

Fourth Edition

TRIOEDD  
YNYS  
PRYDEIN

THE TRIADS OF THE  
ISLAND OF BRITAIN

EDITED BY  
RACHEL BROMWICH

# TRIOEDD YNYS PRYDEIN



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## THE TRIADS OF THE ISLAND OF BRITAIN

Edited with  
Introduction, Translation and Commentary  
by  
RACHEL BROMWICH



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*Cyflwynir y gwaith hwn  
i'm hen athro annwyl*

SYR IFOR WILLIAMS

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Peniarth 16, fo. 50r

facing title page

First page of *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*  
in *Y Diarebion Camberäec*

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## PREFACE

The original edition of *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*, which appeared in 1961, is the essential core of all the subsequent editions. In the second edition of 1978, a series of additions and revisions were added to the text at the end of the volume. In the third edition of 2006, these and subsequent additions and revisions to the volume were incorporated into the text rather than left at the end. A new triad (97) was added to the corpus and the orthography of the text of the triads amended to the original manuscript readings in the light of the critique published by Kenneth Hurlstone Jackson in *Welsh History Review*, Special Number (1963), 82–7. The Introduction, Textual Notes and Notes on Personal Names were revised and augmented. The fifth Appendix of the earlier versions, ‘North Welsh Genealogical Triads’, was omitted. An attempt was made to incorporate references to relevant works published before 2000, especially to the volumes of the two series, *Beirdd y Tywysogion* and *Beirdd yr Uchelwyr*, published by the Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies to date, and were incorporated in the Notes. This reprint of *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* remains largely unchanged from the edition of 2006. Some minor corrections have been added by Professor Dafydd Johnston.

Dr Bromwich, who died in December 2010, had worked on the third edition for many years but was unable to supervise the preparation of the volume in its final stages. Close friends who were in contact with Dr Bromwich, however, were at hand to undertake the tasks necessary. They included Dr Dafydd Evans who did stalwart work in editing a hundred pages of notes, Dr Brynley F. Roberts, Professor Marged Haycock, Mr Gerald Morgan and Dr Iestyn Daniel. Mrs Susan Jenkins and Dr Dafydd Jones of the University of Wales Press went far beyond the call of duty in seeing the sometimes difficult manuscript through the press. Care was taken to comply with what were considered the intentions of Dr Bromwich, so that this volume in its entirety must be considered to be essentially her work. Dr Bromwich’s son Brian and his family have supported the whole enterprise.

Finally, it has been my privilege to be on hand when need arose and to write the Preface: *Disgybl wyf, hi a'm dysgawdd.*

Morfydd E. Owen  
Bryneithin, Llanfarian, 2014

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# INTRODUCTION

## I. MANUSCRIPTS AND VERSIONS

This edition of *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* is based upon a full collation of the manuscripts. The text reproduced is in the first instance that of Peniarth MS. 16, which represents the oldest version of TYP that has come down to us, with the exception of a fragment of four *Trioedd y Meirch* preserved in the *Black Book of Carmarthen*. I have called this the 'Early Version'. The text of Pen. 16 ends with triad 46, so that this manuscript includes less than half of the total of ninety-seven triads contained in this volume. The remaining triads are those not found in Pen. 16, but which appear in the later collections, as follows:

Triads 47–69 are from the White Book, *Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch*; and where the fragmentary text of TYP contained in this manuscript is defective, from the complete version of the same series preserved in the Red Book, *Llyfr Coch Hergest*. This version is designated WR.

Triads 70–80 are from Pen. 47, and triads 81–6 from Pen. 50, while triads 87–97 consist of miscellaneous additions to *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* which appear for the first time in one or other of the late manuscript collections.

I have given precedence to preserving the order of the triads as these 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 WR. The reason for this choice is that I believe Pen. 16 to preserve an older arrangement and grouping of *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*; see below, pp. lxxxix–xc. The table given on pp. xv–xvii may be consulted as a guide to the grouping of the triads in the chief manuscripts, and as an indication of the sources of individual triads. (A list of manuscript sources is also given beneath the text of each triad.) The construction of a satisfactory *stemma* of TYP 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 version the later manuscripts also present a

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text whose affinities are with this version. But I hope to show in the following pages that each of the manuscripts employed for the basic texts of triads 1–87 draws on written sources other than those that have come down to us, some of which are of at least equal antiquity with those which have survived. There is evidence that some at least of the triads which are represented in both of the main versions go back ultimately to a common *written* source (see below, pp. xc–xcii).

Triads 1–90 include all the triads contained in the first and second series of *Trioedd Ynys Prydain* in the *Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales* (MA<sup>2</sup> 388–99). The first series represents the collection of *Trioedd Ynys Prydain* made by Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt (1592–1666) from older manuscript sources. An account of the formation of the Myvyrian text will be found below, pp. xli–xlvi. The Myvyrian second series reproduces the triads from the *Red Book of Hergest*. The third series (MA<sup>2</sup> 400–11) is the work of Iolo Morganwg, who in the late eighteenth century rewrote many of the older triads in an expanded form, with the introduction of some fresh material. The investigation of these triads belongs properly to the study of Iolo's sources and methods; and as such, it falls outside the scope of this book.<sup>1</sup> In the notes I have referred to the triads from the third series only occasionally, and incidentally.

In the appendices, I–IV, I have brought together certain documents which have either remained hitherto unpublished, or of which the published texts are not easily accessible: the subject-matter is in each case relevant to *Trioedd Ynys Prydain*, although the documents vary considerably in date. To print the texts in full has saved the necessity for constant quotation, both in the notes to the triads and in the Notes to Personal Names. In including these documents in an edition of *Trioedd Ynys Prydain* I may claim to be following the distinguished precedent of Robert Vaughan and Moses Williams, each of whom included a part of this material in their manuscript collections of TYP. The content of the appendices is discussed below, pp. c ff.

A fuller discussion of the manuscript sources of TYP follows.

<sup>1</sup> Translations from the Myvyrian text of Iolo Morganwg's 'Third Series' of *Trioedd Ynys Prydain* were published i) by William Probert (1790–1837) as an appendix to his *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales* in 1823, (reprinted as *The Triads of Britain* by Malcolm Smith, London, 1977); and ii) by J. H. Parry in *The Cambro-Briton* for 1820–22. The English translation which Iolo himself made of his 'Third Series' has come down in *Iolo Aneirin Williams MS. 71*, preserved in the National Library of Wales. For an annotated edition of Iolo's own translations of his triads, see R. Bromwich, 'Trioedd Ynys Prydain: the Myvyrian Third Series', THSC 1968, pp. 299–388; *ibid.*, 1969, pp. 127–56. See further R. Bromwich, *Trioedd Ynys Prydain in Welsh Literature and Scholarship* (Darlith Goffa G. J. Williams, Cardiff, 1969).

PLAN SHOWING THE RELATION BETWEEN THE MAIN TEXTS OF  
*TRIOEDD YN YS PRYDEIN*

On the left the triads are numbered serially as in this volume. The numbers on the right show the order in which they appear in the manuscripts. Vertical lines denote 'floating sections', see pp. xxvii, xc. Triads in the WR series which are absent from the text of W are italicized.

	Pen. 16	Pen. 45	Pen. 47	Pen. 50	WR	Pen. 51	Pen. 77	Car. 18	NLW 6434 and DC
1. lleithiclwyth	1	1	—	40	—	—	1	—	—
2. hael	2	2	—	21	34	22	—	—	1
3. gwyndeyrn	3	3	2	22	8	25	—	—	2
4. deifnyawc	4	4	3	23	23	11	—	—	3
5. post cat	5	5	4	24	33	—	—	—	4
6. tarw catuc	6	6	5	25	—	—	—	—	5
7. tarw vnben	7	7	17	f. 26 l. 26	29	17	—	—	6
8. lledyf vnben	8	8	18	—	37	31	—	—	7
9. vnben llys A.	9	9	19	—	28	16	—	—	8
10. vnben deivyr a brennych	10	10	20	—	30	18	—	—	9, 38
11. gva(y)vrud beird	11	11	21	27	50	43	—	—	10, 36
12. overveird	12	—	—	28	9	26	—	—	—
13. cynweissyat	13	12	22	—	22	10	—	—	—
14. llyghessawc	14	13	23	—	27	15	—	—	45
15. llyghes kynniweir	15	—	24	—	13	2	—	—	39
16. gwrdtuaglawc	16	14	25	—	—	—	—	—	—
17. hualawc	17	15	1	18	45	38	—	3	31
18. catvarchawc	18	16	26	—	60	—	2	4	11
19. galovydd	19	17	10	—	38	32	3	5	27
20. rudwoawc	20	18	—	29	26	14	—	7	44
21. taleithyavc cat	21	19	7	30	25	13	4	8	12

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	Pen.	Pen.	Pen.	Pen.	Pen.	WR	Pen.	Pen.	Pen.	Pen.	Car.	NLW 6434 and DC
22. glew	16	45	47	50	48	35	51	77	18	9	26	
23. trahauc	22	20	27	31	31	36	29	5	10	10	—	
24. ysgymyd aereu	24	22	28	49	49	39	33	7	11	11	—	
25. aervedawc	25	—	29	—	—	32	21	—	6	6	48	
26. gwrdueichyat	26	23	30	—	—	58	50	8	23	23	—	
27. lletvrithavc	27	24	31	—	—	—	—	—	22	22	13	
28. prif hut	28	25	32	32	32	21	9	—	21	21	14	
29. diweir deulu	29	26	33	19	19	43	36	—	20	20	15	
30. anyweir deulu	30	27	34	20	20	44	37	—	19	19	16	
31. gosgord adwy(n)	31	28	35	—	—	20	8	—	18	18	—	
32. mat gyflavan	32	29	—	34	34	30	—	—	17	17	46	
33. anvat gyflavan	33	30	36	33	33	37	19	—	15	15	47	
34. anvat vwyallawt	34	31	37	—	—	34	20	—	14	14	—	
35. cyfor er enys hon	35	32	—	10	10	5	1	—	13	13	38	
36. gormes a doeth yr enys hon	36	33	—	9	9	—	—	—	1	1	—	
37. cud a darcud	37	34	14	11	11	10, 11	27	—	2	2	51	
38. rodedievarch	38	—	51, 52	—	—	52	44	—	16	16	17	
39. pryf edystyr	39	5	54	—	—	53	45	—	—	—	18	
40. anreithvarch	40	40	48	53	53	54	46	—	—	—	19	
41. gorderchvarch	41	50	50	54	54	56	48	—	—	—	20	
42. gohoew edystyr	42	42	46	—	—	55	47	—	—	—	21, 37	
43. tom edystyr	43	—	47	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	22	
44. marchlwyth	44	46	53	50	50	12	28	—	—	—	23	
45. pryf ychen	45	45	55	51	51	—	—	—	—	—	24	
46. pryf vuch	46	46	56	52	52	—	—	—	—	—	25	
47. kedernit adaf	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
48. pryt adaf	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	
49. doethineb adaf	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	
50. pryt eva	—	—	39	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	
51. trywyr gwarth	—	—	—	—	—	46	23	—	—	—	—	52
52. goruchel garcharawr	—	—	—	17	17	7, 51	24	—	—	—	—	—
53. gwith balfawt	—	—	—	35	35	14	3	—	—	—	—	40



## INTRODUCTION

PENIARTH 16 (formerly Hengwrt 54). This is a composite vellum manuscript, made up of several fragments varying in date between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries (*Rep.* I, p. 337). The section which contains *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*<sup>2</sup> and *Bonedd y Saint* (folios 50–54b) is a detached portion of the same manuscript as that which contains the Dingestow Court *Brut y Brenhinedd*, NLW 5266B (ed. H. Lewis, Cardiff, 1942; referred to hereafter as BD); and the triads are written in the same hand as the *Brut*. A page which contained the opening words of TYP is however missing, so that the text begins in the middle of triad 1. A certain difference of opinion has been expressed as to the date of this manuscript. Gwenogvryn Evans states (*Rep.* I, p. 337; see also RBB xiii) that this section (iv) of Pen. 16 was written during the early years of the thirteenth century. But the editor of BD gave it as the opinion of the British Library authorities, Robin Flower and Idris Bell, that the manuscript belongs to the end of the thirteenth century rather than to its beginning (BD xxiii), though he does not state the grounds on which this opinion was formed. E. D. Jones, when Librarian of the National Library of Wales, after re-examining the two manuscripts, agreed that the hand of this portion of Pen. 16 is identical with that of the Dingestow *Brut*, and kindly gave me permission to quote his opinion that the work is to be dated to the third quarter<sup>3</sup> of the thirteenth century. In his words ‘One notices the predominantly medial punctuation in Dingestow, the dotting of the *y*, and the turn to the left of the first stroke of the *y*.’ Nevertheless, as Henry Lewis has shown, the language of the Dingestow *Brut* is of the early thirteenth century (BD xxix, xxxv), so that it is apparent that the manuscript is a copy of an earlier text. The same conclusion is to be drawn from a study of the linguistic features of the Pen. 16 text of *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*, as will be seen from the evidence cited below.

*Orthography of Peniarth 16.* The normal spelling employed is that which is common to the *Llyfr Gwyn*, the *Llyfr Coch*, and other manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (see PKM xiii). The following outline will indicate the main differences from Modern Welsh:

Final *-t* represents *-d*: *kynwyt* (triad 6), *cat* (triad 21), *coet* (triad 26), *hut* (triad 28), *oet* (triad 30).

Final *-d* represents *-dd*: *teyrned* (triad 1), *Nud* (triad 2), *bard* (triad 11), *galouyd* (triad 19), *teirg6aed* (triad 27).

<sup>2</sup> I edited the text of *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* from Pen. 16 in B XII, pp. 1–15, with variants from Pen. 45. *Bonedd y Saint* from Pen. 16 is printed in LBS IV, pp. 369–71. For a more recent *variorum* edition of *Bonedd y Saint*, see EWGT 51–67.

<sup>3</sup> Similarly Daniel Huws ‘ail hanner y 13g.’ *Nat. Lib. of Wales Journal* XXVIII, p. 19. See also AW 9. On the close relationship between the two manuscripts, see further B. F. Roberts, ‘Fersiwn Dingestow o *Brut y Brenhinedd*’, B XXVII, p. 332.

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Medially the value of *-t-*, *-d-*, is ambiguous: *-t-* = *-d-* in *Tutclyt* (triad 2), *Catwalla6n* (triad 11), *lleturitha6c* (triad 27), etc.

Medial *-d-* = *d* in *Mordaf* (triad 2), *Carada6c* (triad 18), but = *dd* in *Ryderch* (triad 2), *Guendoleu* (triad 29), *Ywerdon* (triad 29), *Gledyfrud* (triads 24, 40), *edystyr* (triad 42), etc. Hence the uncertainty in triad 31 as to whether *adwy* ‘gap’ or *adwy(n)* = *addwyn* ‘splendid’ is intended (see note to triad 31).

Final *-c* = *-g*: *wledic* (triad 3), *trahauc* (triad 23), *caduc* (triad 6), etc.

Medial *-y-* = *-i-* (vocalic): *Anyweir* (triad 30), *Aneiryn* (triad 34), *pryf* (triads 35, 37, 45, 46), and *i* (consonantal): *deifnya6c* (triad 4), *cynweissyat* (triad 13), *Meirchya6n* (triads 14, 26), etc.

Besides representing *u* (see below) *6* is employed for *w*: *h6ch* (triad 26), *Duna6t*, *Einya6n*, *Keida6*, *Gwalla6c*, etc., and for *f*: *Kyn6arch* (triad 6), *ober6eird* (triad 12), *6renhin* (triad 32). etc.

Besides representing *w* (see below), *u* is employed for *f*: *ruduo6c* (triad 20), *aeruaeu* (triad 24), *Cynuelyn* (triad 5), etc., as well as for *u*: *Run* (triad 3), *Nud* (triad 31); and has both these values in turn in *Ruu6n* (= *Rhufawn*) (triad 3), and in reverse order in *a uuant* (= *a fuant*, triad 29).

In addition, Pen. 16 preserves traces of a different and perhaps older system of orthography, similar to that of the *Black Book of Carmarthen* (middle and later 13th cent.); see D. Huws, *Nat. Lib. of Wales Journal* XXVIII, p. 19.

*e* for *y* (obscure). This appears in the contraction *e. p.* (= *enys prydein*) used throughout; in the definite article *Er*; *E* (= *Yr*, *Y*, triad 44), *henyf* (triad 1b), *eman* (triad 36), *emyl* (triad 35a), *Kenyr* (triad 21), *Brennych* (triad 16), *Brennach* (triad 26), *Ewein* (triads 3, 13, 40), *Lledanwyn* (triad 8), *Kenan* (triad 25).

*e* for *y* (clear) in *ell deu* (triad 30), *ell tri* (triads 7, 10, 21).

*6* for *u* in *6ryen* (triads 6, 33), *6thyr* (triad 28), *6nben* (triad 7).

*u* for *w* in *Caurdaf* (triad 13), *Gueir* (triad 19), *Guendoleu* (triad 29), *Rahaut* (triad 12), *guelwgan* (triad 41), *ymchuelassant* (triad 30).

Even older are *-i-* for *-u-* in *Dina6t* (triad 16; cf. Bede’s abbot *Dinoot*), and *t* for *th* in *eu hewytyw* (triad 35c), which recalls the orthography of the *Black Book of Chirk*. Other instances of the retention of an older system of spelling are obscured by uncertainty as to the correct form of certain proper names. Thus *e* may represent *ei* in *Enygan* (triad 33), where the other manuscripts read *Einygan*. It is likely that *o* represents *w* in *Naomon* (triad 44) and in *godwfw* (triad 42b, see note), while in *Govrowy* (= *Gobrwy*, triad 9) the scribe apparently altered the medial *-b-* in his prototype to *-v-*, but had already copied the second *-o-* before concluding that this should be a *-w-* in his own system of spelling. In *Gwythelin* (triad 28) it is possible that medial *-th-* has been wrongly restored from *-t-* which in the archetype could denote both *d* and *th*, and that the name should be *Gwyddelin*; cf.

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Pen. 45's *Gwydelyn*. But the correct derivation of this name remains uncertain (see under Notes to Personal Names). Another archaic feature is the absence of lenition in the epithets following certain proper names, *Pabo Post Prydein* (triad 5), *Kynŷaŷr Catgaduc* (triad 6), *Goronwy Peuyr* (triad 30), *Eliffer Gosgorduaŷr* (triad 8), beside the more normal lenited forms, *Echel Gordwytwill* (triad 9), *Gŷgaŷn Gledyfrud* (triad 24), *Cynuelyn Drwsgyl* (triad 5), *Riwallawn Wallt Banhadlen* (triad 4). Non-lenition of such epithets is found in the *Gododdin* and in the *Historia Brittonum*, see CA lxxix–lxxx. The fact that such non-lenited forms tend (with few exceptions) to remain static throughout the different texts of TYP favours the belief that a number of triads which occur in both the two main versions of TYP are derived ultimately from a common manuscript tradition (see below, pp. xci–xcii).

There are no instances in Pen. 16's text of TYP of the use of *w* for *v* (*f*), or of final *-t* for *-dd* and *-d* for *-d*, all of which are characteristic of the orthography of the *Black Book of Carmarthen*, and of which the editor of *Brut Dingestow* cites a number of instances. But in view of the fact that the text of TYP is so much shorter, the proportion of early forms in it is as great as in BD, and points similarly to an exemplar of the early thirteenth century. Whether this exemplar was the same manuscript as that which contained the prototype of *Brut y Brenhinedd* is of course a different question.

