentary to glean information from.

KEY:
MANUSCRIPT SPREAD:
= substantially changed from P50
= agrees verbatim with P50
= ordinal number(s) added in C 2.83
= minor wording changes from P50
= short version of TYP 51
TRIAD TYPE:
= 'epithet + three names' formula triad
= partially expanded triad
= fully expanded triad
TITLE GENITIVE:
= 'ynys Prydain'

Cardiff Central Library MS 2.83 contains a TYP text that is closely related to one found in Peniarth 50. Cardiff 2.83 was written around the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by the scribe Daniel Huws has dubbed X1. It is the latest text of TYP considered in this dissertation. A significant portion of this text has been lost due to damage to the manuscript.[105] Only a few fragments of the earlier part of the text remain; there is enough legible writing in these fragments to identify three fragmentary triads. These are *Tri chud a thri datcud* ("Three concealments and three disclosures," TYP 37), *Tri drud aerfa* ("Three costly ravagings," TYP 53), and *Tri anfad gynghor* ("Three unfortunate counsels," TYP 59); unfortunately all three are too fragmentary to glean any more substantial information from them.

The legible portion of the text includes thirteen triads which evidently descend from the TYP text in Peniarth 50. Additionally, a shortened version of *Tri gwyr gwarth* ("Three men of shame," TYP 51) appears almost one hundred pages later in the manuscript and must have been

[105] See Appendix C, pp. 504-06.

copied from a different source.[106] As can be seen in Table 23 above, only one of the thirteen triads in the main text, *Tri hael* ("Three generous men," TYP 2), is a verbatim copy of its counterpart in Peniarth 50. The rest have been re-worked to a lesser or greater degree. The most common difference between triads in Peniarth 50 and triads in Cardiff 2.83 is the addition in Cardiff 2.83 of ordinal numbers at the beginning of each limb. Seven triads in Cardiff 2.83 include ordinals where they are not in the corresponding version in Peniarth 50. For instance, the two manuscripts' versions of *Tri phost cad* ("The pillars of battle," TYP 5) are compared below:

> TYP 5 P50 text: Tri phost kat ynys Prydein:
> Dunaɷt vaɷr mab Pabo post Prydein, a Gwallaɷc mab Llennaɷc, a Chynvelyn drɷsgol.
>
> (TYP 5 P50 translation: Three pillars of battle of the island of Britain:
> Dunod *fawr* son of Pabo pillar of Britain, and Gwallog son of Llennog, and Cynfelyn *drwsgl* ("clumsy").)
>
> TYP 5 C2.83 text: Tri ffost kad ynys Brydain:
> Dynod fawr ap Pabo post Prydain, **a'r ail fɷ** Wallawg ap Llennwg, **a'r trydydd fɷ** Gynfelyn drwstwl.
>
> (TYP 5 C2.83 translation: Three pillars of battle of the island of Britain
> Dunod *fawr* son of Pabo pillar of Britain, **and the second was** Gwallog son of Llennog, **and the third was** Cynfelyn *drwsgwl* ("clumsy").)

As this example illustrates, the ordinal numbers have been added as part of an overall effort to introduce full sentences to what was a bare, 'epithet + three name' formula-type triad in Peniarth 50. This exact pattern of expansion is also found when one compares the Peniarth 50 and Cardiff

[106] In addition to here in Cardiff 2.83, the shortened version of *Tri gwyr gwarth* appears in the following manuscripts: Cwrtmawr 3, BL Add. 15,047, and NLW 6434. By contrast, the longer version appears only in the Red Book and Peniarth 50 (see Appendix B, pp. 439-42. *Tri gwyr gwarth* is notable for being the longest and most expanded triad in the TYP corpus as well as being derived entirely from Geoffrey of Monmoth via *Brut y Brenhinedd*. It deserves more attention than it has otherwise receieved but see Bromwich, *TYP*, 138-45. The longer and shorter versions of this triad are closely related; Bromwich writes that "it is clear that [the shorter] version derives ultimately from that of [the Red Book]" (Bromwich, *TYP*, 141). She presumably comes to this conclusion because the extant witnesses to the shorter version are significantly later than those of the longer version. I would not jump to this conclusion, however; it is unclear to me whether the shorter version represents a reduction of the version found in the Red Book and Peniarth 51 or if it represents a separate expansion of a shorter original.

2.83 versions of *Tri tharw cadug* (“Three bull-protectors,” TYP 6), *Tri tharw unben* (“Three bull-lords,” TYP 7), and *Tri lledyf unben* (“Three humble/prostrate lords,” TYP 8). Another, *Tri gwith balfod* (“Three sinister blows,” TYP 53), which follows Peniarth 50 in using the title *Tri anfad balfod* (“Three unfortunate blows,”), additionally incorporates “*Kyntaf*” (“first”) into the first limb. Cardiff 2.83’s version of *Tri hualog* (“Three fettered men,” TYP 17), meanwhile, only includes the ordinal in its first limb and leaves the second and third unaltered.

It appears that, sometime in the intervening century and a half or so between the creation of Peniarth 50 and Cardiff 2.83, someone added short phrases to several of these triads and transformed them from ‘epithet + three names’ formula-type triads into partially-expanded triads. By introducing prose elements to these triads, this individual was unknowingly participating in two of the most prominent trends visible in the TYP manuscript corpus: the increasingly common hallmarks of written transmission and the tendency for copyists and scribes to impart their own creative choices onto the collection.

CONCLUSION

The nineteen texts that make up the medieval corpus of *Trioedd Ynys Prydain* were created between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries. These texts are the work of at least nineteen scribes whose work survives. Several of their names are recorded in the books they wrote while several more are anonymous.[1] Behind these nineteen scribes lies the work of dozens, if not hundreds, of individuals who were also involved in the copying and transmission of TYP but whose work has been lost. Despite the fact that their manuscripts do not survive, many of these scribes left their mark on the corpus by adapting, expanding, and re-working the texts they copied. These scribes should be thought of as being part of the same intellectual milieu as the lawyers and poets who wrote medieval Wales's law texts and bardic grammars.[2]

In the case studies of Part 1, I examined individual expanded narrative triads and argued that they should be considered authored prose passages which reflect the interests and creative choices of individual scribes working (probably) in the early thirteenth century. In Part 2, I traced the transmission history of *trioedd y meirch* and examined the TYP texts in Peniarth 47 , the Red Book of Hergest, and Peniarth 50 in depth. I argued in these chapters that these texts are compilations of several smaller "microtexts" which have been brought together to form the surviving larger collections. TYP as they exist today contains material that was composed and developed over a span of three centuries. They are an invaluable trove of medieval *cyfarwyddyd*. However, they are not, as is often said, a window into the pre-Galfridian Welsh storytelling tradition, as far as we have anything to compare them to. Instead – and no less importantly – they are a window into the later medieval period.

+ + +

[1] To the extent possible, these scribes are identified in Appendix C.
[2] See the discussion in the introduction to Part 2, pp. 143-45.

There is one important aspect of TYP that can be obscured by a minute reading of the corpus despite being present in its title – these are the Triads *of the island of Britain*. It is worth taking some space at the close of this dissertation to reflect on that omnipresent phrase, *ynys Prydain*. These triads purport to contain the *cyfarwyddyd* of the whole of Britain – not Wales.[3]

The phrase *ynys Prydain* reflects the Welsh belief that the Welsh people were the rightful heirs of British sovereignty. This long-standing belief gets perhaps its earliest expression in the tenth-century poem *Armes Prydain Fawr* and continued to be an important, motivating force in Welsh politics (and national identity) through the conclusion of the Wars of the Roses, when the ascension of Henry Tudor in 1485, it appeared to many Welshmen, fulfilled the prophecy that the crown of London would again be worn on a Welsh head.[4] This moment of triumph, however, is in stark contrast to the reality of the majority of Welsh history: the Welsh people were a conquered and colonized people in their own homeland.[5] The thirteenth through sixteenth centuries -- the period when the medieval TYP corpus was being copied, expanded, and developed by Welsh scribes – saw the relentless growth of English hegemony in both the political and cultural spheres.[6] In this context, the assertion that TYP are the Triads *of the island of Britain* can be read, on one hand, as an almost-radical rejection of that status quo. On the other hand, however, it seems to me doubtful that any given scribe who worked with this material would have been conscious that they were in any way making a political statement – they were merely passing on the storytelling tradition of their forebears.

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[3] On the meanings of the terms "British" and "Welsh" and their relationship to each other, see Huw Pryce, "British or Welsh?: National Identity in Twelfth-Century Wales," *English Historical Review* 116 (2001), 775-801.
[4] For *Armes Prydain Fawr*, see Ifor Williams, ed. *Armes Prydein: The Prophecy of Britain*, trans. Rachel Bromwich (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1982).
[5] For a postcolonial reading of medieval Wales, see R.R Davies, *The First English Empire: Power and Identites in the British Isles, 1093-1433* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
[6] For the history of this period, see R.R. Davies, *The Age of Conquest: Wales, 1063-1415* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1991) and Glanmor Williams, *Renewal and Reformation: Wales, c. 1415-1642* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1993).

Understanding TYP as a collection that pertains to Welsh cultural memory and historical imagination is only one of number of subjects relating to TYP that remains to be mined. I began this project four years ago with a host of research questions that have been left unexplored – not only the question of what *ynys Prydain* would have meant to a medieval Welsh scribe but also many others: what is the relationship between TYP and the work of the *Gogynfeirdd*? What is the relationship between TYP and the *Mabinogi* and other medieval Welsh prose tales? To the medieval genealogical texts? To what extent do microtexts exist in the Early version texts Peniarth 16 and Peniarth 45? How much impact does the location a manuscript was written have on which triads it contains? To what extent does Arthurian and Galfridian-derived material truly dominate the later medieval TYP texts? All of these and more are topics to which I once planned to dedicate a chapter, before being forced to concede that they would broaden the scope of this dissertation unreasonably. I suspect (and hope) that these questions will allow me to continue working with TYP for years to come.

And so, I will close with a relatively modest, deceptively obvious conclusion: *Trioedd Ynys Prydain* are authored texts. They were composed, expanded, and re-worked by individual scribes working with this material in Wales between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries. They can tell us a great deal about Welsh *cyfarwyddyd* and its transmission. In order to glean that information, however, scholars must accept that TYP reflect the Wales of the later Middle Ages rather than continuously attempting to force them to shed light on a pre-Galfridian Welsh storytelling tradition that has, unfortunately, been irretrievably lost.

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APPENDIX A: EDITIONS OF TYP TEXTS

Contents:

A1. NLW Peniarth MS 1 (Black Book of Carmarthen) (s.xiii^{med}, unknown hand, Priory of Carmarthen.)
A2. NLW Peniarth MS 16 (part vi) (s.xiii^{2}, X76.)
A3. NLW Peniarth MS 45 (s.xiv^{1}, X87.)
A4.. NLW Peniarth MS 4 (White Book of Rhydderch, part 2) (s.xiv^{med}, scribe D of the White Book, Strata Florida.)
A5. Oxford, Jesus College MS 111 (Red Book of Hergest) (c. 1400, Hywel Fychan, Ynysmorgan, Abertawe.)
A6. NLW Peniarth MS 47 (part iv) (s.xv^{med}, Siancyn ap Dafydd ap Gruffudd)
A7. NLW Peniarth MS 50 (*Y Cwta Cyfarwydd*) (c. 1445, Dafydd, Glamorgan (Neath abbey?))
A8. NLW Peniarth MS 51 (c. 1460-80, Gwilym Tew)
A9. NLW Peniarth MS 27ii (s.xv^{2}, unknown hand, North Wales)
A10. NLW Llanstephan MS 12 (s.xvi^{med}, unknown hand, South Wales.)
A11. NLW Peniarth 16 (part vii) (s.xv^{med}, Simwnt Fychan)
A12. NLW Cwrtmawr MS 3 (c. 1564, William Salesbury)
A13. BL Y Diarebion Cameraëc (c. 1567, William Salesbury)
A14. NLW Peniarth MS 77 (c. 1576, Thomas Wiliems)
A15. BL Additional MS 15,047 (c. 1575-6, Hywel ap Syr Mathew)
A16. NLW MS 6434 (c. 1577, Ieuan Llwyd).
A17. BL Additional MS 31,055 (1591-96, Thomas Wiliems)
A18. Cardiff Central Library MS 2.26 (s.xvi/xvii, Sion Dafydd Rhys)
A19. Cardiff Central Library MS 2.83 (s.xvi/xvii, X1)

Editorial conventions:

1. Triads are numbered by the order in which they appear in each manuscript.
2. Headings and colophons are italicized.
3. Later corrections, either marginal or in text, are given in brackets in italics. When readability is hindered by trying to express the original reading and the correction, the correction has been given in footnotes.
4. Expansions of abbreviations, which are rare in this corpus but do occur, are given in italics without brackets (or, when abbreviations occur in headings, un-italicized).
5. Marginal notes containing supplementary information are given as footnotes.
6. In places where a word has been misspelled or left out and it makes the text unclear, I have added supplemental information in brackets without italics. However, I have preserved misspellings etc. as much as possible.
7. Only proper nouns are capitalized.
8. Distinctions between u, v, and ȣ have been preserved.

A1.[1] NLW Peniarth MS 1 (Black Book of Carmarthen), fols. 14r-14v
s.xiii^{med}, in an unknown hand.

A1.1. Tri anreith march Inis P[ri]dein:
Carnawlauc march Owein mab Vrien, a Bucheslum Seri march Gugaun Cletywrut, a Tauautir Breichir m[arch][2] Kadwallaun fil*ius*[3] K[atuan]

A1.2. [*fol. 14v*] Tri t[*h*]om etystir Inis Pridein:
Arwul melin march Passcen fil*ius* Vrien, a Du hir terwenhit march Selyw mab Kynan Garrvin, a Drudluid march Ryterch Hael.

A1.3. Tri gohoev etystir Inis Pridein:
Guynev godvff hir march Kei, Ruthir ehon tuth bleit, march Gilberd mab Kadgyffro, a Kein caled march Gualchmei.

A1.4. Tri hoev etistir Inis Pridein:
Llv agor march Karadauc b[reichuras], a Melynlas march Kaswallaun mab Bely […][4]

[1] See Appendix C1, pp. 464-68.
[2] This manuscript uses an "m." abbreviation for *march* that is identical to the abbreviation for *mab* in other manuscripts. I have indicated my expansion of the abbreviation here but not elsewhere. It occurs at every subsequent use of *march* in this manuscript.
[3] This and the subsequent use of *filius* are the only examples I have seen which use *filius* in place of *mab* in the corpus.
[4] The text cuts off here at the end of the page.

A2.[1] NLW Peniarth MS. 16, fols. 50r-53v
s.xiii[2], in the hand of X76.

A2.1. [Triad 1:]
[…][2] Kernyw, a Bytwini escob yn ben esgyb, a Charadawc ỏreichuras yn ben henyf. Arthur yn ben deyrned ym penn Ryonyd yn y Gogled, a Gerthmul wledic yn benn hyneif, a Chyndeyrn garthwys yn benn esgyb.

A2.2. Tri hael e*nys* P*rydein*:
Nud hael m*ab* Senyllt, Mordaf hael m*ab* Seruan, Ryderch hael m*ab* Tudwal tutclyt.

A2.3. Tri gwynderyn e*nys* P*rydein*:
Ewein m*ab* ỏryen, Run m*ab* Elgwn,[3] Ruuaỏn beuyr m*ab* Dewrarth wledic.

A2.4. Tri deifnyawc e*nys* P*rydein*:
Gwalchmei m*ab* Gwyar, a Llacheu m*ab* Arthur, a Riwallawn wallt banhadlen.

A2.5. Tri phost cat e*nys* P*rydein*:
Dunaỏt m*ab* Pabo post Prydein, a Gwallaỏc m*ab* Lleennaỏc, a Chynuelyn drwsgyl.

A2.6. Tri tharw catuc e*nys* P*rydein*:
Kynỏaỏr catgaduc mab Kynwyt Kynwydyon, a Gwendoleu mab Keidaỏ, ac ỏryen mab Kynỏarch.

A2.7. Tri tharw ỏnben e*nys* P*rydein*:
Elinwy m*ab* Cadegyr, a Chynhaual mab Argat, ac Auaon m*ab* Talyessin. Tri meib beird oedynt ell tri.

A2.8. Tri lledyf ỏnben e*nys* P*rydein*:
Llywarch hen m*ab* Elidir lledanwyn, a Manawdyan m*ab* Llyr llyedyeith, a Gwgaỏn gwron m*ab* Peredur m*ab* Elifer gosgoruaỏr.

A2.9. Tri ỏnben llys Arthur:
Goỏrowy m*ab* Echel ỏordwytwll, a Chadreith m*ab* Porthaỏr gadw, a Fleudur flam.

A2.10. Tri ỏnben Deiuyr a Brennych:
Gall m*ab* Disgyfdawt, ac Ysgafnell m*ab* Disgyfdawt, a Diffydell m*ab* Disgyfdawt. Tri meib beird oedynt ell tri.

A2.11. Tri gwaỏrud beird e*nys* P*rydein*:
Tristỏardd bard ỏryen, a Dygynnelw bard Ewein [*fol. 50v*] m*ab* ỏryen, ac Auan ỏerdic bard Catwallaỏn m*ab* Catuan.

A2.12. Tri oỏerỏeird e*nys* P*rydein*:

[1] See discussion at Appendix C2, pp. 468-70.
[2] Beginning wanting.
[3] Presumably a mistake for "Maelgwn."

Arthur, a Chatwallaɔn m*ab* Catuan, a Rahaut eil Morgant.

A2.13. Tri chynweissyat enys Prydein:
Caradaɔ[c][4] m*ab* Bran, a Charurdaf m*ab* Karadauc, ac Ewein m*ab* Ma[x]en[5] wledic.

A2.14. Tri llyghessaɔc e*nys* P*rydein*:
Gereint m*ab* Erbin, a Gɔwenwynwyn m*ab* Naf, a March m*ab* Meirchyaɔn.

A2.15. Teir llyges kynniwerir[6] e*nys* P*rydein*:
Llyges Llawr m*ab* Eiryf, a llyges Diɔwng m*ab* Alan, a llyghes Solor m*ab* Murthach.

A2.16. Tri gwrduaglaɔc e*nys* P*rydein*:
Riueri m*ab* Tangwn, a Dinaɔt ɔaglaɔc, a Phryder m*ab* [*Dolor*] Deiuyr a Brennych.

A2.17. Tri hualaɔc e*nys* P*rydein*:
Katwaladyr ɔendigeit, a Run m*ab* Maelgɔn, a Riwallaɔn wallt banhadlen.

A2.18. Tri chatuarchaɔc e*nys* P*rydein*:
Caradaɔc ɔreichuras, a Menwaed o Arllechwed, a Llyr lluydaɔc.

A2.19. Tri galouyd e*nys* P*rydein*:
Greidyaɔl galouyd m*ab* Euɔael adrann, a Gueir gwrhytɔaɔr, a Drystan m*ab* Tallwch.

A2.20. Tri ruduoaɔc e*nys* P*rydein*:
Arthur, a Run m*ab* Beli, a Morgant mwy[*n*]uaɔr.

A2.21. Tri thaleithyaɔc cat e*nys* P*rydein*:
Drystan m*ab* Tallwch, a Hueil m*ab* Caw, a Chei m*ab* Kenyr keinuaruaɔc. Ac vn oed taleithyaɔc arnadunt wynteu ell tri: Bedwyr m*ab* Bedraɔc oed hɔnnɔ.

A2.22. Tri glew e*nys* P*rydein*, tri meib Haearnɔed ɔradawc:
Grudnei, a Henben, ac Edenaɔc.

A2.23. Tri thahauc e*nys* P*rydein*:
Sawyl ben uchel, a Phasken m*ab* Vryen, and Run m*ab* Einyaɔn.

A2.24. Tri ysgymyd aeruaeu e*nys* P*rydein*:
Gilbert m*ab* Catgyffro, a Moruran eil Tegit, a Gɔgaɔn gledyfrud.

A2.25. Tri aer e*nys* P*rydein*:
[*fol. 51r*] Selyf m*ab* Kenan Garrwyn, ac Vryen m*ab* Kynvarch, ac Auaon m*ab* Talyessan.

A2.26. Tri gwrdueichyat e*nys* P*rydein*:

[4] This "c" has been cropped off.
[5] This "x" has been cropped off.
[6] Corrected from "gynniweir" in the same hand.

Drystan m*ab* Tallwch, a gedwis moch March Meirchyawn hyt tra aeth y meichyat y erchi y Essyllt dyuo[*t*] yw gynnadyl. Ac Arthur yn keissyaɔ un hwch onadunt ac y dwyll ac y dreis a'e nys cauas.

A Phryderi m*ab* Pwyll Pen Annwnyn,[7] a gedwis moch Pen Daran Dy[*uet*] yg Glyn Cɔch yn Emlyn.

A Choll m*ab* Collɔrewy a gedwis Henwen hɔch Dallwyr Dallben a aeth yg Gordody hyt ym Penryn Austin yg Kernyw. Ac yn Aber Tarogi yg Went ys Coet y doeth y'r tir. A Choll map Collɔrewy a'e laɔ yn y gwrych pa ford bynnac y kerdei nac ar ɔor nac ar dir. Ac y maes gɔenith yg Went y dotwes gɔenithen, a gɔenynen. Ac yr y mae goreu lle y wenith a'e wenyn y lle hwnnɔ. Ac odyno yd aeth hyt yn Llonyon ym Penɔro. Ac yno y dotwes ar eiden a Gɔenynen. Ac odyna y kerdws hyt yn riw Kyuerchuch yn Eryri. Ac yno y dotwes ar geneu bleid. Ac ar gyw eryr a rodes y ɔenwaed o'r o Arllechwedd. A'r rei hynny ɔu Menwaed, ac eryr Brennach. Ac odyna yd aeth hyt y maendu yn Lla[*n*]ɔeir yn Aruon. Ac yno y dotwes a'r geneu cath. ~~Ac~~ [*A'r*] keneu hwnnɔ a ɔwrywys Coll m*ab* Collɔrewy y Menei. A honno wedy hynny ɔu gath Baluc.

A2.27. Tri lleturithaɔc e*nys* P*rydein*:
Coll m*ab* Collɔrewy, [*fol. 51v*] a Menw m*ab* Tengɔaed, a Drych eil Kibdar.

A2.28. Teir prif hut e*nys* P*rydein*:
Hut Math m*ab* Mathonwy, a hut ɔthyr Bendragon, a hut Gwythelin gorr.

A2.29. Tri diweir deulu e*nys* P*rydein*:
Deulu Catwallaɔn m*ab* Catuan, a uuant seith mlyned y gyt ac yn Ywerdon, ac yn hynny o yspeit ny o uynassant dim idaɔ, rac goruot arnadunt y adaɔ. A'r eil teulu Gauran m*ab* Aedan, a aethant y'r mor dros eu harglwyd. A thrydyd teulu Guendoleu m*ab* Keidaɔ yn Arderyd, a gynhalyassant y ɔrydyr pythewnos a mis wedy llad eu harglwyd. Sef oed riuedi teuluoed pob un o'r gɔyr hynny vn can wr ar ugeint.

A2.30. Tri anyweir deulu e*nys* P*rydein*:
Teulu Goronwy peuyr o [*Bowys*],[8] a omedassant[9] eu harglwyd o erbynnyeit y gɔenwynwayw y gan Lleu llaɔ gyffes yn llech Oronwy ym blaen kynuael. A theulu Gɔrgi a Pheredur, a adaɔassant eu harglwyd yg Caer Greu, ac oet ymlad udunt drannoeth ac Eda glinɔawr, ac yna y llas ell deu. A theulu Alan Fyrgan, a ymchuelassant y ɔrthaɔ hyt nos ac ellɔng a'e weissyon Gamlan ac yno y llas.

A2.31. Teir gosgord adwy e*nys* P*rydein*:
Gorgord Myndaɔc Eidyn, a gosgord Melyn mab Kynuelyn, a gosgord Dryon mab Nud.

A2.32. Try weyr a wnaeth y teir mat gyflauan:
Gall m*ab* Dysgyfdaɔt a ladaɔd deu ede[ryn][10] Gɔendoleu, ac yeu o eur a oed arnadunt. Dwy gelein o'r Kymry a yssynt ar eu kinyaɔ a dwy ar eu kwynos. Ac Ysgafnell m*ab* Disgyfdaɔt a [*fol.*

[7] A pointing finger drawn in the margin draws attention to this name.
[8] A word, now illegible, has been scratched out and "Bowys" has been written over it in a different hand.
[9] The word *ymadaussant* is deleted with *puncti delens*.
[10] Gloss in the hand of Jaspar Gruffyth at the bottom of the page: *ederyn Gwenðoleu, y rhai oeðynt yn cadw ei [???] ar harian.*

52r] ladaȣt Edeldlet ȣrenhin Lloeygr. A Diffydell m*ab* Dysgyfdawd [*a laddodd*][11] Gȣrgi garwlȣyt. A'r Gȣrghi hȣnnȣ a ladei gelein beunyd o'r Kymyry a dwy bob Sadȣrn rac y Sul ȣr un.

A2.33. Teir anvat gyflauan e*nys* P*rydein*:
Heidyn m*ab* Enygan a ladaȣd Aneiryn gwaȣtryd mech deyrn beird, a Llaȣgat trȣm bargaȣt Eidyn, a ladaȣd Auaon m*ab* Talyeisin, a Llouan llaȣ diuo a ladaȣd Vryen m*ab* Kynȣarch.

A2.34. Teir anȣat ȣwyallaȣt e*nys* Pr*ydein*:
Bȣyallaȣt Eidyn ym Pen Aneiryn, a'r ȣwyallaȣt ym pen Golydan ȣard, a'r ȣwyallaȣt ym pen Yago m*ab* Beli.

A2.35. Tri chyuor a aeth o'r enys hon, ac ny doeth dracheuyn ȣr un onadunt:[12]
ȣn a aeth gan Elen luydaȣc a Chynan y braȣt.

Eil a aeth gan Yrp lluydaȣc yn oes Cadyal m*ab* Eryn, a doeth eman y erchi kymorth, ac nyt archei o bob pryf gaer namyn deu kymeint ac a delei ganthaȣ idi. Ac ny doeth ganthaȣ yr gaer gyntaf namyn ef a'e was.[13] Ac ardustru ȣu rodi hynny idaȣ. A hȣnnȣ eissyoes lwyrhaf llu a aeth o'r enys hon. Ac ny doeth dracheuyn byth nep onadunt. Sef lle y trigws y gwyr hynny: yn dwy enys yn emyl mor Groec. Sef yw y dwy enys hynny: Gals ac Auena.

Trydyd kyvor a aeth gan Gaswallaȣn m*ab* Beli,[14] a Gwenwynwyn a Gȣanar meibyon Lliaȣs m*ab* Nwyȣre, ac Aryanrot merch ȣeli eu mam. Ac o Arllechwed yd hanoed y gwyr hynny. Ac aethant y gyt a Chaswallawȣn eu hewtyr drwy ȣor yn ol y Cesaryeit. Sef lle y mae y [*fol. 52v*] gȣyr hynny: yg Wasgwyn. A sef eiryf a aeth ym pob ȣn o'r lluoed hynny: ȣn ȣil ar ugeint, a'r rei hyny oed y tri aryanllu. Sef achaȣs y gelȣit y ȣelly ȣrth ȣynet eur ac aryant yr enys ganthunt ac eu dethol wynteu o oreu y oreu.

A2.36. Teir gormes a doeth y'r enys hon, ac nyt aeth ȣr un dracheuyn:
ȣn onadunt kywdaȣt y Corryanyeit a doethant eman yn oes Caswallaȣn m*ab* Beli ac nyt aeth ȣr un onadunt dracheuyn. Ac o'r Auia pan hanoedynt. Eil go[*r*]mes y Gwydyl Fychti ac nyt aeth ȣr un onadunt dracheuyn. Tryded gormes y Saeson a Gors a Hengyst yn benaduryeit arnadunt.

A2.37. Tri chud a thri datcud e*nys* P*rydein*:
Penn Bendigeituran m*ab* Llyr a gladwyt yn y gȣynȣryn yn Llundein, a hyt tra ȣei y penn yn yr ansaȣd yd oed yno: ny doy ormes byth y'r enys hon. Eil esgyrn Gȣertheuyr ȣendigeit a gladwyt ym pryf byth yr enys hon. Trydyd y y dreigeu a gladwys Llud m*ab* Beli yn Dinas Emreis yn Eryri.

A2.38. [T]ri[15] rodedicuarch e*nys* P*rydein*:
Meinlas march Caswallaȣn mab Beli, Melyngan mangre march Lleu Lleu [sic] llaȣ gyffes, a Lluagor march Caradaȣc ȣreichuras.

A2.39. Tri phryf edystir e*nys* P*rydein*:

[11] Correction in the hand of Jaspar Gruffyth.
[12] A pointing finger drawn in the margin draws attention to the beginning of this triad.
[13] A marginal note here in the hand of Jaspar Gruffydd: "*Machuchafar ei was.*"
[14] A pointing finger drawn in the margin draws attention to the beginning of this limb.
[15] The scribe has left room for a capital "T" that was never inserted here. It is possible this was meant to be specially decorated to indicate the beginning of *trioedd y meirch*.

Du hir tynnedic march Kynan Garrwyn ac Awydaɔc breichir march Kyoret eil[16] Kynan, a Rudɔreon tutɔleid march Gilbert m*ab* Catgyffro.

A2.40. Tri anreinɔarch e*nys* P*rydein*:
Carnaɔlaɔc march Ewein mab Vryen a Thanaɔthir march Cat- [*fol. 53r*] -wallaɔ[*n*] mab Catuan, a Bucheslom march Gwgawn gledyfrud.

A2.41. Tri gorderchɔarch e*nys* P*rydein*:
Ferlas march Dalldaf eil Cunin Cof, a Rudurych march Rahaɔt eil Morgant a Guelwgan gohoewgein march Moruran eil Tegit.

A2.42. Tri gohoew edystyr enys Prydein:
Llwyt march Alser mab Maelgwn, a Gɔineu godwf hir march Kei, a Chethin carnaɔlaw march Idon mab Enyr Gɔent.

A2.43. Tri thom edystyr e*nys* P*rydein*:
Du march Brwyn mab Kynadaf, ac Arɔwl ɔelyn march Pasken mab ɔryen, a Rudlwyt march Ryderch hael.

A2.44. Tri meir[*ch*][17] a dugant y tri marchlwyth:

Du Moro[18] march Elidir mwynɔaɔr, a duc a[*r*]naɔ seith nyn a hanner o Benllech yn y Gogled hyt ym Penllech y Mon. Sef seith nyn oedynt: Elidir mwynɔaɔr, a Eurgein y wreic, merch Ewein Gwyned,[19] a Gɔynn da gyɔet, a Gɔyn da reinyat, a mynach Naomon y gyghorwr, a Phrydelaɔ menestyr y walloɔyat, ac Aryanɔagyl y was, a Gelbeineuin y goc a n[*o*]uyes a'e dwylaɔ ar Bedrein y march, a hɔnnɔ ɔu hanner y dyn.

Er eil marchlwyth a duc Cornan march meibyon Elifer, a duc Gɔrgi a Pheredur arnaɔ, a Dunaɔt ɔwr, a Chynɔelyn drwsgyl, y edrych ar ɔygedorth Gɔendoleu Arderyd.

E trydyd marchaɔelwyth a duc Heich march meibyon Gɔerthmɔl wledic, a duc Gɔeir, a Gleis ac Arthanat yn erbyn allt ɔaellwr yg Keredigyaɔn yn dial eu tat.

A2.45. Tri phryf ychen enys Prydein:
Melyn Gɔal- [*fol. 53v*] -anhwyn, a Gɔineu ych Gwylwylyd, a'r ych Brych.

A2.46. Teir phryf uuch e*nys* P*rydein*:
Brech buwch ɔaelgwn Gwyned, a Thonnllwyt bɔwch meibyon Eliffer gosgordɔawr, a Choruillo buɔch llawuroded ɔarɔaɔc.

[16] A second *eil* has been deleted here with *puncti delens*.
[17] This "ch" has been added in the margin as a correction in the hand of Jaspar Gruffydd.
[18] Marginal note in the hand of Jaspar Gruffydd: "*Du y Moredd*"
[19] A roughly contemporary-looking hand has corrected "Ewein" to "Maelgvn" in the margin (Ewein is deleted with *puncti delens*).

A3.[1] NLW Peniarth MS 45, pp. 293-301
s.xiv[1], in the hand of X87.

*Trioed Arth*ur *a'e Wyr:*

A3.1. Teir lleithclɔyth ynys Prydein:
Arthur yn pen teyrned ym Mynwɔ, a Dewi yn pen esgyb, a Maelgɔn Gɔyned yn pen hyneif. Arthur yn pen teyrned yg Kelli Wig yg Kernyɔ, a Bitwini escob yn pen esgyb, a Charataɔc ureichuras yn pen hyneif. Arthur yn pen teyrned ym Pen Rionyd yn y Gogled, a Chynteryn garthwys yn pen esgyb, a Garthmul wledic yn pen hyneif.

A3.2. [*p. 294*] Tri hael ynys Prydein:
Nud hael m*ab* Senyllt, Mordaf hael mab Seruan, Ryderch hael mab Tutwal tutclyt.

A3.3. Tri gwynteyrn y*nys* P*rydein*:
Run m*ab* Maelgɔn, Ywein m*ab* Uryen, and Ruaɔn peuyr m*ab* Deorath wledic.

A3.4. Tri deifiaɔc y*nys* P*rydein*:
Gwalchmei m*ab* Gɔyar, a Llacheu m*ab* Arth*ur*, a Riwallaɔn wallt banadlen.

A3.5. Tri phost cat y*nys* P*rydein*:
Dunaɔt m*ab* Pabo post Prydein, a Gwallaɔc m*ab* Lleennaɔc [*a Cynfelyn*] drɔsgyl.

A3.6. Tri tharw caduc y*nys* P*rydein*:
Kynuarch cat caduc m*ab* Kynnɔyt Kynɔytyon, a Gwendoleu m*ab* Keidyaɔ, a Vryen m*ab* Kynuarch.

A3.7. Tri tharɔ unben y*nys* P*rydein*:
Elinɔy m*ab* Cadeir a Chynhaual m*ab* Argat, ac Auaon m*ab* Taliesin. Tri meib beird oedynt ell tri.

A3.8. Tri lledyf unben y*nys* P*rydein*:
Llywar[*ch*] hen m*ab* Elidyr lydanwyn, a Manawydyan m*ab* Llyr lledyeith, a Gɔgaɔn gɔraɔn m*ab* Peredur m*ab* Eliffer gosgorduaɔr.

A3.9. Tri unben llys Arthur:
Goronɔy m*ab* Echell uordɔytɔll, a Chadreith m*ab* Porthuaɔr gadu, a Phleidur fflam.

A3.10. Tri unben Deiuyr a Brynych:
Gall m*ab* Disgyudaɔt, ac Ysgafnell m*ab* Dis- [*p. 295*] -gyuedaɔt, a Diffydell m*ab* Disgyfedaɔt. Tri meib beird oydynt ell tri.

A3.11. Tri gwayɔrud beird y*nys* P*rydein*:
Tristuard bard Uryen, a Dygynelɔ bard Ywein, a Mian uerdic bard Catwallaɔ[n] m*ab* Catuan, a Ryhaɔt eil Morgant.

[1] See Appendix C3, pp. 470-72.

A3.12. Tri chynweissat y*nys* P*rydein*:
Caradaɷc m*ab* Bran, a Chaɷrdaf m*ab* Caradaɷc, ac Owein m*ab* Maxen wledic.

A3.13. Teir llyghessaɷc y*nys* P*rydein*:
Gereint m*ab* Erbin, a Gwenɷynwyn m*ab* Haf, a March m*ab* Meirchaɷn.

A3.14. Tri gɷrduaglaɷc y*nys* P*rydein*:
Riueri m*ab* Tangɷn, a Dinwaed uaglaɷc, a Phryder m*ab* Dolor Deiuyr a Brynych.

A3.15. Tri hualaɷc y*nys* P*rydein*:
Catwaladyr uendigeit, a Run m*ab* Maelgɷn, a Riwallaɷn wallt banadlen.

A3.16. Tri chat uarchaɷc y*nys* P*rydein*:
Caradaɷc uriechuras, a Menwaed o Arllechwed, a Llyr lluydaɷc.

A3.17. Tri gallouyd y*nys* P*rydein*:
Greidaɷl galouyd m*ab* Eunael adran, a Gweir gɷrhyt vaɷr, a Drystan m*ab* Tallɷch.

A3.18. Tri ruduoaɷc y*nys* P*rydein*:
Arth*ur*, a Run m*ab* Beli, a Morgant mɷynuaɷr.

A3.19. Tri thaleithaɷc cat y*nys* Pry*dein*:
Drystan m*ab* Tallwch, a Huil m*ab* Caɷ, a Chei m*ab* Kynyr Kynuaruaɷc. Ac un oed taleithaɷc arnadunt wynteu [*p. 296*] ell tri: Bedwyr m*ab* Pedraɷr oed hɷnnɷ.

A3.20. Tri gleɷ y*nys* P*rydein*, tri meib Hayarnwed uradaɷc:
Grudnei, a Henpen, ac Edenaɷc.

A3.21. Tri thrahaus y*nys* P*rydein*:
Sawyl ben uchel, a Phasken m*ab* Uryen, a Run m*ab* Einaɷn.

A3.22. Tri ysgymyd aereu y*nys* P*rydein*:
Gilbert m*ab* Catgyffro, a Moruran eil[2] Tegit, a Gɷgaɷn cledyfurud.

A3.23. Tri gwrdueichat y*nys* P*rydein*:
Drystan m*ab* Tallwch, a getwis moch March m*ab* Meirchawn, tra aeth y meichat y erchi y Essyllt dyfot y gynadyl ac ef. Ac Arthur yn kessaɷ un hɷch a'e y tɷyll a'e ytreis, ac nys cauas.

A Phryderi m*ab* Pɷyll Amɷyn [sic], a getwis moch Pendaran Dyuet yg Glyn Cuɷch yn Emlyn.

A Choll m*ab* Collurewy, a getwis Henwen hɷch Dallweir dallben a aeth yg Gordodo hyt ym Penrhyn Aɷstin yg Kernyɷ. Ac yna yd aeth yn y mor.[3] Ac yn Aber Tarogi yg Gwent is Coet y doeth y tir. A Choll m*ab* Collurewy a'e laɷ yn y gɷrych pa fford bynhac y kerdhei nac ar uor nac ar tir. Ac y maes gwenith yg Gwent y dotwes gwenithen a gwenenen, ac er hynny y mae goreu lle

[2] The scribe has had a fault start here, writing "*el*" and crossing it out before the correct "*eil*."
[3] This sentence is missing from the Pen. 16 text.

y wenith y lle hónnó. Ac odyna yd aeth hyt yn Llonwen ym Penuro, ac yno y dot- [*p. 297*] -wes ar heiden ag wenenen, ac yr hynny y mae goreu lle y heid Llonwen. Ac odyna y kerdóys hyt yn rió Gyuerchóch yn Eryri. Ac y dotwes ar keneu bleid ac a'r kyó eryr. A'r eryr a rodes Coll m*ab* Collurewy y Urynach ódydel o'r Gogled. A'r bleid a rodes y Uenwaed o Arllechwed, a'r rei hynny uu uleid Menwaed ac Eryr Brynach. Ac odyna yd aeth hyt y maen du in Llanueir yn Aruon, ac yno y dodwes a'r keneu cath. A'r keneu hónnó a uyryórs Coll m*ab* Collurewy ym Menei. A honno wedy hynny uu cath Paluc.

A3.24. Tri phrif lleturithaóc y*nys* P*rydein*
Coll m*ab* Collurewy, a Menyó m*ab* Teirgwaed, a Drych eil Kiódar.

A3.25. Teir prif hut y*nys* P*rydein*:
Hut Math m*ab* Matonóy, a hut Uth*ur* Pendragon, a hut Góydelyn gor.

A3.26. Tri diweir teulu y*nys* P*rydein*:
Teulu Catwallaón m*ab* Catuan, a uuant seith mlyned yn Iwerdon y gyt ac ef, a yn hynny o yspeit ny o uynassant dim idaó, rac goruot arnadu[n]t y adaó. A theulu Gauran m*ab* Aedan, a aethant y'r mor dros eu harglwyd. A'r trydyd teulu Gwendoleu m*ab* Keidyaó yn Arderyd a gynnalassant y uróydyr pytheónos a mis wedy llad eu harglwyd. Sef oed riuedi teuluoed pob un or gwyr hynny: un canhór ar ugeint.

A3.27. Tri aniweir teulu y*nys* P*rydein*:
Teulu Goronó pefyr o Pennlyn a omedassant eu harglóyd o erbynneit y gwenóynwayó y gan Leu llaw gyffes yn llech Oronóy ym blaen Kynuael. A theulu Górgi a Pheredur a adaóssant eu harglóyd yg Caer Greu, ac a oed ymlad trannoeth udunt ac Eda glinuaór. Ac yna y llas ell deu. A'r trydyd teulu Alan Fyrgan, a ymchoelassant órth eu harglóyd ar y ford hyt nos a'e ellóng ynteu a'e weisson Kamlan, ac yno y llas.

A3.28. Teir gosgord adóy y*nys* P*rydein*:
Gosgord Mynydwc Eydyn, a gosgord Melyn m*ab* Kynuelyn, a gosgord Dryon m*ab* Nud.

A3.29. Try wyr a wnaeth y teir mat gyflauan:
Gall m*ab* Dysgyfedaót, a ladaód deu ederyn Gwendoleu, a ieu o eur oed arnadunt. A dóy kelein o'r Kymry a yssynt ar eu kinyaó, a dóy ar eu cóynos, ac Ysgafnell m*ab* Disgyfedaót a ladaód Edelfflet urenhin Lloygyr, a Diffyell m*ab* Disgyfedaót, a ladaód Górgi garólóyt a'r Górgi hónnó a ladei kelein beunyd o'r Kymry. A [*p. 299*] pob Sadórn rac llad y Sul yr un.

A3.30. Teir anuat gyflauan y*nys Prydein*:
Eidyn m*ab* Einygan, a ladaód Aneiryn gwaódrud mechdeyrn beird, a Llaógat tróm bargaót, a ladaód Auaon m*ab* Talessin, a Llouan llaó dino, a ladaód Vryen m*ab* Kynuarch.

A3.31. Teir anuat uóyellaót y*nys* P*rydein*:
Bóyellaót Eidyn ym pen Aneiryn, a'r uóyellaót ym pen Iago m*ab* Beli.

A3.32. Tri chyuor a aeth o'r ynys hon, ac ny doeth yr un dracheuyn onadunt:
Yn a aeth gan Helen luydaóc a Chynan y braót.

Eil a aeth gan Yrp luydaɔc yn oes Cadyal m*ab* Eryn, a doeth yma y erchi kymorth ac nyt archei o bob prif gaer namyn deu kymeint ac a delhei gantaɔ yr gyntaf namyn a'e was. Ac ardustru uu rodi hynny idaɔ, a hɔn eissoes llɔyraf lluyd a aeth o'r ynys hon un, ac ny doeth dracheuyn neb onadunt. Sef lle y trigyɔys y gwyr hynny yn dwy ynys yn ymyl mor Groec. Sef ynt y dɔy ynys: Galls ac Auena.

Trydyd kyuor a aeth gan [*p. 300*] Gaswallaɔn m*ab* Beli, […][4] -ɔyn, a Gwanar meibion Lliawys Nɔyure, ac Aranrot uerch Beli […][5] -am ac o Arllechwed yd […][6] y gwyr hynny ac yd aethan y gyt a Chasswallaɔn eu howythr yn ol y Cesairyeit trɔy uor. Sef lle y mae y gwyr hynny: yg Gwasgwin. Sef eiryf a aeth yni pob un o'r lluoed hynny: un uil ar ugeint. A'r rei hynny oed y tri ar[y]an[7] llu. Sef y gelwit y uelly: ɔrth uynet eur ac aryant eu ynys ganthunt a'e hethol wynteu o oreu y oreu.

A3.33. Teir gormes a doeth yr ynys hon ac nyt aeth yr un dracheuyn:
Kyɔdaɔt y Korannyeit a doethan yma yn oes Llud m*ab* Belu ac nyt aeth o'r un dracheuyn. A gormes y Gɔydyl Fichti ac uyt aeth yr u- […][8] -cheuyn. Trydyd gormes y Saesson ac nyt aethant dracheuyn.

A3.34. Tri chud a thri datclud y*nys* P*rydein*:
Pen Bendigeidfran uab Llyr a cladɔyt yn y gwynuryn yn Llundein. […][9] [*p. 301*] -euyr uendigeit a clad6yt ym pyrth r ynys honn. Trydyd, dreigieu a cudyryt Llud mab Beli yn Dinas Emreis yn Eryri. […][10]

[4] Manuscript darkened and illegible. Most likely reads "*Gwenwyn*-"
[5] Manuscript darkened and illegible. Most likely reads "*eu m*…"
[6] Manuscript darkened and illegible. Most likely reads "*hanoed*"
[7] This word is faded and very difficult to read.
[8] Manuscript darkened and illegible. Mostly likely reads "-n dra-."
[9] Manuscript darkened and illegible.
[10] Text continues for the remainder of the page but becomes illegible after this point. The following triad appears to be *Tri roddedigfarch* ("Three bestowed horses," TYP 38) which begins with an oversized red capital "T." There also seems to be a heading indicating that the *trioedd y meirch* begin here..

A4.[1] NLW Peniarth MS 4 (White Book of Rhydderch, Part 2) fols. 55r-59r.
s.xiv[med], in the hand of scribe D of the White Book.

[…][2]

A4.1. [Teir gwith baluawt ynys] Prydein:
Vn onadunt a dreȣis Matholȣch ȣydel ar Vranȣen verch[3] Lyr. A'r eil: a dreȣis Gȣenhȣyuach ar Wenȣyuar. Ac o achaȣs hynny y bu weith cat Gamlan gȣedy hynny. A'r tryded: a drewis Golydan vard ar Gatwaladyr vendigeit.

A4.2. Teir drut heirua ynys Brydein:
Un onadunt pan doeth Medraȣt y lys Arthur yg Kelli Wig yg Kerniȣ: nyt edewis na bȣyt na diaȣt yn y llys nys trewyllyei. A thynu Gȣenhȣyuar heuyt o'e chadeir vrenhiniaeth ac yna y trewis baluaȣt arnei. Yr eil drut heirua pan doeth Arthur y lys Vedraȣt. Nyt edeȣis yn y llys nac yn y kantref na bȣyt na diaȣt. [*A'r dry[*dy*]dd drut heirfa, pan ddeuth Aeddan Vradawc hyt yn Alclut y lys Rhytherch hael nyt adewis na bwyt na llyn na llwdn yn fyw*.]

A4.3. Teir neges a gaat o Bowys:
Vn onadunt yȣ kyrchu Myngan o Ueigen hyt yn Llan Silin erbyn anterth drannoeth y gymyrt y kynnedueu y gan Gatwallaȣn vendigeit wedy llad Ieuaf a Griffri. Yr eil yȣ kyrchu Griffri hyt y Mryn Griffri erbyn y bore drannoeth ȣrth ymchȣelu ar Edwin. Y trydyd yȣ kyrchu Hyȣel ap Ieuaf hyt yg Keredigiaȣn Oȣein Gȣyned y ymlad a Ieuaf a Iago yn yr aerua honno.

Enweu ynys Brydein yȣ hynn:
Kydnaf henȣ a uu ar yr ynys hon, kyn no'e chael na'e chyuanhedu Glas Merdin, ac ȣedy y chaffel a'e chyuanhedu y vel ynys, ac wedy y goresgyn o Brydein vab Aed maȣr y dodei arnei ynys Brydein. Teir prif rac ynys yssydd idi, a seith rac ynys a[*r h*]ugeint,[4] a thri prif a seith ugeint adeni, a ffedeir prif borth ar dec a deigeint, a their prif gaer ar dec ar ugeint, a ffetwar prif anryued ar dec ar ugeint. Sef yȣ hyt yr ynys hon: o Benryn Blathaon ym Brydein hyt ym Penryn Penwaed yg Kerniw. Sef yȣ hynny: naȣ can milldir. Sef yȣ y llet grigull y Mon hyt yn Soram: pum can milldir yȣ hynny. Sef a dylir y daly ȣrthi coron a their taleith, ac yn Llundein gȣiscaȣ y goron. Ac ym Penryn Rionyt yn y Gogledd vn o'r taleithiau, ac yn Aberfra[w] yr eil, ac yg Kerniȣ y dryded. A their archesgobot yssydd yndi vn ym ynys: Kaer Efraȣc.

[*Anrheg Urien interrupts…*]

[*fol. 55v*] *Trioed yȣ hynn:*[5]

A4.4. Teir prif riein Arthur:
Gȣenhȣyuar verch Gȣryt Gȣent, a Gȣenhȣyuar verch Vthyr ap Greidiaȣl, a Gȣenhȣyuar verch Ocuran gaȣr.

[1] See Appendix C4/C5, pp. 472-78.
[2] Beginning wanting.
[3] "*y*" preceeding this word has been deleted.
[4] Correcting hand: "*a'th ugeint*"
[5] TYP text resumes on fol. 55v (col. 324).

A4.5. A’e deir karedicwreic oed y rei hynn:
Indec verch Arɔy hir, a Garɔen verch Henin hen, a Gɔyl verch Endaɔt.

A4.6. Teir gɔr vorɔyn ynys Brydein:
Vn onadunt: Llewei verch Seitwed, a Rore verch Vsɔer, a Mederei badelluaɔr.

A4.7. Teir gosgord adwɔyn ynys Brydein:
Gosgord Mynydaɔc yg Kattraeth, a gosgord Dreon leɔ yn Rotwyd Arderys. A’r dryded gosgord Velyn o Leyn erethlyn yn Ros.

A4.8. Teir prif hut yny[*s*] Brydein:
Hut Math [*fol. 56r*] vab Mathonɔy a dysgaɔd y Wdyon vab Don, a hut Vthyr Bendragon a dysgaɔd y Venɔ vab Teirgɔaed, a’r dryded: hut Rudlwm gorr a dysgaɔd y Goll vab Kollurewy y nei.

A4.9. Tri chyn weissieit ynys Brydein:
Gɔydar ap Run ap Beli, ac Ywein ap Maxen wledic, a Chaɔrdaf ap Karadaɔc.

A4.10. Tri deifnaɔc ynys Brydein:
Riwallaɔn wallt banhadlen, a Gwall ap Gɔynar, a Llacheu ap Arthur.

A4.11. Tri anuat gyghor yny[*s*] Brydein:
Rodi y Vl Kessar a gɔyr Ruuein lle karneu blaen eu meirch ar y tir ym pɔyth Meinlas. A’r eil: gadel Hors a Heingys a Ronwen y’r ynys hon. A’r trydyd: rannu o Arthur y wyr teir gweith a Medraɔt yg Kamlan.

A4.12. Tri thaleithnaɔc ynys Brydein:
Gɔeir ap Gɔystyl, a Chei ap Kynyr, a Drytsan ap Tallwch.

A4.13. Tri rud uoaɔc ynys Brydein:
Run ap Beli, a Lleɔ llaɔ gyffes, a Morgan mɔynnaɔc, ac vn oed ruduogach no’r tri: Arth*ur* oed y henɔ: blɔydyn ny doy na gɔellt na llysseu y ford y kerdei yr vn o’r tri, a seith mlynyd ny doy y ford y kerdei Arth*ur*.

A4.14. Tri llynghesswyr ynys Brydein:
Gereint ap Erbin, a March ap Meirchion, a Gɔenɔynɔyn ap Naɔ.

A4.15. Tri vnben llys Arthur:
Goronɔ ap Echel, a Fleudɔr flam ap Godo, a Chaydyrleith ap Seidi.

A4.16. Tri thraɔ vnben ynys Brydein:
a Daon ap Talyessin, a Chynhaual ap Argat, ac Elinɔy ap Kadegyr.

A4.17. Tri vnben Deiuyr a Bryneic[h], a thri beird oedynt, a thri meib Dissynydaɔt a ɔnaethant y teir mat glyflauan: Difeidell ap Dissynydaɔt, a l[ad]aɔd[6] Gɔrgi garɔlɔyt, a’r gɔr hɔnnɔ a ladei

[6] Word is faded and partially illegible.

gelein beuyd o'r Kymry, a dɔy pob Sadɔrn rac llad vn y Sul. Sgafynell ap Dissynyndaɔt, a ladaɔd Edelflet fleissiaɔc vrenhin Lloegyr. Gall ap Dissynyndaɔt, a ladaɔd [deu][7] ederyn Gwendoleu a oedynt yn kadɔ [yn eur a'y ary]ant,[8] a deu dyn a yssynt beunyt yn eu kɔynnos.

A4.18. Tri gɔythɔr ynys Brydein a ɔnaethant y teir anuat gyflauan:
Llofuan llaɔ dufuri, a ladaɔt Vryen ap Kynuarch; Llongad grɔm vargot Eidin, a ladaɔd Auaon ap Talyessin; a Heiden ap Euengat, a ladaɔd Anerin gɔaɔtryd mech teyrnbeird: y gɔr a rodei gan muɔ pob Sadɔrn yg kerɔyn eneiat yn Talha[e]arn[9] a'e trewis a bɔyall gy[n]nut[10] yn y fen a honno oed y dryded vɔyallaɔt. A'r eil [kyn]muttei[11] o Aberfraɔ a [drewis][12] Golydan a bɔyall yn y [ben].[13] [*fol. 56v*] [A'r][14] dryded Iago ap Beli, a dreɔis y ɔr e hun ab a bɔyall yn y ben.

A4.19. Tri aeruedaɔc ynys Brydein:
Selef ap Kynan Garɔyn, ac [A]uaon[15] ap Talyessin, a Gwall[a]ɔc[16] ap Lennaɔc. Sef achaɔs [y ge]lɔit[17] ɔynt yn aeruedoge[on]:[18] ɔrth dial eu kamoc eu bed.

A4.20. Tri phost kat ynys Brydein:
Dunot ap Pabo, a Chynuelyn drɔsgyl, ac Vryen ap Kynuarch.

A4.21. Tri hael ynys Brydein:
Ryderch hael ap Tudwal[19] tutklyt, a Nud hael ap Seinillt, a Mordaf hael ap Serwan.

A4.22. Tri gleɔ ynys Brydein:
Grudnei, a Henb[*i*]an, ac Aedenaɔc. Ny doynt o gat namyn ar eu geloreu. Ac y sef oedynt y rei hynny: tri meib Glessiar Gogled o Haearnwed vradaɔc eu mam.

A4.23. Tri trahaɔc ynys Brydein:
Gɔibei drahaɔsc, a Saɔyl benuchel a Ruuaɔn penyr drahaɔc.

A4.24. Tri lledyf vnben ynys Brydein:
Manawydan ap Lyr, a Llywarch hen, a Gɔgon gɔron ap Peredur ap [Eliffe]r,[20] ac y sef achaɔs y gelwit [y rei][21] hynny yn ledyf vnben[22] [ɔrth][23] na cheissint gyuoeth, ac na allei neb y ludyas udunt.

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[7] Word is faded and illegible.
[8] Text is faded and illegible.
[9] Damage to the manuscript.
[10] Damage to the manuscript.
[11] Word is faded and partially illegible.
[12] Word is faded and illegible.
[13] Word is faded and illegible.
[14] Word is faded and illegible.
[15] Word is faded and partially illegible.
[16] Word is faded and partially illegible.
[17] Text is faded and illegible.
[18] Word is faded and partially illegible.
[19] Corrected from "*Tutɔl*" with *puncti delens* in the hand of the original scribe.
[20] Manuscript is torn.
[21] Manuscript is torn.
[22] Corrected to "*unbyn*" by a later hand.
[23] Manuscript is torn.

A4.25. Tri gallouyd ynys Brydein:
Greidaɔl galouyd, a Drystan ap Tallwch, a Gɔgon gwron.

A4.26. Tri esgemyd aereu ynys Brydein:
Moruran eil Tegit, a Gɔgon gledyfrud, a Gilbert kat gyffro.

A4.27. Tri phorthaɔr gɔeith Perllan Vangor:
Gɔgon gledyfrud, a Madaɔc ap Run, a Gɔiaɔn ap Kyndrɔn. A thri ereill o bleit Loegyr: Haɔystyl drahaɔc, a Gɔaettym herwuden, a Gɔiner.

A4.28. Tri eur gelein ynys Brydein:
Madaɔc ap Brɔyn, a Chengan peilliaɔc, a Ruaɔn peuyr ap Gɔydno.

A4.29. Tri hualhogeon deulu ynys Brydein:
Teulu Katwallaɔn llawir, a dodassant hualeu eu meirch ar draet pob vn onadunt yn ymlad a Serygei ɔydel yg Kerric Gɔydyl y Mon. A'r eil: teulu Riwallawn ap Vryen yn ymlad a Saesson. A theulu Belen o Leyn yn ymlad ac Etwin ym Ryn Etwin yn Ros.

A4.30. Tri diweir deulu ynys Brydein:
Teulu Katwallaɔn yn y ɔuant hualogeon, a theulu Gafran ap Aedan pan un y diuankall, a theulu Gɔendoleu ap Keidiaɔ yn Arderyd, a dalyassant yr ymlad pythefnos a mis gɔedy llad eu harglɔyd. Sef eod eiryf pob vn o'r teuluoed vn kanɔr ar ugeint.

A4.31. Tri anniweir teulu ynys Brydein:
Teulu Goronɔ peuyr o Benlyn, a omedassant eu har- [*fol. 57r*] -glɔyd o erbyn y gwenwynwaeɔ y gan Lleu llaɔ gyffes, a theulu Gɔrgi a Pheredur, a adaɔsant eu harglɔyd yg Kaer Greu a chyuoeth ac ymlad vdunt drannoeth, ac Eda glingawr. Ac yna y llas ell deu. A'r trydyd teulu ar lan Fergan a ymadaɔsant ac eu harglɔyd yn lledrat y ar y fford yn mynet Gamlan. Riuedi pob vn o'r teuluoed vn kanɔr ar ugeint.

A4.32. Tri hualoc eur ynys Brydein:
Riwallaɔn wallt banhadlen, a Run a[p] Maelgɔn, a Chatwaladyr vendigeit. Ac y sef achaɔs y gelwit y gɔyr hynny yn hualogyon: ɔrth na cheffit meirch a berthyuei vdunt rac eu meint, namyn dodi hualeu eur am eu hegɔydled ar bedreinieu eu meirch tra e kefneu. A dɔy badell eur a dan eu glinieu, ac ɔrth hynny y gelwir pandellec y glin.

A4.33. Tri tharɔ ellyll Ynys Brydein:
Ellyll gɔidawl, ac ellyll Llyr marini, ac ellyll Gyrthmɔl wledic.

A4.34. Tri gɔyd ellyll ynys Brydein:
Ellyll Banawc, ac ellyll Ednyneda ɔc drythyll, ac ellyll Melen.

A4.35. Tri trwydedaɔt llys Arth*ur*, a thri annodaɔc:
Llywarch hen, a Llemenic, a Heled.

A4.36. Tri diweir [*wreig*][24] ynys Brydein:
Ardan wreic Gatcor ap Goroluyn, ac Eueilian wreic Wydyr drɔm, ac Emerchret wreic Vabon ap Dewengen.

A4.37. Tri gwaeɔ rud ynys Brydein:
Degynelw vard Ywein, ac Arouan vard Selen ap Kynan, ac Auan verdic var[d] Katwallaɔn ap Katuan.

A4.38. Tri goruchel garcharaɔr ynys Brydein:
Llyr lledyeith, a uu gan Euroswyd yg Karchar. A'r eil: Mabon ap Modron, a'r tryded: Gweir ap Genioed. Ac vn a oed goruchelach no'r tri, a uu deir nos yg karchar yg Kaer Oeth ac Anoeth, a uu deir nos yg karchar gan Wen Bendragon, ac a uu deir nos yg karchar hut a dan llech Echemeint. Ac y sef oed y goruchel garcharaɔr hɔnnɔ: Arthur. A'r un gwas a'e gollygaɔd o'r tri charchar hynny. Ac y sef oed y gɔas hɔnnɔ: Goreu vab Kustenin y geuynderɔ.

Trioed meirch yɔ hyn:

A4.39. Tri rodedicuarch ynys B*ry*dein:
Meinlas merch Kaswallaɔn ap Beli, a Melyngan mangre march Llew llaɔ gyffes a Lluagor march Karadaɔc vreichuras.

A4.40. Tri phrif v[arc]h[25] ynys Brydein:
Du hir tynedic m[arch][26] Kynan Garwyn ac Aɔ[wy]daɔc[27] vreichir march Kyhoret eil Kynan, a Rud dreon tuthbleid march Gilbert ap Katgyffro.

A4.41. Tri anreithuarch ynys B[ry]dein:[28]
Karnaflaɔn march Ywein ap Vryen, a Thauaɔt hir march Katwallaɔn ap Katuan, [a Buch]eslom[29] march Gɔgaɔn kedlyf rud.

A4.42. Tri thom edystyr ynys Brydein:
Gɔineu gɔdɔf hir march Kei, a Grei march [Edwin][30] a Lluyd march Alser ap Maelgɔn.

A4.43. Tri gorderchuarch [ynys][31] Brydein:
Ferlas march D[al]ld[af][32] eil K[uni]n,[33] a Gwelw[gan][34] [*fol. 57v*] goheɔgein march Keredic ap Gɔwallaɔc, a Gɔrbrith march Raaɔt.

[24] Inserted by an early moern hand.
[25] Word is faded and partially illegible.
[26] Word is faded and partially illegible.
[27] Word is faded and partially illegible.
[28] Word is faded and partially illegible.
[29] Text is faded and illegible.
[30] Word is faded and illegible.
[31] Word is faded and illegible.
[32] Word is faded and partially illegible.
[33] Word is faded and partially illegible.
[34] Word is faded and partially illegible.

A4.43a. Tri penuarch ynys Brydein a dugant y tri marchlɔyth y mae eu henwi dracheuyn.

A4.44. Tri gɔreichiat ynys Brydein:

Pryderi vab Pɔyll pen Annwn, ɔrth voch Pendaran Dyuet y tatmeth, ac y sef moch oedynt y seith lydyn a duc Pɔyll pen Annɔn, ac rodes y Pendaran Dyuet y datmaeth. Ac y sef y lle y katwei y Glyn Kuch yn Emlyn. A sef achaɔs y gelwit hɔnnɔ yn wrueichiat: kany allei neb na thɔyll na threis arnaɔ.

A'r eil: Drystan ap Tallɔch ɔrth voch March ap Meirchion tra aeth y meichiat yn gennat ar Essylt. Arthur, [*a*] March, a Chei, a Betɔyr a vuant ell petwar, ac ny chaɔsant kymint ac vn banɔ, nac o dreis, nac o dɔyll, nac o ledrat y ganthaɔ.

A'r trydyd: Koll vab Kallureɔy ɔrth voch Dallwyr dallben y Glyn [Dall]wyr[35] yg Kerniɔ. Ac vn o'r moch a oed dorroc, Henwen oed y henɔ. A darogan oed yd hanuyde[i][36] waeth ynys Brydein o'r torllɔ[yth].[37] A[c][38] yna y kynullaɔd Arth*ur* llu ynys Brydein, ac yd aeth [y geisso][39] y diua. Ac yd [a]eth[40] hycheu yg Gordodɔ, ac [ym][41] Penrhyn Haɔstin yg Ker[niɔ][42] yd aeth yn y mor. A'r gɔr[ueichiat][43] yn y hol. [Ac][44] y maes gɔenith yg Went y dotwes ar ar wenithen, a gɔenynen. Ac yr hynny hyt hediɔ y mae goreu lle gɔenith a gɔenyn maes gɔenith yg Went. Ac yn Llonyon ym Phenuro y dotwes ar heiden a gɔenithen. Am hynny y diharhebir o heid Llonyon. Ac yn riw Gyuerthwch yn Aruon y dotwes a geneu cath, a chyɔ eryr, ac y roet y bleid y Vergaed, ac y roet yr eryr y Vreat tywyssaɔc o'r Gogled. Ac ɔynt a hanuuant waeth onadunt. Ac yn Llanueir yn Aruon a dan y maen du y dotwes ar geneu kath. Ac y ar y maen y bɔryoed y gɔrueichiat yn y mor, a meibion Paluc[45] y Mon, a'e magassant yr drɔc vdunt a honno uu Gath Baluc. Ac a uu vn o deir prif ormes Mon, a uagɔyt yndi, a'r eil oed Daronwy, a'r dryded: Edwin vrenhin Lloegyr.

A4.45. Tri annɔyl llys Arthur, a thri chatwarchaɔc. Ac ny mynassant ben teulu arnadunt eirioet, ac y kant Arthur e[n]glyn:

Sef yɔ vyn tri chat varchaɔc:
Meued, a Llud Llurygaɔc,
a Cholouyn Kymry Karadaɔc.

A4.46. Tri eur gryd ynys Brydein:
Casswallaɔn vab Beli, pann aeth y geissio Flur hyt yn Ruuein; a Manawydan vab Llyr, pan vn hut ar Dyuet; a Llew llaɔ gyffes, pan vu ef a Gɔydyon yn keissio henw ac arueu y gan Riarot y vam.

A4.47. Tri brenhin a vuant [*fol. 58r*] o veibion Eillion:

[35] Word is faded and partially illegible.
[36] Damage to the manuscript.
[37] Word is faded and partially illegible.
[38] Word is faded and partially illegible.
[39] Text is faded and illegible.
[40] Damage to the manuscript.
[41] Word is faded and illegible.
[42] Word is faded and partially illegible.
[43] Word is faded and partially illegible.
[44] Word is faded and illegible.
[45] "*Bala*" has been deleted with *puncti delens* preceeding this word.

Gwryat vab Gɔryan yn y Gogled, a Chadauel ap Kynuedɔ y Gwyned, a Hyueid ap Bleidic yn Deheubarth.

A4.48. Tri budyr Hafren:
Katwallaɔn, pan aeth y weith Digoll, a llu Kymry ganthaɔ. Ac Etwin[46] o'r parth arall, a llu Lloegyr ganthaɔ. Ac yna budyraɔd Hafren: o'e blaen hyt y haber. A'r eil: kyuaruws Golydan y gan Einaɔn ap Bed brenhin Kerniɔ. A'r dryded: Calam varch Idon ap Ner y gan Vaelgɔn.

[*Bonedd y Saint follows*]

[46] "*yna*" has been deleted with *puncti delens* preceeding this word.

A5.[1] Oxford Jesus College MS 111 (Red Book of Hergest) (fols. 144r-146v / cols. 588-598)
s.xiv^{ex}/s.xv^{in}, in the hand of Hywel Fychan.

Tri dynyon a gaɷssant gampeu Adaf:

A5.1. Tri dyn a gauas kedernit Adaf:
Ercwlf gadarn, ac Ector gadarn, a Sompson gadarn. Kyn gadarnet oedynt yll tri, ac Adaf ehun.

A5.2. Tri dyn a gauas pryt Adaf:
Absolon ab Dauyd, a Iason uab Eson, a Pharis uab Priaf. Kyn decket oedynt yll tri, ac Adaf ehun.

A5.3. Tri dyn a gauas doethineb Adaf:
Cado hen, a Beda, a Sibli doeth. Kyn doethet oedynt ell tri ac Adaf ehun.

A5.4. Teir gɷraged a gauas pryt Eua yn tri thraean:
Diadema gorderch Eneas yscɷydwyn, ac Elen uannaɷc y wreic y bu distriwe[*di*]gaeth Tro drɷy y phenn, a Pholixena uerch Priaf hen vrenhin Tro.

A5.5. *Pann aeth llu y Lychlyn:*
Porth a aeth y gan Yrp luydaɷc hyt yn Llychlyn, a'r gɷr hɷnnɷ a doeth yman[2] yn oes Gadyal y byry y erchi dygyfuor yr ynys honn. Ac ny doeth gantaɷc namyn ef a Mathuthauar y was. Ac y sef a archei o dec prif gaer ar hugeint[3] yssyd yn yr ynys honn. Deu kymmeint a elei ganthaɷ y bob un onadunt y dyuot ganthaɷ ohonunt ymeith. Ac ny doei gantaɷ yr gaer gyntaf namyn ef a'e was, ac y bu ardustur gan wyr yr ynys honn hynny. Ac y rodassant idaɷ, a hɷnnɷ uu lɷyraf llu o'r a aet[*h*] o'r ynys honn. Ac ef a oresgynnaɷd a'r gɷyr hynny y fford y kerdaɷd. Ac y sef lle y trigyaɷd y gɷyr hynny yn y dɷy ynys yn ymyl mor Groec: nyt amgen, Clas ac Auena.

A'r eil a aeth gan Elen luydaɷc, a Maxen wledic[4] hyt yn Llychlyn,[5] ac ny doethan byth yr hynys honn.

A'r trydyd a aeth gan Gasswallawn uab Beli, a Gɷennɷynwyn, a Gwanar, veibon Lliaɷ uab Nɷyfre, ac Aryanrot verch Beli eu mam. A'r gɷyr hynny o Erch a Heled pann anhoedynt, ac a aethant gyt a Chasswallaɷn eu hewythyr a ɷysc y Kessaryeit o'r ynys honn. Sef lle y mae y gɷyr hynny: yg Gɷasgɷyn. Sef riuedi a aeth gan bob un onadunt: vn vil ar hugeint, a'r rei hynny uu tri aryanllu ynys Prydein.

A5.6. Trywyr gɷarth[6] a uu yn ynys Prydein:

Vn onadunt, Auarɷy uab Llud uab Beli, ef a dyuynnaɷd Iulius a Cesar a gɷyr Ruuein yr ynys honn yn gyntaf, a beris talu teir mil o bunnoed aryant bop blɷydyn yn deyrnget o'r ynys honn y wyr Ruuein, o gyfryssed a Chasswallaɷn y ewythyr.

A'r eil yɷ Gɷrtheyrn gɷrtheneu, a rodes tir gyntaf y Saesson yn yr ynys honn, ac a ymdywediɷd yn gyntaf a ɷynt. Ac a beris llad Custennin uychan uab Custennin uendigeit o'e brat a dehol y deu u[*r*]oder, Emrys wledic ac Uthur Penndradon, o'r ynys honn hyt yn Llydaɷ a

[1] See Appendix C4/C5, pp. 472-78.
[2] "*yn*" preceeding this word has been deleted.
[3] "*ar hugaer*" preceeding this word has been deleted.
[4] Marginal gloss in a early modern or modern hand: "*Maximus*"
[5] A later hand has corrected this to "*yn Llydaw*."
[6] "*gwyr*" preceeding this word has been deleted.

chymryt y goron a'r urenhinyaeth o'e dǒyll yn y eidiaǒ ehun. Ac yn y diwed, Uthur ac Emrys a losgassant Wrtheyr[*n*] yg kastell Gǒertherynyaǒn ar lann gǒy unfflam y dial eu braǒt.

Trydyd gǒaethaf uu Vedraǒt pan edewis Arthur lyw- [*fol. 144v*] -odraeth ynys Prydein ganthaǒ pan aeth ynteu drǒy vor yn erbyn Lles amheraǒdyr Ruuein a anuonaessei gennadeu att Arthur hyt yg Kaerllion y erchi teyrnget idaǒ o'r ynys honn, ac y wyr Ruuein ar y messur y talpǒyt y Gatwallaǒn[7] uab Beli hyt yn oes Gustennin Uendigeit, teit Arthur.[8] Sef atteb a rodes Arthur y gennadeu yr amheraǒdyr: nat oed well y dylyei wyr Ruuein, deyrnget y wyr ynys Prydein, noc y dylyei wyr ynys Prydein udunt ǒunteu. Kanys Bran uab Dyuynwal, a Chustennin uab Elen, a uuassynt amherodron yn Ruuein, a deu ǒr o'r ynys honn oedynt. Ac yna y lluydaǒd Arthur gordetholwyr y gyndeth drǒy uor yn erbyn yr amheraǒdyr, ac y kyuaruuant y tu hǒnt y uynyd Mynneu. Ac aneirif onadunt o bop parth a las y dyd hǒnnǒ. Ac yn y diwed, y kyuaruu Arthur a'r amheraǒdyr, ac Arthur a'e lladaǒd. Ac yno y llas goreu gǒyr Arthur. A phan gigleu Vedraǒt gǒahauu niuer Arthur, y dymchoelawd ynteu yn erbyn Arth*ur*, ac y duunaǒd Saesson, a Fficteit, ac y Scottyeit, ac ef y gadǒ yr ynys honn rac Arthur. A phan gigleu Arthur hynny yd ymchoelaǒd dracheuyn, ac a dihengis gantaǒ o'e niuer. Ac y dreis var Vedraǒt y kauas dyuot y dir yr ynys honn. Ac yna y bu weith Camlan y rǒng Arthr a Medraǒt, ac y lladaǒt Arthur Uedraǒt, ac y brathǒyt Arthur yn angheuaǒl. Ac o hynny y bu uarw, ac y myǒn plas yn ynys Auallach y cladǒyt.

Dechreu y trioed yǒ y rei hynn:

A5.7. Tri goruchel garcharaǒr ynys Prydein:
Llyr ledyeith, a Mabon uab Modron, a Geir uab Geiryoed, ac un oed o'r uchelaǒr no'r tri, ef a uu deir nos yg kaerchar hut a dan lech Echymeint. Sef oed hǒnnǒ: Arthur, ac un gǒas a'e gellyngaǒd o'r tri charchar hynny, nyt amgen Goreu uab Custennin y geuynderǒ.

A5.8. Tri gwyn deyrn ynys P*ry*dein:
Owein uab Uryen, a Run uab Maelgǒn, a Ruaǒn pebyr uab Dorarth wledic.

A5.9. Tri oueruard ynys Prydein:
Arthur, a Raaǒt eil Morgant, a Chatwallaǒn uab Katuan.

A5.10. Tri matkud ynys Prydein:
Penn Bendigeituran uab Llyr, a guduwyt yn y gǒyn uryn yn Llundein, a'e wyneb ar Ffreinc, a hyt tra uu yn yr ansaǒd y dodet yno, ny doei ormes Saesson byth yr ynys honn. Yr eil a matkud: y dreigeu yn Ninas Emreis a gudyaǒd Llud uab Beli. A'r trydyd: esgyrn Gǒertheuyr uendigeit ym prif pyrth yr ynys honn, a hyt tra bydynt yn y kud hǒnnǒ, ny doei ormes o Saesson byth yr yny[*s*][9] honn.

A llyna y tri anuatkud pan datkudyawd, a Gwrtheyrn gǒrtheneu a datkudyawd esgyrn Gǒertheuyr uendigeit yr serch gǒreic. Sef oed honno: Ronnǒen bagaues, ac ef a datkudyaǒd y

[7] The early modern or modern hand has glossed "*Caswallon*."
[8] A marginal note in a later hand (different from the above note) here reads: "*Constantinus magnus Arthuri Avus fuit. viz Arthuri ab Uthur ab Cystennin*."
[9] "*ynyr*" has been deleted (crossed out in red ink by a thin nub) preceeding this word, and the "*s*" has been added in the same red ink.

dreigeu. Ac Arthur a datkudyaɔd penn Bendigeituran o'r gɔynn vrynn. Kannyt oed dec gantaɔ kadɔ yr ynys honn o gedernit neb namyn o'r eidaɔ ehun.

A5.11. Tri marchlɔyth ynys P*ry*dein:
Du y moroed march Elidyr mɔynuaɔr, a duc seith nyn[10] a hanner arnaɔ, o benn llech Elidir yn y Gogled, hyt ym penn llech Elidyr ym Mon. Sef seith nyn oedynt: Elidyr mɔynuaɔr, ac Eurgein uerch Vaelgɔn y wreic, a Gɔynn da gyued, a Gɔyn da reiniat, a mynach Naɔmon y gynghorɔr,[11] a Phetryleɔ vynestyr y wallonyat, ac Aran uagyl y was, ac Albeinyn y goc, a noeues a'e dɔylaɔ ar bedrein y uarch, a hɔnnɔ uu hanner y dyn.

A'r eil marchlɔyth a duc Coruann march meibon Eliffer gosgorduaɔr, a duc Gɔrgi a Phered[*ur*] arnaɔ, ac nys gordiwedaɔd neb nam yn Diuogat uab Kynan Garwynn y ar y Kethin kyflym ac aruidiaɔt ac a glot a gauas yr hynny hyt hedwis, a Dunaɔt wr uab Pabo, a Chynuelyn drɔsgyl y edrych ar vygedor[*t*]h llu Gɔendoleu yn Arderyd.

Y trydyd marchlɔyth a duc Erch march [*fol. 145r*] meibon Grythmɔl wledic, a duc arnaɔ, Achleu ac Arthanat, yn erbyn riɔ Uaelaɔr yg Keredigyaɔn y dial eu tat.

A5.12. Teir llynghes gynuiweir ynys Prydein:
Llynghes Lary uab Yryf, a llynghes Dignif uab Alan, a llynghes Solor uab Urnach.

A5.13. Teir gɔith baluaɔt[12] ynys P*ry*dein:
Vn onadunt a trewis Matholɔch Wydel ar Vranwen uerch Lyr. A'r eil a drewis Gɔenhɔyfach ar Wenhɔyuar, ac o achaɔs hynny y bu weith kat Gamlan wedy hy*n*ny. A'r drydyd: a drewis Golydan uard ar Gadwaladyr bendigeit.

A5.14. Teir drut heirua ynys P*ry*dein:
Vn onadunt pan doeth Medraɔt y lys Arthur yg Kelli Wic yg Kernyɔ, nyt edewis na bɔyt na diaɔt yn y llys nys treulei, a thynnu Gɔenhyuar heuyt o'e chadeir unrenhinyaeth. Ac yna trewis paluaɔt aruei. Yr eil drut heirua: pan doeth Arthur y lys Medraɔt, nyt edewis yn y llys nac yn y cantref na bɔyt na diaɔt.

A5.15.[13] Teir neges a gahat o Bowys:
Vn onadunt yɔ kyrchu Myngan o Veigen, hyt yn Llansilin, erbyn anterth drannoeth, y gymryt y kynnedneu y gan Gadwallaɔn vendigeit, wedy llad Ieuaf a Gryffri. Yr eil yɔ kyrchu Griffri hyt ym brynn Griffri erbyn y bore drannoeth wrth ymchoelut ar Edwin. Yr[14] dryded un kyrchu Howel uab Ieuaf hyt yg Kerediguaɔn, Owein Gɔyned y ymlad a Ieuaf ac a Iago yn yr aerua honno.

Trioed yɔ rei hynn:

A5.16. Teir prif riein Arthur:

[10] A second "n" has been deleted with a *punctus delens*.
[11] Corrected from "*ghynghorɔr*."
[12] Gloss by an early modern or modern hand: "*Balfawt*."
[13] This triad follows a gap of three lines and the "T" of *Teir* is an oversized capital in red ink, similar to the initials which follow headings in this text.
[14] Gloss by an early modern hand: "*Anno 952*."

Gɷennhɷyuar uerch Gɷryt Gɷent, a Gɷenhɷyuar uerch uab Greidyaɷl, a Gɷenhɷyuar uerch Ocuran gaɷr.

A5.17. A'e deir karedicwreic oed y rei hynn:
Indec uerch Arɷy hir, a Garwen uerch Henin hen, a Gɷyl verch Endaɷt.

A5.18. Teir gɷruorɷyn Ynys Prydein:
Vn onadunt Llewei uerch Seitwed, a Rore verh Usber, a Mederei badelluaɷr.

A5.19. Teir gosgord advwyn ynys Prydein:
Gosgord Mynydaɷc yg Katraeth, a gosgord Dreon leɷ yn Rotwyd Arderys, a'r dryded: gosgord Velyn o leyn Erythlyn yn Ros.

A5.20. Teir prif hut ynys Brydein
Hut Mat uab Mathonɷy, a dysgaɷd y Wydyon uab Don, a hut Uthur Penndragon, a dysgaɷd y Uenɷ uab Teirgɷaed, a'r dryded: hut Ruolɷm gorr, a dysgaɷd a dysgaɷd y Goll uab Collurewy y nei.

A5.21. Tri chynnweiss[*y*]eit ynys Brydein:
Gɷydar uab Run uab Beli, ac Owein uab Maxen wledic, a Chaɷrdaf uab Kradaɷc.

A5.22. Tri deifnyaɷc ynys P*ry*dein:
Riwallaɷn wallt banhadlen, a Gɷall uab Gɷyar, a Llacheu uab Arthur.

A5.23. Tri anuat gyghor ynys P*ry*dein:
Rodi Ul Kessar a gɷyr Ruuein lle y karneu blaen eu meirch ar y tir ym pɷyth Meinlas. A'r eil, gadel Hors a Hengyst a Ronnɷen yr ynys honn. A'r trydyd, rannu o Arth*ur* y wyr deirgɷeith a Medraɷt yg Kamlan.

A5.24. Tri thaleithaɷc ynys P*ry*dein:
Gɷeir uab Gɷysyl, a Chei uab Kynyr, a Dystan uab Tallwch.

A5.25. Tri rud uoaɷc ynys Brydein:
Run uab Beli, a Llew llaɷ gyffes, a Morgan mɷynuaɷr. Ac un oed ruduogach no'r tri: Arthur oed y enɷ. Blɷydyn ny doei na gɷellt na[15] llysseu y fford kerdei yr un o'r tri. A seith mlyned ny doey y fford y kerdei Arthur.

A5.26. Tri llynghesswr ynys Prydein:
Gereint uab Erbin, a March uab Meirchyon, a Gɷenɷynnwyn uab Naɷ.

A5.27. Tri unbenn llys Arthur:
Gronɷ uab Echel, a Ffleudɷr fflam uab Godo, a Chaedyrleith uab Seidi.

A5.28. Tri tharɷ unben ynys Prydein:
Adaon uab Talyessin, a Chynhafal uab Argat, ac Elinɷy uab Kadegyr.

[15] An additional "*nag ɷellt*" has been deleted preceeding this word.

A5.29. Tri unben Deiuyr a Bryneic[*h*][16] a thri beird oedynt, a thri meib Dissynydaɔt, a wnaethant y teir mat gyflauan:

Diffeidell [*fol. 145v*] uab Dissynydaɔt, a wnaethant y teir mat gyflauan, Diffeidell uab Dissynydaɔt a ladaɔd Gɔrgi garɔlɔyt, a'r gɔr hɔnnɔ a ladei gelein beunyd o'r Kymry, a dɔy bop Saɔr[n] rac llad un y Sul. Sgafynell uab Diffynydaɔt, a ladaɔd Edelfflet fleissaɔc urenhin lloegyr. Gɔall uab Diffynydaɔt, a ladaɔd deu ederyn Gɔendoleu y rei oedynt yn kadɔ [*y*] eur a'e aryan, a deu dyn a yssynt beunyd yn eu kinyaɔ, a'r gymmeint arall yn eu kɔynos.[17]

A5.30. Tri gɔythɔr ynys Brydein a wnaeth y teir anuat gyflauan:
Llofuan llaw diffro, a ladaɔd Uryen uab Kynuarch, Llongat grɔm uargot Eidin, a ladaɔd Auon uab Talyessin, a Heiden uab Euengat, a ladaɔd Aneirin gɔaɔtryd verch[18] teyrnbeird, y gɔr a rodei gan myɔ bob Sadɔrn yg herɔyn enneint yn Talhaearn, a'e treɔis a bwyell gynnut yn y phenn. A honno oed y dryded vɔy[*e*]llaɔt.

A'r eil, kynnuntei o Aberffraɔ, a dreɔis Golydan a bɔyall yn y benn. A'r tryded, [Iago][19] uab Beli a drewis y ɔr ehun a bɔyall yn y benn.

A5.31. Tri aeruedaɔc ynys Brydein:
Selyf uab [*Kynan*][20] Garwyn, ac Anaon uab Talyessin, a Gɔallaɔc uab Llennaɔc. Sef achaɔs y gelwit ɔy yn ereudogyon: ɔrth dial eu kamoc eu bed.

A5.32. Tri post kat ynys P*ry*dein:
Dunaɔt uab Pabo, a Chynuelyn drɔsgyl, ac Uryen uab Kynuarch.

