

Animals in Early Welsh Poetry

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Master's Degrees by Examination and Dissertation

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ABSTRACT:

This paper investigates animal references in a Corpus of Welsh poems from the Early Medieval period, divided for the purpose into four different Groups. Part I contains a brief survey of the way humans and animals coexisted in various sphere of life at the period and the cultural significance of such relationships as revealed notably by archaeology, law texts and other written sources.

The aim of this paper is to identify strands of meaning attached to interactions, real and imagined, between humans and animals by the poets serving the landed classes of Early Medieval Wales, as reflected in the Corpus. By means of statistical data and close reading of the poems, these relationships are explored on several levels: for each Group individually, comparatively among the Groups, and to some degree in relation to individual poems or cycles of poems. Associations are brought to light between domestic, auxiliary, and wild animals and cultural constructs, notably the domination of the warrior ethos whereby men emulated and were identified with wild beasts when hunting, raiding and waging war. The notions of *agrios* and *domus* developed by Ian Hodder for the Neolithic are applied to the animal references in these poems, highlighting a destructive cycle of warfare in which the domestic sphere including domestic animals and crops was exposed to danger and destruction by the very mechanisms set in motion for its defence and prosperity.

Introduction

Research aims

This paper sets out to identify and categorise the references to animals in a defined corpus of early Medieval Welsh poetry and to shed light on the poets' use of such references to reflect and comment upon the relationships between humans and animals among the educated classes for whom the poems were composed. For a brief description of the Methodology, see Appendix I.

Part I draws notably on archaeological, legal, religious and literary sources to paint an impressionistic picture of the way humans interacted with and conceptualised animals, domestic, auxiliary, and wild, in Early Medieval Wales.

In Part II, the animal-related vocabulary, tropes and *topoi* employed by early Welsh poets will be examined and an attempt made to relate them to a wider social and cultural context.

In the Conclusions, an attempt is made to interpret the possible meanings and connotations conveyed in context by references to animals in each group of poems, and in the Corpus as a whole, and to draw from them inferences as to prevailing cultural attitudes among the Welsh landed classes of the period towards the land and landscape and the significance of animals in human experience.

Part I Animals and Humans in Early Medieval Wales

Oliver H. Creighton evokes an ‘animal vocabulary’ reflecting a ‘symbolism of animals’ that was ‘integral to the medieval experience of the elite landscape’.¹ Drawing on a range of available resources this section sets out to contextualise and ‘backlight’ the ‘animal vocabulary’ employed by poets in Early Medieval Wales. Laura Hobgood-Oster’s² caveat against ‘reading animals as only and always symbol’ will also be borne in mind.

Pre-Christian and sub-Roman Cultural Influences

According to Ken Dark, the evidence suggests considerable settlement continuity throughout Western Britain following the end of the Roman occupation.³ Traces of local and Roman pre-Christian mythological and ritual associations relating to animals *inter alia* may therefore have survived the great religious and cultural changes of the fifth century. In Wales, as in Cornwall, these may be expected to have originated notably in the pre- and sub-Roman Celtic Iron Age, for which considerable and growing archaeological data exists. We also have a profusion of iconographical and literary sources for the later Middle Ages, which may contain traces of earlier practices and beliefs. The tales of the *Mabinogion*, whose earliest complete manuscript witnesses date from the fourteenth century,⁴ are thought by some to be based on oral traditions⁵ potentially several centuries old, possibly preserving Irish elements.⁶ Traces of classical mythology, conveyed through writings conserved in monasteries, may also have found their way into the store of cultural references upon which the poets of Early Medieval Wales were able to draw.

Animals in Early Christian Writings

The Church’s influence on early Welsh poets is not easy to determine, but they may well have had access to some of the writings of the early Christian Fathers. Christian writers in the first centuries of the first millennium AD⁷ developed the notion of dominion of men over animals derived from Genesis

¹ Oliver H. Creighton, *Designs upon the Land, Elite Landscapes of the Middle Ages*, (Woodbridge, Eng., and Rochester, N.Y.: The Boydell Press, 2009), p. 100.