PENIARTH 45 (formerly Hengwrt 536). The text of *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* contained in this manuscript (pages 293–301) bears the title *Trioed Arthur ai Wyr*. This text is closely related to that of Pen. 16. It was printed with an English translation by W. F. Skene in 1868 as an appendix to volume II of his *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, pp. 456–64. Skene's text is on the whole reliable, though it contains certain minor errors; while his translation is in accordance with the standard of knowledge of Early Welsh of his time. Like Pen. 16, this manuscript combines TYP with a text of *Brut y Brenhinedd* and one of *Bonedd y Saint*. It contains also the earliest version of the *Trioedd Arbennig* (see p. xxvii, n. 14 below) and the unique text of the early version of *Bonedd Gwŷr y Gogledd* (see App. II below). J. G. Evans dated Pen. 45 as 'late thirteenth-century' (*Rep.* I, p. 379), though E. D. Jones told me that he would confidently place it as earlier than the *Book of Taliesin*—(circa 1275). The style of writing appears to be of slightly later date than that of Pen. 16.<sup>4</sup> The contraction *y. p.* (*ynys prydein*) is employed

<sup>4</sup> Punctuation is almost though not entirely on the line; *y* is not dotted, and the back-stroke of the *y* is a prolongation of the second element, as in the *Book of Taliesin*; the vertical stroke of the *t* begins slightly above the cross-bar, but is less pronounced than in

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throughout, and we have the spellings *Ywein* (triad 3) and *Owein* (triad 13) for earlier *Ewein*. Certain triads are omitted which are present in Pen. 16 (nos. 12, 15, 25), evidently as a result of carelessness in copying. There is an instance of *homoeoteleuton* or *achub y blaen* at the end of triad 11, where *Ryhawt eil Morgant* is added as an extra name: this is in fact the last name in Pen. 16's version of triad 12. From the middle of triad 37 to the end of the series (triad 46) this text is illegible, because the last page is much worn, shrivelled and dirty, having served as an outer cover; infra-red light has failed to render legible any more of the remainder of the text than the red initial letter which marks the beginning of *Trioedd y Meirch*. Evidently it was already in this condition in Robert Vaughan's day, since he ends his transcript of Pen. 45 at triad 36. But, in compensation for its mutilated ending, Pen. 45 provides the complete text of triad 1, of which the beginning is lacking in Pen. 16, since it was written at the end of a page which is lost. I have thus been able to supply the opening words of the text from this manuscript.

It is clear that this version of TYP is not a direct copy of Pen. 16, but rather that it has some other manuscript as its source. In triad 26c the sentence *Ac yna yd aeth yny mor* occurs in this text, but is absent from Pen. 16. Since the words are necessary to complete the sense of the passage, it is likely that the scribe of Pen. 16 may have failed to copy them. Similarly in triad 30c, the explanatory sentence includes minor additions which are lacking in Pen. 16. Nevertheless the two manuscripts are very close, and it is likely that they have a common source. Pen. 45's misreading *Manawydyan* in triad 8b, where Pen. 16 has *Manawdyan* suggests that the *y* in this name was already misplaced in the common archetype. It is to be noted that this manuscript preserves a number of early readings which are absent from Pen. 16, and which may be attributed to the common archetype. These consist of:

*o* for *w*: *deorath* wledic, triad 3 (= Pen. 16, *dewrarth W.*); *gordodo*, triad 26c (= Pen. 16, *gordody*, probably due to a misreading of the *-o* in the original as *e*).

*u* for *w*: *porthuawr gadu*, triad 9 (Pen. 16, *portha6r gadw*).

*t* for *th*: *Maton6y*, triad 28 (Pen. 16, *Mathonwy*).

*e* for *y*: *gwenenen*, triad 26c (Pen. 16, *g6enynen*).

Confusion of final *-c* and *-t*: *Betwyr m. Bedravt*, triad 21 (Pen. 16, *m. Bedra6c*). In this last case it is not certain which is the correct form.

BT. More recently, D. Huws, *Nat. Lib. of Wales Journal* XXVIII, p. 20 dates Pen. 45 to the first half of the fourteenth century.

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Absence of lenition:

after prepositions: *ar keneu*, *ar kyw*, triad 26c (Pen. 16, *ar geneu*, *ar gyw*);

medially: *Henpen*, triad 22 (Pen. 16, *Henben*); *catcaduc*, triad 6 (Pen. 16, *catgaduc*);

initially: *diweir teulu*, triad 29 (Pen. 16, *d. deulu*);

of a possessive genitive after a feminine noun: *Cath Paluc*, triad 26c (Pen. 16, *cath baluc*);

of epithets: *Rua6n Peuyr*, triad 3 (Pen. 16, *R. Beuyr*); *Gwgawn Cledyfurud*, triad 24 (Pen. 16, *G. Gledyfrud*).

Another feature of this text is the consistent omission of medial consonantal *y* (= *i*), where this is present in Pen. 16. Examples: *deifna6c* (triad 4), *cynweissat* (triad 13), *Meircha6n* (triads 14, 26), *g6rdveichat* (triad 26), *Aranrot* (triad 35c), *Einavn* (triad 23), *taleithavc* (triad 21).

THE VERSION OF THE LLYFR GWYN AND THE LLYFR COCH (= WR). The *Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch* (W) is dated *circa* 1350, the *Llyfr Coch Hergest* (R) *circa* 1400.<sup>5</sup> These two manuscripts contain a version of *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* which differs in marked respects from the Early Version as given in Pen. 16 and Pen. 45. The text of W is found in the detached fragment of the *Llyfr Gwyn* (formerly Pen. 12, now rebound correctly with the main volume; *Rep. I*, p. 324; see further D. Huws, 'Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch', CMCS 21, p. 29). It begins (p. 117) in the middle of *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*, and this fragmentary text of TYP is followed by *Bonedd y Saint*, proverbs, gnomic and general triads, etc. The whole was published by Phillimore, *Cy. VII*, pp. 123–54. Thirteen triads are missing at the beginning of W's text, but since the order and grouping of the triads in the remainder corresponds exactly with the arrangement of these in the full version of the same series contained in the *Llyfr Coch*, and is entirely different from the arrangement of the Early Version, it will be easier to discuss the characteristics of this version after listing the contents of R. In the *Llyfr Coch Hergest*, cols. 588–600, the text of *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* is subdivided into the following groups, each introduced under a separate heading:

(1) Col. 588. *Tri dynyon a gavssant gampeu adaf*. A list of the men and women who possessed the qualities of Adam and Eve, comprising triads 47–50 in this book.

(2) Cols. 588–90. *Pan aeth llu y Lychlyn* introduces two triads, nos. 35

<sup>5</sup> For a description of the two manuscripts see the note contributed by Daniel Huws, AW 10–12; and for a detailed palaeographical and historical discussion of the *Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch* see the same writer's article CMCS 21, pp. 1–37.

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and 51 below; to the first of which alone R's subheading is applicable. (For the relation of this pair of triads to each other, see note to triad 51.)

(3) Cols. 590–2. *Dechreu y Trioed y6 y rei hynn*. This section comprises triads 52, 3, 12, 37, 44, 15, 53, 54, followed by triad 55 which is introduced by a red initial letter, as though it were the beginning of a new group.

(4) Cols. 592–6. *Trioed y6 y rei hynn*. Triads 56, 57, 58, 31, 28, 13, 4, 59, 21, 20, 14, 9, 7, 10, 33, 25, 5, 2, 22, 23, 8, 19, 24, 60, 61, 62, 29, 30, 17, 63, 64, 65, 66, 11, 52 (second version).

(5) Cols. 596–8. *Trioed y Meirch y6 y rei hynn*. Triads 38, 39, 40, 42, 41, *Tri Penn uarch* (see triad 44; and note that triad 44 is itself misplaced and occurs in the middle of section 3); 26, 18, 67, 68, 69.

(6) Col. 600.<sup>6</sup> *Enweu Ynys Prydein ae rac ynyssed*. See App. I below.

The Red Book text of *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* was printed by J. Rhŷs and J. G. Evans on pp. 297–309 of the *Red Book Mabinogion* (Oxford, 1887); also by Rhŷs in *Cy. III*, pp. 52–61. See now G. Charles-Edwards, 'The Scribes of the Red Book of Hergest', *Nat. Lib. of Wales Journal XXI*, pp. 246–56.

The text of the White Book begins in the middle of section 3 above,<sup>7</sup> and in the middle of triad 53. It continues with the triads contained in sections 4, 5, and 6, under similar headings, and in an order which corresponds with that of R in everything except in the fact that section 6 (*Enweu Ynys Prydein*) is introduced at the end of section 3, and is followed by the poem *Anrec Uryen* (RBP col. 1049), before the scribe returns to section 4 of TYP. As Phillimore pointed out (*Cy. VII*, p. 98), the textual resemblance between W and R is so close that one must conclude either that R is a copy of W or that both texts stem almost immediately from a common source. This closeness is apparent in the fact that in the following examples the grossest textual errors are repeated in both W and R:

Triad 4, *gwall ap gvyar* (Pen. 16, *Gwalchmei m. G.*); triad 30, *ar lan fergan* (Pen. 16, *alan fyrgan*); triad 11, *selen ap kynan* (elsewhere *Selyf m. K.*); *ibid.*, *auan vedic* (Pen. 16, *Auan berdic*, the 'little bard'); triad 33, *Aneirin G6a6t Ryd merch teyrnbeird* (Pen. 16, *A. Gwa6tryd Mechdeyrn Beird*, see note). In

<sup>6</sup> Between sections 5 and 6 there is given a brief group of general triads (pp. 598–9) under the heading *Trioed heuyt y6 y rei hynn*. These also occur in W (*Cy. VII*, pp. 136–8), but they are not relevant to the present discussion except in so far as their occurrence in the manuscript emphasizes the clear differentiation into separate groups of triads which is a feature of this version of *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*.

<sup>7</sup> The text of TYP in Pen. 51 derives ultimately from that of W (see p. xxxi below); and from it we may conclude that section 2 and the first part of section 3 above were present in the *Llyfr Gwyn*, but that R's section 1—the *Tri dyn(yon) a gawsant gampeu Adaf*—was not represented in this manuscript. The triad of the 'Women who received Eve's beauty' (triad 50) was unknown to the *Gogynfeirdd*, and is certainly an addition to the original triple group of triads, being based on *Dares Phrygius* (Welsh version *circa* 1300). It is quoted earliest by Dafydd ap Gwilym (GDG no. 50).

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triad 55 W's *o vein Gwyned* is altered by R to *owein Gwyned*—a careless slip made by a scribe who was not considering the sense of what he was writing. But it caused at least one early scholar to believe that this triad must date from the time of Owain Gwynedd (see *Cy.* VII, p. 98). Both manuscripts leave a space for the third item of triad 54, *Teir Drut Heirua*, to be filled in later: in W this item has been supplied from another version in a sixteenth-century hand. In 54a there is an instance in which R supplies a better reading than W, where R gives *treulei* for the meaningless *trewyllyei*. This reading is supported by the other manuscripts and must be correct (see note to triad 54). Similarly in triad 9 R corrects W's *a Chaedyrleith* to the intelligible form *a Chaedyrieith*. But an intelligent scribe could have supplied these emendations on his own initiative: they are not sufficient in themselves to prove that W and R derive independently from a common source. However, in an important introduction to the re-issue (1973) of the *Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch*, first published by Gwenogvryn Evans in 1907; R. M. Jones lays stress (pp. vi–xii) on the amount of evidence offered by the variant spellings in W and R, which indicate that they derive from different copies of the tales. The same is likely to be true of the texts of TYP in the two manuscripts. Cf. also CO(2) x–xi.

In spite of late features and additions to the text (see below) the WR version preserves certain traces of copying from an exemplar which must have been at least as old, and probably older, than that of Pen. 16 and Pen. 45. Certain early orthographical features are common to both W and R; although, as one would expect, they are more numerous in W, and the scribe of R shows a tendency to modernize his exemplar.<sup>8</sup> Below are listed instances in which W preserves traces of an orthography similar to that of the *Black Book of Carmarthen*. Later forms given in R are added in brackets; where there are no such additions, the readings of W and R are identical:

*i* for *y*: *na cheissint*, triad 8 (R, *-ynt*);

*e* for *y*: *esgemyd*, triad 24 (Pen. 16, *ysgymyd*); *Dreon*, triad 31 (Pen. 16, *Dryon*); *Heiden*, triad 33 (Pen. 16, *Eidyn*); *Selef*, *aeruedogeon*, triad 25 (R, *Selyf*, *eruedogyon*); *Degynelw*, triad 11 (Pen. 16, *dygynelw*); *hualhogeon*, *Belen*, triad 62; *melen*, triad 64; *Echemeint*, triad 52 (R, *Echymeint*).

*w* for *v* (= *f*): *catwarchawc*, triad 18 (R, *catuarchawc*).

<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless the *Gogynfeirdd* seem to have been more familiar with the names and word-forms in the WR version of TYP than with those of the Early Version, in those instances where it is possible to make a distinction. On this point see my chapter 'Cyfeiriadau Traddodiadol a Chwedlonol y Gogynfeirdd', ch. 11 in M. E. Owen and B. F. Roberts (eds), *Beirdd a Thywysogion* (Caerdydd, 1996), pp. 211–12.

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In addition this version preserves a number of forms which are paralleled in the language of the ninth-century glosses, and in the *Black Book of Chirk*:

*e* for *ae*: *y tatmeth*, triad 26a (R, *y datmaeth*, and altered to *y datmaeth* in the following line in W);

*e* for *ei*: *a thelu*,<sup>9</sup> triad 30b (R, *a theulu*); *yd hanuyde*, triad 26c (R, *hanuydei*);

*s* for *d* (= *dd*): *Arderys*, triad 31;

*c* for *ch*: *bryneic*, triad 10; cf. also (*B*)*reat*, triad 26c, where *-t* = *-c* for *-ch* (see note);

absence of prosthetic *y*:- *Sgafnell*, triad 10;

confusion of *th* and *ch*: *meirthion*, triad 14 (R, *meirchyon*); *Tri tharw ellyll*, triad 63 (R *tri charv e.*), where either form is possible.

The medial vowel is preserved in *Tutawal*, triad 2 (R, *Tutwal*, cf. O.W. *Tutagual*, Harl. Gen. VI), and medial *-g(u)* in the form *y Vergaed*, triad 26c (Pen. 16, *y Venwaed*), see n.

The following instances of non-lenition of epithets following proper names occur (see p. xxii above): *G6ga6n kledyfrud*, triad 40 (R, *gledyfrud*); *G6rtheyrn G6rtheneu*, triad 37d, 51 (in R only; both triads are lacking from W). Non-lenition after the possessive pronoun is preserved in W's *y tatmeth*, triad 26a (R, *y datmaeth*). In triad 30c both texts preserve the old construction by which a lenited accusative directly follows a verb of motion, without intervening preposition, in *yn mynet Gamlan* (see note to triad 30c).

The WR version regularly preserves the Ml.W. lenition of proper names following *verch*, see triads 53, 56–8. This has led to much confusion as to the correct forms of the names by later copyists of the group of triads 56–8 (see note to triad 56).

A striking feature of the WR version in contrast to the Early Version is the addition of comments to a number of triads, which purport to explain the meaning of the key epithets. Such additions are made to triads 8, 17, 25; and some additional explanatory matter about the characters and stories referred to is appended also in this version to triads 20, 22, 26, 28, 33. I have discussed these additions in detail in the notes to the triads concerned. Nothing of the kind is found in the Early Version,<sup>10</sup> and (with the exception of triad 52 where something similar occurs) it is to be noted that the explanations which are added in the WR version are confined to such triads as are attested as existing in a simpler form in the Early Version. In the case of triads 8, 17, 25, these explanatory comments are

<sup>9</sup> *Telu* is found for *teilu* in the Juvenus *englynion* (B VI, pp. 102, 106). The word later became *teulu* under the influence of the *u* in the final syllable.

<sup>10</sup> Unless it may be in the explanation offered for *Tri Aryanllu*, triad 35; see note.

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plainly inept,<sup>11</sup> and reveal ignorance on the part of their original redactor as to the real meaning of the key epithet. Nor do the additions made to triads 20, 22, 28, seem likely to contain any genuine additional knowledge as to the stories referred to. But the strange addition made to triad 33 concerning the death of the poet Aneirin may conceivably reflect an early tradition about the *Cynfardd*—if so, it is the more tantalizing that it has come down in so corrupt a form.<sup>12</sup>

The instances of older orthography preserved in the additions to triads 8 and 25 (see above) suggest that these comments are not the work of the scribe of W, but that they have a manuscript history which may take them back at least a century before the date of the *Llyfr Gwyn*. Further, there is a suggestion that the additions made in this version to triads 8, 26, and 28 are inspired by a desire to bring certain references in these triads into conformity with events narrated in the *Mabinogi* in its extant form (see notes to these triads). In contrast to this, I have suggested in my note to triad 67 that the prior existence of this triad (which is preserved only in the version of WR) in an oral form has itself been instrumental in moulding the precise shape given to two incidents in the extant *Mabinogi* (see pp. lxxv–lxxvi below). But it seems certain that this attempt to bring the two into conformity goes back to a considerably earlier date than that of the *Llyfr Gwyn* itself. If my arguments in this matter are accepted, they lead us to the conclusion that the manuscript transmission of the WR version of TYP has continued in close company with the text of the *Pedeir Keinc* over

<sup>11</sup> In his essay ‘On the Justification of Ordering in TYP’, SC XVI/XVII, pp. 104–9, E. P. Hamp has queried my support of the original serial arrangement of the triads in Pen. 16 and 45 (the Early Version) as against the arrangement found in WR. Two problems are involved here: one is that of the original listing of TYP when the triads were first committed to writing, and the other is that of the antiquity of individual triads. Evidence for the high antiquity of a part of TYP is to be found in the citation of ten triads in the *Four Branches of the Mabinogi* (PKM xxv), as well as of a few others in the *Hengerdd* (see nn. to triads 13, 18 and 76). Investigation arising from the publication of *Cyfes Beirdd y Tywysogion* has convinced me that the *Gogynfeirdd* drew their allusions to TYP from the original of the WR series, rather than from that of the Early Version (see my chapter ‘Cyfeiriadau Traddodiadol a Chwedlonol y Gogynfeirdd’ in M. E. Owen and B. F. Roberts (eds), *Beirdd a Thywysogion*. But I adhere to my former conclusion that the serial arrangement of TYP in the Early Version represents the primary written arrangement of the triads. Here nos. 1–25 of the series all present the names and patronymics of three traditional heroes, grouped together under a complimentary, but designedly ambiguous epithet. When first drawn up, the whole series was inaugurated by the *Tri Hael*, as in the sixteenth-century printed version *Y Diarebion Camberäec* (below p. xxxvi), and this was undoubtedly the most popular and the most frequently quoted of all the triads. Before expanding the series, the redactor of the WR version added some explanatory comments of his own to some of the earlier triads, and these comments tend to be either ignorant or merely inept.

<sup>12</sup> On the triad and other early references to the poet Aneirin see M. E. Owen, ‘Hwn yw e Gododin. Aneirin ae cant’, *Ast. H.* 134ff.

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a number of years previous to the appearance of both in the *Llyfr Gwyn*—and that each has had a significant influence upon the other.<sup>13</sup>

PENIARTH 47, PART III. Fifteenth century (*Rep.* I, p. 381); pages 17–25. This text contains most of the triads found in the Early Version, with certain important additions (triads 70–80). Although the triads are not given in the same order as in the Early Version, yet it will be seen from the table, pp. xv–xvii above, that certain ‘floating sections’ are preserved intact in Pen. 47, as they are also in Pen. 50. These are sufficient in themselves to prove that the affinities of both manuscripts are with the Early Version rather than with that of WR. A further comparison of the manuscript readings shows that the text of Pen. 47 is related more closely to that of Pen. 45 than to that of Pen. 16. Cf. the following examples in which the two correspond as against Pen. 16: *Bedravyt*, triad 21 (Pen. 16, *Bedra6c*); *a phlewduvr fflam*, triad 9 (Pen. 16, *fleudur flam*); *gwenenen*, triad 26c (Pen. 16, *gwenynen*); *Llocheu*, triad 4 (Pen. 45, *llecheu*, with confusion of *o* and *e*; Pen. 16, *Llacheu*). It is however unlikely that Pen. 45 was the immediate source of this manuscript. It is to be noted that Pen. 47 gives the WR version of triad 18 *Tri Chatvarchawc* in preference to that of the Early Version, and contains in addition a few triads which are represented in WR but not in the Early Version: nos. 50, 56, 57, 58. These belong to a group of eight triads which are designated in the manuscript of Pen. 47 as *Trioedd y Gwragedd*; cf. the note appended in the manuscript to the end of triad 58: *hyt hyn y dywetpwyt y trioed arbennic*<sup>14</sup> *a thrioed y milwyr a thrioed y gvraged. traethvn bellach trioed y meirch*. The version of *Trioedd y Meirch* which follows is one of especial interest. It is certainly not dependent on the text of the Early Version, but shares certain features in common with the fragment of *Trioedd y Meirch* which is preserved in the *Black Book of Carmarthen* (see below, p. lxxxvii, n. 136). These consist in the inclusion of the name of Gwalchmai’s horse (Pen. 47, *Meingalet*; LIDC, *Kein Caled*; see triad 46A and variants of triad 42), and the name *Bacheslwm serch* [*sic*], triad 40—this is the only manuscript to give any

<sup>13</sup> In this connection it is perhaps not an insignificant detail that it is only in the *Pedeir Keinc* and in TYP that the epithet *bendigeit* ‘blessed’ is found attached to the name of *Brân vab Llŷr* (see note). I have suggested (note to triad 37) that the original significance of this epithet is directly related to the episode of Brân’s burial which is described both in triad 37 and in *Mabinogi Branwen*. See also note to *Katwalad(y)r Vendigeit*.