A5.33. Tri hael ynys Brydein:
a Ryderch hael uab Tutwal tutklyd, a Nud hael uab Seinillt, a Mordaf hael uab Serwan.

A5.34. Tri gleɔ ynys P*ry*dein:
Grudnei, a Henbrien, ac Aedenaɔc. Ny doynt o gat namyn eu geloreu. Ac y sef oedynt y rei hynny: tri meib Gleissiar Gogled o Haearnwed uradaɔc eu mam.

A5.35. Tri trahaɔc ynys Brydein:
Gɔibei drahaɔc, a Saɔyl benn uchel, a Ruuaɔn penyr drahaɔc.

A5.36. Tri lledyf unben ynys Prydein:
Manaɔydan uab Llyr, a Llywarch hen, a Gɔgvn gɔron uab Peredur uab Eliffer. Ac y sef achaɔs y gelwit ɔynt yn lledyf unbenn[21] ɔrth na cheissynt gyuoeth, ac na allei neb y ludyas udunt.

A5.37. Tri galouyd ynys Brydein:
Greidaɔl galouyd, a Drystan uab Tallɔch, a Gɔgon gɔron.

[16] Gloss in an early modern or modern hand: "*bryneich*"
[17] An "x" below this word denotes the English-language marginal gloss in a later hand: "*x Supper*"
[18] Corrected to "*vech*;" the *r* has been crossed out in the same red ink as in note 8 above.
[19] Name omitted from the MS. Space has not been left for it.
[20] Manuscript is stained; name has been re-written over the stain.
[21] Corrected to "*unbynn*" by an early modern or modern hand.

A5.38. Tri esgemyd aereu ynys Prydein:
Moruran eil Tegit, a Gɔgon gledyfrud, a Gilbert katgyffro.

A5.39. Tri phorthaɔr gɔeith Perllan Nangor:
Gɔgon, Gledyfrud, a Madaɔ[*c*] uab Run, a Gɔiwaɔn uab Kyndyrwynn. A thri ereill o bleit Lloegyr: Hawystyl drahaɔc, a Gɔaet tym herwuden, a Gɔiner.

A5.40. Tri eur gelein ynys Brydein:
Madaɔc uab Brɔyn, a Cheugan peillyaɔc, a Ruaɔn peuyr ab Gɔydno.

A5.41. Tri hualhogeon deulu ynys Brydein:
Teulu Kadwallaɔn llaɔir, a dodassant hualeu eu meirch ar draet pob un onadunt yn ymlad a Sergei Wydel yg Kerric Gɔydyl ym Mon. A'r eil: teulu Riwallaɔn uab Uryen yn ymlad Saesson, a theulu Belen o Leyn yn ymlad ac Etwin ym Rynn Etwin yn Ros.

A5.42. Tri diweir delu ynys Prydein:
Teulu Katwallaɔn yn y buant hualygyon, a theulu Gafran uab Aedan, pan uu y diua[*n*]koll, a theulu Gɔendoleu ab Keidyaɔ yn Arderyd, a dalyssant yr ymlad pythewnos a mis gɔedy llad eu harglɔyd. Sef oed eiryf pob un o'r teulu oed un kanwr ar hugeint.

A5.43. Tri anniweir deulu ynys Brydein:
Teulu Gronɔ peuyr o Bennllyn, a omedassant eu harglɔyd o erbyn y gɔennɔynwaeɔ y gan Leɔ llaɔ gyffes, a theulu Gɔrgi a Pheredur, a adaɔsant eu harglɔyd yg Kaer Greu a chyuoeth ac ymlad udunt dra*n*noeth ac Eda glingaɔr. Ac yna y llas ell deu. A'r trydyd: teulu ar lan Ffergan, a ymadaɔssant ac eu harglɔyd yn lledrat y ar y fford yn mynet Gamlan. Riuedi pob un o'r teuluoed un cann ɔr ar hugeint.

A5.44. Tri hualo eur ynys Brydein:
Riwallaɔn wallt banhadlen, a Run a[p] Maelgɔn, a Chadwaladyr uendigeit. Ac y sef achaɔs y gelwit y gɔyr hynny yn hualogyon: ɔrth na cheffit meirch a bertyuei udunt, rac [*fol. 146r*] eu meint, namyn dodi hualeu eur am eu hegɔytled ar bedreineu eu meirch dra ekefyneu, a dɔy badell eur, a dan eu glinyeu, ac ɔrth hynny y gelwir padellec y glin.

A5.45. Tri charɔ ellyll ynys Prydein:
Ellyll gɔidawl, ac ellyll Llyr marini, ac ellyll Gyrthmɔl wledic.

A5.46. Tri gɔyd ellyll ynys Prydein:
Ellyll Manaɔc, ac ellyll Ednyuedaɔc drythyll, ac ellyll Melen.

A5.47. Tri trɔydedaɔc llys Arthur, a thri anuodaɔc:
Llywarch hen, a Llemeinic, a Heled.

A5.48. Tri diweir ynys Prydein:
Ardun wreic Gatcor uab Goroluyn, ac Eneilian wreic Wydy drɔm, ac Emerchret wreic Uabon uab Dewengen.

A5.49. Tri gɷaeɷ rud ynys Prydein:
Degynelɷ bard Owein, ac Arouan uard Selen uab Kynan, ac Auan uedic uard Katwallaɷn uab Katuan.

A5.50. Tri goruchel garcharaɷr ynys Prydein:
Llyr lledyeith a uu gan Euroswyd yg karchar. A'r eil: Mabon uab Modron, a'r trydyd: Gɷeir uab Gɷeiryoed. Ac vn oed gouchelach no'r tri: a uu deir nos yg karchar yg Kaer Oeth ac Anoeth, ac a uu teir nos yg karchar gan Wenn Benndragon. Ac a uu deir nos yg karchar hut y dan lech Echymeint. Ac y sef oed y goruchel garcharaɷr hɷnnɷ: Arthur. A'r un gɷas a'e gollygaɷd o'r tri charchar hynny. Ac y sef oed y gɷas hɷnnɷ: Goreu uab Custennin y gefynderɷ.

Trioed y meirch yɷ y rei hynn:

A5.51. Tri rodedicuarch ynys Bryein:
Meinlas march Kasswallaɷn uab Beli, a Melyngan gamre march Lleɷ llaɷ gyffes, a Lluagor march Kara[*da*]wc ureichuras.

A5.52. Tri phrif uarch ynys Brydein:
Du hir tynedic march Kynan Garwyn, ac Awydaɷc ureich hir march Kyhoret eil Kynan, a Rud broen tuthbleid march Gilbert mab Kat gyffro.

A5.53. Tri anreithuarch ynys Prydein:
Karnaflaɷc march Owein uab Uryen, a Thauaɷt hir, march Kadwallaɷn uab Ka[*t*]uan, a Bucheslom march Gɷgaɷn gledyfrud.

A5.54. Tri thom edystyr ynys Brydein:
Gɷineu gɷdɷc hir, march Kei, a Grei march Edɷin, a Lluyd march Alser uab Maelgɷn.

A5.55. Tri gordercharch ynys Brydein:
Fferlas march Dalldaff eil Kunin, a Gwelɷgan gohoewgein march Keredic uab Gɷawllaɷc, a Gɷrbrith march Raaɷt.

A5.55a. Tri p[*y*]nnuarch[22] ynys Brydein a dugant y tri marchlɷyth y mae henweu dracheuyn.

A5.56. Tri gɷrueichyat ynys Brydein:
Pryderi uab Pɷyll Penn Annwn, ɷrth uɷch Pendaran Dyuet y datmaeth. Ac y sef moch oedynt y seith lydyn a duc Pɷyll penn Annɷnn. Ac a'e rodes y Pendaran Dyuet y Datmaeth. Ac y sef y lle y katwei: y Glynn Cuch yn Emlyn. Ac y sef achaɷs y gelwit hɷnnɷ yn ɷrueithat: kany allei neb na thaɷyll na threis arnaɷ.

A'r eil: Drystan uab Tallɷch ɷrth voch March uab Meirchyon, tra aeth y meichyat yn gennat a'r Essyllt. Arth*ur*, a March, a Chei, a Bedwyr a uuant ell petwar, ac ny chaɷssant kymmeint ac un banɷ, nac o dreis, nac o dɷyll, nac o ledrat y gantaɷ.

[22] Corrected from "*pennuarch*."

A’r trydyd: Coll uab Kallurewy, ɢrth uoch Dallwyr dallben yg Glynn [Dall]wyr[23] yg Kernyɢ, ac un o’r moch oed [dorra]ɢc,[24] Hennwenn oed y henɢ, a darogan oed yr hanuydei waeth ynys Prydein o’r torllɢyth. Ac yna y kynnulaɢd Arthur llu ynys Brydein, ac yd aeth y geissaɢ y diua, ac yna yd aeth hythen yg Gordodɢ, ac ym Pennrynn Haɢstin yg Kerniɢ, yd aeth yn y mor, a’r gɢrdueichyat yn y hol, ac y maes Gɢenith yg ɢent y dotwes ar w[*e*]nnithen a gɢennynen, ac yr hynny hyt hediɢ y mae goreu lle gɢenith a gɢenyn maes Gɢenith yg ɢent, ac yn Llouyon ym Pennuro y dotwes ar heiden a gɢenhithen, am hynny y diaerhebir a heid Llouyon. Ac yn riɢ Gyfuerthɢch yn Aruo[n] y dodwes ar geneu cath, a chyɢ eryr, ac y roet y bleid y Uergaed. Ac y roet yr eryr y breat tywyssaɢc o’r Gogled, ac ɢynt a hanuuant waeth onadunt. Ac yn Llanueir yn [*fol. 146v*] Aruon a dan y maen du y dotwes ar geneu cath. Ac y ar y maen y byryaɢd y gɢrueichyat yn y mor, a meibon Paluc yn Mon a’e magassant, yr drɢc udunt. A honno uu Gath Baluc, ac a uu un o deir prif ormes Mon a uagɢyt yndi, a’r eil oed Daronɢy, a’r dryded Etwin urenhin Lloegyr.

A5.57. Tri annɢyl llys Arthur, a thri chatuarthaɢc, ac ny mynuassant penn teulu arnadunt eiryoet. Ac y cant Arthur e[n]glyn:

Sef yɢ vyn tri chatuarchaɢc:
Mened, a Llud llurugaɢc, a Cholovyn Kymry[25] karadaɢc.

A5.58. Tri eurgryd ynys Brydein:
Casswallaɢc uab Beli, pan aeth y geissaɢ Flur hyt yn Ruuein, a Manaɢydan uab Llud[26] pan un hut ar Dyuet. A Llew llaɢ gyffes pan uu ef a Gɢydyon yn keissaɢ enɢ ac arueu y gan Aranrot y uam.

A5.59. Tri brenhin a uuant o ueibon eillon:
Gɢryat uab Gɢryan yn y Gogled, a Chadauel uab Kynnedɢ yg Gɢyned, a Hyneid uab Bleidic yn Deheubarth.

A5.60. Tri budyr Hafren:
Katwallaɢn pann aeth y weith digoll, a llu Kymry gantaɢ, ac Etwin o’r parth arall, a llu Lloegyr gantaɢ. Ac yna y budraɢd Hafren o’e blaen hyt y haber. A’r eil, kyuarɢs Golydan y gan Einyaɢn uab Bed brehin Kernyɢ. A’r dryded, Calam uerch Idon uab Ner y gan Uaelgawn.

[*Proverbial triads follow.*]

[23] Word is stained and partially illegible.
[24] Word is stained and partially illegible.
[25] A second “Kymry” has been deleted following this word.
[26] Corrected in a later hand to “*Llyr*.”

A6.[1] NLW Peniarth MS. 47 (pp. 17-27)
xiv^{med}, in the hand of Siancyn ap Dafydd ap Gruffudd (aka X97)

[…][2]

A6.1. Tri eur hualawc ynys Prydein:[3]
Run mab Maelgwn a Chatwaladyr vendigeit a Riallavn wallt banadlen.

A6.2. Tri gwyn deyrn ynys Prydein:
Owain mab Vryen a Ruavn bybyr a Run mab Maelgvn.

A6.3. Tri deifnavc ynys Prydein:
Riallaɔn wallt banadlen a Gwalchmei mab Gwyar a Llocheu mab Arthyr.

A6.4. Tri phost kat ynys Prydein:
Dunaɔt mab Vwrr, Pabo ac Uryen Reget, a Chynɔelyn drɔsgyl.

A6.5. Tri tharɔ katgaduc ynys Prydein:
Kynvavr katgaduc a Gwallavc mab Llaennavc a Gwendoleu mab Keidiaw.

A6.6. Tri gwyn dorllɔyth ynys Brydein:
Vryen mab Kynuarch ac Araɔn mab Kynuarch a Lleɔ mab Kynuarch o Neuyn verch Brychan Brecheniyaɔc eu mam. A'r eil Owein mab Vryen a Moruud uerch Vryen ac Anarun archescob Llydaɔ o Vodron merch Auallach eu mam. Y trydyd oed Gwrgi a Pheredur meibion Eliffer Gosgorduaɔr ac Ardun eu chwaer a Dyrw […] -dyl a Chornan eu march, a Thonllɔy eu bɔch.

A6.7. Tri thaleithaɔc kat ynys Prydein:
Betwyr mab Bedraɔt a Hueil mab Caɔ, a Drystan mab Tallɔch.

A6.8. Tri serchaɔc [*Ynys Brydein*
Cynon] Klyntno, a Chaswallaɔn mab Beli, a Drystan.

A6.9. Tri chyndynyaɔc
Edelic corr, a Gweir gwyrt uaɔr, a Drystan.

A6.10. Tri gall ouyd ynys Prydein:
Greidyaɔl gall ouyd, a Blathaɔn mab Inɔreth, a Drystan.

A6.11. Tri gwrdueichat ynys Prydein:
Pryderi mab Pɔyll pen Anɔfyn, a Cholll mab Collurewy, a Drystan.

[1] See Appendix C6, pp. 478-79.
[2] Beginning wanting.
[3] I have expanded the "y.p." abbreviation throughout.

A6.12. Tri gogyfurd llys Arthur:
Rhyaȣt eil Morgant, a Dalldaf eil Chuyn Kof, a Drystan eil March.

A6.13. Tri anhynodaȣc llys Arthur:
Vchei mab Gȣryon, a Choldaȣc mab […],[4] a Gerenhyr mab Gerenyaȣc hen.

A6.14. Tri dyn goreu ȣrth ysp a phellennignyon ynys Prydein:
Gwalchmei mab Gȣyar, a Gadȣy mab Gereint, a Chadeiryeith Saidi.

A6.15. Tri matcud ynys Prydein pan gudyȣyt a thri anuatkud pan datkudyȣyt:
Penn Bendigeitran mab Llyr, ac esgyrn Gȣrthynyr vendigeit, a'r dȣy dreic yn Dinas Emreis.

A6.16. Tri engiryaȣl ynys Brydein:
Haeled, a Llywarch, a Llemeinc.

A6.17. Tri anhynodaȣc llys Arthur:
Haeled, a Llywarch, a Llemeinc.

A6.18. Tri thaer vnben ynys Prydein:
Elinȣy mab Cadegyr, a Chynhaual mab Argat, ac Auaȣn mab Taliessin. Tri meib beird oedynt.

A6.19. Tri lledyf unben ynys Prydein:
Llywarch hen mab Elidyr llydanwyn, a Manawedan mab Llyr lletieith, a Gwgwn gȣron mab Paredur mab Oliffer gosgoruaȣr.

A6.20. Tri vnben llys Arthur:
Gobrvy mab Ethel mordȣytȣll, a Chatdeirieith mab Porthaȣr gado, a Phlewdȣr fflam.

A6.21. Tri vnben Deifyr a Bryneich:
Gall mab Dyskyfdaȣt, ac Ysgafnell mab Dyskyfdaȣt, a Diffydell mab Dyskyfdaȣt. Tri meib beird oedynt.

A6.22. Tri gwayrud ynys Prydein:
Tristuard bard Vryen Reget, a Dygynelw bard Owein mab Vryen, ac Auan vyrdic bard Catwallaȣn mab Catuan.

A6.23. Tri chynywissyeit ynys Prydein:
Caradaȣc mab Bran, a Chaȣdraf mab Karadaȣc vreichvras, ac Owein mab Maxen wledic.

A6.24. Tri llynghessaȣc ynys Prydein:
Gereint mab Erbin, a Gwenȣynwyn mab Naf a March mab Meirchaȣn.

A6.25. Teir llynghes gyniweir ynys Prydein:
Llynghes Llaȣr mab Eirif, a llynges Dinȣgl mab Alban & llynghes Dolor mab Anȣrthath.

[4] No patronym here in the MS.

A6.26. Tri gɔrduaglaɔc ynys Prydein:
Riueri mab Tangɔn, a Chinwaed vaglaɔc, a Phyder mab Dolor Deifyr a Bryneich.

A6.27. Tri chat uarchaɔt ynys Prydein:
Caradaɔc vreichuras, a Meiwed of Arllechwed, a Llyr llurygaɔt, ac yr tri hynny englyn, eilynt y Tri chat uarchaɔc: Menwed, a Llyr llurygaɔc, a Cholofyn yn hynny tradaɔt.

A6.28. Tri thrahaus ynys Prydein:
Sawel ben uchel, a Phascen mab Vryen, a Run mab Einyaɔn.

A6.29. Tri ysgymyd aereu ynys Prydein:
Gilberd mab Catgyffro, a Moruran eil Tegit, a Gɔgaɔn gleifrud.

A6.30. Tri aeruodaɔc ynys Prydein:
Selyf mab Kynan Garwyn ac Vryen mab Kynuarch ac Auaon mab Taliessin.

A6.31. Tri gwrd veichat ynys Prydein:

Drysdan mab Tallɔch a getwis moch March mab Meirchyaɔn tra aeth y meichyat y erchi y Essyllt dyuot y'r gynadyl, ac Arthur yn keissaɔ vn hɔch ac o dɔyll a'e y dris ac nys kauas.

A Phryderi mab Pɔyll pen Anɔyn, a getwis moch Pendaran Dyuet yn Glyn Kuɔch yn Emlyn.

A Choll mab ɔurewy, a gedwis hɔch Datweir dallben a hi a aeth yn gordodɔ hyt ym Penryn Aɔstin yng Kernyɔ ac yna yd aeth hi yn y mor ac yn aber Tarrodi yng Went is Koet y doeth y'r tir. A Choll mab Killvrewy a'e laɔ ac y gwrych py ford bynnac y kerdeir nac ar vor nac ar dir. Ac yn y maes Gwenith yng Went y dotwes gwenithen gwenenen ac ɔrth hynny y mae goreu lle y wenith ac wenyn y lle hɔnnɔ. Ac odyno yd aeth hyt yn Llonyon ym Penuro ac yno y dotwes heiden a gwenenen ac ɔrth hynny y mae goreu y heid Llonyon ym Penuro. Ac odyno yd aeth hyt yn riɔ Kyuerthɔch yn Eryri ac yno dotwes ar geneu bleid ac ederyn eryr. Ac eryr a rodes Koll mab Kollurewy y Vrynach ɔydel o'r Gogled rei hynny vn vleid Morwed, a eryr Brynach ac odyno yd aeth hyt y maes du yn Lanueir yn Aruon ac y dotwes a'r geneu kath a'r keneu hɔnnɔ a vɔyryaɔd Koll mab Kollurewy ym Menei a hɔnnɔ vu cath Balɔc gwedy hynny.

A6.32. Tri prif letrithaɔc ynys Prydein:
Coll mab Collurewy, a Menɔ mab Teirgwaed, a Drych eil Kibdar.

A6.33. Teir prif hut ynys Prydein:
Hut Math mab Mathonwy, a hut Yrthur Bendragon, a hut Muchuach gorr.

A6.34. Tri diweir delu ynys Prydein:
Teulu Katwallaɔn mab Katuan, a vuat mlyned seith yn Iwerdon y gyt ac ef heb o uyn dim o iaɔn ydaɔ yn hynny o amser. Ac eil, vn teulu Gafron mab Aedan, a aethant yn y mor drostaɔ. Y trydyd, teulu Gwyndoleu mab Keidaɔ yn Aryteryd, a gynhallyassant y vrɔydyr bethewnos a mis wedy llad eu hargwyd. Sef oed riuedi pob vn canhɔr arugeint.

A6.35. Tri aniweir deulu ynys Prydein:

Teulu Grono mab Pepyr o Benllyn, a omedassant eu harglǒwyd o erbynyaǒ y gwenǒynwayǒ y gan Lew llaǒ gyffes yn llech Grono ymlaen Kynvael yn Ardudwy. Yr eil teulu Gǒrgi, a adawssant eu harglǒyd yn Gaer Greu ac a oed ymlad vdunt drannoeth ac Oda glinvaǒr. Y trydyd teulu Alan Fergan a ymhoelassant ody ǒrthaǒ hyt nos iar y ford ac ellǒng ynteu a'e weissyon y Gamlan.

A6.36. Teir gosgord adǒy ynys Prydein:
Gosgord venydaǒr Eidin, a gosgord Melyn mab Kynvael, a gosgord Drywon mab Nud.

A6.37. Teir anuat gyflauan ynys Prydein:
Eidyn mab Eingaǒn, a ladaǒd Aneiryn gwaǒtryd mechdeyrn beird, Athraǒin vargaǒt Eidin, a ladaǒd Adaon mab Taliessin, a Llonan llaǒ deifyo, a ladaǒd Vryen mab Kynuarch.

A6.38. Teir anyat vǒellaǒt ynys Brydein:
Bǒellaǒt Eidin ym pen Aneirin, a'r vǒellaǒt ym penn Golydan vard a'r vǒellaǒt ym penn Iago mab Beli.

A6.39. Teir gwen riein ynys Prydein:
Kreirǒy merch Keritwen, ac Aryanrot verd Don, a Gwen uerch Kywryt mab Krydon.

A6.40. Teir gwraged a gauas pryd Eua:
Diadema Gorderch a Chilarǒ, ac Elen vannaǒc y wreic y bu distryǒ Troea trǒy y phen, a Pholixena verch Priaf brenhin Groec.

A6.41. Teir gohoyǒ riein ynys Prydein:
Angharat ton Uelen merch Ryderch hael, ac Auan uerch Meic myguras, a Pherwyr [*verch*] Run ryueidriaǒr.

A6.42. Teir diweirwreic[5] ynys Prydein:
Treul Diueuyl verch Llynghessaǒc laǒ hael, a Gwen vedon merch Trudaual tutklut, a Thegeu eururon. Ac un diweirach no'r teir Heinythryd verch Vabon mab Dyfynwyn.

A6.43. Teir aniweir wreic ynys Pyrdein. Teir meirchet Kuluanawyt Prydein:
Essyllt vngwen a Phenarwan, a Bun gwreic Flamdǒyn. Ac vn oed aniweirach no'r tri hynny: Gwenhǒyuar gwreic Arthur kanys gwell gǒr y gwnai hi gyweilyd idaǒ no neb.

A6.44. Teir prif wraged Arthur:
Gwenhwyǒar verch Ogyrnan gawr, a Gwenhyǒyuar merch Kywryr geint, a Gwenhǒyuar merch Gǒythur mab Greidyaǒl gallonyd.

A6.45. Teir prif karyatwreic Arthur:
Garwen uerch Henni, a Gwyl verch Entaǒt, ac Indec verch Anarǒy hir.

A6.46. Teir gwenuorǒyn ynys Prydein:
Llewinei seithuet, a Rore uerch Vsper, a Medrei badelluaǒr.

[5] Correcting hand: "*diweirferch*"

Hyt hynn y dywetpɷyt y trioed arbennic, a thrioedd y milwyr, a thrioedd y gwraged. Traethɷn bellach trioed y meirch.

Trioed y meirch:

A6.47. Tri gohoyɷ edestyr ynys Prydein:
Meinlas march Kaswallaɷn mab Beli, a Grei march Etwin, a Llɷyt march Allych mab Maelgɷn.

A6.48. Tri thom edystyr ynys Prydein:
a Chuluelyn march Pascen mab Vryen, a Du march Brɷynan kynadaf, ac Ysgdydurith march Leineic mab Awan.

A6.49. Tri anreithuarch ynys Prydein:
Canaɷthar march Catwallaɷn mab Catuan, a Bacheslɷn serch march Gɷgaɷn gleifrud, a Charnaflaɷc march Owein mab Vryen.

A6.50. Tri rydecuarch ynys Prydein:
Torllydan a Gloyn, deu uarth Collaɷn mab Teichi, a'r Kerlym kyflym march Dinogan mab Kynan kaɷrnɷy.

A6.51. Tri gorderchuarch ynys Prydein:
a Ruɷlvrich march Ryhaɷt eil Morgant, a Gwelɷ gohoyɷ march Drystan, a Ruthyr reon tutuleid march Dalldaf eil Kunyn kof.

A6.52. Tri rodedicuarch ynys Prydein:
Meingalet march Gwalchmei, a Myngrɷn march Dritwas mab Driffin, a Gwineu gɷdɷf hir march Kei.

A6.53. Tri ymladuarch ynys Prydein:
Lluagor march Craduɷc vreichuras, a Melyngan mangre march Lleɷ llaɷ gyffes, a ɷydaɷc vreichir march Kyhorec eil Kynan.

A6.54. Tri meirch a dugant y tri marchlɷyth:
Du'r moored march Elidyr mɷyuaɷr ac Eurgein merch Vaelgɷn Gɷyned y wreic. A Gwyn da gynes, a Gwyn da reinyat, a Manach Uaɷinod y gynghorɷr a Phredelaɷ menestyr y Walloffyat ac Aryan magyl y was a Gilbenevin y goc a nofyes ae dɷylaɷ a'r bedrein y march a hɷnnɷ vn hanner. Y dyn a duc yr eil marchlɷyth a duc Cornan march meibion Eliffer gosgorduaɷr, a duc Gɷrgi a Pheredur a Dunaɷt vɷrr a Chynvelyn drɷseyl y edrych a'r vygoderth Gwendoleu mab Keidaɷ yn Aryfderyd. Trydyd marchlɷyth a duc heid march meibon Gyrchuɷl wledic a duc Gweir a Gleis ag Archegnat yn erbyn allt Vaeloaɷr yg Ceredigyaɷn y dial eu tat.

A6.55. Tri prif edystyr ynys Prydein:
Du hir tynnedic march Kynan Garwyn, ac Awydaɷc vreichhir march Keheret eil Kynan, a Ruthueon tuthuleid march Gilbert mab Katgyffro.

A6.56. Tri phrif ychen ynys Prydein:
Melyn gwanɔyn, a Gwinenuch gɔlwlyd, a’r ych Brych bras y beuren.

A6.57. Teir prif vuɔch ynys Prydein:
Brech buɔch Maelgɔn Gɔyned, a Thonllɔyt buɔch Laɔuroded uarnaɔt.

Ac uelly y teruyna trioed y meirch.

A7.[1] NLW Peniarth MS 50 (fols. 74r-81r)
(c. 1445, in the hand of Dafydd)

Trioedd Ynys Prydein:

A7.1. Tri santeidd linys ynys Prydein:
Llinys Joseph o Armathia, a llinys Cunedd wledic, a llinys Brychan Bacheiniaȣc.

A7.2. Tri gwestei gwynuededic o ynys Brydein:
Dewi, a Phadarn, a Theilaȣ.

A7.3. Tri chorff a wnaeth Duȣ ei Theilaȣ:
Vn yssydd yn Llandaff y Morgannȣc, yr eil yn Llanteilo vaȣr, a'r trydydd ym Hen Alun yn Dyfet mal y dyweit yr ystorya.

Tri enw yr ynys honn:
Kyntaf y gelwir kyn y chaffel Clas Mertyn, a gwedy y gorestyn o Vrutus y dodei arnei Ynys Brydein.

Teir prif rac ynys yssydd iddi:
Mon, a Manaȣ, ac ynys Weith. A seith rac ynys ar ugeint, a phetwar prif anrynedd ar ddec. Sef yȣ hyt yr ynys honn: o Blathaon ym Rydein hyt y Menn Penawaet yn Ghernyȣ, naȣ cant milltyr yȣ hynny. Sef yȣ y llet o gruchyll y Mon hyt yn Soram: pymp kant milltur yȣ hynny.

Sef a delit o honei coron y their taleith, ac yn Llundein gwiscaȣ y goron. Ac ym Henryn Rrianedd yn y Gogledd y hyn vn o'r taleithedigyon. Ac o Aberfraȣ yr eil. Ac o Gernyȣ y trydydd.

Teir ynys Prydein:
Lloegyr, a Chymry, a'r Alban. Teir prif aber a seith vgeint yssydd y danei, a phetwar porthua ar ddeg a deugeint. A their prif gaer ar ddeg ar ugeint: Kaer Alclut, Kaer Efraȣc, Kaer Lyn, Kaer Ffawydd, Kaer Geint, Kaer Ꝺyranghon, Kaer Lundein, Kaer Lipon, Kaer Golyn, Kaer Loyȣ, Kaer Gei, Kaer Siri, Kaer Wynt, Kaer Went, Kaer Erant, Kaer Daȣr, Kaer Gorgyrn, Kaer Lleon, Kaer Gororn, Kaer Suuaraȣd, Kaer Vruaȣc, Kaer Selynion, Kaer Widdaȣl Wir, Kaer Exson, Kaer Uiddon. Rei o honun yssydd wedy diwreiddaȣ y muryoedd yn willys, ereill yn gyweir gysannedd eto.

Tteir archescobaeth:
Vn o Geint, yr eil o Gaer Efraȣc, a'r dryddydd o Vynnyȣ. Ac nyt oes dlyet y neb ar ynys honn namyn y genedyl Gymry e hun. Gweddi Llyon y Brutannyeit y ddeuth gynt o Gaer Droea.

Teir prif auon ynys Prydein:
Temys, Hafran, a Hȣmyr.

Teir prif porthua ynys Prydein:

[1] See Appendix C7, pp. 480-83.

Porth Ystewin y Gwent, a phorth Wygyr y Mon, a phorth ɔytno yn y Gogledd.

A7.4. Teir gormes a ddeuth yr ynys hon, ac nyt aeth yr vu naddunt ohonei:
Kyɔdaɔt y[2] Coranyeit y ddeuth yman yn oes Lludd mab Beli, ac nyt aeth yr vn onaddunt drachefyn, ac o'r Auia y hanoedd ynt. Yr eil ormes nyt aeth vyth o honei y Gwyddyl Fficti. A'r drydydd ormes a vu y Saeson, a Hors a Hengist ym Pennaduryet arnaddunt.

A7.5. Thri chyuor a aeth o'r ynys honn, ac ny ddeuth yr vn [*onaddunt*] drachefyn:
Vn, a aeth gan Elen luyddaɔc a Chynan y braɔt, a honnɔ ny ddeuth drachefyn.

Yr eil, a aeth gan Irp luydaɔc, a ddeuth yman yn amser Cadyal, a'r Erin y erchi kymorth yr ynys honn. Ac ny ddoeth ganthaɔ [*yr gaer gyntaf*] namyn ef a'e was. Sef a archei o [*bop*] prif gaer yr ynys deu kynuneint ac a delei ganthaɔ [*e*] [*iddi*] ac ny [*ddoeth*] ganthaɔ ef y myɔn namyn ef a'e was. Ac y bu mor astryru[3] gan wyr yr ynys honn hynny. Ac y rodassant iddaɓ y kymorth, a hɓnnɓ [*neb onaddunt*] llɔyraf llu aeth o'r ynys honn. Ac ny ddeuth drachefyn na hɔy na'e llynys. Sef y trigyas sant [*y gwyr hynny*] hɔy yn [*dɔy*] ynys yn ymyl mor Groec. Sef oedd eu henwei Gals ac Auena.

Y trydydd a aeth gan Gaswallaɔn mab Beli, a Gɔenɔyn a Gɔanar meibyon Lliaɔs mab Nɔyffre ac Aranron verch Beli eu mam y vynet trɔy vor. Arr ɔysc y Cesseryeit o'r ynys honn. Sef y mae y gwyr hynny: Ghasgwyn. Sef oedd y rrif a aeth gan bop vn onaddunt: vn vil a thrugeint. A'r rei hynny a oedd y tri aryan llu. Sef achaɔs y gelwit velly: achaɓs mynet eur ac arant y'r ynys ganthunt a dethol y gwyr o oreu y oreu.

A vn llu hayach vu gymeint a'r tri hynny, a aeth gyda Maxen wledic y Lydaɔ. A phan ddannonaɔdd Kynan mauydaɔc ac Dunaɔt tywyssaɔc Kernyɔ y gaffel Vrsula y verch y daeth o'r dylyedogyon: vn vil ar ddeg o vorynyon merthyr yssydd yg Holoyn. Ac heuyt deugein mil o wragedd ereill, ac ny ddeuth yr vn drachefyn.

A7.6. Tri [*mat*] kudd a thri [*anuat*] datkudd [*pan ddatkuddyɔyt*] ynys Prydein:
Vn onaddunt [*dyɔyt*] Penn Bendigeiduran mab Llyr, y gladdɔyt yn y Gwynuryn yn Llundein, a hyt tra vei yn yr ansodd honno ny ddoei ormes y'r ynys vyth. Eil kudd, eskyrn Gɔrtheuyr vendigeit y gladdɔyt ymrissyrdd yr ynys honn, a hyt na vei yno ny ddoei ormes y'r ynys. Y trydydd gudd, y dreigeu a guddyaɔdd Lludd mab Beli yn Ninas Pharan, a'r tri chudd hynny anpɔyt gwaeth o'e datkuddyaɔ.

Arthur a ddatkuddyaɔdd pen Bendigeiduran o'r Gwynuryn yn Llundein, kany oedd ouer ganthaɔ cadɔ yr ynys o gedernyt neb yr eidaɔ e hun. Gwrtheryrn [*mab Vorthigirn*] Gɓrtheneu a ddatkuddyaɔdd esgyrn Gɓrthenyr vendigeit o serch Ronwen y wreic, ac heuyt a ddatkuddyaɔ y dreigeu o Ddinas Emrys.

A7.7. Teir drut aerua ynys Prydein:
Vn onaddunt pan ddeuth Medraɔt a Gelli Wig yn Hernyɔ, ac nyt adewis yn y llys na ɔɔyt na diaɔt nys treulei. A thynni Genhɔyuar o'e rrieni gadeir. Yr ail pan ddeuth Arthur y lys Medraɔt, ac nyt adewis yn y lys na bɔyt na diaɔt nys treulei na dyn na llɔdyn yn vyw yn y cantref. A'r trydydd drut aerua pan ddeuth Aydan vradwc hyt yn Alclut y lys Rydderch hael, ac nyt a dewis na bɓyt na llyn na llɔdɔn yn vyɔ.

[2] Correction: "*o'r*"
[3] Correction: "*ardustru*"

A7.8. Teir ouerddgat ynys Prydein:
Vn onaddunt a vu gutgoden. Sef y gwnaethpɢwyt o achaɑs yr ast y ar iɑrth fechɑys achoruɑgill. Yr eil a vu y gweith Arderydd a wnaethpɑyt o achaɑs nyt yr ychwedydd. A drydydd oedd waethaf: sef oedd honno Camlan. A honna a wnaethpɑyt o gyweyssedd Gwenhɢyuar a Gwenhɑyach. Sef achaɑs mor ddiffiɑyth a hɑnnɑ.

A7.9. Tri anuat gyghor ynys Prydein:
Roddi yn Wassar a gwyl mein lle y Garmeu blaen y[4] meirch ar y tir ymlith y Meinglas. A'r eil gadel Ronwen a Hors a Hengist yr tir. A'r drydydd rannu o Arthur y wyr a Medraɑt yg Hamlann.

A7.10. Tri hualogyon teulu ynys Prydein:
Teulu Catwallaɑn laɑhir a ddeodassant hualey y[5] meirch ar y traet pob ddeu onaddunt ɑrth ymadd, a Seitigei ɑyddyl yg Hreic y Gɑyddyl y Mon, a theulu Rriwallaɑn mab Vryen yn ymladd ar Saeson, a theulu Belyn o Leyn ym ymladd ac Etwin ym Ryn Keneu yn Ros.

A7.11. Tri goruchel garcharaɑr ynys Prydein:
Llyr lleidieth a vu yg harchar o Euroswydd, a'r eil Mabon mab Medron, a'r trydydd Geyr mab Geryoet. Ac vn oedd oruchelach no'r tri. Sef oedd honnɑ Arthur a vu teir nos yg harchar yg Haer Oeth ac Anoeth, a their nos gann Wenn Bendragon. A their nos yg harchard hudd dan y Llech. A chymeint ar vu Gwas a'e dillyghɑys o'r tri charthar hynny. Sef oedd y gwas Goreu Custennin y gefynderɑ.

A7.12. Tri hualaɑc ynys Prydein:
Katwaladyr vendigeid, a Run mab Maelgɑn Gɑynedd, a Riwallaɑn wallt banadlen.

A7.13. Tri diweir teulu ynys Prydein:
Teulu Catwallaɑn pan vuant hualogyon, teulu Gafran mab Aydan pan vu yn y ddinancoll, a theulu Gwynddoleu mab Keidiaɑ yn Arderyt a ddalyassant yr ymladd petheɑnos a mis wedy llad eu harglɑydd. Sef oedd eiryf teuleoedd y gwyr hynny: vn canɑr ar ugeint.

A7.14. Tri aniweir teulu ynys Prydein:
Teulu Goronwy peuyr o Penllyn a omeddassant y harglɑydd o yrɑmiett y Gwenɑynweɑ y gan Lleɑ llaɑ gyffes, teulu Gɑrgi a Pheredur a addaɑsant eu harglɑydd yg Haer Greu a chyfnot ymladd drannoeth uddunt a dani glymor ac yno y llas ell deu. A theulu Alan Fargan a ymchwelant yn lledrat y ar yn mynet y Gamlan hyt nos a'e ellɑng yntheu y Gamlan, a'y weison ac yno y llas. Sef oedd riuedi pob vn o'r teuleoedd hynny vn can ɑr ar ugeint.

A7.15. Tri hael ynys Prydein:
Nudd hael mab Seinyllt, a Mordaf mab Seruan, a Rydderch hael mab Tudwal tutglyt. Ac Arthur ehun oedd haelach no'r tri.

A7.16. Tri gwyndeyrn ynys Prydein:
Owein mab Vrien, a Run mab Maelgɑn Gɑynedd, a Pheuyr mab Dorarch wledic.

[4] Correction: "*eu*"
[5] Correction: "*eu*"

A7.17.Tri deifuaɑc ynys Prydein:
Gɑalchmei mab Gɑyar, a Llacheu mab Arthur, a Pheredur mab Efraɑc.

A7.18. Tri phost kat ynys Prydein:
Dunaɑt vaɑr mab Pabo post Prydein, a Gwallaɑc mab Llennaɑc, a Chynvelyn drɑsgol.

A7.19. Tri tharɑ caduc ynys Prydein:
Cynɑaɑr katgatuc mab Tunɑydd Cynwydiaɑn, a Gwynddoleu mab Keidaɑ, Vrien mab Kynuarch.

A7.20. Tri lledyf ɑnben ynys Prydein:
Llywarch hen mab Elidyr lledanwyn, a Mynwedan mab Llyr lletieth, a Gɑgaɑn gɑron mab Paredur mab Eliffer gosgorduawɑr.

A7.21. Tri gwarthrud ynys Prydain:
Trystɑard bard ɑrien, Dygynelɑ bard Ewein mab ɑrien, ac Auan ɑedic bardd Catɑallaɑn mab Catuan.

A7.22. Tri overveirdd ynys Prydain:
Arthur, a Chatwallaɑn mab Catuan, ac Araɑt ail Morgant.

A7.23. Tri ruduodaɑc ynys Prydain:
Arthɑr, a Run mab Beli, a Morgant mɑynuaɑc.

A7.24. Tri thaleithaɑc kat ynys Prydain:
Drystan mab Trallwch, Hueil mab Kaɑ, a Chei mab Kynyr Keinɑaruaɑc, ac ɑn oedd taleithogaɑc arnadunt wynteu: Bedɑyr mab Petraɑc oedd hɑnnɑ.

A7.25. Tri thrahaws ynys Prydain:
Saɑyl ben ɑchel, a Phascen mab ɑrien, […].

A7.26. Teir prif hut ynys Prydain:
Hut Math mab Mathonwy, a hut ɑther ben dragon, a hut Gwythelin gorr.

A7.27. Teir anuat gyflafyn,[6] ynys Prydain:
Eidyn mab Eingan a laddaɑd Aneirin gɑardrud mechteyrn beirdd, a Llaɑ trɑm vargaɑt Eidyn, a laddaɑdd Auaon mab Taliessin, a Chynon mab Clytno Eidin, a Dyfymiaɑl mab Mynedaɑc Eidin a laddaɑdd ɑrien mab Kynuarch.

A7.28. Teir mat gyflafan, tri meib Deisysdaɑt:
Gall mab Dysyssdawt a laddaɑd deu ederyn Gwendolau […] eur tri oeddynt, a deu ddyn a yssynt deunydd ar eu kinyiaɑ a deu ddyn yn y kɑynos. Ac Ysnafnell mab Deisysdiɑt a laddaɑd Edelflet urenhin Lloegyr, a Diffydell mab Dsysdiɑt Garolɑyd, y ɑrgi hɑnnɑ […] gelein beunyd o'r Kymry a dɑy bob Sadɑrn [*rac lladd yr un ddu ɑ Sul*].

A7.29. Tri anuat paluaɑt ynys Prydain:

[6] Corrected to "*gyflafan*."

Paluaɑt Mathaɑch ar Vranwen verch Llyr, a phaluaɑt Arthur ar Vedraɑt, a phaluaɑt Gwenhɣyuar ar Wenhɣ[…].

A7.30. Tri gwyndorlɣyth ynys Prydain:
Vrien ac Euddel plant Kynuarch hen y vuant yn vn torllɣyth yghallon Nevyn verch Vrychan eu mam. A'r eil Ywein[7] mab Vrien a Morwyd y chwaer y vuant yn vn dorllɣyth yghallon o Modron verch Auallach. Y trydydd, Gɣrgi a Pheredur a Cheindrych penn askell plant Eliffer gosgorddua6r a vuant yghallon Eurddel verch Gynuarch eu mam.

A7.31. Tri serchaɑc ynys Prydain:
Caswallaɑn mab Beli am Phlur verch […]nach […] Drystan mab […] gwraic March y ewythyr, a Chynon mab Clytno am Uorwydd uerch Vrien.

A7.32. Tri diwerwreic ynys Prydain:
Treul difefyl verch Llygessaɑc laɣ hael, Gwen fedon verch Drudaɑl tutklyd a Thegey Eur6ron.

A7.33. Tri aniwreic ynys Prydain, tri merchet Kynawc Prydain:
Essylt vygwen gordderch Trystan, a Penarwan gwreic Owein mab Vrien, a Bun [verch] Run.

A7.34.[8] Teir lleithlwyth ynys Prydain:
Arthur yn pen teyrned […] escyb, a Maelg6n Gwynedd yn pen hyneif. Arthur […] Kelli Wig yg Kerniɣ, a Bytwini yn pen […]

A7.35.[9] […] a Chelli wic yg Herniɣ, a Phenryn Rioned yn y Gogledd.
Teir prif ɣyl ynys Prydain, y teir prif lys: Pasc, a Nadolic, a Sulgwyn.

A7.36. Teir prif wragedd Arthur:
Gwenhɣyuar uerch wrtuan gɣor, a Gwenhɣyuar uerch Gɣrthyr mab Greidiaɑl, a Gwenh6yuar uerch Gwryd keint.

A7.37. Tair prif garadoc wragedd Arthur:
Garwen uerch Henin, a Gwyl uerch Emaɑd, ac Indec uerch Anarɣy hir.

A7.38. Tri marchaɑc o lys Arthur a enillaɑd y greal, ac eu duc y nef:
Galaad ɑab Laɑnslod y lac, a Pheredur ɑab Efraɑc iarll, a Bort vab brenhin Bort. A ddeu gyntaf oeddynt wery o gryff, a trydydd oedd ddiweir am na wnaeth pecha6t kna6da6l ont vnweith. A hynny dr6y brouedigaeth yn y amser y enillaɑdd ef […][10] o verch Brenyn Brangor yr honn a vu ymherodres yn Constino[byl], o'r honn y deuth y genedlaeth v6yaf o'r byt, ag genedlaeth Joseph o Aramathea y hanoeddyn yll, ag o lin Dau[id] brof6yt mal y tystolaeth ystorya y grael.

A7.39. Tri dyn goreu yn llys Arthur ɣrth Osp a Phellenic:
Gwalchmei mab Gɣyar, a Gadwy mab Gereint, a Chadyryieith mab Saidi.

[7] Corrected to "*Ewein*"
[8] The manuscript is badly gall-stained here, leaving the text partially illegible.
[9] The manuscript is badly gall-stained here, leaving the text partially illegible.
[10] The scribe has left a blank space on the page, omitting the personal name.

A7.40. Tri anheol o lys Arthr:
Echau mab Gɵrgɵff, a Choldawc mab Gwynn, a Genau hir gemennon.

A7.41. Tri glew ynys Prydain:
Tri meib Haearned vradaɓc, a Henpen, ac Edenaɓc.

A7.42. Tri ysemyd aereu ynys Prydain:
Gilbert mab katgyffro, a Moruran eil Tegit, a Gɓgaɓn gledyrud.

A7.43. Tri meirch a dugant y tri marchlɵyth:
Dumoro march Elidir mɵynuaɵr a dduc arnaw seith nyn a hanner o Penllech yn y Gogledd hyt yn Penllech y Mon. Sef seith nyn oeddynt: Elidir mywnuaɵr, ac Eurgein y wreic meirch Malgɵn Gɵynedd, a Gɵyn da gydfed, a Gɵyn da reinat, a mynach Naɵmod y gyghorɵr, a Phrydelaɵ menestyr wallofyat, Aranuagyl y was, ac Gilenefyn y goc a nouyes a'e dɵylaɵ ar Pedrein y march a'e draet yn y defyr a hɵnnɵ ɵu y hanner dyn.

Yr eil marchlɵyth, a dduc Cornan march meibion Eliffer a dduc Gɵrgi a Pheredur arnaɵ, a Dunaɵt uɵrc a Chynuelyn trɵscyl etrych ar ygedorth Gwendoleu yn Arderyd.

A trydyd marchlɵyth, a dduc Heid march Gyrthmɵl wledic a dduc Gueir a Gleis ac Arthynat yn erbyn allt Malɵr yg Keredigion y […][11]

A7.44. Tri pryf ychen ynys Prydain:
Melun guanhɵyn, a Gvineu gloɵwd, ac ych Brych.

A7.45. Tri pryf vvɵch ynys Prydain:
Brech buɵch Vaelgɵn Gwynedd, a Thonllɵyt buɵch meibion Eliffer gosgorddуaɵr, a Chornillo buɵch Laɵurodedd varuaɵc.

A7.46. Tri anreithɵarch ynys Prydain:
Carnaflaɵc march Ywein mab Uryen, a Chanaɵt hir march Catɵallaɵn mab Catuan, a Bucheslom march Gɵgaɵn gledyfrudd.

A7.47. Tri gordderchuarch ynys Prydain:
Fflerlas march Dalldaf […], a Rudurych march Ryhaɵt […] Moruran tegit, a Gɵelɵgan gohoyɵ gein marh me…[12]

[11] The rest of this line is smudged and illegible.
[12] The page is torn here and some text has been lost. The TYP text ends here.

A8.[1] NLW Peniarth MS 27, Part II (pp. 87-88)
s.xv[2], hand unknown.

A8.1. Tri marchlwyth ynys Brydain:

Du y moroydd march Elidir mwynuawr, a dduc seith nyn a hanner aniaw o Benllech Elidir yn y Gogledd hyd ym hen llech Elidir yn Mon, sef y nyn oeddynt Elidir ac Eurgain uerch Uaylawn i wraica Gwyn da gynydd a Gwynn da rreiniad a Manach Nowmon yn gynhorwr a Ffedrillaw venestr ac Aranuagl i was. A Gelluenieuin a nonies a'i dwylo a'r bedrain y march a hwnnw uu haner y dyd.

A'r ail marchlwyth uu gorau march meibion Oliver gosgordduawr a dduc Gwrgi a Fferedur a Dunod vwr a Chynuelyn dywsgl i edrych megedorth Gwynndole.

A'r trydydd march meibion Gwythmwl Wledic a dduc arnaw Gwair a Chlais ac Arthenad yn erbyn yr allt Vaylwr yn Geredigiawn i ddial i tad Kyneddf oydd ar uaylwr na Chaye i Borth i'r bu marchlwyth ac yna i lyddasant.

A8.2. Tri roddediguarch ynys Brydain:
Meinlas, march Kyswallawn ap Beli, a Lluagor, march Gyriadoc vreichvras, a Melyngan mangre, march Llew llaw gyffes.

A8.3. Tri thom eddystyr ynys Brydain:
Du march Brwyn a Kynedaf, ac Arwl velyn march Pasgen ap Vrien, a Dulwyd varch Rrydderch hayl.

A8.4. Tri anrreithuarch ynys Brydain:
Kynavlaw march Ywain ap Vrien, a Buchesdom, march Gwgon Gleddyfrudd, a Thauawyr, march Gydwallawn ap Kadvan.

A8.5. Tri gordderchvarch ynys Brydain:
Fferlas march Dallda ail Kunin kof, Arwlvrith march Kahawt ail Morgan, a Chornach arwch march Marvrynn ail Tegid.

A8.6. Tri gohyw eddystr ynys Brydain:
Llyt march Alser, ac Gwine gyddvy march Kai, a Chethin kyflym, march Iddon ap Ynyr Gwent.

A8.7. Tri ffrif eddystr ynys Brydain:
Du hir rrynedic, march Kynan Garwynn, a Rruddvron tvthvlaidd varch Gilbert ap Kadgyffro, ac Awyddawc vreichir varch Kyhored ail Kynan.

[1] Appendix C8, pp. 483-84.

A9.[1] NLW Peniarth MS 51 (pp. 169-85)

c. 1460-80, in the hand of Gwilym Tew with corrections (s.xvii[med]) in the hand of Robert Vaughan

Henwau y tri thlws ar ddeg a oedd yn y Gogledd, nid amgen: llen Arthur, kledde Rydderch hael, mwys Gwyddno […][2] Mwynfawr, kyllyll Llawrfrodedd, pair Dawarnwch gawr, galen Tudwal Tutglud, pair Badarn, grenn a dessgyl rǒ gennydd, gwydbwll Gwenddole, [*mantell degau maen, modrwy Elunedd*].[3]

A9.1. Porth aeth gan Yrp luyddawc hyd yn Llychlyn a'r gwr hwnnw a [*ddo*]eth [*yman*] ym oes Gadial dy[4] byry y er[*chi*] dygyǒor o'r ynys honn. A hynny a gaǒas ac ni ddoeth o hununt namyn [*efha*] Mathutaǒir y was. Sef oedd arohai o ddeg prif gaer a'r trigaint y ssydd yn yr ynys honn daw kymain a elei ganthaw y bob ǒn o hununt y ddwyǒod ymath. Ac no ddoi ganthaw o'r gaer gyntaf namyn ef a'i was ac y bu ddiysstyr gan wyr yr ynys honn hynny ac y roddassant y ddaǒ kymaint iddow a llwyraf[5] ǒǒ hwnnw ar aeth o'r ynys honn erioed. Sef y lle y trigiassant [*yr ddwy ynys*] yn glann mor Groeg. Nid amgen: Klas ac Aǒena.

Yr ail llǒ aeth Elen luyddiog a Maxen […][6]

… trydedd [aeth] gan Gysswallawn ǒab [*N*]wyfre a Arianurodd ǒerch Beli eǒ mam. A gwyr hnny a hanoedd yno o Groec[7] a Heledd [*pan hanoedd ynt*] ac a ethant gyda Chassswallawn eǒ hewyth [*ar wysc y*] Kesseniaid o'r ynys honn. Sef y lle y mae y gwyr hyny: yn Gwassgwyn.

Sef riwedi aeth gan bob ǒn o naddynt: ǒn ǒil arrugaint. Ac rrai hyny a ǒǒ dri arianllǒ ynys Brydain trwy warth i'r ynys.

A9.2. Tair llynges gyniwa[*i*]r ynys Prydain:
Llynges Lyr uab Erif,[8] a llynges Dygrif ǒab Alan, a lly[*n*]ges Ssolor ǒab Ǒrnach.

A9.3. Tair gwyth balǒod ynys Prydain:
Ǒn a drewis Matholwch Wyddel ar Ǒrannwenn ǒerch Lyr, a'r ail a drewis Gwennhwyǒach ar Wenhwyǒau[9] o achos hyny y ǒǒ waith Kadgamlan, a'r drydedd y trewis Golydan […][10]

A9.4. [Tri drut][11] heirua ynys Prydain:
[*Vn o naddunt*] pan […][12] Medrod nis edewis nac yn y llys nac yn y [*???*] na bwyd na llyn. A'r ail ǒǒ pan ddoeth Medrod y lys Arthur yng Helli Wig [*yg Kerniw*] nid edwis na bwyd na llyn yng hwbl o'r llys [*nys treulei*] a thynnv Gwennhwyǒar o'i chadair ǒrenhinol. A thaǒs palvod arni. [*Teir [???yes] gaffal, &c.*]

A9.5. Tair rrain Arthur:

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[1] See Appendix C9, pp. 485-88.
[2] Damage to the manuscript, line illegible.
[3] A correcting hand different from the one belonging to Vaughan.
[4] Vaughan corrects: "*y*"
[5] Vaughan corrects: "*llw mwyaf*"
[6] Damage to the manuscript; line illegible.
[7] Vaughan corrects: "*o Erch*"
[8] Vaughan corrects: "*Lawry uab Eryf*"
[9] Vaughan corrects: "*-ar*"
[10] Damage to the manuscript, line illegible.
[11] Damage to the manuscript, illegible.
[12] Damage to the manuscript, illegible.

Gwnhwyɷar ɷerch Wyrd Gwent, a Gwenhwyɷar ɷerch Ythr ap Greidiol, a Gwenhwyɷar ɷerch Gogɷran gawr.

A9.6. Tair keredicwraig Arthur oeddynt:
Indec ɷerch Arwy hir, a Garwen ɷerch Heny[*n*] hen, a Gwyl ɷerch Endawd.

A9.7. Tair gorvorwyn ynys Prydain:
Llewei ɷerch Sserdwedd,[13] a Rore ɷerch ɷssber a Med[*e*]rei badellɷawr.

A9.8. Tair gossgordd [*addwyn*] ynys Prydain:
Gossgordd Mynyddawg yng Hatraeth, a gossgordd Dreon lew yn Rrod[…],[14] gossgordd ɷelyn o Ley[n] [*Erythlyn*][15] yn Ros.

A9.9. Tair prif hud ynys Prydain:
Hud Math ap Mathonwy, a ddysgodd y Wydion ap Don, a hud Uthr Benndragon, a ddyssgodd y ɷenw ap Teirgwaeth, a hud Rruddlw m[ap] Gorr, a ddyssgodd y Goll ap Kollɷrewy y nai.

A9.10. Tair kynnhwyssiad ynys Prydain:
Gwyddar ap Run ap Peli, ac Owain ap Maxen wledic, a Chowrda[f] ap Karadawc.

A9.11. Tair deifn[*y*]awc ynys Prydain:
Ri[*w*]wallon wallt banhadlen, a Gwal[*l*]chmei [*m.*] Gwydo, a Llocho[16] ap Aarthur.

A9.12. Tri anɷad gyngor ynys Prydain:
Roddi [*y*] ɷlkassar, a [*gwyr Prydain*] lle Karne blaen [*y dir*] meirch gwyr Rvvein a'r dir [*ym pwylf*] Meɷolas.[17] A'r ail gellwng Hors a Hengesst [*a Ronnwen*] i'r ynys honn. Ac drydedd rɷannɷ a Arthur y wyr teirgwaith a Medrod yng Hamlan.

A9.13. Tri thaleith[*e*]ioc ynys Prydain:
Gweir ap Gwesstyl, a Chai ap Kynyr, a Thrysstan ap Tallwch.

A9.14. Tri rudd v[*o*]aawc[18] ynys Prydain:
Run ap Peli […][19] Ac vn a oedd vwy[…][20] vn thyvei na gwellt […][21] y ffordd y kerddeu ssaith mlynedd ar ol Arthur oedd hwnnw.

A9.15. Tri llynghesswr ynys Prydain:
Gereint ap Erbin, a March ap Meirchionn, a Gwenwynwyn ap Naw.

[13] Vaughan corrects: "*Ssereiwedd*"
[14] Damage to the manuscript; line partially illegible.
[15] Correction in the hand of Gwilym Tew.
[16] Vaughan corrects: "*Llacheu*"
[17] Vaughan corrects: "*Meinlas*"
[18] Correction in the hand of Gwilym Tew.
[19] Damage to the manuscript; multiple lines illegible.
[20] Line partially illegible.
[21] Line partially illegible.

A9.16. Tri ɔnben llys Arthur:
Gronw ap ɔchel,[22] a Fflender[23] fflam ap Gwdw,[24] a Chadrlaith ap Sseidi.

A9.17. Tri tharw ɔnbenn ynys Prydain:
Addaon ap Taliessin, a Chynnhaɔal ap Argad, [*ac Elinwy vab Caedgyr*].

A9.18. Tri ɔnben Deirɔa a Brynnich ynys Prydain, a thri beirdd oeddynt. Tri meib Dysy[*uy*]nawd a wnaethant y tair kyɔlalan:[25]

Disseidell ap Dyssyɔyndawd, a laddodd Gwrgi garwlwyd, y gwr hwnnw a laddei gelain beɔnydd o'r Kymry a dwy dduw Ssawrn rac ladd ɔn dduw Ssul.

Ysfafnell ap Dysyɔdawd,[26] a laddodd edelffled Ffleissiawc vreni[*n*] Lloegr.

Gwall ap […][27] Gwyn[*ddo*]leɔ y rrai hyny a oeddynt [yn] kadw [y eur] ac ariann a ddɔddyn yssynt yn eɔ kiniaw a'r gyminnt arall ym kwynos.

A9.19. Tri gwythwr ynys Prydain a wnaethant [*y*] tair anɔad gyɔlaɔan:
Lleɔɔan llaw ddiɔro, a laddodd ɔrien ap Kynvarch, Llonngrwm[28] Gargod Eithin, a laddodd Avaon[29] ap Taliessin, Heid[*en*] vab E[*n*]engad, a laddodd Gwadodd[30] ap D[*e*]yrn beirdd[31] gwr oedd hwnnw a roi gan muw bob Sadwrn mewn kerwyn eneint [*yr Talhaearn a'e trewis yni ben a bwyll gynnyt*].

Tri bwallod ynys Prydain: Talhaearn a drewis ɔen[*i*]r[*i*]n yni ffen. A'r ail kymɔdei[32] o Aberffro a drewis Golydan a bwyall ym benn y drydedd Iago ap Peli, a drewis wr e hen yni benn a gwyall.

A9.20. Tri a[*e*]rɔeddog ynys Prydain:
Gele[33] ap Kynan Garwyn, Aɔaon ap Taliessin, a Gwallawg ap Lleminiawg. Sef [*achos*] y gelwis hwynt yn aerɔeddogion, am dial eɔ kam og eɔ beddaɔ.

A9.21. Tri phosst kad ynys Prydain:
Dvnod ap Pabo, a Chnveln drwssgl […][34]

A9.22. Tri hael ynys Prydain:
Rydderch [*cad*] ap Tudwal tutclud, a Nudd ap Sserwann,[35] [*a Mor hael ap Serrvann*].

A9.23. Tri gormes gynnwys ynys Prydain:

[22] Vaughan corrects: "*Echel*"
[23] Vaughan corrects: "*Fflewdwr*"
[24] Vaughan corrects: "*Godo*"
[25] Vaughan corrects: "*y mat g…*"
[26] Vaughan corrects: "*Dysyɔynyndawd*"
[27] Damage to the manuscript, line illegible.
[28] Vaugahn corrects: "*Llongat Grwm*"
[29] Vaughan corrects: "*Anon*"
[30] Vaughan corrects: "*Aneurin gwawotrudd*"
[31] Vaughan corrects: "*bechdyrnbeirdd*"
[32] Vaughan corrects: "*kynutei*"
[33] Vaughan corrects: "*Selyf*"
[34] Damage to the manuscript, some text illegible.
[35] Vaughan corrects: "*Nudd hael ap Sseinillt*"

ɔn o naddunt Aɔarwy ap Lludd ap Peli, a ddynnodd Iulwy Sussar a gwyr Rɔɔein i'r ynys honn. Gyntaf ac a beris talɔ [*teir*] o bɔnnoedd yn deernged y wyr Rɔɔein o'e gyɔroyssedd a Chasswallon y ewthyr.

A'r ail ɔɔ Wrtheyrn [*fab*] Gwrthenau a rodes tir i Ssaesson [*yn gywys[t]l*]. Ac a ym ddyweddiodd a chynt gyntaf ac a beris lladd [*Cystenin uychan uab*] Kusstennin vendigeid a'i[36] ɔrawd a ddeol y ddaɔ ɔrodor o'r tri Emrys wledic. Ac ɔthyr Benndragon hyd yn Llyddaw a chymryd y goron [*a'r urenhinaith*] a dwyll [*yn eiddo*] e hvn ac o'r diwedd ɔthr ac Emrys a'i llossges ynteɔ yng hasstel Gwerthrynion ar lann Gwy [*un fflam y dial o brawt*].

Trydydd gwaethaf ɔɔ ɔedrod [*ap Llew ap Kynuarch*] pan edewis Arthur lywrodraeth ynys Brydain ganthaw pan aeth yntaɔ drwy mor yn erbyn Lleon[37] amerodɔ Rɔɔein, a anɔenassai gennadaɔ ataw o'r blaen hyd yng Haer Llion ar Wyssc y erchi teernged […][38] gwyr ynys Brydain […] o amsser Kasswallawn ap Peli hyt yn amser Kusstennin ɔendigaid taid Arthur. Sef atep a roddes Arthur y wyr Rɔɔein nyd oedd well y dylyai wyr Rɔɔein deernged y wyr ynys Brydain no gwyr ynys Brydain y wyr Rɔɔein. Kan[y]s Beli[39] ɔab Dyfnwal a Chusstennin ap Elen a ɔɔant amerodronyn Rɔɔein a daw o'r Brytaniad oedd y gwyr hynny. [*Ac*] ym ydd ymgarɔɔant o'r tɔ hwnt y ɔymydd mynnuɔ ac y llas aerɔa o bob tɔ ar y llas yr amerawdr, a goreɔ gwyr Arthur a phan gigleɔ ɔedrod Wassgarɔ gwyr[40] Arthur ydd ymchewlodd tɔ ac ac[41] Arthur ac y dyɔynnodd gidai ef Ssaesson a Phichtiaid a Yssgotiaid yn ɔhd[42] Arthur. Ac yna doeth idaw ap Nyniaw yr hwn a elwir Idawc korn Prydyn yr hwnn a wnaeth y gynnen rrwng Arthur a Medrod ac y min y mor ydd ym ygɔarɔɔant ac yno y llas Medrod ac y brathwys Arthur yn amghaɔawl ac y ɔɔ ɔarw ac y kladdwyd yn ynys Avallach.

A9.24. Tri gorvchel garcharvr ynys Prydain:
Llyr llediaith, a Mabon amhadron, a G[*ó*]eir g[*ó*]eirroedd, ac ɔn oedd ɔwch[43] no'r tri hynny a ɔɔ deir nos yn gharchar hut dan llech a gwas yw huchel[44] gollyngodd. Sef oedd henw: Goreɔ ɔab Kusstenin [*y*][45] geɔɔdderw.

A9.25. Tri gwynderyn[46] ynys Prydain:
Owein ap ɔrien, a Rɔn ap Maegwn, a Pybyr ap Dora[*v*]th[47] wledic.

A9.26. Tri oɔerɔardd ynys Prydain:
Arthur arawd,[48] a'r ail Morgant, ac a Chysswallawn[49] ap Kadɔan.

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[36] Vaughan corrects: "*o'e*"
[37] Vaughan corrects: "*Lles*"
[38] Damage to the manuscript, line partially illegible.
[39] Vaughan corrects: "*Bran*"
[40] Vaughan corrects: "*groanhau nifer*"
[41] Vaughan corrects: "*tv ac ac*" to "*ynte yn erbyn*"
[42] Vaughan correcrs "*yn ɔhd*" to "*i gadw yr ynys hon*"
[43] Vaughan corrects: "*goruchelach*"
[44] Vaughan deletes "hut dan…huchel" and replaces it in the margin with the following: "*yng Caer Oeth ac Anoeth ac a hu deir n[o]s yng [gharchar] Wen Bendragon ar bu gwas a'i…"*
[45] Inserted later, but in the hand of Gwilym Tew.
[46] Vaughan corrects: "*gwyndeyrn*"
[47] This "v" (not a ɔ) has been inserted later in the hand of Gwilym Tew.
[48] Vaughan corrects: "*a Rahauet*". Gwilym seems to have misunderstood the use of "ail" as a synonym of "ap" here.
[49] Vaughan corrects: "*Catwallawn*"

A9.27. Tri datgladd[50] ynys Prydain:
Penn Bendigeidfran ap Lywd a gladwyd[51] yn bryngwn[52] yn Llɔndein a'r wyneb ar Ffraink, a thra ɔɔ yno ni ddoi Ssais i ynys Prydain.[53] A'r ail anɔad ddatgladd,[54] y dreigaɔ yn ynys[55] Emrys a gɔddrodd Ludd ap Peli. A'r trydedd, essgryn Gwrtheɔyr ɔendigaid ymhrif byrth ynys Prydain. A thra oeddynt[56] yno [*y cud hwnɔ*] drais Ssais [*o'r*] yr ynys honn. [*A llyma y tri anɔatcudd pan ddatcuddɔrɔyt*]. A Gwrtheyr[*n*] gwrthenav a'i ddatkadd[*awd*] o sser[*c*]h ar Ronwen y wraic ac a ddatgladdodd[57] y dreigiaɔ ac Arthur a ddatgladdodd[58] penn Bendigeidrann o'r gwynbryn […][59] i gadw'r ynys hon […][60] honn ef ehun.

A9.28. Tri marchlwyth ynys Prydain:
Du'r moroedd march Elidir mwynɔawr a dduc seithnyn a haner arnaw o Benn Llech Elidir yn y Gogledd hyt Benn Llech Elidiyr y Mon. Sef y sseithnyn oeddynt: Elidyr ac Aɔrgain ɔerch ɔaelgwn y wraig a Gwynedd Gyɔedd a Gwynn dda reiniad a mynach Noaɔmon yni gyngor a Phedrlew ɔenesstr[61] y Walloviad ac Aranɔagl y was a Blinwyn[62] i gog a noɔies ar ddwylaw ar bedrann y march a hwnnw oedd haner y dyn.

A'r ail [*marchlwyth*] a ddug Karɔon[63] march meibion Eliffer gossgorddɔawr a ddug Gwrgi a Pheredur a Dɔnod[*wr*] ap Pabo a Chynɔelyn drwssgl y edrych ar ɔygodarth llɔ Gwynddole [*yn Arderydd*] ag nys gorddiweddodd neb namyn diɔogad ap Kynan Garwyn [*y ar y cethin cyulym ac arfidiawt*] ac ef a gauas anglod er hynny hydd heddiw.

Trydyd marchlwyth a ddug [*Erch*] march [*meibion*] Gyrthmɔl wledig. Gwaw ac Archeu[64] Arthanad yn erb[*yn*] rriw ɔaelawr yn[*g*] Heredigion a ddial eɔ tad ar ni arch hwnnw a elwis erchani […][65]

A9.29. […][66] ni ddoynt o gad namyn ar eɔ heloraw. Sef oedd rrai hyny meib Glessiar o'r Gogledd o Haearnwedd eɔ mam.

A9.30. Tri thrahaawc ynys Prydain:
Gwibei drahaawc, a Ssawul ben ɔchel, a Rɔon[67] bev[*y*]r drahaawc.

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[50] Vaughan corrects: "*matgudd*"
[51] Vaughan corrects: "*guddwyd*"
[52] Vaughan corrects: "*gvenvryn*"
[53] Vaughan deletes "a thra…Ynys Prydain" and replaces it in the margin with the following: "*a hyt tra bu myr ansawdd y dodod yno ni ddos ormes Saesson*"
[54] Vaughan corrects: "*matcudd*"
[55] Vaughan corrects: "*mab*"
[56] Vaughan corrects: "*vyddynt*"
[57] Vaughan corrects: "*ddatgɔddɔawdd"*
[58] Vaughan corrects: "*ddatgɔddɔawdd"*
[59] Damage to the manuscript, line partially illegible.
[60] Damage to the manuscript, line partially illegible, but Vaughan has glossed some of the missing text with: "*o gedernid namyn o'r…"*
[61] Vaughan corrects: "*Vynesstr*"
[62] Vaughan corrects: "*Wynn ac Albeinwyn*"
[63] Vaughan corrects: "*Korvan*"
[64] Vaughan corrects "*Gwaw ac Archeu" to "Archleu ar*"
[65] Damage to the manuscript, some text is missing here, probably amounting to two lines altogether.
[66] Missing text continues.
[67] Vaughan reads: "*Ryvawn*"

A9.31. Tri lleddf ɔnbenn ynys Brydain:
Manwedan[68] ap Llyr, a Llywarch hen, a Gwgon gwron ap Peredur ap [*E*]liffer. Sef achos y gelwid hwynt yn lleddf am na cheissynt gyɔoeth yny byd ac na allei neb i lessteir ɔddɔnt os mynnynt.

A9.32. Tri ssaloɔydd[69] ynys Prydain:
Greidiol galovydd, a Thrysstan ap Tallwch, a Gwgon gwron.

A9.33. Tri essgemydd aeraɔ ynys Prydain:
Mor[*br*]an ail Tegid, a Gwgon gleddyvrudd, a Gilbert kad gyffro.

A9.34. Tri phorthor gwaith Perllan ɔangor:
Gwgon gleddyɔrudd, a Madog ap Rɔn, a Gwgawn[70] ap Kyndryn. Tri ereill o bleid Lloegr: Hawsstl drahaawg, a Gwaethym[71] Herwnden, a Gwimer.[72]

A9.35. Tair aur gelain ynys Brydain:
Madoc ap Brwyn, a Cheugan peillog, a Rrɔon[73] ap Gwyddno peryf.

A9.36. Tri hualogion trewis ynys Prydain:
Teulu Kasswallwn[74] llawhir a ddodes halaɔ eɔ meirch ar draed pob ɔn onaddunt wrth ymladd a Ssy[*ry*]gai Wyddel yng Herric y Gwyddl y Mon. A'r ail teɔlɔ Rɔallon ap ɔryen yn ymladd ar Ssaesson a theɔlɔ Bele[*n*] o Leyn ymladd ar Edwin y mrynn Edwin yn Ros.

A9.37. Tri diwair deɔlɔ ynys Prydain:
Teɔlɔ Kadwa[*ll*]wn pan ɔɔant hualogion a theɔlɔ Gaɔran ap Aeddan pan ɔɔ y diɔankoll arnɔnt a theɔlɔ Gwynddoleɔ ɔap Keidio yn Arderydd a ddaliassant ymladd bethefnos [*a mis*] gwedy llad eɔ hargwlydd. Sef oed erif pob ɔn o'r teɔlɔoedd pɔmcannwr[75] ar rrɔgain.

A9.38. Tri aniwair deɔlɔ ynys Prydain:
Teɔlɔ Gronw beɔr o Benllyn a aɔaehassant eɔ harglwydd ar Wenwynaw[76] [*y gan*] Llew llaw gyffes, a theɔlɔ Gwrgi a Peredur a adawssant eɔ harglwydd yng haer Greɔ a chynɔoeth […][77] y llas y ymladdassant[78] eɔ harglwydd yn lledrad ar y fford yn myned i Gamlann riɔedi y gwyr a las yno ɔn[79] kant ar rrɔgain.

A9.39. Tri hualoc [*aur*] ynys Prydain:

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[68] Vaughan corrects: "*Manawydan*"
[69] Vaughan corrects: "*galouydd*"
[70] Vaughan corrects: "*Gwinaron*"
[71] Vaughan corrects: "*Gwaetcym*"
[72] Vaughan corrects: "*Gwiner*"
[73] Vaughan corrects: "*Riawn Pebyr*"
[74] Vaughan corrects: "*Kadwallwn*"
[75] Vaughan corrects: "*vncannwr*"
[76] Vaughan corrects "*ar Wenwynaw*" to "*o erbyn y Gwenwynwaow*"
[77] Damage to the manuscript, the text of two lines is illegible.
[78] Vaughan correccts: "*ymadanassant*"
[79] Vaughan corrects "*y gwyr a las yno ɔn kant*" to "*pob vn or teuluoedd*"

Rɵ[*w*]allon wallt bannhadlen, a Rɵon[80] ap Maelgwn, a Chy[d]waladr ɵendigaid. Ssef achos y gelwis hwynt yn dri hualoc:[81] wrth na chessid meirch ɵddɵnt a wassanaethai rac eɵ hegwydleoedd ar bedreinnaɵ y meirch drach eɵ kefnaɵ, a dwy badell o aur dan eɵ glinaɵ ac a blegyd[82] hyny y gelwir eto[83] padelleg y glin.

A9.40. Tri tharw ellyll ynys Prydain:
Ellyll Gidawl, ac ellyll Llyr merini,[84] ac ellyll Grichmwl[85] wledic.[86]

A9.41. Tri gwydd ellyll ynys Brydain:
Ellyll Bannawc,[87] ac ellyll Ednneddawc[88] ddrythyll, ac ellyll Melen.

A9.42. Tri thrwyddedoc llys Arthur a thri anɵonawc:[89]
Llwyarch hen, [a Llemenic,][90] a Heledd.

A9.43. Tri diweir ynys Prydain:
[Ar]dɵn wraic Gatco[*r*] ap Goreleyn, ac Eɵeilian [wr]aic Wyddy drwm, ac Emerch[*r*]ed wraig [ɵa]bon ap Dibyngen.[91]

A9.44. Tri gwaewred[92] ynys Prydain:
[D]ygynlew ɵardd Owain ac Ar[*o*]ɵan ɵardd Sseleɵ ap Kynan ac Aɵan ɵedig[93] ɵardd Kadwallon ɵap Kadɵan.

A9.45. Tri redegɵarch[94] ynys Prydain:
Meinlas march Kysswallon ap Peli, a Melygann man[95] march Llew llaw gyffes, a Lluagor march Karadoc ɵreichɵras.

A9.46. Tri ffyrf[96] varch ynys Prydain:
Du hir kyɵedic march Kynan Garwyn ac Awyddawc ɵreich[*hir*] march Kyhored ail Kynan, a Rɵdd a breon[97] tuth blaidd march Gilbert ap Cadgyffro.

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[80] Vaughan corrects: "*Rɵn*"
[81] Vaughan corrects "*dri hualoc*" to "*hualogion*"
[82] Vaughan corrects: "*ɵrth''*
[83] Vaughan deletes.
[84] Vaughan corrects: "*Marini*"
[85] Vaughan corrects: "*Grythmwl*"
[86] Gwilym Tew wrote "*Gwrmvl Wyddel wledic,*" crossed it out, and replaced it with "*Grichmwl wledic*."
[87] Vaughan corrects: "*Manawc*"
[88] Vaughan corrects: "*Ednynedawc*"
[89] Vaughan corrects: "*anɵoddawc*"
[90] Parts of the text are faded and very difficult to read here. I have filled in gaps in legibility from context, in consultation with other texts and Bromwich's edition. The reconstructed texts is indictated by brackets, without italics.
[91] Vaughan corrects: "*Debangen*"
[92] Vaughan corrects: "*Gwaewvrudd*"
[93] Vaughan corrects: "*uoledig*"
[94] Vaughan corrects: "*roddedicvarch*"
[95] Vaughan corrects: "*gamre*"
[96] Vaughan corrects: "*phrif*"
[97] Vaughan corrects: "*Rɵddbreon*"

A9.47. Tri anrreithɵarch ynys Prydain:
Karnasslawc[98] march Owain ap ɵreen, a Thaɵod hir march Kydwallawn ap K[a]dɵan,[99] a Buchesslem[100] march Gwgon gleddyɵrudd.

A9.48. Tri thom edysstr ynys Prydain:
Gw[*i*]naɵ gwddwg hir march Kai hir, a Grai[101] march Edwin, a Llwyd[102] march Alser ap Maelgwn.

A9.49. Tri gorddercharch[103] ynys Prydain:
Ffelas march Dellaf[104] ail Cunun, a [Ruddɵrych][105] march Karedic ap Gwallawc, [Gɵrbrith] march Rawnt.[106] Tri phonɵarch ynys Prydain a ddugant y tri marchlwyth.

A9.50. Tri ɵgrɵechiad ynys Prydain:
Pryderi ap Pwyll pen [An]wfn wrth ɵoch Pendaran Dyɵed dadmaeth, a sef moch oeddynt y sseithlydyn a ddug Pwyll penn Anwfn ac a'i rroes i Benndaran Dyfed i dadmaeth a ssef [*lle*] y kadwai yn y Glynn Kych[107] yn Emlyn. Ssef achos y gwlwid hwnnw yn wɵechiad kann allai neb nai dwyll na'e dressis.

Ac ail ɵɵ Drysstan ap Tallwch wrth ɵoch March ap Meirchiawn tra aeth y meichiad yn gennad a Essylt. Arthur a March a Chei a Bedwyr a ɵɵant yll pedwar yn ddisstwyl ac ni chowssant kymeint a baneɵ o garnaw nag o drais nat o ledyd.

Y trydedd ɵɵ Goll ap Kollbrewy […][108] [yng H]erniw ac ɵn moch oedd dorrog, Henwyn[109] oedd i henw, a darogan oedd y bydd[ai] waeth ynys Prydain o'r torllwyth hwnnw. Ac yna kynɵllod Arthur ynys Prydain geisso y diɵa ac yna y aeth hichaɵ.[110] Ac ym Henryn Owsstin[111] yng Herniw y ddaeth hi yn y mor [*ar*][112] gwddɵeichiad yn hol ac y maes y gwenith yn Gwent y dodwis ar wenith[*en*] a gwenyn[*en*] ag hyny hyd heddiɵ y mae gore lle gwenith & gwenyn maes y gwenith yn Gwent. Ac yn Lloɵian yn Henɵro y ddodwes[113] ar wenith e heidaɵ[114] ag am hynny dirarhebir[115] [*o*] ha[*i*]d Lloɵian ac yn rryw[116] Gyɵerthwch yn Arɵon y dodwes

[98] Vaughan corrects: "*Karnavlawc*"
[99] Part of this word has been scrubbed out, apparently by Gwilym Tew himself, and is illegible. It has not been corrected.
[100] Vaughan corrects: "*Buchesslom*"
[101] Vaughan corrects: "*Grei*"
[102] Vaughan corrects: "*Llvydd*"
[103] Vaughan corrects: "*godderchvarch*"
[104] Vaughan corrects: "*Dalldaf*"
[105] Damage to the manuscript; this line is partially illegible. I have reconstructed this name and "Gɵrbrith" from comparison with the texts of the White Book and Red Book.
[106] Vaughan corrects: "*Raawt*"
[107] Vaughan corrects: "*Kɵch*"
[108] Damage to the manuscript, a line is cut off and illegible.
[109] Vaughan corrects: "*Hennwen*"
[110] Vaughan corrects: "*hycheu yn Gordodw*"
[111] Vaughan corrects: "*Hawsstin*"
[112] Correction in the hand of Gwilym Tew.
[113] Vaughan corrects: "*dodwes*"
[114]
[115]
[116] Vaughan corrects: "*Rriw*"

[*geneȣ*] kath a c[*h*]ȣyw eryr ac y rroed y blaidd ȣargaed ac y rroed y byd [eryr] y ȣeriad[117] tywyssog o'r Gogledd ag wynt a bȣant ȣaeth [*onaddunt*] ac yn lle Lle[*n*]ȣair yn Arȣon dan ȣaen [*y Maen Du*] y dodwes ar genau kath ac o yar benn y maen o bwrwdd y gwrȣeichiad ef yn y mor a meibion Paluc y Mon a magyssant y drwc ȣddȣnt […][118] [tryd]ydd, Edwin ȣrenin Lloegr.

Ac ȣelly.

[117] Vaughan corrects: "*Vraid*"
[118] Damage to the manuscript, three lines illegible.

A10.[1] NLW Llanstephan MS 12 (pp. 47-8, 89).[2]
(s.xvi^{med}, in an unknown hand.)

Ynys Brydain vawr y may wyth gan meilltir yn y hyd a day gann yn ynys Brydain i may tair rrac ynys: Mon, a Manaw, ag ynys Wair. Tair prif afon ynys Brydain: Tems, a Hymyr, a Hafren. Tair p*ri*f gaer ynys Brydain: kaer Lundain, a chaer Benwedd, a chaer Lleon ar Wysg. Tair p*ri*f lvs ynys Brydain: Llys llys Benwedd yng Herniw, llys kaer Lleon ar Wysg, a llys perryn Rianedd. Tair prif borthfa ynys Brytain: Porth Ysgewyn yng Went, a fforth Wegri y Mon. Tair prif aber ynys Brydain: Aber Tems ag aber Hymyr, ag aber Hafren.

A10.1 Tair matgydd ynys Brydain:
Penn Benndigeidfran ap Llur, a'r dreigie o Ddinas Emrys, ag esgyrn Kadwaladr bendigaid.

[*Genealogies follow.*]

[1] See Appendix C10, pp. 488-89.
[2] This manuscript is bound out of order today, causing a break in the text that spans about 40 pages. See Daniel Huws, *Repertory of Welsh Manuscripts and Scribes, c. 800-1800* (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 2022), vol. 1, 63.

A11.[1] NLW Peniarth MS 16 (part vii) (fols. 55r-57v)
s.xvi^{med}, in the hand of Simwnt Fychan

Llyma henwae y pedwar marchogion llys Arthɔr, nid amgen:

Tri marchoc aurdadoviawc […] llys Arthɔr, nid amgen:
Gwalchmai ap […] Drudwas ap Tryffin, […] Madoc ap Vthr. Kans nid oedd na brenin nac iarll nac arglwydd […] y talu attynt nas gwraɔ[…] a pha neges bynnac a geisynt hwy y hywy a'i mynynt naill a'i o vodd a'I o anvodd.

Tri marchoc gwyry oedd yn llys Arthɔr:
Nid amgen: Galath ap Lawnslod dy Lac, Peredur ap Efroc iarll, Llawn ap Bwrt ap Bwrt […] marchogion. Pa le bynnac y delai y rhai llai bai na [?]yarth, na neb […] Ni ellynt ddian […]lios […]

Tri chad varchoc oedd yn llys Arthur, nid amgen:
Kadwr iarll Kernyw, a Lawnslod dy lac, ac Ywain ap Vrien. Keged kyneddvas y tair oedd ni chilynt, nac er gwayw nac er ssaeth nac yr hedyf. Ac ni chafas Arthɔr gwilydd mewn brwydr y dydd y kassai ef weled i hwynebas ac am hynny y gwelwid hwynt kad varchogion.

Tri lledrithioc varchoc oed yn llys Arthɔr, nid amgen:
Menw ap Teirgwaed, Trystan ap Tallwch, Cai hir ap Kynyr varfoc. Kans ymrithiol wneynt yn y rith y […] pann bai galod aruynt [??] am hynny na allai neb y gosod rwng a kryfder a'i dewrder, a'i hed a'i lledrith.

Tri brenhinawl varchoc oed yn llys Arthɔr, nid amgen:
Nafens brenhin Denmark, Medrod ap Llew ap Kynvarch, Howel ap Emyr Llydaw, ac nid oedd nac amherawdr na brenhin, a ballai o'i neges i'r rai hynny o achos i teked a'i doethed. Paluu doethant mewn heddach, nid oedd na milwr na kysswr a allai eo haros paluu ddelynt mewn kyvet e daed ba [?]s harvav ac am hynny y gelwud hwynt yn varchogion brenhinawl.