² For Laura Hobgood-Oster, to do so is ‘escapist and serves to reinforce human superiority and dominance’. Laura Hobgood-Oster, *Holy Dogs and Asses, Animals in the Christian Tradition*, (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2008), p. 15.

³ Ken Dark, *Britain and the End of the Roman Empire* (Stroud: The History Press, 2010, first printed by Tempus Publishing in 2002), pp. 105ff.

⁴ *Peniarth 6*, conserved in the National Library of Wales in Aberystwyth, contains four fragments, two of which contain the earliest *Mabinogi* text, dated to c. 1250. This is a century earlier than the oldest complete version of the *Mabinogi*, the *Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch* (White Book of Rhydderch) manuscript, which dates to c. 1350. The texts in *Peniarth 6* are passages from the Second and Third Branches and two passages from *Gereint uab Erbin*.

⁵ Sioned Davies (trans. and ed.), *The Mabinogion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. xiii ff.

⁶ Patrick Sims-Williams suggests a range of between 1060 to 1200. Patrick Sims-Williams ‘The Submission of Irish Kings in Fact and Fiction: Henry II, Bendigeidfran, and the Dating of the Four Branches’, *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 22 (Winter 1991), 31-61, p. 32.

⁷ Notably Augustine and Jerome. *City of God*, XII. 24, *St Augustine, City of God (De Civitate Dei)*, trans. by Marcus Dods, Logos Virtual Library <http://www.logoslibrary.org/augustine/city/1224.html> and Genesis 9 (*De Genesi, ad Litteram* 9) which explicates Genesis 2,18-24, *The Complete Works of Saint Augustine*, ed. and trans. by Philip Schaff, Post Nicene Fathers, Volumes 1-8, (Omaha, Neb., Patristic Publishing, reprint as e-book 2019), p. 15359. Jerome is cited by Thomas Aquinas in *Summa Theologicae, Question 96, article 1, objection 3*: ‘God gave man mastership over the animals, although before sin he had no need of them: for God foresaw that after sin animals would become useful to man.’ These words are not found in the extant works of Jerome. Saint Thomas Aquinas,

2:26-29,⁸ as a hierarchical subordination of animals to human needs, willed by God. Animals were classified into categories defined broadly by their interactions with humans.⁹ Ambrose of Milan (c. 340 – 397) recognised a distinction between wild and domesticated animals, the former controlled by God and the latter by man,¹⁰ while Isidore of Seville (560-636) noted the existence of animals such as cats that existed on the border of the wild and domestic realms, neither fully wild nor fully tame.¹¹ The encyclopaedic works of Isidore, and in particular the *Etymologiae*, book 12 of which is devoted to the animal kingdom,¹² were disseminated to monasteries in Western Europe not long after their composition,¹³ arriving in Ireland in the latter part of the seventh century, as attested notably by Old Irish glosses.¹⁴ No manuscript has been traced to Wales,¹⁵ but an inscription from the Early Medieval

The Summa Theologiae of St. Thomas Aquinas, Second and Revised Edition, 1920, literally translated by Fathers of the English Dominican Province. Online Edition Copyright © 2017 by Kevin Knight.

<https://www.newadvent.org/summa/1096.htm#article3>

⁸ 'Then God said, 'Let us make humankind in our image, according to our likeness; and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the birds of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the wild animals of the earth, and over every creeping thing that creeps upon the earth.' The New Oxford Annotated Bible, Augmented Third Edition, ed. by Michael D. Coogan, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 12 Hebrew Bible. The Book of Genesis is thought to have been composed in the first half of the first Millennium BC, many millennia after the introduction of farming in the Middle East. The Biblical creation story clearly presents a rationale for a farming society and can be contrasted with the way hunter-gatherer communities appear to conceptualise animals-human relationships. See notably Eliška svobodová, 'Cognitive Foundations of the relationship between humans and animals among hunters – gatherers and traditional Farmers', in *Interdisciplinaria archaeologica, natural sciences in archaeology*, Volume III, Issue 1/2012, 131-139. <http://iansa.eu/papers/IANSA-2012-01-svobodova.pdf>.