<sup>14</sup> This group of triads does not in fact accompany TYP in this manuscript, but the note makes it clear that the *Trioed Arbennic* must have been present in the exemplar from which the scribe was copying. From the content of this list it is clear that *arbennic* in the title has the meaning of ‘sacred’, since a combination of religious, pseudo-learned, and proverbial matter follows. The *Trioed Arbennic* precede TYP in the versions of Pen. 45, Pen. 50, and Pen. 77, thus claiming for these triads a superior status. See edn. and discussion of ‘Y Trioedd Arbennig’ by M. E. Owen, B XXIV, pp. 434–50.

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equivalent epithet for BBC's *Bucheslom seri*. Pen. 47's *Ruhyr reon tuthvleid* (variant of 41a) looks like a corruption of BBC's *Ruthir ehon tuth bleid* (variant of 42a) and is closer to this form than any of the variants of the name which appear in the other manuscripts. This adds interest to the additional *Trioedd y Meirch* (triads 46A and B) which appear in the text of Pen. 47 alone. Triad 46A is evidently a version of the BBC triad *Tri gohoev etystir* (variant of triad 42), but substitutes the name *Myngrwn march Gwedw*—this is the *Guyn Mygtwn march Gwedw* of CO ll. 689, 1006, 1177, who is not elsewhere included in *Trioedd y Meirch*. There is no reason to suppose that triads 46A and B are not as old as the rest of the group to which they belong; and it is not improbable that both offer names which were included in the lost part of the BBC text.

Finally, this text preserves certain echoes of the older poetry which are not found in the other manuscripts of TYP. Pen. 47's reading in triad 45 *ych brychbras y beuren* recalls *ych brychbras y penrwy*, BT 55.21–3. *Ysgwydvriith march llemenic* (variant of triad 43c) is paralleled only in the *Canu y Meirch* (BT 48), which has *Yscvydurith yscodic gorwyd llemenic* (see below, p. lxxxiv). The key epithet *Tri engirialul* of triad 76 would seem to be related to the reference in the *Gododdin* to *tridid engirialul* (CA l. 1252), although the names in the triad as we have it have plainly been altered (see note). But the explanation of these things may simply lie in the fact that the original redactor of the Pen. 47 series had worked over the *hengerdd*. (For some further light on the provenance of this manuscript see below, pp. xlv–xlvi.)

Among the additions to TYP found in this manuscript is *Tri Gwyndorllwyth* (triad 70). This triad can be shown on linguistic and textual evidence to be as old, in its original form, as any of the triads in the earlier manuscripts (see note), although a certain amount of alteration in the names in the triad as we have it in Pen. 47 has partially obscured its original nucleus, and it happens that Pen. 50 preserves a better version. There are a few other instances in which Pen. 47 preserves traces of an older orthography, which are not paralleled in the texts of the corresponding triads in Pen. 16 or Pen. 45, and which indicate an exemplar at least as old as the prototype of this text:

*e* for *y*: (*m*)*enydawc*, triad 31 (Pen. 16, *Mynyda6c*); *Manawedan*, triad 8; *Keheret*, triad 39 (showing also confusion of *o*, *e*; Pen. 16, W: *Ky(h)oret*);  
*w* for *v* (= *f*): *bethewnos*, triad 29c;  
*o* for *w*: *porthavr gado*, triad 9 (Pen. 16, *-gadv*).

Non-lenition of an epithet which is lenited in the other versions appears in triad 9: *Echel mordvytwll* (see below p. xcii).

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Triads 71, 72, 73, are combined in this manuscript in a group with triads 19, 21, all of which include the name of *Drystan* (*m. Tallwch*). They bear witness to the increase in the popularity of *Drystan* (= *Tristan*) as a result of the romances, at the time when the Pen. 47 collection was formed.

PENIARTH 50, pages 149–60 (the end of TYP is wanting). This is the famous manuscript known as *Y Cwta Cyfarwydd* (the ‘Short Guide’) which contains a large collection of prose and poetry, written in the first half of the fifteenth century, somewhere in west Morgannwg or Gower—perhaps by a certain *Dauyd* (whose name occurs on p. 114), and who may have been a monk at Neath abbey (see *Rep.* I, p. 389; G. J. Williams, *Traddodiad Llenyddol Morgannwg*, pp. 11, 192). Dates ranging between the years 1425–56 are found on different pages of the manuscript. Professor Williams points out that the scribe of this manuscript had a first-hand knowledge of the *Book of Llan Dâv*: he quotes the *Llyfr Teilo* and gives a Welsh translation of one of its charters as evidence for the ancient boundaries of the kingdom of Morgannwg (for the passage see *Cy.* IX, pp. 325–6; LL 247–9). Of the additional triads (nos. 81–6) which (with the exception of 84) are found only in this manuscript, it is to be noted that triads 82 and 83 betray a strong interest in St Teilo and in Llan Dâv: triad 83 is indeed a direct quotation from the passage in the *Vita* of the saint contained in LL, which describes the miracle of St Teilo’s triple body. We may probably conclude that these two triads, which he prefixed to the beginning of his collection, are the personal contribution of the scribe of this manuscript.

This text of TYP shows affinities in its grouping of the triads with Pen. 47, and the two manuscripts contain in common some additions to the Early Version which (with a single exception) do not appear in any other text (nos. 70,<sup>15</sup> 71, 74, 75). There is a case of *achub y blaen* between triads 7 and 8, where the title *Tri tharw unben y. p.* of triad 7 is followed by the names which belong to triad 8: this offers confirmation for the fact that the scribe was here following an exemplar with grouping similar to that of the Early Version. But Pen. 50 is not a copy of Pen. 47, and it has already been pointed out that this manuscript contains a better and older version of triad 70 than does Pen. 47. It contains a version of *Enweu Ynys Prydein* (App. I) as well as certain other triads which are found in the WR version (nos. 52, 53, 54, 59), but which do not appear in manuscripts of the Early Version. A few instances of the preservation of an archaic orthography in the text of Pen. 50 may be noted:

<sup>15</sup> Triad 70 is found in C 6, but this manuscript may be derived in part from Pen. 50; see pp. xxxiii–xxxiv below.

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*w* for *v* (= *f*) *Morwyd*, triads 70, 71;  
*e* for *y* in *Brecheina6c*, triad 81; *Kenwawr*, triad 6; *Mynedawc*, triad 33;  
*e* for *ei* in *Geryoet*, triad 52c.

The interest in ecclesiastical legend already observed, combined with an interest in literary romance material, is conspicuous elsewhere in this text of TYP. The version of triad 70 (*Tri Gwyndorllwyth*) given in this manuscript brings out clearly the nucleus around which this triad was evolved, in a reference to the miraculous fertility of *Nevyn* daughter of *Brychan Brecheniauc*, as this is expounded in the early document *De Situ Brecheniauc* (see EWGT 15 (14)). The same interest in the family of *Brychan* is evinced in triad 81, *Tri Santeidd Liny*s. The substitution here of *lliny*s *Joseph o Arimathia* for that of *Caw o Brydyn* in older versions of this triad may probably also be regarded as the work of the scribe of the manuscript, and the interest thus betrayed in the subject matter of *Y Seint Greal* is repeated in another of Pen. 50's additions, triad 86, *Tri Marchawc a enillawd y Greal*. No other text of TYP (except *Vaughan's* transcript of Pen. 50) has this latter triad in quite the same form, and I think it probable that this triad also is the work of the scribe himself. It is interesting to find that the triad implies a wider knowledge of the French Vulgate Arthurian romances than the writer could have obtained merely from a knowledge of *Y Seint Greal*, the Welsh translation of one 'branch' only of these romances (see note to triad 86). We know that two copies of *Y Seint Greal* were in existence in this part of South Wales during the fifteenth century (*Traddodiad Llenyddol Morgannwg*, pp. 12–13, 148)—one in the possession of the Glamorgan *bonheddig* *Hopcyn ap Tomas*, and the other in that of *Trahaern ap Ieuan ap Meurig*, who lived near *Caerleon*, and to whom *Guto'r Glyn* addressed his *cywydd* begging for the loan of the book on behalf of the abbot of *Glyn y Groes (Valle Crucis)* (GGI, pp. 303–4). It is evident that a copy of *Y Seint Greal*, the romance so highly esteemed in Glamorgan at the time, was at the disposal of the scribe of *Y Cwta Cyfarwydd*. Interest in the romances and in *Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum* appears in the substitution of *Caerllion* in triad 85 as the site of one of *Arthur's teir prif lys*, in place of *Aberffraw* in the older version of this triad (App. I, 4); and again in the addition made in this manuscript to triad 35, which alludes to *Geoffrey's* tale of *St Ursula* and the virgins of *Cologne* (see *var. lecta* to triad 35). It seems however that the scribe had some additional knowledge of the legend of *St Ursula* which he could not have derived from *Geoffrey* (see note to *Dunawt tywyssawc Kernyw*).

Perhaps the enterprise of this scribe in bringing new ecclesiastical and secular material into the time-honoured framework of *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* is to be explained in relation to the fact noted by *Professor G. J.*

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Williams (*Traddodiad Llenyddol Morgannwg*, p. 147), that it became the custom in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries for *boneddigion* to pay copyists—probably in many cases ecclesiastics—to compile for them manuscript codices of prose and poetry.

PENIARTH 51, pages 170–85 (*Rep.* I, p. 399). This manuscript is in the autograph of the *penccerdd* Gwilym Tew of Morgannwg, who was at the height of his career *circa* 1470<sup>16</sup> (*Bywgraffiadur*). It contains a mixed collection of prose and verse, including a copy of the *dwned* or bardic grammar, genealogies, a list of words from the *Gododdin*, and the oldest copy of the *Tri Thlws ar Ddeg* (App. III). It is interesting as being the earliest manuscript extant which is known to be the work of a bard and not of an ecclesiastic (see G. J. Williams, *Traddodiad Llenyddol Morgannwg*, p. 48). Ifor Williams has pointed out the ineptitude of the ‘explanations’ given in the word-list from the *Gododdin* (B I, pp. 216 ff.): evidently by the latter part of the fifteenth century much of the old bardic vocabulary had passed into oblivion, even among the *penccerddiaid*. This fact is relevant in relation to the very confused and corrupt text of TYP given in this manuscript. It is apparent that Gwilym Tew was content to copy mechanically the text which lay before him, even when what he wrote conveyed little or no meaning. The version of TYP here given is that of WR, with certain omissions and some slight alterations in the order of the triads. Section I of the *Llyfr Coch* (= triads 47–50, see p. xxii above) is not included, and the text begins with section 2: *Porth a aeth gan yrp luyddiawc* [*sic*]. The text is so inaccurate that it seems impossible that it could have been taken down directly from either W or R. But since it contains certain names which have dropped out of R (triad 56b, *Vthr ap Greidiol*; triad 33, *Iago ap peli*) and on occasion preserves W’s readings where these differ from those of R (cf. triad 63), it would appear that Gwilym Tew’s exemplar stood closer to the text of W than to that of R. It is therefore of interest to find that, except for section 1 of the WR series (see p. xxii above), this text includes all those triads which, though represented in R, are lacking from the lost beginning of W (nos. 3, 12, 15, 35, 37, 44, 51, in the numbering of this book, see table; pp. xv–xvii). Pen. 51 therefore indicates that these triads were originally contained in W as well as in R; but it suggests that section 1 (*Tri Dyn a gauas Kedernit Adaf*, etc.) was absent from the *Llyfr Gwyn*. It is possible, therefore, that in spite of the corrupt state of the text, Pen. 51’s version of the triads listed above may preserve some of the lost readings contained in W. This suggestion gives particular significance to

<sup>16</sup> R. S. Loomis quotes the opinion of Sir W. Ll. Davies, former Librarian of the National Library of Wales, that Pen. 51 dates from ‘*circa* 1460’ (WAL 46, n. 23).

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Pen. 51's version of triad 51 which, instead of *Trywyr Gwarth*, is entitled *Tair Gormes Ynys Prydain*—the title of triad 36. In my note to triad 51 I have shown that *Trywyr Gwarth*, which is based entirely on the narrative of the *Brut*, has been substituted in the WR version for the *Teir Gormes* of the Early Version, and that both triads deal essentially with the same theme, that of the successive invasions which entered Britain. Pen. 51 adds at the end of this triad a reference to *Iddaw(c) Cor(dd) Prydein* as plotting the battle of Camlan. But if this allusion to a character distinctive of *Breudwyt Ronabwy* was derived from an earlier version of the triad, it is difficult to see why it did not make its way into the *Llyfr Coch* collection—more probably it is an addition by the scribe.

Throughout the text of TYP a number of corrections have been subsequently added above the line, in a darker ink and in a later hand. These corrections are from a much better text, which is either that of R itself or a copy, since where any distinction exists, the readings correspond with those of R as against W (triad 60c, *Gwiwawn* = *Gviavn* in W; triad 54a, *nis treulei* = *nis trewylllei* in W).

Gwilym Tew's copy offers one interesting variant. This is in triad 34, where one of the *Teir Anvat 6wyalla6t* is the blow which *talhaearn a trewis e veirin yni ffen [sic]*. The other texts state that a certain (*H*)eidyn slew Aneirin. The manuscript readings of this version are too corrupt for us to put much faith in them, yet the suggestion here given that W's confused rendering of the *Tair Bwyellawd* really conceals a tradition that Aneirin was slain by another of the famous *Cynfeirdd* offers an intriguing possibility. Gwilym Tew certainly did not recognize Aneirin's name in the allusion, or surely he would not have written it in this manner.

PENIARTH 27, PART II. This manuscript belongs to the latter half of the fifteenth century (*Rep.* I, p. 355; see also B XV, p. 99, n.). Pages 87–8 contain a finely-written, complete, and fairly accurate copy of *Trioedd y Meirch* alone, not accompanied by the rest of TYP. The order of the triads does not correspond with that of any of the other versions: triads 38–44 in this book appear in the order 2, 7, 4, 5, 6, 3, 1, in Pen. 27.

PENIARTH 77, pp. 304–6. The part of the manuscript containing TYP was written in 1576 by Sir Thomas Wiliems of Trefriw (*Rep.* I, p. 509). The text is only fragmentary, and gives TYP after the list entitled *Trioed Arbennic*<sup>17</sup> (p. 303). There are however several points of interest about this text of TYP. It combines a grouping which, with omissions, represents that of the

<sup>17</sup> See p. xxvii, n. 14 above. Morfydd Owen tells me that the version of this text given here corresponds closely with that found in Pen. 45 and 50.

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Early Version (cf. nos. 1, 18–26, on the table, pp. xiii–xv). In addition it includes triads 47–50, which constitute section 1 of the version of TYP contained in the *Llyfr Coch* (p. xxii above), and which do not appear in the Early Version. Moreover this text of the group *Tri dynyon a gawssant gampeu adaf*, etc. (triads 47–50) is remarkable in that it preserves a variant of triad 49 with names paralleled only in Prydydd y Moch's quotation of the triad (see n. to triad 47). Evidently, therefore, this variant is independent of, and earlier than, the text of R. Pen. 77 includes also a complete text of *Teir Drut Heirua* (triad 54), which is defective in WR, and is absent from the Early Version. It is apparent therefore that this manuscript owes nothing to the text of the *Llyfr Gwyn* or the *Llyfr Coch*, but that from an independent source it presents certain of the triads which are characteristic of the WR version. Pen. 77 also contains (p. 213) a text of the *Tri Thlws ar Ddeg* (App. III) and (p. 209) of the *Pedwar Marchog ar Hugain* (App. IV).

BRITISH LIBRARY ADDITIONAL 31,055, p. 26 (= BL<sup>1</sup>), and PENIARTH 240, p. 93. The former manuscript was written by Sir Thomas Wiliems in 1594–6 (*Rep.* II, p. 1053), and is the source of the fragment of TYP contained in Pen. 240, which was written by the Revd W. Wynn about 1755. The writer of this manuscript states that the triads he gives are 'allan o Lyfr Mr Tho. Wiliams Physygywr llythyren am lythyren'. This version is based on that of WR, as is apparent from the grouping of the triads. It includes *Enweu Ynys Prydein* (App. I), in the form in which this appears in W, and follows the reading of W against that of R in triad 56b. It is evident therefore that it is derived ultimately from the text of the *Llyfr Gwyn*. The triads presented are nos. 8, 18, 23, 24, 26, 54–8, 67, 68, 69.

PENIARTH 252. Seventeenth century. On pp. 169–70 is a fragment of TYP. The triads included are nos. 11, 15, 35, 37, 51, 59, 63–6, with two additions, triad 46c (an addition to the *Trioedd y Meirch*, not represented elsewhere) and triad 87 (see note). The version followed is that of WR, but the text is very corrupt, and the manuscript much stained, and in places difficult to decipher. The beginning is torn. A point of interest is the title given to triad 35, *Tri Arianllu Ynys Brydain*, which serves to link the text with NLW 6434 (see below, p. xl), and so with the lost *Book of Sir Richard Wynn of Gwydir*.

HAFOD 3. Early seventeenth century (*Rep.* II, p. 302). On p. 178 is given as an isolated unit triads 47–50, *Tri dyn a gafas kadernyd adda* = section 1 in the *Llyfr Coch* (see p. xx above).

CARDIFF 6. *circa* 1550. Pages 1–6 contain a fragment of TYP presenting

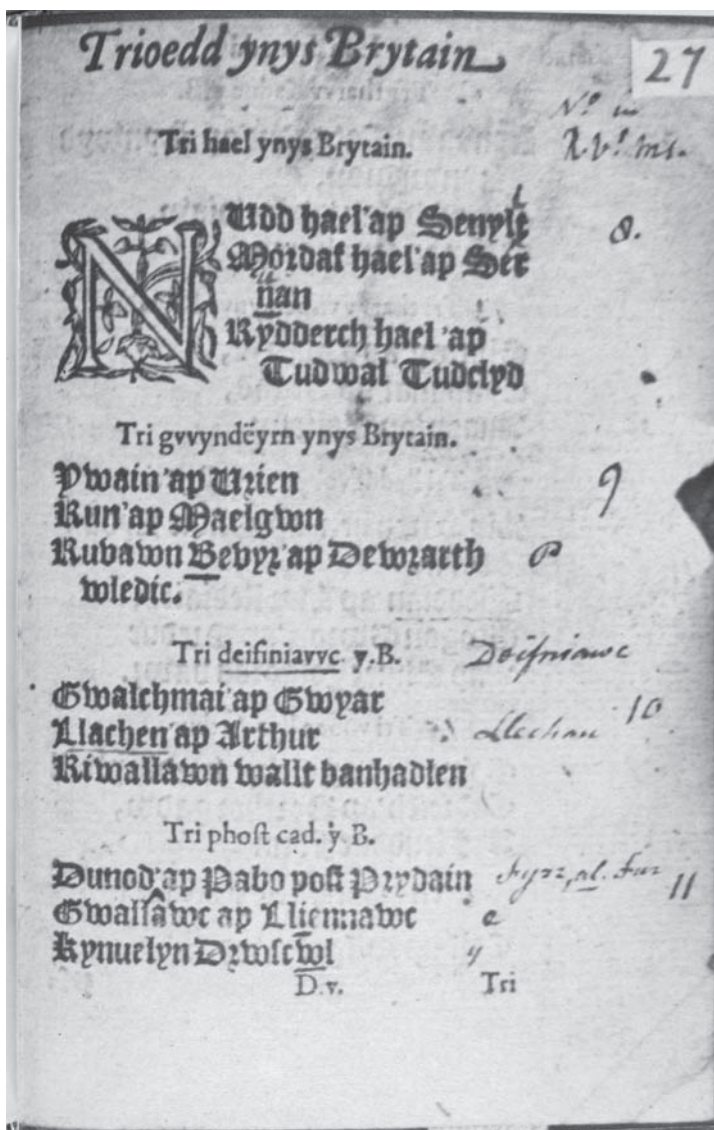
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the following triads: nos. 2, 5, 6, 10, 11, 17, 29, 30, 52, 53, 62, 70. Later in the same manuscript (p. 105) the short version (see pp. xxxix–xl below) of *Trywyr Gwarth* (triad 51) occurs by itself. Apart from the fact that here—as in all versions of TYP—triads 29, 30, are kept together as a pair, nothing can be deduced from the order of the triads in this manuscript as to its affiliations. C 6 combines triads which are characteristic of each of the two main series, and it does not seem possible to show that it is related exclusively to the one rather than to the other. The text of those triads which are represented in the Early Version is closer to that of Pen. 50 than to any other extant manuscript (cf. *var. lecta* of triads 5, 6, 62, 70). On the other hand this manuscript has the WR version of triad 29 and includes triad 51, which is absent from the Early Version. Interesting variants found in this version are those which appear in the text of triad 30 concerning the *teulu* of *Alan Fyrgan* (see note to triad 30), and the variant in the title of triad 70, *Tri aur dorllwyth*. The compound *aurdorllwyth* occurs in a poem by Iolo Goch (GIG no. V.38n.), where its use may well be reminiscent of the triad (see note to triad 70). This version also adds a triad which is found in no other manuscript. This is triad 91, *Tri Diofnog*, which is based on part II of *Y Seint Greal* (= *Perlesvaus*, see note to triad 91). This triad should be compared with triad 86 which is based on *Y Seint Greal*, part I, and which, as suggested above (p. xxx), was probably contributed to TYP by the scribe of Pen. 50. Since C 6 betrays a relation with Pen. 50 in its readings in a number of other triads, it is tempting to believe that this triad also was made by the scribe of Pen. 50, and that it was included among the triads in that manuscript which were represented in the concluding pages of TYP which have been lost.