Tri chyvysawn archoc oedd yn llys Arthɔr, nid amgen:
Blas ap iarll Llychlyn, Kadawc ap Gwynulliw vilwr, Pedrogl palar ddelt. Kyneddvav rai hynny pwy bynnac a wnelai gam a dyn gwann pwy bynnac bai hwynt a ymleddynt ynghweryl y kyfiownder ac er kadarned vai hwynt a'i gorvyddynt kans ymroddi a wnaethoeddynt i gadw kyfiownder.

A'r dy[?] tair kyfraith, nid amgen:
Blas o gyfraith vydol Kadawc o gyfraith eglwys, Pedrogl o gyfraith arvav. Ac am hynny y gelwyd hwynt tri chyiawn varchoc i.

Tri gwrthwyneb varchog oedd yn llys Arthɔr, nid amgen:
Morvran ap Tegid, Sauddaf bryd au[??]l a Glwelwyd gavaelvawr kyn [????]es y [?]ain oedd gwrthwyneb oedd gan neb ballv vyddyn pa neges byuu ac a geisynt Sauddef rac ef deked. Ol ran rac i haf[???]: Glewlwyd gavaelvawr gan i vuant a'i gryved ac am hynny ny wyddynd neb beth

[1] See Appendix C11, pp. 489-91.

oed oras a'i roi a'i pallv vddynt y neges a geisynt ac am hynny y gelwyd hwynt gwrthwyneb varchogion.
Tri chynghoryad varchog oedd yn llys Arthɔr, nid amgen:
Cynan ap Llydno Eiddɔn, ac Aron ap Kynvarch ap Meirchion gvl a Llywarch hen ap Elidir lydanwyn ar tri marchoc hynny a oeddynt gynghorwyr i Arthɔr pa pyw pybet vynnac na bygwth a bai aruo hwynt a'i kynghorynt hyt na Chai neb y gorvod a'i Arthur. Ac am hynny y gorvs ef ar bob kenedsoedd daɔy dri ffeth a oeddym gwlyn, nid amgen: gobaith da ac arbav kysegredic y Kai a ddanvones [?] essid Grist iddaw a Rinwedd i vilwyr rac am hynny y gwisgawdd ef dde6ddec koron am y benn ac y bɔ[*ɔ́*] ef amherawdr yn Rɔvain.

Llyma henwaɔ arvav Arthɔr:
[?]ongomant ei wayw, Kaledvwlch ei gleddyf, Karnwennan ei ddager.

A11.1. Tri dyn a gavas kadernyd Addaf:
Eskwlf gadarn, Samson gadarn, Ector gadarn. Kyn gadarned oedd Addaf a hwynt yll tri.

A11.2. Tri dyn a gaɔas tegwch Addaf:
Abssalon ap Dauydd, Siasson ap Esson, Paris ap Priaf hen vrenhin Troyaf. Kyn deked oedd Addaf a hwynt yll tri.

A11.3. Tri dyn a gaɔas doethneb Addaf:[2]

A11.4. Tair gwragedd a gaɔas prid Efa yn dri thrayant kyngthynt, nid amgen:
Diadema gordderch Enias ysgwyddwynn, ac Elen vannoc y wraig u bɔ ddistrywedigaeth Troyaf o'i hachos, a Pholexana v*erch* hen vrenhin Troyaf. Kyn deked oedd Efa a hwynt yll tair.

[2] A large blank spot in the middle of the page here indicates that Simwnt likely meant to return and insert the body of this triad.

A12a.[1] NLW Cwrtmawr MS 3 (pp. 55-72)
c. 1564, in the hand of William Salesbury

[*Follows on from* trioedd cerdd *without break*]

A12.1. Tri goruchel garcharor ynys Brytain:
Llyr llediaith, a Mabon vap Modron, a Gair vap Gairiedd. Ac vn oedd oruchel na'r tri, ef a vû dair nos yn carchar hyd y dan lech Echemaint. Ys ef oedd hwnnw Arthur. A'r vn gwas a'i gollyngodd o'r tri charchar mwy, nyd amgen: Goraû vap Custenin y gefnderw.

A12.2. Tri gwyr deyrn yn Brytain:
Owen vap Vrien, a Rûn vap Maelgwn, a Ryavn bebr vap Dorath wledic.

A12.3. Tri overvardd ynys Brytain:
Arthur, a Ryand ail Morgant, a' Chadwallawn ap Cadvan.

A12.4. Tri ymatgudd ynys Brytain:
Pen Bendigeidran ap Llyr, a guddwyt yn y gwynvryn yn Llundain a'i wyneb ar Frainc. A hyd y gedid yn y modd hwnnw, ny ddoe ormos Sason i'r ynys hon.

Yr ail ymatgûdd ynys Brytain, y dragiae yn dinas Embris, a gudaiesei Lluddd vap Beli yw eseyrn Gwrthevyr vendigaid ym pyrth yn yr ynys hon.

A lyma'r triddydd ymatgudd pan ddatcuddiodd Gwrthevyr gwrthenain, esgeyrn Gwrthevyr vendigait o serc gwraic, y sef oedd honno: Ronwen begauis.

Ac Arthur a ddatcuddiaiodd y draigiae. Ac Arthûr a ddatcuddiaiodd pen Bendaigaidran o'r Gwnvryn. Canys nyd oedd dec gantaw gadw o neb yr ynys hvn ond evo.

A12.5. Tri marchorglwyth ynys Brytain:
Dû y moroedd, march Elidir mwynvawr, a ddûc saith o ddynion a haner dyn arnw o Benllech Elidir yn y Gogledd, hyd Benllech Elidir ym Mon. Y sef y henwae, [*Elidir*] mwynvawr ac Eurgain verch Vaelgwn y wraic, a Gwynda gyfedd, a Gwynda rainiad, a Mynach Nawmon y gynghorwr, a Phedrylaw vynestr y wallofiawc, ac Aranvad y was. Ac Alaomoyn y gog a novies a'i ddwylaw ar bedran y march, a hwnw oedd vn haner y dyn.

Yr ail marchoglwyth ynys Brydain, a dduc Corvan march meibion Oliuer gosgordvawr a dduc Peredur arnaw, ac nis gorddrioeddoedd neb namyn Dingwc vap Cynan Garwyn iar y Rethin cyflym a'i gorddrioeddanod, ac anglod a gavas er hyny hyd heddiw Dynnodvyr vap Poppo, a Chynvelyn drwsgwc y edrych ar vygydorth Gwynedd olaû yn Arderydd.

Trydydd marchlwyth a dduc Erch march meibion Drychmwl wledic a dduc arnaw Garv a Chlaû ac Arllanad yn erbyn y rhyw i ddial y'w tad.

A12.6. Tair llynges gynniweir ynys Brytain:
Llynghes llaw vap Yryf, ail, llynges Dignaf vap Alan, a lynges Solor vap Wrnach.

A12.7. Tair gwrol balnoc ynys Brytain:

[1] See Appendix C12, pp. 492-94.

Vn a roes Matholwch Wyddel i Vranwen verch Lyr. Yr ail, a drewis Gwenhwyvar ar Wenwyfar ac o'r achos hynny y bû waith cad Camblan. Yr ail, a drewis Golidan vardd ar Gadwaladr vendigaid.

A12.8. Tair dryc heirva ynys Brytain:
Vn pan ddaeth Medrod i lys Arthûr yn Celliwig yn Cerniw nyd adewis na bwyd na dioe ar y ol yn y llys heb i draûliaw a thynny Gwenhwyvar o'i chadair vrenhinol, ac yno y trewid y balvawd arnai.

A12.9. Tair neges gafod o Bowys:
Vn o naddynt yn cyrchû Myngan o Vangen hyd yn llann Silin e*r*b*yn* anterth dranoeth y gymryd y cyheddvaû y gan Gydwallon wedy llad Ieyaf a Griffri. Yr ail, yn cyrchû Gryffri hyd ym bryn Griffri erbyn y bore dranoeth wrth ymchoelyd ar Edwin. Trydydd yw cyrchû Howel vap Ieyaf hyd yn Gredigiawn o Owein Gwynedd i ymladd a Ieyaf ac Iaco yn yr aerva hono.

Y cyntaf henw vn ar ynys Brytain cyn y chyvaneddy Clas Merddin. A chwedy chael y chyvaneddy, y vel ynys y gelwyd. Ac wedy y chael o Brydyn ap Aedd Mawr, ynys Brydyn y gelwid. Tair rhac ynys sydd iddi: Mon, Mana[w],[2] ynys Wair. 143 o brif aberoedd ac 54 o borthvaoedd, tair ar ddec ar hûgain o brif gayroedd. Sef yw hyd ynys Brydain, o Bryn Bladdom ym Brydain hyd ym Penryn Penwaedd yn Gherniw: naw cant milltir. Sef yw y lled o Grikyll y Mon hyd [*yn*] Soram: pvm cant milltir. Sef y dair daly wrthi coron a thair talaith, ac yn Llûndain gwisco y goron. Ac ym Penryn Rianedd yn y Gofledd vn o'r talaithiaû, ac yn Aberffraw yr ail, ac yn Gherniw y drydedd. A thri archescoptûy yssydd iddi: vn ym Myniw, yr ail yn Caint, y drydedd yn Caer Efrawc.

A12.10. Tair prif riain Arthur:
Gwenhwyvar verch Gwryd Gwent, a Gwenhwyvar verch Vthûr vap Grandiwal, a Gwenhwyvar verch Ogvran Gawr.

A12.11. Tair cariadwraig oeddyn yr hai hyn:
Indec verch Avarwy hir, a Garwen verch Heinin hen, a Gwyl verch Eydawd.

A12.12. Tair gwrvorwyn ynys Brytain:
Saithwedd, a Rore verch Ysber, a Medrai badell vawr.

A12.13. Tair gosgordd addwyn ynys Br*ytain*:
Goscordd Mynddawc yn Hatraeth, a gosgor Dûwon lew yr odrwydd arver, a gosgordd o La[*y*]n nerthlûn Ros.

A12.14. Tair prif hŷd ynys Brytain:
Math map Mathonwy, a ddyscoedd vap Don, a hyd Vthr Pendracon, a dyscodd y Fenw vap Tairgaeth,[3] a'r drydedd, a hyd Ruddlwng gorr, a ddyscawdd i Goll vap Collfrewy, y nai.

A12.15. Tri chynhwysiad ynys Brytain:

[2] Damage to the manuscript.
[3] Correcting hand: "*Tairgwaedd.*"

Gwyddia vap Rûn vap Beli, ac Owein vap Maxen wledic, a Chawrdra vap Caradawg vreichvras.

A12.16. Tri deifniawc ynys Brytain:
Rywallon wallt vanhadlen, a Gwalchmai ap Gwyar, a Llechau vap [Arthur].[4]

A12.17. Tri anvad gynghor ynys Brytain:
Roi i Julcaissar a gwyr Rûûein, lle Carneblaen y mairch ar y tir ymporth Mainlas. Yr ail, gadel Hors a' Hengest yr yn[ys],[5] a'r trydedd rannû o Arthûr y wyr da[*i*]rr gwaeth yn Camblen a Medroc.

A12.18. Tri thalaithiawc ynys Brytain:
Gwair vap Gwystl, a Chai vap Kynyr, a Thrystan vap Thallwch.

A12.19. Tair rhyddiognwc ynys Brytain:
Rûn vap Beli, a Llew llaw gyffes, a Morgan mwynvawr. Ac vn oedd rryddiogach na'r tri, ys ef oedd hwnw: Arthur. Blwyddyn ni ddoi na gwellt na llysaû ffordd y cerdden, vn o'r tri. A' seith mlynedd ni ddoi ddim ffordd cerddai Arthûr.

A12.20. Tair llyngesawl ynys Brytain:
Geraint vap Erbin, a March vap Marchiawn, a Gwenwynwyn vap Naw.

A12.21. Tri vnben llys Arthur:
Gronwy vap Echel, a Fleddwr flam vap Goddo, a Chadyrlaidd vap Sanddi.

A12.22. Tri tharw vnben ynys Brytain:
Addaon vap Taliessin, a Chynhafal vap Argad, ac Elinwy vap Cadegyr.

A12.23. Tri vnben Deifr a Brynaich, a thri bairdd oeddynt, a thri maib Disgyffeddawd a wanaethant y tri mad gyflafn:
Diofandell vap Disyfûndawd, a laddawdd Gwrgi garlwyd, a'r gwr hwnw a laddawdd gelein beynydd o'r Cembry a daû bop Satwrn, rac lladd vn ddûw Sul. Gafynnell vap Disynddawd Ddelffled laisiawc vrenhin Lloegr. Gall vap Disgyfcddawd, a laddawdd ddaû ederyn Gwenddolaû, a'r llai hyny oeddyn yn cadw y aû a'i ariant, a daûddyn a ysynt beûnydd yn y kainc, a dau yn y cwynos.

A12.24. Tri gwythawr ynys Brydain a wnaeth y tair anvad gyflafn:
Llovanaw difro, a ladawdd Vrien ap Kynvarch, a Llomgad gwrm varch Eddin, a laddawdd Avaon vap Taliesin, a Haidden vap Euengad, a laddawdd Aneirin wawtrydd teyrn beirdd, y gwr a roddei ganmuw bop Satwrn yn Cerwyn Ennaint. Ymhal Hayarn a'i trewis a bwyall gynyd yn y phen, a hono oedd vn o'r tair bwyellawd. Y drydedd, Iaco vap Beli, a drewis y wr ef yhûn a bwyall yn y ben.

A12.25. Tri aerveddant ynys Brydain:

[4] Damage to the manuscript.
[5] Damage to the manuscript.

Selyf vap Cynan Garwyn, ac Avaon vap Taliesin, a Gwallawc ap Llomiawc. Sef achos y gelwid wynt yn arveddogion: wrth ddial eû can oc eû bad.

A12.26. Tri ff[*r*]est cad ynys Brytain:
Dnot vap Pabo, a Cynvelyn drwsgwl, ac Vrien ap Cynvarch.

A12.27. Tri hael ynys Brydain:
Rhydderch hael vap Tûdwal tytclyd, a Nudd hael vap Sefyllt, a Mordaf hael vap Serwan.

A12.28. Tri glew ynys Brytain:
Gruddnan, a Henben, ac Aeddennaec. Ny ddoeynt o gad namyn eû geloreû. Sef oedd y rhai hyny: tri maip Glaisar Gogledd o Haearnwedd vrawdawd eû mam.

A12.29. Tri traws ynys Brytain:
Gwibai drahawc, a Sawyl benuchel, a Ryawn peûûyr drahawc.

A12.30. Tri lleddef vnben ynys Brytain:
Manawdann vap Llyr, a Llwarch, a Gwrdon gwrawn vap Peredur vap Elidir, a ef achos y gelwit hwynt velly achos na Chausynt[6] hwy gyfoeth ac ny llai nep y lyddias yddynt.

A12.31. Tri galofydd ynys Brytain:
Graidiol galofydd, a Thrystan ap Tallwch, a Gwgon gwron.

A12.32. Tri escemiydd aeraû ynys Brytain:
Morvran ail Tegit, [*a*] Gwgawn gleddyfrydd, a Gilbern gadyffro.

A12.33. Tri porthawr gwaith perllan Vangor:
Gwgawn gleddyfrydd, a Madawc vap Rûn, a Gwiawn vap Cyndrwyn. Tri ereill o borth Lloeger oeddent brthorwn: Hawystl drahawc, a Gwaedyn, a Gwinedd.

A12.34. Tri aur aûr gelain ynys Brytain:
Madoc vap Brwyn, a Chenngan pallawc, a Ryawn pefer.

A12.35. Tri hûalogion [*deûlû*] ynys Brytain:
[*Teulû*] Cadwallon llawhir, a ddodasant hyaleû y mairch ar bob vn o naddynt yn ymladd Syri Gei wuyddyr yn Gheric y Gwyddyl y Mon. Yr ail, daylû Riwallon ap Vrien yn ymladd ar Sayson. A thaylû Belan o Layn[7] yn ymladd ac Edwin.

A12.36. Tri diwair deûlû ynys Brydain:
Teûlû Cadwallawn yn y lle y bûant hûalogion, a theulû Gafran ap Aeddan pan vû ddivancoll arnan, a theûlû Gwnddolaû ap Caidio yn Ardderydd. Sef oedd eyryf pob vn o hanynt: vn cannwr ar hugaint.

A12.37. Tri aniwair teylû ynys Brytain:

[6] Correction in Salesbury's hand: "*Chaisynt*"
[7] Correction: "*Leyn*"

Teylû Gronwy pebyr o Benllyn a omeddasant y hargwlydd o erbynn y Groenwynwayn y gan Lew llaw gyffes, a theulû Gwrgi a Pheredur a adawsant y harglwydd yn Ghaer Graû a'i chyfoeth a'i ymladd yddynt dranoeth, a Eda glingawl, ac yn y llas hwynt ell daû. A'r trydyd teûlû ar lan Vergan ymadansant a'i hargwlydd yn lledrad ar y ffordd yn myned y Gamblan y riûedi vn cant ar hugaint.

A12.38. Tri aûr malawc yny[s] Brydain:
Riwallon wall Benhadlen, a Rûn ap Maelgwn, a Chadwaladr vedigait. Sef achos y gelwit hwynt velly: wrth na cheffynt mairch a'i gwasanaethai rac ei maint, namyn dodi hyalaû aur dan y hegwydle ar bedrain y mairch, tra y cefnaû,[8] a dwy badell aûr y dan y glinaû. Ac am hyny y gelwir padellec y glin.

A12.39. Tri charw ellyll ynys Brytain:
Ellyll Griroawl, ac ellyll Llyr merini, ac ellyll Gyrmwl wledic.

A12.40. Tri thwydedawc llys Arthûr, a thri anvoddawc:
Llywarch hen, a Llymexnic, a Heledd.

A12.41. Tri diwairwraic ynys Brydain:
Gwr[aic][9] Cadwr vap Gorlvyn, ac Eueihan gwraic Gwrydyr drwm, a Anerchred gwraic Vabon van Dewaûgen.

A12.42. Tri gwywrydd ynys Brydain:
i)[10] Dygynelaw vardd Owein, a Rovan vardd Selyf vap Cynan, ac Avan veddic bardd Cadwallawn.

A12.43. Tri rhoddedicvarch ynys Brydain:
Mainlas march Caswallawn vap Beli, a Melyngan mangre march Llew llaw gyffes, a Llûagor march Caradawc vraichvras.

A12.44. Tri phrif varch ynys Brydain:
Dûy hir tynnedic march Cynan Garwyn, ac Aryddawc vraichir march Cyhoredd ail Cynan, a' Hyddvron tydrlaidd march Gilbert cadgyffro.

A12.45. Tri anrathvarch ynys Brytain:
Carnaflawc march Owein ap Vrien, a Thafawtir march Cadwallawn ap Cynan, a Bycheslom march Gwagawn gleddyfrydd.

A12.46. Tri thom eddestr ynys Brytain:
Gwinaû gwddwfhir march Can' hir, a Grai march Edwin, a Llûydd varch Alffer ap Ma[*e*]lgwn.

[8] Crossed out: *"Ac am hyny a gelwir"*
[9] Damage to the manuscript.
[10] An "*i*" appears here between the end of the title and the beginning of the first limb, I have interpreted this as a Roman numeral i, indicating the beginning of the first limb, but this is highly speculative and open to alternate interpretations.

A12.47. Tri gordderchvarch ynys Brytain:
Ferlas march Dalldadd ail Cynan, a Gwelwgan march Caredic ail Gwallaec, a Gwrbirth march Rawd.

A12.48. Tri ffynvarch ynys Brytain a ddugant y tri marchlwyth y mae henwaû drachefn val hyn.

A12.49. Tri gwrddvaichiad ynys Brytain:
Pryderi vap Pwyll Anwfn, a gadiodd y moch oeddyn oeddynt saithlwdn a ddûc Pwyll penn Anwfn, ac a'i rhoddes y Ben daran Dyfed. Sef lle y kedwis ynglyn Cywth yn Emlyn. Sef achos y gelwid hwn yn wrdd vaichiad wrth na [*wnaed*] na thwyll na thrais.

Yr ail oedd Drystan vap Tallwch wrth March ap Marchiawn tra aeth y maichiad y erchi Esyllt ddyvod y gynnal oed ef. Ac Arthyr a March ap Mairchiawn a Chei ap Bedwyr a vûant bedwar yn caisio'r mwy ac ny chawsant vn llwdn nac o drais nac o dwyll.

A'r trydydd Coll ɓab Collrwy wrth voch Dallwr dall ben yn glyn Dallwyr yn Gherniw. Ac vn o'r moch oedd dorrawc, Henwen oedd y henw. A darogan oedd y byddai aeth ynys Brytain o'r torllwyth hyny. Ac yna y cyhwnnawdd Arthur llu ynys Brytain ac yr aeth i gaisiaw y difa. Yna yr aeth llu h[?]the yn Gorddydw, ac ym Hennryn Awstin yn Gherniw yr aeth i'r mor, a'r gwrddvaichiad yn y hol. Ac yn y maes Ghwenith yn Gwent y dy[*d*]wes ar weinthen a gwenwynynen. Ac er hyny hyd heddiw y mae goraû gwenith a gwenyn yn y maes Gwenith yn Gwent. Ac yn Llofion ym Penvro y dydwes ar haidden, a gweninan ac am hyny y diareir haidd Llofion. Ac ym penriɓ Gyfoethwch Arvon y dydwes ar genaû catch a chyw eryr a chenaû blaidd. Ac y rhoed y blaidd y Vergad a'r eryr i Vrygad tynysawc o'r Gogledd. Ac nyn y hûn a vûant o'i caffael. Ac yn Llannvair yn Arvon y dan y maen duy y dydwes ar genaû cath, ac iar y mann y bwriawdd y gwrddvaichiad hi y'r mor. A' meibion Palic y Mon a'i magasant er drwc yddynt. A hono vu'r gath Balic, ac vn o dair brif ormes Mon a vagwyd yndi. Yr ail oedd Daronwy, ar drydedû oedd Edwin vrenhin Lloecr.

A12.50. Tri annwyl llys Arthûr a thri chadvarchawc ac ny mynnasant ben taylû arnywt erioed ac y cant Arthur [*englyn*] yddynt, nid amgen: Sef yw vynrrych ar varchawc: [11] Maydd, a Lludd llûrygawc, a cholfn Coembru Cradawc.

A12.51. Tri aûr grydd ynys Brytain:
Caswallawn vap Beli, pan aeth I Ruuain y gaisiaw Fflwr a Manawydan vap Llyr pan vû yr hyd ar Ddyfed, a Lles llaw gyffes pan vû ef gyd a Gwdion yn caisio henw ac arvaû y gan Rianon y vam.

A12.52. Tri brenhin a vûant vaibion aillion:
Gwriad vap Gwrian yn y Gogledd, a Chadvael vap Cynvedw yn Gwynedd, a' Hyfaidd vap Blaiddic yn Deheûbarth.

A12.53. Tri bydyr Haûren:
Cydwallawn pan aeth i waith Digoll a llû Cembry gantaw, ac Edwin o'r parth arall a llû Lloecr gantaw. Ac yna y bydrawdd Hafren o'i blaen hyd i haber. A'r ail cyvarvod Golydan y gan Einion Vabaidd brenin Cerniw, a'r dryedd Calam Iddom ap Ner y gan Vaelgwin.

[11] This 'triad-within-a-triad' is indented to the left of the page, in order to make room for large capitals which appear to be a stylized abbreviation for *ARTH[U]R*.

[Trioedd Taliesin *continue without a break in the text.*]

A12b: NLW Cwrtmawr MS 3 pp. 91-94.

Trioedd y [tynnwyd hynn]:[12]

A12.54. [T]ri[13] arianllû ynys Brytain:
Y cyntaf a aeth Irp o lydoc y Llychlyn a hwnw a ddoeth y[ma][14] yn oes Cadwal map Erin y erchi dygyvor yr ynys hon, ac ny ddoeth onyd ef a'i was ddechraû ac y erchi hyny o'r deûddec prif gaer ar higaint o'r ynys honn, nid amgen no daû cymaint ac a ddelai ganthaw y was oedd hyny i a drystyr vû gan wyr yr ynys roi hyny, a hwnw vû y llû mwyaf a aeth o'r ynys honn, ac a oryscynnoedd dalm o'r byd. A'r llû hwnnw sef y lle y trigoedd y gwyr mewn dwy ynys yn emyl y mor Groec: ynys Clas ac Efena.

Yr ail llû aeth y gan Elen verch Coel a Chonstans y Rûûein ac ny ddoethant vyth i'r ynys hon.

Yr trydydd llû aeth gan Gaswallawn vap Beli a Gwenwynwyn a Gwaner meibion Lleon vap Monifre ac Arianrho[d][15] verch Beli vû y mam. Sef llû i trigoedd yn-Gwascoyn. Sef y rhif : vn vil ar hûgain.

A12.55. Trywyr gwarth ynys Brydain vû Avarwy vap Lludd vap Beli Mawr a ddyvynodd Julius imperator Rûûein y'r ynys hon, ac a beris talû teyrnget bob blwyddyn yddo tair mil o bynneû am y gysfrys a Chaswallon y ewythr.

Yr ail, Gwrtheyn vap Gwrtheneû a roes tir y'r Sason yn yr ynys hon, ac ymgyvathrachoedd yn gyntaf a hwynt, ac a laddoedd Constans o dwyll, a brodyr Constans Vthr ac Embrys a'I lladdoedd yntaû yn castell Gwrthrynion gan y losci ar lan Gwy yn yr amser hwnw.

Y trydydd vû Medrod vap Llew vap Cynvarch pen edewis Arthûr lyvodraeth yr ynys gantho, pan aeth yntaû y ymladd a Lles ymherodr Rûûein am ovyn teyrnget o'r ynys hon, ac y laddawdd Arthur ef. Ac y mynnoedd deyrnget a Rûûein. Pan dybiodd Medrod y lleddit Arthûr y gwiscoedd y goron, ac y dyvynnawdd[16] y Sason a'r Phictieit a'r Scotieit y lestair Arthûr yr ynys hon, ac ny thykiodd. Ac y brathwyt Arthûr vrath anianol.

A12.56. Tri gorûchel garcharor ynys [Brydain]:[17]
Llyr Llediaith, a Mabo am Hedron, a[c][18] Arthûr a vû dair nos yn gharcharar hûd.

A12.57. Tri gwydairin ynys Brydain:
Ywain ap Vrien, a Rûn vap Maelgwn, a Ryo Befr vap Darath wledic.

A12.58. Tri overvardd ynys Brydain:
Arthûr, ac Arawdd ap Morgan, a Chadwallon vap Cadvan.

[12] The top of this page has been torn and lost, leaving the title here partially illegible. I have followed Bromwich (*TYP*, xlix) in my reading, but it is difficult to be completely confident in it.
[13] Damage to the manuscript.
[14] Damage to the manuscript.
[15] My correction; Salesbury omits the final -d.
[16] Corrected to "*dyvynnoedd*."
[17] Damage to the manuscript.
[18] Damage to the manuscript.

A12.59. Tri anvadrudd ynys Brydain:
Pen Bendigeidran vap Llyr a gwddwyd yn y gwynvryn yn Llundain. Tra vû yno, ny ddoeth y Sason yma. Yr ail vû dreigiaû a ddaliodd Ludd vap Beli a'I roi yn dinas Embrys: a Gwrtheyrn vap Gwrtheneû a'I datguddiawdd. Y trydy[dd][19] vû escyrn Gwrthefyr Vendigait yn y priffyrth o'r yns. A thra vûont yno ny ddoeth gormes y'r ynys.

Arthûr a ddatguddiodd pen Bendigeidran am na vynai gadw yr ynys ond a'i rym ef. Ronwen a beris dadguddio escyrn Gwrthefyr Vendigaid y allwng y Sason yma.

A12.60. Tri marchlwyth ynys Brydain:
Dû 'r moroedd Eilidr awynvawr, a ddûc saith nyn arno o Benllech yn y Gogle[dd][20] ym Henllech Elidr ym Mon. Yr ail, lwyth vû Gorvûan[21] march meibion Oli[ffer][22] Gosgorddvawr. Y trydydd marchlwyth vû Erth Grithmwl wledic.

A12.61. Tri gwestei gwynvydedic ynys Brydain:
Dewi, Patern, a Theilo.

Tri enw yr ynys honn:
Cyntaf y gelgit [*ni galnai*][23] hi cyn i chaffael, Clas Merdyn. A gwedy y gorescyn[24] y vel ynys. A gwedy gorescyn, o Vrntns[25] y dodes arei ynys Brytain. Teir prif rac ynys yssydd ynddi:
Mon, a Manaw, ac ynys Weith. A saith rag ynys ar hugeint, a phedwar prif anrhydedd ar ddec. Sef yw hyd yr ynys hon o Blathaon ym Prydain hyd ym pen Penrwaed yn Gherniw: naw cant milltir yw hyny. Sef y lled o'r Grûc hyll hyd yn Soram: pemp cant milltir yw hyny. Sef a delit o harnei: Coron a Thair Talaith. Ac yn Llundain gwiscaw y goran.

[19] My correction, Salesbury leaves off the final -dd.
[20] Damage to the manuscript.
[21] Corrected to "*Gorfûan*."
[22] Damage to the manuscript.
[23] Marginal addition in a different hand.
[24] Corrected to "*Chynvadeddû*."
[25] Corruption of "Brutus"?

A13.[1] BL, *Y Diarebion Camberaëc* (pp. 51-63)
1567, printed by William Salesbury

Trioedd ynys Brytain

A13.1. Tri hael ynys Brytain.
Nudd hael Senylt,[2] Mordaf hael ap Sernan,[3] Rydderch hael ap Tudwal tudclyd.

A13.2. Tri gvvyndëyrn ynys Brytain.
Ywain ap Urien, Run ap Maelgwn, Ruvawn bebyr[4] ap Dewrarth wledic.

A13.3. Tri deifiniavvc[5] ynys Brytain.[6]
Gwalchmai ap Gwyar, Llachen[7] ap Arthur, Riwallawn wallt banhadlen.

A13.4. Tri phost cad ynys Brytain.
Dunod 'ap Pabo post Prydain, Gwallawc ap Lliennawc,[8] Kynuelyn drwscwl.[9]

A13.5. Tri tharvv kadne[10] ynys Brytain.
Kynvawr catgadne'[11] ap Kynwyd Kynwydion, Gwenddolau 'ap Keidiaw, Urien ap Kynvarch.

A13.6. Tri tharvv vnen ynys Brytain.
Elinwy 'ap Cadegyr,[12] Cynhaual 'ap Argad, Auaon 'ap Taliesin. [*Tri meib beirdd oeddynt.*]

A13.7. Tri lleddf vnben ynys Brytain.
Llywarch hen 'ap Elidir Lydanwyn, Maddian[13] 'ap Llyr llediaith, Gwgon Gwron 'ap Predur 'ap Eliuer gosgordd vawr.

A13.8. Tri vnben llys Arthur
Gowrowy[14] 'ap Echel vordwytwll, Cadreith 'ap Porthor gadw, a' Flenddur[15] flam [*mab Godo*].

A13.9. Tri vnben Deivvyr a' Brynaich.
Call 'ap Disgyfdawd,[16] Ysgwnell[17] 'ap Dysyfdawd, Diffedell ap Disgyfdawd.

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[1] See Appendix C13, p. 494-96.
[2] Correcting hand: "*Senyllt*"
[3] Correcting hand: "*Seruan*"
[4] Correcting hand: "*Pebyr*"
[5] Correcting hand: "*Deifniawc*"
[6] The abbreviation "Y.B." has been expanded here and elsewhere throughout the text.
[7] Correcting hand: "*Llacheu*"
[8] Correcting hand: "*Lleennawc*"
[9] Correcting hand: "*Drwscyl*"
[10] Correcting hand: "*Cad*"
[11] Correcting hand: "*Cadcadwc*"
[12] Another (?) hand: "*Eliriuz…Cadniz*"
[13] Correcting hand: "*Manawydan*"
[14] Correcting hand: "*Goronwy*"
[15] Correcting hand: "*Ffleidur*"
[16] Correcting hand: "*Gall mab Dysgyfedawc*"
[17] Correcting hand: "*Ysgafnell*"

A13.10. Tri gvvavvdruy[18] beirdd ynys P.B.
Tristvardd, bardd Urien, Dygynnelw, bardd Ywain ’ap Urien, Auan uerdic[19] bardd Kadwallon ’ap Caduan.

A13.11. Tri chad varchvvc ynys P.B.
Caradawc ureichfras, Menwaed o Arllechwedd, Llyr lluyddawc.[20]

A13.12. Tri thaleithioc cad ynys Brytain.
Trystan ’ap Tallwc,[21] Hueil ’ap Caw, Cei ap Cenyr vawrchawc.[22] Ac vn oedd daleithioc arnunt wy ill tri, a Bedrawc[23] oed hunw.

A13.13. Tri lledrithiavvc[24] ynys Brytain.
Coll ’ap Collvrewy, Menw ’ap Teirgwaedd, Drych ail Kebddar.[25]

A13.14. Tair prif hud ynys Brytain.
Hud Math ’ap Mathonwy, hud Uther Pendragon, a hud Gwythelin gorr.[26]

A13.15. Tri divveir deuluy ynys Brytain.
Teulu Cydwallan ’ap Cadvan a buant saith blynedd dyg ac ef yn Iwerddon, ac yn hyny o yspeid ni ofynason ddim iddaw rhagorbod arnaddunt ei adaw. Yr ail oedd teuluy Gawran ap Aeddan, a aethan i’r mor dros ei harglwydd. A’r trydyd, teuluy Gwenddoleu ap Keidiaw yn Arderydd a gynheliasant y brwydyr bythefnos a mis wedy llad ei hargluydd. Sef oedd rhifedi teulu pop vn o’r gwyr hyny, un can wr ar hugain.

A13.16. Tri annivvair deulu ynys Brytain.
Teulu Gronwy pebyr o Bowys a’ omeddasant ei harglwydd o erbynieit y gwenwy[*n*]waew i gan Llen[27] llaw gyffes yn Llechronwy ym blaen Kynvaeth[28] [*yn Ardudwy*]. Yr ail, teuluy Gwrgi a Phredur a adawsanc[29] eu harglwydd ynghaer Gren ac oed yn ymladd yddynt dranoeth ac Adda glinvawr ac yny y llas yll dau. A’r trydydd, teulu Alan Uyrgan, a ymchwelasant y wrthaw o hyd nos a’i ollwng a’I weison y’r Gamlan, ac ynos[30] y llas.

A13.17. Tri rhoddedic varch ynys Brytain.
Meinlas march Caswallan ’ap Beli, Melyngan mangre march Llen llaw gyffes, Lluagor march Karadawc ureichvras.

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[18] Correcting hand: “*Gwaywrudd*”
[19] Correcting hand: “*Mian Ferdic*”
[20] Correcting hand: “*al[ius] Llwyddawc*”
[21] Correcting hand: “*Drystan ’ap Tallwch*”
[22] Correcting hand: “*cynyr cein farfawc.*”
[23] Correcting hand: “*Bedwyr ap Pedrawc*”
[24] Correcting hand: “*prif lledfrithawc*”
[25] Correcting hand: “*Kibddar*”
[26] Correcting hand: “*Rhuddlwm Gorr*”
[27] sic.
[28] Correcting hand: “*Kynvael*”
[29] sic.
[30] Correcting hand: “*yno*”

A13.18. Tri phrif eddestyr ynys Britain.
Du hir tynnedic, march Kynan Garwyn. Arwyddawc[31] breichir, march Kyoret eil Kynan, Ruddvreon tuthwleid, march Gilbert tair cad gyffro.

A13.19. Tri avvreinvarch[32] ynys Brytain.
Cannalawc march Ywayn 'ap Urien, Canawthir[33] march Cadwallon 'ap Cadvan, Bucheslom march Gwgon gledddyfrudd.

A13.20. Tri gordderchvaich[34] ynys Brytain.
[*F*]ferlas march Daldaff eil Kwvincof, Ruddvrych march Rahawt eil Morgant, Gwelwgan gohoiwgam[35] march Morvran ail Tegit.

A13.21. Tri gohoivv eddestyr ynys Brytain.
Llwyd march Alser 'ap Maelgwn, Gwineu gwddwhir march Syr Cei, Cethin carnawlaw[36] march Iddon 'ap Eynyr Gwent.

A13.22. Tri thom-eddestir ynys Brytain.
Du march Brwyn 'ap Kynadaf, Aruwl[37] velyn march Pascen ap Urien, Ruddlwyd march Rydderch hael.

A13.23. Tri meirch a ddugant tri marchlvvyth.
Du y' moredd, march Elidir mwynvawr, a dduc arno saithnyn a' haner o Benllech [*Elidir*] yn y Gogledd hyt ymhenllech [*Elidir*] ym Mon: 's ef oeddyn, Elidir Mwynvawr, ac Eurgain ei wraic merch Uaelgwn Gwynedd, a' Gwen da gywed. Gwyn dareiniad a' Mynach Namon ei gyngor wr 'a Prhydelaw menestyr y walloyad ac Arianvagyl y was a' Gelbeinevin y goc a nouies a'i ddwylaw ac Bedren y march, a hwnw vn haner y dyn.

Yr ail marchlwyth, Corman march meibion Oliuer, a adduc Gwrgi a' Phredur a Dunawd wr[38] a Chynvelyn drwsgwl i edrych ar rygydorth[39] Gwenddoleu [*yn*] Arderydd.

Y tryddyd marchlwyth, Neith march meibion Gwerthmwl wledic a dduc Gweir gleis ac Arthauad[40] yn erbyn allt Baeilwr yn-Ghredigion yn dial ei tad.

A13.24. Tri phrif ychen ynys Britain.
Melyn gwaynhwyn,[41] ych Gwylwlwyd, a'r ych brych.[42]

A13.25. Tair prif vvvuch ynys Brytain.

[31] Correcting hand: "*ahrwyddawc*"
[32] Correcting hand: "*Anrheithfarch*"
[33] Correcting hand: "*Tafawdhir*"
[34] Correcting hand: "*gordderchvarch*"
[35] Correcting hand: "*gohoiwgain*"
[36] Correcting hand: "*Carnaflawc*"
[37] Correcting hand: "*Arlwd*"
[38] unclear marginalia
[39] unclear marginalia
[40] Correcting hand: "*Arthanad*"
[41] Correcting hand: "*Gwauwyn*"
[42] Correcting hand: "*bras oj benzheu*"

Brech buwch Uaelgwn Gwynedd, Tomlwyd buwch meibion Oliuer gosgorddvawr, Cornillo buwch Llawvrodedd varchoc.

A13.26. Tri glevv vnben ynys Brytain.
Gr[*udneu*] a' Chai [*Aedenaw*] a Henben meibion Gleisiar o'r Gogledd, o Haiarnwedd ei mam. Ei cyneddfae oedd nad eynt o'r gad ond er elore.

A13.27. Tri glevvuryd[43] ynys Brytain.
Greidiol Glewvryd, Trystan ap Tallwch, Gwgon Gwron.[44]

A13.28. Tri phorthor [*gwaith*] perllan Vangor.
Gwgon gleddydd[45]-rudd, Madoc ap Run y kynnedvau, a' Gwgon gynrwyn.[46] Tri eraill o bart[*h*] Lloecr: Hastyl drahawg,[47] Gwentym herwm,[48] Gwymor.[49]

A13.29. Tri aur gelain ynys Brytain.
Madoc 'ap Brwyn, Cyngain[50] pe[*i*]lliawc, Aron ap Gwyddno befyr.[51]

A13.30. Tri hualoc deulu ynys Britain.
Teulu Caswallon a roesant hualeu eu meirch ar ei traed [*bob dau o naddynt*] i ymladd a Serigi Wyddel yn Heric y Gwyddyl ym-Mon. Teulu Beleu[52] o Lyn, a gyru y Saeson, ac Edwin ym [M]ryn Edwin yn Ros.

A13.31. Tri aurhualavvc ynys Britain.
Riwallon wallt banhadlen, Run 'ap Maelgwn, Cadwaladr uendigaid, sef y gelwit hwy velly, am na chad meirch digion vchel vddynt, rhac ei hyd a'ei maint namyn rhoi hualau ar ei traed dros bedrenau y meirch 'a dwy badell aur dan ei glinau bob vn o honyn.

A13.32. Tri thaer[53] ellyll ynys Britain.
Ellyll gwidw,[54] ellyll Llyr merini, ellyll Grith mul[55] wledic.

A13.33. Tri gvvydd ellyll ynys Britain.
Ellyll Bamawc,[56] ellyll Edynyffedawc drythyll, ellyll Melu.[57]

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[43] Correcting hand: "*Galofudd*"
[44] Correcting hand: "*Galofydd 30ap Elfaed Adron*"
[45] Correcting hand: "*Gleddyf"*
[46] Correcting hand: "*Gwion ap Cyndrwyn*"
[47] Correcting hand: "*Hampshyl*"
[48] Correcting hand: "*Gwasltynt Heiwr[?]den*"
[49] Correcting hand: "*Gwiner*"
[50] Correcting hand: "*Cengan*"
[51] Correcting hand: "*Rhuawn Pefyr ap Gwyddno*"
[52] Correcting hand: "*Belyn*"
[53] Correcting hand: "*tharw*"
[54] Correcting hand: "*Gwidawl*"
[55] Correcting hand: "*Gyrthmwl*"
[56] Correcting hand: "*Bannawc*"
[57] Correcting hand: "*Melen*"

A13.34. Tri trvvyddedavvc [*ac anfoddawc*] llys Arthur.
Llywarch hen, Llwmhunic ‘ap Mauon, Heledd verch Gynrwyn.

A13.35. Tri divvair ynys Britain.
Arddun gwraic Gatrod[58] ’ap Gwrolwyn, Evilia gwraic Wydyrdrwn, Emythryd[59] gwraic Uabon a’ Dewyngen.

A13.36. Tri gvvaevvrudd ynys Britain.
Dygynnelw vardd Ywain, ac Auan vardd Selau ap Kynan, Avan wledic vardd Cadwallon ’ap Cadvan.

A13.37. Tri [*hoyw*] eddestyr ynys Britain.
Gwinau gwddw-hir march Cai hir, Gregar march Edwin, Ellwyd march Alser ap Maelgwyn.

[*Six* trioedd cerdd *follow without a break in the text.*]

[58] Correcting hand: “*Catcor*”
[59] Correcting hand: “*Emwrth*”

A14.[1] NLW Peniarth MS 77 (pp. 304-307)
c. 1576, in the hand of Thomas Wiliems of Trefriw

~~*Peth o'r Mabinogi a'r Ffug Cyuain*~~[2]
Trioed Arbennic:

A14.1. Tair lleithic[*llo*]yth ynys Brydain:
Arthûr yn benteyrn ~~ym Mynyw~~ [*yng Haer Lleon ar Wysg*] a Dewi yn benn escyb, a Maelgwn yn ben hyneif. Arthûr[3] yn benn deyrn yn y Kelli Wic [*yng Herniw*], a Charadawc vreicvras yn ben hynaif, a Bitwini escob yn benn escyb. Arthûr yn ben deyrn ym Penrhyn Rhianydd yn y Gogledd, a Gythnyw[4] wledic yn ben hynaif, a Chyndeyrn garthwys.

A14.2. Tri chad varchawr ynys Brydain:
Menwaydd o Arllechwedd, a Llûdd lyrygawr, a Chariadawc vreichvras.

A14.3. Tri galoydd ynys Brydain:
Greidiawl galovydd, a Gwair gyhydlawn, a Trystan ap Tallwng.

A14.4. Tri thalethiawc ynys Prydain:[5]
Trystan ap Tallwng, a Huail ap Caw, a Chai ap Cynygr, ac vn oedd daleithiogach nag wynt ill tri, a Bedwyr oedd hwnw.

A14.5. Tri glew ynys Prydain:
Hayarnedd vaglawc,[6] Grudnai, a Henben, a Edernawc.[7]

A14.6. Tri thrahawc ynys Prydain:
Sawl benuchel, a Phasken ap Vrien, a Run ap Eingud.

A14.7. Tri ysgymmydd aer ynys Prydain:
Gilbert ap Bradgyffro, a Moruran ail Tegid, a Gwgawn gledyfrûdd.

A14.8. Tri gwrdd veichiad ynys Prydain a gedwis moch:
[Drystan ap Tallwch] a gedwis moch March meichion tra aeth y meichiad i erchi i Esyllt ddyvod yw gynadl ac Arthûr yn ceisio vn o honunt a'i i dwyll a'i I dreis ac nis cafas.

A Phryderi ap Pwyll pen Annwfn, a gedwis moch Pendaran Dyved [dadmaeh] e Glen ym Glyn Cwch yn Emlyn.

A Choll ap Collvrewy, a gedwis Henwen hwch Dallwr dallben aeth i orddodwy ym Henryn Awstin yng Hernyw ac ydd aeth yn y mor ac yn Aber Torrogi yng Went y deuth i dir. A

[1] See Appendix C14, pp. 496-98.
[2] This title is crossed out and replaced by the same hand.
[3] Marginal note: "*Cellisio.*"
[4] Correcting hand: "Gythmul."
[5] Here and elsewhere for the remainder of the text, Wiliems has abbreviated "Ynys Brydain" as "Y.P." I have expanded this abbreviation.
[6] Other texts of TYP indicate that the Tri Glew were "tri meib Hearn6ed 6rada6c" (Bromwich, *TYP,* 43) but that narrative detail has dropped out here, leaving it looking like there are four Tri Glew.
[7] The original scribe has written a "Y" directly below the "E" of this name, as though correcting himself.

Chol a ddoeth i Vaes Gwenith yng Went, ac a ddodwes a'r wenithen ac ar wenyne, a Cholll a'i law ar i gwyrch ba fford bynac y cerddai. Ac oddyna i ddaeth i Lonnon ym Henvro ac y dodwes ar herdden a gwennwyn, ac wrth gymry y yr aeth hyd yn rhiw gyverchwch yn Yryri ac y dodwes yno ar geneu blaidd ac edery Arllechwedd, ar eryr a roed Vrennach Wyddel. Ac o llym y doeth hyd daw y maen dû yn Llanvair yn Arvon, ac y dodwes geneu cath a hwnw vû cath Bali ac a vwriws Coll ap Collvrewy iar y maen dû ym Menai.

A14.9. Tri thrwyddedawc a thri anvoddawc a thri gwneyn a'i gormes ynys Prydain:
Llywarch Hen, a Llvmeinc ap Mabon, ac Elen verch Gyndrwyn.

A14.10. Tair overgad ynys Prydain:
Vn onaddunt cad gadaû, sef yr achaws y gelwid yn overdadaû o achos yr ast ar i wrch ffergwys a chornvygyll. A'r ail, yr aderydd a wnaethbwyd o achws nyth yr ehedydd. Trydydd, Camlan a wnaethbwyd o gyfrwysedd[8] Gwenhwyvar a Gwenhwyvach.

A14.11. Tair drûd aerfa ynys Prydain:
Vn yll pan ddoeth Medrawd i Gelli Wic yng Herniw, adewis na bwyd na diod nis treûlai, a thynnu Gwenhwyvar o'i rhiain gadair. Ac yno [?]awyd y balfod. A'r ail pan ddeûth Arthûr i lys Medrawd ni adewis nag yn i lys nag yn [?] gaertref nag anivail na dyn yn vyw na dim o'r holl dda. A'r drydedd pan ddeûth Aeddan cradawc hyd yn Alclûd i lys Rydderch hael ni adewis yno na bwyd na diod nis a trywelai.

A14.12. Naw nyn a wnaethbwyd yn gyflawn o Adda. Tri gafas i gedernyd:
Ercwlph, a Samsvn, ac Ector o Droia.

A14.13. Tri a gafas i bryd:
Jason ap Esvn, ac Alexander Paris, ac Absalon ap Dd brophwyd.

A14.14. Tri a gafas i ddoethineb:
Marclwph, a Abida, a Selef ap Dd

A14.15. Tair gwragedd a gowfaus goryd Eva:
Deiadena gordderch Eneas ysgwyddwyn, Elen vanawc y wraic y bû distriw Tro a'i hachaws, a Pholicsena verch Briaf vrenhin Tro.

[8] A later hand has written "*gyfrysudh*" in the margin above, either as a correction or because this word is particularly difficult to make out in the original hand.

A15.[1] BL Additional MS 15,047 (fols. 54v-74v)
(c. 1575-6, in the hand of Hywel ap Syr Mathew)

Trioedd ynys Prydain, weithan a gair:

A15.1. Tri hael ynys oedd y rrai hyn:
Nudd hael ap Sernyllt, Morda hael ap Garvan, Rydherch hael ap Tudwal tudklud.

A15.2. Tri daleinawg ynys Brydain:
Owan ap Vrien, Rvn ap Maelgwyn, Rvawn befr ap Dewarth wledig.

A15.3. Tri phost kad ynys Brydain:
Dvnod ap [*Pabo*] post Prydain, Gvallawg ap Llieniawg, Kynvalyn drwsgl.

A15.4. Tri tharw kaduc ynys Brydain:
Kynvwr kadhadduc ap Kynnwyd Kynnwydion, Gwenddolav ap Kaidiav, Vrien ap Kynvarog.

A15.5. Tri tharw vnben ynys Brydain:
Elinwy ap Kadegyr, Kynhaval ap Argar, Avaon ap Taliessin.

A15.6. Tri lleddf vnben ynys Brydain:
Llowarch hen ap Elidir lyndanwyn, Madian ap Llyr llediath, Gwgon gwran ap Predur ap Eliuer gosgorddvawr.

A15.7. Tri vnben llys Arthur:
Gronwy ap Echel vorddinydtwll, Kadrith ap Prthor godw, a Ffeenddng fflam.

A15.8. Tri vnben Deifr a Brynaich:
Kall a Dysgyfdawd, Ysgwnell ap Dysgyfdawd, Diffedall ap Disgyfdawd.

A15.9. Tri gwawdruydd beirdd ynys Brydain:
Tristvardd bardd Vrien, Dygynelw bardd Owen ap Vrien, Avan Vdig bardd Kydwallan ap Kadvan.

A15.10. Tri chad varchog ynys Brydain:
Kyradog vreichvras, Menwaedd o Arllechwedd, a Llyr lvyddawg.

A15.11. Tri thaleithog kad ynys Brydain:
Trystan ap Talwch, Hvail ap Kaw, Kri ap Kenyr varchog. Ac vn oedd daleithiog arnvn hwy yll tri: Pedrog oedd hwnnw.

A15.12. Tri lled vrithiog ynys Brydain:
Kall ap Kollurwy, Menw ap Teirgwaedd, a Drych ail Kibddar.

A15.13. Tri phrif hud ynys Brydain:

[1] See Appendix C15, pp. 498-500.

Hud Math ap Mathonwy, hut Vthin Pendragwn, hud Gwyddelyn gorr.

A15.14. Tri diwair devlv ynys Brydain:
Tevlv Gydwallan ap Kadvan, a vv saith mlynedd gidag ef yn Iwerddon, ag yn hynny o yshaid ni ofynysson ddim Iddo rag gorvod arnvnt I ado. Yr ail oedd llv Gawran ap Aeddan aethan i'r mor dros i harglwydd. Trydydd, tevlv Gwenddolav ap Keidiaw yn Arderydd, a gynalyssant y vwydr bythefnos a mis gwedi llad i harglwydd. Sef oedd rifedi pob llv o'r gwyr hynny: vn cant ar hugen.

A15.15. Tri anghowir devlv ynys Brydain:
Tevlv Gronwy befr o Bvwys, a omeddodd i hargwlydd o erbyn y Gwenwynwaiw gan Lew llaw gyffes yn llech Ronwy ym laen Kynvaeth. Yr ail, tevlv Gwrgi a Phredur, a dowssant i hargwlydd ynghaer gren oedd ag ymladd arno drannoeth ag Adda glinvawr. A'r trydydd tevlv, tevlv Alan Vyrgan, amhoelysant o ddiwrthowyd nos a'i i llwng a'i keisson i'r gad gad Gamlan, ag yno i llas.

A15.16. Tri lloddvarch ynys Brydain:
Meinlas march Gydwallon ap Beli, Melyngan mangre march Llew llaw gyffes, Llvagor march Gyradog vreichvras.

A15.17. Tri phrif edestyr ynys Brydain:
Du hir tynedig march Gynan Garwyn, Arwyddog vreichir march Kyored ail Kynan, Ruddvron tuthvlaidd march Gilbert kad gyffro.

A15.18. Tri arweinvarch ynys Brydain:
Kannalawg march Owen ap Vrien, Tanawthir march Gydwallon ap Kadvan, Bucheslom march Gwgon gleddyddrudd.

A15.19. Tri gordderthvarch ynys Brydain:
Fferlas march Daldaf ail Kwfincol, Ruddvrych march Ryhawnt ail Morgan, Gwelwgan gohoiwgan march Morvran ail Tegid.

A15.20. Tri gohoiw edestir ynys Brydain:
Llwyd march Alsser ap Maelgwn Gwynedd, Gwine gyddthir march S[y]r Gei, a Warrwig kethin karnowladd march Iddon a Ynyr Gwent.

A15.21. Tri thom edestir ynys Brydain:
Du march Brwyn ap Kynadaf, Arvfal velyn march Pasgen ap Vrien, Ruddlwyd march Rytherch hael.

A15.22. Tri march a ddug y tri marchlwyth:
Dv 'r moroedd march Elidir mwynvawr a ddug seithnyn a haner o Benllech yn y Gogledd hyd ym Hen Llech y Mon. Sef oeddynt Elidir mwynvawr ag Evrgain i wraig merch Vaelgwyn Gwynedd a Gwynda gowedd, Gwyndareiniadd ynghorwr, a Mynach Namon i gyngorwr hefyd, a Phrydelaw menestr ywaloyar, ag Arianvagl i was a Gelbei Nevin i gog a novies a'i ddwylo a'r badren y march a hwnnw vv'r hanner dyn. Yr ail marchlwyth, Korman march meibion Oliver a

ddig Gwrgi a Phredir a Dvnawd wr a Chynvelyn drwsgl i edrych ar vygydorth Gwenddolav Arderydd. Trydydd marchlwyth, Heith march meibion Gwerthmwl wledig a ddug gweir a Gleis ag Arthanad yn erbyn Veibvr yn Ghyredigion yn dial i tad.

A15.23. Tri phrif ychen ynys Bryden:
Melyn gwanwyn, ych Gwylwlwyd, a'r ych Brych.

A15.24. Tair prif vuch ynys Brydain:
Brech buch Valegwyn Gwynedd, Tmlwyd vuwch meibion Olivir gosgorddvawr, Kornillo vuch Llawwredodd varchog.

A15.25. Tri glew vnben ynys Brydain:
Gr[udnau], a Chai, a Henben meibion Gleissiar o'r Gogledd o Haiarnwedd i mam i Kyneddfav oedd nadelynt o'r gad on ar elore.

A15.26. Tri glewvryd ynys Brydain:
Greidiol glewfryd, Trystan ap Tallwch, Gwgon ap Gwron.

A15.27. Tri phorthor perllan Bangor:
Gwgon gleddyddrudd, Madog ap Rvn y Kymeddod, a Gwgon gynhynaddod. Tri eraill o barth Lloegr: Hastil drahawg, Gwentym herdom, Gwymor.

A15.28. Tair aur gelain:
Madog ap Brwyn, Kyngain pelliawg, ag Aron ap Gwyddno befr.

A15.29. Tri hvalawg devlv ynys Brydain:
Tevlv Kysswallon, a roes hvalav i meirch ar i traed i ymladd, a Sarigin Wyddel yn Gherrig, y gwyddyl y Mon, a'r devlv y Riwallon ap Vrien yn ymladd ar Saesson. Tevlv Belan o Lyn yn gyrrv y Saeson at Edwin ym Ryn Edwin yn Ros.

A15.30. Tri aur hvalog ynys Brydain:
Kydwallon wallt bynhadlen, Rvn ap Maelgwn, Kydwalar vendigaid. Sef gelwid hwynt velly am na chafad meirch digon vchel vddvn nag maint a'i hyd namyn hvalv ar i traed dros bedranav y meirch a dwy badell aur dan i glinav pob o honvnt.

A15.31. Tri thaer ellyll ynys Brydain:
Ellyll Gwydo, ellyll Lyr merini, Ellyll grithmvl wledig.

A15.32. Tri gwydd ellyll ynys Brydain:
Ellyll Bannawg, ellyll Ednyfedog drythyll, ellyll Melv.

A15.33. Tri trwyddedog llys Arthur:
Llowarth hen, Llwmhvnig ap Manon, Heledd verch Gwyndrwyn.

A15.34. Tri diwair ynys Brydain:

Arddvn gwraig Gadrod ap Gwrohvyn, Evilia gwraig wydr drwn, Emythryd gwraig Vabon, a Dewyngen.

A15.35. Tri gwagirrudd ynys Brydain:
Dygenliv bard Owain, Alan bardd Selav ap Kynan, Avon wledig bardd Gydwallon ap Kadvan.

A15.36. Tri chyfanedd [*vardd*] llys Arthur:
Bardd Kaw, bardd Tant, bardd Phichlem.

A15.37. Tri bardd kad oedd yn lys Arthur:
Prifardd, Arweddvardd, a Phasvardd.

A15.38. Tri phrifvardd ynys Brydain:
Merddin ap Morvryn, Merddin Emrys, Taliesin.

A15.39. Tri edestr ynys Brydain:
Gwinav gyddhir march Kae hir, Gregar march Edwin, Ellwyd march Alser ap Maelgwn.

Tri unben kerdd ynys Brydain:
Prydyddieth, Telynrieth, Achyvarivyddyd.

[*Further Trioedd Taliesin intervening*]

A15.40. Tri arianllv ynys Brydain:
Llv aeth gan Yrb luyddog i Lychlyn a hwnnw a ddauth yn oed Gadial i erchi dyfynnv yr ynys ag nid oedd yn dechre erchi dyvlv hynny ar [p]hr[if] herif gaer arhvgen ar yny hon nid amgen dav kymaint ag a a dau[*th*] gantho ag i'r lliver gynta i dauth a Mathuthavar i was. A dysgv pvmp gwyr ar ynys i roi hynny. A hwnnw vv'r llv mwya aeth o'r ynys hon. Ag ef oresgynodd dabn ar llv hwnnw da o'r hyd ag mywn dwy ynys i trigodd y gwyr hynny yn hir Groeg nid amgen: yn Clas ag ynys Vena.

A'r ail llv aeth gan Elen lvyddog a Chonstansius i Rufain ag ni ddaethon byth yr ynys hon.

Trydydd llv aeth gan Gysswallon ap Beli ag Awenwye[?] a Gwnar meibion Lleon ap Niffreng o Arianod merch Beli i mam. Sef lletrigodd y llv hwnnw: vn vil ar hvgein.

A15.41. Tri gwyr gwarth ynys Brydain:
Avarwy ap Llud ap Beli mawr, a dderbynodd Wlkasar amhodr Rufen yr ynys hon, ag a beris talv tair mil o bvnno o drynged iddo bob bluyddyn am i gyfrewyssed a Chysvallon i ervythr.

Ar ail llv, Gwrtheyrn gwrthenw a roes i'r Saeson dir yn yr ynys hon. A ymgyfathachodd ag hwynt. Ag a laddysson Gonstant a divyll ag Vthur ag Emrys i vradur a'i lladdodd ynte yn ghastell Gwerthyrnion ar lan gwy.

Trydydd llv, vn Vedrod ap Llew ap Kynnvarch pan y dewis Arthur lywodraeth y dernas gantho pan aeth i ymladd. A Lles amherodr Rufen am ofyn trynged o'r ynys hon. Ag i laddodd ef ag i mynnodd drynged o Rufain. A phan dyviodd Medrodd I lleddidd Arthur i gwisgodd y goron ag i dyfynodd atto y Sayson a'r Phiched a'r Ysgotied i lestair Arthur i'r ynys hon. Ac in thygiodd

ag i hawaith Kamlan ag i brathwyd. Arthur yn Angheval ag i llas Medrod ag yn ynys Avallavn i bv varw. Ag i kladdwd Arthur a Gwenhwyvar.

A15.42. Tri goruchel garotharol ynys Brydain:
Llyr llediaith, a Mabon ap Edrod, ag Arthur a vv deir nos yn gharthar hvd.

A15.43. Tri anvadgudd ynys Brydain:
Pen Bendigeidvran ap Llyr, a guddwyd yn y Gwynvryn yn Llvndain. A thra vv yno ni dauth [???] Saeson na nag alinws i'r dernas.Yr ail anvadkudd vv'r dreigiav a ddafadd Lludd ap Beli, ag a ffoes yn dinas Emrys a Gwrtheyrn Gwrthenavi datkuddiod. Trydydd anvadkudd vv esgyrn Gwrthefyr vendigaid yn yrif byrth yr ynys a thra llivon yno ni ddauth gormes i'r ynys hon. Ag Arthur a'i datkuddiodd Henwen a beris datkuddio esgyrn Gwrthevyr.

A15.44. Tri llynges geniwer ynys Brydain i'w rrain:
Llynges Llaryf ap Pyrr, llynges Dignif ap Alanaf, llynges Soler ap Wrnach.

A15.45. Tair gywdd balfod ynys Brydain:
Vn a ffoes Matholvch Wyddel ar Vranwen verch Lyr. Yr ail, a ffoes Gwenhwyvar verch Gogvran gawr ag am hynny i bu'r gad Gamlan. Yr drydydd, a ffoes Galydan vardd ar Gydwaladr vendigaid.

A15.46. Tair prif riain Arthur ap Vthur:
Gwenhwyvar verch Gwyd Gwent, Gwenhwyfar verch Gredaivgol, a Gwenhywfar verch Gogvran gawr.

A15.47. Tair kariadwraig llys Arthur:
Indeg verch Avarwy hir, Arwen verch Henri hir, a Gwevwl endawd.

A15.48. Tair gwyryvorwyn ynys Brydain:
Llai verch Serthwedd, Rab verch Vsher, a Medrai hadellvawr.

A15.49. Tri chynhwysiad ynys Brydain:
Kai kanniad i Wlkassar amherodr Ruvain i roi blane Karnav i meirch ar dir Manlas ynys Brydain. Yr ail, gadel Hors a Hengest ddyvod i'r ynys hon. A'r drydedd, kannv o Arthur i gwyr deirgwair, a Medrod i nai yn gad Gamlan.

A15.50. Tri ruddnawg ynys Brydain:
Rvn ap Beli, Llew llaw gyffes, Morgan mawynvawr. Ag vn oedd ryveddach na'r tri hynny: Arthur ni ddai na gwellt na llysse fordd i kerddai Arthur a'i lv.

A15.51. Tri llynghesswyr ynys Brydain:
Gerraint ap Erbin, March ap Meirchion, Gwenwynwyn ap Naw.

A15.52. Tri maib Dysynfawd a wnaeth y tair kyflauan:

Maddistell ap Dysyndawd, a laddodd Gwrgi garlwyd, y gwr hwnnw a laddai Gymro bob dydd a dav dduw Sadrwn dros duw Sul. Gafymell ap Dysyndod, a laddodd Edelffled vrenhin Lloegr. Gall ap Dysyndod, a laddod dav yderyn Gwenddolav, yr rai oedd yn kadw i hanw a'i harian.

53. Tri gweithwr a wnaeth y tair llevadd gyflavan:
Llavan llaw ddivro, a lladdod Vrien ap Kynvarch, Llongad grwn ardodion, a laddodd Addon ap Taliessin, a Roreidiaw evengad, a laddodd Ebryn gwowdrwydd. Mechteyrn beirdd y gwr a roi gan Mvw bob Sadwrn yn Gherwyn Eniant kathairn a'i trewis a hwyal gynnal gynnvd yn i ben a honno oedd y drydedd bwyallod. Yr ail, kanvtai ar Aberffro a drewis Golydan vardd, a bwyall yn i hen. Y gyntaf vv Iago ap Beli, a drewis i wr e hvn yn i ben.

A15.54. Tri arffedog kad ynys Bryden:
Selyf ap Kynan Garwyn, ag Addon ap Taliesin, a Gwallawg lleiniawg. Sef i gelwid wynt ynt arffdogion: wrth ddial i kam ar i heddav.

A15.55. Tri hynaif byd:
Tyllvan Dwm kadwlwyd, eryr gwern Abwyd. Mywalchen y gelli ddafn.

A15.56. Tri marchoc gwyry a gafas gwaed yr arglwydd yn ghastell Garbyn yn orthwag:
Predur ap Efrog, Gwalchma ap Gwynar, Bwrt ap Lawnllod.

Tair vchenaid a ddyry dyn kyn angav:
Vn am ysgar yr enaid ar korff, yr ail, ar vod ymado a'i gyfellion, a'r drydedd, am na wyr llestfa.

Tri thowyssog englynion yssydd:
Gabriel, Michael, Raphael.

Tri thowyssog saint:
Adda, Maessess, Pedr.

[*Trioedd Taliesin continue…]*

[*Y Trioedd Arbennig*]

A16.[1] NLW MS 6434 (fols. 132r-135r)
(c. 1577, in the hand of Ieaun Llwyd.)

Trioedd ynys Brydain:

A16. 1. Tri hael ynys Brydain:
Nudd hael ap Senylt, Mordaf hael ap Sernan, Rhydderch hael ap Tȣdwal tȣdclyd.

A16.2. Tri gwyndeyrn ynys Brydain:
Owain ap ȣrien, Rȣn ap Malgwn, Rȣȣawn beȣyr ap Dowrarth wledig.

A16.3. Tri deifiniawc y*nys* B*rydain*:
Gwalchmai ap Gwyar, Llacheu ap Arthȣr, Riwallawn wallt banhadlen.

A16.4. Tri phost cat y*nys* B*rydain*:
Dȣnod ap Pabo post Prydain, Gwallawc ap Lliennawc, Kynvelyn drwstwl.

A16.5. Tri tharw radne y*nys* B*rydain*:
Kywvawr catgadne ap Kynnoyd kynwydion, Gwenddolav ap Keidiaw, ȣrien ap Kynvarch.

A16.6. Tri tharw ȣnpen y*nys* B*rydain*:
Elinwy ap Cadegyr, Cynhaval ap Argad, Aȣaon ap Taliesin.

A16.7. Tri lleddf unben y*nys* B*rydain*:
Llywarch hen ap Elidir lydanwy, Maddian ap Llyr llediaith, Gwgon gwron ap Predȣr ap Eliȣer gosgordd ȣawr.

A16.8. Tri ȣnben llys Arthȣr:
Gowrowy ap Echel ȣordnoytwll, Cadreith ap Porthor gadno, a Ffleuddȣr fflam.

A16.9. Tri ȣnben Deiwyr a Brynaich:
Call ap Disgyfdawd, Ysgwnell ap Disgyfdawd, Diffedell ap Disgyfdawod.

A16.10. Tri gwawdrvy ȣeirch ynys Bryd*ain*:
Tristȣardd bardd ȣrien, Dygynelw bardd Owain ap ȣrien, Aȣan ȣoredig bardd Kadwallon ap Cadȣan.

A16.11. Tri chad ȣarchawc ynys B*rydain*:
Ca[r]adawc[2] ȣreichfras, Menwaed o Arllechwedd, Llyr llvyddawc.

A16.12. Tri thaleithioc ynys B*rydain*:
Tristan ap Tallwc, Eȣel ap Cuno, Gei ap Cynyr ȣawrchanot. Ac ȣn oedd daleithioc arnunt wy yll tri: a Bedrawt oed hȣnnw.

[1] See Appendix C16, p. 500.
[2] Damage to the manuscript has rendered this "r" illegible.

A16.13. Tri lledrithiac y*nys* B*rydain*:
Coll ap Collȣrewy, Menw ap Teirgwaedd, Drych ail Kebddar.

A16.14. Tri prif hȣd y*nys* B*rydain*:
Hȣd Math ap Mathonwy, hȣd ȣther pendragon, a hȣd Gwythelin gorr.

A16.15. Tri diweir deȣluy y*nys* B*rydain*:
Teȣlu Cydwallon ap Caduan, a ȣuant saith blynedd gyd ac ef yn Ywerddon, ac yn hyny o yspeid, ni ofynason ddim iddaw ragorȣod arnaddϬnt i adaw. Yr ail oedd teȣlȣy Gawran ap Aeddan, a aethant i'r mor dros ei harglwydd. A'r trydydd, teȣlȣy Gwenddoleu ap Keidiaw yn Arderydd a gynheliesant y ȣroydyr bythefnos a mis wedi llad i arglwydd. Sef oedd rhifedi teȣlȣ pop ȣn o'r gwyr hyny: ȣn canwr ar hȣgain.

A16.16. Tri anniwair deȣlȣ y*nys* B*rydain*:
Teȣlȣ Gronwy peȣyr o Bowys, a omeddasant ei harglwydd o erbynnieit y gwenwywaew i gan Llen llaw gyffes yn Llech Ronwy ymlaen Kynȣaeth. Yr ail, teȣlȣ Gwrgi a Phredȣr, a adawosant eȣ harglwydd yn Ghaer Gren, ac oedd yn ymladdyddunt dranoeth ac Adda glinȣawr, ac yna y llas yll daȣ. A'r trydydd teȣlvy oedd Alan ȣyrgan, a ymchwelesant o wrth am o hyd nos a'i ollwng ai weison yr Gamlan, ac y nos y llas.

A16.17. Tri rhoddedig ȣarch ynys B*rydain*:
Menilas march Caswallan ap Beli, Melyngan mangre march Lleu llaw gyffes, Llȣagor march Karadawc ȣreichȣras.

A16.18. Tri pryf eddestyr ynys Bryda*in*:
Du hir tynedig march Kynan garwyn, Arwyddwc breichir march Kyoret eil Kynan, Rȣddȣreon tȣthwleid march Gylbert tair cad gyffro.

A16.19. Tri awreinvarch ynys Brydain:
Canalanoc march Owain ap ȣrien, Tanawthir march Cadwallon ap CadϬan, Bȣcheslȣm march Gwgon gleddyfrȣdd.

A16 20. Tri gordderchvaich ynys Brydain:
Ferlas march Daldaff eil Rwȣincȣf, Rȣddȣrych march Rahawt eil Morgant, Gwelwgan gohoinogann march MorϬran ail Tegit.

A16.21. Tri gohoiw eddestyr y*nys* B*rydain*:
Llwyd march Alfer ap Malgwn, Gwineȣ gwddwhir march Syr Gei, Kethin carnaw march Iddon ap Eymyr Gwent.

A16.22. Tri thom eddestir y*nys* B*rydain*:
Dȣ march Brwyn ap Kynadaf, Arȣwlȣelyn march Pasgen ap ȣrien, Rȣddlwydmarch Rydderch hael.

A16.23. Tri meirch a ddvgant tri marchlwyth y*nys* B*rydain*:

Du y moroedd march Elidir mwynɷawr, a ddɷc arno saith nyn a haner o ben llech yn y Gogledd hyt ymhenllech y Mon. Sef oeddyn, Elidir mwynɷawr ac Eɷrgain i wraig, merch ɷaelgwn Gwynedd, a Gwyn da gywed, Gwyn dareiniad, a mynach Namon ei gyngor wr, a Phrydelaw menestyr y was, a Gelbeneiɷin i gog, a Noɷies a'i ddwylaw ar bedrein y march. A hwnw oedd ɷn haner y dyn.

Yr ail marchlwyd oedd Cornan march meibion Olɷer, a ddɷc Gwrgi, a Phredɷr, a Dɷnadwc, a Chynɷelyn drwyswl i edrych ar rynydorth Gwenddolen Arderydd. Y trydydd marchlwyth: Heith march meibion Gwerthmwl wledig, a ddɷc Gwir a Gleis at Arthaɷad yn erbyn allt ɷaeilwr yn Chredigion yn dial i tad.

A16.24. Tri phrif ychen y*nys* B*rydain*:
Melyn gwaynhwyn, ych Gwylw lwyd, a'r ych Brych.

A16.25. Tair prif ɷɷwch y*nys* B*rydain*:
Brech bɷwch ɷaelgwn Gwynedd, Tomlwyd bɷch meibion Oliɷer gosgordd ɷawr, Tornillo bɷwch Llawɷrodedd ɷarchog.

A16.26. Tri glew ɷnben y*nys* B*rydain*:
Gr[uffudd], a Chai, a Henben, meibion Gleisiar o'r Gogledd o Haranwedd ei mam. Ei kyneddfae oedd nad eynt o'r gad ond ar elore.

A16.27. Tri glewvryd y*nys* B*rydain*:
Greidiol glewvryd, Trytan ap Tallwch, Gwgon gwron.

A16.28. Tri phorthor perllan ɷangor:
Gwgon gleddydd rɷdd, Madoc ap Rɷn y kennedɷaɷ, a Gwgon gyndrwyn. Tri eraill o barth Lloegr: Hastyl drahawg, Gwentym herwng, Gwmor.

A16.29. Tri aɷr gelain y*nys* B*rydain*:
Madoc ap Brwyn, Kyngain ap Pelliawc, Ellwyd march Alser ap Maelgwyn.

A16.30. Tri vnpen kerdd y*nys* B*rydain*:
Prydy[*r*], cany telyn, kyfrwyddyt.

[*Trioedd Taliesin intervening*]

A16.31. Tri arianllv ynys B*rydain*:
Y llɷ aeth gan Erp lɷyddawt i Lychlyn, a hwnnw a ddoeth yma yn oes Gadial y gyry i erchy dyfyny yr ynys hon. Ac nyd oedd ond ef a'i was i ddechreɷ erchy dybly hyny o'r deɷddeg prif goyrydd ar hɷgain o'r ynys hon, nid amgen dan gymaint ac a ddel o ganthaw. Ag i'r mɷer gyntaf y doeth ef a machɷ gaɷas i was a dysgy pemp gwyr o'r yny i roi hyny. A hwnw a ɷɷy llɷ mwyaf aeth o'r ynys hon a ef a orysenodd dalym o'r brys byd ar llɷ hwnw. Sef y lle y trigodd y gwyr mewn dwy ynys yn ymyl mor Groeg, nid amgen ynys Glas ac Aɷena.

A'r ail llɷ aeth gan Elen lɷydawg a Chonstantinus i Rɷfain, ac ni ddoeth byth i'r ynys hon. Y trydydd llɷ aeth gan Gaswallon ap Beli ac ato emeyd a Gwanar meibion Lleon ap Wyffre

ac Arianodd vaeth Beli yno mam. Sef lle trigodd y llo hwnw: y[*n*] Gasgwyn. Sef oedd on oil ar hogain.

A16.32. Tair llynges gyniwer ynys Brydain:
Llynges Llaryf ap Pyr, llynges Dignif ap Alan, [*a*] llyges Soler ap Wrnach.

A16.33. Tair gwydd balfod y*nys* B*rydain*:
Vn a roddes Matholwch Wyddel ar Vronwen oerch Lyr. Yr ail, a roddes Wenhwyvarch oerch Gogoran, achos hyny y bo waith Gamblan. Y drydydd, a roes Galudan oardd ar Gadwalar oendigait.

A16.34. Tair prif rhian Arthor:
Gwenwyoar oerch Gwryd Gwent, Gwennhwyvar oerch Vthyr ap Gredawgol, a Gwenhwyvar oerch Gogoran gawr.

A16.35. Tair cariadwraig llys [*Arthor*]:
Indeg oerch Ayarwy hir, Arwen oerch Honn hir, a Gweowl eodawd.

A16.36. Tair gwrvoryn y*nys* B*rydain*:
Lle verch Seithwedd, a Roo oerch osper, a Medrai badell oawr.

A16.37. Tri rvddvawg ynys B*rydain*:
Ron ap Beli, Llew llaw gyffes, a Morgan mynoawr. Ac on oedd ryoeddach mor tri hyny: Arthor oedd hwnw: o bleit na dda[?] gwellt na llysiae ffordd y gorddai Arthor a'i lo.

A16.38. Tri llyngeswyr y*nys* B*rydain*:
Geraint ap Erbin, a March ap Meirchion, a Gwenwynwyn ap Naw.

A16.39. Tri map Dylyndaw[*d*] a wnaethant i'y tair kyflauan:
Maddistedd ap Dysyndawd a laddodd Gwrgi garwlwyd, y gwr hwnw a laddai Gembro beonydd a dao dit Satvrn dro dri Sol. Gasymell ap Dysyndod a laddodd Edelflet orenhin Lloecr. Gall ap Dysyndod a laddodd dao ederyn Gwenddoleu y rhai oeddynt yn gadw hi aor, a'i haiarian.

A16.40. Tri gweithwr y*nys* Brydain a wnatha[*n*]t y tair anvad nevadd gyflavan:
Leoom llaw ddioro a laddodd orien ap Kynoarch, Llongat grwn argodion a laddodd Addon ap Taliesin, a Roreidiaw evangat a laddodd ebryn gwowdrwydd merch teirn beirdd y gwr.

A Roe gam mow laob Satwrn yng Herwyn enaint[3] gathaiarn a'i trewis ef a bwyallgynod yn i ben heno oedd y drydydd owyallod. Yr ail a oo tomotai o'r Berffraw a drewis Golydan oardd a bwall yn i ben. Y gyntaf oo Iaco ap Beli a drewis i uor i hon yn i ber.

A16.41. Tri arffedog kad:
Felelf ap Kynan am garnoyn, ac Addon ap Taliesin, ac P[??]allawg lleiniaog. Sef y gelwit hwynt yn arfedogwn: wrth ddial eo cam ar eo beddao.

A16.42. Tri hynaif byd:

[3] Corrected from "*eneint*."

Tyllɷan gwm kowlwyd, eryr gwern Abwy, a Mwvyalchen gelli gadarn.

A16.43. Tri marchawg gwyrf a gomlant, ac nid ym od chwedl gwaed i'r arglwydd yn castell Gorbyn yn y northawg:
Peredɷr ap Efrog, a Gwalchmai, a Bwrd ap La[ɷ]onslot.

Tair vchenaid a rydd y c[*n*]awd wrth angav:
Vn am ysgar I'r enaid a'r korph, yr ail o gariad ar i gyfnesafiait, a'r drydydd am ni wyr i bale i ra.

Tri thwylog saint:
Adda, a Moeses, a Petr.

[*Trioedd Taliesin continue…*]

[*Y Trioedd Arbennig*]

A16.44. Tri anɷad gɷdd ynys Brydain:
Pen Bendigeidran ap Llyr a gɷddiwyt yn y gwynɷryn yn Llvndain, a thra ɷn yno ny ddoeth y Sayson yma. Yr ail ɷɷ r dreigiaɷ a ddalidd Llɷd ap Beli a'i rhai yn dinas Embrys, a Gwrtheyrn gwrthenaɷ ei datgɷddiod. Y trydydd ɷɷ esgyrn Gw[*r*]theɷyr ɷendigaid yn y prif byth yr ynys, a thra ɷɷant yno, ny ddoeth gormes. Arthvr ddatgɷddiodd pen Bendigeidran am na ɷynai ef gadw yr ynys on o'i rym ef ɷn, a Ronwen a beris ddatgɷddio esgyrn Gwrtheɷyr bendigait i ollwng y Sayson i'r ynys.

A16.45. Trywyr gwarth ynys Brytai*n*:
ɷn ɷɷ Aɷarwy ap Llvdd ap Beli mawr, a ddyfynodd i blygaisar ymmerotr Rɷfain ir ynys hon ag a beris taly tair mil o bvnoedd iddo pop blwyddyn o deyrnged am ei gyfrwydsedd a Chaswallon i ewyrth.

Yr ail, Gwrtheyrn gwrthenav a roddes tir ir Sayson yn yr ynys hon, ag ymddeweddiodd a hwynt yn hyntaf, ag a laddodd Constans o dwyll, ag ɷther ag Emrys i ɷrodyr a'i lladdodd yntav yn kastell Gwyrthrinion ar lan gwy ag Llosgason.

Y trydydd ɷv ɷedrot ap Llow ap Kynvarch, a phan edewis Arthɷr lywadraeth yr ynys iddo pan aeth yntaɷ i ymladd a Lles ymmerotr Rvfain am ofyn teyrnged o'r ynys hon ag a'i lladdodd ef ag a ɷtnodd deyrnged o Rvfain. Ag yna dybiodd Medrot y lleddit Arthɷr y gwisgodd ef y goron. Ag y dyɷynodd ato y Sayson a'r Ffichtieit a'r Skotiait i lestair Arthɷr i'r ynys hon. Ag ni thykiodd iddo ag y na y vb waith Kamlan, ag yno y llas Medrot ag y brathwyd Arthɷr yn amgɷriol, ag yn ynys Aballach y bɷ ɷarw, a y kladdwyt.

A16.46. Tri chynhwysiad ynys Brydain:
Roi kenad i Iɷlkaisar a gwyr Rvfain i roi blaen karnar i meirch ar y tir Manlas. Yr ail, gadel i Hors a Hengest ddyɷod i'r ynys hon. A'r drydydd kany o Arthɷr dair gwaith i wyr rhyngtho a Medrot.

A17.[1] BL Additional MS 31,055 (fols. 24r-27v)
1591-96, in the hand of Thomas Wiliems

A17.1. Tair dryc heirva[2] ynys Brydain:
Vn pan*n* ddaeth Medrod i llys Arthur yn Celli Wig yn Cerniw, nid adewis na bwyd na diod o'r y ol yn y llys heb i dreûliaw, a thynnv Gwenhwyvar o'i chadeir vrenhinol. Ac yny y trewid y ballawd aruei.

A17.2. Teir neges gefad o Bowys.
Vn onaddǒnt yw cyrchǒ Myngan o Vangen hyd yn Llannsilin erby[*n*] enterth drannoeth i gymryd y cynneddfed gann Gadwallon wedy llad Ieauf a Griffri. Yr ail yn cyrchû Griffri hyd ym Vrynn Griffri, erbyn y bore drannoeth wrth ymhwelyd ar Edwin. Trydydd yn cyrchǒ Howel ûap Ieûaf hyd yn Credigiawn o Owen Gwynedd y ymladd a Ieûaf a'r Iaco yn yr aerfa honno.

Cyntaf[3] henw a ǒû ar ynys Brytain cynn y chafenneddǒ, Clas Merddin. Ac hwedy cael y chafenneddǒ y Vel Ynys y gelwyd. A'r wedy y chael o Brydyn ap Aedd mawr ynys Brydyn y gwelwyd. Tair rac ynys sydd iddi: Mon, Manaw, ar ynys Wair. 143 o brif aberoedd, a 54 o brif borthǒaoedd. Tair ar ddec ar hugain o brif Gaeroedd. Sef yw hyd ynys Brydain o brynn Bladdon ym Brydain hyd ym Penrhynn Penwaedd yn Cerniw, naw cant milltir. Sef yw i lled o Grikyll ym Mon hyd yn Soram pǒm cant milltir. Sef y dlyer[4] delû wrthi coron a thair talaith. Ac yn Llûndain gwisgo y goron. Ac ym Penrhyn Rhianedd yn y Gogledd ǒn o'r taleithiaǒ i, ac yn Aberffraw yr ail, ac yn Cherniw y drydedd. A thri archescoptuy sydd iddi, ǒn ym Mynyw, yr ail yn Ghent, y drydedd yn Ghaer Efrawg.

A17.3. Tair prif riain Arthûr:
Gwenhwyǒar ǒerch Gwryd Gwent, a Gwenhwyǒar verch ǒthûr ap Graidiwal, a Gwenhwyǒar ǒerch Gogǒrown Gaws.

A17.4. Tair cariadwraic oeddyn yrthei hynn:
Indec ǒerch Aǒarwy hir, Garwen ǒerch Heinin hen, a Gwŷl ǒerch Endawd.

A17.5. Tair gwrǒorwyn ynys Brytain:[5]
Saithwedd, Rore ǒerch Ysper, a Medrai badell ǒawr.

A17.6. Tair gosgordd addwyn ynys Brytain:
Gosgordd Mynyddawc yn Hetraeth, a gosgordd o Dûwon lew yr o drwydd arǒer, a gosgordd o Lwyn nerthlǒn yn Rhos.

A17.7. Tri traws ynys Brytain:
Gwibai drahawc, Sawl benûchel, a Rhûfawn befr drahawc.