⁹ Animals were considered as qualitatively different from humans as they did not have souls. Much ink was expended on cases at the margins such as dog-headed humans and animals eaten by humans or vice versa. See Karl Steel, *How to Make a Human, Animals and Violence in the Middle Ages* (The Ohio State University Press, 2011), pp. 110-14. Joyce E. Salisbury contrasts the Church's view with that of the Greeks and Romans, for whom the boundaries between humans and animals were more fluid; however she notes that they did not treat animals any better as a result. Joyce E. Salisbury, *The Beast Within*, (London and New York: Routledge, second edition 1994), pp. 10 ff.

¹⁰ Salisbury, *The Beast Within*, p. 10.

¹¹ Salisbury, *The Beast Within*, p. 11.

¹² Mankind is treated in Book 11 as a generic '*imago hominis*'. Mary Beagon, 'Variations on a Theme, Isidore and Pliny on Human and Human-Instigated Anomaly', in *Isidore of Seville and his Reception in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Andrew Fear and Jamie Wood, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, (2015), p. 58.

¹³ Marina Smyth, 'Isidoran Texts in Early Medieval Ireland', in *Isidore of Seville and his Reception in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Andrew Fear and Jamie Wood, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, (2015), p. 112 ff. According to E. Steinova, Isidore's *Etymologiae* were 'omnipresent in Carolingian monasteries and cathedral schools'. Project Innovating Knowledge: Isidore's *Etymologiae* in the Carolingian Period, Project Lead E. Steinova, Huygens Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis, February 2018 – August 2021, Project data base accessible at: <https://www.nwo.nl/en/projects/275-50-016>.

¹⁴ Marina Smyth, 'Isidoran Texts in Early Medieval Ireland', in *Isidore of Seville and his Reception in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Andrew Fear and Jamie Wood, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, (2015), p. 125.

¹⁵ Writing in the Preface of *The Conquest of Ireland*, Giraldus Cambrensis (1146-1223) urges a critic of his *Topography of Ireland* to read Isidore, among others 'His objections are of this sort:- the author, he says, "introduces a wolf talking with a priest; he draws a picture of a creature with the body of a man, and the extremities of an ox; he tells us of a bearded woman; and of a goat and a lion which had intercourse with women." Let him, however, if he is so shocked at these stories, read in the Book of Numbers how Baalam's ass spoke, and the prophet chid the ass. Let him read the lives of the Fathers, and he will find Anthony conversing with a satyr; and that Paul the hermit was fed in the desert by a raven. Let him also read the other voluminous works of Jerome, the Hexameron of Ambrose, and the Dialogues of Gregory. He will find Augustine's volume "De Civitate Dei," and especially Books 16 and 21, full of prodigies. Let him also read the eleventh Book of Isidore's *Etymologies*, concerning marvels; his twelfth Book, respecting beasts; and his sixteenth, respecting precious stones and their virtues.' Giraldus Cambrensis, *The Conquest of Ireland* translated by Thomas Forester, Revised

period offers a tantalising hint.¹⁶ Illustrated bestiaries also circulated in western Europe from at least the seventh century.¹⁷ Frequently based on the second-century Greek *Physiologus* of Smyrna,¹⁸ they were sometimes attached to the *Etymologiae*, for example, [Royal MS 12 C XIX, f. 8v](#), dated to c 1200–c 1210, from Northern or Central England, kept in the British Library.¹⁹ In the bestiary tradition derived from the *Physiologus*, animals were endowed with ‘specific moral and symbolic qualities’. Through so-called *exempla*,²⁰ these found their way into Medieval popular lore.