CARDIFF 18. Late sixteenth and early seventeenth century (*Rep.* II, p. 172). On p. 59 the triad *Tair Gwragedd a fu i Vrychan Vrycheiniog* (triad 96) is prefixed to genealogical material. On pp. 72–5 is a selection of TYP (see p. xvii above). The affinities are with the Early Version, and the text is closer to Pen. 16 than to Pen. 45; but there are differences in the order of the triads. The variant *adfwyn* in triad 31 presents the reading of WR as against the *adwy* of the Early Version.

Y DIAREBION CAMBERÆC and the BOOK OF SIR RICHARD WYNN OF GWYDIR. One of the earliest printed books to be published in Welsh contains a version of *Trioedd Ynys Prydain*. This is *Y Diarebion Camberæc*, the second edition of William Salesbury's *Oll Synnwyr Pen*<sup>18</sup> (1547), of which

<sup>18</sup> See D. J. Bowen, *Gruffudd Hiraethog a'i Oes* (Caerdydd, 1958), p. 55, and references cited below. Triads whose demonstrable source is the printed text in *Y Diarebion Camberæc* are cited by Wm. Camden in his *Britannia* (1586); see R. Bromwich, B XXIII, pp. 14–17.



First page of *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* in *Y Diarebion Camberäec* (1567?).  
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a single mutilated copy has so far come to light, which is preserved in the British Library. This work contains a corrected and slightly expanded version of the proverbs in *Oll Synnwyr Pen*, followed by a version of TYP, which includes in addition a few general and proverbial triads. The book lacks not only the title-page<sup>19</sup> but also a section of the proverbs, and a number of pages at the end, which comprised the conclusion of TYP. Alun Mathias has shown<sup>20</sup> that the original contents of the volume can be reconstructed from a manuscript copy of the full printed text which has come down in NLW 6434 ‘Llyfr Thomas Wynn o’r Dyffryn’, which was written in 1577, partly by a professional copyist named Ieuan Llwyd.<sup>21</sup> The contents of this manuscript bear the title ‘Crynodab or Diarebion Sathredig: Trioedd Ynys Prydain a Thalm or Philosophi neu’r hen athronddysg Camberaig’.<sup>22</sup> A date of publication for *Y Diarebion Camberäec* between the years 1565 and 1568, and probably in the year 1567, is to be deduced from the *Llythyr Annerch* to Richard Langford which Salesbury prefixed to the work, and which is preserved in NLW 6434.<sup>23</sup>

A comparison of the text of TYP in DC with that in NLW 6434 places beyond doubt the fact that the two are very closely related; and Mr Mathias has demonstrated conclusively that NLW 6434 represents a copy of the printed text, by showing that the presence of eight triads in DC, which are absent from the manuscript version, is to be explained as due to the fact that the copyist inadvertently turned over two pages at once, thus passing from the middle of the triad *Tri Eurgelein* (no. 61 in this book) to one of the *Trioedd y Meirch* (no. 42), so that his text reads:

Tri aur gelain y. B. madoc ap Brwyn. kyngain ap pelliawc. ellwyd march alser ap maelgwyn.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Since the title-page is missing the work has come to be known by the title which appears on the top of the first page, *Y Diarebion Camberäec*. For this text of TYP I employ the abbreviation DC.

<sup>20</sup> Alun Mathias, ‘Astudiaeth o Weithgarwch Llenyddol William Salesbury’, (University of Wales M.A. thesis, 1949), pp. 191 ff.; *Journal of the Welsh Bibliographical Society* VII, pp. 125–33.

<sup>21</sup> *Handlist of Manuscripts in the National Library of Wales*, vols I/III (1940–51), p. 180.

<sup>22</sup> In addition to the proverbs and TYP the manuscript contains the following texts: (i) *Geirie Gwir Taliesin*, (ii) *Ilyma XXVIII Gwell*, (iii) *Ilyma Gas Bethau Owain Kyveiliog*, (iv) *Traethawt o Athronddysg Gamberaig*, (v) *Traethawt o Gymmendawt Camberaig*, (vi) *Y Diarebion Cambereg*.

<sup>23</sup> Alun Mathias, op. cit., pp. 192–4. For the text of the *Llythyr Annerch* see Garfield H. Hughes (ed.), *Rhagymadroddion 1547–1659* (Caerdydd, 1951), pp. xi–xii; T. H. Parry-Williams (ed.), *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg: Y Gyfrol Gyntaf 1488–1609* (Caerdydd, 1954), pp. 69–71.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. triad 42 below, and A. Mathias, ‘William Salesbury—Ei Fywyd a’i Weithiau’, in G. Bowen (ed.), *Y Traddodiad Rhyddiaith yn yr Oesau Canol* (Llandysul, 1970), pp. 49–51.

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The eight triads in DC which do not appear in NLW 6434 correspond in serial order with the triads numbered in this volume as follows: 62, 17, 63, 64, 65, 66, 11, 42. The other triads in this volume of which the printed text has come down in DC are numbers 2–11, 18, 19, 21, 22, 27–30, 38–46, 60, 61. The remaining triads found in NLW 6434 (amounting to 15 of TYP together with some of the proverbial triads) were presumably found also in DC, though they were on the pages which have since been lost. (For these see table, pp. xv–xvii above.) In the textual notes I have recorded the few instances in which the text of NLW differs from that of DC.

Robert Vaughan knew of the existence of DC, though he was unable to obtain a copy of the work. He refers to it in a letter to Archbishop Ussher dated November 1653: 'I am tould (and think it true) that it (the Triades) hath beene printed long since together with some Welshe proverbs, but I cannot learne where any printed copy is to be found.'<sup>25</sup> At a much later date the book was known and used by the *Myvyrian* editors, who quote variants from 'Ll. Argraff' in the footnotes to the first series of triads.<sup>26</sup> Evan Evans refers to 'the old printed copy of the Triades' for the variant reading *gwawdrwy* (triad 11) in his copy of Lewis Morris's translation of TYP in Pantón 29 (p. 71, see p. liii below).

Some further light on the source of the version of TYP printed by Salesbury in DC may be derived from certain later copies of this version. Three eighteenth-century manuscripts present the same text, either in complete form, or in the form of a list of textual variants which correspond

<sup>25</sup> Quoted in *Journal of the Welsh Bibliographical Society* VII, p. 133. For Vaughan's letter to Ussher see C. R. Elrington, *The Whole Works of the Most Reverend James Ussher* (Dublin, 1847–64), xvi, 597; and T. Emrys Parry, 'Llythyr i Robert Vaughan, Hengwrt, gyda rhagymadrodd a nodiadau' (University of Wales M.A. thesis, Bangor, 1961). On the encouragement given by Archbishop Ussher to Vaughan to collect and afterwards to translate TYP, see my *Trioedd Ynys Prydain in Welsh Literature and Scholarship*, pp. 6–8, and refs there given.

<sup>26</sup> MA<sup>2</sup> 388–94. In a few instances the editors have erroneously labelled as 'Ll. Argraff' variants which do not correspond with the readings of the printed text. These are p. 389, col. 2, where 'Ll. Argraff' is cited for *Ffleidur* (DC: *Ffleuddvr*), *Dyssfndod* (DC: *Dysgyfedawc*), *Avan Ferddig* (DC: *Auan Uerdeic*), *Hyd au* (DC: *byd a ei*), p. 391, col. 2: *Echemeint* (absent from DC and NLW), p. 394, col. 1: *Lles* (DC: *lleu*), *trwyddawc* (DC: *Arwyddawc*). That the *Myvyrian* editors used the identical copy of DC now preserved in BL, which was defective then as now, is demonstrated by the fact that no variants are cited from the latter part of the text which has come down only in NLW 6434. Conclusive proof of this is to be found in a note which Owen Jones prefixed to his copy of the triads from DC in BL Addl. 15,023 (see p. liv below), which accurately describes the imperfect condition of the volume, and states that its owner at the time was Richard Morris. Traces of the work of William Owen Pughe(?) are found in the margins, where the number of the triad in 'RV's MS.' [*sic*] is added to each triad, and a number of the variant readings in the text have been underlined, while the corresponding forms from Vaughan's manuscript have been written in the margin (see plate, p. xxxv). See further G. J. Williams, *Journal of the Welsh Bibliographical Society* X, p. 9.

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with the readings of DC and NLW, and each of these manuscripts refers to the source of this version as the 'Book of Sir Richard Wynn of Gwydir'. Harley MS. 4181 was written by the herald Hugh Thomas about the year 1700. On pp. 1–6 is found a copy of TYP from the *Llyfr Coch*, which is followed on p. 6 by another version, corresponding both textually and in the order of the triads with DC, which is introduced as follows:

There is another History under the same title with this, now or late in the custody of Sir Richard Win of Gwider, collected by a learned Priest called Thomas ap Ieuan ap David ap Kynrig ap Iorwerth, who was a greate traveler, and had some time studied at Rome as himselfe saith, and wrote with all integrity imaginable about the year 1500.

Variant readings from the same text are quoted by Moses Williams in C 36<sup>27</sup> and in his collection of TYP in Ll. 65 (see below, p. xlix). In C 36 there is found the same superscription as is quoted above. A note in Ll. 65 states that the *Book of Sir Richard Wynn* was in the possession of Sir John Wynn, the fifth baronet, in the year 1717. The original owner of the work may have been either the second baronet (1588–1649) or the fourth baronet, to whom Robert Vaughan dedicated his *British Antiquities Revived* in 1662 (see *Bywgraffiadur* 1032).

The superscription which is prefixed to this version of TYP in both Harl. 4181 and C 36 can hardly be taken as implying that the *Book of Sir Richard Wynn* was a printed copy of *Y Diarebion Camberäec*. On the contrary, it suggests that the original of Salesbury's text was a collection of *Trioedd* made *circa* 1500 by the 'Learned Priest' referred to as *Thomas ap Ieuan*, etc., and it is possible that the lost pages of the printed version originally contained a note to this effect. But if this is so, it is surprising that no note of the kind has been reproduced in NLW 6434. And there are other difficulties as well. The version of TYP contained in Harl. 4181 reproduces the same error in the text of *Tri Eurgelein* as has already been noted (p. xxxvi) as occurring in NLW 6434, and contains in consequence the same lacuna of eight triads; and we can only conclude from this that Harl. 4181 is itself ultimately dependent on the copy of the printed text represented by NLW 6434. Since the two other eighteenth-century manuscripts referred to above merely quote variants from the *Book of Sir Richard Wynn*, it is impossible to tell whether the text on which they are based contained the same omission.

<sup>27</sup> This is a manuscript of the early eighteenth century (*Rep.* II, p. 231). The date '26 Nov. 1717' is appended to the triads. On pp. 1–28 are triads from the *Llyfr Coch* with variants in another hand, which I judge to be that of Moses Williams. It seems probable that C 36 is a rough draft for the collated text of TYP which Moses Williams wrote later in Ll. 65 (see below, pp. xlix ff.).

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But it must remain in doubt whether the attribution of this version to *Thomas ap Ieuan*, etc., appeared in Salesbury's text, or in its original, or whether it became appended to this version at some subsequent period.

The three eighteenth-century copies of this version share in common certain other additions to the text of TYP, some of which do not appear either in DC or in NLW. Two additional triads (which I have not included in this volume) are introduced among the general triads in NLW, but head the collection of TYP in Harl. 4181, as follows:

*Tri Thywysogion y syth: Michael a Gabriel a Raphael.*

*Tri Thywysog Saint: Adha, Moeses, a Pheter.*<sup>28</sup>

The three eighteenth-century manuscripts also present some North Welsh genealogical triads, and both Harl. 4181 and C 36 claim that the source of these was the *Book of Sir Richard Wynn*. These manuscripts also contain a text of the *Pedwar Marchog ar Hugain* (App. IV) which was apparently derived from the same source. App. IV and the two triads which head Harl. 4181 may be late additions to this version of TYP; while the rest of the series, in common with Salesbury's printed version, may go back to a manuscript collection of TYP which originated in the manner described, and which came into the possession of the second or fourth baronet whose name it later bore, at a date subsequent to the publication of DC.

The version of TYP represented by DC, NLW, and Harl. 4181, is a 'contaminated' version. The text of the triads contained in it adheres in the main to the readings of the Early Version, though there are a few exceptions (e.g. the extraordinary error *Aneirin merch teyrnbeird* in triad 33 which persists only in the WR version and the transcripts based upon it). Certain groups recur in the order of their presentation in the Early Version (nos. 2–11, 17–25 in this book, see table on pp. xv–xvii above), while nos. 56–61, 62–6 (the latter found in DC only, see above) present a sequence which occurs only in the WR version. In addition there are certain triads (nos. 14, 15, 20, 22, 33, 35) which occur in both versions, but in which the text here presented is closer to WR than to the Early Version. The composite nature of the DC text is further illustrated by the fact that it contains two separate versions of triads 10, 11, 42. An interesting feature of this version is that both DC and NLW head the series of TYP with the *Tri Hael* (triad 2), and I have suggested (see n. to triad 2) that this triad originally headed the series in the Early Version.

<sup>28</sup> In this text there appears the following ill-conceived attempt to create a new triad. After triad 21 are the following words: *Tri Abedrawg oedh Nonn*. . . . Attempts to elucidate the epithet *abedrawg* failed until I noted that at the corresponding place in NLW were the words *A bedrawc oedd hwnv* (cf. triad 21: *Bedwyr m. bedra6c oed h6nn6*). The copyist took these words to be the beginning of a new triad.

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Other features of the *Book of Sir Richard Wynn* as represented by NLW and the three later manuscripts are the following: (i) in this version triad 35 was given its variant title *Tri Arianllu Ynys Prydain* (see note); (ii) this manuscript contained a shortened version of triad 51, *Trywyr Gwarth*, which agreed with the version of this triad found in C 6 (a variant of triad 51 below, after that of the *Llyfr Coch*); (iii) it contained a shortened and distinctive version of triad 86 (see *var. lecta*); (iv) it contained the triad *Tri Hynaif Byd* (triad 92). Nos. (iii) and (iv) appear only in this group of manuscripts. P. C. Bartrum, *Nat. Lib. of Wales Journal* XIII, p. 144, would identify *The Book of Sir Richard Wynn* with Pen. 127.

*Note.* An additional text of this version of TYP is to be found in BL Addl. 15,047, folios 54 v.–74 r. (See *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum* for the year 1844, p. 78.) This manuscript was written by the Radnorshire bard Hywel ap Syr Mathew in the years 1575–6. The interest of the version of TYP which it contains consists in the fact that while this version corresponds closely with DC and NLW both in its textual readings and in the order of the triads, it is plainly derived from an independent source. Under the heading *Trioedd Ynys Brydain weithan a gair* there follows the *Tri Hael* and all subsequent triads (omitting only triad 4) in the order in which they appear in NLW, plus the eight triads referred to above as missing from NLW, which are preserved in DC. As in DC and NLW, a group of proverbial triads is interpolated into the middle of the text of TYP. The series concludes with a number of triads which are found in the older collections, but which do not appear either in NLW or in DC. Included in it also are the two triads *Tri Thywysogion* and *Tri Thywysog Saint*, which I have referred to (p. xxxix) above as appearing in the manuscripts of this version. Appendix IV is not included, however, nor does this text contain the superscription found in the eighteenth-century manuscripts, associating this version with the *Book of Sir Richard Wynn*. I am indebted to P. C. Bartrum for directing me to this manuscript, which unfortunately came to my knowledge too late for me to include reference to it in the table showing the relation between the main manuscripts (pp. xv–xvii above), which its importance undoubtedly merits. I have referred to this manuscript as BL<sup>2</sup> in my list of sources for individual triads, but I have been unable to include full references to it among the *variae lectiones*. Since its readings correspond very closely with DC and NLW, I have confined myself to citing BL<sup>2</sup> only in those instances in which it offers a reading which differs markedly from these texts. In all other instances it may be concluded that the readings of BL<sup>2</sup> correspond with those of DC and NLW.

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### The Collections

Three extensive collections of *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* were made by antiquarian scholars of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. They were based almost entirely upon the earlier manuscripts already discussed. Two of these collections still remain in manuscript, while the third, that of Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt, became the basis for the first series of triads in the *Myvyrian Archaeology of Wales* (second edition, pp. 388–94). In the order of their date of composition these collections are the work of:

John Jones Gelli Lyfdy, in Peniarth 267<sup>29</sup>  
Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt, in Peniarth 185; and  
Moses Williams, in Llanstephan 65.

PENIARTH 267. This manuscript was written during John Jones's detention in the Fleet prison in the years 1635–41 (*Rep.* I, p. 1077). The following note occurs on p. 251 of the manuscript, at the close of the section of TYP naming the men who inherited Adam's qualities (triads 47–50 below), and which John Jones took from the copy of Simwnt Vychan which is bound up with Pen. 16: *Ag fal hynn a esgrifennais if ddiwaethaf o law Simwnt fychan y terfyna y 2. dydd o fis chwefror 1640.* Although Jones gives no other specific indications as to his sources, yet there is no difficulty in identifying these, since the original manuscripts have all survived; moreover he was a faithful copyist and preserved the order of the triads in his originals. The manuscripts used by him were as follows: pp. 123–42, TYP from Pen. 50;<sup>30</sup> pp. 228–30, *Trioedd y Meirch* from Pen. 27; pp. 231–45, TYP from Pen. 16. On p. 245 there occurs the following note: *Y Trioedd uchod a gefeis if yn ysgrifenedig ar femrwn, mewn llaw ewingrwn, a esgrifennessid uwchlaw chwechan mlynedd kynn no hynn,*

<sup>29</sup> See Lhuyd, *Arch. Brit.* 262, col. 1, where a manuscript of 'Mr Jones o'r Gelhy Lyvdy' is entitled the *Hanesyn Vlodeuog* 'gan deked yr ysgrifen'. The description is well deserved, and the list of contents given by Lhuyd makes it clear that the manuscript intended can be no other than Pen. 267 or Wynnstay 10 (see note below).

<sup>30</sup> J. Jones examined Pen. 50 in the year 1612 (G. J. Williams, *Traddodiad Llenyddol Morgannwg*, pp. 153–4). Since writing the first edition I have found that a collection of TYP by an amanuensis of J. Jones, corresponding in all particulars with that in Pen. 267, is found in Wynnstay 10. Folios 98–106 reproduce the version of Pen. 50; folios 107–8 that of Pen. 27; folios 108–13, Pen. 16; folios 114–15 *Pedwar Marchog ar hugain*. Even the note and date and colophon correspond with those in Pen. 267. In this manuscript the source of the Pen. 50 version of TYP is acknowledged as being *Ex Cwitta Cyfarwydd*. See E. D. Jones, *Nat. Lib. of Wales Journal* II, p. 30. (I am indebted to Nesta Lloyd who has contributed this information.) See further the note 'C' on Pen. 50 in SC XXX, p. 200.