A17.8. Tri lleddf ǒnbenn ynys Brytain:

[1] See Appendix C17, 500-02.
[2] Marginalia correction: "*Aerva*"
[3] Marginalia: "*Brytain ei henwae.*"
[4] Scribal error for "*dyler*"?
[5] Here and elsewhere throughout I have expanded the abbreviation "*y. B.*"

Manawdawn ɔap Llyr, a Llowarch, a Gwrdon Gwrawn ɔap Peredûr Elidûr. Sef i achos y gelwnt hwynt ɔelly: achos na cheisynt wy gyfoeth. Ac wy allai neb y Lyddias yddynt.

A17.9. Tri galofydd ynys Brytain:
Greidiol galofydd, Trystan ap Tallwch, a Gwgon gwron.

A17.10. Tri escennydd aerae ynys Brytain:
Morɔan [*ap*][6] Tegit, Gwgon gleddyfrûdd, a Gilbern cadgyffro.

Cilmin hwfa. Bran. Gwegryd. Cell. Collwyn. Maeloc. Nevyd. Edwin. Braint. Hedd a'i peddyd. Marchweithian. Menchûdd. Budd byd.

Daû edn:
Owain gam ygyd, a Gwengwy, gwyr ɔngorph gedernyd. Vrhain y bɔ o'i rhann byd gwindai pymtheg llwych Gwyndyd .i. Gwynedd.

Pɔm brehin llwych Cymbry:
1. Gruff*udd* ap Cynan ap Iaco yn Gwynedd, 2. Bleddyn ap Cynɔyn yn Powys, 3. Elystan glodrydd rhwng Gwy a Ffraɔren, 4. Iestri ym Morganwc, 5. Rhes ap Tewdwr mawr yn Deheubarth.

Pymtheg llwych Gwynedd:
Llowarch ap Bran yn C[*h*]ymwt Menai, Hwfa ap Cynddelaw [*yn biwon*], Gweyrydd ap Rhys goch [*yng Hymywd Talebolon*],[7] Marchûdd yn vwch-Dûlas, Marchweithion yn is-Dûlas, Hedd ap Molwynoc yn is-Alet, Braint hir yn ɔwch-Alet [*swydd Ddinbych*],[8] Edwin ap Gronwy, Edn Owain Dendew [*Tegamigl*], Ruyd vlaidd ym Penllyn, Owain ap Bradwen ym Meirionydd, Gollwyn ap Tanguo ab Gellon yn Ardûdwy, Cilmin troetû yn Arvon, Maeloc crwm yn Arllechwedd iseph, Nevyd hardd yn Nantonwy, Eûnûdd yn Nyffryn Clwyd, Merwydd ap Rhys goch yn Lleyn. [*Gruffudd Rhys, Bleddych vorth orgraphû (Iestm) Elustan drwy Gymrû. Trwy barch am benaûr, tri bû tair talaith paud da'r teulû.*][9]

A17.11. Tri hûalogion deûlû ynys Brytain.
Teulû Cadwallon llawhir a ddodasant hûaleû y meirch ar bob ɔn o naddvnt yn ymladd Sarrigi Wyddel yn Gherric y Gwyddyl ym Mon. Yr ail, deulû Riwallon ap Vrien yn ymladd ar Saeson. A theûlû Belan o Leyn yn ymladd Edwin.

A17.12. Tri gwrdd ɔeichiad ynys Brytain.
Pryderi ɔap Pwyll Anwfn a gadwodd moch Pendaran Dyûet, sef ɔoch oeddynt seithllwdn a ddûg Pwyll penn Annwfn ag ei rhoddes i Benn deran Dyɔet, sef lle redwis yn Glyn Cywch yn Emlyn. Sef achos y gelwid hwnw yn wrdd ɔeichiad wrth na wnaed na thwyll na thrais arnaw.

[6] Corrected from "ail," which has been deleted.
[7] A later hand (possibly/probably still that of Hywel ap Syr Mathew) has collected this and the previous name in a bracket and added the placenames outside of that bracket.
[8] The same later hand has collected these four names in a bracket and added "*swydd Ddinbych*" outside of the bracket. It thus refers to all four.
[9] These names are in Hywel's hand but have been added to the left-hand margin of the page and written sideways.

A’r ail oedd Trystan ap Tallwch wrth ɔoch March ap Meirchiawn tra aeth y uechiaid y erchi y Esyllt ddyfod y gynnal oed ac ef. Ac Arthûr a March ap Meirchiawn a Chai a Bedwyr, a ɔûant bedwar yn ceisio’r march ac ny chowsant ɔn llwdn nag o drais nag o dwyll.

A’r trydydd, Coll ɔap Collɔrewy wrth ɔoch Dallwr dallben yn Glyn Dallwyr yn Gherniw. Ac ɔn o’r moch oedd dorroc, Henwhen oedd i henw. Ac darogan oedd byddai waeth ynys Brytain o’r torllwych hynny. Ac yna y cyhwnnod Arthûr llû ynys Brytain. Ac yr aeth y geissiaw y difa, yna yr aeth hitheu yn Gordydw, ac ym Henn Brynn Awstin yn Gherniw yr aeth i’r mor, ac gwyrddɔeichiad yn y hol. Ac ym Maes Gwenith yn Ghwent y dydwes ar wenithen a gwenynen. Ac o’r hyny gyd hyddyw y mae goraû gwenith a ghewyn yn y maes ghenith yn Gwent. Ac yn Llufion ym Penvro y dydwes ar heidden a gweinthen. Ac am hyny y diharebir haidd Llofion. Ac ym pen riw Gyfoethwch Arɔon y dydwes ar genaû cath a chyw eryr a genaû blaidd. Ac y rhoed y blaidd y Vergad ar eryr i Vraid tywysawc o’r gogledd. Ac wyw y Ros a ɔûant o’r caffael. Ac yn Llanɔair yn Arɔon y dann y maen dɔy y dydwes ar genaû cath. Ac iar y maim [*sic*, for “y ar y maen”] y bwriod y gwrdd veichiad y hi y’r mor. A meibion Paluc ym Mon a’i magasant er drwc ɔddynt, a honno ɔû’r gath Balic. Ac ɔn o dair prif ormes Mon a ɔagwyd ynddi. Yr ail oedd Daronwy, a’r drydedd oedd Edwin ɔrenhin Lloegr.

A17.13. Tri anwyl llys Arthur a thri chadvarchawc, ac ny mynuasant benn taûlu arnynt erioed, ac y cant Arthur englyn ɔddynt, nid amgen: Sef[10] yw ɔyn chychar ɔanhawc: Maydd, a Llûdd llûiugawc, a Cholofn cambru cradawc.

A17.14. Tri aûr grydd ynys Brytain.
Caswallawn ɔap Beli pann aeth i Rûûain a geisiaw Fflwr, a Maniwydan ɔap Llyr pan ɔû û yr hyd ar Ddyɔet, a Lles llaw gyffes pann ɔu ef gyda Gwdion yn ceisio henw ac arɔaû y gann Rianon y ɔam.

A17.15. Tri brenin a ɔûant o ɔeibion ellion.
Gwriad ɔab Gwrian yn y Gogledd, a Chadavael ɔap Cywɔedw yn Gwynedd, a Hyfaidd ɔap Blaiddic yn Deheûbarth.

A17.16. Tri bydr Haɔren
Cadwallawn pan aeth i waith Digoll a llû Cymbrû gantaw, ac Edwin o’r parth arall a llû Lloegr gantaw ac yna y bydrawdd Haɔren o’û blaen gyd i haber. A’r ail cyfarɔod Golydan y gan Einion ɔabaidd brenhin Cerniw. A’r drydedd Calain Iddoin ap Ner y gan Vaelgwin.

[*Trioedd Taliesin*]

A17.17. Tri gwestei gwywɔededic ynys Brytain.
Dewi, Patern, a Teuilo.

[10] A stylized way of writing “ARTHVR” can be found in the left-hand margin next to this “englyn.”

A18.[11] Cardiff Central Library MS 2.26 (pp. 59, 72-75)
(c. turn of the s.xvi/xvii, in the hand of Sion Dafydd Rhys)

A18.0.[12] Tri gvelygordh saint ynys Brydein, o rann Cymry[13]:
Plant Brychan Brecheiniavc, a phlant Cɔnnedha vledic, a phlant Cav o Brydein.

A18.0. Tair gvragedd a bhɔ i Bhrychan yn briod:
Eɔrbrost, ac Ambrost, a Pharvyshi.

A18.1. Teir gormes a dhoeth yr ynys hvnn, a'r nyd aeth yr vn drachebhyn:
Vn onadhɔnt, cuvdavt o Goraneit a dhoethant yman yn oes Lhvdh mab Beli, ac nyd aeth yn ɔn onadhɔnt drachebhyn. Eil gormes, y Gvydhyl Phichti, ac nyd aeth yn vn onadhvnt drachebhyn. Trydedh gormes, y Saesson, a Hors a Hengys yn penadɔryeit arnadhɔnt.

A18.2. Tri chudh a thri datgɕdh y*nys* P*rydein*:
Pen Bendigeitran mab Lhyr, a gladhvyt yn y gvynbhryn yn Lhundein, a hyt tra bhen y pen yn yr ansavdh ydh oedh yno ny dheɔaɔ ormes byth y'r ynys hon. Eil, escyrn Gverthebhyr [bhe]ndigeit[14] a gladvyd ym prybh bryth yr ynys honn. Trydydh, y dreigev a gɔdhyvyt lhydh mab Beli yn Dinas Emrys yn Eryry. Saith meib yr vythnos vyth pribhvyt pechavt vyth nyn i dyn.

A18.3. Tri hɔalavc y*nys* P*rydein*:
Cadvaladyr bhendigeit, a Rhɔn mab Maelgvn, a Rhivallav[n] valht banadlen.

A18.4. Tri chalbharchavc y*nys* P*rydein*:
Caradavc bhreichbhras, a Menaedh o Arlhechvedh, a Lhyr lhvydavc.

A18.5. Tri gallonydh y*nys* P*rydein*:
Gveldavc galhonydh m*ab* Catran,[15] a Gvavr gvrhytbhavr, a Drystan m*ab* Talhvch.

A18.6. Tri aerbhedavc y*nys* P*rydein*:
Selybh m*ab* Cynan garvyn, ac ɕryen m*ab* Cynbharch, ac Abhron[16] m*ab* Talyessin.

A18.7. Tri rudhbhavc y*nys* P*rydein*:
Arthur, a Rhɔn m*ab* Beli, a Morgant mvynbhavr.

A18.8. Tri bhaleibhavc cat y*nys* P*rydein*:

[11] See Appendix C18, pp. 502-04.
[12] This triad appears on p. 59 of this manuscript, away from the other TYP material, amidst genealogical material. I therefore do not consider it part of this manuscript's TYP text "proper." See [internal reference needed] and Appendix B, [pages].
[13] Note that Bromwich reads this phrase as "*o vam Cymreig*" ("from Welsh mothers") (Bromwich, *TYP*, 211). My reading could be rendered "from parts of the Welsh."
[14] Damage to the manuscript.
[15] Rhys appears to have had a few false starts with this name. He has crossed out "*Culbhael*" and "*Cuvael*" before landing on "Catran".
[16] Corrected from *Abravc*, in Rhys's hand.

Drystan m*ab* Talhvch, a Hveil m*ab* Caw, a Chei m*ab* Cynyr ceinbharbhavc. Ac ɔn oedh taleithavc arnadhɔnt vynteɔ: Bedvwyr m*ab* Bedravt oedh hvnnv.

A18.9. Tri glew y*nys* P*rydein*, tri meib Haearnvedh bhraɔavc:
Grɔdhneu, a Henpen, ac Ednavc.

A18.10. Tri thrahas y*nys* P*rydein*:
Savyl penɔchel, a Phascen m*ab* ɔrien, a Rhɔn m*ab* Einiavn.

A18.11. Tri yscymydh aereɔ y*nys* P*rydein*:
Gilbert m*ab* Catgyphro, a Morbhran eil Tegit, a Gvgavn gledhybhrɔdh.

A18.12. Tri gvrbhechat y*nys* P*rydein*.[17]

A18.13. Tri chybhor a aeth o'r ynys hvnn, ac ny dhoeth yr ɔn onadhɔnt drachebhyn:
ɔn, a aeth gan Elen Luydhavc a Chynan ei bravd. Yr eil, a aeth gan Irp Luydhavc yn oes Cadyal m*ab* Ernin, a dhoeth yman i erchi cymorth, ac nyd archei o bob priphgaer namyn Deɔ cymeint, ac a dhelei ganthaɔ idhi ac ny dhoeth ganthaɔ y'r gaer gyntabh, namyn ebh a'e vas, ac ardristrɔ bhɔ rhodhi idhav hynny. A hvnnv lhvyrabh lhɔ ydh a aeth yr ynys honn. Ac ny dhoeth byth neb onadhɔnt drachebyn. Sebh lhe y trivys gvyr hynny: yn lhvy ynys yn emyl or Groec, [nyd][18] amgen Glas ac Auena.

Trydydh cybhor a aeth gan Gasvallavn mab Beli a Gvenvynvyn a' Gvanar [*meibion*] Lliavs m*ab* Nvybhre, ac Arianrot bherch Beli eɔ mam. Ac o Archaevlech ydh hanfoedhynt y gvyr hynny. Ac ydh aethant y gyd a' Chasvallav eɔ hevythyr drvy bhor yn ol y Cessaryit. Sebh lhe y mae y gvyr y Ghavsgvm. A' sebh eirybh a aeth y pop ɔavr lhuoedh hynny ɔn bhil ar hɔgeint. A' rhei hynny oedh y tri arianlhɔ. Sebh chavs y gelvit bhelly, vrth ɔhynet eɔr ac aryant y'r ynys gantɔnt, ac eɔ hethol vynteɔ o oreɔ i oreɔ.

A18.14. Tri anbhat bhvyalhavc y*nys* P*rydein*:
Bvyelhavc Eidyn ym pen Aneirin, a'r bhvyalhavc ym pen Golydan bhardh, a'r bhvyelhavc ym pen Iago bhab Beli.

A18.15. Teir anbhad gybhlabhan y*nys* P*rydein*:
Eidyn m*ab* Einygan a ladhavdh Aneirin gvachrydh mechteyrn bheirdh, a Llavgat grvm bhargavt Eidhin a ladhavdh Abhaon mab Taliessin, a Llobhom lhavdino a ladhavdh Uryen m*ab* Cynbharch.

A18.16. Tri rhodhedic bharch y*nys* P*rydein*:
Meinlas march Casvallavn m*ab* Beli, a' Melyngan manngre march Llhev llavgyphes, a' Lhɔagor march Varadavc bhreichbhras.

A18.17. Trywyr a' wnaeth teir matgybhlabhan y*nys* P*rydein*:
Galh m*ab* Disgybhdavt a ladhaɔdh deɔ ederyn Gvendoleu a'r ieɔ eɔr a oedh arnadhɔnt, a' dvy gelein o'r Cymry a yssynt ar eɔ cinyav, a' dvy ac eɔ cvynnov. Ac Ystabhnelh m*ab* Disgybhdavt

[17] This title is preceded by writing which Rhys crossed out: "Tri aerbhedavc y*nys* P*rydein*: Selybh Cvn[*yan*]…"
[18] Damage to the manuscript.

a ladhavadh Edelflet bhrenhin Lhoegyr, a Diphydelh m*ab* Disgybhdavt a ladhavdh Gvrgi garvlvyt. A'r Gvrgi hvnv a ladhei gelein beunydy o'r Cymry, a dvy pob Sadvrn, rhac lhadh Duv Sul ɷr ɷn.

A18.18. Teir gosgordh adhvyn y*nys* P*rydein*:
Gosgordh Mynydavc Eidhin, a' gosgordh Melyn m*ab* Cynbhelyn, a' gosgordh Dryvon m*ab* Nɷdh.

A18.19. Tri anniveir teɷlɷ y*nys* P*rydein*:
Teɷlɷ Gorɷnvy pebhyr [o B]enlhyn[19] a omedhassant eɷ harglvydh o erbynyeit y gvenynyayv y gan Lev lhavgyphes yn Lhech Oronvy ym blaen Cynbhlael, a' teɷlɷ Gvrgi a' Pheredur adhaɷsant eɷ harglvydh, y ghraer Greɷ, ac oes ymladh ɷdhunt trannoeth ac Edha Glinbhavr, ac yna y lhas elh deɷ, a theɷlɷ Alan Bhyrgam a ymchoelassant y eɷ harglvydh y ar y phordh hyd nos, a'e ellvgh ynteɷ a'e veissɷn i Gamlan, ac yna y lhas.

A18.20. Tri diveir teɷlɷ y*nys* P*rydein*:
Teɷlu Catvalhavn m*ab* Catbhan, a bhuant saith mlynedh yn Iverdhon y gyht ac ebh, ac yn hynny o yspeit ny obhynnasaant dim idhav, rhac gorbhod arnɷnt ei adav. A'r eil, deɷlu Gabhran m*ab* Aedhan a aethant yn y mor dros eɷ harglvydh. A'r trydydh, teɷlu Gvendholeɷ m*ab* Ceidav yn Ardheryd, a gynhalyssant y bhrvydyr pythevnos a' mis gvedhy lhadh eɷ harglvydh. Sebh oedh rhibhedi teɷluoedh pob ɷn or gvyr hynny: ɷn can y vr ar hɷgaint.

A18.21. Teir pribh hɷt y*nys* P*rydein*:
Hɷt Math m*ab* Mathonwy, a hut ɷthyr pendragon, a' hɷt Gvydhelyn gorr.

A18.22. Tri phribh lhetbhrithgavt y*nys* P*rydein*:
Colh m*ab* Colhbhrevy, Menyv m*ab* Teirgvaedh, a' Drych eil Crvdar.

A18.23. Tri gvrthbheichat y*nys* P*rydein*:
Drystan m*ab* Talhvch a getvis moch [March m*ab*][20] Meirchavn hyt tra aeth y meirchat i erchi e Essavt dhbhod yv gynadyl, ac Arthur yn ceissyav ɷn hvch a'e i tvylh a'i i trais onadhɷnt, ac nys rabhas. A' Phryderi m*ab* Pvylh penanvbhlyn a gevis moch pant dybhet y glyn Cubch yn Emlyn.

A Cholh m*ab* Colh[*bhre*]vy a getvys Henven hvch Dalveir Dalhpen a' hi a aeth i gordhodv hyt ym Pen ryn Avstin y Ghernyv, ac yno rei aeth yn y mor. Ac yn Aber Darrogi y Ghvent-is-coet i doeth i'r tir. A' Cholh m*ab* Colhbhrevy a'e yn y grych, py phordh bynnac y cerdhei nac ar bhor nac ar dir, ac ym maes gvenith y Ghvent y dotves ar wenithen a' gvenenen. Ac er hynny y mae goreɷ le i venith y lhe hvnnv, ac odhyna ydh aeth hyd yn Llonyon ym Penbhro, ac yno dotves ar heidhen a' gvenenen. Ac er hynny y mae goreɷ lhe i heidh Lhonnyon, ar odhyna y cerdvis hyt yn rhiv Cybherthvch un Eryri. Ac yno y dotves ar geneɷ bleidh, ac ederyn eryri. A'r a rhodhes Colh m*ab* Colhbhrewvy i Bhrennach vydhel [o'r][21] Gogledh, a'r bleidh a rodhes i Bheɷvaedh o Arlhechvedh. A'r rhe hynny bhɷ bhleidh Meɷvaedh, ac eryr Brennach. Ac odhyna ydh hyt y maen dy yn Llanbhair yn Arbhon. Ac yno y dotves ar geneɷ

[19] Damage to the manuscript.
[20] Damage to the manuscript.
[21] Damage to the manuscript.

cath, ar cene6 hvnnv a bhyryvys Colh m*ab* Colhbhrevy yn y mor a gvnnv gvedi lyma bh6 gath Baluc.

A19a.[1] Cardiff Central Library MS 2.83 (pp. 1-6)
(c. turn of s.xvi/s.xvii, in the hand of X1.)

A19.1. [Triad 37][2]
[…] gyddwd es- […] Dat6ddodd esgrn Gwerthef6r […] i wraig. Sef […] o ynys […] yr hon […] o dinas Emrys.

A19.2. [Tair] r6d aerfa ynys Brydain:
Kynt[af] […] i Gelliwig yn [Herniw] nyt […]

A19.3. [Triad 59]
[…] Rufain […] byth y Meinlas […] Hors [a] Hingast a Ronwen […] a'r trydydd fo caus o Arther […] an Llew i ymlad a Medrod yn y gad Gamlan.

A19.4. Tri halogion teolo ynys Brydain
Teolo Kaswallan lawhir a rodsant draed i meirch bob ddao tra foont oo a'i Gwyddol; yn Graint y Gwyddol y Mon Ail, te6l6 Riallaoon ap orien yn ymladd a'r Saeson, a 5theolo Byhelyn o Leyn yn ymladd ag Edwin ym ryn Beuao yn Rros.

A19.5. Tri gorochel garcharor ynys Brydain a fo yn gharchar:
on fo Amasioedd, yr ail a fo Mabon, a'r dredydd fo Gayr ap Goreodd. Ag on arall oedd orochelach no'r tri chyny hwnw oedd ar a fo dair nos yn gharchar hydd dan y ar vn y gwas a'i gyllyngodd ef o'r tri charchar hyny y gwas gor Kystenin i gefnderyw.

A19.6. Tri hoalalog ynys Brydain:
Y kynt6 fo Gydwaladr fendigaid, a Rron ap Maegon Gwynedd, a Rriallawn walld fynhadlen.

A19.7. Tri diwair deolo ynys Brydain:
Kyndaf deolo Kyswalan lawir pan foont hoalonion, a theolo Gafron ar oeddann pan foont yn y disankoll, a theolo Gwynddolao ap Keidio y aerddryd a ddaliasant yr ymladd [pythewnos a mis][3] wedi llad i harglwydd […] -di y gwyr hyny 6n kant ar hugain […] -log.

A19.8. Tri aniwair deolo ynys Brydain fo:
Deolo Gronwy pefr o Benllyn a omeddwys i arglwydd i erbyniaid y Gwenwynllew gan y Llew llaw gyffes; a theolo Gwrgi a Ffredyr, a doiasant i harglwydd yn ghaer Grenn a chyfuod i ymladd dranoeth iddont ag a diliasont i'r mor, ag yno lladdwyd illda6; a theolo Alan Fergan, am chwelodd yn lladrad ar faenrred y Gamlan o hyd nos a chywysto i rad o'i wyr ef ag yno i llaf ef. Sef oedd rifedi y tri llo hyny: on kant ar hugain.

A19.9. Tri hael a fo yn ynys Brydain, nid amgen:

[1] See Appendix C19, pp. 504-06. I am grateful to Morgan Moore for providing me with her photographs of this manuscript.
[2] It will be apparent that the first two triads given here are extremely fragmentary. The first few pages of this manuscript exist only as fragments and, unfortunately, these pages contain text that is identifiable as TYP. I have transcribed what is legible to the best of my ability but most of the text is irretrievably lost.
[3] The top right corner of this page has been damaged and is extremely faded, making portions of this triad illegible.

Nȯdd hael ap Safȯlld, a Mordaf hael ap Serfan, a Rrydderch hael ap Tȯdwal tutglȯt. Ag Arthur i hȯn oedd haelach no'r tri eraill.

A19.10. Tri diofnog ynys Brydain fȯ:
Walchmai ap Gwyr, a'r ail fȯ Llachen ap Arthȯr, a'r trydydd fȯ Brydyr ap Efrog iarll.

A19.11. Tri ffost kad ynys Brydain:
Dynod fawr ap Pabo post Prydain, a'r ail fȯ Wallawg ap Llennwg, a'r trydydd fȯ Gynfelyn drwstwl.

A19.12. Tri tharw gad gaddȯg ynys Brydain fawr:
Gadgaddȯg ap Kynwyd Kynwydyon, ail oedd Wenddolaȯ ap Keidio, a'r trydydd fȯ Riain ap Kynfarch.

A19.13. Tri tharw ȯnben ynys Brydain fȯ:
Lawarch hen ap Elidir lydanwyn, a'r ail fȯ Fynawdan ap Llȯr llediaith, a'r trydydd fȯ Gwagawn gwron ap Prydyr ap Elifer goscordfawr.

A19.14. Tri gwrthrȯddfardd ynys Brydain fȯ:
Dristfardd yr hwn oedd fardd ȯrien Rreged ap Kynfarch, a Ddigefefw bardd Owain ap ȯrien, ag Auanfardd bardd Kyswallan ap Kadfan.

A19.15. Tri anfad balfod ynys Brydain:
Kyntaf fȯ balfod Mythonwch ar Fronwen ferch Llȯr, a'r ail balfod fȯ balfod Arthȯr a Fedrod yn y gad Gamlan, a'r drydydd balfod fȯ balfod Wenhwyfar ar Wenhwyfar arall.

A19.16. Tri aur dorllwyth ynys Brydain fȯ:
ȯrienn ag Eiddel a fȯont yn ȯn dorllwyth a fȯont yn groth Nefynn ferch Brychan Brycheiniog i mam plant Gynfarch hen; yr ail dorllwyth a fȯ Owain ap ȯrien a Morwydd i mam; y trydydd aȯr dorllwyth a fȯ Gwrgi fab Prydyr a a cheinddoeth ben ascell plant Prydyr ap Elifer gysgorddfawr a fȯont yn ghroth Aȯrddel merch Gynfarch i mam.

Ag felly.

A19b. Cardiff Central Library MS 2.83 (p. 101)

A19.17. Trowyr gwarth ynys Brydain:
Vn fȯ Ararwy ap Llȯdd ap Beli mawr, ail Wlkasar ymeradr Rȯfain i'r ynys hon ag a beris tair mil o bȯnodd iddo bob blywddȯn o dyhyongedau i gyfrwysoedd a Chyswallon i ewyrth.

Yr ail, Gwrtheyrn gwrthenaȯ a roddes tir i'r Saeson yn yr ynys hon ag am ddyweddiodd a hwynt yn gynta ag a laddodd Gonstans o dwyll. Ag ȯthȯr ag Emrys i frodȯr a'i llasgason.

Y trydȯdd fȯ Fedrod ap Llew ap Kynfarch, a ffan edewis Arthȯr lyfodreth yr ynys gantho pan atth yntaȯ i ymladd a Lles ym ȯrodr Rrȯfain am afon tyhyrnged o'r ynys hon ag a'i lladdodd ef ag a fymodd dy dyrnged o Rȯfain / ag yna pen dyȯiodd Medrod i lleddid a'r thyr i gwistodd ef y goron ag a ddyfynodd ato ys on a'r Ffichdiaid a'r Yscotied i lester Arthȯr i'r ynys hon ago ni

thykiodd, ag yna i bó Gamlan. Ag y llas Medrod ag i brathwyd Arthur angniol ag yn ynys Afallach i bó farw ag y kladdwyd. [*X terfyn.*]

APPENDIX B: CONCORDANCE

All versions of each triad have been gathered together, in order for them to be read in comparison with each other. They are organized here following the order (and numbering) found in Rachel Bromwich's edition. These are duplicates of the material found in Appendix A (and thus the editorial conventions used there have been preserved here), but it occurs to me that for some purposes this view of the corpus is more convenient and useful than the other.

TYP 1. TRI LLETHIGLYWTH / THREE THRONE-BURDENS

PEN. 16 (A2.1) […][1] Kernyw, a Bytwini escob yn ben esgyb, a Charadawc ɔreichuras yn ben henyf. Arthur yn ben deyrned ym penn Ryonyd yn y Gogled, a Gerthmul wledic yn benn hyneif, a Chyndeyrn garthwyr yn benn esgyb.

PEN. 45 (A3.1) Teir lleithclɔyth ynys Prytein:
Arthur yn pen teyrned ym Mynwɔ, a Dewi yn pen esgyb, a Maelgɔn Gɔyned yn pen hyneif. Arthur yn pen teyrned yg Kelli Wig yg Kernyɔ, a Bitwini escob yn pen esgyb, a Charataɔc ureichuras yn pen hyneif. Arthur yn pen teyrned ym pen Rionyd yn y Gogled, a Chynteryn garthwys yn pen esgyb, a Garthmul wledic yn pen hyneif.

PEN. 50 (A7.40)[2] Teir lleithlwyth ynys Prydain:
Arthur yn pen teyrned […] escyb, a Maelgɔn Gwynedd yn pen hyneif. Arthur […] Kelli Wig yg Kerniɔ, a Bytwini yn pen […]

PEN. 77 (A14.1) Tair lleithic[*llo*]yth ynys Brydain:
Arthûr yn benteyrn ~~ym Mynyw~~ [*yng Haer Lleon ar Wysg*] a Dewi yn benn escyb, a Maelgwn yn ben hyneif. Arthûr[3] yn benn deyrn yn y Kelli Wic [*yng Herniw*], a Charadawc vreicvras yn ben hynaif, a Bitwini escob yn benn escyb. Arthûr yn ben deyrn ym Penrhyn Rhianydd yn y Gogledd, a Gythnyw[4] wledic yn ben hynaif, a Chyndeyrn garthwys.

TYP 2. TRI HAEL / THREE GENEROUS MEN

PEN. 16 (A2.2) Tri hael e*nys* P*rydein*:
Nud hael m*ab* Senyllt, Mordaf hael m*ab* Seruan, Ryderch hael m*ab* Tudwal tutclyt.

PEN. 45 (A3.2) Tri hael ynys Prydein:
Nud hael m*ab* Senyllt, Mordaf hael m*ab* Seruan, Ryderch hael m*ab* Tutwal tutclyt.

WHITE BOOK (A4.21) Tri hael ynys Brydein:
Ryderch hael ap Tudwal[5] tutklyt, a Nud hael ap Seinillt, a Mordaf hael ap Serwan.

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[1] Beginning wanting.
[2] This portion of Peniarth 50 is badly stained by gall and illegible in many places. See the discussion in Appendix C, p. 482.
[3] Marginal note: "*Cellisio.*"
[4] Correcting hand: "Gythmul"
[5] Corrected from "*Tutɔl*" with *puncti delens* in the hand of the original scribe.

RED BOOK (A5.33) Tri hael ynys Brydein:
a Ryderch hael uab Tutwal tutklyd, a Nud hael uab Seinillt, a Mordaf hael uab Serwan.

PEN. 50 (A7.15) Tri hael ynys Prydein:
Nudd hael mab Seinyllt, a Mordaf mab Seruan, a Rydderch hael mab Tudwal tutglyt. Ac Arthur ehun oedd haelach no'r tri.

PEN. 51 (A9.3) Tri hael ynys Prydain:
Rydderch [*cad*] ap Tudwal tutclud, a Nudd ap Sserwann,[6] [*a Mor hael ap Serrvann*].

CWRT. 3 (A12.27) Tri hael ynys Brydain:
Rhydderch hael vap Tûdwal tytclyd, a Nudd hael vap Sefyllt, a Mordaf hael vap Serwan.

DIAR. CAMB. (A13.1) Tri hael ynys Brytain.
Nudd hael Senylt,[7] Mordaf hael ap Sernan,[8] Rydderch hael ap Tudwal tudclyd.

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.1): Tri hael ynys oedd y rrai hyn:
Nudd hael ap Sernyllt, Morda hael ap Garvan, Rydherch hael ap Tudwal tudklud.

NLW 6434 (A16.1) Tri hael ynys Brydain:
Nudd hael ap Senylt, Mordaf hael ap Sernan, Rhydderch hael ap Tɵdwal tɵdclyd.

CARD. 2.83 (A19.8) Tri hael a fɵ yn ynys Brydain, nid amgen:
Nɵdd hael ap Safɵlld, a Mordaf hael ap Serfan, a Rrydderch hael ap Tɵdwal Tutglɵt. Ag Arthur i hɵn oedd haelach no'r tri eraill.

TYP 3. TRI GWYNDERYN / THREE FORTUNATE PRINCES

PEN. 16 (A2.3) Tri gwynderyn e*nys* P*rydein*:
Ewein m*ab* ɵryen, Run m*ab* Elgwn,[9] Ruuaɵn beuyr m*ab* Dewrarth wledic.

PEN. 45 (A3.3) Tri gwynteyrn y*nys* P*rydein*:
Run m*ab* Maelgɵn, Ywein m*ab* Uryen, and Ruaɵn peuyr m*ab* Deorath wledic.

RED BOOK (A5.8) Tri gwyn deyrn y*nys* P*rydein*:
Owein uab Uryen, a Run uab Maelgɵn, a Ruaɵn pebyr uab Dorarth wledic.

PEN. 47 (A6.2) Tri gwyn deyrn ynys Prydein:
Owain mab Vryen a Ruavn bybyr a Run mab Maelgvn.

[6] Vaughan corrects: "*Nudd hael ap Sseinillt*"
[7] Correcting hand: "*Senyllt*"
[8] Correcting hand: "*Seruan*"
[9] Presumably a mistake for "Maelgwn."

PEN. 50 (A7.16) Tri gwyndeyrn ynys Prydein:
Owein mab Vrien, a Run mab Maelgɔn Gɔynedd, a Pheuyr mab Dorarch wledic.

PEN. 51 (A9.26) Tri gwynderyn[10] ynys Prydain:
Owein ap ɔrien, a Rɔn ap Maegwn, a Pybyr ap Dora[*v*]th[11] wledic.

CWRT. 3 (A12.2) Tri gwyr deyrn yn Brytain:
Owen vap Vrien, a Rûn vap Maelgwn, a Ryavn bebr vap Dorath wledic.

CWRT. 3 (A12.56) Tri gwydairin ynys Brydain:
Ywain ap Vrien, a Rûn vap Maelgwn, a Ryo Befr vap Darath wledic.

DIAR. CAMB. (A13.2) Tri gvvyndëyrn ynys Brytain.
Ywain ap Urien, Run ap Maelgwn, Ruvawn bebyr[12] ap Dewrarth wledic.

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.2) Tri daleinawg ynys Brydain:
Owan ap Vrien, Rvn ap Maelgwyn, Rvawn befr ap Dewarth wledig.

NLW 6434 (A16.2) Tri gwyndeyrn ynys Brydain:
Owain ap ɔrien, Rɔn ap Malgwn, Rɔɔawn beɔyr ap Dowrarth wledig.

TYP 4. TRI DEIFNYAWC / THREE WELL-ENDOWED MEN

PEN. 16 (A2.4) Tri deifnyawc e*nys* P*rydein*:
Gwalchmei m*ab* Gwyar, a Llacheu m*ab* Arthur, a Riwallawn wallt banhadlen.

PEN. 45 (A3.4) Tri deifiaɔc y*nys* P*rydein*:
Gwalchmei m*ab* Gɔyar, a Llacheu m*ab* Arth*ur*, a Riwallaɔn wallt banadlen.

WHITE BOOK (A4.23) Tri deifnaɔc ynys Brydein:
Riwallaɔn wallt banhadlen, a Gwall ap Gɔynar, a Llacheu ap Arthur.

RED BOOK (A5.22) Tri deifnyaɔc ynys P*ry*dein:
Riwallaɔn wallt banhadlen, a Gɔall uab Gɔyar, a Llacheu uab Arthur.

PEN. 47 (A6.3) Tri deifnavc ynys Prydein:
Riallaɔn wallt banadlen a Gwalchmei mab Gwyar a Llocheu mab Arthyr.

PEN. 50 (A7.17) Tri deifuaɔc ynys Prydein:
Gɔalchmei mab Gɔyar, a Llacheu mab Arthur, a Pheredur mab Efraɔc.

PEN. 51 (A9.11) Tair deifn[*y*]awc ynys Prydain:

[10] Vaughan corrects: "*gwyndeyrn*"
[11] This "v" (not a ɔ) has been inserted later in the hand of Gwilym Tew.
[12] Correcting hand: "*Pebyr*"

Ri[*w*]wallon wallt banhadlen, a Gwal[*l*]chmei [*m.*] Gwydo, a Llocho[13] ap Aarthur.

CWRT. 3 (A12.16) Tri deifniawc ynys Brytain:
Rywallon wallt vanhadlen, a Gwalchmai ap Gwyar, a Llechau vap [Arthur].[14]

DIAR. CAMB. (A13.3) Tri deifiniavvc[15] ynys Brytain.[16]
Gwalchmai ap Gwyar, Llachen[17] ap Arthur, Riwallawn wallt banhadlen.

NLW 6434 (#3) Tri deifiniawc y*nys* B*rydain*:
Gwalchmai ap Gwyar, Llacheu ap Arthɵr, Riwallawn wallt banhadlen.

CARD. 2.83 (#9) Tri diofnog ynys Brydain fɵ:
Walchmai ap Gwyr, a'r ail fɵ Llachen ap Arthɵr, a'r trydydd fɵ Brydyr ap Efrog iarll.

TYP 5. TRI PHOST CAT / THREE PILLARS OF BATTLE

PEN. 16 (A2.5) Tri phost cat e*nys* Pr*ydein*:
Dunaɵt m*ab* Pabo post Prydein, a Gwallaɵc m*ab* Lleennaɵc, a Chynuelyn drwsgyl.

PEN. 45 (A3.5) Tri phost cat y*nys* P*rydein*:
Dunaɵt m*ab* Pabo post Prydein, a Gwallawc m*ab* Lleennaɵc [*a Cynfelyn*] drysgɵl.

WHITE BOOK (A4.20) Tri phost kat ynys Brydein:
Dunot ap Pabo, a Chynuelyn drɵsgyl, ac Vryen ap Kynuarch.

RED BOOK (A5.32) Tri post kat ynys P*ry*dein:
Dunaɵt uab Pabo, a Chynuelyn drɵsgyl, ac Uryen uab Kynuarch.

PEN. 47 (A6.4) Tri phost kat ynys Prydein:
Dunaɵt mab Vwrr, Pabo, ac Uryen Reget, a Chynɵelyn drɵsgyl.

PEN. 50 (A7.18) Tri phost kat ynys Prydein:
Dunaɵt vaɵr mab Pabo post Prydein, a Gwallaɵc mab Llennaɵc, a Chynvelyn drɵsgol.

PEN. 51 (A9.22) Tri phosst kad ynys Prydain:
Dvnod ap Pabo, a Chnveln drwssgl […][18]

CWRT. 3 (A12.26) Tri ff[*r*]est cad ynys Brytain:
Dnot vap Pabo, a Cynvelyn drwsgwl, ac Vrien ap Cynvarch.

[13] Vaughan corrects: "*Llacheu*"
[14] Damage to the manuscript.
[15] Correcting hand: "*Deifniawc*"
[16] The abbreviation "Y.B." has been expanded here and elsewhere throughout the text.
[17] Correcting hand: "*Llacheu*"
[18] Damage to the manuscript, some text illegible.

DIAR. CAMB. (A13.4) Tri phost cad ynys Brytain.
Dunod ’ap Pabo post Prydain, Gwallawc ap Lliennawc,[19] Kynuelyn drwscwl.[20]

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.3) Tri phost kad ynys Brydain:
Dvnod ap [*Pabo*] post Prydain, Gvallawg ap Llieniawg, Kynvalyn drwsgl.

NLW 6434 (A16.4) Tri phost cat y*nys* B*rydain*:
D6nod ap Pabo post Prydain, Gwallawc ap Lliennawc, Kynvelyn drwstwl.

CARD. 2.83 (A19.10) Tri ffost kad ynys Brydain:
Dynod fawr ap Pabo post Prydain, a’r ail f6 Wallawg ap Llennwg, a’r trydydd fo Gynfelyn drwstwl.

TYP 6. TRI THARW CADUG / THREE BULL-PROTECTORS

PEN. 16 (A2.6) Tri tharw catuc e*nys* P*rydein*:
Kynoaor catgaduc m*ab* Kynwyt Kynwydyon, a Gwendoleu m*ab* Keidao, ac oryen m*ab* Kynoarch.

PEN. 45 (A3.6) Tri tharw caduc y*nys* P*rydein*:
Kynuarch cat caduc m*ab* Kynnoyt Kynoytyon, a Gwendoleu m*ab* Keidyao, a Vryen m*ab* Kynuarch.

PEN. 47 (A6.5) Tri tharo katgaduc y*nys* P*rydein*:
Kynvavr katgaduc, a Gwallavc m*ab* Llaennavc, a Gwendoleu m*ab* Keidiaw.

PEN. 50 (A7.19) Tri tharo caduc ynys Prydein:
Cynoaor katgatuc mab Tunoydd Cynwydiaon, a Gwynddoleu mab Kynvarch Vrien mab Kynuarch Drws[…]

DIAR. CAMB. (A13.5) Tri tharvv kadne[21] ynys Brytain.
Kynvawr catgadne’[22] ap Kynwyd Kynwydion, Gwenddolau ’ap Keidiaw, Urien ap Kynvarch.

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.4) Tri tharw kaduc ynys Brydain:
Kynvwr kadhadduc ap Kynnwyd Kynnwydion, Gwenddolav ap Kaidiav, Vrien ap Kynvarog.

NLW 6434 (A16.5) Tri tharw radne y*nys* B*rydain*:
Kywvawr catgadne ap Kynnoyd kynwydion, Gwenddolav ap Keidiaw, orien ap Kynvarch.

CARD. 2.83 (A19.11) Tri tharw gad gaddog ynys Brydain fawr:

[19] Correcting hand: “*Lleennawc*”
[20] Correcting hand: “*Drwscyl*”
[21] Correcting hand: “*Cad*”
[22] Correcting hand: “*Cadcadwc*”

Gadgaddɔg ap Kynwyd Kynwydyon, ail oedd Wenddolaɔ ap Keidio, a'r trydydd fɔ Riain ap Kynfarch.

TYP 7. TRI THARW UNBEN / THREE BULL LORDS

PEN. 16 (A2.7) Tri tharw ɔnben e*nys* P*rydein*:
Elinwy m*ab* Cadegyr, a Chynhaual m*ab* Argat, ac Auaon m*ab* Talyessin. Tri meib beird oedynt ell tri.

PEN. 45 (A3.7) Tri tharɔ unben y*nys* P*rydein*:
Elinɔy m*ab* Cadeir a Chynhaual m*ab* Argat, ac Auaon m*ab* Taliesin. Tri meib beird oedynt ell tri.

WHITE BOOK (A4.16) Tri thraɔ vnben ynys Brydein:
Adaon ap Talyessin, a Chynhaual ap Argat, ac Elinɔy ap Kadegyr.

RED BOOK (A5.29) Tri tharɔ unben ynys Prydein:
Adaon uab Talyessin, a Chynhafal uab Argat, ac Elinɔy uab Kadegyr.

PEN. 47 (A6.18) Tri thaer vnben ynys Prydein:
Elinɔy mab Cadegyr, a Chynhaual mab Argat, ac Auaɔn mab Taliessin. Tri meib beird oedynt.

PEN. 51 (A9.18) Tri tharw ɔnbenn ynys Prydain:
Addaon ap Taliessin, a Chynnhaɔal ap Argad, [*ac Elinwy vab Caedgyr*].

CWRT. 3 (A12.22) Tri tharw vnben ynys Brytain:
Addaon vap Taliessin, a Chynhafal vap Argad, ac Elinwy vap Cadegyr.

DIAR. CAMB. (A13.6) Tri tharvv vnen ynys Brytain.
Elinwy 'ap Cadegyr,[23] Cynhaual 'ap Argad, Auaon 'ap Taliesin. [*Tri meib beirdd oeddynt.*]

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.5) Tri tharw vnben ynys Brydain:
Elinwy ap Kadegyr, Kynhaval ap Argar, Avaon ap Taliessin.

NLW 6434 (A16.6) Tri tharw ɔnpen y*nys* B*rydain*:
Elinwy ap Cadegyr, Cynhaval ap Argad, Aɔaon ap Taliesin.

CARD. 2.83 (A19.12) Tri tharw ɔnben ynys Brydain fɔ:
Lawarch hen ap Elidir lydanwyn, a'r ail fɔ Fynawdan ap Llɔr llediaith, a'r trydydd fɔ Gwagawn gwron ap Prydyr ap Elifer goscordfawr.

TYP 8. TRI LLEDYF UNBEN / THREE PROSTRATE (HUMBLE) LORDS

[23] Another (?) hand: "*Eliriuz…Cadniz*"

PEN. 16 (A2.8) Tri lledyf ɔnben e*nys* P*rydein*:
Llywarch hen m*ab* Elidir lledanwyn, a Manawdyan m*ab* Llyr llyedyeith, a Gwgaɔn gwron m*ab* Peredur m*ab* Elifer gosgoruaɔr.

PEN. 45 (A3.8) Tri lledyf unben y*nys* P*rydein*:
Llywar[*ch*] hen m*ab* Elidyr lydanwyn, a Manawydyan m*ab* Llyr lledyeith, a Gɔgaɔn gɔraɔn m*ab* Peredur m*ab* Eliffer gosgorduaɔr.

WHITE BOOK (A4.23) Tri lledyf vnben ynys Brydein:
Manawydan ap Lyr, a Llywarch hen, a Gɔgon gɔron ap Peredur ap [Eliffe]r,[24] ac y sef achaɔs y gelwit [y rei][25] hynny yn ledyf vnben[26] [ɔrth][27] na cheissint gyuoeth, ac na allei neb y ludyas udunt.

RED BOOK (A5.36) Tri lledyf unben ynys Prydein:
Manaɔydan uab Llyr, a Llywarch hen, a Gɔgvn gɔron uab Peredur uab Eliffer. Ac y sef achaɔs y gelwit ɔynt yn lledyf unbenn[28] ɔrth na cheissynt gyuoeth, ac na allei neb y ludyas udunt.

PEN. 47 (A6.19) Tri lledyf unben ynys Prydein:
Llywarch hen mab Elidyr llydanwyn, a Manawedan mab Llyr lletieith, a Gwgwn gɔron mab Paredur mab Oliffer gosgoruaɔr.

PEN. 50 (A7.20) [Tri] lledyf ɔnben ynys Prydein:
Llywarch hen mab Elidyr lledanwyn, a Mynwedan mab Llyr lletieth, a Gɔgaɔn gɔron mab Paredur mab Eliffer gosgorduawɔr.

PEN. 51 (A9.32) Tri lleddf ɔnbenn ynys Brydain:
Manwedan[29] ap Llyr, a Llywarch hen, a Gwgon gwron ap Peredur ap [*E*]liffer. Sef achos y gelwid hwynt yn lleddf am na cheissynt gyɔoeth yny byd ac na allei neb i lessteir ɔddɔnt os mynnynt.

CWRT. 3 (A12.30) Tri lleddef vnben ynys Brytain:
Manawdann vap Llyr, a Llwarch, a Gwrdon gwrawn vap Peredur vap Elidir, a ef achos y gelwit hwynt velly achos na Chaufynt[30] hwy gyfoeth ac ny llai nep y lyddias yddynt.

DIAR. CAMB. (A13.7) Tri lleddf vnben ynys Brytain.
Llywarch hen ’ap Elidir Lydanwyn, Maddian[31] ’ap Llyr llediaith, Gwgon Gwron ’ap Predur ’ap Eliuer gosgordd vawr.

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.6) Tri lleddf vnben ynys Brydain:

[24] Manuscript is torn.
[25] Manuscript is torn.
[26] Corrected to “*unbyn*” by a later hand.
[27] Manuscript is torn.
[28] Corrected to “*unbynn*” by an early modern or modern hand.
[29] Vaughan corrects: “*Manawydan*”
[30] Correction: “*Chaifynt*”
[31] Correcting hand: “*Manawydan*”

Llowarch hen ap Elidir lyndanwyn, Madian ap Llyr llediath, Gwgon gwran ap Predur ap Eliuer gosgorddvawr.

NLW 6434 (A16.7) Tri lleddf unben y*nys* B*rydain*:
Llywarch hen ap Elidir lydanwy, Maddian ap Llyr llediaith, Gwgon gwron ap Predɷr ap Eliɷer gosgordd ɷawr.

BL ADD. 31,055 (A17.8): Tri lleddf ɷnbenn ynys Brytain:
Manawdawn ɷap Llyr, a Llowarch, a Gwrdon Gwrawn ɷap Peredûr Elidûr, [?]efi achos y gelwnt hwynt ɷelly: achos na cheisynt wy gyfoeth. Ac wy allai neb y Lyddias yddynt.

Cardiff 2.83 (A19.12): Tri tharw ɷnben ynys Brydain fɷ:
Lawarch hen ap Elidir lydanwyn, a'r ail fɷ Fynawdan ap Llɷr Llediaith, a'r trydydd fɷ Gwagawn Gwron ap Prydyr ap Elifer goscordfawr.

TYP 9. TRI UNBEN LLYS ARTHUR / THREE LORDS OF ARTHUR'S COURT

PEN. 16 (A2.9) Tri ɷnben llys Arthur:
Goɷrowy m*ab* Echel ɷordwytwll, a Chadreith m*ab* Porthaɷr gadw, a Fleudur flam.

PEN. 45 (A3.9) Tri unben llys Arthur:
Goronɷy m*ab* Echell uordɷytɷll, a Chadreith m*ab* Porthuaɷr gadu, a Phleidur fflam

WHITE BOOK (A4.15) Tri vnben llys Arthur:
Goronɷ ap Echel, a Fleudɷr flam ap Godo, a Chaydyrleith ap Seidi.

RED BOOK (A5.27) Tri unbenn llys Arthur:
Gronɷ uab Echel, a Ffleudɷr fflam uab Godo, a Chaedyrleith uab Seidi.

PEN. 47 (A6.20) Tri vnben llys Arthur:
Gobrvy mab Ethel mordɷytɷll, a Chatdeirieith mab Porthaɷr gado, a Phlewdɷr fflam.

PEN. 51 (A9.17) Tri ɷnben llys Arthur:
Gronw ap ɷchel,[32] a Fflender[33] fflam ap Gwdw,[34] a Chadrlaith ap Sseidi.

CWRT. 3 (A12.21) Tri vnben llys Arthur:
Gronwy vap Echel, a Fleddwr flam vap Goddo, a Chadyrlaidd vap Sanddi.

DIAR. CAMB. (A13.8) Tri vnben llys Arthur
Gowrowy[35] 'ap Echel vordwytwll, Cadreith 'ap Porthor gadw, a' Flenddur[36] flam [*mab Godo*].

[32] Vaughan corrects: "*Echel*"
[33] Vaughan corrects: "*Fflewdwr*"
[34] Vaughan corrects: "*Godo*"
[35] Correcting hand: "*Goronwy*"
[36] Correcting hand: "*Ffleidur*"

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.7) Tri vnben llys Arthur:
Gronwy ap Echel vorddinydtwll, Kadrith ap Prthor godw, a Ffeenddng fflam.

NLW 6434 (A16.8) Tri ɔnben llys Arthɔr:
Gowrowy ap Echel ɔordnoytwll, Cadreith ap Porthor gadno, a Ffleuddɔr fflam.

TYP 10. TRI UNBEN DEIFYR A BRYNNACH / THREE LORDS OF DEIRA AND BERNICIA

PEN. 16 (A2.10) Tri ɔnben Deiuyr a Brennych:
Gall m*ab* Disgyfdawt, ac Ysgafnell m*ab* Disgyfdawt, a Diffydell m*ab* Disgyfdawt. Tri meib beird oedynt ell tri.

PEN. 45 (A3.10) Tri unben Deiuyr a Brynych:
Gall m*ab* Disgyudaɔt, ac Ysgafnell m*ab* Disgyuedaɔt, a Diffydell m*ab* Disgyfedaɔt. Tri meib beird oydynt ell tri.

WHITE BOOK (A4.17) Tri vnben Deiuyr a Bryneic[h], a thri beird oedynt, a thri meib Dissynydaɔt a ɔnaethant y teir mat glyflauan: Difeidell ap Dissynydaɔt, a l[ad]aɔd[37] Gɔrgi garɔlɔyt, a'r gɔr hɔnnɔ a ladei gelein beuyd o'r Kymry, a dɔy pob Sadɔrn rac llad vn y Sul. Sgafynell ap Dissynydaɔt, a ladaɔd Edelflet fleissiaɔc vrenhin Lloegyr. Gall ap Dissynydaɔt, a ladaɔd [deu][38] ederyn Gwendoleu a oedynt yn kadɔ [yn eur a'y ary]ant,[39] a deu dyn a yssynt beunyt yn eu kɔynnos.

RED BOOK (A5.29) Tri unben Deiuyr a Bryneic[*h*][40] a thri beird oedynt, a thri meib Dissynydaɔt a wnaethant y teir mat gyflauan:

Diffeidell uab Diffynydaɔt, a wnaethant y teir mat gyflauan, Diffeidell uab Dissynydaɔt a ladaɔd Gɔrgi garɔlɔynt, a'r gɔr hɔnnɔ a ladei Gelein beunyd o'r Kymry, a dɔy bop Saɔr[n] rac llad un y Sul. Sgafynell uab Diffynydaɔt, a ladaɔd deu ederyn Gɔendoleu y rei oedynt yn kadɔ y eur a'e aryan, a deu dyn a yssgynt beunyd yn eu kinyaɔ, a'r gymmeint arall yn eu kɔynos.[41]

PEN. 47 (A6.21) Tri vnben Deifyr a Bryneich:
Gall mab Dyskyfdaɔt, ac Ysgafnell mab Dyskyfdaɔt, a Diffydell mab Dyskyfdaɔt. Tri meib beird oedynt.

PEN. 51 (A9.19) Tri ɔnben Deirɔa a Brynnich ynys Prydain, a thri beirdd oeddynt. Tri meib Dysy[*uy*]nawd a wnaethant y tair kyɔlalan:[42]

Disseidell ap Dyssyɔyndawd, a laddodd Gwrgi garwlwyd, y gwr hwnnw a laddei gelain beɔnydd o'r Kymry a dwy dduw Ssawrn rac ladd ɔn dduw Ssul.

[37] Word is faded and partially illegible.
[38] Word is faded and illegible.
[39] Text is faded and illegible.
[40] Gloss in an early modern or modern hand: "*bryneich*"
[41] An "x" below this word denotes the English-language marginal gloss in a later hand: "*x Supper*"
[42] Vaughan corrects: "*y mat g…*"

Ysfafnell ap Dysyɔdawd,[43] a laddodd edelffled Ffleissiawc vreni[*n*] Lloegr.
Gwall ap […][44] Gwyn[*ddo*]leɔ y rrai hyny a oeddynt [yn] kadw [y eur] ac ariann a ddɔddyn yssynt yn eɔ kiniaw a'r gyminnt arall ym kwynos.

CWRT. 3 (A12.23) Tri vnben Deifr a Brynaich, a thri bairdd oeddynt, a thri maib Disgyffeddawd a wanaethant y tri mad gyflafn:
Diofandell vap Disgfûndawd, a laddawdd Gwrgi garlwyd, a'r gwr hwnw a laddawdd gelein beynydd o'r Cembrya daû bop Satwrn, rac lladd vn ddûw Sul. Gafynnell vap Disynddawd Ddelffled laisiawc vrenhin Lloegr. Gall vap Disgyfcddawd, a laddawdd ddaû ederyn Gwenddolaû, a'r llai hyny oeddyn yn cadw y aû a'i ariant, a daûddyn a ysynt beûnydd yn y kainc, a dau yn y cwynos.

DIAR. CAMB. (A13.9) Tri vnben Deivvyr a' Brynaich.
Call 'ap Disgyfdawd,[45] Ysgwnell[46] 'ap Dysyfdawd, Diffedell ap Disgyfdawd.

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.8) Tri vnben Deifr a Brynaich:
Kall a Dysgyfdawd, Ysgwnell ap Dysgyfdawd, Diffedall ap Disgyfdawd.

NLW 6434 (A16.9) Tri ɔnben Deiwyr a Brynaich:
Call ap Disgyfdawd, Ysgwnell ap Disgyfdawd, Diffedell ap Disgyfdawod.

TYP 11. TRI GWA(Y)FRUD BEIRD / THREE RED(-SPEARED) BARDS

PEN. 16 (A2.11) Tri gwaɔrud beird e*nys* P*rydein*:
Tristɔardd bard Vryen, a Dygynnelw bard Ewein m*ab* Vryen, ac Auan ɔerdic bard Catwallaɔn m*ab* Catuan.

PEN. 45 (A3.11) Tri gwayvrud beird ynys Prydein:
Tristuard bard Uryen, a Dygynelɔ bard Ywein, a Mian uerdic bard Catwallaɔ[n] m*ab* Catuan, a Ryhaɔt eil Morgant.

WHITE BOOK (A4.37) Tri gwaeɔ rud ynys Brydein:
Degynelw vard Ywein, ac Arouan vard Selen ap Kynan, ac Auan verdic var[d] Katwallaɔn ap Katuan.

RED BOOK (A5.49) Tri gɔaeɔ rud ynys Prydein:
Degynelɔ bard Owein, ac Arouan uard Selen uab Kynan, ac Auan uedic uard Katwallaɔn uab Katuan.

PEN. 47 (A6.22) Tri gwayrud ynys Prydein:

[43] Vaughan corrects: "*Dysyɔynyndawd*"
[44] Damage to the manuscript, line illegible.
[45] Correcting hand: "*Gall mab Dysgyfedawc*"
[46] Correcting hand: "*Ysgafnell*"

Tristuard bard Vryen Reget, a Dygynelw bard Owein mab Vryen, ac Auan vyrdic bard Catwallaɔn mab Catuan.

PEN. 50 (A7.21) Tri gwarthrud ynys Prydain:
Trystɔard bard ɔrien, Dygynelɔ bard Ewein mab ɔrien, ac Auan ɔedic bardd Catɔallaɔn mab Catuan.

PEN. 51 (A9.45) Tri gwaewred[47] ynys Prydain:
[D]ygynlew ɔardd Owain ac Ar[*o*]ɔan ɔardd Sseleɔ ap Kynan ac Aɔan ɔedig[48] ɔardd Kadwallon ɔap Kadɔan.

CWRT. 3 (A12.42) Tri gwywrydd ynys Brydain:
I Dygynelaw vardd Owein, a Rovan vardd Selyf vap Cynan, ac Avan veddic bardd Cadwallawn.

DIAR. CAMB. (A13.10) Tri gvvavvdruy[49] beirdd ynys P.B.
Tristvardd bardd Urien, Dygynnelw bardd Ywain ’ap Urien, Auan uerdic[50] bardd Kadwallon ’ap Caduan.

DIAR. CAMB. (A13.36) Tri gvvaevvrudd ynys Britain.
Dygynnelw vardd Ywain, ac Auan vardd Selau ap Kynan, Avan wledic vardd Cadwallon ’ap Cadvan.

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.9) Tri gwawdruydd beirdd ynys Brydain:
Tristvardd bardd Vrien, Dygynelw bardd Owen ap Vrien, Avan Vdig bardd Kydwallan ap Kadvan.

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.35) Tri gwagirrudd ynys Brydain:
Dygenliv bard Owain, Alan bardd Selav ap Kynan, Avon wledig bardd Gydwallon ap Kadvan.

NLW 6434 (A16.10) Tri gwawdrvy ɔeirch ynys Bryd*ain*:
Tristɔardd bardd ɔrien, Dygynelw bardd Owain ap ɔrien, Aɔan ɔoredig bardd Kadwallon ap Cadɔan.

CARD. 2.83 (A19.13) Tri gwrthrɔddfardd ynys Brydain fɔ:
Dristfardd yr hwn oedd fardd ɔrien Rreged ap Kynfarch, a Ddigefefw bardd Owain ap ɔrien, ag Auanfardd bardd Kyswallan ap Kadfan.

TYP 12. TRI OFERFEIRDD / THREE FRIVOLOUS BARDS

PEN. 16 (A2.12) Tri oɔerɔeird e*nys* P*rydein*:
Arthur, a Chatwallaɔn m*ab* Catuan, a Rahaut eil Morgant.

[47] Vaughan corrects: “*Gwaewvrudd*”
[48] Vaughan corrects: “*uoledig*”
[49] Correcting hand: “*Gwaywrudd*”
[50] Correcting hand: “*Mian Ferdic*”

RED BOOK (A5.9) Tri oueruard ynys Prydein:
Arthur, a Raaɷt eil Morgant, a Chatwallaɷn uab Katuan.

PEN. 50 (A7.22) Tri […] beirdd ynys Prydain:
Arthur, a Chat[…] […]ɷr ail Morgant.

PEN. 51 (A9.27) Tri oɷerɷardd ynys Prydain:
Arthur arawd,[51] a'r ail Morgant, ac a Chysswallawn[52] ap Kadɷan.

CWRT. 3 (A12.3) Tri overvardd ynys Brytain:
Arthur, a Ryand ail Morgant, a' Chadwallawn ap Cadvan.

CWRT. 3 (A12.57) Tri overvardd ynys Brydain:
Arthûr, ac Arawdd ap Morgan, a Chadwallon vap Cadvan.

TYP 13. TRI CHYNWEISIAD / THREE CHIEF OFFICERS/STEWARDS

PEN. 16 (A2.13) Tri chynweissyat e*nys* P*rydein*:
Caradaɷc m*ab* Bran, a Charurdaf m*ab* Karadauc, ac Ewein m*ab* Ma[x]en[53] wledic.

PEN. 45 (A3.12) Tri chynweissat y*nys* P*rydein*:
Caradaɷc m*ab* Bran, a Chaɷrdaf m*ab* Caradaɷc, ac Owein m*ab* Maxen wledic.

WHITE BOOK (A4.9) Tri chyn weissieit ynys Brydein:
Gɷydar ap Run ap Beli, ac Ywein ap Maxen wledic, a Chaɷrdaf ap Karadaɷc.

RED BOOK (A5.21) Tri chynnweiss[*y*]eit ynys Brydein:
Gɷydar uab Run uab Beli, ac Owein uab Maxen wledic, a Chaɷrdaf uab Kradaɷc.

PEN. 47 (A6.23) Tri chynywissyeit ynys Prydein:
Caradaɷc mab Bran, a Chaɷdraf mab Karadaɷc vreichvras, ac Owein mab Maxen wledic.

PEN. 51 (A9.10) Tair kynnhwyssiad ynys Prydain:

CWRT. 3 (A12.15) Tri wlkwysiad ynys Brytain:
Gwyddia vap Rûn vap Beli, ac Owein vap Maxen wledic, a Chawrdra vap Caradawg vreichvras.

TYP 14. TRI LLYNGESOG / THREE SEA-FARERS/FLEET OWNERS

PEN. 16 (A2.14) Tri llgyhessaɷc e*nys* P*rydein*:

[51] Vaughan corrects: "*a Rahauet*". Gwilym seems to have misunderstood the use of "ail" as a synonym of "ap" here.
[52] Vaughan corrects: "*Catwallawn*"
[53] This "x" has been cropped off.

Gereint m*ab* Erbin, a Gɷwenwynwyn m*ab* Naf, a March m*ab* Meirchyaɷn.

PEN. 45 (A3.13) Teir llyghessaɷc y*nys* P*rydein*:
Gereint m*ab* Erbin, a Gwenɷynwyn m*ab* Haf, a March m*ab* Meirchaɷn.

WHITE BOOK (A4.14) Tri llynghesswyr ynys Brydein:
Gereint ap Erbin, a March ap Meirchion, a Gɷenɷynɷyn ap Naɷ.

RED BOOK (A5.26) Tri llynghesswr ynys Prydein:
Gereint uab Erbin, a March uab Meirchyon, a Gɷenɷynnwyn uab Naɷ.

PEN. 47 (A6.24) Tri llynghessaɷc ynys Prydein:
Gereint mab Erbin, a Gwenɷynwyn mab Naf, a March mab Meirchaɷn.

PEN. 51 (A9.16) Tri llynghesswr ynys Prydain:
Gereint ap Erbin, a March ap Meirchionn, a Gwenwynwyn ap Naw.

CWRT. 3 (A12.20) Tair llyngesawl ynys Brytain:
Geraint vap Erbin, a March vap Marchiawn, a Gwenwynwyn vap Naw.

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.53) Tri llynghesswyr ynys Brydain:
Gerraint ap Erbin, March ap Meirchion, Gwenwynwyn ap Naw.

NLW 6434 (A16.38) Tri llyngeswyr y*nys* B*rydain*:
Geraint ap Erbin, a March ap Meirchion, a Gwenwynwyn ap Naw.

TYP 15. TEIR LLYNGES CYNNIWEIR / THREE ROVING FLEETS

PEN. 16 (A2.15) Teir llyges kynniweir[54] e*nys* Pr*ydein*:
Llyges Llawr m*ab* Eiryf, a llyges Diɷwng m*ab* Alan, a llyghes Solor m*ab* Murthach.

RED BOOK (A5.12) Teir llynghes gynuiweir ynys Prydein:
Llynghes Lary uab Yryf, a llynghes Dignif uab Alan, a llynghes Solor uab Urnach.

PEN. 47 (A6.25) Teir llynghes gyniweir ynys Prydein:
Llynghes Llaɷr mab Eirif, a llynges Dinɷgl mab Alban & llynghes Dolor mab Anɷrthath.

PEN. 51 (A9.2) Tair llynges gyniwa[*i*]r ynys Prydain:
Llynges Lyr uab Erif,[55] a llynges Dygrif ɷab Alan, a lly[*n*]ges Ssolor ɷab ɷrnach.

CWRT. 3 (A12.6) Tair llynges gynniweir ynys Brytain:
Llynghes Llaw vap Yryf, ail, llynges Digaf vap Alan, a lynges Solor vap Wrnach.

[54] Corrected from "gynniweir" in the same hand.
[55] Vaughan corrects: "*Lawry uab Eryf*"

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.46) Tri llynges geniwer ynys Brydain i'w rrain:
Llynges Llaryf ap Pyrr, llynges Dignif ap Alanaf, llynges Soler ap Wrnach.

NLW 6434 (A16.32) Tair llynges gyniwer ynys Brydain:
Llynges Llaryf ap Pyr, llynges Dignif ap Alan, [*a*] llyges Soler ap Wrnach.

TYP 16. TRI GWRDDFAGLOG / THREE POWERFUL SHEPHERDS

PEN. 16 (A2.16) Tri gwrduaglaɔc e*nys* P*rydein*:
Riueri m*ab* Tangwn, a Dinaɔt ɔaglaɔc, a Phryder m*ab* [*Dolor*] Deiuyr a Brennych.

PEN. 45 (A3.14) Tri gɔrduaglaɔc y*nys* P*rydein*:
Riueri m*ab* Tangɔn, a Dinwaed uaglaɔc, a Phryder m*ab* Dolor Deiuyr a Brynych.

PEN. 47 (A6.26) Tri gɔrduaglaɔc ynys Prydein:
Riueri mab Tangɔn, a Chinwaed vaglaɔc, a Phyder mab Dolor Deifyr a Bryneich.

TYP 17. TRI HUALOG / THREE FETTERED MEN

PEN. 16 (A2.17) Tri hualaɔc e*nys* P*rydein*:
Katwaladyr ɔendigeit, a Run m*ab* Maelgɔn, a Riwallaɔn wallt banhadlen.

PEN. 45 (A3.15) Tri hualaɔc y*nys* P*rydein*:
Catwaladyr uendigeit, a Run m*ab* Maelgɔn, a Riwallaɔn wallt banadlen.

WHITE BOOK (A4.32) Tri hualoc eur ynys Brydein:
Riwallaɔn wallt banhadlen, a Run a[p] Maelgɔn, a Chatwaladyr vendigeit. Ac y sef achaɔs y gelwit y gɔyr hynny yn hualogyon: ɔrth na cheffit meirch a berthyuei vdunt rac eu meint, namyn dodi hualeu eur am eu hegɔydled ar bedreinieu eu meirch tra e kefneu. A dɔy badell eur a dan eu glinieu, ac ɔrth hynny y gelwir pandellec y glin.

RED BOOK (A5.44) Tri hualo eur ynys Brydein:
Riwallaɔn wallt banhadlen, a Run a[p] Maelgɔn, a Chadwaladyr uendigeit. Ac y sef achaɔs y gelwit y gɔyr hynny yn hualogyon: ɔrth na cheffit meirch a bertyuei udunt, rac eu meint, namyn dodi hualeu eur am eu hegɔytled ar bedreineu eu meirch dra e kefyneu, a dɔy badell eur, a dan eu glinyeu, ac ɔrth hynny y gelwir padellec y glin.

PEN. 47 (A6.1) Tri eur hualawc ynys Prydein:
Run mab Maelgwn a Chatwaladyr vendigeit a Riallavn wallt banadlen.

PEN. 50 (A7.12) Tri hualaɔc ynys Prydein:
Katwaladyr vendigeid, a Run mab Maelgɔn Gɔynedd, a Riwallaɔn wallt banadlen.

PEN. 51 (A9.40) Tri hualoc [*aur*] ynys Prydain:

Rɵ[*w*]allon wallt bannhadlen, a Rɵon[56] ap Maelgwn, a Chy[d]waladr ɵendigaid. Ssef achos y gelwis hwynt yn dri hualoc:[57] wrth na chessid meirch ɵddɵnt a wassanaethai rac eɵ hegwydleoedd ar bedreinnaɵ y meirch drach eɵ kefnaɵ, a dwy badell o aur dan eɵ glinaɵ ac a blegyd[58] hyny y gelwir eto[59] padelleg y glin.

CWRT. 3 (A12.38) Tri aûr malawc yny[s] Brydainwall Benhadlen, a Rûn ap Maelgwn, a Chadwaladr vedigait. Sef achos y gelwit hwynt velly: wrth na cheffynt mairch a'i gwasanaethai rac ei maint, namyn dodi hyalaû aur dan y hegaydle ar bedrain y mairch, tra y cefnaû,[60] a dwy badell aûr y dan y glinaû. Ac am hyny y gelwir padellec y glin.

DIAR. CAMB. (A13.31) Tri aurhualavvc ynys Britain.
Riwallon wallt banhadlen, Run 'ap Maelgwn, Cadwaladr uendigaid, sef y gelwit hwy velly, am na chad meirch digion vchel vddynt, rhac ei hyd a'ei maint namyn rhoi hualau ar ei traed dros bedrenau y meirch 'a dwy badell aur dan ei glinau bob vn o honyn.

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.30) Tri aur hvalog ynys Brydain:
Kydwallon wallt bynhadlen, Rvn ap Maelgwn, Kydwalar vendigaid. Sef gelwid hwynt velly am na chafad meirch digon vchel vddvn nag maint a'i hyd namyn hvalv ar i traed dros bedranav y meirch a dwy badell aur dan i glinav pob o honvnt.

CARD. 2.26 (A18.3) Tri hɵalavc y*nys* P*rydein*:
Cadvaladyr bhendigeit, a Rhɵn mab Maelgvn, a Rhivallav[n] valht banadlen.

CARD. 2.83 (A19.5) Tri hɵalalog ynys Brydain:
Y kynt6 fɵ Gydwaladr fendigaid, a Rrɵn ap Maegɵn Gwynedd, a Rriallawn walld fynhadlen.

TYP 18. TRI CHADFARCHOG / THREE BATTLE-HORSEMEN

PEN. 16 (A2.18) Tri chatuarchaɵc e*nys* P*rydein*:
Caradaɵc ɵreichuras, a Menwaed o Arllechwed, a Llyr lluydaɵc.

PEN. 45 (A3.16) Tri chat uarchaɵc y*nys* P*rydein*:
Caradaɵc uriechuras, a Menwaed o Arllechwed, a Llyr lluydaɵc.

WHITE BOOK (A4.45) Tri annɵyl llys Arthur, a thri chatwarchaɵc. Ac ny mynassant ben teulu arnadunt eirioet, ac y kant Arthur e[n]glyn:

> Sef yɵ vyn tri chat varchaɵc:
> Meued, a Llud llurygaɵc, a cholouyn Kymry Karadaɵc.

[56] Vaughan corrects: "*Rɵn*"
[57] Vaughan corrects "*dri hualoc*" to "*hualogion*"
[58] Vaughan corrects: "*ɵrth*"
[59] Vaughan deletes.
[60] Crossed out: *"Ac am hyny y gelwir"*

RED BOOK (A5.57) Tri annɷyl llys Arthur, a thri chatuarthaɷc, ac ny mynuassant penn teulu arnadunt eiryoet. Ac y cant Arthur e[n]glyn:

Sef yɷ vyn tri chatuarchaɷc:
Mened, a Llud lluruga ɷc, a cholovyn Kymry[61] Karadaɷc.

PEN. 47 (A6.27) Tri chat uarchaɷt ynys Prydein:
Caradaɷc vreichuras, a Meiwed o Arllechwed, a Llyr llurygaɷt, ac yr tri hynny englyn, eilynt y Tri chat uarchaɷc: Menwed, a Llyr llurygaɷc, a cholofyn yn hynny Cradaɷt.

CWRT. 3 (A12.50) Tri annwyl llys Arthûr a thri chadvarchawc ac ny mynnasant ben taylû ar nywt erior ac y cant Arthur [*englyn*] yddynt nid amgen: Sef yw vynrrych ar varchawc, a Cholfn coembru cradawc.

DIAR. CAMB. (A13.11) Tri chad varchvvc ynys P.B.
Caradawc ureichfras, Menwaed o Arllechwedd, Llyr lluyddawc.[62]

PEN. 77 (A14.2) Tri chad varchawr ynys Brydain:
Menwaydd o Arllechwedd, a Llûdd lyrygawr, a Chariadawc vreichvras.

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.10) Tri chad varchog ynys Brydain:
Kyradog vreichvras, Menwaedd o Arllechwedd, a Llyr lvyddawg.

NLW 6434 (A16.11) Tri chad ɷarchawc ynys B*rydain*:
Ca[r]adawc[63] ɷreichfras, Menwaed o Arllechwedd, Llyr llvyddawc.

BL ADD. 31,055 (A17.3) Tri anwyl llys Arthur a thri chadvarchawc ac ny mynuasant benn taûlu arnynt erioed, ac y cant Arthur englyn ɷddynt, nid amgen. Sef[64] yw ɷynchychar ɷanhawc: Maydd, a Llûdd llûiugawc, a Cholofn cambru cradawc.

CARD. 2.26 (A18.4) Tri chalbharchavc y*nys* P*rydein*:
Caradavc bhreichbhras, a Menaedh o Arlhechvedh, a Lhyr lhvydavc.

TYP 19. TRI GALOFYDD / THREE ENEMY-SUBDUERS

PEN. 16 (A2.19) Tri galouyd e*nys* P*rydein*:
Greidyaɷl galouyd m*ab* Euɷael adrann, a Gueir gwrhytɷaɷr, a Drystan m*ab* Tallwch.

PEN. 45 (A3.17) Tri gallouyd y*nys* P*rydein*:
Greidaɷl galouyd m*ab* Eunael adran, a Gweir gɷrhyt vaɷr, a Drystan m*ab* Tallɷch.

WHITE BOOK (A4.24) Tri gallouyd ynys Brydein:

[61] A second "Kymry" has been deleted following this word.
[62] Correcting hand: "*al[ius] Llwyddawc*"
[63] Damage to the manuscript has rendered this "r" illegible.
[64] A stylized way of writing "ARTHVR" can be found in the left-hand margin nedxt to this "englyn."

Greidaɷl galouyd, a Drystan ap Tallwch, a Gɷgon gwron.

RED BOOK (A5.37) Tri galouyd ynys Brydein:
Greidaɷl galouyd, a Drystan uab Tallɷch, a Gɷgon gɷron.

PEN. 47 (A6.10) Tri gall ouyd ynys Prydeiny
Greidyaɷl gall ouyd, a Blathaɷn mab Inɷreth, a Drystan.

PEN. 51 (A9.33) Tri ssaloɷydd[65] ynys Prydain:
Greidiol galovydd, a Thrysstan ap Tallwch, a Gwgon gwron.

CWRT. 3 (A12.31) Tri galofydd ynys Brytain:
Graidiol galofydd, a Thrystan ap Tallwch, a Gwgon gwron.

DIAR. CAMB. (A13.27) Tri glevvuryd[66] ynys Brytain.
Greidiol Glewvryd, Trystan ap Tallwch, Gwgon Gwron.[67]

PEN. 77 (A14.3) Tri galoydd ynys Brydain:
Greidiawl galovydd, a Gwair gyhydlawn, a Trystan ap Tallwng.

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.25) Tri glewvryd ynys Brydain:
Greidiol glewfryd, Trystan ap Tallwch, Gwgon ap Gwron.

NLW 6434 (A16.27) Tri glewvryd y*nys* B*rydain*:
Greidiol glewvryd, Trytan ap Tallwch, Gwgon gwron.

BL ADD. 31,055 (A17.9): Tri galofydd ynys Brytain:
Greidiol galofydd, Trystan ap Tallwch, a Gwgon gwron.

CARD. 2.26 (A18.5) Tri gallonydh y*nys* P*rydein*:
Gveldavc galhonydh m*ab* Catran,[68] a Gvavr gvrhytbhavr, a Drystan m*ab* Talhvch.

TYP 20. TRI RUDUOAWC / THREE RED-REAPERS (DESPOILERS/RAVAGERS)

PEN. 16 (A2.20) Tri ruduoaɷc e*nys* P*rydein*:
Arthur, a Run mab Beli, a Morgant mwy[*n*]uaɷr.

PEN. 45 (A3.18) Tri ruduoaɷc y*nys* P*rydein*:
Arth*ur*, a Run m*ab* Beli, a Morgant mɷynuaɷr.

[65] Vaughan corrects: "*galouydd*"
[66] Correcting hand: "*Galofudd*"
[67] Correcting hand: "*Galofydd ap Elfaed Adron*"
[68] Rhys appears to have had a few false starts with this name. He has crossed out "*Culbhael*" and "*Cuvael*" before landing on "Catran".

WHITE BOOK (A4.13) Tri rud uoaɑc ynys [*Brydein*]:
Run ap Beli, a Lleɑ llaɑ gyffes, a Morgan mɑynnaɑc, ac vn oed ruduogach no'r tri: Arth*ur* oed y henɑ: blɑydyn ny doy na gɑellt na llysseu y ford y kerdei yr vn o'r tri, a seith mlynyd ny doy y ford y kerdei Arth*ur*.

RED BOOK (A5.25) Tri rud uoaɑc ynys Brydein:
Run uab Beli, a Llew llaɑ gyffes, a Morgan mɑynuaɑr. Ac un oed ruduogach no'r tri: Arthur oed y enɑ. Blɑydyn ny doei na gɑellt na[69] llysseu y fford kerdei yr un o'r tri. A seith mlyned ny doei y fford y kerdei Arthur.

Pen. 50 (A7.23) Tri ruduodaɑc ynys Prydain:
Arthɑr, a Run mab Beli, a Morgant mɑynuaɑc.

PEN. 51 (A9.14) Tri rudd v[*o*]aawc[70] ynys Prydain:
Run ap Peli […][71] Ac vn a oedd vwy[…][72] vn thyvei na gwellt […][73] y ffordd y kerddeu ssaith mlynedd ar ol Arthur oedd hwnnw.

CWRT. 3 (A12.19) Tair rhyddiognwc ynys Brytain:
Rûn vap Beli, a Llew llaw gyffes, a Morgan mwynvawr. Ac vn oedd rryddiogach na'r tri, ys ef oedd hwnw: Arthur. Blwyddyn ni ddoi na gwellt na llysaû ffordd y cerdden, vn o'r tri. A' seith mlynedd ni ddoi ddim ffordd cerddai Arthûr.

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.52) Tri ruddnawg ynys Brydain:
Rvn ap Beli, Llew llaw gyffes, Morgan mawynvawr. Ag vn oedd ryveddach na'r tri hynny: Arthur ni ddai na gwellt na llysse fordd i kerddai Arthur a'i lv.

NLW 6434 (A16.37) Tri rvddvawg ynys B*rydain*:
R6n ap Beli, Llew llaw gyffes, a Morgan mynɑawr. Ac ɑn oedd ryɑeddach mor tri hyny: Arthɑr oedd hwnw: o bleit na dda[?] gwellt na llysiae ffordd y gorddai Arthɑr a'i lɑ.

CARD. 2.26 (A18.7) Tri rudhbhavc y*nys* P*rydein*:
Arthur, a Rhɑn m*ab* Beli, a Morgant mvynbhavr.

TYP 21. TRI THALEITHYAWC CAT / THREE DIADEMED BATTLE LEADERS

PEN. 16 (A2.21) Tri thaleithyaɑc cat e*nys* P*rydein*:
Drystan m*ab* Tallwch, a Hueil m*ab* Caw, a Chei m*ab* Kenyr keinuaruaɑc. Ac vn oed taleithyaɑc arnadunt wynteu ell tri: Bedwyr m*ab* Bedraɑc oed hɑnnɑ.

PEN. 45 (A3.19) Tri thaleichaɑc cat y*nys* Pry*dein*:

[69] An additional "*nag ɑellt*" has been deleted preceeding this word.
[70] Correction in the hand of Gwilym Tew.
[71] Damage to the manuscript; multiple lines illegible.
[72] Line partially illegible.
[73] Line partially illegible.

Drystan m*ab* Tallwch, a Huil m*ab* Caɷ, a Chei m*ab* Kynyr Kynuaruaɷc. Ac un oed taleithaɷc arnadunt wynteu ell tri: Bedwyr m*ab* Pedraɷr oed hɷnnɷ.

WHITE BOOK (A4.12) Tri thaleithnaɷc ynys Brydein:
Gɷeir ap Gɷystyl, a Chei ap Kynyr, a Drytsan ap Tallwch.

RED BOOK (A5.24) Tri thaleithaɷc ynys P*ry*dein:
Gɷeir uab Gɷysyl, a Chei uab Kynyr, a Dystan uab Tallwch.

PEN. 47 (A6.7) Tri thaleithaɷc kat ynys Prydein:
Betwyr mab Bedraɷt a Hueil mab Caɷ, a Drystan mab Tallɷch.

PEN. 50 (A7.24) Tri thaleithaɷc kat ynys Prydain:
Drystan mab Trallwch, Hueil mab Kaɷ, a Chei mab […] kein ɷaruaɷc, ac ɷn oedd taleithogaɷc arnadunt wynteu: Bedɷyr mab Petraɷc oedd hɷnnɷ.

PEN. 51 (A9.13) Tri thaleith[*e*]ioc ynys Prydain:
Gweir ap Gwesstyl, a Chai ap Kynyr, a Thrysstan ap Tallwch.

CWRT. 3 (A12.18) Tri thalaithiawc ynys Brytain:
Gwair vap Gwystl, a Chai vap Kynyr, a Thrystan vap Thallwch.

DIAR. CAMB. (A13.12) Tri thaleithioc cad ynys Brytain.
Trystan 'ap Tallwc,[74] Hueil 'ap Caw, Cei ap Cenyr vawrchawc.[75] Ac vn oedd daleithioc arnunt wy ill tri, a Bedrawc[76] oed hunw.

PEN. 77 (A14.4) Tri thalethiawc ynys Prydain:[77]
Trystan ap Tallwng, a Huail ap Caw, a Chai ap Cynygr. Ac vn oedd daleithiogach nag wynt ill tri, a Bedwyr oedd hwnw.

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.11) Tri thaleithog kad ynys Brydain:
Trystan ap Talwch, Hvail ap Kaw, Kri ap Kenyr varchog. Ac vn oedd daleithiog arnvn hwy yll tri: Bedrog oedd hwnnw.

NLW 6434 (A16.12) Tri thaleithioc ynys B*rydain*:
Tristan ap Tallwc, Hɷel ap Cuno, Gei ap Cynyr ɷawrchanot. Ac ɷn oedd daleithioc arnunt wy yll tri: a Bedrawt oed hɷnnw.

CARD. 2.26 (A18.8) Tri thaleibhavc cat y*nys* P*rydein*:
Drystan m*ab* Talhvch, a Hveil m*ab* Caw, a Chei m*ab* Cynyr ceinbharbhavc. Ac ɷn oedh taleithavc arnadhɷnt vynteɷ: Bedvwyr m*ab* Bedravt oedh hvnnv.

[74] Correcting hand: "*Drystan 'ap Tallwch*"
[75] Correcting hand: "*cynyr cein farfawc.*"
[76] Correcting hand: "*Bedwyr ap Pedrawc*"
[77] Here and elsewhere for the remainder of the text, Wiliems has abbreviated "Ynys Brydain" as "Y.P." This is very common in the TYP corpus.

TYP 22. TRI GLEW / THREE BRAVE MEN

PEN. 16 (A2.22) Tri glew e*nys* P*rydein*, tri meib Haearnɔed ɔradawc:
Grudnei, a Henben, ac Edenaɔc.