Animal references abound in the Lives of early saints.²¹ Animal tales in the Lives of early Insular saints like Columban focus on saints’ ability to ward off animal depredations of their gardens and fields and the fruits of their labour, and the willingness of wild animals to submit to their rule.²² Several animal *topoi* feature in the Welsh saints’ Lives, notably the ‘hermit and the hunter’;²³ the (divine) intervention of animals (notably oxen, horses and pigs) to indicate where churches should be built; the killing of snakes; and the revival by saints of dead animals. Some of these are illustrated by the twelfth-century Life of St Tatheus, who strikes up relationships with a stag and a she-wolf, both of whom leave the wild to serve the saint. He also resuscitates various beasts.²⁴ In these examples and others²⁵ holy men demonstrate the power they have acquired over the natural world by attracting wild animals to cross the boundary from the wild to the monastic domestic sphere. Dominic Alexander links this *topos* with

and Edited with additional notes by Thomas Wright, (In parentheses Publications Medieval Latin Series, Cambridge, Ontario 2001), p. 2, available at: https://www.yorku.ca/inpar/conquest_ireland.pdf

¹⁶ A Latin inscription in the garden of Llanllŷr House in what is now Ceredigion reads: TESQUITUS DITOC MADOMNUAC OCCON FILIUS ASAITGEN DEDIT’. The word ‘tesquitus’, whose meaning is uncertain, derives from ‘tesqua’, an obscure word known only in Britain through Isidore’s *Etymologiae*. Martin J. Ryan, ‘Isidore amongst the Islands: The Reception and Use of Isidore of Seville in Britain and Ireland in the Early Middle Ages’ in *A Companion to Isidore of Seville*, edited by Andrew Fear and Jamie Wood (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2019), pp. 424–456, p. 242.

¹⁷ Esther Cohen, ‘Animals in Medieval Perceptions’, in *Animals and Human Society*, ed. by Aubrey Manning and James Serpell, (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), pp. 61–2.

¹⁸ The *Physiologus* contains a mixture of folk lore and religious allegories. It was probably translated into Latin in the fourth century. It had no canonical status but circulated, along with classical works, in monasteries throughout the Middle Ages. See *Physiologus, A Medieval Book of Nature Lore*, translated by Michael J. Curley, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979).

¹⁹ http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=royal_ms_12_c_xix_f006r

²⁰ *Exempla* were stories told by preachers, often using animals, to illustrate types of conduct, desirable or otherwise. See Esther Cohen, ‘Animals in Medieval Perceptions’, in *Animals and Human Society, Changing Perspectives*, ed. by Aubrey Manning and James Serpell, (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 62.

²¹ These Lives were written in monasteries in Western Christendom, mostly in Latin and, in the case of the early Welsh saints, some considerable time after their deaths. D. Simon Evans introduces his edition of Canon Doble’s *Lives of the Welsh Saints* with a useful overview of what is known about the period of Welsh history known as the ‘Age of the Saints’ and the Latin Lives that have come down to us. See G.H. Doble, *Lives of the Welsh Saints*, ed. by D. Simon Evans (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, reprint 2013), pp. 1–55.

²² Some are read as cautionary tales told to encourage respect for monastic property and proper respect for abbots. Dominic Alexander, *Saints and Animals in the Middle Ages*, (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008), pp. 38–56.

²³ This *topos* is examined by Dominic Alexander in *Saints and Animals in the Middle Ages*, pp. 113–131.

²⁴ He brings back to life some horses, struck down by God for destroying the meadow that sustains a cow whose milk in turn sustains a group of disciples and their teacher; the aforesaid cow itself, stolen by robbers, butchered and placed in a cooking pot; and a pet pigeon taken by a kite. A.W. Wade-Evans (ed. and trans.), *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae, The Lives and Genealogies of the Welsh Saints*, new edition ed. by Scott Lloyd, (Cardiff: Welsh Academic Press, 2013), pp. 270–287.