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*ag a gollassei eu dechreuad hwynt, ond kymaint ag a gefais mi ai hesgrifennais yn y mod y keffais.* This is a description of Pen. 16, which has lost the opening words of the first triad; and a comparison of the readings proves that this was the manuscript which Jones had before him. On pp. 245–50 there follows *Pedwar Marchog ar Hugain Llys Arthur* (App. IV), from the text of Simwnt Vychan, now bound up with Pen. 16.

In addition to his main collection of TYP in Pen. 267, reference may be made to an earlier manuscript of John Jones, Pen. 216. This manuscript is not written in the distinctive orthography used later by Jones, and it bears the date 1611 on p. 156 (see triad 90 below). A few separate triads are found scattered through the text in different places, as follows: p. 33 a version of *Pedwar Marchog ar Hugain* (App. IV); p. 136, *Tri Phorthor Perllan Vangor fawr ymaelawr* (triad 60); p. 156, *Tri Dyfal Gyfangan* (triad 90), said to be taken *allan o hen lyfr Kymraec medd Sr. Tom ap Wil.* (the reference is to Thomas Wiliems of Trefriw, *Dict. Latino-Cambricum* (Pen. 228) I, p. xxii); p. 158, *Tri Chudd a Thri Datcudd* (triad 37). I have noted the variant readings from the triads in this manuscript, which are of a certain interest, since with the exception of triad 90 the source from which John Jones derived them is not clear. The readings of triads 37, 60, correspond with those of the *Book of Sir Richard Wynn* of Gwydir (pp. xxxviii–xxxix above).

PENIARTH 185 (= V). This is a small octavo volume containing the collection of *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* made by Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt (1592–1666). The manuscript bears no date.<sup>31</sup> The *Trioedd* are bound up

<sup>31</sup> I am indebted to Emrys Parry for referring me to a letter of Robert Vaughan's to Archbishop Ussher, preserved in *Trin. Coll. Dublin C. 2. 22*, and printed in C. R. Elrington (ed.), *The Whole Works of the Most Reverend James Ussher* (Dublin, 1847–64), XVI, pp. 591–2. This is dated 22 June 1653, and contains the following passage: 'As concerning the translating and explicating of the British Triades, to speak the truth, it was the thing I aimed at the last year for you, but after that I had gathered together, out of sundry fragments, some number of them, about Allhallentide last, I applied myself wholly to reading them and other ancient British antiquities, for my better understanding of them, until after Christmas; at what time I perceived that I could do no good in it, and therefore, lest I should shame myself and discredit the book, I laid it aside, and took an easier matter in hand . . . Truly I am very diffident of my own sufficiency to meddle with the Triades; nevertheless if you think that I can perform anything to the purpose, I will willingly make a second trial, hoping to prevail more by prayers than by skill and knowledge.' (In November of the same year Vaughan was once more occupied with the subject of the triads, cf. his letter to Ussher referred to p. xxxvii, n. 25 above). It seems a natural conclusion to draw from this letter that Pen. 185 represents the 'sundry fragments' which Vaughan gathered together with the purpose of elucidating TYP for the benefit of the archbishop; and in this case the manuscript is to be dated November 1652. Vaughan's notes on *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* in NLW 7857 (see below) are no doubt the fruit of the 'second trial' which he made at the archbishop's instigation. Edward Jones, Bardd y Brenin, states in a note (NLW Addl. 111B, p. 47) that Vaughan 'did not live to finish his notes and explanations of *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*'.

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with two other fragments: the *Testamentum Wulfrici* (an extract from Domesday Book in Anglo-Saxon script and probably also in Vaughan's own hand), and a fragment of an English journal of a voyage made in the Atlantic and Indian oceans in the year 1627. *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* cover pp. 1–60<sup>32</sup> and comprise 107 triads, including *Enweu Ynys Prydein* (App. I) and *Pedwar Marchog ar Hugain* (App. IV). The title-page reads as follows: 'Trioedd Ynys Prydein or the *British Triades*, collected by Robt. Va<sup>n</sup> Esq<sup>r</sup> out of several Manuscripts on Parchment'. ('A copy of this MS. was taken by me Lewis Morris, July 1738. Bendith dduw gida thi. Vale bene vale.' 'And by me Aneurin Owen, July 1829.')

This collection is the source of the first series of *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* in the *Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales* (second edition, pp. 388–94) which was taken from William Morris's copy<sup>33</sup> of his brother Lewis Morris's transcript of Pen. 185. Pages 1–29 contain an alphabetical list of the proper names in TYP, followed by an alphabetical list of the triads according to their key epithet; p. 26 is left blank; p. 30 lists Vaughan's sources, and the number of triads contained in each (see MA<sup>2</sup> 388). These are given as follows:

Llyfr John Balmer, 70 trioedd;  
 Llyfr Robert Vaughan, 34 trioedd;  
 Y Llyfr Cwta, 56 trioedd;  
 Llyfr Maredudd Llwyd,<sup>34</sup> 56 trioedd (y 4 hyn ar femrwn);  
 a Llyfr o Law John Jones o'r Gelli Lyfdy, 53 trioedd;  
 Achwaneg o'r 24 Marchog Llys Arthur, 8 trioedd.

On pp. 31–4 is a numerical table headed 'In this Table all the Books are Compar'd', whose intention is similar to that given for this book on pp. xv–xvii above. The triads are listed alphabetically by their key epithets, and

<sup>32</sup> The pagination is modern, and not quite correct. There is no leaf corresponding with pp. 35–6, though there is no corresponding lacuna in the manuscript at this point. Pages 37–8, containing *Enweu Ynys Prydein*, were intended to head the collection, but have been incorrectly bound.

<sup>33</sup> *Y Delyn Ledr o Gaer Gybi* (= BL Addl. 14,873; *Rep.* II, p. 1156), written by William Morris in 1738–9. On p. 53 is the following superscription: *Y Trioedd a ganlyn a gymeryd allan o Lyfr Mr Vychan uchod yn Llyfrgell Hengwrt gan (fy) Mrawd Lewis Morris 1738*. Other copies of Lewis Morris's transcript were made by Evan Evans (= Pa. 13) and by Iolo Morganwg (Llanover MS. C36); and G. Evans implies in the *Rep.* (II, pp. 817, 1157) that both of these manuscripts are the source of the *Myvyrian* text. I think it is clear that both were used, since the notes added to the text in Pa. 13 have been incorporated in *Myvyrian*, yet an omission (of the name *Mwynfawr* after *Elidir* in triad 44) corresponds in William Morris's text and in *Myvyrian* but is not found in Pa. 13 (see MA<sup>2</sup> 394).

<sup>34</sup> On Maredudd Lloyd—Vaughan's friend and relative—see *Bywgraffiadur* 552, and Nesta Lloyd's article, *Journal of the Welsh Bibliographical Society* XI, pp. 133–92, and below p. xlv, n. 38.

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these are followed by the serial number of each triad in each of the manuscripts listed above in which it is included. Although this table is incomplete and occasionally faulty, it provides an invaluable clue to the identity and content of Vaughan's sources, since it makes it possible to construct a nearly complete list of the order in which the triads occur in the different manuscripts used by him. Beyond this table Vaughan gives no intimation as to his source for any individual triad. Although he follows the order of triads in several manuscripts in turn, in a manner similar to that which has been followed in this volume, yet the text he produces is sometimes an 'edited' one, in which he has selected a preferable reading from one or other of the manuscripts available to him, but without indicating its source.<sup>35</sup> It is clear that Pen. 16 was not available to Vaughan, although it was used by John Jones, and we must conclude that it only came into the Hengwrt library at Jones's death in 1658.<sup>36</sup> Thus Pen. 45 was the earliest manuscript of TYP which he had, and it is this manuscript which he entitles *llyfr Robert Vaughan* in the list of his sources, and to which he gives priority in the presentation of his text. Below is an analysis of Vaughan's collection of TYP giving the numbering of the triads in the *Myvyrian* text (second edition, pp. 388–94), intended as a guide to the origin and provenance of this text.

*Myv.* nos. 1–6. The collection is headed with *Enweu Ynys Prydein* from Pen. 50.

*Myv.* nos. 7–41 are from Pen. 45 (corresponding with nos. 1–36 in this book).

The omission of the triads *teir llynghes gynniweir* and *Tri aerfedawg* (nos. 15 and 25 in this book) correspond with the omission of these two triads from Pen. 45's text of the Early Version,<sup>37</sup> and leave a total of thirty-four triads—the number of triads in *llyfr Robert Vaughan*.

*Myv.* nos. 42–62 give the text of all additional triads from Pen. 50 which do not occur in Pen. 45, with the exception of *Enweu Ynys Prydein* which, as we have seen, was brought to the head of the series.

<sup>35</sup> E.g. in triad 1a below, where Vaughan's substitution of *ynghaer lleon ar uysg for ym Mynyw* may be presumed to derive either from *llyfr Siôn Balmer* or from *llyfr John Jones*, since according to his table of sources both of these manuscripts contained the triad.

<sup>36</sup> According to RBB xiii this manuscript (= Hengwrt 54) was lent to John Jones by Siaspar Griffith.

<sup>37</sup> The full text of *Tri overveird* (*Myv.* 18 = triad 12 below) has been supplied from another manuscript. The last name is all that is given of this triad in Pen. 45 (see above, p. xxi), but this was a sufficient clue to enable Vaughan to discover which triad was missing.

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Following the same plan *Myv.* nos. 63–72, 75–7, represent triads from the WR series which do not occur in Pen. 45 or Pen. 50. Vaughan's table shows that he derived these triads from *llyfr Maredudd Llwyd*.<sup>38</sup> A study of the text of these triads proves their ultimate source to be *Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch*, since the readings agree with W against R in such places as the two differ (e.g. *Myv.* triad 77 (= triad 67 below) reads *riarot* with W for R's *Aranrot*; and *Caswallawn* with W where R has *-awc*). A study of Vaughan's table shows that *llyfr Maredudd Llwyd* contained a version of the WR series which was defective at the beginning, and lacked precisely those triads which are absent from W (see above, pp. xxiii–xxiv). Vaughan describes *llyfr Maredudd Llwyd* as being written *ar femrwm* 'on parchment', and we may therefore conclude that this version of TYP was derived from the detached fragment of the *Llyfr Gwyn* which was later known as Pen. 12 (*Rep.* I, pp. 324–5). Whether by *llyfr Maredudd Llwyd* Vaughan intended to designate the complete *Llyfr Gwyn* itself must remain doubtful: the fact that the text of TYP was mutilated as it is at the present day suggests that the fragment may have been already detached at this time.<sup>39</sup> The number of fifty-six triads which Vaughan states were contained in *llyfr Maredudd Llwyd* corresponds with the number in the fragment.

Vaughan cites *llyfr John Balmer*<sup>40</sup> as his source for *Trioedd y Meirch*, which are given as a separate group at the end of the *Myvyrian* first series (p. 394). He also appends the initials J.B. to the three triads *Tri chyndynyawc*, *Tri Gogyfurd llys Arthur*, *Tri dyn goreu wrth osp a phellenig* (*Myv.* nos. 88–90

<sup>38</sup> On Maredudd Llwyd see S. Jones, 'The Lives and Labours of John Jones and Rt. Vaughan' (University of Wales M.A. dissertation, 1926), and N. Lloyd, *Journal of the Welsh Bibliographical Society* XI, pp. 133–92. Maredudd Llwyd was a relative of Vaughan, and lived at Welshpool. Letters exchanged between the two survive (*Cambrian Register* III, 1818, pp. 301 ff.) from which it appears that Llwyd made an unsuccessful attempt to obtain for Vaughan the *Book of Llan Dâv*. Llwyd's books, like those of John Jones, probably came into the Hengwrt collection on his death. Vaughan's description of Pen. 12 as *llyfr Maredudd Llwyd* suggests that at the time of writing Pen. 185 it was in his friend's possession and not in his own.

<sup>39</sup> In *Arch. Brit.* 262, col. 1, E. Lhuys refers to the *Llyfr Gwyn* as a book which 'ought to be' in the Hengwrt library. In his account of the contents of the manuscript there is no reference to the triads and other items contained in the detached part.

<sup>40</sup> It appears that John Palmer was not a contemporary of Vaughan's; but that he was a scribe who wrote a manuscript for a certain Gruffudd ap Llywelyn ap Howel; and that this manuscript later passed into the possession of John Jones. I am indebted to Mr Emrys Parry for drawing my attention to the following note in Peniarth MS. 271, p. 6: *Allan o lyfr Syon Balmer a scrifennasei ef ar femrwn i Ruff: ap llywelyn ap Howel, ac sydd eiddo fynghar Jo. Jones o Gellilyfde ym mhlwy Ysgeifiog yn sir y Fflint. Robert Vychan or Hengwrt yn sir Veirionydd a scrifennodd hyn y nawfed dydd o Vyehefin. 1654.* A further reference to this work occurs in Vaughan's hand in Pen. 194 on the back of Gruffudd Hiraethog's licence as Pencerdd, where a list of the relations of Jesus Christ is followed by the note: *felly y mae y chwe gwyr uchot yn chwe chefniderw i Grist, ac Ieuan fedyddiwr yn gyfynderyw iddaw, fal y dywed llyfr hen ar femrwn a yscrifennasei John Balmer i Ruffydd ap lywelyn ap Howel.*

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= nos. 72, 73, 75 below). In addition, Vaughan's table shows that the triads *Teir gwenriein* and *Teir gohoyw riein* (*Myv.* nos. 73, 74 = triads 78, 79, below) are derived from *llyfr John Balmer*. The only manuscript in which I have found these five triads is Pen. 47 (except for no. 75, which appears also in Pen. 50), and it is apparent that both in these triads and in *Trioedd y Meirch* Vaughan's text preserves certain older and better readings than those found in Pen. 47 (see *var. lecta* to triads 45, 46b, 78c, 79c). In his table Vaughan assigns to J.B. two triads, *Tri engiryawl* and *Tri anhyfodawc* (nos. 76, 77 below), which he does not give in the body of the text; and these also appear only in Pen. 47. A reconstruction from the table of the contents and order of the triads in *llyfr John Balmer* shows that it contained all the triads in Pen. 47 (= a total of fifty-six), and in addition fourteen other triads, which came at the beginning of the series, and comprised *Enweu Ynys Prydein* and *Tri hael, glew, mat gyflavan, overveird, rudvoawc*, thus making up the specified total of seventy triads. The conclusion is therefore inescapable that *llyfr John Balmer*, the fourth of the manuscripts *ar femrwn* used by Vaughan, was the source of the triads in Pen. 47; that it contained this series in a more complete as well as a more accurate form, and that it has since been lost. It is evident from the copy in Pen. 47 that this manuscript contained a particularly interesting version of *Trioedd y Meirch*. (It should be noted that although the *Myv. Arch.* ascribes the version which it gives of *Trioedd y Meirch* to *llyfr John Balmer*, the text has been 'edited', and brings in readings from other manuscripts.)

The remaining triads in the *Myv.* text must have been derived from the manuscript of John Jones, which Vaughan cites as his final manuscript source. They are *Myv.* nos. 87, 91, 92, 78, 79, 80 (= nos. 51, 53, 87–90 in this book); and *Myv.* nos. 82–6 (= App. IV in this book). There is a difficulty about the identification of the manuscript here to referred. Vaughan states that it contained only fifty-three triads, yet in his table the serial numbers of the triads ascribed to John Jones's manuscript run up to 74. One is tempted to identify this manuscript with Pen. 267, the *Hanesyn Vlodeuog* (pp. xli–xlii above), which contains John Jones's collection of rather less than seventy-four triads. But from his table it is evident that the manuscript to which Vaughan refers contained in addition to the contents of Pen. 267 a version of *Enweu Ynys Prydein*, and also triads 89, 90 below (= *Myv.* nos. 79, 80). Each of these items appears elsewhere in John Jones's manuscripts, though not in Pen. 267. Nor does Pen. 267 include *Trywyr Gwarth* (triad 51 = *Myv.* no. 91), of which Vaughan gives the 'short' version found in manuscripts whose affinities are with the *Book of Sir Richard Wynn* (see pp. xxxviii–xl above).

Vaughan made three additions to TYP from his own reading. These are *Myv.* no. 85 *Trywyr a ddianchasont o Gamlan*, from *Culhwch* (see App. IV,

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no. 7), *Myv.* no. 31 *Trywyr hut a Lledrith*, referred to by Dafydd ap Gwilym (see note to triad 27) and *Myv.* no. 78 (see note), which is paralleled in the *Araith Ieuan Brydydd Hir* (triad 88 below).

Vaughan's collection of TYP in Pen. 185 is described thus in Edward Lhuyd's catalogue (*Arch. Brit.* 264, col. 2):

Y Trioedh Vaugh. in K.K. (= *Y Cwta Cyfarwydd*), Lh. Siôn Palmer etc. L(*lyfr*) K(*och*) H(*ergest*) (col.) 588.<sup>41</sup> Liber Triadum, incerto Authore, a Camdeno aliisque saepius laudatus; Tria varii generis in historia Britannorum Notabilia, complectens. Hunc exiguae Molis libellum circa finem seculi septimi scriptum asserit Vaughanus, qui rogante clarissimo Usserio (quod filius ejus, D. Gryffydus Vaughan me docuit), versione Anglicana et scholiis, si quae alia in nostra Historia, luce sane publica dignissimis, illustravit. Britannicum Codicem quod attinet, duo vidimus exemplaria hoc titulo insignata, quorum alterum tamen mancum, alienum alterum videbatur. Prius occurebat in Codice rubro Hergestiano duabus schedis constans, seculo decimo quarto in membrana exaratum. Init: Porth a aeth y gan yrp Luydaug hyd yn Lhychlyn . . . Yn y rhesther a skrivennodh Mr W. Maurice o Lyvre skrivennedig Hengwrt, y mae yn henwy yn lhe yn lhyvyr y *Trioedh* ychod. Sev y eurie ydynt: Kant o Drioedh Ynys Bryden, wedi i kaskly, ay trevny gan dhiuyd vvyrdod Mr Robert Vaughan, yr hwn ai trôdh yn Saesneg, ag ys(s)ydh yn i deongly yn rhyvedhol. W.M. Ond ev ai kohlwyd yr ystalm o vlynydhoedh o vysk lhyvre Hengwrt medhe G(*ruffydd*) V(*aughan*). Ann. 1698.

(. . . The Book of Triads, of uncertain authorship, often praised by Camden and others, (consisting of) three different *Notabilia* in the history of the Britons. Vaughan asserts that this pamphlet of small size was written about the end of the seventh century; who when asked by the most famous Ussher (as his son D. Gruffydd Vaughan told me) illustrated it with an English version and notes, as worthy of the light of publicity as anything in our history. As regards the British (Welsh) book, we have seen two exemplars marked with this title, of which the one however is defective and the other is seen to be a variant (?). The first was found in the Red Book of Hergest, consisting of two pages written on parchment in the fourteenth century, beginning *Porth a aeth . . .* (*etc.* = triad 35 R) . . . In the list which Mr W. Maurice wrote of the books at Hengwrt, he names the above old book of the Triads. His words are 'A hundred of the Triads of the Island of Britain, collected and arranged by the assiduous study of Mr R. Vaughan, who turned them into English, and who interprets them wonderfully

<sup>41</sup> Vaughan did not have access to the *Red Book of Hergest*. But Lhuyd evidently concluded that the readings ascribed to *llyfr Maredudd Llwyd* were from RBH; he did not realize that they are from the *Llyfr Gwyn*.