PEN. 45 (A3.20) Tri gleɔ y*nys* P*rydein*, tri meib Hayarnwed uradaɔc:
Grudnei, a Henpen, ac Edenaɔc.

WHITE BOOK (A4.22) Tri gleɔ ynys Brydein:
Grudnei, a Henb[*i*]an, ac Aedenaɔc. Ny doynt o gat namyn ar eu geloreu. Ac y sef oedynt […][78] tri meib Glessiar Gogled o Haearnwed vradaɔc eu mam.

RED BOOK (A5.34) Tri gleɔ ynys P*ry*dein:
Grudnei, a Henbrien, ac Aedenaɔc. Ny doynt o gat namyn eu geloreu. Ac y sef oedynt y rei hynny: tri meib Gleissiar Gogled o Haearnwed uradaɔc eu mam.

PEN. 50 (A7.41) Tri glew ynys Prydain:
Tri meib Haearned vradaɔc: [Grudnei,][79] a Henpen, ac Edenaɔc.

PEN. 51 (A9.30) […][80] ni ddoynt o gad namyn ar eɔ heloraw. Sef oedd rrai hyny meib Glessiar o'r Gogledd o Haearnwedd eɔ mam.

CWRT. 3 (A12.28) Tri glew ynys Brytain:
Gruddnan, a Henben, ac Aeddennaec. Ny ddoeynt o gad namyn eû geloreû. Sef oedd yr hair hyny: tri maip Glaisar Gogledd o Haearnwedd vrawdawd eû mam.

DIAR. CAMB. (A13.26) Tri glevv vnben ynys Brytain.
Gr[*udneu*] a' Chai [*Aedenaw*] a Henben, meibion Gleisiar o'r Gogledd o Haiarnwedd ei mam. Ei cyneddfae oedd nad eynt o'r gad ond er elore.

PEN. 77 (A14.5) Tri glew ynys Prydain:
Hayarnedd vaglawc,[81] Grudnai, a Henben, a Edernawc.[82]

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.25) Tri glew vnben ynys Brydain:
Gr[udnau], a Chai, a Henben, meibion Gleissiar o'r Gogledd o Haiarnwedd i mam i Kyneddfav oedd nad elynt o'r gad on ar elore.

NLW 6434 (A16.26) Tri glew ɔnben y*nys* B*rydain*:

[78] Text faded and illegible.
[79] Damage to the manuscript at the bottom right-hand corner of the page has made this name illegible.
[80] Missing text continues.
[81] Other texts of TYP indicate that the Tri Glew were "tri meib Hearnɔed ɔradaɔc" (Bromwich p. 43) but that narrative detail has dropped out here, leaving it looking like there are four Tri Glew.
[82] The original scribe has written a "Y" directly below the "E" of this name, as though correcting himself.

Gr[uffudd], a Chai, a Henben, meibion Gleisiar o'r Gogledd o Haranwedd ei mam. Ei kyneddfae oedd nad eynt o'r gad ond ar elore.

TYP 23. TRI THAHAUC / THREE ARROGANT MEN

PEN. 16 (A2.23) Tri thahauc e*nys* P*rydein*:
Sawyl ben uchel, a Phasken m*ab* Vryen, a Run m*ab* Einyaɔn.

PEN. 45 (A3.21) Tri thrahaus y*nys* P*rydein*:
Sawyl ben uchel, a Phasken m*ab* Uryen, a Run m*ab* Einaɔn.

WHITE BOOK (A4.23) Tri trahaɔc ynys Brydein:
Gɔibei drahaɔsc, a Saɔyl benuchel a Ruuaɔn penyr drahaɔc.

RED BOOK (A5.35) Tri trahaɔc ynys Brydein:
Gɔibei drahaɔc, a Saɔyl benn uchel, a Ruuaɔn penyr drahaɔc.

PEN. 47 (A6.28) Tri thrahaus ynys Prydein:
Sawel ben uchel, a Phascen mab Vryen, a Run mab Einyaɔn.

PEN. 50 (#) Tri traws ynys Brytain:
Gwibai drahawc, a Sawyl benuchel, a Ryawn peûûyr drahawc.

PEN. 50 (A7.25) Tri thrahaws ynys Prydain:
Saɔyl ben ɔchel, a Phascen mab ɔrien, […].

PEN. 51 (A9.31) Tri thrahaawc ynys Prydain:
Gwibei drahaawc, a Ssawul ben ɔchel, a Rɔon[83] bev[*y*]r drahaawc.

CWRT. 3 (A12.29) Tri traws ynys Brytain:
Gwibai drahawc, a Sawyl benuchel, a Ryawn peûûyr drahawc.

PEN. 77 (A14.6) Tri thrahawc ynys Prydain:
Sawl benuchel, a Phasken ap Vrien, a Run ap Eingud.

BL ADD. 31,055 (A17.7): Tri traws ynys Brytain:
Gwibai drahawc, Sawl benûchel, a Rhûfawn befr drahawc.

CARD. 2.26 (A18.10) Tri thrahas y*nys* P*rydein*:
Savyl penɔchel, a Phascen m*ab* ɔrien, a Rhɔn m*ab* Einiavn.

TYP 24. TRI YSGYMYDD AERAU / THREE SLAUGHTER-BLOCKS (?)

[83] Vaughan reads: "*Ryvawn*"

PEN. 16 (A2.24) Tri ysgymyd aeruaeu e*nys* P*rydein*:
Gilbert m*ab* Catgyffro, a Moruran eil Tegit, a Gɔgaɔn gledyfrud.

PEN. 45 (A3.22) Tri ysgymyd aereu y*nys* P*rydein*:
Gilbert m*ab* Catgyffro, a Morfran eil[84] Tegit, a Gɔgaɔn cledyfurud.

WHITE BOOK (A4.26) Tri esgemyd aereu ynys Brydein:
Moruran eil Tegit, a Gɔgon gledyfrud, a Gilbert kat gyffro.

RED BOOK (A5.38) Tri esgemyd aereu ynys Prydein:
Moruran eil Tegit, a Gɔgon gledyfrud, a Gilbert kat gyffro.

PEN. 47 (A6.29) Tri ysgymyd aereu ynys Prydein:
Gilberd mab Catgyffro, a Moruran eil Tegit, a Gɔgaɔn gleifrud.

PEN. 50 (A7.42) Tri ysemyd aereu ynys Prydain:
Gilbert mab katgyffro, a Moruran eil Tegit, a G6ga6n gledyrud.

PEN. 51 (A9.34) Tri essgemydd aeraɔ ynys Prydain:
Mor[*br*]an ail Tegid, a Gwgon gleddyvrudd, a Gilbert kad gyffro.

CWRT. 3 (A12.32) Tri escemiydd aeraû ynys Brytain:
Morvran ail Tegit, [*a*] Gwgawn gleddyfrydd, a Gilbern gadyffro.

PEN. 77 (A14.7) Tri ysgymmydd aer ynys Prydain:
Gilbert ap Bradgyffro, a Moruran ail Tegid, a Gwgawn gledyfrûdd.

BL ADD. 31,055 (A17.10): Tri escennydd aerae ynys Brytain:
Morɔan [*ap*][85] Tegit, Gwgon gleddyfrûdd, a Gilbern cadgyffro.

CARD. 2.26 (A18.11) Tri yscymydh aereɔ y*nys* P*rydein*:
Gilbert m*ab* Catgyphro, a Morbhran eil Tegit, a Gvgavn gledhybhrɔdh.

TYP 25. TRI AERUEDAWC / THREE BATTLE-LEADERS

PEN. 16 (A2.25) Tri aer enys Prydein:
Selyf mab Kenan Garrwyn, ac Vryen mab Kynvarch, ac Auaon mab Talyessan.

WHITE BOOK (A4.19) Tri aeruedaɔc ynys Brydein:

[84] The scribe has had a fault start here, writing "*el*" and crossing it out before the correct "*eil*."
[85] Corrected from "ail," which has been deleted.

Selef ap Kynan Garɔyn, ac [A]uaon[86] ap Talyessin, a Gwall[a]ɔc[87] ap Lennaɔc. Sef achaɔs [y ge]lɔit[88] ɔynt yn aeruedoge[on]:[89] ɔrth dial eu kam oc eu bed.

RED BOOK (A5.31) Tri aeruedaɔc ynys Brydein:
Selyf uab [*Kynan*][90] Garwyn, ac Anaon uab Talyessin, a Gɔallaɔc uab Llennaɔc. Sef achaɔs y gelwit ɔy yn ereudogyon: ɔrth dial eu kamoc eu bed.

PEN. 47 (A6.30) Tri aeruodaɔc ynys Prydein:
Selyf mab Kynan Garwyn ac Vryen mab Kynuarch ac Auaon mab Taliessin.

PEN. 51 (A9.21) Tri a[*e*]rɔeddog ynys Prydain:
Gele[91] ap Kynan Garwyn, Aɔaon ap Taliessin, a Gwallawg ap Lleminiawg. Sef [*achos*] y gelwis hwynt yn aerɔeddogion, am dial eɔ kam og eɔ beddaɔ.

CWRT. 3 (A12.25) Tri aerveddant ynys Brydain:
Selyf vap Cynan Garwyn, ac Avaon vap Taliesin, a Gwallawc ap Llomiawc. Sef achos y gelwid wynt yn arveddogion: wrth ddial eû can oc eû bad.

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.56) Tri arffedog kad ynys Bryden:
Selyf ap Kynan Garwyn, ag Addon ap Taliesin, a Gwallawg lleiniawg. Sef i gelwid wynt ynt arffdogion: wrth ddial i kam ar i heddav.

NLW 6434 (A16.41) Tri arffedog kad:
Felelf ap Kynan am Garoyn, ac Addon ap Taliesin, ac Gwallawg lleinianog. Sef y gelwit hwynt yn arfedogwn wrth ddial eɔ cam ar eɔ beddaɔ.

CARD. 2.26 (A18.6) Tri aerbhedavc y*nys* P*rydein*:
Selybh m*ab* Cynan garvyn, ac ɔryen m*ab* Cynbharch, ac Abhron[92] m*ab* Talyessin.

TYP 26. TRI GWRDEICHYAT / THREE POWERFUL SWINEHERDS

PEN. 16 (A2.26) Tri gwrdueichyat e*nys* P*rydein*:
Drystan m*ab* Tallwch, a gedwis moch March Meirchyawn hyt tra aeth y meichyat y erchi y Essyllt dyuo[*t*] yw gynnadyl. Ac Arthur yn keissyaɔ un hwch onadunt ac y dwyll ac y dreis a'e nys cauas.

A Phryderi m*ab* Pwyll Pen Annwnyn,[93] a gedwis moch Pen Daran Dy[*uet*] yg Glyn Cɔch yn Emlyn.

[86] Word is faded and partially illegible.
[87] Word is faded and partially illegible.
[88] Text is faded and illegible.
[89] Word is faded and partially illegible.
[90] Manuscript is stained; name has been re-written over the stain.
[91] Vaughan corrects: "*Selyf*"
[92] Corrected from *Abravc*, in Rhys's hand.
[93] A pointing finger drawn in the margin draws attention to this name.

A Choll m*ab* Collǒrewy a gedwis Henwen hǒch Dallwyr Dallben a aeth yg Gordody hyt ym Penryn Austin yg Kernyw. Ac yn Aber Tarogi yg Went ys Coet y doeth y'r tir. A Choll map Collǒrewy a'e laǒ yn y gwrych pa ford bynnac y kerdei nac ar ǒor nac ar dir. Ac y maes gǒenith yg Went y dotwes gǒenithen, a gǒenynen. Ac yr y mae goreu lle y wenith a'e wenyn y lle hwnnǒ. Ac odyno yd aeth hyt yn Llonyon ym Penǒro. Ac yno y dotwes ar eiden a Gǒenynen. Ac odyna y kerdws hyt yn riw Kyuerchuch yn Eryri. Ac yno y dotwes ar geneu bleid. Ac ar gyw eryr a rodes y ǒenwaed o'r o Arllechwedd. A'r rei hynny ǒu Menwaed, ac eryr Brennach. Ac odyna yd aeth hyt y maendu yn Lla[*n*]ǒeir yn Aruon. Ac yno y dotwes a'r geneu cath. ~~Ac~~ [*A'r*] keneu hwnnǒ a ǒwrywys Coll m*ab* Collǒrewy y Menei. A honno wedy hynny ǒu gath Baluc.

PEN. 45 (A3.23) Tri gwrdueichat y*nys* P*rydein*:
Drystan m*ab* Tallwch, a getwis moch March m*ab* Meirchawn, tra aeth y meichat y erchi y Essyllt dyfot y gynadyl ac ef. Ac Arthur yn kessaǒ un hǒch a'e y tǒyll a'e y treis, ac nys cauas.

A Phryderi m*ab* Pǒyll Amǒyn [sic], a getwis moch Pendaran Dyuet yg Glyn Cuǒch yn Emlyn.

A Choll m*ab* Collurewy, a getwis Henwen hǒch Dallweir dallben a aeth yg Gordodo hyt ym Penrhyn Aǒstin yg Kernyǒ. Ac yna yd aeth yn y mor.[94] Ac yn Aber Tarogi yg Gwent is Coet y doeth y tir. A Choll m*ab* Collurewy a'e laǒ yn y gǒrych pa fford bynhac y kerdhei nac ar uor nac ar tir. Ac y maes gwenith yg Gwent y dotwes gwenithen a gwenenen, ac er hynny y mae goreu lle y wenith y lle hǒnnǒ. Ac odyna yd aeth hyt yn Llonwen ym Penuro, ac yno y dotwes ar heiden ag wenenen, ac yr hynny y mae goreu lle y heid Llonwen. Ac odyna y kerdǒys hyt yn riǒ Gyuerchǒch yn Eryri. Ac y dotwes ar keneu bleid ac a'r kyǒ eryr. A'r eryr a rodes Coll m*ab* Collurewy y Urynach ǒydel o'r Gogled. A'r bleid a rodes y Uenwaed o Arllechwed, a'r rei hynny uu uleid Menwaed ac Eryr Brynach. Ac odyna yd aeth hyt y maen du in Llanueir yn Aruon, ac yno y dodwes a'r keneu cath. A'r keneu hǒnnǒ a uyryǒrs Coll m*ab* Collurewy ym Menei. A honno wedy hynny uu cath Paluc.

WHITE BOOK (A4.44) Tri gǒreichiat ynys Brydein:

Pryderi vab Pǒyll pen Annwn, ǒrth voch Pendaran Dyuet y tatmeth, ac y sef moch oedynt y seith lydyn a duc Pǒyll pen Annǒn, ac rodes y Pendaran Dyuet y datmaeth. Ac y sef y lle y katwei y Glyn Kuch yn Emlyn. A sef achaǒs y gelwit hǒnnǒ yn wrueichiat: kany allei neb na thǒyll na threis arnaǒ.

A'r eil: Drystan ap Tallǒch ǒrth voch March ap Meirchion tra aeth y mei[chiat][95] yn gennat ar Essylt. Arthur, [*a*] March, a Chei, a Betǒyr a vuant ell petwar, ac ny chaǒsant kymint ac vn banǒ, nac o dreis, nac odǒyll nac o ledrat y gantaǒ.

A'r trydyd Koll vab Kallureǒy ǒrth voch [Dall]wyr[96] dallben y Glyn Dallwyr yg Kerniǒ. Ac vn o'r moch a oed dorroc, Henwen oed y henǒ. A darogan oed yd hanuyde[i][97] waeth ynys Brydein o'r torllǒ[yth].[98] A[c][99] yna y kynullaǒd Arth*ur* llu ynys Brydein, ac yd aeth [y geisso][100]

[94] This sentence is missing from the Pen. 16 text.
[95] Word is faded and partially illegible.
[96] Word is faded and partially illegible.
[97] Damage to the manuscript.
[98] Word is faded and partially illegible.
[99] Word is faded and partially illegible.
[100] Text is faded and illegible.

y diua. Ac yd [a]eth[101] hɔcheu yg Gordodɔ, ac [ym][102] Benrhyn Haɔstin yg Ker[niɔ][103] yd aeth yn y mor. A'r gɔr[ueichiat][104] yn y hol. [Ac][105] y maes gɔenith yg Went y dotwes ar ar wenithen, a gɔenynen. Ac yr hynny hyt hediɔ y mae goreu lle gɔenith a gɔenyn maes gɔenith yg Went. Ac yn Llonyon ym Phenuro y dotwes ar heiden a gɔenithen. Am hynny y diharhebir o heid Llonyon. Ac yn riw Gyuerthwch yn Aruon y dotwes a geneu cath, a chyɔ eryr, ac y roet y bleid y Vergaed, ac y roet yr eryr y Vreat tywyssaɔc o'r Gogled. Ac ɔynt a hanuuant waeth onadunt. Ac yn Llanueir yn Aruon a dan y maen du y dotwes ar geneu kath. Ac y ar y maen y bɔryoed y gɔrueichiat yn y mor, a meibion Paluc[106] y mon a'e magassant yr drɔc vdunt a honno vn gath Baluc. Ac a uu vn o deir prif ormes Mon, a uagɔyt yndi, a'r eil oed Daronwy, a'r dryded: Edwin vrenhin Lloegyr.

RED BOOK (A4.58) Tri gɔrueichyat ynys Brydein:
Pryderi uab Pɔyll Penn Annwn, ɔrth uɔch Pendaran Dyuet y datmaeth. Ac y sef moch oedynt y seithlydyn a duc Pɔyll penn Annɔnn. Ac a'e rodes y Pendaran Dyuet y Datmaeth. Ac y sef y lle y katwei: y Glynn Cuch yn Emlyn. Ac y sef achaɔs y gelwit hɔnnɔ yn ɔrueithat: kany allei neb na thaɔyll na threis arnaɔ.

A'r eil: Drystan uab Tallɔch ɔrth voch March uab Meirchyon, tra aeth y meichyat yn gennat a'r Essyllt. Arth*ur*, a March, a Chei, a Bedwyr a uuant ell petwar, ac ny chaɔssant kymmeint ac un banɔ, nac o dreis, nac o dɔyll, nac o ledrat y gantaɔ.

A'r trydyd: Coll uab Kallurewy, ɔrth uoch Dallwyr dallben yg Glynn [Dall]wyr[107] yg Kernyɔ, ac un o'r moch oed [dorra]ɔc,[108] Hennwenn oed y henɔ, a darogan oed yr hanuydei waeth ynys Prydein o'r torllɔyth. Ac yna y kynnulaɔd Arthur llu ynys Brydein, ac yd aeth y geissaɔ y diua, ac yna yd aeth hythen yg Gordodɔ, ac ym Pennrynn Haɔstin yg Kerniɔ, yd aeth yn y mor, a'r gɔrdueichyat yn y hol, ac y maes Gɔenith yg ɔent y dotwes ar w[*e*]nnithen a gɔennynen, ac yr hynny hyt hediɔ y mae goreu lle gɔenith a gɔenyn maes Gɔenith yg ɔent, ac yn Llouyon ym Pennuro y dotwes ar heiden a gɔenhithen, am hynny y diaerhebir a heid Llouyon. Ac yn riɔ Gyfuerthɔch yn Aruo[n] y dodwes ar geneu cath, a chyɔ eryr, ac y roet y bleid y Uergaed. Ac y roet yr eryr y breat tywyssaɔc o'r Gogled, ac ɔynt a hanuuant waeth onadunt. Ac yn Llanueir yn Aruon adan y maen du y dotwes ar geneu cath. Ac y ar y maen y byryaɔd y gɔrueichyat yn y mor, a meibon Paluc yn Mon, a'e magassant yr drɔc udunt. A honno uu Gath Baluc, ac a uu un o deir prif ormes Mon a uagɔyt yndi, a'r eil oed Daronɔy, a'r dryded Etwin urenhin Lloegyr.

PEN. 47 (A16.11) Tri gwrdueichat ynys Prydein:
Pryderi mab Pɔyll pen Anɔfyn, a Cholll mab Collurewy, a Drystan.

PEN. 47 (A16.31) Tri gwrd veichat ynys Prydein:

Drysdan mab Tallɔch a getwis moch March mab Meirchyaɔn tra aeth y meichyat y erchi y Essyllt dyuot y'r gynadyl, ac Arthur yn keissaɔ vn hɔch ac o dɔyll a'e y dris ac nys kauas.

[101] Damage to the manuscript
[102] Word is faded and illegible.
[103] Word is faded and partially illegible.
[104] Word is faded and partially illegible.
[105] Word is faded and illegible.
[106] "*Bala*" has been deleted with *puncti delens* preceeding this word.
[107] Word is stained and partially illegible.
[108] Word is stained and partially illegible.

A Phryderi mab Pɷyll pen Anɷyn, a getwis moch Pendaran Dyuet yn Glyn Kuɷch yn Emlyn.

A Choll mab ɷurewy, a gedwis hɷch Datweir dallben a hi a aeth yn gordodɷ hyt ym Penryn Aɷstin yng Kernyɷ ac yna yd aeth hi yn y mor ac yn aber Tarrodi yng Went is Koet y doeth y'r tir. A Choll mab Killvrewy a'e laɷ ac y gwrych py ford bynnac y kerdeir nac ar vor nac ar dir. Ac yn y maes Gwenith yng Went y dotwes gwenithen gwenenen ac ɷrth hynny y mae goreu lle y wenith ac wenyn y lle hɷnnɷ. Ac odyno yd aeth hyt yn Llonyon ym Penuro ac yno y dotwes heiden a gwenenen ac ɷrth hynny y mae goreu y heid Llonyon ym Penuro. Ac odyno yd aeth hyt yn riɷ Kyuerthɷch yn Eryri ac yno dotwes ar geneu bleid ac ederyn eryr. Ac eryr a rodes Koll mab Kollurewy y Vrynach ɷydel o'r Gogled rei hynny vn vleid Morwed, a eryr Brynach ac odyno yd aeth hyt y maes du yn Lanueir yn Aruon ac y dotwes a'r geneu kath a'r keneu hɷnnɷ a vɷyryaɷd Koll mab Kollurewy ym Menei a hɷnnɷ vu cath Balɷc gwedy hynny.

PEN. 51 (A9.52) Tri ɷgrɷechiad ynys Prydain:
Pryderi ap Pwyll pen [An]wfn wrth ɷoch Pendaran Dyɷed dadmaeth, a sef moch oeddynt y sseithlydyn a ddug Pwyll penn Anwfn ac a'i rroes i Benndaran Dyfed i dadmaeth a ssef [*lle*] y kadwai yn y Glynn Kych[109] yn Emlyn. Ssef achos y gwlwid hwnnw yn wɷechiad kann allai neb nai dwyll na'e dressis.

Ac ail ɷɷ Drysstan ap Tallwch wrth ɷoch March ap Meirchiawn tra aeth y meichiad yn gennad a Essylt. Arthur a March a Chei a Bedwyr a ɷɷant yll pedwar yn ddisstwyl ac ni chowssant kymeint a baneɷ o garnaw nag o drais nat o ledyd.

Y trydedd ɷɷ Goll ap Kollbrewy […][110] [yng H]erniw ac ɷn moch oedd dorrog, Henwyn[111] oedd i henw, a darogan oedd y bydd[ai] waeth ynys Prydain o'r torllwyth hwnnw. Ac yna kynɷllod Arthur ynys Prydain geisso y diɷa ac yna y aeth hichaɷ.[112] Ac ym Henryn Owsstin[113] yng Herniw y ddaeth hi yn y mor [*ar*][114] gwddɷeichiad yn hol ac y maes y gwenith yn Gwent y dodwis ar wenith[*en*] a gwenyn[*en*] ag hyny hyd heddiɷ y mae gore lle gwenith & gwenyn maes y gwenith yn Gwent. Ac yn Lloɷian yn Henɷro y ddodwes[115] ar wenith e heidaɷ[116] ag am hynny dirarhebir[117] [*o*] ha[*i*]d Lloɷian ac yn rryw[118] Gyɷerthwch yn Arɷon y dodwes [*geneɷ*] kath a c[*h*]ɷyw eryr ac y rroed y blaidd ɷargaed ac y rroed y byd [eryr] y ɷeriad[119] tywyssog o'r Gogledd ag wynt a bɷant ɷaeth [*onaddunt*] ac yn lle Lle[*n*]ɷair yn Arɷon dan ɷaen [*y Maen Du*] y dodwes ar genau kath ac o yar benn y maen o bwrwdd y gwrɷeichiad ef yn y mor a meibion Paluc y Mon a magyssant y drwc ɷddɷnt […][120] [tryd]ydd, Edwin ɷrenin Lloegr.

CWRT. 3 (A12.49) Tri gwrddvaichiad ynys Brytain:

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[109] Vaughan corrects: "*Kɷch*"
[110] Damage to the manuscript, a line is cut off and illegible.
[111] Vaughan corrects: "*Hennwen*"
[112] Vaughan corrects: "*hycheu yn Gordodw*"
[113] Vaughan corrects: "*Hawsstin*"
[114] Correction in the hand of Gwilym Tew.
[115] Vaughan corrects: "*dodwes*"
[116]
[117]
[118] Vaughan corrects: "*Rriw*"
[119] Vaughan corrects: "*Vraid*"
[120] Damage to the manuscript, three lines illegible.

Pryderi vap Pwyll Anwfn, a gadiodd y moch oeddyn oeddynt saithlwdn a ddûc Pwyll penn Anwfn, ac a'i rhoddes y Ben daran Dyfed. Sef lle y kedwis ynglyn Cywth yn Emlyn. Sef achos y gelwid hwn yn wrdd vaichiad wrth na [*wnaed*] na thwyll na thrais.

Yr ail oedd Drystan vap Tallwch wrth March ap Marchiawn tra aeth y maichiad y erchi Esyllt ddyvod y gynnal oed ef. Ac Arthyr a March ap Mairchiawn a Chei ap Bedwyr a vûant bedwar yn caisio'r mwy ac ny chawsant vn llwdn nac o drais nac o dwyll.

A'r trydydd Coll ɔab Collrwy wrth voch Dallwr dall ben yn glyn Dallwyr yn Gherniw. Ac vn o'r moch oedd dorrawc, Henwen oedd y henw. A darogan oedd y byddai aeth ynys Brytain o'r torllwyth hyny. Ac yna y cyhwnnawdd Arthur llu ynys Brytain ac yr aeth i gaisiaw y difa. Yna yr aeth llu h[?]the yn Gorddydw, ac ym Hennryn Awstin yn Gherniw yr aeth i'r mor, a'r gwrddvaichiad yn y hol. Ac yn y maes Ghwenith yn Gwent y dy[*d*]wes ar weinthen a gwenwynynen. Ac er hyny hyd heddiw y mae goraû gwenith a gwenyn yn y maes Gwenith yn Gwent. Ac yn Llofion ym Penvro y dydwes ar haidden, a gweninan ac am hyny y diareir haidd Llofion. Ac ym penriɔ Gyfoethwch Arvon y dydwes ar genaû catch a chyw eryr a chenaû blaidd. Ac y rhoed y blaidd y Vergad a'r eryr i Vrygad tynysawc o'r Gogledd. Ac nyn y hûn a vûant o'i caffael. Ac yn Llannvair yn Arvon y dan y maen duy y dydwes ar genaû cath, ac iar y mann y bwriawdd y gwrddvaichiad hi y'r mor. A' meibion Palic y Mon a'i magasant er drwc yddynt. A hono vu'r gath Balic, ac vn o dair brif ormes Mon a vagwyd yndi. Yr ail oedd Daronwy, ar drydedû oedd Edwin vrenhin Lloecr.

PEN. 77 (A14.8) Tri gwrdd veichiad ynys Prydain a gedwis moch:
[Drystan ap Tallwch] a gedwis moch March meichion tra aeth y meichiad i erchi i Esyllt ddyvod yw gynadl ac Arthûr yn ceisio vn o honunt a'i i dwyll a'i I dreis ac nis cafas.

A Phryderi ap Pwyll pen Annwfn, a gedwis moch Pendaran Dyved [dadmaeh] e Glen ym Glyn Cwch yn Emlyn.

A Choll ap Collvrewy, a gedwis Henwen hwch Dallwr dallben aeth i orddodwy ym Henryn Awstin yng Hernyw ac ydd aeth yn y mor ac yn Aber Torrogi yng Went y deuth i dir. A Chol a ddoeth i Vaes Gwenith yng Went, ac a ddodwes a'r wenithen ac ar wenyne, a Choll a'i law ar i gwyrch ba fford bynac y cerddai. Ac oddyna i ddaeth i Lonnon ym Henvro ac y dodwes ar herdden a gwennwyn, ac wrth gymry y yr aeth hyd yn rhiw gyverchwch yn Yryri ac y dodwes yno ar geneu blaidd ac edery Arllechwedd, ar eryr a roed Vrennach Wyddel. Ac o llym y doeth hyd daw y maen dû yn Llanvair yn Arvon, ac y dodwes geneu cath a hwnw vû cath Bali ac a vwriws Coll ap Collvrewy iar y maen dû ym Menai.

BL ADD. 31,055 (A17.2) Tri gwrdd ɔeichiad ynys Brytain.
Pryderi ɔap Pwyll Anwfn a gadwodd moch Pendaran Dyûet, sef ɔoch oeddynt seithllwdn a ddûg Pwyll penn Annwfn ag ei rhoddes i Benn deran Dyɔet, sef lle redwis yn Glyn Cywch yn Emlyn. Sef achos y gelwid hwnw yn wrdd ɔeichiad wrth na wnaed na thwyll na thrais arnaw.

A'r ail oedd Trystan ap Tallwch wrth ɔoch March ap Meirchiawn tra aeth y uechiaid y erchi y Esyllt ddyfod y gynnal oed ac ef. Ac Arthûr a March ap Meirchiawn a Chai a Bedwyr, a ɔûant bedwar yn ceisio'r march ac ny chowsant ɔn llwdn nag o drais nag o dwyll.

A'r trydydd, Coll ɔap Collɔrewy wrth ɔoch Dallwr dallben yn Glyn Dallwyr yn Gherniw. Ac ɔn o'r moch oedd dorroc, Henwhen oedd i henw. Ac darogan oedd byddai waeth ynys Brytain o'r torllwych hynny. Ac yna y cyhwnnod Arthûr llû ynys Brytain. Ac yr aeth y geissiaw y difa, yna yr aeth hitheu yn Gordydw, ac ym Henn Brynn Awstin yn Gherniw yr aeth i'r mor, ac gwyrddɔeichiad yn y hol. Ac ym Maes Gwenith yn Ghwent y dydwes ar wenithen a gwenynen.

Ac o'r hyny gyd hyddyw y mae goraû gwenith a ghewyn yn y maes ghenith yn Gwent. Ac yn Llufion ym Penvro y dydwes ar heidden a gweinthen. Ac am hyny y diharebir haidd Llofion. Ac ym pen riw Gyfoethwch Arɔon y dydwes ar genaû cath a chyw eryr a genaû blaidd. Ac y rhoed y blaidd y Vergad ar eryr i Vraid tywysawc o'r gogledd. Ac wyw y Ros a ɔûant o'r caffael. Ac yn Llanɔair yn Arɔon y dann y maen dɔy y dydwes ar genaû cath. Ac iar y maim [*sic*, for "y ar y maen"] y bwriod y gwrdd veichiad y hi y'r mor. A meibion Paluc ym Mon a'i magasant er drwc ɔddynt, a honno ɔû'r gath Balic. Ac ɔn o dair prif ormes Mon a ɔagwyd ynddi. Yr ail oedd Daronwy, a'r drydedd oedd Edwin ɔrenhin Lloegr.

CARD. 2.26 (A18.12) Tri gvrbhechat y*nys* P*rydein*.[121]

CARD. 2.26 (A18.23) Tri gvrthbheichat y*nys* P*rydein*:
Drystan m*ab* Talhvch a getvis moch [March m*ab*][122] Meirchavn hyt tra aeth y meirchat i erchi e Essavt dhbhod yv gynadyl, ac Arthur yn ceissyav ɔn hvch a'e i tvylh a'i i trais onadhɔnt, ac nys rabhas. A' Phryderi m*ab* Pvylh penanvbhlyn a gevis moch pant dybhet y glyn Cubch yn Emlyn.

A Cholh m*ab* Colh[*bhre*]vy a getvys Henven hvch Dalveir Dalhpen a' hi a aeth i gordhodv hyt ym Pen ryn Avstin y Ghernyv, ac yno rei aeth yn y mor. Ac yn Aber Darrogi y Ghvent-is-coet i doeth i'r tir. A' Cholh m*ab* Colhbhrevy a'e yn y grych, py phordh bynnac y cerdhei nac ar bhor nac ar dir, ac ym maes gvenith y Ghvent y dotves ar wenithen a' gvenenen. Ac er hynny y mae goreɔ le i venith y lhe hvnnv, ac odhyna ydh aeth hyd yn Llonyon ym Penbhro, ac yno dotves ar heidhen a' gvenenen. Ac er hynny y mae goreɔ lhe i heidh Lhonnyon, ar odhyna y cerdvis hyt yn rhiv Cybherthvch un Eryri. Ac yno y dotves ar geneɔ bleidh, ac ederyn eryri. A'r a rhodhes Colh m*ab* Colhbhrewvy i Bhrennach vydhel [o'r][123] Gogledh, a'r bleidh a rodhes i Bheɔvaedh o Arlhechvedh. A'r rhe hynny bhɔ bhleidh Meɔvaedh, ac eryr Brennach. Ac odhyna ydh hyt y maen dy yn Llanbhair yn Arbhon. Ac yno y dotves ar geneɔ cath, ar ceneɔ hvnnv a bhyryvys Colh m*ab* Colhbhrevy yn y mor a gvnnv gvedi lyma bhɔ gath Baluc.

TYP 27. TRI LLETURITHAWC / THREE ENCHANTERS

PEN. 16 (A2.27) Tri lleturithaɔc e*nys* P*rydein*
Coll m*ab* Collɔrewy, a Menw m*ab* Tengɔaed, a Drych eil Kibdar.

PEN. 45 (A3.24) Tri phrif lleturithaɔc y*nys* P*rydein*
Coll m*ab* Collurewy, a Menyɔ m*ab* Teirgwaed, a Drych eil Kiɔdar.

PEN. 47 (A6.32) Tri prif letrithaɔc ynys Prydein:
Coll mab Collurewy, a Menɔ mab Teirgwaed, a Drych eil Kibdar.

DIAR. CAMB. (A13.13) Tri lledrithiavvc[124] ynys Brytain.

[121] This title is preceded by writing which Rhys crossed out: "Tri aerbhedavc y*nys* P*rydein*: Selybh Cvn[*yan*]…"
[122] Damage to the manuscript.
[123] Damage to the manuscript.
[124] Correcting hand: "*prif lledfrithawc*"

Coll ’ap Collvrewy, Menw ’ap Teirgwaedd, Drych ail Kebddar.[125]

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.12) Tri lled vrithiog ynys Brydain:
Kall ap Kollurwy, Menw ap Teirgwaedd, a Drych ail Kibddar.

NLW 6434 (A16.13) Tri lledrithiac y*nys* B*rydain*:
Coll ap Collɷrewy, Menw ap Teirgwaedd, Drych ail Kebddar.

CARD. 2.26 (A18.22) Tri phribh lhetbhrithgavt y*nys* P*rydein*:
Colh m*ab* Colhbhrevy, Menyv m*ab* Teirgvaedh, a’ Drych eil Crvdar.

TYP 28. TEIR PRIF HUT / THREE GREAT ENCHANTMENTS

PEN. 16 (A2.28) Teir prif hut e*nys* P*rydein*:
Hut Math m*ab* Mathonwy, a hut ɷthyr Bendragon, a hut Gwythelin gorr.

PEN. 45 (A3.25) Teir prif hut y*nys* P*rydein*:
Hut Math m*ab* Matonɷy, a hut Uth*ur* Pendragon, a hut Gɷydelyn gor.

WHITE BOOK (A4.9) Teir prif hut ynys Brydein:
Hut Math vab Mathonɷy a dysgaɷd y Wdyon vab Don, a hut Vthyr Bendragon a dysgaɷd y Venɷ vab Teirgɷaed, a’r dryded: hut Rudlwm gorr a dysgaɷd y Goll vab Kollurewy y nei.

RED BOOK (A5.20) Teir prif hut ynys Brydein
Hut Mat uab Mathonɷy, a dysgaɷd y Wydyon uab Don, a hut Uthur Penndragon, a dysgaɷd y Uenɷ uab Teirgɷaed, a’r dryded: hut Ruolɷm gorr, a dysgaɷd a dysgaɷd y Goll uab Collurewy y nei.

PEN. 47 (A6.33) Teir prif hut ynys Prydein:
Hut Math mab Mathonwy, a hut Yrthur Bendragon, a hut Muchuach gorr.

PEN. 50 (A7,26) Teir prif hut ynys Prydain:
Hut Math mab Mathonwy, a hut ɷther ben dragon, a hut Gwythelin gorr.

PEN. 51 (A9.9) Tair prif hud ynys Prydain:
Hud Math ap Mathonwy, a ddysgodd y Wydion ap Don, a hud Uthr Benndragon, a ddyssgodd y ɷenw ap Teirgwaeth, a hud Rruddlw m[ap] Gorr, a ddyssgodd y Goll ap Kollɷrewy y nai.

CWRT. 3 (A12.14) Tair prif hŷd ynys Brytain:
Math map Mathonwy, a ddyscoedd vap Don, a hyd Vthr Pendracon, a dyscodd y Fenw vap Tairgaeth,[126] a’r drydedd, a hyd Ruddlwng gorr, a ddyscawdd i Goll vap Collfrewy, y [*nai*].

DIAR. CAMB. (A13.14) Tair prif hud ynys Brytain.

[125] Correcting hand: “*Kibddar*”
[126] Correcting hand: “*Tairgwaedd.*”

Hud Math ’ap Mathonwy, hud Uther Pendragon, a hud Gwythelin gorr.[127]

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.13) Tri phrif hud ynys Brydain:
Hud Math ap Mathonwy, hut Vthin Pendragwn, hud Gwyddelyn gorr.

NLW 6434 (A16.14) Tri prif hɔd y*nys* B*rydain*:
Hɔd Math ap Mathonwy, hɔd ɔther pendragon, a hɔd Gwythelin gorr.

CARD. 2.26 (A18.21) Teir pribh hɔt y*nys* P*rydein*:
Hɔt Math m*ab* Mathonwy, a hut ɔthyr pendragon, a’ hɔt Gvydhelyn gorr.

TYP 29. TRI DIWEIR DEULU / THREE FAITHFUL WARBANDS

PEN. 16 (A2.29) Tri diweir deulu e*nys* P*rydein*:
Deulu Catwallaɔn m*ab* Catuan, a uuant seith mlyned y gyt ac yn Ywerdon, ac yn hynny o yspeit ny o uynassant dim idaɔ, rac goruot arnadunt y adaɔ. A’r eil teulu Gauran m*ab* Aedan, a aethant y’r mor dros eu harglwyd. A thrydyd teulu Guendoleu m*ab* Keidaɔ yn Arderyd, a gynhalyassant y ɔrydyr pythewnos a mis wedy llad eu harglwyd. Sef oed riuedi teuluoed pob un o’r gɔyr hynny vn can wr ar ugeint.

PEN. 45 (A3.26) Tri diweir teulu y*nys* P*rydein*:
Teulu Catwallaɔn m*ab* Catuan, a uuant seith mlyned yn Iwerdon y gyt ac ef, a yn hynny o yspeit ny o uynasant dim idaɔ, rac goruot arnadut y adaɔ. A theulu Gauran m*ab* Aedan, a aethant y’r mor dros eu harglwyd. A’r trydyd teulu Gwendoleu m*ab* Keidyaɔ yn Arderyd a gynnalassant y urɔydyr pytheɔnos a mis wedy llad eu harglwyd. Sef oed riuedi teuluoed pob un or gwyr hynny: un canhɔr ar ugeint.

WHITE BOOK (A4.30) Tri diweir deulu ynys Brydein:
Teulu Katwallaɔn yn y ɔuant hualogeon, a theulu Gafran ap Aedan pan un y diuankall, a theulu Gɔendoleu ap Keidiaɔ yn Arderyd, a dalyassant yr ymlad pythefnos a mis gɔedy llad eu harglɔyd. Sef eod eiryf pob vn o’r teuluoed vn kanɔr ar ugeint.

RED BOOK (A5.42) Tri diweir delu ynys Prydein:
Teulu Katwallaɔn yn y buant hualygyon, a theulu Gafran uab Aedan, pan uu y diua[*n*]koll, a theulu Gɔendoleu ab Keidyaɔ yn Arderyd, a dalyssant yr ymlad pythewnos a mis gɔedy llad eu harglɔyd. Sef oed eiryf pob un o’r teulu oed un kanwr ar hugeint.

PEN. 47 (A6.34) Tri diweir delu ynys Prydein:
Teulu Katwallaɔn mab Katuan, a vuat mlyned seith yn Iwerdon y gyt ac ef heb o uyn dim o iaɔn ydaɔ yn hynny o amser. Ac eil, vn teulu Gafron mab Aedan, a aethant yn y mor drostaɔ. Y trydyd, teulu Gwyndoleu mab Keidaɔ yn Aryteryd, a gynhallyassant y vrɔydyr bethewnos a mis wedy llad eu hargwyd. Sef oed riuedi pob vn canhɔr arugeint.

PEN. 50 (A7.13) Tri diweir teulu ynys Prydein:

[127] Correcting hand: “*Rhuddlwm Gorr*”

Teulu Catwallaɔn pan vuant hualogyon, teulu Gafran mab Aydan pan vu yn y ddinancoll, a theulu Gwynddoleu mab Keidiaɔ yn Arderyt a ddalyassant yr ymladd petheɔnos a mis wedy llad eu harglɔydd. Sef oedd eiryf teuleoedd y gwyr hynny: vn canɔr ar ugeint.

PEN. 51 (A9.38) Tri diwair deɔlɔ ynys Prydain:
Teɔlɔ Kadwa[*ll*]wn pan ɔɔant hualogion a theɔlɔ Gaɔran ap Aeddan pan ɔɔ y diɔankoll arnɔnt a theɔlɔ Gwynddoleɔ ɔap Keidio yn Arderydd a ddaliassant ymladd bethefnos [*a mis*] gwedy llad eɔ hargwlydd. Sef oed erif pob ɔn o'r teɔlɔoedd pɔmcannwr[128] ar rrɔgain.

CWRT. 3 (A12.36) Tri diwair deûlû ynys Brydain:
Teûlû Cadwallawn yn y lle y bûant hûalogion, a theulû Gafran ap Aeddan pan vû ddivancoll arnan, a theûlû Gwnddolaû ap Caidio yn Ardderydd. Sef oedd eyryf pob vn o hanynt: vn cannwr ar hugaint.

DIAR. CAMB. (A13.15) Tri divveir deuluy ynys Brytain.
Teulu Cydwallan 'ap Cadvan a buant saith blynedd dyg ac ef yn Iwerddon, ac yn hyny o yspeid ni ofynason ddim iddaw rhagorbod arnaddunt ei adaw. Yr ail oedd teuluy Gawran ap Aeddan, a aethan i'r mor dros ei harglwydd. A'r trydyd, teuluy Gwenddoleu ap Keidiaw yn Arderydd a gynheliasant y brwydyr bythefnos a mis wedy llad ei hargluydd. Sef oedd rhifedi teulu pop vn o'r gwyr hyny, un can wr ar hugain.

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.14) Tri diwair devlv ynys Brydain:
Tevlv Gydwallan ap Kadvan, a vv saith mlynedd gidag ef yn Iwerddon, ag yn hynny o yshaid ni ofynysson ddim iddo rag gorvod arnvnt I ado. Yr ail oedd llv Gawran ap Aeddan aethan i'r mor dros i harglwydd. Trydydd, tevlv Gwenddolav ap Keidiaw yn Arderydd, a gynalyssant y vwydr bythefnos a mis gwedi llad i harglwydd. Sef oedd rifedi pob llv o'r gwyr hynny: vn cant ar hugen.

NLW 6434 (A16.15) Tri diweir deɔluy y*nys* B*rydain*:
Teɔlu Cydwallon ap Caduan, a ɔuant saith blynedd gyd ac ef yn Ywerddon, ac yn hyny o yspeid, ni ofynason ddim iddaw ragorɔod arnaddɓnt i adaw. Yr ail oedd teɔlɔy Gawran ap Aeddan, a aethant i'r mor dros ei harglwydd. A'r trydydd, teɔlɔy Gwenddoleu ap Keidiaw yn Arderydd a gynheliesant y ɔroydyr bythefnos a mis wedi llad i arglwydd. Sef oedd rhifedi teɔlɔ pop ɔn o'r gwyr hyny: ɔn canwr ar hɔgain.

CARD. 2.26 (A18.20) Tri diveir teɔlɔ y*nys* P*rydein*:
Teɔlu Catvalhavn m*ab* Catbhan, a bhuant saith mlynedh yn Iverdhon y gyht ac ebh, ac yn hynny o yspeit ny obhynnasaant dim idhav, rhac gorbhod arnɔnt ei adav. A'r eil, deɔlu Gabhran m*ab* Aedhan a aethant yn y mor dros eɔ harglvydh. A'r trydydh, teɔlu Gvendholeɔ m*ab* Ceidav yn Ardheryd, a gynhalyssant y bhrvydyr pythevnos a' mis gvedhy lhadh eɔ harglvydh. Sebh oedh rhibhedi teɔluoedh pob ɔn or gvyr hynny: ɔn can y vr ar hɔgaint.

CARD. 2.83 (A19.6) Tri diwair deɔlɔ ynys Brydain:

[128] Vaughan corrects: "*vncannwr*"

Kyndaf deɔlɔ Kyswalan lawir pan fɔont hɔalonion, a theɔlɔ Gafron ar ɔeddann pan fɔont yn y disankoll, a theɔlɔ Gwynddolaɔ ap Keidio y aerddryd a ddaliasant yr ymladd [pythewnos a mis][129] wedi llad i harglwydd […] -di y gwyr hyny ɔn kant ar hugain […] -log.

TYP 30. TRI ANYWEIR DEULU / THREE FAITHLESS/DISLOYAL WARBANDS

PEN. 16 (A2.30) Tri anyweir deulu e*nys* P*rydein*:
Teulu Goronwy peuyr o [*Bowys*],[130] a omedassant[131] eu harglwyd o erbynnyeit y gɔenwynwayw y gan Lleu llaɔ gyffes yn llech Oronwy ym blaen kynuael. A theulu Gɔrgi a Pheredur, a adaɔassant eu harglwyd yg Caer Greu, ac oet ymlad udunt drannoeth ac Eda glinɔawr, ac yna y llas ell deu. A theulu Alan Fyrgan, a ymchuelassant y ɔrthaɔ hyt nos ac ellɔng a'e weissyon Gamlan ac yno y llas.

PEN. 45 (A3.27) Tri aniweir teulu ynys Prydein:
Teulu Goronɔ pefyr o Pennlyn a omedassant eu harglɔyd o erbynneit y gwenɔynwayɔ y gan Leu llaw gyffes yn llech Oronɔy ym blaen Kynuael. A theulu Gɔrgi a Pheredur a adaɔssant eu harglɔyd yg Caer Greu, ac a oed ymlad trannoeth udunt ac Eda glinuaɔr. Ac yna y llas ell deu. A'r trydyd teulu Alan Fyrgan, a ymchoelassant ɔrth eu harglɔyd ar y ford hyt nos a'e ellɔng ynteu a'e weisson Kamlan, ac yno y llas.

WHITE BOOK (A4.31) Tri anniweir teulu ynys Brydein:
Teulu Goronɔ peuyr o Benlyn, a omedassant eu harglɔyd o erbyn y gwenwynwaeɔ y gan Lleu llaɔ gyffes, a theulu Gɔrgi a Pheredur, a adaɔsant eu harglɔyd yg Kaer Greu a chyuoeth ac ymlad vdunt drannoeth, ac Eda glingawr. Ac yna y llas ell deu. A'r trydyd teulu ar lan Fergan a ymadaɔsant ac eu harglɔyd yn lledrat y ar y fford yn mynet Gamlan. Riuedi pob vn o'r teuluoed vn kanɔr ar ugeint.

RED BOOK (A5.43) Tri anniweir deulu ynys Brydein:
Teulu Gronɔ peuyr o Bennllyn, a omedassant eu harglɔyd o erbyn y gɔennɔynwaeɔ y gan Leɔ llaɔ gyffes, a theulu Gɔrgi a Pheredur, a adaɔsant eu harglɔyd yg Kaer Greu a chyuoeth ac ymlad udunt dra*n*noeth ac Eda glingaɔr. Ac yna y llas ell deu. A'r trydyd: teulu ar lan Ffergan, a ymadaɔssant ac eu harglɔyd yn lledrat y ar y fford yn mynet Gamlan. Riuedi pob un o'r teuluoed un cann ɔr ar hugeint.

PEN. 47 (A6.35) Tri aniweir deulu ynys Prydein:
Teulu Grono mab Pepyr o Benllyn, a omedassant eu harglɔwyd o erbynyaɔ y gwenɔynwayɔ y gan Lew llaɔ gyffes yn llech Grono ymlaen Kynvael yn Ardudwy. Yr eil teulu Gɔrgi, a adawssant eu harglɔyd yn Gaer Greu ac a oed ymlad vdunt drannoeth ac Oda glinvaɔr. Y trydyd teulu Alan Fergan a ymhoelassant ody ɔrthaɔ hyt nos iar y ford ac ellɔng ynteu a'e weissyon y Gamlan.

PEN. 50 (#14) Tri aniweir teulu ynys Prydein:

[129] The top right corner of this page has been damaged and is extremely faded, making portions of this triad illegible.
[130] A word, now illegible, has been scratched out and "Bowys" has been written over it in a different hand.
[131] The word *ymadaussant* is deleted with *puncti delens*.

Teulu Goronwy peuyr o Penllyn a omeddassant y harglǒydd o yrǒmiett y gwenǒynweǒ y gan Lleǒ llaǒ gyffes, teulu Gǒrgi a Pheredur a addaǒsant eu harglǒydd yg Haer Greu a Chyfnot ymladd drannoeth uddunt, a dani glymor ac yno y llas ell deu. A theulu Alan Fargan a ymchwelant yn lledrat y ar yn mynet y Gamlan hyt nos a'e ellǒng yntheu y Gamlan, a'y weison ac yno y llas. Sef oedd riuedi pob vn o'r teuleoedd hynny vn can ǒr ar ugeint.

PEN. 51 (A9.39) Tri aniwair deǒlǒ ynys Prydain:
Teǒlǒ Gronw beǒr o Benllyn a aǒaehassant eǒ harglwydd ar wenwynaw[132] [*y gan*] Llew llaw gyffes, a theǒlǒ Gwrgi a Peredur a adawssant eǒ harglwydd yng haer Greǒ a Chynǒoeth […][133] y llas y ymladdassant[134] eǒ harglwydd yn lledrad ar y fford yn myned i Gamlann riǒedi y gwyr a las yno ǒn[135] kant ar rrǒgain.

CWRT. 3 (A12.37) Tri aniwair teylû ynys Brytain:
Teylû Gronwy pebyr o Benllyn a omeddasant y hargwlydd o erbynn y groenwynwayn y gan Lew llaw gyffes, a theulû Gwrgi a Pheredur a adawsant y harglwydd yn ghaer Graû a'i chyfoeth a'i ymladd yddynt dranoeth, a Eda glingawl, ac yn y llas hwynt ell daû. A'r trydyd teûlû ar lan Vergan ymadansant a'i hargwlydd yn lledrad ar y hardd yn myned y Gamblan yr medivn cant ar hugaint.

DIAR. CAMB. (A13.16) Tri annivvair deulu ynys Brytain.
Teulu Gronwy pebyr o Bowys a' omeddasant ei harglwydd o erbynieit y gwenwy[*n*]waew i gan Llen llaw gyffes yn llechronwy ym blaen Kynvaeth[136] [*yn Ardudwy*]. Yr ail, teuluy Gwrgi a Phredur a adawsanc eu harglwydd yn ghaer Gren ac oed yn ymladd yddynt dranoeth ac Adda glinvawr ac yny y llas yll dau. A'r trydydd, teulu Alan Uyrgan, a ymchwelasant y wrthaw o hyd nos a'i ollwng a'I weison y'r Gamlan, ac ynos[137] y llas.

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.15) Tri anghowir devlv ynys Brydain:
Tevlv Gronwy befr o Bvwys, a omeddodd i hargwlydd o erbyn y gwenwynwaiw gan Lew llaw gyffes yn llech Ronwy ym laen Kynvaeth. Yr ail, tevlv Gwrgi a Phredur, a dowssant i hargwlydd yn ghaer Gren oedd ag ymladd arno drannoeth ag Adda glinvawr. A'r trydydd tevlv, tevlv Alan Vyrgan, amhoelysant o ddiwrthowyd nos a'i i llwng a'i keisson i'r gad gad Gamlan, ag yno i llas.

NLW 6434 (A16.16) Tri anniwair deǒlǒ y*nys* B*rydain*:
Teǒlǒ Gronwy peǒyr o Bowys, a omeddasant ei harglwydd o erbynnieit y gwenwywaew i gan Llen llaw gyffes yn Llech Ronwy ymlaen Kynǒaeth. Yr ail, teǒlǒ Gwrgi a Phredǒr, a adawosant eǒ harglwydd yn ghaer Gren, ac oedd yn ymladdyddunt dranoeth ac Adda glinǒawr, ac yna y llas yll daǒ. A'r trydydd teǒlvy oedd Alan ǒyrgan, a ymchwelesant o wrth am o hyd nos a'i ollwng ai weison yr Gamlan, ac y nos y llas.

CARD. 2.26 (A18.19) Tri anniveir teǒlǒ y*nys* P*rydein*:

[132] Vaughan corrects "*ar Wenwynaw*" to "*o erbyn y Gwenwynwaow*"
[133] Damage to the manuscript, the text of two lines is illegible.
[134] Vaughan correccts: "*ymadanassant*"
[135] Vaughan corrects "*y gwyr a las yno ǒn kant*" to "*pob vn or teuluoedd*"
[136] Correcting hand: "*Kynvael*"
[137] Correcting hand: "*yno*"

Teɷlɷ Gorɷnvy pebhyr [o B]enlhyn[138] a omedhassant eɷ harglvydh o erbynyeit y gvenynyayv y gan Lev lhavgyphes yn Lhech Oronvy ym blaen Cynbhlael, a' teɷlɷ Gvrgi a' Pheredur adhaɷsant eɷ harglvydh, y ghraer Greɷ, ac oes ymladh ɷdhunt trannoeth ac Edha Glinbhavr, ac yna y lhas elh deɷ, a theɷlɷ Alan Bhyrgam a ymchoelassant y eɷ harglvydh y ar y phordh hyd nos, a'e ellvgh ynteɷ a'e veissɷn i Gamlan, ac yna y lhas.

CARD. 2.83 (A19.7) Tri aniwair deɷlɷ ynys Brydain fɷ:
Deɷlɷ Gronwy pefr o Benllyn a omeddwys i arglwydd i erbyniaid y gwenwynllew gan y Llew llaw gyffes; a theɷlɷ Gwrgi a Ffredyr, a doiasant i harglwydd yn ghaer Grenn a chyfuod i ymladd dranoeth iddɷnt ag a diliasont i'r mor, ag yno lladdwyd illdaɷ; a theɷlɷ Alan Fergan, am chwelodd yn lladrad ar faenrred y Gamlan o hyd nos a chywystɷ i rad o'i wyr ef ag yno i llaf ef. Sef oedd rifedi y tri llɷ hyny: ɷn kant ar hugain.

TYP 31. TEIR GOSGORD ADWY / THREE BREACH?/GAP? RETINUES

PEN. 16 (A2.31) Teir gosgord adwy e*nys* P*rydein*:
Gorgord Myndaɷc Eidyn, a gosgord Melyn m*ab* Kynuelyn, a gosgord Dryon m*ab* Nud.

PEN. 45 (A3.28) Teir gosgord adɷy y*nys* P*rydein*:
Gosgord Mynydwc Eydyn, a gosgord Melyn m*ab* Kynuelyn, a gosgord Dryon m*ab* Nud.

WHITE BOOK (A4.7) Teir gosgord adwɷyn ynys Brydein:
Gosgord Mynydaɷc yg Katraeth, a gosgord Dreon leɷ yn Rotwyd Arderys. A'r dryded gosgord Velyn o Leyn erethlyn yn Ros.

RED BOOK (A5.19) Teir gosgord advwyn ynys Prydein:
Gosgord Mynydaɷc yg Katraeth, a gosgord Dreon leɷ yn Rotwyd Arderys, a'r dryded: gosgord Velyn o Leyn erythlyn yn Ros.

PEN. 47 (A6.36) Teir gosgord adɷy ynys Prydein:
Gosgord Venydaɷr Eidin, a gosgord Melyn mab Kynvael, a gosgord Drywon mab Nud.

PEN. 51 (A9.8) Tair gossgordd [*addwyn*] ynys Prydain:
Gossgordd Mynyddawg yng Hatraeth, a gossgordd Dreon lew yn Rrod[…],[139] gossgordd ɷelyn o Ley[n] [*Erythlyn*][140] yn Ros.

CWRT. 3 (A13.13) Tair gosgordd addwyn ynys Brytain:
Goscordd Mynddawc yn Hatraeth, a gosgor Dûwon len y Rodrnydd arver, a gosgordd o La[*y*]n nerthlûn Ros.

BL ADD. 31,055 (A17.6): Tair gosgordd addwyn ynys Brytain:

[138] Damage to the manuscript.
[139] Damage to the manuscript; line partially illegible.
[140] Correction in the hand of Gwilym Tew.

Gosgordd Mynyddawc yn Hetraeth, a gosgordd o Dûwon lew yr o drwydd arɔer, a gosgordd o Lwyn nerthlɔn yn Rhos.

CARD. 2.26 (A18.18) Teir gosgordh adhvyn y*nys* P*rydein*:
Gosgordh Mynydavc Eidhin, a' gosgordh Melyn m*ab* Cynbhelyn, a' gosgordh Dryvon m*ab* Nɔdh.

TYP 32. TRY WYR A WNAETH Y TEIR MAT GYFLAUAN / THREE MEN WHO PERFORMED THE THREE FORTUNATE SLAUGHTERS

PEN. 16 (A2.32) Try wyr a wnaeth y teir mat gyflauan:
Gall m*ab* Dysgyfdaɔt a ladaɔd deu ede[ryn][141] Gɔendoleu, ac yeu o eur a oed arnadunt. Dwy gelein o'r Kymry a yssynt ar eu kinyaɔ a dwy ar eu kwynos. Ac Ysgafnell m*ab* Difgyfdaɔt a ladaɔt Edeldlet ɔrenhin Lloeygr. A Diffydell m*ab* Dysgyfdawd [*a laddodd*][142] Gɔrgi garwlɔyt. A'r Gɔrghi hɔnnɔ a ladei gelein beunyd o'r Kymyry a dwy bob Sadɔrn rac y Sul yr un.

PEN. 45 (A3.29) Try wyr a wnaeth y teir mat gyflauan:
Gall m*ab* Dysgyfedaɔt, a ladaɔd deu ederyn Gwendoleu, a ieu o eur oed arnadunt. A dɔy kelein o'r Kymry a yssynt ar eu kinyaɔ, a dɔy ar eu cɔynos, ac Ysgafnell m*ab* Disgyfedaɔt a ladaɔd Edelfflet urenhin Lloygyr, a Diffyell m*ab* Disgyfedaɔt, a ladaɔd Gɔrgi garɔlɔyt a'r Gɔrgi hɔnnɔ a ladei kelein beunyd o'r Kymry. A pob Sadɔrn rac llad y Sul yr un.

PEN. 50 (A7.28) Teir mat gyflafan, tri meib Deisysdaɔt:
Gall mab Dysyssdawt a laddaɔd deu ederyn Gwendolau […] eur tri oeddynt, a deu ddyn a yssynt deunydd ar eu kinyiaɔ a deu ddyn yn y kɔynos. Ac Ysnafnell mab Deisysdiɔt a laddaɔd Edelflet urenhin Lloegyr, a Diffydell mab Dsysdiɔt Garolɔyd, y ɔrgi hɔnnɔ […] gelein beunyd o'r Kymry a dɔy bob Sadɔrn [*rac lladd yr un ddu*ɔ *Sul*].

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.54) Tri maib Dysynfawd a wnaeth y tair kyflauan:
Maddistell ap Dysyndawd, a laddodd Gwrgi garlwyd, y gwr hwnnw a laddai Gymro bob dydd a dav dduw Sadrwn dros duw Sul. Gafymell ap Dysyndod, a laddodd Edelffled vrenhin Lloegr. Gall ap Dysyndod, a laddod dav yderyn Gwenddolav, yr rai oedd yn kadw i hanw a'i harian.

NLW 6434 (A16.39) Tri map Dylyndaw[*d*] a wnaethant ty y tair kyflauan:
Maddistedd ap Dysyndawd, a laddodd Gwrgi garw llwyd, y gwr hwnw a laddai Gembro beɔnydd a daɔ dit Satvrn dros dri Sɔl. A laddodd Edelflet ɔrenhin Lloecr. Gall ap Dysyndod a laddod daɔ ederyn Gwenddoleu y rhai oeddynt yn gadw hi aɔr, a'i haiarian.

CARD. 2.26 (A18.17) Trywyr a' wnaeth teir matgybhlabhan y*nys* P*rydein*:
Galh m*ab* Disgybhdavt a ladhaɔdh deɔ ederyn Gvendoleu a'r ieɔ eɔr a oedh arnadhɔnt, a' dvy gelein o'r Cymry a yssynt ar eɔ cinyav, a' dvy ac eɔ cvynnov. Ac Ystabhnelh m*ab* Disgybhdavt a ladhavadh Edelflet bhrenhin Lhoegyr, a Diphydelh m*ab* Disgybhdavt a ladhavdh Gvrgi

[141] Gloss in the hand of Jaspar Gryffiths at the bottom of the page: *ederyn Gwenðoleu, y rhai oeðynt yn cadw ei [???] ar harian.*
[142] Correction in the hand of Jaspar Gryffith.

garvlvyt. A'r Gvrgi hvnv a ladhei gelein beunydy o'r Cymry, a dvy pob Sadvrn, rhac lhadh Duv Sul ɔr ɔn.

[Note: This triad is combined with *Tri unben Deiuyr a Brennych* ("Three lords of Deira and Bernicia," TYP 10), above, in the White and Red version.]

TYP 33. TEIR ANVAT GYFLAUAN / THREE UNFORTUNATE SLAUGHTERS

PEN. 16 (A2.33) Teir anvat gyflauan e*nys* Pr*ydein*:
Heidyn m*ab* Enygan a ladaɔd Aneiryn gwaɔtryd mech deyrn beird, a Llaɔgat trɔm bargaɔt Eidyn, a ladaɔd Auaon m*ab* Talyeisin, a Llouan llaɔ diuo a ladaɔd Vryen m*ab* Kynɔarch.

PEN. 45 (A3.30) Teir anuat gyflauan y*nys* Pr*ydein*:
Eidyn m*ab* Einygan, a ladaɔd Aneiryn gwaɔdrud mechdeyrn beird, a Llaɔgat trɔm bargaɔt, a ladaɔd Auaon m*ab* Talessin, a Llouan llaɔ dino, a ladaɔd Vryen m*ab* Kynuarch.

WHITE BOOK (A4.18) Tri gɔythɔr ynys Brydein a ɔnaethant y teir anuat gyflauan:
Llofuan llaɔ dufuri, a ladaɔt Vryen ap Kynuarch; Llongad grɔm vargot Eidin, a ladaɔd Auaon ap Talyessin; a Heiden ap Euengat, a ladaɔd Anerin gɔaɔtryd merch teyrnbeird: y gɔr a rodei gan muɔ pob Sadɔrn yg kerɔyn eneiat yn Talha[e]arn[143] a'e trewis a bɔyall gy[n]nut[144] yn y fen a honno oed y dryded vɔyallaɔt. A'r eil [kyn]muttei[145] o Aberfraɔ a [drewis][146] Golydan a bɔyall yn y [ben].[147] [A'r][148] dryded Iago ap Beli, a dreɔis y ɔr e hun ab a bɔyall yn y ben.

RED BOOK (A5.30) Tri gɔythɔr ynys Brydein a wnaeth y teir anuat gyflauan:
Llofuan llaw diffro, a ladaɔd Uryen uab Kynuarch, Llongat grɔm uargot Eidin, a ladaɔd Auon uab Talyessin, a Heiden uab Euengat, a ladaɔd Aneirin gɔaɔtryd verch[149] teyrnbeird, y gɔr a rodei gan myɔ bob Sadɔrn yg herɔyn enneint yn Talhaearn, a'e treɔis a bwyell gynnut yn y phenn. A honno oed y dryded vɔy[*e*]llaɔt.

A'r eil, kynnuntei o Aberffraɔ, a dreɔis Golydan a bɔyall yn y benn. A'r tryded, [Iago][150] uab Beli a drewis y ɔr ehun a bɔyall yn y benn.

PEN. 47 (A6.37) Teir anuat gyflauan ynys Prydein:
Eidyn mab Eingaɔn, a ladaɔd Aneiryn gwaɔtryd mechdeyrn beird, Athraɔin vargaɔt Eidin, a ladaɔd Adaon mab Taliessin, a Llonan llaɔ deifyo, a ladaɔd Vryen mab Kynuarch.

PEN. 50 (A7.27) Teir anuat gyflafyn,[151] ynys Prydain:

[143] Damage to the manuscript.
[144] Damage to the manuscript.
[145] Word is faded and partially illegible.
[146] Word is faded and illegible.
[147] Word is faded and illegible.
[148] Word is faded and illegible.
[149] Corrected to "*vech*;" the *r* has been crossed out in red ink with a thin nub.
[150] Name omitted from the MS. Space has not been left for it.
[151] Corrected to "*gyflafan*."

Eidyn mab Eingan a laddaɷd Aneirin gɷardrud mechteyrn beirdd, a Llaɷ trɷm […] Eidyn a laddaɷdd Auaon mab Taliessin, a Chynon mab Clytno Eidin, a Dryfymiaɷl mab Mynedaɷc Eidin a laddaɷdd ɷrien mab Kynuarch.

PEN. 51 (A9.20) Tri gwythwr ynys Prydain a wnaethant [*y*] tair anɷad gyɷlaɷan:
Lleɷɷan llaw ddiɷro, a laddodd ɷrien ap Kynvarch, Llonngrwm[152] Gargod Eithin, a laddodd Avaon[153] ap Taliessin, Heid[*en*] vab E[*n*]engad, a laddodd Gwadodd[154] ap D[*e*]yrn beirdd[155] gwr oedd hwnnw a roi gan muw bob Sadwrn mewn kerwyn eneint [*yr Talhaearn a'e trewis yni ben a bwyll gynnyt*].

Tri bwallod ynys Prydain: Talhaearn a drewis ɷen[*i*]r[*i*]n yni ffen. A'r ail kymɷdei[156] o Aberffro a drewis Golydan a bwyall ym benn y drydedd Iago ap Peli, a drewis wr e hen yni benn a gwyall.

CWRT. 3 (A12.24) Tri gwythawr ynys Brydain a wnaeth y tair anvad gyflafn:
Llovanaw difro, a ladawdd Vrien ap Kynvarch, a Llomgad gwrm varch Eddin, a laddawdd Avaon vap Taliesin, a Haidden vap Euengad, a laddawdd Aneirin wawtrydd teyrn beirdd, y gwr a roddei ganmuw bop Satwrn yn Cerwyn Ennaint. Ymhal Hayarn a'i trewis a bwyall gynyd yn y phen, a hono oedd vn o'r tair bwyellawd. Y drydedd, Iaco vap Beli, a drewis y wr ef yhûn a bwyall yn y ben.

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.55) Tri gweithwr a wnaeth y tair llevadd gyflavan:
Llavan llaw ddivro, a lladdod Vrien ap Kynvarch, Llongad grwn ardodion, a laddodd Addon ap Taliessin, a Roreidiaw evengad, a laddodd Ebryn gwowdrwydd mechteyrn beirdd, y gwr a roi gan mvw bob Sadwrn yn Gherwyn Eniant kathairn a'i trewis a hwyal gynnal gynnvd yn i ben a honno oedd y drydedd bwyallod. Yr ail, kanvtai ar Aberffro a drewis Golydan vardd, a bwyall yn i hen. Y gyntaf vv Iago ap Beli, a drewis i wr e hvn yn i ben.

NLW 6434 (A16.40) Tri gweithwr y*nys* B*rydain* a wnaetha[*n*]t y tair anvad nevadd gyflavan:
Leɷom llaw ddiɷro a laddodd ɷrien ap Kynɷarch, a Llongat grwn argodion a laddodd Addon ap Taliesin, a Roreidiaw evengat a laddodd Ebryn gwowdrwydd merch teirn beirdd, y gwr a roe gan mɷw bob Satwrn yng Herwyn enaint[157] gathaiarn a'i trewis ef a bwyall gynɷd yn i ben a hono oedd y drydydd ɷwyallod. Y ail a ɷɷ tomɷtai o'r Berffrawa drewis Golydan ɷardd a bwall yn i ben. Y gyntaf ɷɷ Iaco ap Beli a drewis i wr i hɷn yn i ber.

CARD. 2.26 (A18.13) Teir anbhad gybhlabhan y*nys Prydein*:
Eidyn m*ab* Einygan a ladhavdh Aneirin gvachrydh mechteyrn bheirdh, a Llavgat grvm bhargavt Eidhin a ladhavdh Abhaon mab Taliessin, a Llobhom lhavdino a ladhavdh Uryen m*ab* Cynbharch.

TYP 34. TEIR ANUAT BWYALLAWT / THREE UNFORTUNATE HATCHET-BLOWS

[152] Vaugahn corrects: "*Llongat Grwm*"
[153] Vaughan corrects: "*Anon*"
[154] Vaughan corrects: "*Aneurin gwawotrudd*"
[155] Vaughan corrects: "*bechdyrnbeirdd*"
[156] Vaughan corrects: "*kynutei*"
[157] Corrected from "*eneint*."

PEN. 16 (A2.34) Teir anɔat ɔwyallaɔt e*nys* P*rydein*:
Bɔyallaɔt Eidyn ym Pen Aneiryn, a'r ɔwyallaɔt ym pen Golydan ɔard, a'r ɔwyallaɔt ym pen Yago m*ab* Beli.

PEN. 45 (A3.31) Teir anuat uɔyellaɔt ynys Prydein:
Bɔyellaɔt Eidyn ym pen Aneiryn, a'r uɔyellaɔt ym pen Iago mab Beli.

PEN. 47 (A6.38) Teir anyat vɔellaɔt ynys Brydein:
Bɔellaɔt Eidin ym pen Aneirin, a'r vɔellaɔt ym penn Golydan vard a'r vɔellaɔt ym penn Iago mab Beli.

CARD. 2.26 (A18.14) Tri anbhat bhvyalhavc y*nys* P*rydein*:
Bvyelhavc Eidyn ym pen Aneirin, a'r bhvyalhavc ym pen Golydan bhardh, a'r bhvyelhavc ym pen Iago bhab Beli.

[Note: The White Book version of this triad has been combined with #33 (*Teir Anvat Gyflauan*) above.]

TYP 35. TRI CHYUOR A AETH O'R ENYS HON, AC NY DOETH DRACHEUYN ɔR UN ONADUNT / THREE LEVIES THAT WENT FROM THIS ISLAND AND NOT ONE OF THEM CAME BACK

PEN. 16 (A2.35) Tri chyuor a aeth o'r enys hon, ac ny doeth dracheuyn ɔr un onadunt:[158]
ɔn a aeth gan Elen luydaɔc a Chynan y braɔt.

Eil a aeth gan Yrp lluydaɔc yn oes Cadyal m*ab* Eryn, a doeth eman y erchi kymorth, ac nyt archei o bob pryf gaer namyn deu kymeint ac a delei ganthaɔ idi. Ac ny doeth ganthaɔ yr gaer gyntaf namyn ef a'e was.[159] Ac ardustru ɔu rodi hynny idaɔ. A hɔnnɔ eissyoes lwyrhaf llu a aeth o'r enys hon. Ac ny doeth dracheuyn byth nep o nadunt. Sef lle y trigws y gwyr hynny: yn dwy enys yn emyl mor Groec. Sef yw y dwy enys hynny: Gals ac Auena.

Trydyd kyvor a aeth gan Gaswallaɔn mab Beli,[160] a Gwenwynwyn a Gɔanar meibyon Lliaɔs m*ab* Nwyɔre, ac Aryanrot merch ɔeli eu mam. Ac o Arllechwed yd hanoed y gwyr hynny. Ac aethant y gyt a Chaswallawɔn eu hewtyr drwy wr yn ol y Cesaryeit. Sef lle y mae y gɔyr hynny: yg Wasgwyn. A sef eiryf a aeth ym pob ɔn o'r lluoed hynny: ɔn ɔil ar ugeint, a'r rei hyny oed y tri aryanllu. Sef achaɔs y gelɔit y ɔelly ɔrth ɔynet eur ac aryant yr enys ganthunt ac eu dethol wynteu o oreu y oreu.

PEN. 45 (A3.32) Tri chyuor a aeth o'r ynys hon, ac ny doeth yr un dracheuyn onadunt:
Un a aeth gan Helen luydaɔc a Chynan y braɔt.

Eil a aeth gan Yrp luydaɔc yn oes Cadyal m*ab* Eryn, a doeth yma y erchi kymorth ac nyt archei o bob prif gaer namyn deu kymeint ac a delhei gantaɔ yr gyntaf namyn a'e was. Ac ardustru uu rodi hynny idaɔ, a hɔn eissoes llɔyraf lluyd a aeth o'r ynys hon un, ac ny doeth dracheuyn neb onadunt. Sef lle y trigyɔys y gwyr hynny yn dwy ynys yn ymyl mor Groec. Sef ynt y dɔy ynys: Galls ac Auena.

[158] A pointing finger drawn in the margin draws attention to the beginning of this triad.
[159] A marginal note here in the hand of Jaspar Gruffydd: "*Machuchafar ei was.*"
[160] A pointing finger drawn in the margin draws attention to the beginning of this limb.

Trydyd kyuor a aeth gan Gaswallaɔn m*ab* Beli, […][161] -ɔyn, a Gwanar meibion Lliawys Nɔyure, ac Aranrot uerch Beli eu mam ac o Arllechwed yd […][162] y gwyr hynny ac yd aethan y gyt a Chasswallaɔn eu howythr yn ol y Cesairyeit trɔy uor. Sef lle y mae y gwyr hynny: yg Gwasgwin. Sef eiryf a aeth yni pob un o'r lluoed hynny: un uil ar ugeint. A'r rei hynny oed y tri ar[y]an[163] llu. Sef y gelwit y uelly: ɔrth uynet eur ac aryant eu ynys ganthunt a'e hethol wynteu o oreu y oreu.

RED BOOK (A5.5) Pann aeth llu y Lychlyn:
Porth a aeth y gan Yrp luydaɔc hyt yn Llychlyn, a'r gɔr hɔnnɔ a doeth yman[164] yn oes Gadyal y byry y erchi dygyfuor yr ynys honn. Ac ny doeth gantaɔc namyn ef a Mathuthauar y was. Ac y sef a archei o dec prif gaer ar hugeint[165] yssyd yn yr ynys honn. Deu kymmeint a elei ganthaɔ y bob un onadunt y dyuot ganthaɔ ohonunt ymeith. Ac ny doei gantaɔ yr gaer gyntaf namyn ef a'e was, ac y bu ardustur gan wyr yr ynys honn hynny. Ac y rodassant idaɔ, a hɔnnɔ uu lɔyraf llu o'r a aet[*h*] o'r ynys honn. Ac ef a oresgynnaɔd a'r gɔyr hynny y fford y kerdaɔd. Ac y sef lle y trigyaɔd y gɔyr hynny yn y dɔy ynys yn ymyl mor Groec: nyt amgen, Clas ac Auena.

A'r eil a aeth gan Elen luydaɔc, a Maxen wledic[166] hyt yn Llychlyn,[167] ac ny doethan byth yr hynys honn.

A'r trydyd a aeth gan Gasswallawn uab Beli, a Gɔennɔynwyn, a Gwanar, veibon Lliaɔ uab Nɔyfre, ac Aryanrot verch Beli eu mam. A'r gɔyr hynny o Erch a Heled pann anhoedynt, ac a aethant gyt a Chasswallaɔn eu hewythyr a ɔysc y Kessaryeit o'r ynys honn. Sef lle y mae y gɔyr hynny: yg Gɔasgɔyn. Sef riuedi a aeth gan bob un onadunt: vn vil ar hugeint, a'r rei hynny uu tri aryanllu ynys Prydein.

PEN. 50 (A7.5) Thri chyuor a aeth o'r ynys honn, ac ny ddeuth yr vn [*onaddunt*] drachefyn: Vn, a aeth gan Elen luyddaɔc a Chynan y braɔt, a honnɔ ny ddeuth drachefyn.

Yr eil, a aeth gan Irp luydaɔc, a ddeuth yman yn amser Cadyal, a'r Erin y erchi kymorth yr ynys honn. Ac ny ddoeth ganthaɔ [*yr gaer gyntaf*] namyn ef a'e was. Sef a archei o [*bop*] prif gaer yr ynys deu kynuneint ac a delei ganthaɔ [*e*] [*iddi*] ac ny [*ddoeth*] ganthaɔ ef y myɔn namyn ef a'e was. Ac y bu mor astryru[168] gan wyr yr ynys honn hynny. Ac y rodassant iddaɔ y kymorth, a hɔnnɔ [*neb onaddunt*] llɔyraf llu aeth o'r ynys honn. Ac ny ddeuth drachefyn na hɔy na'e llynys. Sef y trigyas sant [*y gwyr hynny*] hɔy yn [*dɔy*] ynys yn ymyl mor Groec. Sef oedd eu henwei Gals ac Auena.

Y trydydd a aeth gan Gaswallaɔn mab Beli, a Gɔenɔyn a Gɔanar meibyon Lliaɔs mab Nɔyffre ac Aranron verch Beli eu mam y vynet trɔy vor. Arr ɔysc y Cesseryeit o'r ynys honn. Sef y mae y gwyr hynny: Ghasgwyn. Sef oedd y rrif a aeth gan bop vn onaddunt: vn vil a thrugeint. A'r rei hynny a oedd y tri aryan llu. Sef achaɔs y gelwit velly: achaɔs mynet eur ac arant y'r ynys ganthunt a dethol y gwyr o oreu y oreu.

A vn llu hayach vu gymeint a'r tri hynny, a aeth gyda Maxen wledic y Lydaɔ. A phan ddannonaɔdd Kynan mauydaɔc ac Dunaɔt tywyssaɔc Kernyɔ y gaffel Vrsula y verch y daeth o'r

[161] Manuscript darkened and illegible. Most likely reads "*Gwenwyn-*"
[162] Manuscript darkened and illegible. Most likely reads "*hanoed*"
[163] This word is faded and very difficult to read.
[164] "*yn*" preceeding this word has been deleted.
[165] "*ar hugaer*" preceeding this word has been deleted.
[166] Marginal gloss in a early modern or modern hand: "*Maximus*"
[167] A later h"*ar hugaer*" preceeding this word has been deleted and has corrected this to "*yn Llydaw*."
[168] Correction: "*ardustru*"

dylyedogyon: vn vil ar ddeg o vorynyon merthyr yssydd yg Holoyn. Ac heuyt deugein mil o wragedd ereill, ac ny ddeuth yr vn drachefyn.

PEN. 51 (A9.1) Porth aeth gan Yrp luyddawc hyd yn Llychlyn ar gwr hwnnw a [*ddo*]eth [*yman*] ym oes Gadial dy[169] byry y er[*chi*] dygyɷor o'r ynys honn. A hynny a gaɷas ac ni ddoeth o hununt namyn [*efha*] Mathutaɷir y was. Sef oedd arohai o ddeg prif gaer a'r trigaint y ssydd yn yr ynys honn daw kymain a elei ganthaw y bob ɷn o hununt y ddwyɷod ymath. Ac no ddoi ganthaw o'r gaer gyntaf namyn ef a'i was ac y bu ddiysstyr gan wyr yr ynys honn hynny ac y roddassant y ddaɷ kymaint iddow a llwyraf[170] ɷɷ hwnnw ar aeth o'r ynys honn erioed. Sef y lle y trigiassant [*yr ddwy ynys*] yn glann mor Groeg. Nid amgen: Klas ac Aɷena.

Yr ail llɷ aeth Elen luyddiog a Maxen […][171]

… trydedd [aeth] gan Gysswallawn ɷab [*N*]wyfre a Arianurodd ɷerch Beli eɷ mam. A gwyr hnny a hanoedd yno o Groec[172] a Heledd [*pan hanoedd ynt*] ac a ethant gyda Chassswallawn eɷ hewyth [*ar wysc y*] Kesseniaid o'r ynys honn. Sef y lle y mae y gwyr hyny: yn Gwassgwyn.

Sef riwedi aeth gan bob ɷn o naddynt: ɷn ɷil arrugaint. Ac rrai hyny a ɷɷ dri arianllɷ ynys Brydain trwy warth i'r ynys.

CWRT. 3 (A12.53): Tri arianllû ynys Brytain:
Y cyntaf a aeth Irp o lydoc y Llychlyn a hwnw a ddoeth y yn oes Cadwal map Erin y erchi dygyvor yr ynys hon, ac ny ddoeth onyd ef a'i was ddechraû ac y erchi hyny o'r deûddec prif gaer ar higaint o'r ynys honn, nid amgen no daû cymaint ac a ddelai ganthaw y was oedd hyny i a drystyr vû gan wyr yr ynys roi hyny, a hwnw vû y llû mwyaf a aeth o'r ynys honn, ac a oryscynnoedd dalm o'r byd. A'r llû hwnnw sef y lle y trigoedd y gwyr mewn dwy ynys yn emyl y mor Groec: ynys Clas ac Efena.

Yr ail llû aeth y gan Elen verch Coel a Chonstans y Rûûein ac ny ddoethant vyth i'r ynys hon.

Yr trydydd llû aeth gan Gaswallawn vap Beli a Gwenwynwyn a Gwaner meibion Lleon vap Monifre ac Arianrho[d][173] verch Beli vû y mam. Sef llû i trigoedd yn-Gwascoyn. Sef y rhif : vn vil ar hûgain.

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.42) Tri arianllv ynys Brydain:
Llv aeth gan Yrb luyddog i Lychlyn a hwnnw a ddauth yn oed Gadial i erchi dyfynnv yr ynys ag nid oedd yn dechre erchi dyvlv hynny ar [p]hr[if] herif gaer arhvgen ar yny hon nid amgen dav kymaint ag a a dau[*th*] gantho ag i'r lliver gynta i dauth a Mathuthavar i was. A dysgv pvmp gwyr ar ynys i roi hynny. A hwnnw vv'r llv mwya aeth o'r ynys hon. Ag ef oresgynodd dabn ar llv hwnnw da o'r hyd ag mywn dwy ynys i trigodd y gwyr hynny yn hir Groeg nid amgen: yn Clas ag ynys Vena.

A'r ail llv aeth gan Elen lvyddog a Chonstansius i Rufain ag ni ddaethon byth yr ynys hon.

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[169] Vaughan corrects: "*y*"
[170] Vaughan corrects: "*llw mwyaf*"
[171] Damage to the manuscript; line illegible.
[172] Vaughan corrects: "*o Erch*"
[173] My correction; Salesbury omits the final -d.

Trydydd llv aeth gan Gysswallon ap Beli ag Awenwye[?] a Gwnar meibion Lleon ap Niffreng o Arianod merch Beli i mam. Sef lletrigodd y llv hwnnw: vn vil ar hvgein.

NLW 6434 (A16.31) Tri arianllv ynys B*rydain*:
Y llɔ aeth gan Erp lɔyddawt i Lychlyn, a hwnnw a ddoeth yma yn oes Gadial y gyry i erchy dyfyny yr ynys hon. Ac nyd oedd ond ef a'i was i ddechreɔ erchy dybly hyny o'r deɔddeg prif goyrydd ar hɔgain o'r ynys hon, nid amgen dan gymaint ac a ddel o ganthaw. Ag i'r mɔer gyntaf y doeth ef a machɔ gaɔas i was a dysgy pemp gwyr o'r yny i roi hyny. A hwnw a ɔɔy llɔ mwyaf aeth o'r ynys hon a ef a orysenodd dalym o'r brys byd ar llɔ hwnw. Sef y lle y trigodd y gwyr mewn dwy ynys yn ymyl mor Groeg, nid amgen ynys Glas ac Aɔena.

A'r ail llɔ aeth gan Elen lɔydawg a Chonstantinus i Rɔfain, ac ni ddoeth byth i'r ynys hon. Y trydydd llɔ aeth gan Gaswallon ap Beli ac ato emeyd a Gwanar meibion Lleon ap Wyffre ac Arianodd vaeth Beli yno mam. Sef lle trigodd y llɔ hwnw: y[*n*] Gasgwyn. Sef oedd ɔn ɔil ar hɔgain.

CARD. 2.26 (A18.13) Tri chybhor a aeth o'r ynys hvnn, ac ny dhoeth yr ɔn onadhɔnt drachebhyn: ɔn, a aeth gan Elen Luydhavc a Chynan ei bravd. Yr eil, a aeth gan Irp Luydhavc yn oes Cadyal m*ab* Ernin, a dhoeth yman i erchi cymorth, ac nyd archei o bob priphgaer namyn Deɔ cymeint, ac a dhelei ganthaɔ idhi ac ny dhoeth ganthaɔ y'r gaer gyntabh, namyn ebh a'e vas, ac ardristrɔ bhɔ rhodhi idhav hynny. A hvnnv lhvyrabh lhɔ ydh a aeth yr ynys honn. Ac ny dhoeth byth neb onadhɔnt drachebyn. Sebh lhe y trivys gvyr hynny: yn lhvy ynys yn emyl or Groec, [nyd][174] amgen Glas ac Auena.

Trydydh cybhor a aeth gan Gasvallavn mab Beli a Gvenvynvyn a' Gvanar [*meibion*] Lliavs m*ab* Nvybhre, ac Arianrot bherch Beli eɔ mam. Ac o Archaevlech ydh hanfoedhynt y gvyr hynny. Ac ydh aethant y gyd a' Chasvallav eɔ hevythyr drvy bhor yn ol y Cessaryit. Sebh lhe y mae y gvyr y Ghavsgvm. A' sebh eirybh a aeth y pop ɔavr lhuoedh hynny ɔn bhil ar hɔgeint. A' rhei hynny oedh y tri arianlhɔ. Sebh chavs y gelvit bhelly, vrth ɔhynet eɔr ac aryant y'r ynys gantɔnt, ac eɔ hethol vynteɔ o oreɔ i oreɔ.

TYP 36. TEIR GORMES A DOETH Y'R ENYS HON, AC NYT AETH ɔR UN DRACHEUYN. / THREE OPPRESSIONS WHICH CAME TO THIS ISLAND AND NOT ONE OF THEM WENT BACK:

PEN. 16 (A2.36) Teir gormes a doeth y'r enys hon, ac nyt aeth ɔr un dracheuyn:
ɔn onadunt kywdaɔt y Corryanyeit a doethant eman yn oes Caswallaɔn m*ab* Beli ac nyt aeth ɔr un onadunt dracheuyn. Ac o'r Auia pan hanoedynt. Eil go[*r*]mes y Gwydyl Fychti ac nyt aeth ɔr un onadunt dracheuyn. Tryded gormes y Saeson a Gors a Hengyst yn benaduryeit arnadunt.

PEN. 45 (A3.33) Teir gormes a doeth yr ynys hon ac nyt aeth yr un dracheuyn:
Kyɔdaɔt y Korannyeit a doethan yma yn oes Llud m*ab* Belu ac nyt aeth o'r un dracheuyn. A gormes y Gɔydyl Fichti ac uyt aeth yr u- […][175] -cheuyn. Trydyd gormes y Saesson ac nyt aethant dracheuyn.

PEN. 50 (A7.4) Teir gormes a ddeuth yr ynys hon, ac nyt aeth yr vu naddunt ohonei:

[174] Damage to the manuscript.
[175] Manuscript darkened and illegible. Mostly likely reads "-n dra-."

Kyɵdaɵt y[176] Coranyeit y ddeuth yman yn oes Lludd mab Beli, ac nyt aeth yr vn onaddunt drachefyn, ac o'r Auia y hanoedd ynt. Yr eil ormes nyt aeth vyth o honei y Gwyddyl Fficti. A'r drydydd ormes a vu y Saeson, a Hors a Hengist ym Pennaduryet arnaddunt.

CARD. 2.26 (A18.1) Teir gormes a dhoeth yr ynys hvnn, a'r nyd aeth yr vn drachebhyn:
Vn onadhɵnt, cuvdavt o Goraneit a dhoethant yman yn oes Lhvdh mab Beli, ac nyd aeth yn ɵn onadhɵnt drachebhyn. Eil gormes, y Gvydhyl Phichti, ac nyd aeth yn vn onadhvnt drachebhyn. Trydedh gormes, y Saesson, a Hors a Hengys yn penadɵryeit arnadhɵnt.

TYP 37. TRI CHUD A THRI DATCUD / THREE CONCEALMENTS AND THREE DISCLOSURES

PEN. 16 (A2.37) Tri chud a thri datcud e*nys* P*rydein*:
Penn Bendigeituran mab Llyr a gladwyt yn y gɵynɵryn yn Llundein, a hyt tra ɵei y pann yn yr ansaɵd yd oed yno: ny doy ormes byth y'r enys hon. Eil esgyrn Gɵertheuyr ɵendigeit a gladwyt ym pryf byth yr enys hon. Trydyd y y dreigeu a gladwys Llud m*ab* Beli yn Dinas Emreis yn Eryri.

PEN. 45 (A3.34) Tri chud a thri datclud y*nys* P*rydein*:
Pen Bendigeidfran uab Llyr a cladɵyt yn y gwynuryn yn Llundein […][177] -euyr uendigeit a cladɵyt ym pyrth r ynys honn. Trydyd, dreigieu a cudyryt Llud mab Beli yn Dinas Emreis yn Eryri. […][178]

RED BOOK (A5.10) Tri matkud ynys Prydein:
Penn Bendigeituran uab Llyr, a guduwyt yn y gɵyn uryn yn Llunndein, a'e wyneb ar Ffreinc, a hyt tra uu yn yr ansaɵd y dodet yno, ny doei ormes Saesson byth yr ynys honn. Yr eil a matkud: y dreigeu yn Ninas Emreis a gudyaɵd Llud uab Beli. A'r trydyd: esgyrn Gɵerthenyr uendigeit ym prif pyrth yr yny[s][179] honn, a hyt tra bydynt yn y kud hɵnnɵ, ny doei ormes o Saesson byth y'r ynys honn. A llyna y tri anuatkud pan datkudyawd, a Gwrtheyrn gɵrtheneu a datkudyawd esgyrn Gɵertheuyr uendigeit yr serch gɵreic. Sef oed honno: Ronnɵen bagaues, ac ef a datkudyaɵd y dreigeu. Ac Arthur a datkudyaɵd penn Bendigeituran o'r gɵynn vrynn. Kannyt oed dec gantaɵ kadɵ yr ynys honn o gedernit neb namyn o'r eidaɵ ehun.

PEN. 47 (A6.14) Tri matcud ynys Prydein pan gudyɵyt a thri anuatkud pan datkudyɵyt:
Penn Bendigeitran mab Llyr, ac esgyrn Gɵrthynyr vendigeit, a'r dɵy dreic yn Dinas Emreis.

PEN. 50 (A7.6) Tri [*mat*] kudd a thri [*anuat*] datkudd [*pan ddatkuddyɵyt*] ynys Prydein:
Vn onaddunt [*dyɵyt*] Penn Bendigeiduran mab Llyr, y gladdɵyt yn y Gwynuryn yn Llundein, a hyt tra vei yn yr ansodd honno ny ddoei ormes y'r ynys vyth. Eil kudd, eskyrn Gɵrtheuyr vendigeit y gladdɵyt ymrissyrdd yr ynys honn, a hyt na vei yno ny ddoei ormes y'r ynys. Y

[176] Correction: "*o'r*"
[177] Manuscript darkened and illegible.
[178] Text illegible after this point.
[179] "*ynyr*" has been deleted (crossed out in red ink by a thin nub) preceeding this word, and the "*s*" has been added in the same red ink.

trydydd gudd, y dreigeu a guddyaɔdd Lludd mab Beli yn Ninas Pharan, a'r tri chudd hynny anpɔyt gwaeth o'e datkuddyaɔ.

Arthur a ddatkuddyaɔdd pen Bendigeiduran o'r Gwynuryn yn Llundein, kany oedd ouer ganthaɔ cadɔ yr ynys o gedernyt neb yr eidaɔ e hun. Gwrtheryrn [*mab Vorthigirn*] GɔrtheneU a ddatkuddyaɔdd esgyrn GɔrthenyR vendigeit o serch Ronwen y wreic, ac heuyt a ddatkuddyaɔ y dreigeu o Ddinas Emrys.

PEN. 51 (A9.28) Tri datgladd[180] ynys Prydain:
Penn Bendigeidfran ap Lywd a gladwyd[181] yn bryngwn[182] yn Llɔndein a'r wyneb ar Ffraink, a thra ɔɔ yno ni ddoi Ssais i ynys Prydain.[183] A'r ail anɔad ddatgladd,[184] y dreigaɔ yn ynys[185] Emrys a gɔddrodd Ludd ap Peli. A'r trydedd, essgryn GwrtheɔyR ɔendigaid ymhrif byrth ynys Prydain. A thra oeddynt[186] yno [*y cud hwnɔ*] drais Ssais [*o'r*] yr ynys honn. [*A llyma y tri anɔatcudd pan ddatcuddɔrɔyt*]. A Gwrtheyr[*n*] gwrthenav a'i ddatkadd[*awd*] o sser[*c*]h ar Ronwen y wraic ac a ddatgladdodd[187] y dreigiaɔ ac Arthur a ddatgladdodd[188] penn Bendigeidrann o'r gwynbryn […][189] i gadw'r ynys hon […][190] honn ef ehun.

LLANSTEPHAN 12 (A10.1) Tair matgydd ynys Brydain:
Penn Benndigeidfran ap Llur, a'r dreigie o Ddinas Emrys, ag esgyrn Kadwaladr bendigaid.

CWRT. 3 (A12.4) Tri ymatgudd ynys Brytain:
Pen Bendigeidran ap Llyr, a guddwyt yn y gwynvryn yn Llundain a'i wyneb ar Frainc. A hyd y gedid yn y modd hwnnw, ny ddoe ormos Sason i'r ynys hon.

Yr ail ymatgûdd ynys Brytain, y dragiae yn dinas Embris, a gudaiesei Lluddd vap Beli yw eseyrn Gwrthevyr vendigaid ym pyrth yn yr ynys hon.

A lyma'r triddydd ymatgudd pan ddatcuddiodd Gwrthevyr gwrthenain, esgeyrn Gwrthevyr vendigait o serc gwraic, y sef oedd honno: Ronwen begauis.

Ac Arthur a ddatcuddiaiodd y draigiae. Ac Arthûr a ddatcuddiaiodd pen Bendaigaidran o'r Gwnvryn. Canys nyd oedd dec gantaw gadw o neb yr ynys hvn ond evo.

CWRT. 3 (A12.58) Tri anvadrudd ynys Brydain:
Pen Bendigeidran vap Llyr a gwddwyd yn y gwynvryn yn Llundain. Tra vû yno, ny ddoeth y Sason yma. Yr ail vû dreigiaû a ddaliodd Lludd vap Beli a'I roi yn dinas Embrys: a Gwrtheyrn vap GwrtheneU a'I datguddiawdd. Y trydy[dd][191] vû escyrn Gwrthefyr Vendigait yn y priffyrth o'r yns. A thra vûont yno ny ddoeth gormes y'r ynys.

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[180] Vaughan corrects: "*matgudd*"
[181] Vaughan corrects: "*guddwyd*"
[182] Vaughan corrects: "*gvenvryn*"
[183] Vaughan deletes "a thra…Ynys Prydain" and replaces it in the margin with the following: "*a hyt tra bu myr ansawdd y dodod yno ni ddos ormes Saesson*"
[184] Vaughan corrects: "*matcudd*"
[185] Vaughan corrects: "*mab*"
[186] Vaughan corrects: "*vyddynt*"
[187] Vaughan corrects: "*ddatgɔddɔawdd"*
[188] Vaughan corrects: "*ddatgɔddɔawdd"*
[189] Damage to the manuscript, line partially illegible.
[190] Damage to the manuscript, line partially illegible, but Vaughan has glossed some of the missing text with: "*o gedernid namyn o'r…"*
[191] My correction, Salesbury leaves off the final -dd.

Arthûr a ddatguddiodd pen Bendigeidran am na vynai gadw yr ynys ond a'i rym ef. Ronwen a beris dadguddio escyrn Gwrthefyr Vendigaid y allwng y Sason yma.

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.45) Tri anvadgudd ynys Brydain:
Pen Bendigeidvran ap Llyr, a guddwyd yn y Gwynvryn yn Llvndain. A thra vv yno ni dauth [???] Saeson na nag alinws i'r dernas.Yr ail anvadkudd vv'r dreigiav a ddafadd Lludd ap Beli, ag a ffoes yn dinas Emrys a Gwrtheyrn Gwrthenavi datkuddiod. Trydydd anvadkudd vv esgyrn Gwrthefyr vendigaid yn yrif byrth yr ynys a thra llivon yno ni ddauth gormes i'r ynys hon. Ag Arthur a'i datkuddiodd Henwen a beris datkuddio esgyrn Gwrthevyr.

NLW 6434 (A16.44) Tri anȯad gȯdd ynys Brydain:
Pen Bendigeidran ap Llyr a gȯddiwyt yn y Gwynȯryn yn Llvndain a thra ȯn yno ny ddoeth y Sayson yma. Yr ail ȯȯ r dreigiaȯ a ddaliodd Llȯd ap Beli a'i rhai yn Dinas Emrbrys, a Gwrtheyrn gwrthenaȯ ei datgȯddiod. Y trydydd ȯȯ esgyrn Gw[*r*]theȯyr ȣendigaid yn y prif byth yr ynys, a thra ȯȯant yno, ny doeth gormes. Arthvr ddatgȯddiodd pen Bendigeidran am na ȯynai ef gadw yr ynys ond o'i rym ef ȣn. A Ronwen a beris ddatgȯddio, esgyrn Gwrtheȯyr bendigait i ollwng y Sayson i'r ynys.

CARD. 2.26 (A18.2) Tri chudh a thri datgȣdh y*nys* P*rydein*:
Pen Bendigeitran mab Lhyr, a gladhvyt yn y gvynbhryn yn Lhundein, a hyt tra bhen y pen yn yr ansavdh ydh oedh yno ny dheȯaȯ ormes byth y'r ynys hon. Eil, escyrn Gverthebhyr [bhe]ndigeit[192] a gladvyd ym prybh bryth yr ynys honn. Trydydh, y dreigev a gȯdhyvyt lhydh mab Beli yn Dinas Emrys yn Eryry. Saith meib yr vythnos vyth pribhvyt pechavt vyth nyn i dyn.

CARD. 2.83 (A19.1; FRAGMENTARY)[193] […] i da […] id […] gyddiad yn- […] Llud, trydedd Esgern […] i Urian ag ef hef- […] ynys […] yr hon […] hyny fȯ dinas Emrys.

TYP 38. TRI RODEDICUARCH / THREE BESTOWED HORSES

BLACK BOOK (A1.4) Tri hoev etistir Inis Pridein:
Llv agor march Karadauc b[reichuras], a Melynlas march Kaswallaun mab Bely […][194]

PEN. 16 (A2.38) [T]ri[195] rodedicuarch enys Prydein:
Meinlas march Caswallaȯn mab Beli, Melyngan mangre march Lleu Lleu [sic] llaȯ gyffes, a Lluagor march Caradaȯc ȯreichuras.

WHITE BOOK (A4.39) Tri rodedicuarch ynys B*ry*dein:
Meinlas merch Kaswallaȯn ap Beli, a Melyngan mangre march Llew llaȯ gyffes a Lluagor march Karadaȯc vreichuras.

[192] Damage to the manuscript.
[193] See note on this manuscript in Appendix A.
[194] The text cuts off here at the end of the page.
[195] The scribe has left room for a capital "T" that was never inserted here. It is possible this was meant to be specially decorated to indicate the beginning of *trioedd y meirch*.

RED BOOK (A5.51) Tri rodedicuarch ynys Brydein:
Meinlas march Kasswallaɔn uab Beli, a Melyngan gamre march Lleɔ llaɔ gyffes, a Lluagor march Kara[*da*]wc ureichuras.

PEN. 47 (A6.51) Tri ymladuarch ynys Prydein:
Lluagor march Craduɔc vreichuras, a Melyngan mangre march Lleɔ llaɔ gyffes, a ɔydaɔc vreichir march Kyhorec eil Kynan.

PEN. 27II (A8.2) Tri roddediguarch ynys Brydain:
Meinlas march Kyswallawn ap Beli, a Lluagor march Gyriadoc vreichvras, a Melyngan mangre march Llew llaw gyffes.

PEN. 51 (A9.46) Tri redegɔarch[196] ynys Prydain:
Meinlas march Kysswallon ap Peli, a Melygann man[197] march Llew llaw gyffes, a Lluagor march Karadoc ɔreichɔras.

CWRT. 3 (A12.43) Tri rhoddedicvarch ynys Brydain:
Mainlas march Caswallawn vap Beli, a Melyngan mangre march Llew llaw gyffes, a Llûagor march Caradawc vraichvras.

DIAR. CAMB. (A13.17) Tri rhoddedic varch ynys Brytain.
Meinlas march Caswallan ’ap Beli, Melyngan mangre march Llen llaw gyffes, Lluagor march Karadawc ureichvras.

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.16) Tri lloddvarch ynys Brydain:
Meinlas march Gydwallon ap Beli, Melyngan mangre march Llew llaw gyffes, Llvagor march Gyradog vreichvras.

NLW 6434 (A16.17) Tri rhoddedig ɔarch ynys B*rydain*:
Menilas march Caswallan ap Beli, Melyngan mangre march Lleu llaw gyffes, Llɔagor march Karadawc ɔreichɔras.

CARD. 2.26 (A18.16) Tri rhodhedic bharch y*nys* P*rydein*:
Meinlas march Casvallavn m*ab* Beli, a’ Melyngan manngre march Llhev llavgyphes, a’ Lhɔagor march Varadavc bhreichbhras.

TYP 39. TRI PHRYF EDYSTIR / THREE CHIEF STEEDS

PEN. 16 (A2.39) Tri phryf edystir enys Prydein:
Du hir tynnedic march Kynan Garrwyn ac Awydaɔc breichir march Kyoret eil[198] Kynan, a Rudɔreon tutɔleid march Gilbert mab Catgyffro.

[196] Vaughan corrects: “*roddedicvarch*”
[197] Vaughan corrects: “*gamre*”
[198] A second *eil* has been deleted here with *puncti delens*.

WHITE BOOK (A4.40) Tri phrif v[arc]h[199] ynys Brydein:
Du hir tynedic m[arch][200] Kynan Garwyn ac Aɵ[wy]daɵc[201] vreichir march Kyhoret eil Kynan, a Rud dreon tuthbleid march Gilbert ap Katgyffro.

RED BOOK (A5.52) Tri phrif uarch ynys Brydein:
Du hir tynedic march Kynan Garwyn, ac Awydaɵc ureich hir march Kyhoret eil Kynan, a Rud breon tuthbleid march Gilbert mab Kat gyffro.

PEN. 47 (A6.53) Tri prif edystyr ynys Prydein:
Du hir tynnedic march Kynan Garwyn, ac Awydaɵc vreichhir march Keheret eil Kynan, a Ruthueon tuthuleid march Gilbert mab Katgyffro.

PEN. 27II (A8.7) Tri ffrif eddystr ynys Brydain:
Du hir rrynedic, march Kynan Garwynn, a Rruddvron tvthvlaidd varch Gilbert ap Kadgyffro, ac Awyddawc vreichir varch Kyhored ail Kynan.

PEN. 51 (A9.47) Tri ffyrf[202] varch ynys Prydain:
Du hir kyɵedic march Kynan Garwyn ac Awyddawc ɵreich[*hir*] march Kyhored ail Kynan, a Rɵdd a breon[203] tuth blaidd march Gilbert ap Cadgyffro.

Cwrt. 3 (A12.44) Tri phrif varch ynys Brydain:
Dûy hir tynnedic march Cynan Garwyn, ac Aryddawc vraichir march Cyhoredd ail Cynan, a' Hyddvron tydrlaidd march Gilbert cadgyffro.

DIAR. CAMB. (A13.18) Tri phrif eddestyr ynys Britain.
Du hir tynnedic, march Kynan Garwyn, Arwyddawc[204] breichir march Kyoret eil Kynan, Ruddvreon tuthwleid march Gilbert tair cad gyffro.

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.17) Tri phrif edestyr ynys Brydain:
Du hir tynedig march Gynan Garwyn, Arwyddog vreichir march Kyored ail Kynan, Ruddvron tuthvlaidd march Gilbert kad gyffro.

NLW 6434 (A16.18) Tri pryf eddestyr ynys Bryda*in*:
Du hir tynedig march Kynan garwyn, Arwyddwc breichir march Kyoret eil Kynan, Rɵddɵreon tɵthwleid march Gylbert tair cad gyffro.

TYP 40. TRI ANREITHFARCH / THREE HORSES OF PLUNDER

BLACK BOOK (A1.1) Tri anreith march Inis P[ri]dein:

[199] Word is faded and partially illegible.
[200] Word is faded and partially illegible.
[201] Word is faded and partially illegible.
[202] Vaughan corrects: "*phrif*"
[203] Vaughan corrects: "*Rɵddbreon*"
[204] Correcting hand: "*ahrwyddawc*"

Carnawlauc march Owein mab Vrien, a Bucheslum Seri march Gugaun Cletywrut, a Tauautir Breichir m[arch][205] Kadwallaun filius[206] K[atuan]

PEN. 16 (A2.40) Tri anreinɷarch enys Prydein:
Carnaɷlaɷc march Ewein mab Vryen, a Thanaɷthir march Catwallaɷ[*n*] mab Catuan, a Bucheslom march Gwgawn gledyfrud.

WHITE BOOK (A4.41) Tri anreithuarch ynys B[ry]dein:[207]
Karnaflaɷn march Ywein ap Vryen, a Thauaɷt hir march Katwallaɷn ap Ka[*t*]uan, [a Buch]eslom[208] march Gɷgaɷn kedlyfrud.

RED BOOK (A4.53) Tri anreithuarch ynys Prydein:
Karnaflaɷc march Owein uab Uryen, a Thauaɷt hir, march Kadwallaɷn uab Katuan, a Bucheslom march Gɷgaɷn gledyfrud.

PEN. 47 (A6.48) Tri anreithuarch ynys Prydein:
Canaɷthar march Catwallaɷn mab Catuan, a Bacheslɷn serch march Gɷgaɷn gleifrud, a Charnaflaɷc march Owein mab Vryen.

PEN. 50 (A7.46) Tri anreithɷarch ynys Prydain:
Carnaflaɷc march Ywein mab Uryen, a Chanaɷt hir march Catɷallaɷn mab Catuan, a Bucheslom march Gɷgaɷn gledyfrudd.

PEN. 27II (A8.4) Tri anrreithuarch ynys Brydain:
Kynavlaw march Ywain ap Vrien, a Buchesdom, march Gwgon Gleddyfrudd, a Thauawyr, march Gydwallawn ap Kadvan.

PEN. 51 (A9.48) Tri anrreithɷarch ynys Prydain:
Karnasslawc[209] march Owain ap ɷreen, a Thaɷod hir march Kydwallawn ap K[a]dɷan,[210] a Buchesslem[211] march Gwgon gleddyɷrudd.

CWRT. 3 (A12.45) Tri anrathvarch ynys Brytain:
Carnaflawc march Owein ap Vrien, a Thafawtir march Cadwallawn ap Cynan, a Bycheslom march Gwagawn gleddyfrydd.

DIAR. CAMB. (A13.19) Tri avvreinvarch[212] ynys Brytain.

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[205] This manuscript uses a "m." abbreviation for *march* that is identical to the abbreviation for *mab* in other manuscripts. I have indicated my expansion of the abbreviation here but not elsewhere. It occurs at every subsequent use of *march* in this manuscript.
[206] This and the subsequent use of *filius* are the only examples I have seen which use *filius* in place of *mab* in the medieval TYP corpus.
[207] Word is faded and partially illegible.
[208] Text is faded and illegible.
[209] Vaughan corrects: "*Karnavlawc*"
[210] Part of this word has been scrubbed out, apparently by Gwilym Tew himself, and is illegible. It has not been corrected.
[211] Vaughan corrects: "*Buchesslom*"
[212] Correcting hand: "*Anrheithfarch*"

Cannalawc march Ywayn ’ap Urien, Canawthir[213] march Cadwallon ’ap Cadvan, Bucheslom march Gwgon gledddyfrudd.

BL Add. 15,047 (A15.18): Tri arweinvarch ynys Brydain:x
Kannalawg march Owen ap Vrien, Tanawthir march Gydwallon ap Kadvan, Bucheslom march Gwgon gleddyddrudd.

NLW 6434 (A16.19) Tri awreinvarch ynys Brydain:
Canalanoc march Owain ap ȯrien, Tanawthir march Cadwallon ap Cadɢan, Bȯcheslom march Gwgon gleddyfrȯdd.

TYP 41. TRI GORDERCHUARCH / THREE LOVERS’ HORSES

PEN. 16. (A2.41) Tri gorderchȯarch enys Prydein:
Ferlas march Dalldaf eil Cunin Cof, a Rudurych march Rahaȯt eil Morgant a Guelwgan gohoewgein march Moruran eil Tegit.

WHITE BOOK (A4.43) Tri gorderchuarch [ynys][214] Brydein:
Ferlas march D[al]ld[af][215] eil K[uni]n,[216] a Gwelw[gan][217] gohеȯgein march Keredic ap Gȯwallaȯc, a Gȯrbrith march Raaȯt. Tri penuarch ynys Brydein a dugant y tri marchlȯyth y mae eu henwi dracheuyn.

RED BOOK (A5.55) Tri gordercharch ynys Brydein:
Fferlas march Dalldaff eil Kunin, a Gwelȯgan gohoewgein march Keredic uab Gȯawllaȯc, a Gȯrbrith march Raaȯt. Tri p[*y*]nn[218] uarch ynys Brydein a dugant y tri marchlȯyth y mae henweu dracheuyn.

PEN. 47 (A6.49) Tri gorderchuarch ynys Prydein:
a Ruȯlvrich march Ryhaȯt eil Morgant, a Gwelȯ gohoyȯ march Drystan, a Ruthyr reon tutuleid march Dalldaf eil Kunyn kof.

PEN. 50 (A7.47) Tri gordderchuarch ynys Prydain:
Fflerlas march Dalldaf […], a Rudurych march Ryhaȯt […] Moruran tegit, a Gȯelȯgan gohoyȯ gein marh Mo…[219]
PEN. 27II (A8.5) Tri gordderchvarch ynys Brydain:
Fferlas march Dallda ail Kunin kof, Arwlvrith march Kahawt ail Morgan, a Chornach arwch march Marvrynn ail Tegid.

[213] Correcting hand: “*Tafawdhir*”
[214] Word is faded and partially illegible.
[215] Word is faded and partially illegible.
[216] Word is faded and partially illegible.
[217] Word is faded and partially illegible.
[218] Corrected from “*pennuarch*.”
[219] The page is torn here and some text has been lost. The TYP text ends here.

PEN. 51 (A9.50) Tri gordderchar̃ch[220] ynys Prydain:
Ffelas march Dellaf[221] ail Cunun, a [Gwelwgan][222] march Karedic ap Gwallawc, [Gɔrbrith] march Rawnt.[223]

CWRT. 3 (A12.47) Tri gordderchvarch ynys Brytain:
Ferlas march Dalldadd ail Cynan, a Gwelwgan march Caredic ail Gwallaec, a Gwrbirth march Rawd.

DIAR. CAMB. (A13.20) Tri gordderchvaich[224] ynys Brytain.
[*F*]ferlas march Daldaff eil Kwvincof, Ruddvrych march Rahawt eil Morgant, Gwelwgan gohoiwgam[225] march Morvran ail Tegit.

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.19) Tri gordderthvarch ynys Brydain:
Fferlas march Daldaf ail Kwfincol, Ruddvrych march Ryhawnt ail Morgan, Gwelwgan gohoiwgan march Morvran ail Tegid.

NLW 6434 (A16.20) Tri gordderchvaich ynys Brydain:
Ferlas march Daldaff eil Rwɔincof, Rɔddɔrych march Rahawt eil Morgant, Gwelwgan gohoinogann march Morɔran ail Tegit.

TYP 42. TRI GOHOEW EDYSTYR / THREE SPRIGHTLY STEEDS

BLACK BOOK (A1.3) Tri gohoev etystir inis Pridein:
Guynev godvff hir march Kei, Ruthir ehon tuthbleit, march Gilberd mab Kadgyffro, a Kein caled march Gualchmei.

PEN. 16 (A2.42) Tri gohoew edystyr enys Prydein:
Llwyt march Alser mab Maelgwn, a Gɔineu godwf hir march Kei, a Chethin carnaɔlaw march Idon mab Enyr Gɔent.

WHITE BOOK (A4.42) Tri thom edystyr ynys Brydein:
Gɔineu gɔdɔf hir march Kei, a Grei march [Edwin][226] a Lluyd march Alser ap Maelgɔn.

RED BOOK (A5.54) Tri thom edystyr ynys Brydein:
Gɔineu gɔdɔc hir, march Kei a Grei march Edɔin, a Lluyd march Alser uab Maelgɔn.

PEN. 47 (A6.45) Tri gohoyɔ edestyr ynys Prydein:
Meinlas march Kaswallaɔn mab Beli, a Grei march Etwin, a Llɔyt march Allych mab Maelgɔn.

[220] Vaughan corrects: "*godderchvarch*"
[221] Vaughan corrects: "*Dalldaf*"
[222] Damage to the manuscript; this line is partially illegible. I have reconstructed this name and "Gɔrbrith" from comparison with the texts of the White Book and Red Book.
[223] Vaughan corrects: "*Raawt*"
[224] Correcting hand: "*gordderchvarch*"
[225] Correcting hand: "*gohoiwgain*"
[226] Word is faded and illegible.

PEN. 27II (A8.6) Tri gohyw eddystr ynys Brydain:
Llyt march Alser, ac Gwine gyddvy march Kai, a Chethin kyflym, march Iddon ap Ynyr Gwent.

PEN. 51 (A9.49) Tri thom edysstr ynys Prydain:
Gw[*i*]naɔ gwddwg hir march Kai hir, a Grai[227] march Edwin, a Llwyd[228] march Alser ap Maelgwn.

CWRT. 3 (A12.46) Tri thom eddestr ynys Brytain:
Gwinaû gwddwfhir march Can' hir, a Grai march Edwin, a Llûydd varch Alffer ap Ma[*e*]lgwn.

DIAR. CAMB. (A13.21) Tri gohoivv eddestyr ynys Brytain:
Llwyd march Alser 'ap Maelgwn, Gwineu gwddwhir march Syr Cei, Cethin carnawlaw[229] march Iddon 'ap Eynyr Gwent.

DIAR. CAMB. (A13.39) Tri [*hoyw*] eddestyr ynys Britain.
Gwinau gwddw-hir march Cai hir, Gregar march Edwin, Ellwyd march Alser ap Maelgwyn.

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.20) Tri gohoiw edestir ynys Brydain:
Llwyd march Alsser ap Maelgwn Gwynedd, Gwine gyddthir march S[y]r Gei, a Warrwig kethin karnowladd march Iddon a Ynyr Gwent.

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.39) Tri edestr ynys Brydain:
Gwinav gyddhir march Kae hir, Gregar march Edwin, Ellwyd march Alser ap Maelgwn.

NLW 6434 (A16.21) Tri gohoiw eddestyr y*nys* B*rydain*:
Llwyd march Alfer ap Malgwn, Gwineɔ gwddwhir march Syr Gei, Kethin carnaw march Iddon ap Eymyr Gwent.

TYP 43. TRI THOM EDYSTYR / THREE STEEDS OF BURDEN

BLACK BOOK (A1.2) Tri t[*h*]om etystir Inis Pridein:
Arwul melin march Passcen filius Vrien, a Du hir terwenhit march Selyw mab Kynan Garrvin, a Drudluid march Ryterch Hael.

PEN. 16 (A2.43): Tri thom edystyr enys Prydein:
Du march Brwyn mab Kynadaf, ac Arɔwl ɔelyn march Pasken mab ɔryen, a Rudlwyt march Ryderch hael.

PEN. 47 (A6.46) Tri thom edystyr ynys Prydein:
a Chuluelyn march Pascen mab Vryen, a Du march Brɔynan kynadaf, ac Ysgdydurith march Leineic mab Awan.

[227] Vaughan corrects: "*Grei*"
[228] Vaughan corrects: "*Llvydd*"
[229] Correcting hand: "*Carnaflawc*"

PEN. 27II (A8.3) Tri thom eddystyr ynys Brydain:
Du march Brwyn a Kynedaf, ac Arwl velyn march Pasgen ap Vrien, a Dulwyd varch Rrydderch hayl.

DIAR. CAMB. (A13.22) Tri thom-eddestir ynys Brytain.
Du march Brwyn 'ap Kynadaf, Aruwl[230] velyn march Pascen ap Urien, Ruddlwyd march Rydderch hael.

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.21) Tri thom edestir y*nys* B*rydain*:
Dȣ march Brwyn ap Kynadaf, Arȣwl ȣelyn march Pasgen ap ȣrien, Rȣddlwyd march Rydderch hael.

TYP 44. TRI MEIRCH A DUGANT Y TRI MARCHLWYTH / THREE HORSES WHO CARRIED THE THREE HORSE-BURDENS

PEN. 16 (A2.44) Tri meir[*ch*][231] a dugant y tri marchlwyth:
Du Moro[232] march Elidir mwynȣaȣr, a duc a[*r*]naȣ seith nyn a hanner o Benllech yn y Gogled hyt ym Penllech y Mon. Sef seith nyn oedynt: Elidir mwynȣaȣr, a Eurgein y wreic, merch Ewein Gwyned,[233] a Gȣynn da gyȣet, a Gȣyn da reinyat, a mynach Naomon y gyghorwr, a Phrydelaȣ menestyr y wallȣyat, ac Aryanȣagyl y was, a Gelbeineuin y goc a n[*o*]uyes a'e dwylaȣ ar Bedrein y march, a hȣnnȣ ȣu hanner y dyn.

Er eil marchlwyth a duc Cornan march meibyon Elifer, a duc Gȣrgi a Pheredur arnaȣ, a Dunaȣt ȣwr, a Chynȣelyn drwsgyl, y edrych ar ȣygedorth Gȣendoleu Arderyd.

E trydyd marchaȣelwyth a duc Heich march meibyon Gȣerthmȣl wledic, a duc Gȣeir, a Gleis ac Arthanat yn erbyn allt ȣaellwr yg Keredigyaȣn yn dial eu tat.

WHITE BOOK (A4.43A) Tri penuarch ynys Brydein a dugant y tri marchlȣyth y mae eu henwi dracheuyn.

RED BOOK (A5.11) Tri marchlȣyth ynys P*ry*dein:
Du y moroed march Elidyr mȣynuaȣr, a duc seith nyn[234] a hanner arnaȣ, o benn llech Elidir yn y Gogled, hyt ym penn llech Elidyr ym Mon. Sef seith nyn oedynt: Elidyr mȣynuaȣr, ac Eurgein uerch Vaelgȣn y wreic, a Gȣynn da gyued, a Gȣyn da reiniat, a mynach Naȣmon y gynghorȣr,[235]

[230] Correcting hand: "*Arlwd*"
[231] This "ch" has been added in the margin as a correction in the hand of Jaspar Gruffydd.
[232] Marginal note in the hand of Jaspar Gruffydd: "*Du y Moredd*"
[233] A roughly contemporary-looking hand has corrected "Ewein" to "Maelgvn" in the margin. (Ewein is deleted with *puncti delens*).
[234] A second "n" has been deleted with a *punctus delens*.
[235] Corrected from "*ghynghorȣr*."

a Phetryleɔ vynestyr y wallonyat, ac Aran uagyl y was, ac Albeinyn y goc, a noeues a'e dɔylaɔ ar bedrein y uarch, a hɔnnɔ uu hanner y dyn.

A'r eil marchlɔyth a duc Coruann march meibon Eliffer gosgorduaɔr, a duc Gɔrgi a Phered[*ur*] arnaɔ, ac nys gordiwedaɔd neb namyn Diuogat uab Kynan Garwynn y ar y Kethin kyflym ac aruidiaɔt ac a glot a gauas yr hynny hyt hedwis, a Dunaɔt wr uab Pabo, a Chynuelyn drɔsgyl y edrych ar vygedor[*t*]h llu Gɔendoleu yn Arderyd.

Y trydyd marchlɔyth a duc Erch march meibon Grythmɔl wledic, a duc arnaɔ, Achleu ac Arthanat, yn erbyn riɔ Uaelaɔr yg Keredigyaɔn y dial eu tat.

RED BOOK (A5.55A) Tri p[*y*]nn[236] uarch ynys Brydein a dugant y tri marchlɔyth y mae henweu dracheuyn.

PEN. 47 (A6.52) Tri meirch a dugant y tri marchlɔyth:
Du'r moored march Elidyr mɔyuaɔr a duc arnaɔ seith nyn a hanner o Benn Llech Elidir yn y Gogled hyt ym Penn Llech Elidyr y Mon. Sef y seithnyn a du: Elidyr Mɔwuaɔr ac Eurgein merch Vaelgɔn Gɔyned y wreic. A Gwyn da gynes, a Gwyn da reinyat, a Manach Uaɔinod y gynghorɔr a Phredelaɔ menestyr y Walloffyat ac Aryan magyl y was a Gilbenevin y goc a nofyes a'e dɔylaɔ a'r bedrein y march a hɔnnɔ vn hanner. Y dyn a duc yr eil marchlɔyth a duc Cornan march meibion Eliffer gosgorduaɔr, a duc Gɔrgi a Pheredur a Dunaɔt vɔrr a Chynvelyn drɔseyl y edrych a'r vygoderth Gwendoleu mab Keidaɔ yn Aryfderyd. Trydyd marchlɔyth a duc Heid march meibon Gyrchuɔl wledic a duc Gweir a Gleis ag Archegnat yn erbyn allt Vaeloaɔr yg Ceredigyaɔn y dial eu tat.

PEN. 50 (A7.43) Tri meirch a dugant y tri marchlɔyth:
Dumoro march Elidir mɔynuaɔr a dduc arnaw seith nyn a hanner o Penllech yn y Gogledd hyt yn Penllech y Mon. Sef seith nyn oeddynt: Elidir mywnuaɔr, ac Eurgein y wreic meirch Malgɔn Gɔynedd, a Gɔyn da gydfed, a Gɔyn da reinat, a mynach Naɔmod y gyghorɔr, a Phrydelaɔ menestyr wallofyat, Aranuagyl y was, ac Gilenefyn y goc a nouyes a'e dɔylaɔ ar Pedrein y march a'e draet yn y defyr a hɔnnɔ ɔu y hanner dyn.

Yr eil marchlɔyth, a dduc Cornan march meibion Eliffer a dduc Gɔrgi a Pheredur arnaɔ, a Dunaɔt uɔrc a Chynuelyn trɔscyl etrych ar ygedorth Gwendoleu yn Arderyd.

A trydyd marchlɔyth, a dduc Heid march Gyrthmɔl wledic a dduc Gueir a Gleis ac Archynat yn erbyn allt Malɔr yg Keredigion […][237]

PEN. 27II (A8.1) Tri marchlwyth ynys Brydain:
Du y moroydd, march Elidir mwynuawr, a dduc seith nyn a hanner aniaw o Benllech Elidir yn y Gogledd hyd ym hen llech Elidir yn Mon, sef y nyn oeddynt Elidir ac Eurgain uerch Uaylawn i wraica Gwyn da gynydd a Gwynn da rreiniad a Manach Nowmon yn gynhorwr a Ffedrillaw venestr ac Aranuagl i was. A Gelluenieuin a nonies a'i dwylo a'r bedrain y march a hwnnw uu haner y dyd.

A'r ail marchlwyth uu gorau march meibion Oliver gosgordduawr a dduc Gwrgi a Fferedur a Dunod vwr a Chynuelyn dywsgl i edrych megedorth Gwynndole.

[236] Corrected from "*pennuarch*."
[237] The rest of this line is smudged and illegible.

A’r trydydd march meibion Gwythmwl Wledic a dduc arnaw Gwair a Chlais ac Arthenad yn erbyn yr allt Vaylwr yn Geredigiawn i ddial i tad Kyneddf oydd ar uaylwr na Chaye i Borth i’r bu marchlwyth ac yna i lyddasant.

PEN. 51 (A9.29) Tri marchlwyth ynys Prydain:
Du’r moroedd march Elidir mwynɷawr a dduc seithnyn a haner arnaw o Benn Llech, Elidir yn y Gogledd hyt Benn Llech Elidiyr y Mon. Sef y sseithnyn oeddynt: Elidyr ac Aɷrgain ɷerch ɷaelgwn y wraig a Gwynedd Gyɷedd a Gwynn dda reiniad a mynach Noaɷmon yni gyngor a Phedrlew ɷenesstr[238] y Walloviad ac Aranɷagl y was a Blinwyn[239] i gog a noɷies ar ddwylaw ar bedrann y march a hwnnw oedd haner y dyn.

A’r ail [*marchlwyth*] a ddug Karɷon[240] march meibion Eliffer gossgorddɷawr a ddug Gwrgi a Pheredur a Dɷnod[*wr*] ap Pabo a Chynɷelyn drwssgl y edrych ar ɷygodarth llɷ Gwynddole [*yn Arderydd*] ag nys gorddiweddodd neb namyn diɷogad ap Kynan Garwyn [*y ar y cethin cyulym ac arfidiawt*] ac ef a gauas anglod er hynny hydd heddiw.

Trydyd marchlwyth a ddug [*Erch*] march [*meibion*] Gyrthmɷl wledig. Gwaw ac Archeu[241] Arthanad yn erb[*yn*] rriw ɷaelawr yn[*g*] Heredigion a ddial eɷ tad ar ni arch hwnnw a elwis erchani […][242]

PEN. 51 (*A9.51*) Tri phonɷarch ynys Prydain a ddugant y tri marchlwyth.

CWRT. 3 (#5) Tri marchorglwyth ynys Brytain:
Dû y moroedd, march Elidir mwynvawr, a ddûc saith o ddynion a haner dyn arnw o benllech Elidir yn y Gogledd, hyd benllech Elidir ym Mon. Y sef y henwae, [Elidir] mwynvawr ac Eurgain verch Vaelgwn y wraic, a Mynach Nawmon y gynghorwr, a Phedrylaw vynestr y wallofiawoc, ac Aranvad y was. Ac Alaomoyn y gog a novies a’i ddwylaw ar bedran y march, a hwnw oedd vn haner y dyn.

Yr ail marchoglwyth ynys Brydain, a dduc Corvan march meibion Oliuer gosgordvawr a dduc Peredur arnaw, ac nis gorddrioeddoedd neb namyn Dingwc vap Cynan Garwyn iar y Rethin cyflym a’i gorddrioeddanod, ac anglod a gavas er hyny hyd heddiw Dynnodvyr vap Poppo, a Chynvelyn drwsgwc y edrych ar vygydorth Gwynedd olaû yn Arderydd.

Trydydd marchlwyth a dduc Erch march meibion Drychmwl wledic a dduc arnaw Garv a Chlaû ac Arllanad yn erbyn y rhyw i ddial y’w tad.

CWRT. 3 (A12.48) Tri ffynvarch ynys Brytain a ddugant y tri marchlwyth y mae henwaû drachefn val hyn.

CWRT. 3 (A12.59) Tri marchlwyth ynys Brydain:

[238] Vaughan corrects: “*Vynesstr*”
[239] Vaughan corrects: “*Wynn ac Albeinwyn*”
[240] Vaughan corrects: “*Korvan*”
[241] Vaughan corrects “*Gwaw ac Archeu” to “Archleu ar*”
[242] Damage to the manuscript, some text is missing here, probably amounting to two lines altogether.

Dû ’r moroedd Eilidr awynvawr, a ddûc saith nyn arno o Benllech yn y Gogle[dd][243] ym Henllech Elidr ym Mon. Yr ail, lwyth vû Gorvûan[244] march meibion Oli[ffer][245] Gosgorddvawr. Y trydydd marchlwyth vû Erth Grithmwl wledic.

DIAR. CAMB. (A13.23) Tri meirch a ddugant tri marchlvvyth.
Du y’ moredd, march Elidir mwynvawr, a dduc arno saithnyn a’ haner o Benllech [*Elidir*] yn y Gogledd hyt ym Henllech [*Elidir*] ym Mon: ’s ef oeddyn: Elidir mwynvawr, ac Eurgain ei wraic merch Uaelgwn Gwynedd, a’ Gwen da gywed. Gwyn dareiniad a’ mynach Namon ei gyngorwr ’a Prhydelaw menestyr y walloyad ac Arianvagyl y was a’ Gelbeinevin y goc a nouies a’i ddwylaw ac Bedren y march, a hwnw vn haner y dyn.

Yr ail marchlwyth, Corman march meibion Oliuer, a adduc Gwrgi a’ Phredur a Dunawd wr[246] a Chynvelyn drwsgwl i edrych ar rygydorth[247] Gwenddoleu [*yn*] Arderydd.

Y tryddyd marchlwyth, Neith march meibion Gwerthmwl wledic a dduc Gweir gleis ac Arthauad[248] yn erbyn allt Baeilwr yn-Ghredigion yn dial ei tad.

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.22) Tri march a ddug y tri marchlwyth:
Dv ’r moroedd march Elidir mwynvawr a ddug seithnyn a haner o Benllech yn y Gogledd hyd ym Henllech y Mon. Sef oeddynt: Elidir mwynvawr ag Evrgain i wraig merch Vaelgwyn Gwynedd a Gwynda gowedd, Gwyndareiniadd ynghorwr, a Mynach Namon i gyngorwr hefyd, a Phrydelaw menestr y waloyar, ag Arianvagl i was a Gelbei Nevin i gog a novies a’i ddwylo a’r Badren y march a hwnnw vv’r hanner dyn.

Yr ail marchlwyth, Korman march meibion Oliver a ddig Gwrgi a Phredir a Dvnawd wr a Chynvelyn drwsgl i edrych ar vygydorth Gwenddolav Arderydd. Trydydd marchlwyth, Heith march meibion Gwerthmwl wledig a ddug gweir a Gleis ag Arthanad yn erbyn Veibvr yn Ghyredigion yn dial i tad.

NLW 6434 (A16.23) Tri meirch a ddvgant tri marchlwyth y*nys* B*rydain*:
Du y moroedd march Elidir mwynɔawr, a ddɔc arno saith nyn a haner o ben llech yn y Gogledd hyt ymhenllech y Mon. Sef oeddynt: Elidir mwynɔawr ac Eɔrgain i wraig, merch ɔaelgwn Gwynedd, a Gwyn da gywed, Gwyn dareiniad, a mynach Namon ei gyngor wr, a Phrydelaw menestyr y was, a Gelbeneiɔin i gog, a noɔies a’i ddwylaw ar bedrein y march. A hwnw oedd ɔn haner y dyn.

Yr ail marchlwyd oedd Cornan march meibion Olɔer, a ddɔc Gwrgi, a Phredɔr, a Dɔnadwc, a Chynɔelyn drwyswl i edrych ar rynydorth Gwenddolen Arderydd. Y trydydd marchlwyth: Heith march meibion Gwerthmwl wledig, a ddɔc Gwir a Gleis at Arthaɔad yn erbyn allt ɔaeilwr yn Chredigion yn dial i tad.

TYP 45. TRI PHRYF YCHEN / THREE CHIEF OXEN

PEN. 16 (A2.45) Tri phryf ychen enys Prydein:

[243] Damage to the manuscript.
[244] Corrected to “*Gorfûan*.”
[245] Damage to the manuscript.
[246] [unclear marginalia]
[247] [unclear marginalia]
[248] Correcting hand: “*Arthanad*”

Melyn Gɔaianhwyn, a Gɔineu ych Gwylwylyd, a'r ych Brych.

PEN. 47 (A6.54) Tri phrif ychen ynys Prydein:
Melyn gwanɔyn, a Gwineu ych gɔlwlyd, a'r ych Brych bras y beuren.

PEN. 50 (A7.44) Tri pryf ychen ynys Prydain:
Melun guanhɔyn, a Gvineu gloɔwd, ac ych Brych.

DIAR. CAMB. (A13.24) Tri phrif ychen ynys Britain.
Melyn gwaynhwyn,[249] ych Gwylwlwyd, a'r ych brych.[250]

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.23) Tri phrif ychen ynys Bryden:
Melyn gwanwyn, ych Gwylwlwyd, a'r ych Brych.

NLW 6434 (A16.24) Tri phrif ychen y*nys* B*rydain*:
Melyn gwaynhwyn, ych Gwylw lwyd, a'r ych Brych.

TYP 46. TEIR PHRYF UUCH / THREE CHIEF COWS

PEN. 16 (A2.46) Teir phryf uuch enys Prydein:
Brech buwch ɔaelgwn Gwyned, a Thonnllwyt bɔwch meibyon Eliffer gosgordɔawr, a Choruillo buɔch llawuroded ɔarɔaɔc.

PEN. 47 (A6.55) Teir prif vuɔch ynys Prydein:
Brech buɔch Maelgɔn Gɔyned, a Thonllɔyt buɔch Laɔuroded uarnaɔt.

PEN. 50 (A7.45) Tri pryf vvɔch ynys Prydain:
Brech buɔch Vaegɔn Gwynedd, a Thonllɔyt buɔch meibion Eliffer gosgorddua6r, a Chornillo buɔch La6urodedd varuaɔc.

DIAR. CAMB. (A13.25) Tair prif vvvuch ynys Brytain.
Brech buwch Uaelgwn Gwynedd, Tomlwyd buwch meibion Oliuer gosgorddvawr, Cornillo buwch Llawvrodedd varchoc.

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.24) Tair prif vuch ynys Brydain:
Brech buch Valegwyn Gwynedd, Tmlwyd vuwch meibion Olivir gosgorddvawr, Kornillo vuch Llawwredodd varchog.

NLW 6434 (A16.25) Tair prif ɔɔwch y*nys* B*rydain*:
Brech bɔwch ɔaelgwn Gwynedd, Tomlwyd bɔch meibion Oliɔer gosgordd ɔawr, Tornillo bɔwch Llawɔrodedd ɔarchog.

[249] Correcting hand: "*Gwauwyn*"
[250] Correcting hand: "*bras oj benzheu*"

TYP 46A. TRI RODEDICUARCH / THREE BESTOWED HORSES

PEN. 47 (A6.50) Tri rodedicuarch ynys Prydein:
Meingalet march Gwalchmei, a Myngrǒn march Dritwas mab Driffin, a Gwineu gǒdǒf hir march Kei.

TYP 46B. TRI RYDECUARCH / THREE COURSING HORSES

PEN. 47 (A6.48) Tri rydecuarch ynys Prydein:
Torllydan a Gloyn, deu uarth Collaǒn mab Teichi, a'r Kerlym kyflym march Dinogan mab Kynan kaǒrnǒy.

TYP 47. TRI DYN A GAUAS KEDERNIT ADAF / THREE MEN WHO RECEIVED THE MIGHT OF ADAM

RED BOOK (A5.10 Tri dyn a gauas kedernit Adaf:
Ercwlf gadarn, ac Ector gadarn, a Sompson gadarn. Kyn gadarnet oedynt yll tri, ac Adaf ehun.

PEN. 16 PART VII (SIMWWT FYCHAN) (#1): Tri dyn a gavas kadernyd Addaf:
Eskwlf gadarn, Samson gadarn, Ector gadarn. Kyn gadarned oedd Addaf a hwynt yll tri.

PEN. 77 (A14.12) Tri gafas i gedernyd:
Ercwlph, a Samsvn, ac Ector o Droia.

TYP 48. TRI DYN A GUAS PRYT ADAF / THREE MEN WHO RECEIVED THE BEAUTY OF ADAM

RED BOOK (A5.2) Tri dyn a gauas pryt Adaf:
Absolon ab Dauyd, a Iason uab Eson, a Pharis uab Priaf. Kyn decket oedynt yll tri ac Adaf ehun.

PEN. 16 PART VII (SIMWNT FYCHAN) (A11.2): Tri dyn a gaǒas tegwch Addaf:
Abssalon ap Dauydd, Siasson ap Esson, Paris ap Priaf hen vrenhin Troyaf. Kyn deked oedd Addaf a hwynt yll tri.

PEN. 77 (A14.13) Tri a gafas i bryd:
Jason ap Esvn, ac Alexander Paris, ac Absalon ap Dd brophwyd.

TYP 49. TRI DYN A GAUAS DOETHINEB ADAF / THREE MEN WHO RECEIVED THE WISDOM OF ADAM

RED BOOK (A5.3) Tri dyn a gauas doethineb Adaf:
Cado hen, a Beda, a Sibli doeth. Kyn doethet oedynt ell tri ac Adaf ehun.

PEN. 16 PART VII (SIMWNT FYCHAN) (A11.3): Tri dyn a gaǒas doethneb Addaf:[251]

PEN. 77 (A14.14) Tri a gafas i ddoethineb:
Marclwph, a Abida, a Selef ap Dd

[251] A large blank spot in the middle of the page here indicates that Simwnt likely meant to return and insert the body of this triad.

TYP 50. TEIR GWRAGED A GAUAS PRYT EUA YN TRI THRAEAN / THREE WOMEN WHO RECEIVED THE BEAUTY OF EVE IN THREE THIRD-SHARES:

RED BOOK (A5.4) Teir gɔraged a gauas pryt Eua yn tri thraean:
Diadema gorderch Eneas yscɔydwyn, ac Elen uannaɔc y wreic y bu distriwe[*di*]gaeth Tro drɔy y phenn, a Pholixena uerch Priaf hen vrenhin Tro.

PEN. 47 (A6.40) Teir gwraged a gauas pryd Eua:
Diadema gorderch a Chilarɔ, ac Elen vannaɔc y wreic y bu distryɔ Troea trɔy y phen, a Pholixena verch Priaf brenhin Groec.

PEN. 77 (A14.15) Tair gwragedd a gowfaus goryd Eva:
Deiadena gordderch Eneas ysgwyddwyn, Elen vanawc y wraic y bû distriw Tro a'i hachaws, a Pholicsena verch Briaf vrenhin Tro.

PEN. 16 PART VII (SIMWNT FYCHAN) (A11.4): Tair gwragedd a gaɔas prid Efa yn dri thrayant kyngthynt, nid amgen:
Diadema gordderch Enias ysgwyddwynn, ac Elen vannoc y wraig u bɔ ddistrywedigaeth Troyaf o'i hachos, a Pholexana v*erch* hen vrenhin Troyaf. Kyn deked oedd Efa a hwynt yll tair.

TYP 51. TRYWYR GWARTH / THREE MEN OF SHAME

RED BOOK (A5.6) Try wyr gɔarth[252] a uu yn ynys Prydein:

Vn onadunt, Auarɔy uab Llud uab Beli, ef a dyuynnaɔd Iulius a Cesar a gɔyr Ruuein yr ynys honn yn gyntaf, a beris talu teir mil o bunnoed aryant bop blɔydyn yn deyrnget o'r ynys honn y wyr Ruuein, o gyfryssed a Chasswallaɔn y ewythyr.

A'r eil yɔ Gɔrtheyrn gɔrtheneu, a rodes tir gyntaf y Saesson yn yr ynys honn, ac a ymdywediɔd yn gyntaf a ɔynt. Ac a beris llad Custennin uychan uab Custennin uendigeit o'e brat a dehol y deu u[*r*]oder, Emrys wledic ac Uthur Penndradon, o'r ynys honn hyt yn Llydaɔ a chymryt y goron a'r urenhinyaeth o'e dɔyll yn y eidiaɔ ehun. Ac yn y diwed,s Uthur ac Emrys a losgassant Wrtheyr[*n*] yg kastell Gɔertherynyaɔn ar lann gɔy unfflam y dial eu braɔt.

Trydyd gɔaethaf uu Vedraɔt pan edewis Arthur lywodraeth ynys Prydein gantaɔ pan aeth ynteu drɔy vor yn erbyn Lles amheraɔdyr Ruuein a anuonaessei gennadeu att Arthur hyt yg Kaerllion y erchi teyrnget idaɔ o'r ynys honn, ac y wyr Ruuein ar y messur y talpɔyt y Gatwallaɔn[253] uab Beli hyt yn oes Gustennin Uendigeit, teit Arthur.[254] Sef atteb a rodes Arthur y gennadeu yr amheraɔdyr: nat oed well y dylyei wyr Ruuein, deyrnget y wyr ynys Prydein, noc y dylyei wyr ynys Prydein udunt ɔunteu. Kanys Bran uab Dyuynwal, a Chustennin uab Elen, a uuassynt amherodron yn Ruuein, a deu ɔr o'r ynys honn oedynt. Ac yna y lluydaɔd Arthur

[252] "*gwyr*" preceeding this word has been deleted.
[253] The early modern or modern hand has glossed "*Caswallon*."
[254] A marginal note in a later hand (different from the above note) here reads: "*Constantinus magnus Arthuri Avus fuit. viz Arthuri ab Uthur ab Cystennin*."

gordetholwyr y gyndeth drϭy uor yn erbyn yr amheraϭdyr, ac y kyuaruuant y tu hϭnt y uynyd Mynneu. Ac aneirif onadunt o bop parth a las y dyd hϭnnϭ. Ac yn y diwed, y kyuaruu Arthur a'r amheraϭdyr, ac Arthur a'e lladaϭd. Ac yno y llas goreu gϭyr Arthur. A phan gigleu Vedraϭt gϭahauu niuer Arthur, y dymchoelawd ynteu yn erbyn Arth*ur*, ac y duunaϭd Saesson, a Fficteit, ac y Scottyeit, ac ef y gadϭ yr ynys honn rac Arthur. A phan gigleu Arthur hynny yd ymchoelaϭd dracheuyn, ac a dihengis gantaϭ o'e niuer. Ac y dreis var Vedraϭt y kauas dyuot y dir yr ynys honn. Ac yna y bu weith Camlan y rϭng Arthr a Medraϭt, ac y lladaϭt Arthur Uedraϭt, ac y brathϭyt Arthur yn angheuaϭl. Ac o hynny y bu uarw, ac y myϭn plas yn ynys Auallach y cladϭyt.

PEN. 51 (A9.24) Tri gormes gynnwys ynys Prydain:
Ϭn o naddunt Aϭarwy ap Lludd ap Peli, a ddynnodd Iulwy Sussar a gwyr Rϭϭein i'r ynys honn. Gyntaf ac a beris talϭ [*teir*] o bϭnnoedd yn deernged y wyr Rϭϭein o'e gyϭroyssedd a Chasswallon y ewthyr.

A'r ail ϭϭ Wrtheyrn [*fab*] Gwrthenau a rodes tir i Ssaesson [*yn gywys[t]l*]. Ac a ym ddyweddiodd a chynt gyntaf ac a beris lladd [*Cystenin uychan uab*] Kusstennin vendigeid a'i[255] ϭrawd a ddeol y ddaϭ ϭrodor o'r tri Emrys wledic. Ac Ϭthyr Benndragon hyd yn Llyddaw a chymryd y goron [*a'r urenhinaith*] a dwyll [*yn eiddo*] e hvn ac o'r diwedd Ϭthr ac Emrys a'i llossges ynteϭ yng hasstel Gwerthrynion ar lann Gwy [*un fflam y dial o brawt*].

Trydydd gwaethaf ϭϭ Ϭedrod [*ap Llew ap Kynuarch*] pan edewis Arthur lywrodraeth ynys Brydain ganthaw pan aeth yntaϭ drwy mor yn erbyn Lleon[256] amerodϭ Rϭϭein, a anϭenassai gennadaϭ ataw o'r blaen hyd yng Haer Llion ar Wyssc y erchi teernged […][257] gwyr ynys Brydain […] o amsser Kasswallawn ap Peli hyt yn amser Kusstennin ϭendigaid taid Arthur. Sef atep a roddes Arthur y wyr Rϭϭein nyd oedd well y dylyai wyr Rϭϭein deernged y wyr ynys Brydain no gwyr ynys Brydain y wyr Rϭϭein. Kan[y]s Beli[258] ϭab Dyfnwal a Chusstennin ap Elen a ϭϭant amerodronyn Rϭϭein a daw o'r Brytaniad oedd y gwyr hynny. [*Ac*] ym ydd ymgarϭϭant o'r tϭ hwnt y ϭymydd mynnuϭ ac y llas aerϭa o bob tϭ ar y llas yr amerawdr, a goreϭ gwyr Arthur a phan gigleϭ Ϭedrod Wassgarϭ gwyr[259] Arthur ydd ymchewlodd tϭ ac ac[260] Arthur ac y dyϭynnodd gidai ef Ssaesson a Phichtiaid a Yssgotiaid yn ϭhd[261] Arthur. Ac yna doeth idaw ap Nyniaw yr hwn a elwir Idawc korn Prydyn yr hwnn a wnaeth y gynnen rrwng Arthur a Medrod ac y min y mor ydd ym ygϭarϭϭant ac yno y llas Medrod ac y brathwys Arthur yn amghaϭawl ac y ϭϭ ϭarw ac y kladdwyd yn ynys Avallach.

CWRT. 3 (A12.54) Trywyr gwarth ynys Brydain vû Avarwy vap Lludd vap Beli Mawr a ddyvynodd Julius imperator Rûûein y'r ynys hon, ac a beris talû teyrnget bob blwyddyn yddo tair mil o bynneû am y gysfrys a Chaswallon y ewythr.

Yr ail, Gwrtheyn vap Gwrtheneû a roes tir y'r Sason yn yr ynys hon, ac ymgyvathrachoedd yn gyntaf a hwynt, ac a laddoedd Constans o dwyll, a brodyr Constans Vthr ac Embrys a'I lladdoedd yntaû yn castell Gwrthrynion gan y losci ar lan Gwy yn yr amser hwnw.

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[255] Vaughan corrects: "*o'e*"
[256] Vaughan corrects: "*Lles*"
[257] Damage to the manuscript, line partially illegible.
[258] Vaughan corrects: "*Bran*"
[259] Vaughan corrects: "*groanhau nifer*"
[260] Vaughan corrects: "*tv ac ac*" to "*ynte yn erbyn*"
[261] Vaughan correcrs "*yn ϭhd*" to "*i gadw yr ynys hon*"

Y trydydd vû Medrod vap Llew vap Cynvarch pen edewis Arthûr lyvodraeth yr ynys gantho, pan aeth yntaû y ymladd a Lles ymherodr Rûûein am ovyn teyrnget o'r ynys hon, ac y laddawdd Arthur ef. Ac y mynnoedd deyrnget a Rûûein. Pan dybiodd Medrod y lleddit Arthûr y gwiscoedd y goron, ac y dyvynnawdd[262] y Sason a'r Phictieit a'r Scotieit y lestair Arthûr yr ynys hon, ac ny thykiodd. Ac y brathwyt Arthûr vrath anianol.

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.43) Tri ywyr gwarth ynys Brydain:
Avarwy ap Llud ap Beli mawr, a dderbynodd Wlkasar amhodr Rufen yr ynys hon, ag a beris talv tair mil o bvnno o drynged iddo bob bluyddyn am i gyfrewyssed a Chysvallon i ervythr.

Ar ail llv, Gwrtheyrn gwrthenw a roes i'r Saeson dir yn yr ynys hon. A ymgyfathachodd ag hwynt. Ag a laddysson Gonstant a divyll ag Vthur ag Emrys i vradur a'i lladdodd ynte yn ghastell Gwerthyrnion ar lan gwy.

Trydydd llv, vn Vedrod ap Llew ap Kynnvarch pan y dewis Arthur lywodraeth y dernas gantho pan aeth i ymladd. A Lles amherodr Rufen am ofyn trynged o'r ynys hon. Ag i laddodd ef ag i mynnodd drynged o Rufain. A phan dyviodd Medrodd I lleddidd Arthur i gwisgodd y goron ag i dyfynodd atto y Sayson a'r Phiched a'r Ysgotied i lestair Arthur i'r ynys hon. Ac in thygiodd ag i hawaith Kamlan ag i brathwyd. Arthur yn Angheval ag i llas Medrod ag yn ynys Avallavn i bv varw. Ag i kladdwd Arthur a Gwenhwyvar.

NLW 6434 (A16.45) Trwyr gwarth ynys Brydain:
ȣn ȣȣ Aȣarwy ap Llvdd ap Beli mawr, a ddyfynodd i blygaisar ymmerotr Rȣfain i'r ynys hon ag a beris taly tair mil o bvnoedd iddo pop blwyddyn o deyrnged am ei gyfrwydsedd, a Chaswallon i ewyrth.

Yr ail, Gwrtheyrn gwrthenav a roddes tir i'r Sayson yn yr ynys hon ag ymweddiodd a hwynt yn hyntaf ag a laddodd Constans o dwyll. Ag ȣther ag Emrys i ȣrodyr a'i lladdodd yntav yn kastell Gwyrthrinion ar lan Gwy ag llosgason.

Y trydydd ȣv ȣedrot ap Llow ap Kynvarch, a phan edewis Arthȣr lywadraeth yr ynys iddo pan aeth yntaȣ i ymladd a Lles ymmerotr Rvfain am ofyn teyrnged o'r ynys hon ag a'i lladdodd ef ag a ȣynodd deyrnged o Rvfain. Ag yna pan dybiodd Medrot y lleddit Arthȣr y gwisgodd ef y goron, ag y dyȣynodd ato y Sayson a'r Ffichtieit a'r Skotiait i lestair Arthȣr i'r ynys hon. Ag ni thykiodd iddo ag y na y vb waith Kamlan. Ag no y llas Medrot, ag y brathwyd Arthȣr yn amgȣriol, ag yn ynys a ballath y bȣ ȣarw, a y kladdwyt.

CARD. 2.83 (A19.16) Trowyr gwarth ynys Brydain:
Vn fȣ Ararwy ap Llȣdd ap Beli mawr, ail Wlkasar ymeradr Rȣfain i'r ynys hon ag a beris tair mil o bȣnodd iddo bob blywddȣn o dyhyongedau i gyfrwysoedd a Chyswallon i ewyrth.

Yr ail, Gwrtheyrn gwrthenaȣ a roddes tir i'r Saeson yn yr ynys hon ag am ddyweddiodd a hwynt yn gynta ag a laddodd Gonstans o dwyll. Ag ȣthȣr ag Emrys i frodȣr a'i llasgason.

Y trydȣdd fȣ Fedrod ap Llew ap Kynfarch, a ffan edewis Arthȣr lyfodreth yr ynys gantho pan atth yntaȣ i ymladd a Lles ym ȣrodr Rrȣfain am afon tyhyrnged o'r ynys hon ag a'i lladdodd ef ag a fymodd dy dyrnged o Rȣfain / ag yna pen dyȣiodd Medrod i lleddid a'r thyr i gwistodd ef y goron ag a ddyfynodd ato ys on a'r Ffichdiaid a'r Yscotied i lester Arthȣr i'r ynys hon ago ni thykiodd, ag yna i bȣ Gamlan. Ag y llas Medrod ag i brathwyd Arthur angniol ag yn ynys Afallach i bȣ farw ag y kladdwyd. [*X terfyn.*]

[262] Corrected to "*dyvynnoedd*."

TYP 52. TRI GORUCHEL GARCHARAWR / THREE EXALTED (SUPREME) PRISONERS

WHITE BOOK (A4.38) Tri goruchel garcharaɔr ynys Brydein:
Llyr lledyeith, a uu gan Euroswyd yg karchar. A'r eil: Mabon ap Modron, a'r tryded: Gweir ap Genioed. Ac vn a oed goruchelach no'r tri, a uu deir nos yg karchar yg Kaer Oeth ac Anoeth, a uu teir nos yg karchar gan Wen Bendragon, ac a uu deir nos yg karchar hut a dan llech Echemeint. Ac y sef oed y goruchel garcharaɔr hɔnnɔ: Arthur. A'r un gwas a'e gollygaɔd o'r tri charchar hynny. Ac y sef oed y gɔas hɔnnɔ: Goreu vab Kustenin y geuynderɔ.

RED BOOK (A5.7) Tri goruchel garcharaɔr ynys Prydein:
Llyr ledyeith, a Mabon uab Modron, a Geir uab Geiryoed, ac un oed o'r uchelaɔr no'r tri, ef a uu deir nos yg kaerchar hut a dan lech Echymeint. Sef oed hɔnnɔ: Arthur, ac un gɔas a'e gellyngaɔd o'r tri charchar hynny, nyt amgen Goreu uab Custennin y geuynderɔ.

RED BOOK (A5.50) Tri goruchel garcharaɔr ynys Prydein:
Llyr lledyeith a uu gan Euroswyd yg karchar. A'r eil: Mabon uab Modron, a'r trydyd: Gɔeir uab Gɔeiryoed. Ac vn oed gouchelach no'r tri: a uu deir nos yg karchar yg Kaer Oeth ac Anoeth, ac a uu teir nos yg karchar gan Wenn Benndragon. Ac a uu deir nos yg karchar hut y dan lech Echymeint. Ac y sef oed y goruchel garcharaɔr hɔnnɔ: Arthur. A'r un gɔas a'e gollygaɔd o'r tri charchar hynny. Ac y sef oed y gɔas hɔnnɔ: Goreu uab Custennin y gefynderɔ.

PEN. 50 (A7.11) Tri goruchel garcharaɔr ynys Prydein:
Llyr lleidieth a vu yg harchar o Euroswydd, a'r eil Mabon mab Medron, a'r trydydd Geyr mab Geryoet. Ac vn oedd oruchelach no'r tri. Sef oedd honnɔ Arthur a vu teir nos yg harchar yg Haer Oeth ac Anoeth, a their nos gann Wenn Bendragon. A their nos yg harchard hudd dan y Llech. A chymeint ar vu Gwas a'e dillyghɔys o'r tri charthar hynny. Sef oedd y gwas Goreu Custennin y gefynderɔ.

PEN. 51 (A9.25) Tri gorvchel garcharvr ynys Prydain:
Llyr llediaith, a Mabon amhadron, a G[ɔ́]eir g[ɔ́]eirroedd, ac ɔn oedd ɔwch[263] no'r tri hynny a ɔɔ deir nos yn gharchar hut dan llech a gwas yw huchel[264] gollyngodd. Sef oedd henw: Goreɔ ɔab Kusstenin [*y*][265] geɔɔdderw.

CWRT. 3 (A12.1) Tri goruchel garcharor ynys Brytain:
Llyr llediaith, a Mabon vap Modron, a Gair vap Gairiedd. Ac vn oedd oruchel na'r tri, ef a vn dair nos yn carchar hyd y dan lech Echemaint, ys ef oedd hwnnw trihar. A'r vn gwas a'i gollyngodd o'r tri charchar mwy, nyd amgen: Goraû vap Custenin y gefnderw.

CWRT. 3 (A12.55) Tri gorûchel garcharor ynys [Brydain]:[266]
Llyr Llediaith, a Mabo am Hedron, a[c][267] Arthûr a vû dair nos yn gharcharar hûd.

[263] Vaughan corrects: "*goruchelach*"
[264] Vaughan deletes "hut dan…huchel" and replaces it in the margin with the following: "*yng Caer Oeth ac Anoeth ac a hu deir n[o]s yng [gharchar] Wen Bendragon ar bu gwas a'i…"*
[265] Inserted later, but in the hand of Gwilym Tew.
[266] Damage to the manuscript.
[267] Damage to the manuscript.

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.44) Tri goruchel garotharol ynys Brydain:
Llyr llediaith, a Mabon ap Edrod, ag Arthur a vv deir nos yn gharthar hvd.

CARD. 2.83 (A19.4) Tri gorɵchel garcharor ynys Brydain a fɵ yn gharchar:
ɵn fɵ Amasioedd, yr ail a fɵ Mabon, a'r dredydd fɵ Gayr ap Goreodd. Ag ɵn arall oedd orɵchelach no'r tri chyny hwnw oedd ar a fɵ dair nos yn gharchar hydd dan y ar vn y gwas a'i gyllyngodd ef o'r tri charchar hyny y gwas gor Kystenin i gefnderyw.

TYP 53. TEIR GWITH BALUAWT / THREE SINISTER (ILL-OMENED) HARD SLAPS

WHITE BOOK (A4.1) [Teir gwith baluawt ynys][268] Prydein:
Vn onadunt a dreɵis Matholɵch ɵydel ar Vranɵen verch Lyr. A'r eil: a dreɵis Gɵenhɵyuach ar Wenɵyuar, ac o achaɵs hynny y bu weith cat Gamlan gɵedy hy*n*ny A'r tryded: a drewis Golydan vard ar Gatwaladyr vendigeit.

RED BOOK (A5.13) Teir gɵith baluaɵt[269] ynys Prydein:
Vn onadunt a trewis Matholɵch Wydel ar Vranwen uerch[270] Lyr. A'r eil a drewis Gɵenhɵyfach ar Wenhɵyuar, ac o achaɵs hynny y bu weith kat Gamlan wedy hynny. A'r drydyd: a drewis Golydan uard ar Gadwaladyr bendigeit.

PEN. 50 (A7.29) Tri anuat paluaɵt ynys Prydain:
Paluaɵt Mathaɵch ar Vranwen verch Llyr, a phaluaɵt Arthur ar Vedraɵt, a phaluaɵt Gwenhɵyuar ar Wenhɵ[…].[271]

PEN. 51 (A9.3) Tair gwyth balɵod ynys Prydain:
ɵn a drewis Matholwch Wyddel ar ɵrannwenn ɵerch Lyr, a'r ail a drewis Gwennhwyɵach ar Wenhwyɵau[272] o achos hyny y ɵɵ waith Kadgamlan, a'r drydedd y trewis Golydan […][273]

CWRT. 3 (A12.7) Tair gwrol balnoc ynys Brytain:
Vn a roes Matholwch Wyddel i Vranwen verch Lyr. Yr ail, a drewis Gwenhwyvar ar Wenwyfar ac o'r achos hynny y bû waith cad Camblan. Yr ail, a drewis Golidan vardd ar Gadwaladr vendigaid.

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.47) Tair gywdd balfod ynys Brydain:
Vn a ffoes Matholvch Wyddel ar Vranwen verch Lyr. Yr ail, a ffoes Gwenhwyvar verch Gogvran gawr ag am hynny i bu'r gad Gamlan. Yr drydydd, a ffoes Galydan vardd ar Gydwaladr vendigaid.

NLW 6434 (A16.33) Tair gwydd balfod y*nys* B*rydain*:

[268] Beginning wanting.
[269] Gloss by an early modern or modern hand: "*Balfawt*."
[270] "*y*" preceeding this word has been deleted.
[271] Damage to the manuscript has rendered the rest of this name illegible. However, Bromwich reads "*Wenhwyach*."
[272] Vaughan corrects: "*-ar*"
[273] Damage to the manuscript, line illegible.

Vn a roddes Matholwch Wyddel ar Vronwen ɔerch Lyr. Yr ail, a roddes Wenhwyvarch ɔerch Gogɔran, achos hyny y bɔ waith Gamblan. Y drydydd, a roes Galudan ɔardd ar Gadwalar ɔendigait.

CARD. 2.83 (A19.14) Tri anfad balfod ynys Brydain:
Kyntaf fɔ balfod Mythonwch ar Fronwen ferch Llɔr, a'r ail balfod fɔ balfod Arthɔr a Fedrod yn y gad Gamlan, a'r drydydd balfod fɔ balfod Wenhwyfar ar Wenhwyfar arall.

TYP 54. TEIR DRUD HEIRFA / THREE VIOLENT (RECKLESS, COSTLY) RAVAGINGS

WHITE BOOK (A4.2) Teir drut heirua ynys Brydein:
Un onadunt pan doeth Medraɔt y lys Arthur yg Kelli Wig yg Kerniɔ: nyt edewis na bɔyt na diaɔt yn y llys nys trewyllyei. A thynu Gɔenhɔyuar heuyt o'e chadeir vrenhiniaeth ac yna y trewis baluaɔt arnei. Yr eil drut heirua: pan doeth Arthur y lys Vedraɔt. Nyt edeɔis yn y llys nac yn y kantref na bɔyt na diaɔt. [*A'r dry[*dy*]dd drut heirfa, pan ddeuth Aeddan Vradawc hyt yn Alclut y lys Rhytherch hael nyt adewis na bwyt na llyn na llwdn yn fyw*.]

RED BOOK (A5.14) Teir drut heirua ynys P*ry*dein:
Vn onadunt pan doeth Medraɔt y lys Arthur yg Kelli Wic yg Kernyɔ, nyt edewis na bɔyt na diaɔt yn y llys nys treulei, a thynnu Gɔenhyuar heuyt o'e chadeir unrenhinyaeth. Ac yna trewis paluaɔt aruei. Yr eil drut heirua pan doeth Arthur y lys Medraɔt, nyt edewis yn y llys nac yn y cantref na bɔyt na diaɔt.

PEN. 50 (A7.7) Teir drut aerua ynys Prydein:
Vn onaddunt pan ddeuth Medraɔt a Gelli Wig yn Hernyɔ, ac nyt adewis yn y llys na ɔɔyt na diaɔt nys treulei. A thynni Genhɔyuar o'e rrieni gadeir. Yr ail pan ddeuth Arthur y lys Medraɔt, ac nyt adewis yn y lys na bɔyt na diaɔt nys treulei na dyn na llɔdyn yn vyw yn y cantref. A'r trydydd drut aerua pan ddeuth Aydan vradwc hyt yn Alclut y lys Rydderch hael, ac nyt a dewis na bɔyt na llyn na llɔdɔn yn vyɔ.

PEN. 51 (A9.4) [Tri drut][274] heirua ynys Prydain:
[*Vn o naddunt*] pan […][275] Medrod nis edewis nac yn y llys nac yn y [*???*] na bwyd na llyn. A'r ail ɔɔ pan ddoeth Medrod y lys Arthur yng Helli Wig [*yg Kerniw*] nid edwis na bwyd na llyn yng hwbl o'r llys [*nys treulei*] a thynnv Gwennhwyɔar o'i chadair ɔrenhinol. A thaɔs palvod arni. [*Teir [???yes] gaffal, &c.*]

CWRT. 3 (A12.8) Tair dryc heirva ynys Brytain:
Vn pan ddaeth Medrod i Lys Arthûr yn Celliwig yn Cernin nyd a dewis na bwyd na dioe ar y ol yn y llys heb i draûhan a thynny Gwenhwyvar o'i chadair vrenhinol, ac yno y trewid y balvawd arnai.

PEN. 77 (A14.11) Tair drûd aerfa ynys Prydain:

[274] Damage to the manuscript, illegible.
[275] Damage to the manuscript, illegible.

Vn yll pan ddoeth Medrawd i Gelli Wic yng Herniw, a dewis na bwyd na diod nis treûlai, a thynnu Gwenhwyvar o'i rhiain gadair. Ac yno [?]awyd y balfod. A'r ail pan ddeûth Arthûr i lys Medrawd ni adewis nag yn i lys nag yn [?] gaertref nag anivail na dyn yn vyw na dim o'r holl dda. A'r drydedd pan ddeûth Aeddan cradawc hyd yn Alclûd i lys Rydderch hael ni adewis yno na bwyd na diod nis a trywelai.

BL ADD. 31,055 (A17.1) Tair dryc heirva[276] ynys Brydain:
Vn paû[277] ddaeth Medrod i llys Arthur yn Celli wig yn Cerniw, nid adewis na bwyd na diod o'r y ol yn y llys heb i dreûliaw, a thynnv Gwenhwyvar o'i chadeir vrenhinol. Ar yny y frewid y ballawd aruei.

TYP 55. TEIR NEGES A GAAT O BOWYS / THREE MISSIONS THAT WERE OBTAINED FROM POWYS

WHITE BOOK (A4.3) Teir neges a gaat o Bowys:
Vn onadunt yo kyrchu Myngan o Ueigen hyt yn Llan Silin erbyn anterth drannoeth y gymyrt y kynnedueu y gan Gatwallaon vendigeit wedy llad Ieuaf a Griffri. Yr eil yo kyrchu Griffri hyt y Mryn Griffri erbyn y bore drannoeth orth ymchoelu ar Edwin. Y trydyd yo kyrchu Hyoel ap Ieuaf hyt yg Keredigiaon Ooein Goyned[278] y ymlad a Ieuaf a Iago yn yr aerua honno.

RED BOOK (A5.15) Teir neges a gahat o Bowys:
Vn onadunt yo kyrchu Myngan o Veigen, hyt yn Llansilin, erbyn anterth drannoeth, y gymryt y kynnedneu y gan Gadwallaon vendigeit, wedy llad Ieuaf a Gryffri. Yr eil yo kyrchu Griffri hyt ym brynn Griffri erbyn y bore drannoeth wrth ymchoelut ar Edwin. Yr[279] dryded un kyrchu Howel uab Ieuaf hyt yg Kerediguaon, Owein Goyned y ymlad a Ieuaf ac a Iago yn yr aerua honno.

CWRT. 3 (A12.9) Tair neges gafod o Bowys:
Vn o naddynt yn cyrchû Myngan Vangen byd y cyheddvaû y gan Gydwallon wedy llad Ieyaf a Griffri. Yr ail, yn cyrchû Gryffri hyd ymbryn Griffri erbyn y bore dranoeth wrth ymchoelyd ar Edwin. Trydydd yw cyrchû Howel vap Ieyaf hyd yn Gredigiawn o Owein Gwynedd i ymladd a Ieyaf ac Jacs yn yr aerva honno.

BL ADD. 31,055 (A17.2) Teir neges gefad o Bowys.
Vn onaddont yw cysgo Myngan o Vangen hyd yn Llannsilin erby[*n*] enterth drannoeth i gymryd y cynneddfad gann Cadwallon wedy llad Ieauf a Griffri. Yr ail yn cyrchû Griffri hyd ym Vrynn Griffri, erbyn y bore drannoeth wrth ymhwelyd ar Edwin. Trydydd yn cyrcho Howel ûap Ieûaf hyd yn Credigiawn o Owen Gwynedd y ymladd a Ieûaf a'r Iaco yn yr aerfa honno.

TYP 56. TEIR PRIF RIEIN ARTHUR / ARTHUR'S THREE GREAT QUEENS

[276] Marginalia correction: "*Aerva*"
[277] Sic. This seems to be an error for "pan."
[278] On this apparent nonsequitor, see the discussion in Chapter [?], [internal reference needed].
[279] Gloss by an early modern hand: "*Anno 952*."

WHITE BOOK (A4.4) Teir prif riein Arthur:
Gɔenhɔyuar verch Gɔryt Gɔent, a Gɔenhɔyuar verch Vthyr ap Greidiaɔl, a Gɔenhɔyuar verch Ocuran gaɔr.

RED BOOK (A5.16) Teir prif riein Arthur:
Gɔennhɔyuar uerch Gɔryt Gɔent, a Gɔenhɔyuar uerch uab Greidyaɔl, a Gɔenhɔyuar uerch Ocuran gaɔr.

Pen. 47 (A6.39) Teir prif wraged Arthur:
Gwenhwyɔar verch Ogyrnan gawr, a Gwenhyɔyuar merch Kywryr geint, a Gwenhɔyuar merch Gɔythur mab Greidyaɔl gallonyd.

PEN. 50 (A7.36) Teir prif wragedd Arthur:
Gwenhɔyuar uerch Wrthunan gɔor, a Gwenhɔyuar uerch Gɔrthyr mab Greidiaɔl, a Gwenhɔyuar uerch Gwryd c[…].

PEN. 51 (A9.5) Tair rrain Arthur:
Gwnhwyɔar ɔerch Wyrd Gwent, a Gwenhwyɔar ɔerch Ythr ap Greidiol, a Gwenhwyɔar ɔerch Gogɔran gawr.