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(WM). But they have been lost for a number of years from among the books at Hengwrt, according to Gruffydd Vaughan' (1698).<sup>42</sup>)

It is evident that the reference in the latter part of this passage is to Vaughan's notes on *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*, already lost from the Hengwrt library in Lhuyd's day. Until recently this document was only known through the intermediary of Evan Evans's transcript made in the year 1773, which is contained in Pa. 51. But in 1948 the original manuscript turned up (see *Nat. Lib. of Wales Journal* V, p. 227), and it is now classified as NLW 7857D (*Handlist* II, p. 290).<sup>43</sup> However, Vaughan's translation and commentary covers only the first seven triads in the order in which these are given in Pen. 185, i.e. *Enweu Ynys Prydein* (App. I) followed by *Teir Lleithichwyth*, *Tri Hael*, and *Tri Gwyndeyrn* (triads 1–3 below). Unfortunately both the beginning and the end of Vaughan's manuscript is defective,<sup>44</sup> so that we still have to turn to Evan Evans's transcript for a complete version of Vaughan's work. We shall never know whether Vaughan's work ever dealt with 100 triads, as claimed by Lhuyd. If these were treated on the scale of the surviving text, the work must have been immensely long. But the transcript evidently represents all that was extant in Evan Evans's day. In so far as I have compared the transcript with Vaughan's text I have found it to be accurate; and therefore I have regarded it as a dependable reproduction of those parts of Vaughan's text which have not survived. I have cited some variants from this work (in which Vaughan's original text is distinguished from Evans's transcript by the abbreviations VN<sup>1</sup> and VN<sup>2</sup>) both in the notes to the triads and in the Notes to Personal Names. Vaughan's method is to quote *Enweu Ynys Prydein* sentence by sentence, followed by a very full commentary and discussion. This commentary is of value for the light which it throws upon Vaughan's scholarship and reading, his attitude to Camden, and the respect which he shares with other seventeenth-century antiquaries for

<sup>42</sup> It is likely that Pen. 185 is the ultimate source for the selection of triads published by Edward Jones, Bardd y Brenin, in his *Musical and Poetical Relicks of the Welsh Bards* (London, 1794), pp. 9–12. Jones describes his source (p. 9) as 'an ancient manuscript, called *Y Trioedd Ynys Prydein*, supposed to have been begun about the third or fourth century'. Cf. Tecwyn Ellis, *Edward Jones, Bardd y Brenin 1752–1824* (Caerdydd, 1957), pp. 53, 98.

<sup>43</sup> The fly-leaf records earlier sales of the manuscript: by Mr Wm. Vaughan to Mr Wm. Herbert in 1767, and by the latter to Wm. Owen in 1818; finally by Wm. Owen to Evan Evans for thirty shillings on 22 January 1825.

<sup>44</sup> A plan for the publication of Evans's transcripts of Vaughan's notes with a translation of TYP is referred to in a letter from Daines Barrington to Bishop Percy, dated 14 June 1776; later the same year Evans writes that he is collecting subscriptions for the volume. See Aneirin Lewis (ed.), *The Correspondence of Thomas Percy and Evan Evans* (Louisiana, 1957), pp. 143 n., 176. See also letter from Evan Evans to Owen Jones (1779), Hugh Owen (ed.), *Additional Letters of the Morrises of Anglesey* (London, 1947; 1949), II, p. 780.

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TYP as an important historical document. The source for some of his statements is not identifiable, for example his references to the causes of the battle of *Arfderydd* (see note to triad 84), and some of his statements about *Rhun ap Maelgwn* (see note). He has preserved some popular traditions; for example his account of *Helyg ap Gwylanog* (see n. to *G6ydno Garanhir*), and his reference to the burial of *Maelgwn* on Ynys Seiriol. But he shows no lack of imagination in the inflated and highly-coloured style which he employs on occasion in writing up his material. The notes deserve publication in full.

LLANSTEPHAN 65. This collection of triads was made by Moses Williams, and bears the date 1717. In addition to TYP the book includes the *Tri Thlws ar Ddeg* (App. III) and *Pedwar Marchog ar Hugain* (App. IV), North Welsh genealogical triads, as well as general and proverbial triads. The title-page is inscribed:

*Liber Triadum; Sef yw hynny, Y TRIOEDD. Wedi eu casgl allan o amrafael hen Lyfrau ar Femrwn a Phapur, a'i cymharu a'i gilydd, a'i gosod i lawr mewn Trefn egwyddorol, yn ddwy Ran. Trwy Lafur ac Asdudrwydd Moses Wiliams, Baglawr Celfyddydau, Ficer Dyfynog yn Sir Frycheiniog. Si quid novisti rectius istis, candidus imperti. Printiedig yn Llundain yn y Flwyddyn 1717. . . . 'Gwelwch nad trosof fy hunan y cymmeraisi Boen, eithr dros bawb a geisiant Ddoethineb.' Ecc. 24, 34.*

Although this title-page gives the impression that the work is finished and prepared for the printer (see *Rep.* II, p. 556), in reality this is far from being the case, and there exists a considerable amount of confusion among the contents of the volume. The Latin introduction (pp. 1–8) makes it plain that this book was intended merely as the first part of a much longer work, to be entitled '*Cambro-Britannica, sive Autorum Vett. Cambro-Britannicorum OPERA; quae supersunt omnia; Cum variantibus Lectionibus et Annotationibus hunc primum ex Codd. MSS. in lucem edita.*' The first volume should have contained the triads together with *Somnium Maximi Imperatoris, Praelia Ludi et Levelisis* (presumably in Latin with commentary), *et Chronicon Breve*. But the collection of triads was the only part of this ambitious work to be achieved, and even this was left in a state which is far from finished. The Latin introduction was intended to apply to the whole work. The author's words with reference to the triads deserve to be quoted, since they are characteristic of the attitude of the antiquarian scholars of his day, and explain the formation of the three great collections of TYP under discussion:

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Quaerenti autem quid sibi velint istae Triades, respondeo, eas memorabilia quaedam de Britannorum rebus gestis, viris illustribus, Praeliis, *etc.*, quae a variis Authoribus variis temporum intervallis conscripta sunt, continere, in quibus etsi non nulla sint quae aniles fortasse sapiant Fabellas, multa tamen notatu dignissima quaeque verae interferenda sint Historiae, et nullibi praeterea (Quod sciam) aut saltem rarissime occurrant, sagax inde decerpit Lector.

(If however it be asked what these Triads are about, I reply that they contain a number of memorable things about the deeds, heroes, and battles of the Britons, written by various authors at various distances of time; and although there is much amongst them that smacks perhaps of old wives' tales, there is also much that is worthy of attention and may be regarded as true history, and moreover occurs nowhere else (as far as I know), or only very rarely, which the intelligent reader will be able to cull from them.) See further J. Davies, *Bywyd a Gwaith Moses Williams* (Caerdydd, 1937), pp. 15, 18, 116.

There follows a list of the manuscript sources used by MW for his collection of TYP, together with abbreviations, as follows:

Ll. Du. = the *Llyfr Du o Gaerfyrddin* (used for *Trioedd y Meirch*).

R.W. = 'Richd. Wynne of Gwidr's Copy. An Syr Siôn Wynne'. (See pp. xxxviii–xl above.)

L.K.H. = the *Llyfr Coch Hergest*.

C.C. = *Y Cwta Cyfarwydd o Forgannwg* (= Pen. 50).

N. = 'A Copy that follows it in M.W. A.12.' [*sic*].

F. = 'Dr Foulkes' Book.'

N.N. = 'Another Copy that follows N. out of a MS. about 700 years old.' (This is John Jones's collection of TYP in Pen. 267; see pp. xli–xlii above.)

G.O. (= Gutun Owain) is also referred to in the body of the work for a version of *Pedwar Marchog ar Hugain* (see App. IV).

There follows a collection of 123 triads, given in alphabetical order. (This number is made up by the inclusion of App. I and IV in this volume.) To these are added the *Tri Thlws ar Ddeg* (App. III). A few brief notes are appended to the triads in Latin and Welsh. Variant readings are added beneath each triad, but only too frequently these are merely introduced by the abbreviation *m.a.* (= *medd arall*), rather than accompanied by the source of the variant. Thus it is not possible to determine the source of all MW's variant readings, or to identify with certainty the manuscripts which he refers to as F and N. It is evident that NN is Pen. 267, and MW seems to refer to this manuscript again in his introduction, when he cites John Jones's authority for dating the oldest exemplar of TYP used by him as 'about 700 years old' (i.e. Pen. 16; see John Jones's note in Pen. 267, cited

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above, p. xli–xlii note). It is possible that N was another manuscript in the hand of John Jones. But I have not been able to identify ‘Dr Foulkes’ Book’ (= F). The variants which are quoted from RW correspond with the contents of the *Book of Sir Richard Wynn*, as these can be reconstructed from the other manuscripts which contain copies of this work (see pp. xxxvii–xl above). Hence it is that MW includes in the body of TYP triad 92 *Tri Hynaiŷ Byd*, and *Tri Thywysogion* and *Tri Thywysog Saint* (see above, p. xxxix), all of which derive from the *Book of Sir Richard Wynn*. Like Robert Vaughan in Pen. 185, Moses Williams in his turn was tempted to add to his collection three triads culled from his own reading: these are nos. 93, 94, and 95 below, which are derived respectively from *Cullhwch*, from a *cywydd* by Gutun Owain, and from *Branwen*.

The remaining manuscripts of TYP which I have examined are the following:

CWRMRAWR 3. This manuscript was written by William Salesbury in the years 1565–6. Pages 55–72 present the WR version of TYP from the beginning of section (3)<sup>45</sup> *Tri Goruchel Garcharawr* to the end. *Enweu Ynys Prydein* follows section (3) as in the text of the *Llyfr Gwyn*, and the version here given resembles that of W rather than R. It is certain that this version is derived ultimately from the *Llyfr Gwyn* and not from the *Llyfr Coch*<sup>46</sup> though it is evidently not a direct transcript, since the readings are mainly corrupt. The variants correspond for the most part with those in the *Book of Sir Thomas Wiliems of Trefriw*, BL Addl. 31,055.<sup>47</sup> On pp. 91–4 of the same manuscript are some additional triads from another source, introduced by the title: (*O'r*) *Trioedd y tynmwyd hynn*. There follow, according to the numbering given in this book, triads 35, 51, 52, 12, 37, 44, 82, App. I, nos. 1–4. The text breaks off abruptly at this point, in the middle of App. I, no. 4, and it is possible that additional pages may have been lost. But it is clear that the triads presented represent a selection

<sup>45</sup> 1564 according to *Rep.* II, p. 873. Alun Mathias gives convincing evidence for the later date (*‘Astudiaeth o Weithgarwch Llenyddol William Salesbury’*, University of Wales M.A. thesis, 1949, pp. 249–50).

<sup>46</sup> As stated in *Rep.* II, p. 874. The text follows W in triads 33d and 56b, where certain names have been omitted from R; cf. pp. xxxi–xxxii above.

<sup>47</sup> I am indebted to Morfydd Owen for telling me that she formed a similar conclusion to the above with respect to the manuscript affiliations of the collection of proverbial triads beginning *Teir unben cerdd etc.* (Cwrt. 3, p. 73). The text of these triads corresponds closely with that found in BL Addl. 31,055, pp. 28b–29a, except that the latter text omits the first two triads in this series and begins with the third *Tri gorefras direidi*, etc. The version of this group of triads given in both of these manuscripts clearly derives ultimately from W and not from R, though as in the case of TYP it can hardly be a direct copy. See also M. E. Owen, ‘Trioedd Hefut yw yrei hynn’, YB XIV (1988), pp. 87–133.

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taken from a fuller text, since all but the first two and no. 82 are variants of triads given earlier from the WR series. The text of triads 35 and 51 shows affinities with the version in the *Book of Sir Richard Wynn of Gwydir* (pp. xxxvi–xxxvii above), since triad 35 bears the title *Tri Arianllu* and triad 51 gives the ‘short’ version of *Trywyr Gwarth*. Nevertheless the differences between the two preclude the possibility that these triads can represent the source of the text of this version of TYP printed by Salesbury in *Y Diarebion Camberäec*. Triads 12, 52, and 82 do not appear either in DC or in NLW 6434, and the texts given here of triads 37, 44, do not show a close enough resemblance with that of NLW to be regarded as Salesbury’s source for the triads in DC. Evidently Salesbury had access to other manuscripts of TYP than those represented by the extant versions.

PANTON 10. Written by Evan Evans *circa* 1780. The version of TYP given here is copied from the text of William Salesbury in Cwrt. 3,<sup>48</sup> but the two versions are presented in reverse order: pp. 1–6 bear the title *O’r Trioedd y tynnwyd hynn* and corresponds with pp. 91–4 in Cwrt. 3, while pp. 9–31 corresponds with pp. 55–72 in Cwrt. 3. Unless otherwise stated, the *var. lecta* which I have quoted from Cwrt. 3 correspond with the readings of this manuscript.

PANTON 13 (pp. 89–108). A copy by Evan Evans of Lewis Morris’s copy of Pen. 185. Gwenogvryn Evans shows (*Rep.* II, p. 817) that this copy is the immediate source of the text of the *Myvyrian* first series.<sup>49</sup> Variants from ‘the printed edition’ (i.e. DC, see pp. xxxiv–xl above) have been inserted in this copy, and are reproduced in *Myv.*

PANTON 38. Pages 83–106 contain a copy of the *Trioedd* in the *Llyfr Coch*, which breaks off in the middle of the second version of *Tri Goruchel Garcharawr* (triad 52 below = WR no. 51). The text follows R closely, and there seems no reason to deduce an intermediary transcript, as is done in *Rep.*, especially in view of the fact that Evan Evans is known to have transcribed poetry from RBH.

PANTON 26 (pp. 7–65). A copy of TYP made in 1774 by Evan Evans from John Jones’s collection in Pen. 267.

<sup>48</sup> See G. C. G. Thomas, ‘From Manuscript to Print’, in R. G. Gruffydd (ed.), *A Guide to Welsh Literature c.1530–1700* (Cardiff, 1997), pp. 250–1.

<sup>49</sup> I have pointed out (p. xliii above) that William Morris’s copy of his brother’s transcript was also used by the *Myvyrian* editors. Another eighteenth-century copy of Lewis Morris’s transcript, attributed to Richard Thomas, is to be found in NLW Addl. MS. 53B, pp. 71–111.

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PANTON 29. This is a copy of a translation of TYP made by Lewis Morris 'out of Mr Vaughan of Hengwrt's copy in his own hand, in the year 1745' (i.e. from Pen. 185). 'This translation is not to be depended upon, Oct. 1759.'<sup>50</sup> 'Transcribed and corrected by me, Evan Evans, Oct. 12th. 1773.' Another copy of this translation is to be found in Cwrt. 14, pp. 131 ff. See *The Cambrian Register* III (1818), pp. 207–11, where triads 1–26 of Robert Vaughan's manuscript are reproduced from this copy.

LLANSTEPHAN 12 (sixteenth century). Page 48 gives the text of triad 37 by itself, with a variant which is of some interest, if it is not merely a slip: *esgyrn kadwaladr vendigaid* in place of *esgyrn G6erthefyr 6endigeit* (see note to triad 37).

NLW ADDL. 37B. Written by Edward Jones, *Bardd y Brenin* (1752–1824). A version of TYP is found on pp. 84–9, followed by some miscellaneous triads from another source on pp. 92–4. The readings of the first series correspond closely with those of Cwrt. 3 and the *Book of Sir Thomas Wiliems* (see above). On p. 92 is found the text of triads 82, 50, and 88 in this book. These are followed by a list of the traditional *Merched Teg* of the romances, to which is appended the note 'There ends the Triades as they are found in a MS. written in the year 1582 or 3, which I take to be a very imperfect copy.' There follows 'from another copy' an incomplete text of *Enweu Ynys Prydein* (App. I below) and of triads 37, 85.

NLW ADDL. 325E. In the hand of Dafydd Ddu o Eryri (= David Thomas, 1759–1822). On p. 92 are found two triads, versions of nos. 35 and 61 in this book.

BL ADDL. 15,034 = BL<sup>2</sup>. Pages 244 ff. (= pp. 122 ff. in modern numbering). A copy of Pen. 185, in the hand of Owen Jones. The triads are preceded by a list of earlier manuscript sources, which corresponds with that appended to the *Myvyrian* first series of TYP (p. xliii above). At the close (p. 132a) is the note 'Diwedd trioedd o Lyfr Mr Fychan ymgleddwr ein Hiaith a'n Breiniau ebe Mr Wm. Morris yn y Delyn Ledr'. Yet William Morris's *Telyn Ledr* (BL Addl. 14,873) does not appear to be the source of this copy, since the omission of a single word which I have noted (p. xliiii),

<sup>50</sup> BL Addl. 14,941 contains Lewis Morris's indexes to TYP. This manuscript consists of a note-book in which proper names are listed alphabetically. Names from the genealogies and other early sources are included with those from TYP. The serial numbers of the triads in Vaughan's collection are appended. It is probable that this work was a list prepared by Lewis Morris as a basis for the notes on personal names given in his *Celtic Remains*.

note 33, above), as occurring in Morris's text of triad 44 does not appear in Owen Jones's version. There seems to be no evidence that this copy was used by the printers of the *Myvyrian* first series, as is the case with the transcript of TYP in *Y Delyn Ledr*.

BL ADDL. 15,023 = BL<sup>1</sup>. Pages 133 ff. (= folios 71a–73a in modern numbering). A copy by Owen Jones of TYP from DC (see pp. xxxiv–xxxvi above), to which the following note is prefixed 'Tri a deugain o Drioedd Ynys Prydain allan o Lyfr argraffedig a gefais fenthyg gan Richd. Morris esq. Y Llyfr hwn a argraffwyd ond odid yn amser y Frenhines Elsbeth neu gynt, fal y gellir barnu wrth y ddull yr yscrifen, canys y mae'r dechreu a'r diwedd ar goll. y mae yn cynwys heblaw y trioedd swrn o Ddiarhebion yn amherffraith am fod amryw ddail ar goll.' See p. xxxvii, n. 26, above.

## II. ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF *TRIOEDD YNYS PRYDEIN*

*Trioedd Ynys Prydein*, the ‘Triads of the Island of Britain’, are distinguished by this title from the mass of triadic literature which has come down in Medieval Welsh. The triad form was used as a means of cataloguing a variety of technical information: in addition to TYP triads are used extensively in the legal codes, in technical treatises on medicine, and are found in the fourteenth-century *Grammar* of Einion Offeiriad,<sup>51</sup> where the *Trioedd Cerdd* deal with the details of poetic craftsmanship. The text of TYP is accompanied in many of the manuscripts by short collections of triads dealing with general moral, gnomic, and proverbial statements.

I am not concerned here with the ultimate problems raised by the use of the triad as a literary device, or with a comparative investigation of the triad form as it is employed in early Irish and Welsh literature. A marked predilection for triple groupings is discernible among the Celtic peoples from the time of their earliest records, as appears in the recurrence of the triple unity in the portrayal of Celtic divinities alike in Gaul and in Ireland.<sup>52</sup> In Wales, a tendency towards triple groupings can be pointed out in the work of Gildas<sup>53</sup> and in the *Historia Brittonum*, and a few triads are found amongst the oldest Welsh verse in the *Gododdin* (CA ll. 179–93). But in the early poetry the innate bias towards the triad form is manifested most clearly in the wide range of variation in mood and manner which is expressed with a high degree of technical skill in the three-line *englyn o’r*

<sup>51</sup> GP 16–18. See also M. E. Owen, ‘Y Trioedd Arbennig’, B XXIV, pp. 434–50, and eadem and Nesta Lloyd, *Drych yr Oesoedd Canol* (Caerdydd, 1986), pp. 151–2; 211–16. Kuno Meyer dates to the period 850–900 a collection of miscellaneous Irish triads comprising geographical, moral, proverbial, and legal matter, *The Triads of Ireland* (Royal Irish Academy, Todd Lecture Series, XIII, 1906).

<sup>52</sup> See H. d’Arbois de Jubainville, *The Irish Mythological Cycle* (trans. R. I. Best), pp. 210–16; M. L. Sjoestedt, *Gods and Heroes of the Celts* (trans. Dillon), pp. 17, 23, 43; P. Mac Cana, *Celtic Mythology* (London, 1970), and Anne Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain* (London, 1967), both *passim*. Vendryes has discussed instances in which the triple grouping of Celtic deities has survived in Old Irish saga, ‘L’Unité en Trois Personnes chez les Celtes’, *Comptes Rendus de l’Académie des Inscriptions*, 1935, pp. 324–42; *Choix d’Études Linguistiques et Celtiques*, pp. 233–46.

<sup>53</sup> Gildas names three invasions of Britain (cf. triad 36 and note). As Collingwood observes (*Roman Britain and the English Settlements* (Oxford, 1936; 1975), pp. 293–4), the three-times repeated appeal by the Britons to the Romans for help which appears in his work might be described as a popular view of previous British history expressed in triadic form.

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*hen ganiad*.<sup>54</sup> My subject, however, is restricted to an examination of the content of *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*, and to a study of the implications of the use of triads as a means of cataloguing the early traditions of Wales. And in conclusion I shall say something about the extended life given to *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* by the use of these triads as a convenient compendium of reference on which the bards might draw for the canonical patterns of comparison demanded by their craft.