CWRT. 3 (A12.10) Tair prif riain Arthur:
Gwenhwyvar verch Gwryd Gwent, a Gwenhwyvar verch Vthûr vap Grandiwal, a Gwenhwyvar verch Ogvran gawr.

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.48) Tair prif riain Arthur ap Vthur:
Gwenhwyvar verch Gwyd Gwent, Gwenhwyfar verch Gredaivgol, a Gwenhywfar verch Gogvran gawr.

NLW 6434 (A16.34) Tair prif rhian Arthɔr:
Gwenwyɔar ɔerch Gwryd Gwent, Gwennhwyvar ɔerch Vthyr ap Gredawgol, a Gwenhwyvar ɔerch Gogɔran gawr.

BL ADD. 31,055 (A17.3): Tair prif riain Arthûr:
Gwenhwyɔar ɔerch Gwryd Gwent, a Gwenhwyɔar verch ɔthûr ap Graidiwal, a Gwenhwyɔar ɔerch Gogɔrown Gaws.

TYP 57. (A'E) TEIR KAREDICWREIC / (AND HIS) THREE CONCUBINES

WHITE BOOK (A4.5) A'e deir karedicwreic oed y rei hynn:
Indec verch Arɔy hir, a Garɔen verch Henin hen, a Gɔyl verch Endaɔt.

RED BOOK (A5.17) A'e deir karedicwreic oed y rei hynn:
Indec uerch Arɔy hir, a Garwen uerch Henin hen, a Gɔyl verch Endaɔt.

PEN. 47 (A6.45) Teir prif karyatwreic Arthur:

Garwen uerch Henni, a Gwyl verch Entaɷt, ac Indec verch Anarɷy hir.

PEN. 50 (A7.37) Tair prif caradoc wraged Arthur:
Eurwen uerch Henin, a E[…] uerch Euraɷd, ac Indec uerch Anarɷy hir.

Pen. 51 (A9.6) Tair keredicwraig Arthur oeddynt:
Indec ɷerch Arwy hir, a Garwen ɷerch Heny[*n*] hen, a Gwyl ɷerch Endawd.

CWRT. 3 (A12.11) Tair cariadwraig oeddyn yr hai hyn:
Indec verch Avarwy hir, a Garwen verch Heinin hen, a Gwyl verch Eydawd.

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.49) Tair kariadwraig llys Arthur:
Indeg verch Avarwy hir, Arwen verch Henri hir, a Gwevwl endawd.

NLW 6434 (A16.35) Tair cariadwraig llys [*Arthɷr*]:
Indeg ɷerch Ayarwy hir, Arwen ɷerch Honn hir, a Gweɷwl eɷdawd.

BL Add. 31,055 (A17.4): Tair cariadwraic oeddyn yrthei hynn:
Indec ɷerch Aɷarwy hir, Garwen ɷerch Heinin hen, a Gwŷl ɷerch Endawd.

TYP 58. TEIR GWRVORWYN / THREE AMAZONS

WHITE BOOK (A4.6) Teir gɷr vorɷyn ynys Brydein:
Vn onadunt: Llewei verch Seitwed, a Rore verch Vsɷer, a Mederei badelluaɷr.

RED BOOK (A5.18) Teir gɷruorɷyn Ynys Prydein:
Vn onadunt Llewei uerch Seitwed, a Rore verh Usber, a Mederei badelluaɷr.

PEN. 47 (A6.46) Teir gwenuorɷyn ynys Prydein:
Llewinei seithuet, a Rore uerch Vsper, a Medrei badelluaɷr.

PEN. 51 (A9.7) Tair gorvorwyn ynys Prydain:
Llewei ɷerch Sserdwedd,[280] a Rore ɷerch ɷssber a Med[*e*]rei badellɷawr.

CWRT. 3 (A12.12) Tair gwrvorwyn ynys Brytain:
Saithwedd, a Rore verch Ysber, a Medrai badell vawr.

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.50) Tair gwyryvorwyn ynys Brydain:
Llai verch Serthwedd, Rab verch Vsher, a Medrai hadellvawr.

NLW 6434 (A16.36) Tair gwrvoryn y*nys* B*rydain*:
Lle verch Seithwedd, a Roɷ ɷerch ɷsper, a Medrai badell ɷawr.

[280] Vaughan corrects: "*Ssereiwedd*"

BL ADD. 31,044 (A17.5): Tair gwrɷorwyn ynys Brytain:[281]
Saithwedd, Rore ɷerch Ysper, a Medrai badell ɷawr.

TYP 59. TRI ANUAT GYGHOR / THREE UNFORTUNATE COUNSELS

WHITE BOOK (A4.11) Tri anuat gyghor yny[*s*] Brydein:
Rodi y Vl Kessar a gɷyr Ruuein lle karneu blaen eu meirch ar y tir ym pɷyth Meinlas. A'r eil: gadel Hors a Heingyl a Ronwen y'r ynys hon. A'r trydyd: rannu o Arthur y wyr teir gweith a Medraɷt yg Kamlan.

RED BOOK (A5.23) Tri anuat gyghor ynys P*ry*dein:
Rodi Ul Kessar a gɷyr Ruuein lle y karneu blaen eu meirch ar y tir ym pɷyth Meinlas. A'r eil, gadel Hors a Hengyst a Ronnɷen yr ynys honn. A'r trydyd, rannu o Arth*ur* y wyr deirgɷeith a Medraɷt yg Kamlan.

PEN. 50 (A7.9) Tri anuat gyghor ynys Prydein:
Roddi yn Wassar a gwyl mein lle y Garmeu blaen y[282] meirch ar y tir ymlith y Meinglas. A'r eil gadel Ronwen a Hors a Hengist yr tir. A'r drydydd rannu o Arthur y wyr a Medraɷt yg Hamlann.

PEN. 51 (A9.12) Tri anɷad gyngor ynys Prydain:
Roddi [*y*] ɷlkassar, a [*gwyr Prydain*] lle Karne blaen [*y dir*] meirch gwyr Rvvein a'r dir [*ym pwylf*] Meɷolas.[283] A'r ail gellwng Hors a Hengesst [*a Ronnwen*] i'r ynys honn. Ac drydedd rɷannɷ a Arthur y wyr teirgwaith a Medrod yng Hamlan

CWRT. 3 (A12.17) Tri anvad gynghor ynys Brytain:
Roi i Julcaissar a gwyr Rûûein, lle Carneblaen y mairch Hors a' Hengest yr yn[ys],[284] a'r trydedd rannû o Arthûr y wyr da[*i*]rr gwaeth yn Camblen a Medroc.

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.51) Tri chynhwysiad ynys Brydain:
Rai kanniad i Wlkassar amherodr Ruvain i roi blane Karnav i meirch ar dir Manlas ynys Brydain. Yr ail, gadel Hors a Hengest ddyvod i'r ynys hon. A'r drydedd, kannv o Arthur i gwyr deirgwair, a Medrod i nai yn gad Gamlan.

NLW 6434 (A16.46) Tri chynhwysiad ynys Brydain:
Roi kenad i Iɷlkaisar a gwyr Rvfin, i roi blaen Karnar i meirch ar y tir Manlas. Yr ail gadel i Hors a Hengest ddyɷod i'r ynys hon. A'r drydydd kany o Arthɷr dairgwaith i wyr rhyntho a Medrot.

CARD. 2.83 (A19.2, FRAGMENTARY) […] Rufain […] byth y Meinlas […] Hors [a] Hinhast a Ronwen […] a'r trydydd fɷ caus o Arther […] an Llew i ymlad a Medrod yn y gad Gamlan.

[281] Here and elsewhere throughout I have expanded the abbreviation "*y. B.*"
[282] Correction: "*eu*"
[283] Vaughan corrects: "*Meinlas*"
[284] Damage to the manuscript.

TYP 60. TRI PHORTHAWR GWEITH PERLLAN VANGOR / [NEED TITLE]

WHITE BOOK (A4.27) Tri phorthaɷr gɷeith Perllan Vangor:
Gɷgon gledyfrud, a Madaɷc ap Run, a Gɷiaɷn ap Kyndrɷyn. A thri ereill o bleit Loegyr:
Haɷystyl drahaɷc, a Gɷaettym herwuden, a Gɷiner.

RED BOOK (A5.39) Tri phorthaɷr gɷeith Perllan Nangor:
Gɷgon, Gledyfrud, a Madaɷ[*c*] uab Run, a Gɷiwaɷn uab Kyndyrwynn. A thri ereill o bleit Lloegyr: Hawystyl drahaɷc, a Gɷaet tym herwuden, a Gɷiner.

PEN. 51 (A9.35) Tri phorthor gwaith Perllan ɷangor:
Gwgon gleddyɷrudd, a Madog ap Rɷn, a Gwgawn[285] ap Kyndryn. Tri ereill o bleid Lloegr:
Hawsstl drahaawg, a Gwaethym[286] Herwnden, a Gwimer.[287]

CWRT. 3 (A12.33) Tri porthawr gwath perllan Vangor:
Gwgawn gleddyfrydd, a Madawc vap Rûn, a Gwiawn vap Cyndrwyn. Tri ereill o borth Lloeger oeddent brthorwn: Hawystl drahawc, a Gwaedyn, a Gwinedd.

DIAR. CAMB. (A13.28) Tri phorthor [*gwaith*] perllan Vangor.
Gwgon gleddydd[288]-rudd, Madoc ap Run y kynnedvau, a' Gwgon gynrwyn.[289] Tri eraill o bart[*h*] Lloecr: Hastyl drahawg,[290] Gwentym herwm,[291] Gwymor.[292]

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.27) Tri phorthor perllan Bangor:
Gwgon gleddyddrudd, Madog ap Rvn y Kymeddod, a Gwgon gynhynaddod. Tri eraill o barth Lloegr: Hastil drahawg, Gwentym herdom, Gwymor.

NLW 6434 (A16.28) Tri phorthor perllan ɷangor:
Gwgon gleddydd rɷdd, Madoc ap Rɷn y kennedɷaɷ, a Gwgon gyndrwyn. Tri eraill o barth Lloegr: Hastyl drahawg, Gwentym herwng, Gwmor.

TYP 61. TRI EUR GELEIN / THREE NOBLE (GOLDEN) / SPLENDID CORPSES

WHITE BOOK (A4.28) Tri eur gelein ynys Brydein:
Madaɷc ap Brɷyn, a Chengan peilliaɷc, a Ruaɷn peuyr ap Gɷydno.

RED BOOK (A5.40) Tri eur gelein ynys Brydein:
Madaɷc uab Brɷyn, a Cheugan peillyaɷc, a Ruaɷn peuyr ab Gɷydno.

[285] Vaughan corrects: "*Gwinaron*"
[286] Vaughan corrects: "*Gwaetcym*"
[287] Vaughan corrects: "*Gwiner*"
[288] Correcting hand: "*Gleddyf"*
[289] Correcting hand: "*Gwion ap Cyndrwyn*"
[290] Correcting hand: "*Hampshyl*"
[291] Correcting hand: "*Gwasltynt Heiwr[?]den*"
[292] Correcting hand: "*Gwiner*"

PEN. 51 (A9.36) Tair aur gelain ynys Brydain:
Madoc ap Prwyn, a Chengan peillog, a Rrɔon[293] ap Gwyddno peryf.

CWRT. 3 (A12.34) Tri aur aûr gelain ynys Brytain:
Madoc vap Brwyn, a Chenngan allawc, a Ryawn pefer.

DIAR. CAMB. (A13.30) Tri aur gelain ynys Brytain.
Madoc 'ap Brwyn, Cyngain[294] pe[*i*]lliawc, Aron ap Gwyddno befyr.[295]

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.28) Tair aur gelain:
Madog ap Brwyn, Kyngain pelliawg, ag Aron ap Gwyddno befr.

NLW 6434 (A16.29) Tri aɔr gelain y*nys* B*rydain*:
Madoc ap Brwyn, Kyngain ap Pelliawc, Ellwyd march Alser ap Maelgwyn.

TYP 62. TRI HUALHOGEON DEULU / THREE FETTERED (SHACKLED, TORQUED) WARBANDS

WHITE BOOK (A4.29) Tri hualhogeon deulu yny[*s*] Brydein:
Teulu Katwallaɔn llawir, a dodassant hualeu eu meirch ar draet pob vn onadunt yn ymlad a Serygei ɔydel yg Kerric Gɔydyl y Mon. A'r eil: teulu Riwallawn ap Vryen yn ymlad a Saesson. A theulu Belen o Leyn yn ymlad ac Etwin ym Ryn Etwin yn Ros.

RED BOOK (A5.41) Tri hualhogeon deulu ynys Brydein:
Teulu Kadwallaɔn llaɔir, a dodassant hualeu eu meirch ar draet pob un onadunt yn ymlad a Sergei Wydel yg Kerric Gɔydyl ym Mon. A'r eil: teulu Riwallaɔn uab Uryen yn ymlad Saesson, a theulu Belen o Leyn yn ymlad ac[296] Etwin ym Rynn Etwin yn Ros.

PEN. 50 (A7.10) Tri hualogyon teulu ynys Prydein:
Teulu Catwallaɔn laɔhir a ddeodassant hualey y[297] meirch ar y traet pob ddeu onaddunt ɔrth ymadd, a Seitigei ɔyddyl yg Hreic y Gɔyddyl y Mon, a theulu Rriwallaɔn mab Vryen yn ymladd ar Saeson, a theulu Belyn o Leyn ym ymladd ac Etwin ym Ryn Keneu yn Ros.

PEN. 51 (A9.37) Tri hualogion trewis ynys Prydain:
Teulu Kasswallwn[298] llawhir a ddodes halaɔ eɔ meirch ar draed pob ɔn onaddunt wrth ymladd a Ssy[*ry*]gai Wyddel yng Herric y Gwyddl y Mon. A'r ail teɔlɔ Rɔallon ap ɔryen yn ymladd ar Ssaesson a theɔlɔ Bele[*n*] o Leyn ymladd ar Edwin y mrynn Edwin yn Ros.

CWRT. 3 (A12.35) Tri hûalogion [*deûlû*] ynys Brytain:

[293] Vaughan corrects: "*Riawn Pebyr*"
[294] Correcting hand: "*Cengan*"
[295] Correcting hand: "*Rhuawn Pefyr ap Gwyddno*"
[296] A second "*yn ymlad*" has been deleted preceeding this word.
[297] Correction: "*eu*"
[298] Vaughan corrects: "*Kadwallwn*"

[Teulû] Cadwallon llawhir, a ddodasant hyaleû y mairch ar bob vn o naddynt yn ymladd Syri Gei Wyddyr yn Gheric y Gwyddyl y Mon. Yr ail, daylû Riwallon ap Vrien yn ymladd ar Sayson. A thaylû Belan o Layn[299] yn ymladd ac Edwin.

DIAR. CAMB. (A13.30) Tri hualoc deulu ynys Britain.
Teulu Caswallon a roesant hualeu eu meirch ar ei traed [*bob dau o naddynt*] i ymladd a Serigi Wyddel yn Heric y Gwyddyl ym-Mon. Teulu Beleu[300] o Lyn, a gyru y Saeson, ac Edwin ymryn Edwin yn Ros.

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.30) Tri hvalawg devlv ynys Brydain:
Tevlv Kysswallon, a roes hvalav i meirch ar i traed i ymladd, a Sarigin Wyddel yn Gherrig, y gwyddyl y Mon, a'r devlv y Riwallon ap Vrien yn ymladd ar Saesson. Tevlv Belan o Lyn yn gyrrv y Saeson at Edwin ym Ryn Edwin yn Ros.

BL ADD. 31,055 (A17.1) Tri hûalogion deûlû ynys Brytain.
Teulû Cadwallon llawhir a ddodasant hûaleû y meirch ar bob ɔn o naddvnt yn ymladd Sarrigi Wyddel yn Gherric y Gwyddyl ym Mon. Yr ail, deulû Riwallon ap Vrien yn ymladd ar Saeson. A theûlû Belan o Leyn yn ymladd Edwin.

CARD. 2.26 (A18.3) Tri hɔalavc y*nys* P*rydein*:
Cadvaladyr bhendigeit, a Rhɔn mab Maelgvn, a Rhivallav[n] valht banadlen.

CARD. 2.83 (A19.3) Tri halogion teɔlɔ ynys Brydain
Tteɔlɔ Kaswallan lawhir a rodsant draed i meirch bob ddaɔ tra fɔont ɔɔ a'i Gwyddɔl; yn Graint y Gwyddɔl y Mon. Ail, teɔlɔ Riallaɔon ap ɔrien yn ymladd a'r Saeson, a theɔlɔ Byhelyn o Leyn yn ymladd ag Edwin ym ryn Beuaɔ yn Rros.

TYP 63. TRI THARW ELLYLL / THREE BULL-SPECTRES

WHITE BOOK (A4.33) Tri tharɔ ellyll ynys Brydein:
Ellyll gɔidawl, ac ellyll Llyr marini, ac ellyll Gyrthmɔl wledic.

RED BOOK (A5.45) Tri charɔ ellyll ynys Prydein:
Ellyll gɔidawl, ac ellyll Llyr marini, ac ellyll Gyrthmɔl wledic.

PEN. 51 (A9.41) Tri tharw ellyll ynys Prydain:
Ellyll Gidawl, ac ellyll Llyr merini,[301] ac ellyll Grichmwl[302] wledic.[303]

CWRT. 3 (A12.39) Tri charw ellyll ynys Brytain:
Ellyll Griroawl, ac ellyll Llyr merini, ac ellyll Grmwl wledic.

[299] Correction: "*Leyn*"
[300] Correcting hand: "*Belyn*"
[301] Vaughan corrects: "*Marini*"
[302] Vaughan corrects: "*Grythmwl*"
[303] Gwilym Tew wrote "*Gwrmvl Wyddel wledic*," crossed it out, and replaced it with "*Grichmwl wledic*."

DIAR. CAMB. (A13.33) Tri thaer[304] ellyll ynys Britain.
Ellyll Gwidw,[305] ellyll Llyr merini, ellyll Grith mul[306] wledic.

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.31) Tri thaer ellyll ynys Brydain:
Ellyll Gwydo, ellyll Lyr merini, Ellyll grithmvl wledig.

TYP 64. TRI GWYDD ELLYLL / THREE WILD SPECTRES

WHITE BOOK (A4.34) Tri gɷyd ellyll ynys Brydein:
Ellyll Banawc, ac ellyll Ednyneda ɷc drythyll, ac ellyll Melen.

RED BOOK (A5.46) Tri gɷyd ellyll ynys Prydein:
Ellyll Mana ɷc, ac ellyll Ednyueda ɷc drythyll, ac ellyll Melen.

PEN. 51 (A9.42) Tri gwydd ellyll ynys Brydain:
Ellyll Bannawc,[307] ac ellyll Ednneddawc[308] ddrythyll, ac ellyll Melen.

DIAR. CAMB. (A13.34) Tri gvvydd ellyll ynys Britain.
Ellyll Bamawc,[309] ellyll Edynyffedawc drythyll, ellyll Melu.[310]

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.32) Tri gwydd ellyll ynys Brydain:
Ellyll Bamawg, ellyll Ednyfedog drythyll, ellyll Melv.

TYP 65. TRI TRWYDEDAWC LLYS ARTHUR, A THRI ANUODAWC / THREE LICENSAED GUESTS AT ARTHUR'S COURT, AND THREE HOMELESS ONES

WHITE BOOK (A4.35) Tri trwydeda ɷt llys Arth*ur*, a thri annoda ɷc:
Llywarch hen, a Llemenic, a Heled.

RED BOOK (A5.47) Tri trɷydeda ɷc llys Arthur, a thri anuoda ɷc:
Llywarch hen, a Llemeinic, a Heled.

PEN. 51 (A9.43) Tri thrwyddedoc llys Arthur a thri anɷonawc:[311]
Llwyarch hen, [a Llemenic,][312] a Heledd.

[304] Correcting hand: "*tharw*"
[305] Correcting hand: "*Gwidawl*"
[306] Correcting hand: "*Gyrthmwl*"
[307] Vaughan corrects: "*Manawc*"
[308] Vaughan corrects: "*Ednynedawc*"
[309] Correcting hand: "*Bannawc*"
[310] Correcting hand: "*Melen*"
[311] Vaughan corrects: "*anɷoddawc*"
[312] Parts of the text are faded and very difficult to read here. I have filled in gaps in legibility from context, in consultation with other texts and Bromwich's edition. The reconstructed texts is indictated by brackets, without italics.

CWRT. 3 (A12.40) Tri thwydedawc llys Arthûr, a thri anvoddawc:
Llywarch hen, a Llymexnic, a Heledd.

DIAR. CAMB. (A13.35) Tri trvvyddedavvc [*ac anfoddawc*] llys Arthur.
Llywarch hen, Llwmhunic ‘ap Mauon,[313] Heledd verch Gynrwyn.

PEN. 77 (A14.9) Tri thrwyddedawc a thri anvoddawc a thri gwneyn a’i gormes ynys Prydain:
Llywarch Hen, a Llvmeinc ap Mabon, ac Elen verch Gyndrwyn.

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.33) Tri trwyddedog llys Arthur:
Llowarth hen, Llwmhvnig ap Manon, Heledd verch Gwyndrwyn.

[See also TYP 77]

TYP 66. TRI DIWEIR / THREE CHASTE (WIVES)

WHITE BOOK (A4.36) Tri diweir [*wreig*][314] ynys Brydein:
Ardan wreic Gatcor ap Goroluyn, ac Eueilian wreic Wydyr drȯm, ac Emerchret wreic Vabon ap Dewengen.

RED BOOK (A5.48) Tri diweir ynys P*ry*dein:
Ardun wreic Gatcor uab Goroluyn, ac Eneilian wreic Wydy drȯm, ac Emerchret wreic Uabon uab Dewengen.

PEN. 47 (A6.42) Teir diweirwreic[315] ynys Prydein:
Treul Diueuyl verch Llynghessaȯc laȯ hael, a Gwen vedon merch Trudaual tutklut, a Thegeu eururon. Ac un diweirach no’r teir Heinythryd verch Vabon mab Dyfynwyn.

PEN. 50 (A7.32) Tri diwerwreic ynys Prydain:
Treul difefyl verch Llygessa6c la6 hael, Gwen fedon verch Druda6l tutklyd a Thegey Eur6ron.

PEN. 51 (A9.44) Tri diweir ynys Prydain:
[Ar]dȯn wraic Gatco[*r*] ap Goreleyn, ac Eȯeilian [wr]aic Wyddy drwm, ac Emerch[*r*]ed wraig [ȯa]bon ap Dibyngen.[316]

CWRT. 3 (A12.41) Tri diwairwraic ynys Brydain:
[Ardun] gwraic Cadwr cap Gorlvyn, ac Eueihan gwraic Gwrydyr drwm, a Anerchred gwraic Vabon van Denaûgen.

DIAR. CAMB. (A13.36) Tri divvair ynys Britain.

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314 Inserted by an early moern hand.
315 Correcting hand: “*diweirferch*”
316 Vaughan corrects: “*Debangen*”

Arddun gwraic Gatrod[317] 'ap Gwrolwyn, Evilia gwraic Wydyrdrwn, Emythryd[318] gwraic Uabon a' Dewyngen.

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.34) Tri diwair ynys Brydain:
Arddvn gwraig Gadrod ap Gwrohvyn, Evilia gwraig Wydr drwn, Emythryd gwraig Vabon, a Dewyngen.

TYP 67. TRI EUR GRYD / THREE NOBLE (LIT. GOLDEN) SHOEMAKERS

WHITE BOOK (A4.46) Tri eur gryd ynys Brydein:
Casswallaɔn vab Beli, pann aeth y geissio Flur hyt yn Ruuein; a Manawydan vab Llyr, pan vn hut ar Dyuet; a Llew llaɔ gyffes, pan vu ef a Gɔydyon yn keissio henw ac arueu y gan Riarot y vam.

RED BOOK (A5.58) Tri eur gryd ynys Brydein:
Casswallaɔc uab Beli, pan aeth y geissaɔ Flur hyt yn Ruuein, a Manaɔydan uab Llud[319] pan un hut ar Dyuet. A Llew llaɔ gyffes pan uu ef a Gɔydyon yn keissaɔ enɔ ac arueu y gan Aranrot y uam.

CWRT. 3 (A12.51): Tri aûr grydd ynys Brytain:
Caswallawn vap Beli, pan aeth I Ruuain y gaisiaw Fflwr, a Manawydan vap Llyr pan vû yr hyd ar Ddyfed, a Lles llaw gyffes pan vû ef gyd a Gwdion yn caisio henw ac arvaû y gan Rianon y vam.

BL ADD. 31,055 (A17.4) Tri aûr grydd ynys Brytain.
Caswallawn ɔap Beli pann aeth i Rûûain a geisiaw Fflwr, a Maniwydan ɔap Llyr pan ɔû û y Rhyd a'r Ddyɔet, a Lles llaw gyffes pann ɔu ef gyda Gwdion yn ceisio Henw ac arɔaû y gann Rianon y ɔam.

TYP 68. TRI BRENHIN A VUANT O VEIBION EILLON / THREE KINGS WHO WERE (SPRUNG FROM) VILLEINS

WHITE BOOK (A4.47) Tri brenhin a vuant o veibion Eillion:
Gwryat vab Gɔryan yn y Gogled, a Chadauel ap Kynuedɔ y Gwyned, a Hyueid ap Bleidic yn Deheubarth.

RED BOOK (A5.59) Tri brenhin a uuant o ueibon eillon:
Gɔryat uab Gɔryan yn y Gogled, a Chadauel uab Kynnedɔ yg Gɔyned, a Hyneid uab Bleidic yn Deheubarth.

CWRT. 3 (A12.51) Tri brenhin a vûant vaibion aillion:

[317] Correcting hand: "*Catcor*"
[318] Correcting hand: "*Emwrth*"
[319] Corrected in a later hand to "*Llyr*."

Gwriad vap Gwrian yn y Gogledd, a Chadvael vap Cynvedw yn Gwynedd, a' Hyfaidd vap Blaiddic yn Deheûbarth.

BL ADD. 31,055 (A17.5) Tri brenin a ỏûant o ỏeibion ellion.
Gwriad ỏab Gwnan yn y Gogledd, a Chadarael ỏap Cywỏedw yn Gwynedd, a Hyfaidd ỏap Blaiddic yn Deheûbarth.

TYP 69. TRI BUDYR HAFREN / THREE DIFILEMENTS OF THE SEVERN

WHITE BOOK (A4.48) Tri budyr Hafren:
Katwallaỏn, pan aeth y weith Digoll, a llu Kymry ganthaỏ. Ac Etwin[320] o'r parth arall, a llu Lloegyr ganthaỏ. Ac yna budyraỏd Hafren: o'e blaen hyt y haber. A'r eil: kyuaruws Golydan y gan Einaỏn ap Bed brenhin Kerniỏ. A'r dryded: Calam varch Idon ap Ner y gan Vaelgỏn.

RED BOOK (A5.60) Tri budyr Hafren:
Katwallaỏn pann aeth y weith digoll, a llu Kymry ganỏaỏ, ac Etwin o'r parth arall, a llu Lloegyr ganỏaỏ. Ac yna y budraỏd Hafren o'e blaen hyt y haber. A'r eil, kyuarỏs Golydan y gan Einyaỏn uab Bed brehin Kernyỏ. A'r dryded, Calam uerch Idon uab Ner y gan Uaelgawn.

CWRT. 3 (A12.52) Tri bydyr Haûren:
Cydwallawn pan aeth i waith Digoll a llû Cembry gantaw, ac Edwin o'r parth arall a llû Lloecr gantaw. Ac yna y bydrawdd Hafren o'i blaen hyd i haber. A'r ail afliarvod Golydan y gan Einion Vabaidd brenin Cerniw, a'r dryedd Calann Iddom ap Ner y gan Vaelgwin.

BL ADD. 31,055 (A17.6) Tri bydr Haỏren
Cadwallawn pan aeth i waith Digoll a llû Cymbrû gantaw, ac Edwin o'r parth arall a llû Lloegr gantaw ac yna y bydrawdd Haỏren o'û blaen gyd i haber. A'r ail cyfarỏod Golydan y gan Einion ỏabaidd brenhin Cerniw. A'r drydedd Calerin Addoni ap Ner y gan Vaelgwin.

TYP 70. TRI GWYN DORLLWYTH / THREE FAIR (HOLY, BLESSED) WOMB BURDENS

PEN. 47 (A6.6) Tri gwyn dorllỏyth ynys Brydein:
Vryen mab Kynuarch, ac Araỏn mab Kynuarch, a Lleỏ mab Kynuarch o Neuyn verch Brychan Brecheniyaỏc eu mam. A'r eil Owein mab Vryen a Moruud uerch Vryen ac Anarun archescob Llydaỏ o Vodron merch Auallach eu mam. Y trydyd oed Gwrgi a Pheredur meibion Eliffer gosgorduaỏr ac Ardun eu chwaer a Dyrw […] -dyl a Chornan eu march, a Thonllỏy eu bỏch.

Pen. 50 (A7.30) Tri gwyndorlỏyth ynys Prydain:
Vrien ac Euddel plant Kynuarch hen y vuant yn vn torllỏyth yghallon Nevyn verch Vrychan eu mam. A'r eil Ywein[321] mab Vrien a Morwyd y chwaer y vuant yn vn dorllỏyth yghallon o Modron verch Auallach. Y trydydd, Gỏrgi a Pheredur a Cheindrych penn askell plant Eliffer gosgorddua6r a vuant yghallon Eurddel verch Gynuarch eu mam.

[320] "*yna*" has been deleted with *puncti delens* preceeding this word.
[321] Corrected to "*Ewein*"

CARD. 2.83 (A19.15) Tri aur dorllwyth ynys Brydain fo:
orienn ag Eiddel a foont yn on dorllwyth a foont yn groth Nefynn ferch Brychan Brycheiniog i mam plant Gynfarch hen; yr ail dorllwyth a fo Owain ap orien a Morwydd i mam; y trydydd aor dorllwyth a fo Gwrgi fab Prydyr a a cheinddoeth ben ascell plant Prydyr ap Elifer gysgorddfawr a foont yn ghroth Aorddel merch Gynfarch i mam.

TYP 71. TRI SERCHAWC / THREE LOVERS

PEN. 47 (A6.8) Tri serchaoc [*Ynys Brydein Cynon*] Klyntno, a Chaswallaon mab Beli, a Drystan.

PEN. 50 (A7.31) Tri serchaoc ynys Prydain:
Caswallaon mab Beli am Phlur verch […]nach […] Drystan mab […] gwraic March y ewythyr, a Chynon mab Clytno am Uorwydd uerch Vrien.

TYP 72. THREE CHYNDYNAWC / TREE STUBBORN ONES

PEN. 47 (A6.9) Tri chyndynyaoc
Edelic corr, a Gweir gwyrt uaor, a Drystan.

TYP 73. TRI GOGYFURD LLYS ARTHUR / THREE PEERS OF ARTHUR'S COURT

PEN. 47 (A6.12) Tri gogyfurd llys Arthur
Rhyaot eil Morgant, a Dalldaf eil Chuyn Kof, a Drystan eil March.

TYP 74. TRI ANHEOL LLYS ARTHUR / THREE WHO COULD NOT BE EXILED FROM ARTHUR'S COURT

PEN. 47 (A6.13) Tri anhynodaoc llys Arthur:
Vchei mab Goryon, a Choldaoc mab […],[322] a Gerenhyr mab Gerenyaoc hen.

PEN. 50 (A7.40) Tri anheol o lys Arthr:
Echau mab Gorgoff, a Choldawc mab Gwynn [??], Genau hir gemennon.

TYP 75. TRY DYN GOREU WRTH YSP A PHELLENNIGYON / THREE MEN WHO WERE MOST COURTEOUS TO GUESTS AND STRANGERS

PEN. 47 (A6.14) Tri dyn goreu orth ysp a phellennignyon ynys Prydein:
Gwalchmei mab Goyar, a Gadoy mab Gereint, a Chadeiryeith Saidi.

PEN. 50 (A7.39) Tri dyn goreu yn llys Arthur orth osp a phellenic:
Gwalchmei mab Goyar, a Gadwy mab Gereint, a Chadyryieith mab Saidi.

[322] No patronymic here in the MS.

TYP 76. TRI ENGIRYAWL / THREE VIOLENT (?) MARVELOUS (?) ONES

PEN. 47 (A6.16) Tri engiryaɷl ynys Brydein:
Haeled, a Llywarch, a Llemeinc.

TYP 77. TRI ANHYVODAWC LLYS ARTHUR / THREE WANDERERS OF ARTHUR'S COURT

PEN. 47 (A6.17) Tri anhynodaɷc llys Arthur:
Haeled, a Llywarch, a Llemeinc.

[This is a variant of TYP 65 (see above). Though I would disagree, Bromwich categorizes it as its own triad. I have followed her to avoid confusion.]

TYP 78. TEIR GWEN RIEIN / THREE FAIR (ROYAL) LADIES

PEN. 47 (A6.39) Teir gwen riein ynys Prydein:
Kreirɷy merch Keritwen, ac Aryanrot verd Don, a Gwen uerch Kywryt mab Krydon.

TYP 79. TEIR GOHOYW RIEIN / THREE LIVELY (ROYAL) LADIES

PEN. 47 (A6.41) Teir gohoyɷ riein ynys Prydein:
Angharat ton Uelen merch Ryderch hael, ac Auan uerch Meic myguras, a Pherwyr [*verch*] Run ryueidriaɷr.

TYP 80. TEIR ANIWEIR WREIC / THREE FAITHLESS WIVES

PEN. 47 (A6.43) Teir aniweir wreic ynys Pyrdein. Teir meirchet Kuluanawyt Prydein:
Essyllt vngwen a Phenarwan, a Bun gwreic Flamdɷyn. Ac vn oed aniweirach no'r tri hynny:
Gwenhɷyuar gwreic Arthur kanys gwell gɷr y gwnai hi gyweilyd idaɷ no neb.

PEN. 50 (A7.32) Tri aniwreic ynys Prydain, tri merchet Kynawc Prydain:
Essylt vygwen gordderch Trystan, a Penarwan gwreic Owein mab Vrien, a Bun [gwreic] Run.

TYP 81. TRI SANTEIDD LINYS / THREE SAINTLY LINEAGES

PEN. 50 (A7.1) Tri santeidd linys ynys Prydein:
Llinys Joseph o Armathia, a llinys Cunedd wledic, a llinys Brychan Bacheiniaɷc.

CARD. 2.26 (A18.0[323]) Tri gvelygordh saint ynys Brydein, o rann Cymry[324]:
Plant Brychan Brecheiniavc, a phlant Cɔnnedha vledic, a phlant Cav o Brydein.

TYP 82. TRI GWESTEI GWYNUEDEDIC / THREE BLESSED VISITORS

PEN. 50 (A7.2) Tri gwestei gwynuededic o ynys Brydein:
Dewi, a Phadarn, a Theilaɔ.

CWRT. 3 (A12.60) Tri gwestei gwynvydedic ynys Brydain:
Dewi, Patern, a Theilo.

BL ADD. 31,055 (A17.34) Tri gwestei gwywɔededic ynys Brytain.
Dewi, Patern, a Teuilo.

TYP 83. TRI CHORFF A WNAETH DUW ER THEILAW / THREE BODIES WHICH GOD CREATED FOR TEILO

PEN. 50 (A7.3) Tri chorff a wnaeth Duɔ er Theilaɔ:
Vn yssydd yn Llandaff y Morgannɔc, yr eil yn Llanteilo vaɔr, a'r trydydd ym Hen Alun yn Dyfet, mal y dyweit yr ystorya.

TYP 84. TEIR OUERGAT / THREE FUTILE BATTLES

PEN. 50 (A7.8) Teir ouerddgat ynys Prydein:
Vn onaddunt a vu gutgoden. Sef y gwnaethpɢwyt o achaɔs yr ast y ar wrth fechɔys achoruɔgill. Yr eil a vu y gweith Arderydd a wnaethpɔyt o achaɔs nyt yr ychwedydd. A drydydd oedd waethaf: sef oedd honno Camlan. A honna a wnaethpɔyt o gyweyssedd Gwenhɢyuar a Gwenhɔyach. Sef achaɔs mor ddiffiɔyth a hɔnnɔ.

PEN. 77 (A14.10) Tair overgad ynys Prydain:
Vn onaddunt cad gadaû, sef yr achaws y gelwid yn overdadaû o achos yr ast ar i wrch ffergwys a chornvygyll. A'r ail, yr aderydd a wnaethbwyd o achws nyth yr ehedydd. Trydydd, Camlan a wnaethbwyd o gyfrwysedd[325] Gwenhwyvar a Gwenhwyvach.

TYP 85. TEIR PRIF LLYS ARTHUR / ARTHUR'S THREE PRINCIPAL COURTS

[323] This triad appears on p. 59 of this manuscript, away from the other TYP material, amidst genealogical material. I therefore do not consider it part of this manuscript's TYP text "proper." See [internal reference needed – chapter 1]
[324] Note that Bromwich reads this phrase as "*o vam Cymreig*" ("from Welsh mothers") (Bromwich, *TYP*, 211). My reading could be rendered "from parts of the Welsh."
[325] A later hand has written "*gyfrysudh*" in the margin above, either as a correction or because this word is particularly difficult to make out in the original hand.

Pen. 50 (A7.35)[326] […] a Chelli wic yg Hernio, a Phenryn Rioned yn y Gogledd.
Teir prif oyl ynys Prydain, y teir prif lys: Pasc, a Nadolic, a Sulgwyn.

TYP 86. TRI MARCHAWC O LLYS ARTHUR A ENILLAWD Y GRAEL / THREE KNIGHTS OF ARTHUR'S COURT WHO WON THE GRAIL

PEN. 50 (A7.38) Tri marchaoc o lys Arthur a enillaod y greal, ac eu duc y nef:
Galaad oab Laonslod y lac, a Pheredur oab Efraoc iarll, a Bort vab brenhin Bort. A ddeu gyntaf oeddynt wery o gryff, a trydydd oedd ddiweir am na wnaeth pechaot knaodaol ont vnweith. A hynny droy brouedigaeth yn y amser y enillaodd ef […][327] o verch Brenyn Brangor yr honn a vu ymherodres yn Constino[byl], o'r honn y deuth y genedlaeth voyaf o'r byt, ag genedlaeth Joseph o Aramathea y hanoeddyn yll, ag o lin Dau[id] brofoyt mal y tystolaeth ystorya y grael.

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.58): Tri marchoc gwyry a gafas gwaed yr arglwydd yn ghastell Garbyn yn orthawg: Predur ap Efrog, Gwalchma ap Gwynar, Bwrt ap Lawnllod.

NLW 6434 (A16.43) Tri marchawg gwyrf a gomlant, ac nid y mod chwedl. Gwaed i'r arglwydd yn castell Gorbyn yn y northawg:
Peredor ap Efrog, a Gwalchmai, a Bwrd ap Laonslot.

TYP 87. TRI PRIFVARDD YNYS PRYDAIN

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.38): Tri phrifvardd ynys Brydain:
Merddin ap Morvryn, Merddin Emrys, Taliesin.

TYP 87A. TRI CHYFANEDD FARDD LLYS ARTHUR / THREE ENTERTAINING BARDS OF ARTHUR'S COURT

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.36) Tri chyfanedd [*vardd*] llys Arthur:
Bardd Kaw, bardd Tant, bardd Phichlem.

TYP 87B. TRI BARDD KAD OEDD YN LYS ARTHUR

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.37) Tri bardd kad oedd yn lys Arthur:
Prifardd, Arweddvardd, a Phasvardd.

TYP 92. TRI HYNAIF BYD

BL ADD. 15,047 (A15.57): Tri hynaif byd:

[326] This triad appears in the most damaged and difficult to read section of the Peniarth 50 text. A full transcription proved impossible.d
[327] The scribe has left a blank space on the page, omitting the personal name.

Tyllvan Dwm kadwlwyd, eryr gwern Abwyd. Mywalchen y gelli ddafn.

NLW 6434 (A16.42) Tri hynaif byd:
Tyllɔan gwm kowlyd, eryr gwern Abwy, a Mwvyalchen gelli gadarn.

TYP 96. TAIR GWRAGEDD A FU I FRYCHAN YN BRIOD / THREE WOMEN WHO WERE MARRIED TO BRYCHAN

CARD. 2.26 (A18.0): Tair gvragedd a bhɔ i Bhrychan yn briod:
Eɔrbrost, ac Ambrost, a Pharvyshi.

ENWEU YNYS PRYDEIN
(*Longer version of EYP, known as* Anryuedau ac Enweu Ynys Prydein, *can be found in the Red Book and in Peniarth 50.)*

WHITE BOOK Enweu ynys Brydein yɔ hynn:
Kydnaf henɔ a uu ar yr ynys hon, kyn no'e chael na'e chyuanhedu Glas Merdin, ac ɔedy y chaffel a'e chyuanhedu y vel ynys, ac wedy y goresgyn o Brydein vab Aed maɔr y dodei arnei ynys Brydein. Teir prif rac ynys yssydd idi, a seith rac ynys a[*r h*]ugeint,[328] a thri prif a seith ugeint adeni, a ffedeir prif borth ar dec a deigeint, a their prif gaer ar dec ar ugeint, a ffetwar prif anryued ar dec ar ugeint. Sef yɔ hyt yr ynys hon: o Benryn Blathaon ym Brydein hyt ym Penryn Penwaed yg Kerniw. Sef yɔ hynny: naɔ can milldir. Sef yɔ y llet grigull y Mon hyt yn Soram: pum can milldir yɔ hynny. Sef a dylir y daly ɔrthi coron a their taleith, ac yn Llundein gɔiscaɔ y goron. Ac ym Penryn Rionyt yn y Gogledd vn o'r taleithiau, ac yn Aberfra[w] yr eil, ac yg Kerniɔ y dryded. A their archesgobot yssydd yndi vn ym ynys: Kaer Efraɔc.

PEN. 50: Tri enw yr ynys honn:
Kyntaf y gelwir kyn y chaffel Clas Mertyn, a gwedy y gorestyn o Vrutus y dodei arnei Ynys Brydein.

Teir prif rac ynys yssydd iddi:
Mon, a Manaɔ, ac ynys Weith. A seith rac ynys ar ugeint, a phetwar prif anrynedd ar ddec. Sef yɔ hyt yr ynys honn: o Blathaon ym Rydein hyt y Menn Penawaet yn Ghernyɔ, naɔ cant milltyr yɔ hynny. Sef yɔ y llet o gruchyll y Mon hyt yn Soram: pymp kant milltur yɔ hynny. Sef a delit o honei eo ron y their taleith, ac yn Llundein gwiscaɔ y goron. Ac ym Henryn Rrianedd yn y Gogledd y hyn vn o'r taleithedigyon. Ac o Aberfraɔ yr eil. Ac o Gernyɔ y trydydd.

Teir ynys Prydein:
Lloegyr, a Chymry, a'r Alban. Teir prif aber a seith vgeint yssydd y danei, a phetwar porthua ar ddeg a deugeint. A their prif gaer ar ddeg ar ugeint: Kaer Alclut, Kaer Efraɔc, Kaer Lyn, Kaer Ffawydd, Kaer Geint, Kaer ɔyranghon, Kaer Lundein, Kaer Lipon, Kaer Golyn, Kaer Loyɔ, Kaer Gei, Kaer Siri, Kaer Wynt, Kaer Went, Kaer Erant, Kaer Daɔr, Kaer Gorgyrn, Kaer Lleon, Kaer Gororn, Kaer Suuaraɔd, Kaer Vruaɔc, Kaer Selynion, Kaer Widdaɔl Wir, Kaer Exson, Kaer

[328] Correcting hand: "*a'th ugeint*"

Uiddon. Rei o honun yssydd wedy diwreiddaϭ y muryoedd yn willys, ereill yn gyweir gysannedd eto.

Tteir archescobaeth:
Vn o Geint, yr eil o Gaer Efraϭc, a'r dryddydd o Vynnyϭ. Ac nyt oes dlyet y neb ar ynys honn namyn y genedyl Gymry e hun. Gweddi Llyon y Brutannyeit y ddeuth gynt o Gaer Droea.

Teir prif auon ynys Prydein:
Temys, Hafran, a Hϭmyr.

Teir prif porthua ynys Prydein:
Porth Ystewin y Gwent, a phorth Wygyr y Mon, a phorth ϭytno yn y Gogledd.

LLAN. 12 Ynys Brydain vawr y may wyth gan meilltir yn y hyd a day gann yn ynys Brydain i may tair rrac ynys: Mon, a Manaw, ag ynys Wair. Tair prif afon ynys Brydain: Tems, a Hymyr, a Hafren. Tair p*ri*f gaer ynys Brydain: kaer Lundain, a chaer Benwedd, a chaer Lleon ar Wysg. Tair p*ri*f lvs ynys Brydain: Llys llys Benwedd yng Herniw, llys kaer Lleon ar Wysg, a llys perryn Rianedd. Tair prif borthfa ynys Brytain: Porth Ysgewyn yng Went, a fforth Wegri y Mon. Tair prif aber ynys Brydain: Aber Tems ag aber Hymyr, ag aber Hafren.

CWRT. 3I Tri enw yr ynys honn:
Cyntaf y gelgit [*a'i galnai*] hi cyn i chaffael, Clas Merdyn. A gwedy y gorescyn[329] y vel ynys. A gwedy gorescyn, o Vrntns y dodes arei ynys Brytain. Teir prif rac ynys yssydd ynddi:
Mon, a Manaw, ac ynys Weith. A saith rag ynys ar hugeint, a phedwar prif anrhydedd ar ddec. Sef yw hyd yr ynys hon o Blathaon ym Prydain hyd ym pen Penrwaed yn Gherniw: naw cant milltir yw hyny. Sef y lled o'r Grûc hyll hyd yn Soram: pemp cant milltir yw hyny. Sef a delit o harnei: Coron a Thair Talaith. Ac yn Llundain gwiscaw y goran.

CWRT. 3II Y cyntaf honn vn ar ynys Brytain cyn y chyvaneddy Clas Merddin. A chwedy chael y chyvaneddy, y vel ynys y gelwyd. Ac wedy chael o Brydyn ap Aedd Mawr, ynys Brydyn y gelwid. Tair rhac ynys sydd iddi: Mon, Manaw, ynys Wair. 143 o brif aberoedd ac 54 o borthvaoedd, tair ar ddec ar hûgain o brif gayroedd. Sef yw hyd ynys Brydain, o Bryn Bladdom ym Brydain hyd ym Penryn Penwaedd yn Gherniw: naw cant milltir. Sef yw y lled o Grikyll y Mon hyd [*yn*] Soram: pvm cant milltir. Sef y dair daly wrthi coron a thair talaith, ac yn Llûndain gwisco y goron. Ac ym Penryn Rianedd yn y Gofledd vn o'r talaithiaû, ac yn Aberffraw yr ail, ac yn Gherniw y drydedd. A thri archescoptûy yssydd iddi: vn ym Myniw, yr ail yn Caint, y drydedd yn Caer Efrawc.

BL ADD. 31,055 Cyntaf[330] henw a ϭû ar ynys Brytain cynn y chafenneddϭ, Clas Merddin. Ac hwedy cael y chafenneddϭ y Vel Ynys y gelwyd. A'r wedy y chael o Brydyn ap Aedd mawr ynys Brydyn y gwelwyd. Tair rac ynys sydd iddi: Mon, Manaw, ar ynys Wair. 143 o brif aberoedd, a 54 o brif borthϭaoedd. Tair ar ddec ar hugain o brif Gaeroedd. Sef yw hyd ynys Brydain o brynn Bladdon ym Brydain hyd ym Penrhynn Penwaedd yn Cerniw, naw cant milltir.

[329] Corrected to "*Chynvadeddû*."
[330] Marginalia: "*Brytain ei henwae.*"

Sef yw i lled o Grikyll ym Mon hyd yn Soram pǒm cant milltir. Sef y dlyer[331] delû wrthi coron a thair talaith. Ac yn Llûndain gwisgo y goron. Ac ym Penrhyn Rhianedd yn y Gogledd ǒn o'r taleithiaǒ i, ac yn Aberffraw yr ail, ac yn Cherniw y drydedd. A thri archescoptuy sydd iddi, ǒn ym Mynyw, yr ail yn Ghent, y drydedd yn Ghaer Efrawg.

TRI THLWS AR DDEG

PEN. 51 Henwau y tri thlws ar ddeg a oedd yn y Gogledd, nid amgen: llen Arthur, kledde Rydderch hael, mwys Gwyddno […][332] Mwynfawr, kyllyll Llawrfrodedd, pair Dawarnwch gawr, galen Tudwal Tutglud, pair Badarn, grenn a dessgyl rǒ gennydd, gwydbwll Gwenddole, [*mantell degau maen*, *modrwy Elunedd*].[333]

[331] Scribal error for "*dyler*"?
[332] Damage to the manuscript, line illegible.
[333] A correcting hand different from the one belonging to Vaughan.

APPENDIX C: THE MANUSCRIPT CORPUS

There are eighteen manuscripts which make up the extant medieval corpus of TYP. I am admittedly using the term "medieval" rather loosely here, as almost half of these eighteen manuscripts date from the mid- to late-sixteenth century, but I would argue that these later manuscripts – seven of them – represent the last days of manuscript transmission before TYP became basically a curiosity, mostly of interest to antiquarians who, much like modern scholars, were interested in what TYP could reveal about the Welsh past. This was already happening in the sixteenth century; William Salesbury and his contemporaries were certainly antiquarians and did *not* inherit this material through the same avenues as had the men who passed along this material in the previous centuries. But some of their contemporaries, including Salesbury's friend Gruffudd Hiraethog, from whom Salesbury apparently received TYP material, did.[1] Sixteenth-century texts of TYP were also, by and large, copied from medieval exemplars. From the seventeenth century onwards, on the other hand, antiquarians perpetuated the transmission of TYP by copying each other's work, largely without reference to the medieval manuscripts themselves.

The manuscripts under discussion here – and thus the chronological scope of this dissertation – span the thirteenth century through the sixteenth, a period of over three hundred years which saw the fall of the kingdom or principality of Gwynedd and the loss of Welsh independence after the death of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd in 1282, the subsequent progressive integration of Wales into England's jurisdiction, the failed rebellion of Owain Glyndŵr in the beginning of the fifteenth century, and finally, in the 1530s, the Acts of Union, which officially

[1] Angharad Price, "Welsh Humanism After 1536," in *The Cambridge History of Welsh Literature*, ed. Geraint Evans and Helen Fulton (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 176-93 at 180-81.

did away with the last vestiges of Welsh political autonomy. The 1530s and ’40s also saw the events of the English Reformation and the Dissolution of the monasteries, after which Britain increasingly turned away from its medieval, Catholic history. Against this backdrop, scribes in both monastic and professional settings repeatedly copied and expanded the TYP corpus which they had, in turn, received from their forebears.

Below I set out descriptions of the eighteen manuscripts under investigation in this dissertation. In this I have drawn heavily on Daniel Huws’s work in the recently published and enormously helpful *Repertory of Welsh Manuscripts and Scribes*, as well as that of Rachel Bromwich, who discussed the manuscript corpus of TYP in depth in the introduction to her edition. My goal is not to merely recapitulate what has already been said in these previous works but to combine the strengths of both, drawing out the particular characteristics of each text of TYP while also illuminating its context in the overall scheme of the manuscript and, if possible, thanks to Huws’s endeavors, the work of its scribe. They follow in roughly chronological order.

C1. NLW Peniarth MS 1 (Black Book of Carmarthen)[2]

This manuscript, which dates to the middle of the thirteenth century, has been the subject of a great deal of discussion, owing to the fact that it is the oldest manuscript entirely in the Welsh language that has come down to us. According to Daniel Huws, the entire book was written by one individual scribe, probably at the priory of Carmarthen, and seems to have been a long-term, personal project (in Huws’s words, “a slowly built-up work of love”). The content of the book – almost entirely poetry, both religious and secular – probably reflects the scribe’s “personal taste”

[2] Images of the TYP text in this manuscript can be found at “Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin,” fols. 14r-14v, the Peniarth Manuscripts, Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru / National Library of Wales, accessed October 21, 2022. http://hdl.handle.net/10107/4623419. See Appendix A1, p. 301 for my transcription of the text.

rather than that of a patron or a group of collaborators.[3] This is evident from the large amount of generic variety in its contents – we find saga englynion, prophetic poetry, and even a few poems by Cynddelw and other Gogynfeirdd. It would be a mistake to extrapolate too much about how popular or widespread any text found in the Black Book was during this period, because the book can only act as a snapshot of a single person's tastes and access to material in thirteenth-century Carmarthen, but it is nevertheless an important witness to the fact that *these* texts were available in that place and time – including the four triads found on folio 14.

These four triads all belong to the sub-category of TYP known as *trioedd y meirch*, or the triads of the horses.[4] They are, in the order in which they appear here: *Tri anrhaith march* ("Three horses of plunder/plundering horses," TYP 40), *Tri thom eddystr* ("Three steeds of burden/draft horses," TYP 43), *Tri gohoyw eddystr* ("Three sprightly steeds," TYP 42) *Tri hoyw eddystr* ("Three nimble horses," TYP 38[5]). The text of the fourth triad cuts off at the bottom of the page and is not continued on the next. All four of these triads are attested elsewhere.

Therefore, the Black Book TYP text is mainly of interest for the transmission history of *trioedd y meirch*, as it shows that the Black Book scribe had access to material that we later find amidst TYP. Huws notes that scribe probably drew from a mix of written and oral sources for his compilation,[6] and Bromwich certainly believed that the *trioedd y meirch* in particular among

[3] For a general discussion of the Black Book of Carmarthen, see Daniel Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000), 70-72 and Daniel Huws, *Repertory of Welsh Manuscripts and Scribes, 800-1800* (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 2022), vol. 1, 332-33. For the TYP text in particular, see Rachel Bromwich, "The Triads of the Horses," in *The Horse in Celtic Culture: Perspectives from Medieval Wales*, ed. Sioned Davies and Nerys Ann Jones (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997), 102-20, especially 103-04.
[4] See the discussion in Chapter 4, especially p. 150.
[5] This triad is known by the title *Tri roddedigfarch* ("Three bestowed horses") in other manuscripts.
[6] Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*, 72: "And if the sources [of the Black Book compiler] were many, none of them yielding a large haul of poems, it is fair to ask: were they all written sources? Of our [five ancient books of Wales], the Black Book seems likliest to contain a substantial proportion of poems whch might derive directly from oral tradition. This liklihood is increased by the presence in the Black Book of several abbreviated texts and 'floaters', fragments of poems, some of them known elsewhere in fuller versions." This text of *trioedd y meirch* certainly falls into the 'floater' category.

TYP were likely to be ultimately derived from oral tradition.[7] For my part, I am inclined to concur with them both that, if any of the surviving TYP texts was derived directly from the oral tradition without a written source, the Black Book text is the likeliest candidate. I am led to this conclusion by this text's fragmentary nature, the fact that all four triads adhere to a strict 'epithet + three names' formula, which is indicative of a mnemonic device, and the significant difference in content between this and other versions of these triads. However, an argument against this conclusion could be mounted from the fact that the text breaks off in the middle of *Tri hoyw eddystr* and an unrelated text begins on the following folio. If these triads were written from memory, not copied from an already incomplete source, it is difficult to imagine the scribe stopping dead in the middle of a triad and moving on to another text. On the other hand, in light of Huws's points about the book's oversized script and its compilation over a long period, it becomes possible to imagine the scribe running out of room on the page – perhaps in the manner familiar to anyone who has ever written a 'happy birthday' card – wandering away, and coming back later with a mind to start in on a new poem, triads forgotten. Since these triads appear on a recto and verso of a single manuscript leaf, it is also possible that pages which once held additional triads have been lost.

Apart from this question of its origins, and despite its brevity, there are a few peculiarities about the Black Book TYP text which must be mentioned. The first is the distinctive orthography; the Black Book scribe often uses an *i* where other scribes of TYP texts prefer *y*, *t* where other scribes prefer *d*, and *u* or *v* where other scribes prefer *w* or *ô*. There has long been a general sense that these are aspects of the Black Book's archaic orthography, due to its great antiquity and the antiquity of its sources. However, Huws cautioned against this assumption,

[7] Rachel Bromwich, *Trioedd Ynys Prydein: Triads of the Island of Britain*. 4th edition. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2014), lxxxi.

writing that the consistency of the orthography throughout the manuscript likely suggests that it was "imposed by the scribe" and "does not necessarily reflect any external standard."[8] Whatever the case, the spelling conventions in these four triads certainly stand out when set side-by-side with the same triads in other TYP texts.

Furthermore, the Black Book text is the only TYP text to use Latin. In two instances, the scribe utilizes *filius* in place of *mab*.[9] Additionally, in two more instances, the scribe leaves only the initials of a patronymic or epithet, another practice not seen elsewhere in the TYP corpus until the sixteenth century.[10] The abbreviation was likely done to save space; the first instance appears at the very end of fol. 14r and the second comes on the penultimate line of fol. 14v, two occasions when the scribe must have been thinking about spacing. This straightforward explanation is not as interesting as what may be inferred from these abbreviations – if we assume, following Huws, that the scribe himself was his own intended audience, it follows that he expected to remember later that *Kadwallaun filius K.* stood for "Kadwallaun filius Katuan" and *Karadauc B.* for "Karaduac Breichvras." This seems to indicate that he was very familiar with these triads, and possibly that it was a text he knew from memory, not a less familiar written text.

His use of *filius* for *mab* may not contraindicate an oral source. To a scribe working in a thirteenth-century monastic setting it is likely to have been just as natural to use the Latin *filius* for "son of" as the Welsh *mab*. In either language, it works as a filler word, necessary but insubstantial; the names, patronymics, and epithets are the important bits of these triads, the

[8] Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*, 72. Cf. Thomas Charles-Edwards and Paul Russell, "The Hendragadredd Manuscript and the Orthography and Phonology of Welsh in the Early Fourteenth Century," *National Library of Wales Journal* 28 (1993-94), 419-63, especially at 420, and Paul Russell, "Scribal (In)competence: The Orthography of the Black Book of Chirck," *National Library of Wales Journal* 29 (1995), 129-76.
[9] See Appendix A, p. 2: "*Kadwallaun filius K.*" and "*Passcen filius Vrien.*"
[10] See Appendix A, p. 2: "*Kadwallaun filius K[atuan]*." and "*…march Karadauc B[reichvras]*."

cyfarwyddyd the triads were designed to store. It may be that the scribe, writing from memory and, if we can speculate even further, perhaps more comfortable writing in Latin, fell back on the habit of using *filius* to introduce the patronyms on a few occasions. Later scribes, copying written sources and not pulling from their own memories, would have avoided this pitfall.

C2. NLW PENIARTH MS 16 (PART VI)[11]

The earliest extant, non-fragmentary text of TYP can be found in NLW Peniarth MS 16 (part vi). This is a composite manuscript, made up of seven sections which, according to Daniel Huws, were likely brought together by sixteenth-century manuscript collector John Jones of Gellilyfdu.[12] This early text of TYP can be found in part vi, fol. 50r -- fol. 53v. The triads are followed by the genealogical text *Bonedd y Saint*,[13] which is the only other text in this section.[14] Huws dates part vi to the second half of the thirteenth century, making this text only slightly later than the fragment of *trioedd y meirch* which appears in the Black Book of Carmarthen.[15] Huws has identified the scribe as X76, who was active in Gwynedd.[16] X76 was also the scribe of the Dingestow Court manuscript (NLW MS 5266, previously known as Dingestow 6), which

[11] Images of this text can be found at "Peniarth MS 16," fols. 50r-53v, the Peniarth Manuscripts, National Library of Wales, accessed Nov. 7, 2022. http://hdl.handle.net/10107/4533649. See Appendix A2, pp. 302-06 for my transcription of the text.
[12] Huws, *Repertory*, I, 340.
[13] NLW Peniarth MS 16 fols. 53v-54v. This is the earliest extant text of *Bonedd y Saint*. An edition can be found in Peter C. Bartrum, *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1966), 51-67. The version in Peniarth 16 is referred to as text A in that edition. Cf. Barry Lewis, "Bonedd y Saint, Brenhinedd y Saesson, and Historical Scholarship at Valle Crucis Abbey," in *The Chronicles of Medieval Wales and the March: New Contexts, Studies, and Texts*, ed. Ben Guy, Georgia Henley, Nia Wyn Jones, and Rebecca Thomas (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2020), 139-54, especially 146-47 and n. 21.
[14] The other sections contain copies of several other texts, including an important thirteenth-century witness to Breuddwyd Maxen (Peniarth 16 part v) and the antiquarian Simwnt Fychan's collection of TYP (part vii), discussed below.
[15] Huws, *Repertory*, I, 341.
[16] Huws, *Repertory*, II, 213.

contains the earliest surviving copy of the Dingestow version of *Brut y Brenhinedd*.[17] In fact, it is very likely that Peniarth 16 part vi was once part of the Dingestow Court book.[18] In its original context, then, the TYP text would have followed *Brut y Brenhinedd* and been succeeded by *Bonedd y Saint* – this is exactly the same order as the contents of the closely related NLW Peniarth MS 45, discussed below.

The TYP text in Peniarth 16 part vi regularly has 27 lines to a page, with red ink decorating many of the letters throughout, especially the many *a*s and *T*s. Like the other thirteenth-, fourteenth-, and fifteenth-century texts of TYP, this text appears as a block, without any breaks between triads, the red ink decorating each *T* working as the only visual signifier of a new triad. There are no headings or subheadings in this text. Marginal annotations are in the hand of the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century manuscript collector Jaspar Gryffyth.[19] There are 46 triads in total in this text. The beginning of the text is wanting; it starts about two-thirds of the way through *Tri lleithiglwyth* ("Three tribal thrones," TYP 1).

Thanks to its status as the oldest surviving TYP text, Rachel Bromwich took Peniarth 16 part vi as the flagship text of what she called the . She published an edition of this manuscript's text alone in 1946 and, fifteen years later, used it as the base text, insofar as possible, of *Trioedd Ynys Prydain: The Triads of the Island of Britain*.[20] Triads 1 to 46 in her numbering scheme follow the order of Peniarth 16. It is, therefore, the best known of all the texts under

[17] For this manuscript, see Huws, *Repertory*, I, 211 and Bromwich, *TYP*, xvi. Henry Lewis used this text of *Brut y Brenhinedd* as the basis for his edition in Lewis, *Brut Dingestow* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1942), see his discussion in the introduction of that book, pp. xx-xxiii.
[18] This has been the scholarly consensus for some time: see Huws, *Repertory*, I, 211, 341 and II, 213; Bromwich, *TYP*, xvi; Lewis, *Brut Dingestow*, xx-xxi (quoting J. Gwenogvryn Evans); and Paul Russell, "What Did Medieval Welsh Scribes Do? The Scribe of the Dingestow Court Manuscript," *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 37 (1999), 79-96 at 92-5.
[19] Huws, *Repertory*, I, 341. On Jaspar Gruffydd, see Huws, *Repertory*, II, 47-48.
[20] Bromwich, "The Historical Triads: with Special Reference to Peniarth MS. 16," *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 12 (1946), 1-15; see also her discussion of this manuscript at Bromwich, *TYP*, xvi-xviii.

consideration in this dissertation. It also has the distinction of being the only extant, non-fragmentary text of TYP that can be dated to the thirteenth century and is perhaps several decades older than the next oldest manuscript. This makes it – for better or worse – central to any questions regarding the date(s) of these triads, their historical context, and so on. Peniarth 16's age also puts it in a class of its own for those who are trying to access the "original" or "purest" versions of these triads, which undoubtedly explains why Bromwich privileged this manuscript above others.

C3. NLW PENIARTH MS 45[21]

A text of TYP concludes NLW Peniarth MS 45 (pp. 293-301), which Huws dates to the first half of the fourteenth century. The vast bulk of this book – 286 pages – is dedicated to the Dingestow version of *Brut y Brenhinedd*,[22] followed by two genealogical texts (*Bonedd y Saint* and the only extant version of *Bonedd Gwŷr y Gogledd*),[23] a short religious text beginning "*Llyma y ragoreu a geiff y neb a welho corff Crist pan ganher efferen…*" ("Here are the virtues which anyone who sees the body of Christ when Mass is sung receives…") and, finally, the earliest extant text of *Trioedd arbennig*,[24] followed by TYP.[25] Huws has identified the anonymous scribe of this book as X87, who was also the scribe of NLW Peniarth MS 35 and NLW Peniarth MS 37, both legal manuscripts.[26]

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[21] Images of this text can be found at "Peniarth MS 45" pp. 293-301, the Peniarth Manuscripts, National Library of Wales, accessed Nov. 7, 2022. http://hdl.handle.net/10107/4575404. See Appendix A3, pp. 307-10 for my transcription.
[22] NLW Peniarth MS 45 pp. 6-286.
[23] For *Bonedd y Saint* (NLW Peniarth MS 45 pp. 286-91), see above, note 13. For *Gwyr y Gogledd* (NLW Peniarth MS 45 pp. 291-92), see now Ben Guy, *Medieval Welsh Genealogy: An Introduction and Textual Study* (Woodbridge, England: The Boydell Press, 2020), 427-28 and Bromwich's edition, which is her Appendix II, *TYP*, 256-57.
[24] NLW Peniarth MS 45 pp. 292-93. For an edition and discussion of this text, see Morfydd E. Owen, "Y Trioedd Arbennig," *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 24 (1972), 434-50.
[25] For this manuscript, see Huws, *Repertory*, vol. 1, 355-6 and Bromwich, *TYP*, xviii-xx.
[26] For scribe X87, see Huws, *Reperotory*, II, 214; for Peniarth 35, see ibid, I, 350; for Peniarth 37, see ibid, I, 352-3.

The text of TYP in Peniarth 45 begins with an oversized capital *T* in red ink about two thirds of the way down the page. The heading "*Trioed Arth*ur *a'e wyr*" ("Triads of Arthur and his men") appears, also in red ink, on the left side of the page. The heading has a somewhat cramped aspect and this impression is magnified by the use of suspension marks, an abbreviation very infrequently seen in the triadic corpus. Thirty-three fully legible triads follow, but the final page is badly gall-stained and the beginning of the thirty-fourth triad, *Tri chud a thri datcud* ("Three concealments and three disclosures," TYP 37), is just visible before the text plunges into illegibility. Like Peniarth 16, this text is written in a single block, without breaks between triads, 27 lines to a page. Also like Peniarth 16, it is shot through with decoration in red ink, which somewhat haphazardly highlights the beginnings of new triads, names, and the abbreviations "m." (for *mab*) and "y.p." (for *Ynys Prydain*). The triads have been numbered in the hand of the seventeenth-century antiquarian and scholar Robert Vaughan.

This text is the second member of the Early version an it is very closely related to the text in Peniarth 16, though it cannot be a copy of that earlier manuscript; Bromwich concluded decisively that Peniarth 45 and Peniarth 16 had a common source.[27] In two instances, Peniarth 45 differs substantially, in terms of content, from Peniarth 16.[28] X87 was not a modernizing scribe in the same way that X76 was and, thus, the orthography of the lost common exemplar is better

[27] Bromwich, *TYP*, xix.

[28] Bromwich, *TYP*, xix. These two instances are: 1) *Tri gwrddfeichiad* ("Three powerful swineherds," TYP 26), in which Peniarth 45 preserves the phrase "*Ac yna yd aeth yn y mor*," ("And then she went into the sea."), an important detail needed for sense and not found in Peniarth 16. 2) *Tri anniwair teulu* ("Three unfaithful warbands," TYP 30), whose third limb in Peniarth 45 reads *"…a ymchoelassant vrth* ***eu harglǒyd ar y ford*** *hyt nos a'e ellvng ynteu a'e weisson Kamlan…*" ("…who had turned away **from their lord on the journey** by night and released him with his servants to Camlan…"), compare to Peniarth 16, which reads: "*…a ymchuelassant y* ***ǒrthaǒ*** *hyt nos ac ellǒng a'e weissyon Gamlan*…" ("…who had turned away from him by night and released **him** and his servants to Camlan.")

In Bromwich's view, both of these differences are likely to be chalked up to scribal errors on the part of X76, the scribe of Peniarth 16, and support her (otherwise persuasive) argument that Peniarth 45 preserves a more complete copy of the common exemplar. However, the fact that the second example makes perfectly good sense in the Peniarth 16 reading gives me pause. I would not rule out the possibility that X87, or perhaps one of his predecessors, added clarifying supplementary material and that Peniarth 16's text hews closer to the original here. This is a small point to quibble over; the point stands that Peniarth 45 seems to preserve the older text in most cases.

preserved in Peniarth 45 than it is in Peniarth 16.[29] More significantly, a few triads that are present in Peniarth 16 are omitted here; these are *Tri oferfeirdd* ("Three frivolous bards," TYP 12), *Teir llynges cynnierir* ("Three roving fleets," TYP 15), and *Tri aerfedog* ("Three battle-rulers," TYP 25).

C4. NLW Peniarth MS 4 (White Book of Rhydderch, Part 2)[30] and C5. Oxford, Jesus College MS 111 (The Red Book of Hergest)[31]

The TYP texts found in the White Book of Rhydderch (Part 2, currently bound in NLW Peniarth MS 4) and the Red Book of Hergest (Oxford, Jesus College MS 111) are very closely related texts, close enough that it seems reasonable, following Bromwich, to discuss them together.[32] There is a general consensus that they were from a common source.[33]

The White Book can be dated to c. 1350 and was likely written for Rhydderch ap Ieuan Llwyd, an *uchelwr* of Ceredigion, by a scribal team based at the nearby monastery Strata Florida. It is the work of five scribes in total, one of whom, scribe B, Huws has identified as the Anchorite of Llanddewibrefi.[34] The TYP text was written by scribe D, who, according to Huws,

[29] Bromwich, *TYP*, xix-xx, and cf. Russell, "What Did Medieval Welsh Scribes Do?," 94-5.
[30] Images of this text can be found at "Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch," fols. 55r-59r, the Peniarth Manuscripts, National Library of Wales, accessed Nov. 8, 2022. http://hdl.handle.net/10107/- 4396205. See Appendix A4, pp. 311-17 for my transcription of this text.
[31] Images of this text can be found at "Jesus College MS. 111," fols. 144r-146v, Digital Bodleian, University of Oxford, accessed Nov. 8, 2022. https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/9bf187bf-f862-4453-bc4f-851f6d3948af/. See Appendix A5, pp. 318-25 for my transcription of this text.
[32] Bromwich (*TYP*, xx) explains that she will discuss the two together "…since the order and grouping of these triads in the remainder [of the White Book text after the initial lacuna] corresponds exactly with the arrangement of these in the [Red Book], and is entirely different from the arrangement in the Early Version." Her discussion of "the Version of the Llyfr Gwyn and the Llyfr Coch" can be found at *TYP* xx-xxv.
[33] Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*, 255: "…we should note in passing that the nature of the very close relationship of the texts shared by the two books [i.e. White Book and Red Book] remains a vexed one. The view used to be that some at least of the Red Book texts derived directly from the White. The likelier view is that they derive from a common source."
[34] See Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*, 227-68 (Chapter 13) for probably the fullest discussion of the White Book, especially 228-41, which includes discussion of the quires and scribes and several plates with images of the work of each hand, and see now Huws, *Repertory*, I, 334-36. For the identification of scribe B as the Anchorite of Llanddewibrefi, see Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*, 239.

"contributed…the largest number of quires and the most distinctive of its texts, and can perhaps be regarded as [the White Book's] editor."[35] The TYP text of the White Book is found in fol. 55r -- 59r of that book.

The Red Book was produced a few decades later, sometime between 1382 and 1408, by the professional scribe Hywel Fychan, working with two other individuals, at the behest of Hopcyn ap Tomas, who lived at Ynysforgan, near Swansea.[36] The Red Book's TYP text can be found in fol. 144r (column 588) -- 146v (column 598).

Both of these manuscripts are famous for their collections of prose texts, including the *Four Branches of the Mabinogi* and the other 'Mabinogion' tales. There is a fair amount of overlap in the contents of the two books, but they are not identical. Two major points of difference are that the Red Book contains the prose tale *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy*, while the White Book does not, and that the Red Book contains the cycle of *Ystoria Dared*, *Brut y Brenhinedd*, and *Brut y Tywysogion*, while the White Book does not.[37]

These two great books provide us with the clearest picture we have of the kind of literary collections that were commissioned by *uchelwyr* patrons during the fourteenth century. It is unclear how many similar books from this period have been lost – or, indeed, if there ever were any others.[38] Nevertheless, the existence of the White Book and Red Book is sufficient evidence

[35] Huws, *Repertory*, I, 335 and cf. Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*, 243-44 and Huws, "Llyfr Coch Hergest," in *Cyfoeth y Testun: Ysgrifau ar Lenyddiaeth Gymraeg yr Oesoedd Canol*, ed. Iestyn Daniel, Marged Haycock, Dafydd Johnston, Jenny Rowland (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003), 1-31.
[36] For discussion of the Red Book, see Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*, 79-83, Huws, *Repertory*, I, 741-42, and Gifford Charles-Edwards, "Scribes of the Red Book of Hergest," *National Library of Wales Journal* 21 (1980), 246-56; for Hopcyn ap Tomas, see Huws, *Repertory*, II, 52; for Hywel Fychan, see Huws, *Repertory*, II, 55.
[37] Compare the lists of contents at Huws, *Repertory*, I, 334-45 and I, 741. On the White Book, see Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*, 227-68 and Catherine McKenna, "Reading with Rhydderch Mabinogion Texts in Manuscript Context," in *Language and Power in the Celtic World: Papers from the Seventh Australian Conference of Celtic Studies*, ed. Anders Ahlqvist and Pamela O'Neill (Sydney: 2011), 205-30. For the cycle of historical texts (dubbed the "Welsh historical continuum" by Owain Wyn Jones), see Owain Wyn Jones, "Historical Writing in Medieval Wales," unpublished PhD diss., (Bangor University, 2013).
[38] See Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*, 247.

that figures like Rhydderch ap Ieuan and Hopcyn ap Tomas had enough interest in Welsh literature – religious and secular, poetry and prose – to commission such books; indeed, they must have prized this material very highly in order to invest the large sums of money the creation of these books would have required.

There is a lacuna in the White Book directly preceding the beginning of its TYP text and the text opens *in media res* not far into *Tair gwith balfod* ("Three sinister hard slaps," TYP 53), which is the thirteenth triad in the Red Book text. We can assume that, while the White Book text as we have it is missing those thirteen triads, they would have appeared there before the loss of text. The Red Book is thus a better source for the text(s) of the White Book and Red Book version overall, though the White Book presents some interesting divergences and points of difference. Bromwich believed that the common exemplar "must have been at least as old, if not older, than that of Pen[iarth] 16 and Pen[iarth] 45." She based this opinion on old-looking orthographical features, more numerous in the White Book thanks to the modernizing touch of Hywel Fychan.[39] The White Book and Red Book texts are the earliest witnesses to Bromwich's White and Red version of TYP, which, fittingly, is named after these two books. The Red Book provides the base text for triads 47 to 51 in Bromwich's edition and the White Book serves the same for triads 52 to 69.[40]

[39] Bromwich, *TYP*, xxii..

[40] A close reader may notice that I said before that the White Book text opens in the midst of *Tair gwith balfod* ("Three sinister hard slaps," TYP 53) which, as the numbering suggests, follows *Tri goruchel garcharor* ("Three exalted prisoners," TYP 52) in the Red Book, so it would follow that *Tair gwith balfod* should be the first triad to use the White Book as its basis in Bromwich's edition. However, a second version of *Tri goruchel garcharor* appears in the Red Book, after an interim of almost 40 triads, and the triad corresponding to this second version in the White Book gave Bromwich the base text of triad 52. This is a good example of how Bromwich's method of editing distorts and simplifies our view of the TYP corpus.

Five headings appear within TYP in the Red Book, in essence creating five sub-sections of the text. These sub-sections, or microtexts, and their significance are discussed at length in chapter 6; brief descriptions will suffice here:

(i): *Tri dynyon a gaẃssant gampeu Adaf* ("Three men who received the qualities of Adam"). This includes four triads (TYP 47-50) which, uniquely among the TYP corpus, draw on material from the Bible and Classical tradition and not home-grown Welsh *cyfarwyddyd*.

(ii): *Pan aeth llu y Llychlyn* ("When a host went to Scandinavia [Brittany]"). This includes two long expanded triads, *Tri cyfor* ("Three levies," TYP 35, here with an alternate title) and *Tri wŷr gwarth* ("Three men of shame," TYP 51). The heading refers to the first of these only, with no separate sub-heading for *Tri wŷr gwarth.*

(iii): *Dechreu y trioed yẃ y rei hynn* ("These are the beginning of the triads"Peniarth 16, the remainder not. Notably, *Tri marchlwyth* ("Three horse burdens, triad 44") appears in this section – apart from , presumably, the White Book before the loss of text), this triad is always associated with the *trioedd y meirch*.

(iv): *Trioed yẃ rei hynn* ("These are triads"). Includes 35 triads in total – far more than any other section; versions of 22 of these can be found in Peniarth 16.

(v): *Trioed y meirch yẃ y rei hynn* ("These are the triads of the horses"). Encompasses the final ten triads in this text, despite the fact that only five are actually part of *trioedd y meirch*. (vi): The final horse triad in this text is succeeded by the long expanded triad *Tri gwrddfechiaid* ("Three powerful swineherds," triad 26) and four more expanded triads, all associated with the White and Red version. These subsequent triads do not have their own sub-heading.

In both books, the text is presented in two columns on each page. The White Book text has 37 or 38 lines to a page; the Red Book text between 42 and 44 lines to a page. In both books, similar to Peniarth 16 and Peniarth 45, the text is presented as a block without breaks between triads. Red ink has been added to *T*s and *A*s and used to highlight new triads or phrases but this is done in fits and starts, not consistently through either text. However, where the red decoration does appear, it is done more deliberately and neatly than is generally the case in Peniarth 16 or Peniarth 45. The headings and initial capitals which introduce each new section are also written in red. In the White Book, the triads have been numbered in an early modern hand.

One aspect of the White Book text's transmission history should be noted here. The quire in which the TYP text appears, quire 22, is remarkable for being the quire that was separated from the rest of the White Book for several centuries before the two were reunited in 1940. We know that this quire and another, known as quire 22A, had certainly been lost by 1634 and perhaps as early as 1573. Quire 22A has never been recovered but quire 22, our quire, survived as part of NLW Peniarth MS 12.[41] Egerton Phillimore, though ignorant of the fact that he had come across a missing part of the White Book, identified this "fragment" as an important source for TYP, as well as early Welsh poetry, and published the text of what is now called quire 22 in 1886.[42]

Apart from this remarkable history, another quirk of the White Book text, as opposed to its counterpart in the Red Book, is that the microtexts enumerated above, while identical to those in the Red Book, are separated by unrelated texts that interrupt the flow of triads. *Enwau Ynys*

[41] Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*, 258-59. On Peniarth 12, see Huws, *Repertory*, I, 339. The now-identified quire 22 was once bound as part iv of this manuscript.
[42] Egerton Phillimore, "A Fragment of Hengwrt MS. No. 202," *Y Cymmrodor* 7 (1886), 89-154. The printed text is at 123-54. Phillimore describes this "fragment" as having been "rudely stitched into the MS. volume where they are now found at some point subsequent to the binding of that volume, but when and how cannot be ascertained." (p. 89)

Prydain[43] and the poem *Anrheg Urien*[44] follow microtext (iii) before TYP returns with microtext (iv).[45] The significance of these intrusions is discussed in chapter 6.[46] A text of *Bonedd y Saint* follows the conclusion of TYP in the White Book,[47] followed by a calendrical text starting "*O syrth duǒ kalan ar duǒ sul*…" ("If New Year's Day falls on a Sunday…"),[48] a "short didactic tract,"[49] *trioedd Taliesin*,[50] and, finally, a proverbial text titled *Diarhebyon yǒ hyn* ("These are proverbs").[51]

The manuscript context of TYP in the White Book differs a little from that of the Red Book TYP text, which is preceded by the prophetic poem *Proffwydoliaeth yr Eryr* ("The Prophecy of the Eagle"),[52] and followed by *trioedd Taliesin*[53] and the long version of *Enwau ynys Prydain*,[54] which is the last text in the quire. *Bonedd y Saint*, which, as we have seen, can be found with TYP in Peniarth 16 and Peniarth 45 as well as the White Book, is nowhere in sight, nor are the proverbial or calendrical texts.

[43] For *Enwae ynys Prydain*, see Appendix B pp. 460-62. The version which is interspersed with TYP in the White Book is the shorter version of EYP, which has been edited and translated as Appendix I in Bromwich, *TYP*, 246-255. A longer version of EYP follows TYP in the Red Book and in Peniarth 50. See A. Joseph McMullen, "*Enwae ac Anryfeddodau Ynys Prydain* and a Tradition of Topographical Wonders in Medieval Britain," *Studia Celtica fennica* 9 (2012), 36-53; McMullen provides a summary of the longer version at p. 49.
[44] This poem, which is written in the Taliesin persona, is extant in the White Book as well as in the Red Book at fols. 261r-261v (cols 1049-50). A diplomatic edition of the version found in the Red Book has been published, see J. Gwenogvryn Evans, ed. *The Poetry of the Red Book of Hergest* (Llanbedrog, Wales: J. Gwenogvryn Evans, 1911), 17-18; I know of no substantial scholarly discussion of this poem.
[45] See Appendix A4, p. 311.
[46] See the discussion at pp, 199-200.
[47] NLW Peniarth MS 4, fols. 58r-58v. See note 13 above.
[48] NLW Peniarth MS 4, fols. 58v-59r. See Phillimore, "A Fragment," 108.
[49] NLW Peniarth MS 4, fol. 59r. See Phillimore, "A Fragment," 108-09, from which I have taken the quote.
[50] NLW Peniarth MS 4, fols. 59r-59v.
[51] NLW Peniarth MS 4, fols. 59v-61r.
[52] Oxford, Jesus College MS 111, fols. 143r-144r. *Proffwyddoliaeth yr Eryr* is a prophetic text associated with Geoffrey of Monmouth's Merlin (see Aled Llion Jones, *Darogan: Prophecy, Lament, and Absent Heroes in Medieval Welsh Literature* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2013), 121-23).
[53] Oxford, Jesus College MS 111, fols. 146v-147r.
[54] Oxford, Jesus College MS 111, fols. 147r-148r.

C6. NLW PENIARTH MS 47[55]

NLW Peniarth MS 47 is a composite manuscript made up of four fragments on parchment. The fragments were bound together around 1900.[56] The TYP text in this manuscript can be found in part iv, which is in the hand of a certain Siancyn ap Dafydd ap Gruffudd, whose floruit was during the mid-fifteenth century. He likely worked in Cwm Tawe, near Swansea.[57] Huws has identified him as the scribe of two other manuscripts: NLW Llanstephan MS 2 and NLW MS 5267, both of which are prose miscellanies.[58]

Peniarth 47 part iv is thirty pages long and contains a variety of genres.[59] It opens with a short text called *Cas ddynion Selyf* ("Hateful men of Soloman"),[60] followed by a prose text on the nature of man,[61] the hagiographical text *Buchedd Anna*,[62] TYP, *trioedd cerdd*,[63] proverbs,[64] and medical charms.[65]

The TYP text (pp. 17-26) contains 57 triads. Its beginning is wanting, if we are to judge by the fact that the triads have been numbered in an early modern hand beginning with "14."[66] The text is written in one block with between 23 and 25 lines on each page. Markings in red ink appear at the beginning of each new triad or, less frequently, at the beginning of a new limb of expanded triads. This is the extent of the decoration found in this text, except for the heading

[55] Images of this text can be found at "Peniarth MS 47," pp. 17-27, the Peniarth Manuscripts, National Library of Wales, accessed Nov. 21, 2022. http://hdl.handle.net/10107/4779552. See Appendix A, pp. 317-26 for my transcription of this text.
[56] Huws, *Repertory*, I, 356.
[57] Huws, *Repertory*, II, 157.
[58] For Llanstephan 2, see Huws, *Repertory*, I, 60 and for NLW MS 5267, see ibid, I, 211-12.
[59] For this and the following, Huws, *Repertory*, I, 357.
[60] NLW Peniarth MS 47, part iv, p. 1. It also appears in NLW Llanstephan MS 27 at fols. 164r-v.
[61] NLW Peniarth MS 47 part iv, pp. 1-5. This text begins "*Llymma y adnabot dyn ar y ỏynbpryt*…" ("This is [how to] recognize a man by his face")
[62] NLW Peniarth MS 47, part iv, pp. 5-16.
[63] NLW Peniarth MS 47, part iv, pp. 26-7.
[64] NLW Peniarth MS 47, part iv, pp 27-8.
[65] NLW Peniarth MS 47, part iv, pp. 31-2. On these and other medical charms in Welsh, see Katherine Leach, "Healing Charms and Ritual Protection in Premodern Wales," unpublished PhD diss., Harvard University, 2020.
[66] Huws does not identify this hand but dates it to the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries (*Repertory*, vol. 1, 357).

"*Trioed y meirch*" ("The triads of the horses"), which has been written in red ink, as has the "T" which begins the following triad.[67] The parchment is worn in some places, making it occasionally difficult to read.

Bromwich used Peniarth 47 as the base text for triads 70-80 in her edition.[68] This text is the earliest witness to these eleven triads. Five do not appear elsewhere in the medieval corpus,[69] while the remaining five appear only in the near-contemporary Peniarth 50, and one appears in Peniarth 50 and the very late sixteenth-century manuscript Cardiff 2.83.[70] Bromwich categorized Peniarth 47 as an Early version text, on the basis of "certain 'floating sections'…preserved intact," which are "sufficient in themselves to prove that the affinities…are with the Early Version rather than with that of [the White and Red version]." See my discussion in the introduction to Part 2.[71] The microtexts of Peniarth 47 are also discussed at length in Chapter 5.

C7. NLW Peniarth MS 50 (Y Cwta Cyfarwyddyd)[72]

This manuscript, which dates from the middle of the fifteenth century, was written in Glamorgan by a scribe named Dafydd; he may have been associated with the manor house at

[67] This is *Tri gohoyó edestyr* ("Three sprightly steeds," TYP 42). See "NLW Peniarth MS 47" p. 24 (http://hdl.handle.net/10107/4779552).
[68] See Bromwich, *TYP*, 195-210.
[69] These are *Tri chyndiniog* ("Three stubborn ones," TYP 72), *Tri engiriol* ("Three violent/marvelous ones," TYP 76), *Tri anhyfodog llys Arthur* ("Three wanderers of Arthur's court," TYP 76), which is, in fact, a variant of TYP 65, *Tri gwenriain* ("Three fair ladies," TYP 78), and *Tri gohoywriain* ("Three lively ladies," TYP 79).
[70] Triads which appear only in Peniarth 47 and Peniarth 50 are: *Tri serchog* ("Three lovers," TYP 71), *Tri anheol llys Arthur* ("Three who could not be exiled from Arthur's court," TYP 74), *Tri dyn gorau wrth ysp a phellennigion* ("Three men who were best to guests and strangers," TYP 75), and *Tair anniwair wraig* ("Three faithless wives," TYP 80); *Tri gwyn dorllwyth* ("The blessed womb-burdens," TYP 70) appears in Cardiff 2.83 as well as Peniarth 47 and 50.
[71] See pp. 140-43.
[72] Images of this text can be found at "Peniarth MS 50," fols.74r-79v, the Peniarth Manuscripts, National Library of Wales, accessed Nov. 21, 2022. http://hdl.handle.net/10107/4686929. See Appendix A, pp. 332-37 for my transcription of this text and Chapter 7 for my discussion of the TYP text.

Aberpengwm.[73] The book appears to have been written over several years (there are datable references to 1445, c. 1451, and 1456).[74] The whole book is in Dafydd's hand, apart from a long poem in English, which Dafydd did not write.[75] Apart from the English-language poem, the texts included here are in Welsh or Latin. Huws characterizes Peniarth 50 as Dafydd's "personal miscellany," and, further, characterizes Dafydd's hand as "excellent." [76] This suggests that the scribe was a well-trained professional but, perhaps, that the book is a reflection of his tastes and interests, not those of a patron. Apparently, those interests were wide ranging.[77] A large part of the book is made up of prophetic material, mostly poetry in Welsh, much of which is attributed to Myrddin or Taliesin.[78] Among these are the poems *Peirian Faban* ("Little baby lord"),[79] *Dadl rwng yr eniad a'r corff* ("Dialogue between the soul and the body"),[80] *Darogan yr olew*

[73] Huws, *Repertory*, II, 10. An example of Dafydd's hand is shown at Huws, *Repertory*, III, plate 90. On the house at Aberpengwm, see Robert Thomas Jenkins, "Williams family, of Aberpengwm, Vale of Neath," Dictionary of Welsh Biography, National Library of Wales, 1959. Accessed November 21, 2022. https://biography.wales/article/s-WILL-ABE-1500.

[74] Aled Llion Jones has pointed out that these dates are all found within texts: "None of these dates can thus be taken as unambiguous indications of the date of composition or writing." He notes further that, additionally, the date 1425 can be found in one of the Latin-language prophecies (Jones, *Darogan*, 131).

[75] This portion of the manuscript is "on different paper, in a contemporary hand" but, as Huws, points out, it was included in the medieval foliation, indicating that the English poem was part of this book at an early stage in its history, if not its original stage (Huws, *Repertory*, I, 356). The Digital Index of Middle English Verse describes this poem as "Prayer before mass – a long poem in couplets." The first lines are *God y byd forȝeuenysse / at þe begynnyng of this masse…* ("God I bid forgiveness / at the beginning of this mass") ("God I bid forgiveness," The DIMEV: An Open-Access, Digital Edition of the *Index of Middle English Verse*," accessed Feb. 9, 2023. https://www.dimev.net/record.php?recID=1561#wit-1561-1.)

[76] Huws, *Repertory*, I, 356.

[77] For what follows, I have depended on Huws, *Repertory*, I, 356-7.

[78] For a discussion of this manuscript, especially as it pertains to prophetic writing, see Jones, *Darogan*, 128-40. Apart from the texts listed below, a collection of miscelleanous, short prophecies in Welsh from this manuscript have been published and discussed in R. Wallis Evans, "Canu Darogan: testunau amrywiol," *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 34 (1989), 84-96.

[79] NLW Peniarth MS 50 pp. 36-38. An edition, published from this manuscript is in A.O.H. Jarman, "Peiryan Faban," *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 14.2 (1951), 104-08.

[80] NLW Peniarth MS 50 p. 60. An edition, published from this manuscript, is in Henry Lewis, "Dadl yr Enaid a'r Corff," *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 3.2 (1926), 119-22.

bendigaid ("Prophecy of the blessed anointing oil"),[81] *canu brud* by Rhys Fardd,[82] and a Welsh version of *Prophetia Merlini*.[83]

There are also historical, genealogical, and religious texts, including an excerpt of *Policronica,*[84] information about *cantrefi,*[85] excerpts from a Latin chronicle and Welsh annals from the same source,[86] *Breuddwyd Pawl* ("The Dream of Paul") [87] and other religious texts, an Old Welsh vocabulary,[88] "*Py ddelw y dyly credu y ddyw*" ("In what manner one should have faith in God"),[89] "*Hec sunt nomina regis illius*" ("Here are the names of those kings")[90] "*Sex sunt cause propter quas Britones amiserunt coronam regni*" ("Six reasons why the Britons let go of the king's crown"),[91] the long version of *Enwau ynys Prydain,*[92] and TYP (pp. 149-60). Its most recent binding saw the manuscript cut up into single leaves and, according to Huws, "the original structure is largely irrecoverable."[93]

[81] NLW Peniarth MS 50 pp. 90-95. An edition, published from this manuscript, is in R. Wallis Evans, "Darogan yr olew bendigaid a Hystordi yr olew bendigaid," *Llên Cymru* 14 (1981-2), 86-91 at 88-89. And see the discussion in Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan, "Darogan yr olew bendigaid: Chwedl o'r bymtheg ganrif," *Llên Cymru* 15 (1981-2), 66-85.
[82] NLW Peniarth MS 50 pp. 227-37. For an edition of this collection of poetry, see R. Wallis Evans, "Caniadau Rhys Fardd neu'r Bardd Bach o Ystum Llwynarth," *Llên Cymru* 8 (1965), 74-80. This follows the text of Peniarth 311, which John Jones of Gellilyfdu copied from Peniarth 50. Cf. Jones, *Darogan,* 261-66.
[83] NLW Peniarth MS 50 pp. 103-13. For a discussion of translations of *Prophetia Merlini* into Welsh, see Brynley F. Roberts, "Copïau Cymraeg o *Prophetia Merlini*," *National Library of Wales Journal* 20.1 (1977), 14-39, with discussion of the copy in Peniarth 50 at p. 20.
[84] NLW Peniarth MS 50 pp. 81-2. This chronicle is dated to 1445.
[85] NLW Peniarth MS 50, pp. 131-38. For a diplomatic edition, see J. Gwenogfryn Evans, "Extracts from Hengwrt MS. 34," *Y Cymmrodor* 9 (1888), 325-33 at 325-26.
[86] NLW Peniarth 50 pp. 169-73. The chronicle is dated to 1353, while the annals cover the period from 1071 to 1321.
[87] NLW Peniarth MS 50 pp. 177-82. This is Latin Redaction I of *Breuddwyd Pawl.* On this and other manuscripts of this text, see Elena Parina, "Multiple Versions of *Breuddwyd Pawl* as a Source to Study the Work of Welsh Translators," *Studia Celtica Slavica* 9 (2018), 79-100. Cf. Elena Parina, "A Welsh Version of Visio Pauli: Its Latin Version and the Translator's Contribution," *Apochrypha* 28 (2017), 155-86.
[88] NLW Peniarth MS 50 p. 165. For a diplomatic edition, see Evans, "Excerpts from Hengwrt MS. 34," 332-33.
[89] NLW Peniarth MS 50 pp. 183-90.
[90] NLW Peniarth MS 50 pp. 321-22.
[91] NLW Peniarth MS 50 p. 322.
[92] NLW Peniarth MS 50 fols. 79v-81r. On *Enwae ynys Prydain*, see note 43.
[93] Huws, *Repertory*, 356.

Much of the text in Peniarth 50 has been severally damaged by the gall stains left by the antiquarian John Jones of Gellilyfdu who copied the contents of this book into his own manuscript, now NLW Peniarth MS 267. This has left some of the book, including parts of the TYP text, blackened and nearly impossible to read.[94]

Peniarth 50 is also known by the title *Y Cwt(t)a Cyfarwydd* ("The Short Guide"), though, as Aled Llion Jones has pointed out, it is "not really so 'short'" at 330 pages.[95] Jones has emphasized the manuscript's trilingual nature, with texts in Welsh and Latin as well as English. It is one of a few extant manuscripts from this period that are trilingual, but Jones notes that the use of these three languages all together is perhaps more representative of the linguistic realities of fifteenth-century Glamorgan than is the fully-Welsh-language Red Book of Hergest, produced there about half a century earlier.[96] However, it should be noted that the poem "God I bid forgiveness," the only text in this book for which Dafydd was not responsible, is also the only English-language text. All of what Huws and Jones both classify as "historical" material (including the chronicles and annals, TYP, and *Enwau Ynys Prydein*) is in either Welsh or Latin, and in Dafydd's hand.[97] Helen Fulton has also discussed this manuscript; she emphasizes the place books of prophecy like Peniarth 50 had in the Marcher society of Glamorgan.[98]

Bromwich categorized Peniarth 50 as an Early version text, though, like Peniarth 47, the Peniarth 50 text differs considerably from that of Peniarth 16 or Peniarth 45.[99] Bromwich uses Peniarth 50 as the base text for triads 81 to 86; this is the earliest witness to those six triads.[100] Of

[94] See the note at Appendix A7, p. 336.
[95] Jones, *Darogan*, 129. He points out further that several other manuscripts were known by this name, including one from the sixteenth century.
[96] Jones, *Darogan*, 128-9.
[97] Jones, *Darogan*, 131-2.
[98] Helen Fulton, "The Geography of Welsh Literary Production in Late Medieval Glamorgan," *Journal of Medieval History* 41.3 (2015), 325-40.
[99] Bromwich, *TYP*, xxvii.
[100] Bromwich, *TYP*, 211-27.

these, four are not attested elsewhere in the medieval corpus of TYP.[101] Later versions of the remaining two are extant in sixteenth-century manuscripts.[102] As we have already seen, Peniarth 50 contains a handful of triads that are found in only this text and the text of Peniarth 47.[103]

C8. NLW Peniarth MS 27ii[104]

This is a short, fragmentary text containing only seven triads (pp. 87-88), all of which are *trioedd y meirch*. It opens with the long, expanded triad *Tri marchlwyth* ("Three horse burdens," TYP 44) followed by six further *trioedd y meirch* which conform to the 'epithet + three names' formula. This version of *trioedd y meirch* is unique among the surviving TYP corpus; see my discussion in part one, where I have called it text E of *trioedd y meirch*.[105] Thus, Peniarth 27ii is primarily of interest because of its witness to the independent circulation of *trioedd y meirch* as late as the second half of the fifteenth century. While it may be tempting to conclude that these triads were drawn from a contemporary oral tradition running parallel to the written transmission of TYP documented in this dissertation, the presence here of the long and very discursive *marchlwyth* makes this unlikely.

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[101] These are *Tri santaidd linys* ("Three saintly lineages," TYP 81), *Tri chorff a wnaeth Duw er Theilio* ("Three bodies which God created for Teilo," TYP 83), *Tri prif llys Arthur* ("Arthur's three principal courts," triad 85) and *Tri marchog o lys Arthur a enillodd y grael* ("Three knights of Arthur's court who won the grail," TYP 86).

[102] *Tri gwesti gwynfededig* ("Three blessed visitors," TYP 82) is also extant in Cwrtmawr 3 and BL Additional MS 31,055; *Tri ofergad* ("Three futile battles," TYP 84) is also found in Peniarth MS 77.

[103] One of these, *Tri gwyn dorllwyth* ("Three blessed womb-burdens," TYP 70), occurs in significantly different versions in the two manuscripts; Bromwich considers the version in Peniarth 50 to be "better and older" than that of Peniarth 47.

[104] There are three manuscripts which bear the number Peniarth MS 27: Peniarth 27i, Peniarth 27ii (our manuscript), and Peniarth 27iii. These books are not and never were bound together but were probably kept in the same case in Robert Vaughn's collection at Hengwrt, where they previously had their own numbers (Huws, *Repertory*, vol. 1, 347). Images of the TYP text in this manuscript can be found at "NLW Peniarth MS 27ii," pp. 87-88, the Peniarth Manuscripts, National Library of Wales, accessed Nov. 23, 2022. http://hdl.handle.net/10107/4575723. See Appendix A8, p. 338 for my transcription of this text.

[105] See discussion in Chapter 4, especially p. 159.

Huws describes Peniarth 27ii as a "mélange of religious and secular prose," and attributes it to a "competent scribe" whom he does not identify, writing over a long period in the second half of the fifteenth century.[106] The triads are preceded by a text of *Pedwar brenhin ar hugain*.[107] Other texts in the manuscript include an astrological text,[108] a medical text on urology,[109] *Brut y Saesson*,[110] annals,[111] Lives of St David, St Winifred, and Mary Magdalene,[112] genealogical material including *Bonedd y Saint*,[113] the gnomic text *Englynion y Bidiau*,[114] and a Welsh translation of a commentary on Myrddin's prophecies, originally in Latin.[115] This text of *trioedd y meirch* is thus firmly in the context of a collection of wide-ranging *cyfarwyddyd*.

[106] Huws, *Repertory*, vol. 1, 346.
[107] NLW Peniarth 27ii pp. 85-87. This text has been edited in in Peter C. Bartrum, "*Y Pedwar Brenin ar hugain a farnwyd y gadarnaf* (The Twenty Four Kings Judged to Be the Mightiest)" *Etudes Celtiques* 12 (1968), 157-94. Bartrum describes the text of Peniarth 27ii (his S_1) thus: "Second in date of the extant texts. It is very short, being interested in very little beyond the founding of cities." And cf. Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan, "Nodiadau ychwanegol ar achau Arthuraidd a'u ffynonellau Ffrangeg," *National Library of Wales Journal* 21.4 (1980), 329-39.
[108] NLW Peniarth 27ii pp. 1-13.
[109] NLW Peniarth 27ii pp. 21-23. For an edition, translation, and discussion, see Diana Luft, "*Ansoddau'r Trwnc*, a Welsh uroscopic text," *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* 58 (2011), 55-86.
[110] NLW Peniarth 27ii pp. 27-34.]
[111] NLW Peniarth 27ii pp. 49-51. These annals cover the period from Brutus to the revolt of Llwelyn Bren in 1315.
[112] A paraphrase of *Buchedd Dewi* ("The Life of David") is found at NLW Peniarth 27ii pp. 35-49, see D. Simon Evans, ed. The Welsh Life of St David (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1988) lv note 201. According to Evans, this paraphrase is in the hand of Gutun Owain, but Huws does not mention him; *Buchedd Mair Fadlen* ("The Life of Mary Magdalene") is found at NLW Peniarth 27ii pp. 51-59, for an edition, translation, and discussion, see Jane Cartwright, *Mary Magdalene and Her Sister Martha: An Edition and Translation of the Medieval Welsh Lives* (Washington DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2013); *Buchedd Gwenfrewi* ("The Life of St Winnifred") is found at NLW Peniarth 27ii pp. 91-121,
[113] NLW Peniarth 27ii pp. 67-70. For *Bonedd y Saint*, see Bartrum, *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts*, 51-67. The Peniarth 27ii text is Bartrum's text G. For an edition of the text from this manuscript, see A.W. Wade-Evans, "Bonedd y Saint," *Revue Celtique* 50 (1933), 363-87 at 363-67.
[114] For an edition of this text, see Kenneth Jackson, *Early Welsh Gnomic Poems* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1935), 33-37.
[115] For a discussion and edition of this text (taken from Peniarth 16, part v, not one of the parts containing TYP), see Brynley F. Roberts, "Esboniad Cymraeg ar Broffwydoliaeth Myrddin," *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 21.4 (1966), 277-99, esp. 280.

C9. NLW PENIARTH MS 51[116]

This is a manuscript written by Gwilym Tew, a poet and one of the *beirdd y uchelwyr*. He was active between 1460 and 1480. Gwilym identified himself as this manuscript's scribe, writing on one page *Guilim Tew a phinn drwc ar vrys* ("Gwilym Tew with a bad pen hastily").[117] Peniarth 51 thus has the distinction of being the earliest manuscript known to have been written by a professional poet, as opposed to a cleric or professional scribe.[118] Gwilym is also one of the scribes of NLW Peniarth MS 54, an important collection of *cywyddau*.[119] His signature also appears three times in the Book of Aneirin, which he claims to have owned.[120]

Gwilym was either the brother or son of another poet, Rhys Brydydd, and thus seems to have come from a family of poets. G.J. Williams has described him, rather harshly, as "not important as a poet," but says that his real significance was in his role as a *pencerdd:* "There is no doubt that he…was seeking to arrange and put in better order the rules and types of verse which were then practice."[121] This certainly seems to be at least part of the project he undertook in creating Peniarth 51. This book thus reflects its creator's occupational interest; most of its contents are poetry or poetry-adjacent.[122]

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[116] Images of this text can be found at "Peniarth MS 51," pp. 169-85, the Peniarth Manuscripts, National Library of Wales, accessed Nov. 22, 2022. http://hdl.handle.net/10107/4396882. This is a digitization of microfilm. See Appendix A, pp. 339-47 for my transcription of this text.
[117] Huws, *Repertory*, I, 359. This signature is on p. 113 of the manuscript.
[118] Bromwich, *TYP*, xxix; cf. G.J. Williams, *Traddodiad Llenyddol Morgannwg* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1948), 47-48.
[119] Gwilym is scribe C of this manuscript, which includes a total of 18 hands, of which between seven and twelve were contemporary poets. (Huws, *Repertory*, I, 360-61).
[120] See Daniel Huws, ed. *Llyfr Aneirin: A Facsimilie* (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1989), 14-15 of the facsimilie, cf. 139. The first of these two bits of marginalia, on the top of p. 14, reads *Guilim teu biau yma* ("Gwilym Tew owns this"). On the next page he has written *Guilim teu ai kant* ("Gwilym Tew sang it"), echoing the opening words of this manuscript, and then simply *Guilim teu* once more for good measure.
[121] G.J. Williams, "Gwilym Tew," in *Dictionary of Welsh Biography* (National Library of Wales, 1959), accessed January 30, 2023. https://biography.wales/article/s-GWIL-TEW-1470.
[122] For what follows, see Huws, *Repertory*, I, 359.

Those contents include a large amount of poetry from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, including *cywyddau* and poems by Iolo Goch and those attributed to Taliesin,[123] as well as a text titled Llyfr y Llaw, a bardic grammar,[124] a vocabulary of Old Welsh words found in the Book of Aneirin,[125] the oldest witness to the non-narrative *cyfarwyddyd* text *Tri thlws ar ddeg ynys Prydain* ("Thirteen treasures of the island of Britain"),[126] and, finally, TYP (pp. 170-86). It thus represents a major shift in the manuscript context of TYP. While poetry has certainly been present in several of the manuscripts discussed to this point, it has always been accompanied by some type of *cyfarwyddyd*, whether in the form of *Brut y Brenhinedd* or other texts related to the Welsh historical continuum, or genealogies like *Bonedd y Saint*, or, in the case of the White Book and Red Book, the Mabinogion prose tales. By contrast, Peniarth 51 does not contain *cyfarwyddyd* outside of TYP and *Tri thlws ar ddeg*. Moving out of the fifteenth century and into the sixteenth, it is increasingly the case that TYP texts are found in a bardic milieu, as opposed to a milieu of prose and *cyfarwyddyd*.[127]

The book has suffered water damage, leaving the tops of pages difficult, and sometimes impossible, to read.[128] This is the earliest TYP text written in a secretary hand, as opposed to a Gothic one, marking another point of departure from earlier texts. Huws describes Gwilym's hand as "very variable," probably reflecting his lack of scribal training. There is no decoration

[123] NLW Peniarth MS 51 pp. 46-60, 127-69.
[124] On the bardic grammar in this manuscript, see chapter 3 of Michaela Jacques, "The Reception and Transmission of the Bardic Grammars in Late Medieval and Early Modern Wales," (unpublished PhD diss., Harvard University, 2020).
[125] This is the earliest copy of this vocabulary. An edition and discussion can be found in Ifor Williams, "Geirfa o Hen Gymraeg," *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 1.3 (1922), 215-34.
[126] This version of the text is printed in Rowlands, "Tri Thlws ar Ddeg," *Llên Cymru* 5 (1958), 33-69 at 35. Cf. Bromwich, *TYP*, cvi-cx, 258-65.
[127] Cf. the discussion below of NLW Cwrtmawr MS 3, NLW Peniarth MS 77, BL Add. 15,047, and BL Add. 31,055.
[128] Huws, *Repertory*, vol. 1, 359. This damage is reflected in my transcription in Appendix A, which includes several lacunae.

except on one page of the grammar, perhaps appropriately for a poet's personal reference book, nor is there rubrication or a standard number of lines to a page.

Serendipitously, Peniarth 51 contains 51 triads. It is more closely related to the texts in the White Book and Red Book than any other fifteenth- or sixteenth-century text and, thus, Bromwich categorized it as a White and Red version text,[129] but, see Chapter 6 for my discussion of the microtexts within this manuscript. The triads have been numbered and, often, corrected by the seventeenth-century antiquarian Robert Vaughn;[130] Bromwich has noted that these corrections must have been made with reference to the Red Book text (or a close relative of it) as opposed to the White Book.[131] In contrast, Gwilym's base text is more closely related to that of the White Book and likely acts as a witness to the triads missing from the beginning of that text.[132] The second page of the TYP text (p. 171) includes the autograph of the sixteenth-century antiquarian Roger Kyffin in its lower margin.[133]

Bromwich characterizes the text in this manuscript as "very confused and corrupt" and goes on to say that "[i]t is apparent that Gwilym Tew was content to copy mechanically the text that lay before him, even when what he wrote conveyed little or no meaning." She takes this, along with Ifor Williams' comments on the "ineptitude" of Peniarth 51's glossary from the Book of Aneirin, [134] as evidence that "by the latter part of the fifteenth century much of the old bardic

[129] See the discussion of this text at Bromwich, *TYP*, xxix-xxx.
[130] Huws, *Repertory*, vol. 1, 359.
[131] Bromwich, *TYP*, xxx.
[132] Bromwich, TYP, xxix. See discussion of the White Book lacuna above, p. 474. An example of Peniarth 51 more closely following the text of the White Book than the Red Book is the epithet of TYP 63: the Red Book reads *Tri **ch**aró ellyll* ("Three stag-spectres") while the White Book and Peniarth 51 read *Tri **th**aró ellyll* ("Three bull-spectres"). The letter forms of *c* and *t* are easily confused in Gothic hands, so this difference likely came about from a misreading rather than an alternate tradition.
[133] Huws, *Repertory*, vol. 1, 359. Kyffin wrote, upside down: "*p[er] me Roger Kyffin de Gatheryr*" ("through me, Roger Kyffin of Gartheryr"). For Roger Kyffin, see Huws, *Repertory*, II, 86.
[134] Bromwich, TYP, xxii.

vocabulary had passed into oblivion, even among the *pencerddiaid*."[135] It is my hope that this dissertation will go some way towards pushing back on this attitude.

C10. NLW Llanstephan MS 12[136]

This miscellany of genealogies, annals, poetry, and triadic material dates from the middle of the sixteenth century. It is the work of a single, unidentified scribe.[137] Texts found here include *Pymtheg llwyth Gwynedd* ("Fifteen tribes of Gwynedd"),[138] *Pedwar marchog ar hugain llys Arthur* ("Twenty-four knights of Arthur's court"),[139] *Brut Ieuan Brechfa*,[140] *trioedd arbennig*,[141] and a large amount of genealogical material, mostly tracing the royal lines of Wales.[142]

Llanstephan 12 is the only manuscript in our corpus to include only one triad. This is *Tri chud a thri datcud* ("Three concealments and three disclosures," TYP 37), which appears following a text of *Enwau ynys Prydain* (p. 47-8; 89[143]). Given that Llanstephan 12 was the personal miscellany of an individual who was evidentially interested in *cyfarwyddyd*, it seems likely that the scribe copied out this version of *Tri chud a thri datcud* from his own memory.[144] This would account for the fact that, while all other extant versions of this triad are very long and expanded, it is found here in a very shortened form. It would also account for the fact that, in an

[135] Bromwich, *TYP*, xxix.
[136] This text is not digitized. See Appendix A, p. 348 for my transcription.
[137] Huws, *Repertory*, I, 63.
[138] NLW Llanstephan MS 12 pp. 2-8.
[139] NLW Llanstephan MS 12 pp. 37-8, 89. See Rachel Bromwich, "Y Pedwar Marchog ar Hugain Llys Arthur (The Twenty-Four Knights of Arthur's Court)," *Transactions of the Honorable Society of Cymmrodorion* (1956), 116-32 and cf. *TYP*, 266-69 and cx-cxiii.
[140] NLW Llanstephan MS 12, pp. 49-62, 33-37. For an edition and discussion of this text, see Ben Guy, "*Brut Ieuan Brechfa*: A Welsh Poet Writes the Early Middle Ages," in *The Chronicles of Medieval Wales and the March*, ed. Ben Guy, Georgia Henley, Owain Wyn Jones, and Rebecca Thomas (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2020), 402-19.
[141] NLW Llanstephan MS 12 p. 107. For *trioedd arbennig*, see above note 24.
[142] NLW Llanstephan MS 12, 89-154, 9-32, 155-88.
[143] This manuscript is bound out of order and, it just so happens, the text of this triad has been the victim of this disorder. *Tri chud a datcud* begins at the bottom of p. 48 but cuts off (in the middle of Bendigeidfran's name!), only for the rest to be found – about 40 pages later – on p. 89. See Huws, *Repertory*, I, 63.
[144] Cf. my discussion of the TYP text in the Black Book of Carmarthen above, 464-68.

apparent mistake, the scribe substitutes "*esgyrn Kadwaladr*" ("the bones of Cadwaladr") for the more usual reading "*esgyrn Gwrthefyr* " ("the bones of Gwrthefyr").[145]

Llanstephan 12 is thus a testament to the fact that in the sixteenth century, this scribe, at least, was familiar with *Tri chud a thri datcud* and thought to write it out after Enwau Ynys Prydain. He was probably from south Wales, ruling out the idea that he was particularly interested in *Tri chud a thri datcud* because of its Gwynedd material and so why he chose this triad and not any other(s) will remain a mystery.

C11. NLW PENIARTH MS 16 PART VII (SIMWNT FYCHAN)[146]

This part of the composite manuscript Peniarth 16 follows part vi, which contains the thirteenth-century TYP that is the oldest extant non-fragmentary text of TYP, discussed above. There is obvious potential for confusion here; it is helpful to refer to Peniarth 16 part ***vii*** (fols. 55r-57v) as the Simwnt Fychan section of Peniarth 16, after its scribe. This section contains a text of *Y Pedwar Marchog ar Hugain*,[147] a short list of Arthur's weapons,[148] and a handful of TYP triads.[149]

Simwnt Fychan was an important antiquarian and poet of the second half of the sixteenth century.[150] He became a *pencerdd* at the Caerwys eisteddfod in 1567 and many of his poems survive. As Huws puts it, Simwnt "represents the mainstream of the bardic tradition;" his work is formal and rather conservative. More interesting, perhaps, is his work as the author of the bardic

[145] Bromwich comments on this, calling it a "potentially interesting variant" but was hesitant to push it too far, conceding that it may be "merely a slip" (Bromwich, *TYP*, li).
[146] Images of this text can be found at "Peniarth MS 16," fols. 55r-57v, the Peniarth Manuscripts, National Library of Wales, accessed Jan. 31, 2023. http://hdl.handle.net/10107/4533649. See Appendix A, pp. 348-50 for my transcription.
[147] NLW Peniarth MS 16 fols. 55r-57r. See above note 139.
[148] NLW Peniarth MS 16 fol. 57r.
[149] NLW Peniarth MS 16 fols. 57r-57v.
[150] For what follows, see Huws, *Repertory*, II, 157-58.

grammar known as *Pum Llyfr Cerddwriaeth* (now Oxford, Jesus College MS 15)[151] and as the copyist of many manuscripts containing various kinds of *cyfarwyddyd*, including the one which concerns us here. He was a pupil of Gruffudd Hiraethog and, later in life, lived and worked in the home of Simon Thelwall, the lord of Plas-y-ward in Ruthin.[152]

Simwnt's interest in *cyfarwyddyd* is evidenced by his lifelong antiquarian work. He seems to have collected manuscripts for the library at Plas-y-ward, but that library was dispersed throughout Wales after his death. Among the many books in which his hand appears are the Book Black Book of Carmarthen, NLW Peniarth MS 7 (which contains, among other things, the earliest surviving witness to the medieval Welsh prose tale *Peredur vab Efrawg*),[153] and the Dingestow Court manuscript (containing the earliest surviving copy of the Dingestow version of *Brut y Brenhinedd*).[154] Huws notes that while Simwnt's hand appears in several surviving manuscripts, he is the main scribe of relatively few books.[155] It is clear from this evidence that Simwnt often worked with genealogical material, bardic vocabularies, and bardic grammars. Thus, the text that became "his" section of Peniarth 16 comes in the context of a lifelong interest in *cyfarwyddyd* of the sort that was relevant to working poets.

The bulk of Peniarth 16 part vii's three folios is taken up by Simwnt's text of *Pedwar marchog ar hugain llys Arthur*.[156] This is a piece of non-narrative *cyfarwyddyd* that is closely

[151] On the *Pum Llyfr Kerddwriaeth*, see Michaela Jacques, *Grammar and Poetry in Late Medieval and Early Modern Wales: The Transmission and Reception of the Welsh Bardic Grammars* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, forthcoming), 144-53 and Huws, *Repertory*, I, 738.
[152] On Thelwall, see Huws, *Repertory*, II, 172.
[153] For this manuscript, see Huws, *Repertory*, I, 336-7.
[154] Huws, *Repertory*, I, 211. Cf. the discussion of Peniarth 16 part vi's relationship with the Dingestow Court manuscript, above p. 468-69.
[155] I will forego listing the many manuscripts which contain Simwnt's hand (see again Huws, *Repertory*, II, 158) and merely give those that Huws highlights as the ones Simwnt showed sustained interest in or use of: Oxford, Jesus College MS 15 (see above, n. 162), NLW Peniarth MS 74 (see Huws, *Repertory*, I, 368), Cardiff Central Library MS 4.265 (see Huws, *Repertory*, I, 537), and NLW Peniarth MS 189 (see Huws, *Repertory*, I, 414-15 and Jacques, *Grammar and Poetry in Late Medieval and Early Modern Wales*, 102-04).
[156] On this text, see above n. 150.

related to TYP. Many – though by no means all -- of the names found in this text are also found in the TYP corpus.[157] The earliest extant version of *24 Marchog* is in NLW Llanstephan MS 28, a manuscript in the hand of Gutun Owain and dated to 1455, or about a century before Simwnt wrote his version.[158] A notable quirk of Simwnt's text is the repeated use of the phrase *nid amgen* ("namely" or "none other [than]") after the title of each sub-list, a feature which is not present in most other versions.[159]

24 marchog is followed in Peniarth 16 part vii by a short list of Arthur's weapons, which effectively form a triad: "*Llyma henwa6 arvav Arth6r: Rongomant ei wayw, Kaledvwlch ei gleddyf, Karnwennan ei ddager"* ("Here are the names of Arthur's weapons: Rongomant his spear, Caledfwlch his sword, Carnwennan his dagger"). These names may have been pulled from *Culhwch ac Olwen*.[160] Finally, Simwnt's part of Peniarth 16 closes with four TYP triads, all of which are the biblically- and classically-derived triads found in the Red Book of Hergest's first microtext.[161] One of these four, *Tri dyn a gafas doethineb Addaf* ("Three men who received the wisdom of Adam," TYP 49) appears here as a title only, with a large blank space on the page seeming to indicate that Simwnt failed to return and fill in the text.

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[157] Bromwich, *TYP*, cx.

[158] On Llanstephan 28, see Huws, *Repertory*, I, 66; for Gutun Owain, see Huws, *Repertory*, II, 43-44 and cf. Huw Pryce, "Chronicling and its Contexts in Medieval Wales," in *The Chronicles of Medieval Wales and the March*, ed. Ben Guy, Georgia Henley, Owain Wyn Jones, and Rebecca Thomas (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2020), 1-32 at 24-30; Ann Matonis, "Gutun Owain and His Orbit: The Welsh Bardic Grammar in its Cultural Context in Northeast Wales," *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* 54.1 (2008), 154-69.

[159] Compare Appendix A, pp. 348-50 to the textual variants in Bromwich, "Y Pedwar Marchog ar Hugain," 116-32. Bromwich's style of listing the variants makes it difficult to see how widespread *nid amgen* actually is in the *24 Marchog* corpus without referring to the manuscripts directly, but the note to no. 1 on p. 121 seems to suggest that only Peniarth 16 part vii and the seventeenth-century NLW Hafod MS 3 use it. Is this, therefore, a tick of Simwnt himself?

[160] Cf. Rachel Bromwich and D. Simon Evans, eds. *Culhwch ac Olwen: An Edition and Study of the Oldest Arthurian Tale* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1992), ll. 159-61: "*…a Chaletuwlch uyg cledyf, a Rongomynyat uyg gvayw…a Charnwenhan uyg kyllell…*" ("…and Caledfwlch my sword, and Rongominiad my spear…and Carnwennan my knife…"). This triad also follows *24 Marchog* in BL Add. 31,055 (Bromwich, "Y Pedwar Marchog ar Hugain," 121).

[161] These four triads appear here in the same order as they appear in the Red Book. The second one, however, substitutes the Red Book's wording of *pryt Addaf* ("the form of Adam") for *tegwch Addaf* ("fairness of Adam").

C12. NLW CWRTMAWR MS 3[162]

This manuscript dates from around 1564 and is almost entirely in the hand of the sixteenth-century scholar William Salesbury, [163] who was also responsible for the printing of *Y Diarebion Camberäec* (see below). Salesbury is thus one of only two scribes known to have produced more than one of the surviving TYP texts (the other being Thomas Wiliems, see the discussions of Peniarth 77 and BL Add. 31,055 below). Salesbury (c. 1507 – c. 1586) is perhaps the most well-known and most-discussed of the sixteenth-century Welsh antiquarians. An early committed Protestant, he is best known for his translations into Welsh of the New Testament (*Testament Newydd*) and Book of Common Prayer (*Llyfr Gweddi Gyffredin*), both published in 1567.[164]

Cwrtmawr 3 includes two distinct sets of TYP triads, which are separated by several pages. The first set includes a total of 52 triads and the second contains seven triads. Of those seven, four are duplicates of triads which appear in the first set, notably, in the same order.[165] Both sets of triads also include versions of *Enwau Ynys Prydain*. Bromwich classifies both sets of TYP texts in Cwrtmawr 3 as a White and Red version text. The first set is more closely related to the White Book TYP text than it is to that of the Red Book and the variant readings tend to agree with those found in BL Add. 31,055 (see below); the two may be related. Bromwich also

[162] This manuscript is not digitized. See Appendix A, p. 351-58 for my transcription.
[163] There are roughly contemporary additions in two places in Cwrtmawr 3 (pp. 79, 81-84) in the hand of Huw Llyn (see Huws, *Repertory*, II, 53).
[164] For an overview of his work and what is known of his life, see R. Brinley Jones, *William Salesbury* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1994) and, for a more in-depth biography, see James Pierce, *The Life and Work of William Salesbury: A Rare Scholar* (Talybont, Wales: Y Lolfa, 2016). Cf. Alun Mathias, "Gweithiau William Salesbury," *Journal of the Welsh Bibliographic Society* 7 (1950), 125-42; Angharad Price, "Welsh Humanism After 1536," 178-84; Geraint Evans, "William Salesbury and Welsh Printing in London Before 1557," in *Authority and Subjugation in Writing of Medieval Wales* (New York: Palgrave-McMillen, 2008), 251-66.
[165] See also Bromwich's comments at *TYP*, xlix-l: "On pp. 91-4 of [Cwrtmawr 3] are some additional triads of the from another source…the text breaks off abruptly…in the middle of [*Enwau Ynys Prydain*] no. 4, and it is possible that additional pages may have been lost. But it is clear that the triads presented represent a selection taken from a fuller text, since all but the first two and [TYP] 82 are variants of triads given earlier from the [White and Red] series." She goes on to note that this second series shows "affinities" with the text of *Y Diarebion Camberäec*.

notes that neither set of triads seems to have been the source of Salesbury's slightly later collection in *Y Diarebion Camberäec* and, further, that the second set here appears to be a "selection taken from a fuller text." She concludes from this that Salesbury likely had access to several TYP texts.[166]

Indeed, this manuscript demonstrates Salesbury's great interest in Welsh triads of all kinds. Additionally to TYP (pp. 55-72, 91-94), it includes *trioedd cerdd* and *trioedd Taliesin*.[167] Salesbury set out *trioedd cerdd*, the first set of TYP triads, and *trioedd Taliesin* without any break between them, indicating that he perhaps did not differentiate between triadic genres or types and thought of them all as one whole. By contrast, he drew a line on p. 75 between the end of *trioedd Taliesin* and the beginning of the following text. The second set of TYP triads follows about twenty pages after the close of the *trioedd Taliesin*. Cwrtmawr 3 also contains a large amount of poetry, including *englynion* and *cywyddau*; there is a notable interest in the work of Siôn Cent[168] and Gruffudd ap Ieuan ap Llywelyn Fychan.[169] There is a list of poets, beginning: "*Enwae yr oll veirdd a mydyrwyr e[r]ill or hen Vrytanieit a llawer o ein cyfoes*"("Names of all the poets and other versifiers from Old Britonnic and many from our age").[170] The bulk of material found in Cwrtmawr 3 is poetry or poetry-adjacent; Salesbury clearly thought that TYP belonged in a bardic milieu.

[166] Bromwich, *TYP*, xlix-l.
[167] NLW Cwrtmawr MS 3 pp. 72-75.
[168] NLW Cwrtmawr MS 3 pp. 1-39. On Siôn Cent, see Henry Lewis, "Siôn Cent," in *Dictionary of Welsh Biography* (National Library of Wales, 1959), accessed January 30, 2023. https://biography.wales/article/s-SION-CEN-1367. For his poetry, see M. Paul Bryant-Quinn, ed. *Apocryffa Siôn Cent* (Aberystwyth: Center for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies, 2004).
[169] NLW Cwrtmawr MS 3 pp. 111-71. On Gruffudd ap Ieaun, see M. Paul Bryant-Quinn, ed. *Gwaith Gruffudd ap Ieaun ap Llywelyn Fychan, Ieaun Llwyd Brydydd Lewys Aled*, Cyfres Beirdd y Uchelwyr 23 (Aberystwyth: Centre for Welsh and Celtic Studies, 2003).
[170] NLW Cwrtmawr MS 3, pp. 173-88. Huws, *Repertory*, I, 22.

Cwrtmawr 3 is the earliest and longest of the several extant sixteenth-century texts of TYP. It demonstrates William Salesbury's interest in this material, an interest which is seconded by the TYP text in *Y Diarebion Camberäec.* It also demonstrates that quite a lot of *cyfarwyddyd* in the form of TYP was available to him in the mid-sixteenth century. Salesbury was able to compile an extensive collection of TYP and other forms of triads, despite the gap of about a century between the cluster of extant TYP texts from the mid-fifteenth century and the cluster from the mid-sixteenth century. This is made all the more notable by the fact that that century saw the end of the Wars of the Roses and the coronation of Henry Tudor, the Protestant Reformation, and the Acts of Union and subsequent dissolution of the monasteries.

C13. *Y Diarebion Camberäec*[171]

This book, one of the earliest printed books in Welsh, was published by William Salesbury in 1567. It represents the second edition of one of Salesbury's earlier works, *Oll Synnwyr Penn Ygyd*, which was originally published in 1547.[172] That previous book consists of a collection of proverbs in Welsh, derived from material taken from Gruffudd Hiraethog, which are organized in alphabetical order. *Y Diarebion Camberäec* contains an expanded collection of the proverbs originally included in *Oll Synnwyr Penn*, followed by the text of TYP (pp. 51-62). Bromwich notes that *Y Diarebion Camberäec* appears to be a mixture of her two versions (she describes it as "contaminated").[173] The first half of the text conforms to the order and wording of texts

[171] This book is not digitized. See Appendix A, pp. 59-63 for my transcription.
[172] A facsimilie edition of this book can be found in J. Gwenogfryn Evans, ed. *Oll Synnwyr Penn Ygyd* (Bangor: Jarvis a Foster, 1902). For a discussion, see Evans, "William Salesbury and Welsh Printing," 256, Jones, *William Salesbury*, 18-22, and Pierce, *The Life and Work of William Salesbury*, 105-17.
[173] Bromwich, *TYP*, xxvii.

associated with the Early version, which the second half tends to conform with texts associated with the White and Red version.[174]

Only one copy of this book survives today; it is held in the British Library. It contains 43 triads in total, 37 of which are part of the TYP corpus. The final six triads in the text are *trioedd cerdd*. There is no heading or break in the text indicating the shift from TYP to *trioedd cerdd*, in line with Salesbury's treatment of triads in Cwrtmawr 3 (see above). The final page breaks off with a triad's title and a catchword, indicating that it likely once contained several more poetic triads. The book is also missing its title page but, as Alun Mathias has shown, it can be reconstructed from the text of NLW MS 6434, which is a copy of *Y Diarebion Camberäec.* The title in that manuscript reads:

> "*Crynodeb o'r diarebion sathredig, Trioedd Ynys Prydain a thalm o'r Philosophi neu'r hen athronddysg camberaig. A'r [sic] y Britanaidd Voneddigion Master Richard Longford o Drefalyn, Master Humffre Lloyd o Ddinbych a Master Jankyn Gwyn o lanydlos, William Salesbury yn anvon anerch*."
>
> ("Compendium of the common proverbs, Triads of the Island of Britain, and a great deal of the Philosophy or the old Welsh teaching. And [to the] Noble Brittonic Master Richard Longford of Trefalyn, Master Humffre Lloyd of Denbigh and Master Jenkin Gwyn of Llanidlloes, William Salesbury sends greetings.")

Mathias argues, from this evidence, that the title *Y Diarebion Camberaec* ("The Welsh Proverbs") likely refers only to the book's collection of proverbs and that the first sentence in the quotation above was probably Salesbury's original title for the book.[175] Bromwich argues, further, that the now-lost Book of Richard Wynn was also a copy of *Y Diarebion Camberäec*. Three eighteenth century manuscripts follow the text of *Y Diarebion Camberäec* and attribute

[174] See the discussion at Chapter 6,
[175] Alun Mathias, "Gweithiau William Salesbury," 126.

that text to Richard Wynn's otherwise-unknown book.[176] The text of one of these eighteenth-century manuscripts, BL Harleian MS 4181, indicates that the text was attributed to a "learned priest" named Thomas ap Ieuan ap David ap Kynrig ap Iorwerth, who wrote the collection around 1500. Bromwich suggests that this text by Thomas ap Ieuan was Salesbury's ultimate source for the triads in *Y Diarebion Camberäec*, and that the lost page of the book may have suggested as much, but concrete evidence for this is lacking.[177] On this text's microtexts, see the discussion in Chapter 6.[178]

C14. NLW PENIARTH MS 77[179]

This manuscript was written by Thomas Wiliems (c. 1545/6 – c. 1622) in 1576. Wiliems was a prodigious writer of manuscripts, especially in the 1570s and 1590s, and he is also responsible for BL Additional MS 31,055 (see below). He was an associate of William Salesbury early in his career but that relationship dwindled, probably because Wiliems became a recusant. Huws characterizes Wiliems as "[o]ne of the greatest of the Welsh humanist scholars and lexicographers…In copying [manuscripts] he was accurate and eclectic, with an empathy for the medieval, comparable with John Jones a generation later, but acuter and less orderly. Welsh literature of every kind, history, genealogy, Welsh law, liturgy, traditional lore, all engaged his interest."[180]

[176] These three eighteenth-century manuscripts are BL Harlaeian MS 4181, Cardiff Central Library MS 36, and NLW Llanstephan MS 65. The Richard Wynn referred to in the book's appelation was either Richard Wynn, second baronet of Gwydir (1588-1649) or Richard Wynn, fourth baronet of Gwydir. The book was in the possession of John Wynn, the fifth baronet, in 1717 (Bromwich, *TYP*, xxxvi).
[177] Bromwich, *TYP*, xxxv-xxxvii.
[178] See pp. 219-23.
[179] Images of this text can be found at "Peniarth MS 77," pp. 304-07, the Peniarth Manuscripts, National Library of Wales, http://hdl.handle.net/10107/1440133, accessed Dec. 9, 2022. See Appendix A, pp. 364-65 for my transcription.
[180] Huws, *Repertory*, II, 199."

Wiliems's interest in medieval literature and traditional lore is certainly reflected in the contents of Peniarth 77. It contains many *cywyddau* from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries, including some by Lewys Glyn Cothi[181] and Guto'r Glyn.[182] It also includes the *Statud Gruffudd ap Cynan*, with a preface by William Salesbury dated to 1567,[183] and two tracts on writing poetry, *Cyweiriau cerdd dant*,[184] and *Pa beth yw cynghanedd*.[185] We thus, once again, find TYP (along with *Pedwar marchog ar hugain*[186] and *Tri thlws ar ddeg*,[187] both of which also occur in this manuscript), in a firmly bardic context. It is clear that, for Wiliems, as it was for Salesbury before him, this type of *cyfarwyddyd* belonged in the milieu of the bardic tradition.

The TYP text in Peniarth 77 (pp. 304-07) contains fifteen triads. As Bromwich notes, the first eight triads in this text follow the order of Early version while the subsequent seven are more closely related to the White and Red version.[188] In fact, this text can be broken into three parts: the first (triads 1-8 in this manuscript) is derived from a text similar to that of Peniarth 45,[189] the third (triads 12-15) includes the biblically- and classically-derived triads.[190] The second part, which includes the three intervening triads (9-11) is more difficult to account for and may be unique to this text. Bromwich argues that the second half is "independent of, and earlier than the text of [the Red Book]" on the basis that Peniarth 77's version of *Tri dyn a gafas pryd Addaf*

[181] NLW Peniarth MS 77 pp. 11-96. For an edition of Lewys's work, see Dafydd Johnston, ed. *Gwaith Lewys Glyn Cothi* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1994).
[182] NLW Peniarth MS 77 pp. 122-53. For an edition of Guto's work, see GutorGlyn.net, Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies, 2013, accessed March 15, 2023, www.gutorglyn.net.
[183] NLW Peniarth MS 77 pp. 165-85. For an edition of Salesbury's preface, see J. Gwenogfryn Evans, *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language*, I.2 (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1899), 511-12.
[184] NLW Peniarth MS 77 pp. 185-92. An edition of this text from this manuscript is found in T. Gwynn Jones, "Cerdd Dant," *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 1.2 (1922), 139-56 at 149-51.
[185] NLW Peniarth MS 77 pp. 196-7. An edition of this text can be found at G.J. Williams and E.J. Jones, ed. *Gramadegau'r Pencerddiaid* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1934), 183-84.
[186] NLW Peniarth MS 77 pp. 209-13. See above note 139.
[187] NLW Peniarth MS 77 pp. 213-16. See above note 126.
[188] Bromwich, *TYP*, xxxi.
[189] This section begins with TYP 1, which is followed by TYP 18-26, omitting TYP 25. I have determined that it is likely more closely related to Peniarth 45 than to Peniarth 16 on the basis of that omission.
[190] This is what I have called microtext i in the Red Book text, as discussed in Chapter 6.

("Three men who received the appearance of Adam," triad 48) more closely resembles Prydydd y Moch's apparent reference to this triad in a poem of the late-twelfth century than does the text of the Red Book.[191]

C15. British Library Additional MS 15,047[192]

This manuscript was written in 1575 and 1576 by Hywel ap Syr Mathew, a poet and historical author who lived in Radnorshire.[193] He was also the scribe of NLW Llanstephan MS 46, Cardiff Central Library MS 3.11 part iv, and Cardiff Central Library MS 2.38 part iii and his hand also appears in NLW Peniarth MS 139ii, NLW MS 17,121, and BL Additional MS 31,061, and he may have annotated Peniarth 18.[194] Hywel was thus active in the intellectual community of Wales in the late fifteenth century. BL Add. MS 15,047 is his personal miscellany; it is perhaps not surprising to find that such a man was interested in TYP.

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[191] Bromwich, *TYP*, xxxi and 129-30. The detail here is that Peniarth 77 refers to the Trojan prince Paris as "Alexander Paris," while the corresponding triad in the Red Book does not. Prydydd y Moch's poem "Mawl Rhodri ab Owain o Wynedd" (*Gwaith Llywarch ap Llywelyn 'Prydydd y Moch'*, Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion V, ed. Elin M. Jones with Nerys Ann Jones (Cardiff: University of Wales, 1991), no. 4) seems to substitute Alexander for Paris at lines 5-6: "*Ny bu bryd eissyeu Absalon / Nac Alexander na Iason…*" ("Absalon was not lacking in beauty, nor Alexander […] nor Jason," trans. Bromwich, *TYP*, 130). Peniarth 77 also substitutes another name found in this poem, Marclwyth, for Cado hen in *Tri dyn a gafas doethneb Addaf* ("Three men who received the wisdom of Adam," TYP 49) (see Bromwich, *TYP*, 434-35 and CBT V no. 4.13). Bromwich assumes that Prydydd y Moch was quoting this triad but it occurs to me that it is perhaps more likely that it is, in fact, the other way around and the triad is drawing on the poem, with Peniarth 77's reference to "Alexander Paris" perhaps indicating an acknowledgment of conflicting traditions on the part of some scribe. It may also be notable that a Latin-language dialoge between Marclwyth (*Marcolfus*) and Solomon is extant in another manuscript written by Thomas Wiliems, BL Add. 31,055, indicating that Wiliems was well-acquainted with this character at least by the time he wrote that manuscript a few decades later. This would undercut Bromwich's argument that the Peniarth 77 text must be derived from an earlier variant of the Red Book. It remains clear, however, that Prydydd y Moch's poem is closely related not only to *Tri dyn a gafas y pryd Addaf* but also *Tri dyn a gafas y doethneb Addaf* ("Three men who received the wisdom of Adam," TYP 48) and *Tri dyn a gafas cadernid Addaf* ("Three men who received the strength of Adam," TYP 47).

[192] This manuscript has not been digitized. For my transcript of the TYP text, see Appendix A, 366-71.

[193] Huws, *Repertory*, II, 55.

[194] For Llanstephan 46, see Huws, *Repertory*, I, 70; for Cardiff 3.11, see ibid, I, 559; for Cardiff 2.38, see ibid, I, 540; for Peniarth 139ii, see ibid, I, 396; for NLW MS 17,121, see ibid I, 294; for BL Add. MS 31,061, see ibid, I, 659; for Peniarth 18, see Huws, *Repertory*, I, 351.

Apart from TYP (fols. 54v-73v), BL Add. 15,047 contains a great deal of proverbial material and non-narrative *cyfarwyddyd*, including *trioedd Taliesin*,[195] *Trioedd arbennig*,[196] *Tri Thlws ar Ddeg*,[197] an alphabetical list of proverbs,[198] the gnomic poem *Eira mynydd*,[199] a text entitled *Geire gwir Taliesin* ("True Words of Taliesin"),[200] and *Pedwar gwell ar hugain* ("The Twenty Four Superior Ones").[201] There are also a handful of dialogues: *Ymddiddan yr Eryr ac Arthur* ("The Conversation of the Eagle and Arthur"),[202] *Ymddiddan Adrian ac Epig*,[203] ("The Conversation of Adrian and Epig"), and *Selyf a Marcolffus*,[204] and, as Huws put it, "a diverse collection of other short prose texts."[205] BL Add. 15,047 is thus a valuable witness to the kinds of non-narrative, proverbial, and dialogic *cyfarwyddyd* available to an intellectual sixteenth-century Welsh gentleman. The collection deserves more attention than it has hitherto received, but, for the purposes of this dissertation, it will suffice to note that this manuscript is an exception to the trend in the sixteenth-century manuscripts containing TYP. Unlike other antiqarian manuscripts discussed in this dissertation, in which TYP is found in a bardic milieu, it seems that BL Add. 15,047's scribe, Hywel, was more interested in collecting non-narrative *cyfarwyddyd* and proverbial material for the sake of it, though he may well have used this material in the poetry he composed.

[195] BL Add. MS 15,047 fols. 74-76.
[196] BL Add. MS 15,047 fols. 76v-78v. See above note 24.
[197] BL Add. MS 15,047 fols. 98-101. See above note 126.
[198] BL Add. MS 15,047 fols. 15-54v.
[199] BL Add. MS 15,047 fols. 91-5. For an edition of this poem, see Jackson, "Early Welsh Gnomic Poems," 22-26.
[200] BL Add. MS 15,047 fols. 78v-80.
[201] BL Add. MS 15,047 fols. 80-1.
[202] BL Add. MS 15,047 fols. 101v-106. An edition of this poem, from the text found in Oxford, Jesus College MS 3, can be found in Marged Haycock, *Blodeugerdd Barddas o Ganu Crefyddol Cynnar* (Llanddybïe, Wales: Dinefwr Press, 1994), 297-312.
[203] BL Add. MS 15,047 fols. 144-157v.
[204] BL Add. MS 15,047 fols. 158v-76. An edition from this manuscript can be found at Henry Lewis, "Selyf a Marcholffus," *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 6.4 (1933), 314-23.
[205] Huws, *Repertory*, I, 645.

BL Add. 15047 contains a total of 56 triads. The first 39 of these belong to a microtext that is very closely related to *Y Diarebion Camberäec*, but three triads towards the end of this microtext are unique to BL Add. 15047.[206] After a break in which proverbial triads, or *trioedd Taliesin*, appear in the manuscript, TYP resumes with sixteen more triads. This microtext is descended from the White and Red version and appears to be related to the TYP text in Cwrtmawr 3.

C16. NLW MS 6434[207]

This manuscript is known as *Llyfr Thomas Wynn ab Edmwnd*. It is a composite manuscript; the TYP text appears in part (iii), which was written in 1577 by the scribe Ieuan Llwyd ap Edmwnd for a certain "Thomas Wynn ap Edmond ap Rees ap Robert ap Ieuan Vychan." Huws describes Ieuan as "a master of very assurred secretary and italic script...He had no doubt acquired his skills as a scribe of court rolls."[208] Other texts in this section of the mauscript include proverbs and genealogical and heraldic texts and a text called *Disgriaid Ynys Prydain*.[209] It also includes a copy of William Salesbury's prologue to *Y Diarebion Camberäec*. The TYP text in NLW 6434 is also a copy from *Y Diarebion Camberäec*, though it preserves some triads which have been lost from the earlier printed book.[210]

[206] These triads are: *Tri chyfanedd fardd llys Arthur* ("Three entertaining poets of Arthur's court," TYP 87A), *Tri bardd cad oedd yn llys Arthur* ("Three poets of battle who were in Arthur's court," TYP 87B), and *Tri prifardd* ("Three chief poets," TYP 87). These are triads 36-38 in the manuscript.
[207] This manuscript has not been digitized. For my transcription of the TYP text, see Appendix A, 372-76.
[208] Huws, *Repertory*, II, 64.
[209] Huws, *Repertory*, I, 223-24.
[210] See my discussion of this text and its relationship to *Y Diarebion Camberäec* in Chapter 6, pp. 219-23.

C17. British Library Additional MS 31,055[211]

This manuscript, written by Thomas Wiliems mostly between 1591 and 1596,[212] is another miscellany of prose and poetry in Welsh that, like Peniarth 77 (also in Wiliems's hand, see above), presumably reflects the personal tastes and interests of Wiliems himself.[213] Much of the material contained in this book was copied out of manuscripts that are no longer extant, including the White Book of Hergest and the lost section of the White Book of Rhydderch.[214] This manuscript is quite long, containing over two hundred folios, and there are too many texts to name them all individually here. Apart from TYP and *trioedd Taliesin* (fols. 24r-26v), highlights include *Statud Rhuddlan*,[215] *areithiau pros*, and a bardic grammar, *Yr anifeiliad hynaf* ("The oldest animals"),[216] a list of bards and their burial places,[217] a partial copy of the Book of Aneirin,[218] the dialoge *Selyf a Marcholffus*,[219] and poetry of all types and periods. As has already been discussed above, Wiliems was very interested in the Welsh bardic tradition and thought it was appropriate to include TYP in a collection of materials largely relating to that tradition. His

[211] This manuscript has not been digitized. For my transcription of the TYP text, see Appendix A, pp. 377-79.
[212] However, parts of it – not those containing TYP – could not have been written before 1602 (see Huws, *Repertory*, I, 656).
[213] I have relied heavily on Huws, *Repertory*, I, 659 for what follows. Huws gives a fuller account of the texts found in this manuscript than I have here.
[214] On the White Book of Hergest see Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*, 96-97. Texts taken from that manuscript include *cywnion* or legal complaints (BL Add. MS 31,055 fols. 105-07), a list of the cantrefs of Wales (BL Add. MS 31,055 fols. 108-10), *Y Bibyl Ynghymraec* (BL Add. MS 31,055 fols. 111-27, see Thomas Jones, ed. *Y Bibyl Ynghymraec* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1940), lvi-lvii), and what Huws describes as "religious prose" (BL Add. MS 31,055 164v-71v). On the lost portion of the White Book of Rhydderch (ie. quire 22a) see Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*, 258-59 and above, p. 476. This portion (BL Add. MS 31,055 fols. 202v-14v) contains poetry and can be identified from the copy of made by Richard Longford in the late sixteenth century (see again ibid and cf. Huws, *Repertory*, II, 104-05).
[215] BL Add. MS 31,055 fols. . The *Statud Rhuddlan*, or Statute of Wales, of 1284 was the post-conquest legislation imposed on Wales by Edward I's government. It created what became known as 'the principality of Wales' in North Wales and also created the legal framework which would hold in Wales until the Acts of Union in the sixteenth century (see R.R. Davies, *The Age of Conquest 1063-1415* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 364-65, 368-70).
[216] BL Add. MS 31,055 fol. 107v. For an edition of this text from this manuscript, see Thomas Jones, ed. "Yr Anifeiliad Hynaf," *National Library of Wales Journal* 7.1 (1951), 62-66.
[217] BL Add. MS 31,055 fols. 47-48v.
[218] BL Add. MS 31,055 fols. 161v-63.
[219] BL Add. MS 31,055 fols. 187v-98v. This text also appears in the near-contemporary manuscript BL Add. 15,047, see above note 204.

interest in bardic material is even more apparent in this manuscript, which is bursting with poetry and poetry-adjacent material, including triads.

BL Add. 31,055 contains sixteen triads, all of which follow the order of the White and Red version, but with many omissions. The text is broken up by pieces of non-narrative *cyfarwyddyd*, including *Pum brenhin llwych Cymbry* ("Five kings of the tribes of the Welsh") and *Pymtheg llwych Gwynedd* ("Fifteen tribes of Gwynedd"). Another triad, *Tri gwesti gwynfyndedig* ("Three beatific guests," TYP 82) follows after an intervening run of *trioedd Taliesin*.

Bromwich categorized BL Add. 31,055 as a White and Red version text, "as is apparent from the grouping of the triads;" Bromwich also lumps her discussion of this manuscript in with the eighteenth-century Peniarth 240 (see note 259 below), whose text of TYP was copied from this manuscript.[220]

C18. Cardiff Central Library MS 2.26 part iii[221]

This is another composite manuscript; it contains two separate texts of TYP, one in part iii which falls within the chronological range of this dissertation, and another, in part v, which does not. Part iii is the apparent miscellany of the sixteenth-century Welsh antiquarian Siôn Dafydd Rhys.[222] It takes up pages 23 to 90 of this book. Rhys was born on Anglesey in 1533/4 and attended Oxford before a lengthy sojourn in Italy as a young man. He had returned to Wales by 1574, where he worked for a time as headmaster of a grammar school in Bangor before beginning a career as a physician. Although active in publishing Protestant materials in the

[220] Bromwich, *TYP*, xxxi.
[221] This manuscript is not digitized. See Appendix A, p. 380-82 for my transcription.
[222] Huws, *Repertory*, I, 537-38; for the following, Huws, *Repertory*, II, 159-60.

1570s, he "reverted" to Catholicism in the 1580s, around which time he became a committed Welsh antiquarian. His earliest known manuscript, NLW Llanstephan MS 55 (c. 1579), already demonstrates his interest in Welsh bardic material and what Huws calls his "characteristic orthography:" *bh* for Modern Welsh *f*, *dh* for Modern Welsh *dd*, and *lh* for Modern Welsh *ll*. In 1592, he published *Cambrobrytannicae Cymraecaeve lingua institutiones et rudimenta* ("Instruction and elementary training of the Cambro-British and Welsh language"), which Huws describes as "an ambitious work offer[ing] to the learned world both a grammar of the Welsh language and a description of bardic art."[223] His interests are further demonstrated by his work defending the reliability of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *De gestis Brittonum*, his copies of *Historia Brittonum*,[224] genealogies,[225] and excerpts from the Red Book of Hergest and Book of the Anchorite (Oxford, Jesus College MS 119).[226]

This interest in antiquarian and bardic *cyfarwyddyd* is reflected in part iii of Cardiff 2.26, which cannot have been written before 1597. Apart from TYP (pp. 72-5), it also includes notes on history, genealogies, and lexicography and a glossary of Old Welsh words.[227] Rhys's interest in poetry is reflected in the inclusion of *areithiau pros* and a table of contents of a manuscript of *cywyddau brud*. The manuscript also includes an English-language recusant poem, apparently written by Rhys himself[228] and a historical praise poem in English attributed to John Dee and Jenkin Gwyn.[229]

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[223] See also Price, "Welsh Humanism After 1536," 187-88.
[224] This appears in NLW Peniarth 252 part iii (see Huws, *Repertory*, I, 433.
[225] These appear in NLW Peniarth MS 270 part iv (see Huws, *Repertory*, I, 440.
[226] These appear in NLW Peniarth MS 118. According to Huws, this is "a massive volume, its contents dating from c. 1580 to c. 1610, which appears to be made up of a large bound book that was rebound with added fragments of books and loose papers" (Huws, *Repertory*, II, 160; cf. ibid, I, 384-85).
[227] Cardiff Central Library MS 2.26 part iii, pp. 75-9.
[228] Cardiff Central Library MS 2.26 part iii, pp. 84; 31-6. The poem begins, 'I pray thee protestant beare with me…"
[229] Cardiff Central Library MS 2.26 part iii, pp. 85-6. This poem, "On the origination of the Croffts," has been published in Francis G. Payne, "A Poem by John Dee and Jenkyn Gwynn," *Transactions of the Radnorshire Society* 31 (1961), 18-19.

Despite the strangeness of this manuscript's orthography, the TYP text in Cardiff 2.26 is straightforwardly related to the Early version and is perhaps the simplest and least troublesome of the sixteenth-century TYP texts.

C19. Cardiff Central Library MS 2.83[230]

Cardiff Central Library MS 2.83, formerly known as Cardiff MS 6, dates from the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. This manuscript is entirely in the hand of a single scribe, dubbed X1 by Huws, and it appears to be his personal miscellany.[231] X1 was a professional scribe who lived and worked near Caernarfon; his hand appears in several other manuscripts.[232] Huws describes X1's hand as as "curiously old-fashioned" and has put forward a certain Wiliam Mathew as a likely candidate for the scribe's identity.[233]

Cardiff 2.83 opens with TYP, which appears on its first six pages. Unfortunately, the first four of these pages have been badly damaged and are very fragmentary. The bulk of the surviving text therefore appears on pages five and six. However, a version of *Tri gwyr gwarth* ("Three men of shame," TYP 51) appears much later in the manuscript, on p. 101, possibly indicating that this triad was traveling on its own by the close of the sixteenth century. This is the shorter version of *Tri gwyr gwarth*, which crops up in manuscripts of the late sixteenth century.

[230] This manuscript is not digitized. See Appendix A, pp. 383-84 for my transcription of the TYP text. I am grateful to Morgan E. Moore for sharing her photos of this manuscript with me.
[231] For what follows, I have relied on Huws, *Repertory*, I, 543.
[232] These manuscripts are the 'Llyfr Hir Porthamal' (see NLW MS 13,078 part ii (Huws, *Repertory*, I, 266, Bangor, Penrhos MS I.1573 (ibid, I, 516), BL Add. MS 14,898 (ibid, I, 612), Cwrtmawr 23 part ii (ibid, I, 26), Cwrtmawr 312 (ibid, I, 44), NLW MS 3034 (ibid, I, 187), NLW MS 3051 (ibid, I, 193-94), BL Add. 9,817 (ibid, I, 601), BL Add. 14,906 (ibid, I, 615), BL Add. 14,918 (ibid, I, 618), and BL Add. 14,978 (ibid, I, 631). Huws notes that aside from Cardiff 2.83, "the hand always appears in a subsidiary role helping others, often poets" (ibid, II, 210).
[233] Huws, *Repertory*, II, 210.

Aside from TYP, Cardiff 2.83 contains *Ystorya Trystan*,[234] *Saith doethion Rhufain*,[235] the morality play *Y Gwr Cadarn*,[236] a handful of dramatic dialogues, including *Ymddiddan Enaid a'r Korff*,[237] a short text beginning "*Pum achos y dylir urddasu gwraic yn fwy na gwr…*" ("Five reasons the dignity of women should be more than [that of] man…"),[238] a list of British kings,[239] *hengerdd* and other poetry, including the gnomic poem *Eira mynydd*,[240] and pedigrees. The TYP text in Cardiff 2.83 is closely related to that of Peniarth 50. Although many of the triads in this text have been reworked or rewritten, it follows the order of Peniarth 50 almost exactly and the triads remain recognizably derived from that earlier text.[241]

Cardiff 2.83 is the latest manuscript belonging to what I have deemed the "medieval" corpus of TYP and the idiosyncracies of this text are a testiment to how fluid the TYP corpus was at the end of the sixteenth century. Scribe X1 was a contemporary of William Shakespeare, Elizabeth I, and John Jones of Gellilyfdu; he lived and operated in a cultural and professional landscape that our thirteenth-, fourteenth-, and fifteenth-century scribes could not have imagined,

[234] Cardiff Central Library MS 2.83 pp. 27-32. An edition of this text can be found in Ifor Williams, "Trystan ac Esyllt," *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 5.2 (1931), 115-29, with supplementary material in E.D. Jones, "Trystan ac Esyllt," *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 13.1 (1941), 25-7. Cf. Jenny Rowland, "Trystan and Esyllt" in *Arthur in the Celtic Languages* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2019), 51-63 at 58-61.
[235] Cardiff Central Library MS 2.83 pp. 33-57. This is the Middle Welsh version of the French *Sept Sages de Rome* ("Seven Sages of Rome"), which is extant in a handful of medieval manuscripts, including the Red Book of Hergest.
[236] Cardiff Central Library MS 2.83 pp. 59-78. For an edition and discussion of this play, see Sarah Beatrice Campbell, "*The Strong Man* and Its Contexts: An Edition, Translation, and Study of a Medieval Welsh Morality Play" (unpublished PhD diss., the Catholic University of America, 2005).
[237] On this late medieval dialogue in Welsh, see Gwenan Jones, "The Soul and the Body," in "Three Religious Welsh Plays," (unpublished PhD diss, Univ. of Minnesota, 1918), 151-187. Cf. R.M. Jones, "Ymryson ac Ymddiddan Eniad a'r Corff," *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 5 (1970), 44-61. This dialogue should not be confused with the poem of a similar name found in the Black Book of Carmarthen.
[238] Cardiff Central Library MS 2.83 p. 81. An edition of this text, alongside an alternate version from NLW Peniarth MS 131, can be found at Theodore M. Chotzen, "La 'Querelle de Femmes' au Pays de Galles," *Revue Celtique* 48 (1931), 42-93 at 66-67.
[239] Cardiff Central Library MS 2.83 pp. 110-20. This text is headed *Enwau y xxiiii o frinhinoedd Ynys Prydain* ("Names of the Twenty Four Kings of the Island of Britain"). According to Huws, "substantial additions" have been made in a slightly later hand (Huws, *Repertory*, I, 543).
[240] Cardiff Central Library MS 2.83 pp. 128-29. An edition of this poem from this manuscript can be found at Glyn M. Ashton, "Prydyddiaeith Tlysau yr Hen Ogledd," *Llên Cymru* 11.3-4 (1971), 239-49 at 240-42. Cf. n. 213 above.
[241] See the discussion in Chapter 7, pp. 279-81.

yet, it is clear from the *cyfarwyddyd* he collected in Cardiff 2.83 that X1 remained invested in Welsh storytelling and the Welsh historical tradition. The fact that he chose TYP as the opening text of his book may suggest that these triads remained an integral element of *cyfarwyddyd* down to the end of the sixteenth century.

C20. Antiquarian Manuscripts After c. 1600

Several more copies of TYP exist in manuscripts dating from the seventeenth century and beyond. Rachel Bromwich has accounted for all of them in her edition of TYP. These early modern manuscripts and books are worthy of their own study but are outside the bounds of this dissertation; I will merely pass over them quickly here.

From the seventeenth century there is Cardiff Central Library MS 2.617,[242] NLW Peniarth MS 252,[243] NLW Peniarth MS 267, which was written by John Jones of Gellilyfdu,[244] and NLW Peniarth MS 185, which was written by Robert Vaughan and from which many later copies were made, including the first series of triads found in the *Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales*.[245]

[242] This manuscript was written for the harper Robert Peilin, mostly between c. 1610 and 1621. It includes Peilin's own music treatise (in his autograph hand) as well as poetry and music for the harp. TYP 47-50 (the biblically- and classically-derived triads) appear on p. 178. (See Bromwich, *TYP*, xxxi and Huws, *Repertory*, I, 551-52. For Robert Peilin see ibid, II, 130.)

[243] Twelve triads appear on pp. 169-70 in part v of this composite manuscript. Huws characterizes it as being among the "additional matter written in blank space or on once loose sheets now inserted." Bromwich associates this text with her White and Red version. (See Bromwich, *TYP*, xxxi and Huws, Repertory, I, 433.) Among these twelve triads is one that does not appear elsewhere: triad 46C (see Bromwich, *TYP*, 127).

[244] Written between 1635 and 1641 while Jones was in Fleet prison. Huws calls this manuscript "one of the most valuable of the compilations of John Jones's later years." The triadic text is on pp. 101-84 and contains copies of triads from Peniarth 16 parts vi and vii, Peniarth 50, and Peniarth 27ii. A text of *Pedwar marchog ar hugain* is also included. See Bromwich, *TYP*, xxxix-xl and Huws, *Repertory*, I, 438-39. Jones also included a few triads in an earlier manuscript of his, NLW Peniarth MS 216, dated to 1607-11 (see Huws, *Repertory*, II, 422).

[245] This is probably the most important of the early modern copies of TYP. The title page reads: "*Trioedd Ynys Prydein* or the *British Triades*, collected by Rob[er]t Va[ugha]n, Esq[i]r[e]." 107 triads appear on pp. 1-60; *Enweu ynys Prydein* and *Pedwar marchog ar hugain* are also included. In many ways it represents an early modern attempt at the project completed by Bromwich in her edition, as it includes alphabatized indexes of the characters appearing in these triads and the epithets used and an attempt to analyze the corpus of manuscripts that was available to him. Vaughan lists his sources for these triads, which include "*llyfr John Balmer*" ("the book of John Balmer"), "*llyfr*

From the early eighteenth century there is Moses Williams's TYP text in NLW Llanstephan MS 65.[246] Later in that century there is NLW Peniarth MS 240, in the hand of William Wynn, a rector, poet, and friend of Lewis Morris and Evan Evans,[247] and BL Add. MS 14,873, also known as *Y Delyn Leder*, in the hand of William Morris.[248] Then there are the copies of TYP belonging to the second half of the eighteenth century associated with Evan Evans:[249] NLW MS 1979 (formerly Panton 10),[250] NLW MS 1982 (formerly Panton 13), which

Robert Vaughan" ("the book of Robert Vaughan," i.e. Peniarth 45), "*y llyfr Cwta*" ("the short book," i.e. Peniarth 50), "*llyfr Maredudd Llwyd*" ("the book of Maredudd Llwyd") "*llyfr o law John Jones o'r Gelli Lyfdy*" ("a book from the hand of John Jones of Gellilyfdu"), and "*achwaneg o'r marchog llys Arthur*" ("additional [material] from the knights of Arthur's court"). Fragments of an extract from the Domesday Book (*Testamentum Wulfrici*) and a description of a voyage over the Atlantic and Indian Oceans are also included in this book. Evan Evans made a copy of Vaughan's notes, associated with this manuscript, in NLW MS 2019 (see Bromwich, *TYP*, xlvi and Huws, *Repertory* I, 173). Bromwich has included a long description of the book in her introduction to *TYP* (pp. xl-xlvii) but this manuscript still stands out among early modern copies of TYP as being especially deserving of renewed attention. See also Huws, *Repertory*, I, 413.

[246] This book is dated 1717 and contains 123 triads and *Tri thwls ar ddeg*, *Pedwar marchog ar hugain* and *Enwau ynys Prydain*. Also included in the book are a Latin-language introduction and what Bromwich characterizes as "genealogical," "general," and "proverbial" triads. The title page bears the title "*Cambro-Britannica, sive Autorum Vett. Cambro-Britannicorum OPERA; quae supersunt omnia; Cum variantibus Lectionibus et Annotionibus hunc primum ex Codd. MSS. in lucem edita.*" ("Cambro-Britannica, or WORKS of the Old Cambro-British authors, all of which are left; With variant readings and annotations, here first brought into the light from the Cott[on] manuscripts"). This long title indicates that Williams envisioned this to be part of a much longer worker that never seems to have materialized in its full extent. It is not possible to identify all of Williams's sources but it is clear that he was working from the Black Book, the Red Book, Peniarth 50, and Peniarth 252. (Bromwich, *TYP*, xlvii-xlviii). See also Huws, *Repertory*, I, 74.

[247] On William Wynn, see Huws, *Repertory*, II, 208. Huws dates this manuscript to between 1755 and 1760. The TYP text is found on pp. 93-101. The source for this text is BL Add. 31055; Wynn states that it comes "*allan o Lyfr Mr. Tho[mas] Wiliams Physgywr llythyren am lythyren.*" ("out of the Book of Mr. Thomas Wiliams, Physician, letter for letter"). This text includes *Enwau ynys Prydain*. Bromwich has identified it as a White and Red version text, with the White Book as its ultimate source. See Bromwich, *TYP*, xxi and Huws, *Repertory*, I, 240.

[248] Fols. 36-44 contains a copy of Lewis Morris's copy of Peniarth 185. Huws dates this manuscript to 1739-60 (Huws, *Repertory*, I, 606).

[249] On Evan Evans (1731-88), a "poet and the best Welsh scholar of his age," see Huws, Repertory, II, 35-36.

[250] Huws dates this manuscript to c. 1780. It is a copy of Cwrtmawr 3. The manuscript also contains poetry by Dafydd ap Gwilym and Siôn Cent as well as a list of British saints' names. See Bromwich, *TYP*, l and Huws, *Repertory*, I, 165.

is a copy of Peniarth 185,[251] NLW MS 1995 (formerly Panton 26),[252] and NLW MS 1998 (formerly Panton 29).[253] There is also NLW MS 2006 (formerly Panton 38), a copy of the Red Book TYP text.[254] Even later copies exist in NLW Additional MS 37,[255] NLW Additional MS 325,[256] BL Additional MS 15,034,[257] and BL Additional MS 15,023.[258] This lengthy list is

[251] This manuscript is wholly in the hand of Evan Evans and also contains a copy of *Historia Brittonum* from Robert Vaughan's copy of that text and copies of some of Vaughan's notes on it. Triadic material is found on fols. 89-110 and includes TYP, including *trioedd y meirch, trioedd y mab y crinwas* ("triads of the son of a miser," see Morfydd E. Owen, "Welsh Triads: An Overview," *Celtica* 25 (2007), 225-50 at 243-44 and her n. 94), and *Tri thlws ar ddeg*. Evans attributes this to "a copy out of a MS at Hengwrt in Robert Vaughan's hand" but Bromwich and Huws agree it is more likely to be a copy of NLW Add. 14,873. It is further likely that this manuscript was the direct source for the *Myvyrian Archaiology*. See Bromwich, *TYP*, l and Huws, *Repertory*, I, 166.

[252] Dated to 1774. Huws suggests that the source of this manuscript was a copy William Maurice made of Peniarth 267. It was used as a source of the *Myvyrian Archaiology*. See Bromwich, *TYP*, l and Huws, *Repertory*, I, 168. Huws writes that Maurice (1619/20-1680) is "notable for the scale of his antiquarian enterprises, for the coarse boldness of his hand, often disfiguring the margins of fine manuscripts, and for the size of his large folio compolations. His surviving tracts are marked by the vehemence of his rhetoric, directed in particular against Camden and other challengers of the British History and, from a Puritan standpoint, against the established Church of England" (Huws, *Repertory*, II, 116).

[253] This is in Evans's hand but it is, in fact, a copy of a translation of TYP made by Lewis Morris from the text of Peniarth 185. It is headed: "The British Triades or the Triads of the isle of Britain translated by me Lewis Morris out of Mr Vaughan of Hengwrt's copy in his own hand, in the year 1745." Evans added: "This translation is not be depended upon, Oct. 1759." and "Transcribed and corrected by me, Evan Evans, Oct. 12th. 1773." See Bromwich, *TYP*, li and Huws, *Repertory*, I, 169. On Lewis Morris, who Huws describes as the "chief force in Welsh antiquarian studies in the period between Moses Williams and Evan Evans," see Huws, *Repertory*, II, 112-13.

[254] Again in Evans's hand. Huws dates this manuscript to 1785 or 1786. It also contains a transcript of the *Gododdin*. See Bromwich, *TYP*, p. l and Huws, *Repertory*, I, 170.

[255] Written for Edward Jones (also known as Bardd y Brenin). Huws identifies its scribe as William Jones of Llangadfan, who worked as a copyist for Edward from 1785 to 1795 (Huws, *Repertory*, II, 84). Triadic material occurs in various places throughout this manuscript, including a series that "correspond[s] closely with Cwrt[mawr] 3" and *Enwau ynys Prydain* (Bromwich, *TYP*, li; see also Huws, *Repertory*, II, 113). On Edward Jones, who Huws characterizes as a "harper and antiquary," see Huws, *Repertory*, II, 72.

[256] This manuscript mostly contains poetry in the hand of David Thomas (also known as Dafydd Ddu Eryri). Page 11 contains the legend: "*Piser Hir Dafydd Thomas neu Dafydd Ddu o Eryri yn cynnwys amrywio Ganiadau Cymraeg a Saesoneg […] Waunfawr […] 1806*" ("The long pitcher of Dafydd Thomas or Dafydd Ddu o Eryri [Black Dafydd of Snowdonia], containing various Welsh and English verses […] Waunfawr [a village in Snowdonia] […] 1806"). The manuscript thus dates to the first decade of the nineteenth century. Only two triads appear in this manuscript: versions of *Tri chyfor* ("Three levies," TYP 35) and *Tri aur gelain* ("Three golden corpses," TYP 61) appear on p. 92. See Bromwich, *TYP*, li and Huws, *Repertory*, I, 123. On David Thomas, see Huws, *Repertory*, II, 172-73.

[257] A manucript produced mostly in the 1770s, in the hand of Owen Jones. Apart from TYP, it also contains a list of saints' names, a transcript of a late sixteenth-century text called *Egluryn Phraethineb* ("Exemplar of Wit"), and a transcript of "*Llythyr Annerch William Salesbury at Gruffudd Hiraethog*." ("William Salebury's letter of greeting to Gruffudd Hiraethog"). See Bromwich, *TYP*, li-lii and Huws, Repertory, I, 642. On Owen Jones, who Huws calls "the leading figure in London Welsh literary life" in the late eighteenth century, see Huws, Repertory, II, 79.

[258] Another book in the hand of Owen Jones, dated by Huws to between 1773 and 1799. The TYP text in this manuscript is copied from *Y Diarebion Camberäec*. See Bromwich, TYP, lii and Huws, *Repertory*, I, 639-40.

sufficient to demonstrate the intense interest in TYP on the part of these antiquarians of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The final burst of sustained antiquarian attention given to TYP prior to Bromwich's work came in the early nineteenth century with the compilation and publication of the *Myvyrian Archialogy*.[259] This large compendium represents the first instance of Welsh *cyfarwyddyd* material being printed on a large scale. It was the work of three men, Owen 'Myfyr' Jones, William Owen Pughe, and Edward Williams (also known as Iolo Morgannwg).[260] The triads appeared in the third volume of this collection, which was described, upon its publication in 1807, as "a collection of aphorisms, proverbs, ethical triads, legislative triads, laws, and music."[261] This collection made TYP available to the general public for the first time. Initially very popular, it fell out of favor after it was discovered that Iolo Morgannwg had fraudulently supplemented 'genuine' medieval Welsh material with poetry, triads, and other ephemera of his own composition.[262] But that is a story for another dissertation.

Over a century and a half after the appearance of the *Myvyrian Archialogy,* in 1961, Rachel Bromwich published the first edition of *Trioedd Ynys Prydein: The Triads of the Island of Britain*.

[259] Owen Jones, Edward Williams, and William Owen Pughe, *The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales collected out of Ancient Manuscripts*, 2nd edition, (Denbigh, Wales, Thomas Gee, 1870). In this later editions, the three volumes have been condensed and the book is now divided up by "divisions." TYP appears in division II, pp. 383-414. Other triads appear in division III.
[260] Mary-Ann Constantine, "Welsh Literary History and the Making of 'the Myfyrian Archaiology of Wales," *European Studies* 26 (2008), 109-128 at 111.
[261] Quoted in Constantine, "The 'Myvyrian Archialogy,'" 118.
[262] Constantine, "The 'Myvyrian Archialogy,'" 124-26.