It has been long recognized that the prose narratives which have come down from medieval Ireland and Wales represent a mere fragment of an extensive oral literature which was developed, preserved and transmitted over centuries by a highly trained professional order of men of learning. The preservation of any part of this narrative material in writing was merely incidental: its life was the life of the spoken, and not of the written, word. Thus the date of the great medieval *codices*—the *Llyfr Gwyn* and the *Llyfr Coch*, the *Lebor na h-Uidre* and the *Lebor Laignech*—gives no indication as to the antiquity of their contents, since the very nature of the Celtic tradition is such that it precludes the exact dating of content by linguistic *criteria*. The advance in knowledge of the historical development of the Celtic languages which has taken place during the last century may enable us to establish the date of a text in its earliest *written* form as several centuries earlier than the oldest manuscript in which it is contained, as Sir Ifor Williams attempted to demonstrate in the case of the *Four Branches* of the *Mabinogi*. But it can offer no guidance beyond this point: we still have to reckon with the possibility—and with the *chwedlau* this is always a strong probability—that these stories are the final result of centuries of previous oral transmission: a process whose consequent possibilities in the way of fusion, alteration of purpose, and substitution, were forcibly emphasized in W. J. Gruffydd's analysis of the development of the *Four Branches*.<sup>55</sup>

From a variety of causes,<sup>56</sup> early Irish literature received a much more abundant preservation in medieval manuscripts than did the early

<sup>54</sup> It is worth noting that the poem LIDC no. 40 (= CLIH no. VIII), entitled *Enweu Meibon Llywarch Hen*, contains instances of *englynion* in which three personal names are grouped together, *Goreu trywir y dan new*, etc. But the names cited are those of three brothers, the sons of *Llywarch* and of *Kynvarch* (CLIH no. VIII.3, emend so, see B XVII, pp. 180–1). The *Beddau* stanzas, however, provide instances in which the *englyn* form is employed, as in TYP, as a means of grouping names from independent narratives and different traditional strata; see LIDC no. 18; ed. and trans. T. Jones, 'The Black Book of Carmarthen "Stanzas of the Graves"', PBA LIII, pp. 97–137.

<sup>55</sup> *Math vab Mathonvy* (Cardiff, 1928); *Rhiannon* (Cardiff, 1953). See also W. J. Gruffydd and A. O. H. Jarman, 'Mabinogi Branwen', LIC IV, pp. 129–34.

<sup>56</sup> See J. F. Kenney, *Sources for the Early History of Ireland I* (New York, 1929), pp. 4–5; cf. J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Traddodiad Llenyddol Iwerddon* (Caerdydd, 1958), p. 18; idem and P. K. Ford, *The Irish Literary Tradition* (Cardiff, 1992), pp. 3–4, P. Mac Cana, *The Mabinogi* (Cardiff, 1977, 1992), pp. 19–20.

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literature of Wales. But various converging lines of evidence serve to show beyond reasonable doubt that the incomplete fragments which have come down in Welsh were once a part of a very much larger body of tradition, which must have been comparable with the narrative literature which has been preserved in Irish. The *Four Branches*, *Culhwch ac Olwen*, and the Welsh romances, represent relatively late literary adaptations of what must be regarded as a mere fragment of the cycles of narrative to which they belong. I hope to show in the following pages that the original nucleus of *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*, when separated from the late accretions which have been introduced from literary sources, consisted in an index to this body of orally preserved narrative, formed for the benefit of those whose professional duty it was to preserve and hand on the stories which embodied the oldest traditions of the Britons about themselves; stories which concerned the national past alike of the people of Wales and of the lost northern territory which was still remembered in the Middle Ages as a former home of the British race. My conclusions in this matter have been reached after a study of the content of *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* in relation to material preserved in the following sources:

(i) the corpus of early poetry preserved in the so-called *Four Ancient Books of Wales*: the *Black Book of Carmarthen*, the *Book of Taliesin*, the *Book of Aneirin*, and the poems from prose-verse narratives of the *Llywarch Hen* type mainly preserved in RBH, as well as the extremely relevant catalogue of the graves of early heroes preserved in the *Black Book*;

(ii) names and allusions found in the extant *chweddlau* (and in this *Culhwch ac Olwen* is a particularly rich source of evidence);

(iii) material preserved in the works of Gildas and the *Historia Brittonum*, and in the early genealogies;<sup>57</sup>

<sup>57</sup> These are preserved in Harl. 3859 (written *circa* 1100; ed. Phillimore, Cy. IX, pp. 141 ff.) and in the late fourteenth-century Jes. Coll. 20 (ed. Phillimore, Cy. VIII, pp. 83 ff.). Both collections derive from earlier versions written in Old Welsh orthography: the Harleian text is believed to date from the mid-tenth century (see LHEB 56). For archaic features in the Jes. Coll. text see notes to triads 2, 70; and on the date of this manuscript see B XV, p. 110, n., and D. Huws, *Nat. Lib. of Wales Journal* XXVIII, p. 21. For the thirteenth-century genealogies entitled *Bonedd Gw'yr y Gogledd* see App. II and pp. civ ff. below. Full use has also been made in the notes of the different versions of *Bonedd y Saint*, of which the printed texts are listed in EWGT 51–4. All these genealogies, with others from later MSS., have now (since 1966) been collected and authoritatively edited by P. C. Bartrum in *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts* (EWGT). On the inaccurate use of the name 'Nennius' to denote the author of the *Historia Brittonum* see D. N. Dumville, SC X/XI, pp. 78–95, and the same writer's 'Sub-Roman Britain: History and Legend', *History* 62, pp. 173–92. Dumville regards the work of Gildas as 'the founding text' upon which early Welsh scholarship was based; a view which, if accepted, would have far-reaching consequences in relation to the narrative traditions concerning Britain's past which are reflected in TYP.

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(iv) parallels with the story motives of early Irish literature, which emphasize the mutual contact and the common cultural and social background shared by the two main branches of the Celtic peoples in the early Middle Ages;

(v) references by the *Gogynfeirdd* (see CBT), which indicate that this mainly oral literature was still in some degree familiar and in current circulation down to the end of the thirteenth century; and is also recalled in references made by the *cywydd* poets of the succeeding period;<sup>58</sup>

(vi) the fragments of antecedent Welsh tradition preserved both by Geoffrey of Monmouth and by the Welsh adapters of his story in *Brut y Brenhinedd*, and also in the Old French poems based upon the Matter of Britain.

All these sources have yielded valuable evidence; and from them I have brought together in the notes all the information I have been able to discover about the characters and stories alluded to in TYP. A comparison of the content of the triads with the material that has come down in these other records throws into relief certain subjects and dominant themes as forming the oldest nucleus in TYP. It becomes evident that the stories referred to in the triads were focused (a) upon figures of the early Welsh semi-mythological tradition, who belong to the milieu of the *Mabinogi*; (b) upon what may be described as the medieval Welsh view of the country's history in pre-Saxon times, and in the period of the arrival of the Saxons, i.e. the traditions centred upon Caswallawn, Maxen Wledig and Gwrtheyrn (= Vortigern); and (c) upon characters and events of the early Welsh Heroic Age of the sixth and seventh centuries,<sup>59</sup> who belonged both to Wales and to North Britain. The allusions classed under both (i) and (ii) are frequently at variance with the stories preserved in the extant *Mabinogi*, in *Breudwyt Maxen*, and in *Historia Brittonum*, so

<sup>58</sup> The quotation of allusions by the *cywyddwyr* of the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries has necessarily been selective. I have quoted all instances that I have found in which the poets cite an actual triad, in my notes to the triad in question; and I have given in the Notes to Personal Names all references in poetry that I have discovered to the less familiar names in TYP; though I have made no attempt to give exhaustive references to all the occurrences of such names as *Arthur*, *Cai*, *Bedwyr*, *Gwalchmai*, *Rhydderch*, *Nudd*, etc. I am conscious that many allusions will have escaped my notice from the less easily accessible poetry of this later period, both in print and in manuscript.

<sup>59</sup> See Chadwick, *The Growth of Literature* I, p. 16 *et passim*. Apart from the remote recollections of past listed above, in which history has already been turned into legend, the earliest historical event to be commemorated in TYP appears to be the allusion to the fighting in Anglesey *circa* 500 between Cadwallawn Law Hir and the Irish: an event whose historicity seems to be corroborated by the evidence of early inscriptions in the area (see triad 62a and note).

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that one is led to the conclusion that the oldest stratum in the triads refers to parallel oral versions of these tales which have not survived. In the case of (c) the range of reference preserved in TYP extends our knowledge of the early saga of Wales and North Britain further, perhaps, than does any other single source, so that the amount of evidence which has survived independently of the triads is in itself hardly adequate to bring to light instances of conflicting tradition.

The triads which relate to these themes undoubtedly represent the oldest stratum in TYP, and a number represent the oldest stratum in medieval Welsh tradition as a whole. It is in reference to the basic nucleus of subject matter classed under (i) and (ii) above that the title *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* is significant: the triads commemorate the traditions of the Island of Britain as a whole; they look back upon the essential and still ideal sovereign unity of the island.<sup>60</sup> The story of the violation of this unity is brought into full relief: Maxen Wledig led away the troops from Britain, and thus opened the way for the quisling British king Gwrtheyrn to admit the Saxons into the country to his aid. The departure of the troops from Britain finds its counterpart in the invasions which beset the country as a consequence (triads 35, 36); and the early history of Britain, in a manner comparable with that of Ireland as given in the *Lebor Gabála Éirenn* ('Book of Invasions of Ireland'), is envisaged as a succession of incursions by foreign peoples from without. It is significant that in Wales as in Ireland the earliest literature reflects a genuine national and nationwide consciousness on a cultural level,<sup>61</sup> in spite of the fact that in neither country was this reflected in a political sphere: this outlook was undoubtedly facilitated by the freedom accorded to both Welsh and Irish poets to travel unimpeded over the whole area in which their language was spoken. It is important to recognize the full significance of the term *Ynys Prydein* if we are properly to appreciate the original character of the body of tradition to which the triads refer, as well as the milieu in which they came into being and were first transmitted. But before turning to a

<sup>60</sup> In the title *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* we have the earliest expression given in Welsh to the deeply rooted and fundamental concept of Britain's inviolable unity—one island, one people, one sovereign ruler (cf. E. Rowlands, LIC VI, p. 223, and B. F. Roberts, 'Geoffrey of Monmouth and Welsh Historical Tradition' (ch. 2 in his *Studies on Middle Welsh Literature* (Lampeter/Lewiston, 1992), pp. 29–34; idem, LIC XII, p. 139). Rightly or wrongly, P. Sims-Williams regards Gildas as the founding father of a 'personified' *Britannia*, from which this concept emerged (CMCS 6, p. 30). Traces of it appear also in *Branwen and Manawydan*; *Brân is brenin coronawc ar yr Ynys hon, ac ardyrchawc o goron Lundein* (PKM 29). For the suggestion that a continuous British king-list may have existed before Geoffrey of Monmouth's HRB and subsequently superseded by his version, see P. C. Bartrum, 'Was there a British "Book of Conquests"?', B XXIII, pp. 1–6.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Kenney, op. cit., p. 6.

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consideration of these problems, it will be well to note a secondary, but not insignificant, feature of the treatment of early British tradition which is found in TYP. This is the emergence of the Arthurian cycle. The triads provide ample corroborative evidence for a fact which is clearly demonstrated by certain early Welsh poems preserved in the *Black Book of Carmarthen* and the *Book of Taliesin*: it is that at a period earlier than any at which the possibility of external literary influence need be considered, the name of Arthur was already beginning to act as a luminary into whose orbit were drawn the heroes of a number of independent cycles of Welsh narrative: characters both of mythology (such as Manawydan and Mabon), and of heroic tradition who may have belonged to different periods and perhaps also to different parts of Britain from the hypothetical Arthur (see n.). Examples include traditions of Geraint, Drystan, Owain and even of Taliesin. The early poems to which I have referred enable us to trace this process as already at work at an early date. Thus the appearance of Arthur in company with Drystan already in a triad in the Early Version (no. 26) need cause no surprise. But it will be shown later that the substitution in one instance in the Early Version (no. 9), and in a number of triads in the WR version, of the purely conventional *llys Arthur* formula for the earlier *ynys Prydein* formula, bears witness to the mounting impetus with which the Arthurian material gained in popularity in Wales, once Geoffrey of Monmouth's work and the French romances based on the Matter of Britain had reached Welsh audiences through the medium of *Brut y Brenhinedd* and the three Welsh Arthurian romances.

### *TRIOEDD YNYS PRYDEIN* AND BARDIC INSTRUCTION

The argument has been advanced elsewhere<sup>62</sup> that *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*, like the *Trioedd Cerdd*, 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 process of mastering. It is easy to believe that the system of grouping the triads in sequences and contrasting pairs, and the reappearance in fifteenth-century manuscripts of 'floating sections', or short groups of triads which correspond in their order with the order of

<sup>62</sup> GP lxxxviii, xci; J. Lloyd-Jones, *The Court Poets of the Welsh Princes* (British Academy Rhys Memorial Lecture, 1948), p. 29, n. 31. Cf. Ifor Williams, *Hen Chwedlau*, THSC 1946, p. 33.

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the triads in the Early Version are to be accounted for as survivals of this original arrangement of *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* for mnemonic purposes. The *Tri Thlws ar Ddeg* (App. III) and the *Pedwar Marchog ar Hugain* (App. IV) are lists of a similar kind formed for the use of the poets,<sup>63</sup> though in origin they are less ancient than *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*. We know that, down to the final years of disintegration of the bardic order,<sup>64</sup> bardic teaching continued to be both imparted and retained in a medium which was in the main oral—for the surviving copies of the *dwned*<sup>65</sup> or bardic grammar represent only a late and partial aid to instruction—and hence it is that our knowledge of the content of this instruction must remain in a great measure inferential. We have, however, the statement of the *Trioedd Cerdd* as found in the *Llyfr Coch* version of the *dwned* (attributed to Einion Offeiriad),<sup>66</sup> to the effect that:

Tri pheth a beir y gerdawr uot yn amyl: kyfarwydyt ystoriaeiu, a bardoniaeth, a hengerd.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>63</sup> GP xci.

<sup>64</sup> The invention of printing had far-reaching effects on the organization of bardic teaching. When *cywyddau* began to be obtainable in printed form (for the first time in Gruffydd Robert's *Grammar*, 1567), anyone could learn the craft of poetry without a teacher, and consequently the long-cherished and esoteric learning of the bards received a mortal wound. The old organization was approaching extinction during the sixteenth century. See D. Gwenallt Jones, 'Rhethreg yng Nghyfundrefn y Beirdd', *Y Llenor* XII, p. 172.

<sup>65</sup> *Dwned* < *Donatus*. Aelius Donatus was the teacher of St Jerome in the fourth century. His work was the handbook on Latin grammar in common use in medieval universities, and the recognized authority on the subject in Wales up to the time of the Renaissance. Thus *dwned* became the generic term in Welsh for a grammar, although Donatus was not the only Latin grammarian whose work was adapted by the bards to the requirements of their own language. The *dwned* brought together the native learning with that of Latin Christendom; but in addition to giving an account of the parts of speech it contained additional notes on Welsh metres, the forbidden faults, the manner in which different classes of people ought to be praised, and the *Trioedd Cerdd*. See GP xcv *et passim*; Cy: XXVI, p. 128, GOI, pp. 216–17 n. *Dwned* < *Donatus* implies an intermediary form, and Middle English *donet*, *donat* has been postulated; see NED s.v., and T. H. Parry-Williams, *The English Element in Welsh* (London, 1923), pp. 108, 241. The English word is used with a similar generalized meaning to the Welsh.

<sup>66</sup> In its extant form this belongs to the earlier half of the fourteenth century, but as far as the purely Welsh material in it is concerned, the rules on metre suggest that this is based on sources at least as old as the early thirteenth century; see Thomas Parry, THSC 1936, p. 158; idem, PBA XLVII, pp. 177–95; R. G. Gruffydd a Rhiannon Ifans, *Gwaith Einion Offeiriad a Dafydd Ddu o Hiraddug* (Aberystwyth, 1997).

<sup>67</sup> GP 18.13–15. Variants from other texts appear on pp. 37, 134, 135. These variants make it clear that *cyfarwyddydd* is used in the *Llyfr Coch* version in its primary sense of 'knowledge, familiarity', and that the word is not in this context equivalent to *chwdell*, but that *ystoryaeu* is dependent upon it. For the varied meanings of *cyfarwyddydd* see GPC 686; and for those of *ystoria* and *cyfarwyddydd* see the discussions by B. F. Roberts, B XXVI, pp. 13–20 and ch. I in his *Studies on Middle Welsh Literature*. For a different interpretation of *cyfarwyddydd* see P. K. Ford in SC X/XI, pp. 152–62.

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‘Three things that give amplitude to a poet: knowledge of histories, the poetic art, and old verse.’

The *ystoryaew*<sup>68</sup> here referred to mean the national inheritance of ancient tradition to which *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* provided the key.<sup>69</sup> As employed here the words *ystorya*<sup>70</sup> and *cyfarwyddyd* are near equivalents to the Irish term *seanchus*, which meant the whole corpus of past records in oral form, comprising the mythology and traditional history of Ireland in the widest possible sense. In Ireland, as in Wales, the poets were required to have at their command an immense repertoire of the stories and verse in which the native record was preserved—and in so far as the narrative material is concerned, the classification of the stories according to their subject matter in saga lists bears a certain resemblance to the Welsh classification by means of triads. In both there is apparent the same basic idea of grouping according to theme, rather than according to period and cycle (as would be our modern method), and there is evidence which suggests that Irish poets were prepared to recite these catalogues spontaneously when required to enumerate their repertoire for the benefit of a patron.<sup>71</sup> The Irish tales are listed under such headings as Cattle-Raids, Adventures, Conception-Tales, Battles, Feasts, Elopements, Visions, Invasions, etc. The highest grades of poets, known as *filid*, were required to attain an extensive range of proficiency in the native saga, as appears from the tract in the *Book of Leinster* which sets out to list the 250 *prim-scéla* ‘primary stories’ and the 100 *fó-scéla* ‘subordinate’ stories or ‘anecdotes’ with which they must be conversant. Unfortunately the document has come down in an incomplete form, and we are left without illustration of the character or titles of the *fó-scéla*.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>68</sup> Cf. the title *Ystoria Peredur (ab Efrawe)*, WM 165.25–6. *Breudwyt Ronabwy* is also described as an *ystorya* (RM 161.3). The first of the three *Cof* to be preserved by the bards, according to the English version by John Jones, Gellilyfdy was ‘the History of the notable Acts of the Kings and princes of this land of Bruttaen and Cambria’ (LIC III, p. 235).

<sup>69</sup> GP xlii. Cf. Guto’r Glyn’s description of the studies which he shared with his patron Rhys ap Siancyn: *Dwyn ar fyfyrddod ein dau l Drioedd ac ystoriau* (GGI 241.47–8). For *cyfarwyddyd* see B. F. Roberts, ‘Oral Tradition and Welsh Literature’, *Studies on Middle Welsh Literature*, ch. I.

<sup>70</sup> The word *ystorya* is a late borrowing from L. *historia*, which had already given *ystyr* in Welsh (see Idris Foster, PBA 1949, p. 199). Foster points out that in the *Llyfr Ancr* and elsewhere this term is applied to *Bucheddau’r Saint* as well as to more general religious treatises.

<sup>71</sup> Myles Dillon, *The Cycles of the Kings* (Oxford, 1946), p. 115; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Traddodiad Llenyddol Iwerddon*, p. 53; and J. E. Caerwyn Williams and P. K. Ford, *The Irish Literary Tradition*, pp. 36–7.

<sup>72</sup> These terms are discussed by P. Mac Cana, *The Learned Tales of Medieval Ireland* (DIAS, 1980), who regards the term *fó-scéla* as a scribal invention (pp. 118–22). See further his ‘Conservation and Innovation in Early Celtic Literature’, EC XIII, pp. 61–119. He would consider TYP as constituting a ‘motif index’ whereas the Irish Saga Lists are a ‘type-index’. See also Seán mac Airt, *Ériu* XVIII, pp. 39f.

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Although we have no such detailed information in Welsh about the range of knowledge required of the bards, it is safe to deduce from the evidence already cited that originally an extensive familiarity with the canonical corpus of national tradition was demanded as part of the bardic training. This is borne out by the allusions which the twelfth-century *Gogynfeirdd* make to the *hen chwedlau*, since the sheer volume of the traditional names with which they show familiarity indicates that their knowledge can hardly have been limited to names alone, but that they must frequently have had some knowledge of the actual stories concerning the characters concerned. Evidently it was not sufficient for Cynddelw and his contemporaries, as it was to become in an ever-increasing degree for the poets in the later centuries, to stake a claim to being the inheritors of the complete corpus of national tradition, merely by a judicious use of the powerfully evocative names preserved in *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*. The poets whose work falls within the period before 1200<sup>73</sup> prove by their allusions that they were familiar with the following heroes<sup>74</sup> and cycles of narrative: the story of the Trojan origin of the Britons (see H 14.19), and the tale of Benlli Gawr (H 127.19; 152.24; 184.5, etc.), both of which are found in the *Historia Brittonum* (and for the poets it was HB (not HRB) which stood as the authority for the major events of Britain's earlier history); the characters of the *Mabinogi*;<sup>75</sup> Maxen Wledig; Caswallawn and his opposition to the Romans; certain of the subsidiary tales in *Culhwch ac Olwen* (H 95.4; 110.2); the Arthurian story, with references to Arthur, Cai, Llachau, Medrawd, *Kelli Wic* (see note to triad 1), and the battles of *Baddon* (H 84.10; 96.5; 101.6 = CBT IV, no. 1.40; no. 4.238; no. 6.99; no. 13.19) and *Camlan* (see note to triad 59); Cadwallawn and his contest with the English king Edwin (see note to triad 55); much North-British material including traditions about Urien Rheged and Owain, and about the battle of *Arfderydd* (see note to triad 84); the nucleus of the Taliesin story; and a number of the names of the heroes of classical antiquity (see note to triad 47). They knew the names (and, we may assume, something of the work) of others of the *Cynfeirdd*

<sup>73</sup> A convenient list of these poets is given by D. S. Evans, *A Grammar of Middle Welsh* (Dublin, 1964), pp. xxv–xxix; also by J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *The Poets of the Welsh Princes* (Cardiff, 1994), pp. 74–80.

<sup>74</sup> For those whose names occur in TYP references will be found in the Notes to Personal Names at the end of this volume.

<sup>75</sup> W. J. Gruffydd implies (*Rhiannon*, pp. 4–6) that the poets at all periods made little reference to the material of the *Mabinogi*. Yet Cynddelw refers to *Lleu, Pryderi, Brân, Mallohwch* (for *Matholwch*) (CBT IV, no. 9.154n.); and Prydydd y Moch to *Mallohwch, Teyrnon* and *Brân vab Ll'yr* (CBT V, no. 1.91n.) see under Notes to Personal Names. References by the *cywyddwyr* to these characters are also frequent, though by the fifteenth century the heroes of the foreign romances claimed a large share in the allusions of the poets. See below, pp. lxxviii–lxxix.

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from those whose poetry has come down (see notes to *Auan Gerdic*, *Arouan*, *Dygyrnwelw*, *Tristbard*). Owain Cyfeiliog is distinguished from his contemporaries by his references to the matter of the *Gododdin* in his poem *Hirlas Owein* (RBP cols. 1432–5 = CBT II, no. 14.125n.; see notes to triad 31 and to *Mynyda6c Eidynd*). Llywelyn Fardd (II) refers to the *Ymarwar Lludd a Llevelys* (H 208.4 = CBT VI, no. 7.4n.); while Cynddelw's references to Urien and Owain suggest that he was acquainted with that part of the Powys *englyn* cycle which dealt with their story;<sup>76</sup> and it is Cynddelw too, who in his allusion to March ap Meirchion (CBT IV, no. 3.12n.) gives the earliest reference found in this poetry to a character in the *Drystan* story.

Yet in spite of the wealth of allusion preserved in the work of the *Gogynfeirdd*, there is a continual difficulty in assessing the value to be attached to this material as evidence for knowledge of the antecedent tradition. For the process by which the poets from the thirteenth century onwards progressively lost touch with the national inheritance of story was implicit from the first in the use which they made of this inheritance. The *Gogynfeirdd* wrote no narrative poems, and at no time did it form any part of their intention to give much information either about their contemporaries, or (still less) about the heroes of past ages. The way in which they utilized their acquired knowledge of *ystoryaeu a hengerdd* consisted in citing the names of the ancient heroes as standards for favourable comparison (since these names occur only in eulogy), against which to set those of their patrons.<sup>77</sup> It has been shown<sup>78</sup> that this use of the material provided by the national tradition owed something to the teaching of the medieval schools of rhetoric, in which Aristotle's book on rhetoric was expounded, with its account of the various characteristics to be expected from men in different conditions of life. Yet since this tendency is apparent already in the older poetry,<sup>79</sup> the influence of rhetorical teaching is not a

<sup>76</sup> Cf. the allusions to *aelwyd reged* (H 123.18 = CBT III, no. 5.70), *Unhwch* (112.17 = CBT IV, no. 9.155).

<sup>77</sup> For Cynddelw's use of complimentary epithets embodying the names of the traditional heroes, see D. Myrddin Lloyd, B VI, pp. 122, 127; idem, *Rhai Agweddau ar Ddysg y Gogynfeirdd* (Caerdydd, 1977), p. 5, etc. Seán mac Airt pointed out in an important article (*Ériu* XVIII, p. 150) that a primary use made of the traditional stories by the Irish bards was for purposes of illustration. This indicates that in both countries these stories received an extended currency for a similar reason—as an essential part of the bard's equipment for his craft. On this point in relation to the Irish bards, see also E. Knott, *Irish Classical Poetry* (Dublin, 1957), p. 57. P. Mac Cana summarizes the difference between early Irish and Welsh poets in the extent and manner in which they utilized their native traditions, *The Mabinogi*, pp. 18–20; EC XIII (1972), pp. 81–2.

<sup>78</sup> See D. Gwenallt Jones, *Y Llenor* XII, pp. 26–7, 158.

<sup>79</sup> CLIH no. XI.10a (where Cynddylan is compared with Culhwch); CA l. 1242, where the famous comparison *cent bei ef Arthur* 'though he was not Arthur' is made of one of the warriors of the *Gododdin*. Again, in the *Marwnad Cynddylan* (B VI, p. 136, l. 24) Cynddylan is described as *clod Ceiriadawg* (= *Caradawg*), and *Cadwallon* compared

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complete explanation with regard to this phenomenon in Welsh literature. Nor is it by any means clear by what channels the Latin teaching of the ecclesiastical schools was made accessible, in however rudimentary a fashion, to the bards of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The various versions of the *dwned* used by the bards<sup>80</sup> contain lists of the virtues which should properly be attributed to different classes of men and women, according to their fixed status in society. From this it was but a step for a bard to attribute to his patron the valour of Alexander or Arthur, and the generosity of Rhydderch Hael; since these ancient heroes were regarded as supreme possessors of the virtues in question.<sup>81</sup> And for a twelfth-century poet to name his patron in eulogistic comparison with one or all of the *Tri Hael* (triad 2) was to invoke a symbol of common knowledge shared between him and his audience,<sup>82</sup> which led directly back into the milieu of the North-British Heroic Age. An outstanding example of this attitude of mind is the manner in which Cynddelw implicitly conceives and recreates the figure of the twelfth-century ruler Owain Gwynedd in the form of his sixth-century predecessor, the North-British hero Owain ab Urien. This concept is already present in Gwalchmai's reference to Owain Gwynedd as *gwyndeyrn Prydein* (see note to triad 3); and it is perfected in Cynddelw's *awdlau* to Owain Gwynedd (CBT IV, nos. 1–4).<sup>83</sup>

But the logical outcome of this impressionistic usage of the old names as symbols of valour, generosity, and courtesy, was for these names to acquire so strong an evocative power in their own right that the poets who used them progressively lost touch with all that had given to the names their original vitality. It may be said that this process 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 WR version (see above, p. xxv–xxvi and n.) 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

with *Maelgwn* in *Marwnad Cadwallon* (B VII, p. 25, l. 23) as well as with some even remoter ancestors. See R. G. Gruffydd, 'Canu Cadwallon ap Cadfan', *Ast. H.* 28.

<sup>80</sup> GP 15–16, 55–6.

<sup>81</sup> D. Gwenallt Jones, *Y Llenor* XII, pp. 26–7.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. T. Parry, *Hanes Llenyddiaeth Gymraeg* (Caerdydd, 1944), p. 42. Such references were charged with the intricate appeal to sense and emotion which Saunders Lewis in discussing the bardic vocabulary describes as their *aura* (*Braslyn o Hanes Llenyddiaeth Gymraeg*, p. 23).

<sup>83</sup> See D. Myrddin Lloyd, *Y Llenor* XIII, pp. 49–50: 'Nod yr holl awdl (= H 83–5) yw cyflew i'r dychymyg . . . ymwybod o wir fawredd Owain Gwynedd ac ystyr ei yrfa, sef mai ef i'r ddeuddegfed ganrif oedd Hiriell, Owain ab Urien, ac Arthur; iddo ef yn Nhegeingl a gerllaw Aberteifi ail ymladd 'gwaith Faddon fawr' ac 'Argoed Llwyfain'. Cynysgaedda ei oes â holl fawredd a gwerth ei gynfyd.' Cf. to the same effect T. J. Morgan, THSC 1946, p. 283, and more generally, D. M. Lloyd, *Rhai Agweddau ar Ddysg y Gogynfeirdd* (1977).

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must have been already present in an older text than that of the *Llyfr Gwyn*.<sup>84</sup> 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, when their transmission was given fresh impetus by the awakened antiquarian interest of such humanist scholars as Robert Vaughan and John Jones Gellilyfdy. It accounts also for the fact that Gwilym Tew was prepared to copy in his own hand a corrupt and barely intelligible text of TYP (Pen. 51). But on the reverse side of the picture it must be remembered that Dafydd ap Gwilym and the *cywyddwyr* down to the sixteenth century (and later) every now and again produce a fragment of narrative which cannot be directly related to any known literary source, and which is evidently based on current popular tradition.<sup>85</sup>

Thus it is that as a part of the diction of bardic vocabulary the names recorded in TYP acted as symbols whose precise significance altered throughout the centuries in which they were used. To the earlier *Gogynfeirdd* they may have been highly concrete symbols pointing to a definite background in the antecedent narrative tradition. They became gradually divorced from their original context; so that in the late fourteenth century, for example, it would be interesting to know exactly what was understood by the poet or by his patron when Madog Dwygraig compared Morgan ap Dafydd to the *Tri Hael* (RBP col. 1271.25–7). And a very similar problem attaches itself to the eulogistic epithets under which these names are grouped in the triads. What is the precise shade of meaning which we should attach, in their context, to such terms as *gwyndeyrn*, *deifnyawc*, *galouyd*, *rudvoawc*, *ysgymyd aeruaeu*, etc.? These are compound words which belong to the vocabulary of bardic poetry, which was predominantly archaic, and even intentionally obscure.<sup>86</sup> But when they are used in the triads, do these epithets hold a particular relevance, based on stories which were known about the characters named, so that they

<sup>84</sup> See pp. xxix–xxx above.

<sup>85</sup> Examples: Dafydd ap Gwilym's reference to the abduction of Gwenhwyfar by Melwas (GDG no. 64.20–6), and Dafydd ab Edmwnd's reference to the same story (GDE, iv, 7. 21–8). Iolo Goch (GIG no. XXIX) recounts a miracle of St David's which is not found elsewhere, though it is obscurely alluded to in *Culhwch ac Olwen* in the episode of the *dau genau Gast Rymhi* (CO ll. 929–37). Variant forms of the *Mabinogi of Math* were known to the *cywyddwyr*. See also p. lxxviii, n., below, and notes to *Petroc Paladrddellt*, *Tegeu Eururon*, *Merwydd*.

<sup>86</sup> See my chapter 'Cyfeiriadau Traddodiadol a Chwedlonol y Gogynfeirdd', in M. E. Owen and B. F. Roberts (eds), *Beirdd a Thywysogion*, pp. 208–9; T. H. Parry-Williams, PBA (1946), p. 14; J. Lloyd-Jones, PBA (1948), p. 5. D. Myrddin Lloyd has shown (B VI, pp. 120 ff.) that Cynddelw freely employed words with any one of the meanings that they had held in any previous period of their existence in Welsh, and that he not infrequently employed them differently upon different occasions, with shades of meaning which varied between the contemporary and the archaic.

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possess a significance which we cannot hope to recover? Or are they merely generalized terms of encomium, a part of the linguistic repertoire to be acquired by pupil-bards? In either case, the relative scarcity with which these epithets occur, even in the bardic poetry of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, makes it impossible for us, at this distance of time, to recover their precise *aura*. The way in which the proper names grouped under these epithets show a tendency to vary, even among the earliest texts of TYP, serves as a warning against attaching too precise a meaning to them—in contrast to other epithets in TYP which are directly linked with very definite stories (for example triads 26, 29, 30, 37). We may conclude that these are generalized terms, broadly complimentary, but intended, as part of the esoteric heritage of bardic teaching, to be ambiguous in a way which would impress the uninitiated.

A comparison of the content of TYP with the work of the *Gogynfeirdd* leads to a further conclusion. The range of reference to characters drawn from the *ystoryaeu a hengerdd* which has already been indicated as constituting the repertoire of twelfth-century poets corresponds closely with the range of reference covered by the triads in the Early Version of TYP, as presented in Pen. 16 and 45. Thus it would appear that the Early Version of TYP represents what is in substance a classified list of the content of the canonical body of national tradition with which the poets, down to the end of the twelfth century, were required to make themselves familiar.<sup>87</sup> It is hoped that the significance in this respect as a turning point of the years immediately preceding and following 1200 will presently appear. The allusions in the triads combined with those made by the twelfth-century *Gogynfeirdd* prove that up to almost the end of the century the canonical tradition recognized by the bards did not include any name or episode derived from Continental romance<sup>88</sup> or from Geoffrey of Monmouth's pseudo-history of Britain—no reference which betrays an origin in either of these sources is to be found in the Early Version of TYP, nor can any such be found in the work of the poets of the *Gogynfeirdd* before *circa* 1300.

<sup>87</sup> A comparison with the bardic references listed on pp. lxxvii–lxx shows that there are a few omissions. Examples: there are no allusions in TYP to the story of the Trojan origin of the Britons, or to *Benlli Gawr*, or to the battle of Baddon (*Ann. Cam.* 516). Nor is there any reference to *Hiriell*, see below, p. c, n. 166.

<sup>88</sup> Prydydd y Moch (*circa* 1173–1220) makes the earliest allusion which might possibly be interpreted as referring to romance material (to Rhodri mab Owain): *teyrnas yth lav lid gereint nyd chwith* (H 271.9 = CBT V, no. 7.9). This is the earliest allusion made by one of the *Gogynfeirdd* to Geraint, and the words suggest a reference to the romance. But Geraint was a hero well established in the Welsh tradition before his name came to be used in the romances. Some problems are also raised by the references to *Drystan mab Tallwch* in triad 26 (see n. to *Drystan m. Tallwch*).

## INTRODUCTION

It is a matter of controversy how far Welsh poets of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had access to the Latin learning of the Church. G. J. Williams laid emphasis<sup>89</sup> on the cultural community between poets and clerics in these centuries, and drew attention to the ecclesiastical authorship of the religious poems in LIDC, while pointing out that the scribe of LIDC also had access to the poems of Cynddelw. The ninth-century Welsh glosses on Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* and *Martianus Capella* prove a degree of ecclesiastical proficiency in Latin at a date much earlier than this. From the allusions in their poetry it is clear that Gwalchmai and others of the *Gogynfeirdd* were acquainted with the pseudo-learned tradition of the settlement of Britain by Trojan fugitives descended from Aeneas, and certain verbal echoes indicate that the poets derived this knowledge, with other details, from the Latin text of the *Historia Brittonum*.<sup>90</sup> But it is never clear how far the knowledge of Latin penetrated beyond the confines of the monastery. Any generalization on this subject must take into account the interrelation between secular and ecclesiastical learning which is witnessed by the fact that the earliest manuscripts containing secular poetry are the work of monastic scribes. It has been shown also that twelfth-century poets were influenced by the rhetorical teaching of the ecclesiastical schools,<sup>91</sup> and that from an early date some familiarity with the names at least of the leading classical heroes is evinced by them (see note to triad 47). Thus it is that although twelfth-century Welsh churchmen such as Giraldus Cambrensis and Walter Map were conversant with the contents of the *Historia Regum*, yet the poets make no use of material emanating from this source before a date which can be shown to correspond approximately with the turn of the thirteenth century.<sup>92</sup> This is precisely the period to which the earliest versions of *Brut y Brenhinedd* have been traced back.<sup>93</sup> We are consequently drawn to the conclusion that the bards made no use of

<sup>89</sup> GP xcv–xcvi; and note the names *Turn* < *Turnus* (CBT II, no. 27.1n. = HB ch. 10, earlier than BD 18), and *Oswald, Osguid* (= *Oswy*) (HB ch. 64 = CBT III, no. 3.128n.).

<sup>90</sup> See n. to *Eneas Yscôdywyn*.

<sup>91</sup> D. Gwenallt Jones, *Y Llenor* XII, pp. 158 ff.

<sup>92</sup> The earliest reference found in poetry to a character from *Brut y Brenhinedd* appears to be in a poem attributed to Elidir Sais (circa 1195–1246) in which he addresses Llywelyn ap Iorwerth (d. 1240) as *Gwr gwraf gorsaf gwerysll Awarwy* (CBT I, no. 17.40, n.). There are a number of instances in which *awarwy* is employed as a substantive by twelfth- and thirteenth-century poets (see GPC 41). Ifor Williams has shown that *awarwy* can have the meaning 'sorrow' (CLIH 191), and this is the meaning which suits best with the word as used by Cynddelw and Prydydd y Moch; cf. CBT III, no. 16.80 (note p. 212) and CBT V, no. 22.20 (note pp. 207–8). The reference by Elidir Sais is the first in which it appears most probable that *awarwy* is used as a proper name, though even here the allusion can hardly be regarded as certain; cf. CBT I, no. 17.40n.

<sup>93</sup> See BD xxix, xxxv; B XXV, p. 274. For the evidence that *Enweu Meibon Llywarch Hen* (LIDC no. 40) contains a reference to *Brut y Brenhinedd* see B XVII, pp. 180–1, and a note by E. D. Jones, LIDC xv.

## ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

Geoffrey's narrative until after this had become available to them in a Welsh dress. When this happened, it is somewhat remarkable to find that the subject matter of the *Brut* became fused with the native tradition during the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and was regarded by the poets as a part of their accepted field of reference; while it can be seen both from the later version of TYP and from *Brut y Brenhinedd* that every attempt was made to reconcile the scheme of Geoffrey's narrative with the pre-existing, but in comparison certainly much less organized, native traditions. The material of the *Historia Regum* is thus the first of the great additions made from literary and 'external'<sup>94</sup> sources which received the *imprimatur* of the *Ynys Prydein* formula, and became accepted as belonging to the canonical body of traditional lore.

The alteration is witnessed in the WR version of *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* (circa 1350–1400), which not only incorporates a complete triad (no. 51) based on the *Brut* narrative, but contains in addition a few references which are probably to be traced to the same source (see notes to triads 37d, 59). We find a marked increase in the prominence of Arthur in the WR and later versions, and an increasing tendency for the *llys Arthur* 'Arthur's Court' formula to supersede the older *Ynys Prydein* formula in the titles of the triads. This growth in popularity of the Arthurian material, although it is already beginning to be apparent in the Early Version (see p. lx above and note to triad 9), is no doubt to be attributed to an increasing awareness of the contemporary prominence of the Arthurian cycle in the literature of medieval Europe.

Throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries it becomes increasingly apparent that the poets are drawing increasingly on literary sources for their allusions; and the introduction of this material of predominantly foreign origin coincides with the evident decline in knowledge of the native Welsh tales which, as has been shown, is reflected in the successive manuscripts of TYP. From the early-fourteenth century, references in poetry include the names of such figures as *Peredur*, *Evrawc*, *Erbin*, *Eigr*, *Lunet*, *Enid*, *Drystan*, *Essyllt*—names whose comparatively late appearance in the field of bardic reference is to be attributed to the increasing popularity of the literary romance material derived from France, although this in turn was superimposed upon older British traditional narrative about these characters. In the late fourteenth century Gruffudd ap Maredudd is to be distinguished alike from his predecessors among the

<sup>94</sup> I.e. material which was introduced through a literary and not through an oral channel. Of course Geoffrey's source material is itself a highly complex mixture of native Welsh and Breton tradition with classical and biblical matter. Such aspects of the subject of Geoffrey's sources as bear most directly on TYP are discussed further below, pp. lxxxi–lxxxii.