²⁵ In the *Buchedd Ieuan Gwas Padrig*, for example, Saint Ieuan, a disciple of Saint Patrick, drives away snakes from Denbighshire and protects his father’s barn by driving away crows. See S. Baring-Gould, John Fisher (ed.), *Lives of the British Saints, Vol. IV* (London, 1907–13), pp. 425–6. See also Jane Cartwright (ed.), *Hystoria Gweryddon yr Almaen, The Middle Welsh Life of St Ursula and the 11,000 Virgins*, (Cambridge: MHRA 2021), p. 17.

that of the holy man who chooses to live in the wild, away from other men, sometimes acquiring mysterious powers as a result.²⁶

The Horse, Companion at Arms

The earliest archaeological evidence for horses in Britain dates their presence back to the Neolithic.²⁷ An Iron-age chariot burial with horse trappings was discovered for the first time in Wales in 2018.²⁸ A martial ideology in which the horse featured prominently²⁹ appears to have developed among the Silurian elite in south Wales during the late first century BC and second century AD, as attested by decorated horse harnesses and chariots.³⁰ Horse-related Celtic metal work from the period 50 to 150 AD, including bridge bit moulds from Prestatyn (AD 120-140), suggests that 'native elite' and 'cavalry' identities developed during the Roman occupation.³¹

The value attached to horses in Wales in the Middle Ages is attested by Welsh lawbooks. However, although recognised as being highly stratified, these survive only in a thirteenth-century manuscript, the caveat that 'as such they are not useful for the interpretation of the pre-Conquest period' must be borne in mind.³² Dafydd Jenkins finds 'a morsel of evidence' in the lawbooks that the Welsh aristocracy were organising horse-breeding on a commercial scale by the time the extant lawbooks were published: a villein could not sell a war-horse to anyone but his Lord.³³ Young horses were trained according to their intended function, 'whether destrier or palfrey³⁴ or working horse'.³⁵ The 'destrier' ('amws') was 'a special class of stallions, those which had special feeding to give them strength for war'.³⁶ Gifting of horses by Lords to their followers as recorded by the *Cynfeirdd* persisted into the later Middle Ages and beyond, as attested notably by the *Canu gofyn a diolch* (songs of asking and thanking) composed by their successors.³⁷

²⁶ Dominic Alexander, *Saints and Animals in the Middle Ages*, p. 117. A Welsh example is Saint Illtud, who settled in the valley of Hodnunt in a thick forest, 'the haunt of wild animals', before returning to the episcopal fold. See G.H. Doble, *Lives of the Welsh Saints*, edited by D. Simon Evans, p. 106.

²⁷ Anthony A. Dent, and Daphne Machin Goddall, *The Fools of Epona, A history of British Ponies from the Bronze Age to Yesterday* (London: Galley Press, 1962), p. 26.

²⁸ According to Adam Gwilt, principal curator of prehistoric archaeology at National Museum Wales, 'although it is an outlier in terms of location, it does show aesthetic similarities to its more northerly counterparts, which also often feature La Tène-style motifs'. <https://www.archaeology.co.uk/articles/new-finds-from-the-pembrokeshire-chariot-burial.htm>.

²⁹ Miranda Green suggests that a 'horseman cult' can be identified in Romano-Celtic Britain and Gaul. Miranda Aldhouse Green, 'The Symbolic Horse in Pagan Celtic Europe', in Davies, Sioned and Nerys Ann Jones (Ed.), *The Horse in Celtic Culture, Medieval Welsh Perspectives* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997), pp. 1-22. See also illustration p. 15.

³⁰ Adam Gwilt, 'Silent Silures?', in *The Later Iron Age in Britain and Beyond*, ed. by Colin Haselgrove and Tom Moore, (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2007), p. 309.

³¹ Ibid. See also Fraser Hunter, 'Artefacts, regions, and identities', in *The Later Iron Age in Britain and Beyond*, ed. by Colin Haselgrove and Tom Moore, (Oxbow Books, 2007), pp. 288-290.

³² Roberta Gilchrist, 'A reappraisal of Dinas Powys: local exchange and specialized live-stock in fifth- to seventh-century Wales', *Medieval Archaeology* 32 (1988), p. 59. See also Wendy Davies, *Wales in the Middle Ages*, p. 204.

³³ Dafydd Jenkins, *Hunting and Husbandry in Medieval Welsh Law*, The Hallstatt Lecture, 1993, (Machynlleth: Tabernacl Trust, August 1993), p. 7.

³⁴ A horse usually ridden by women because of its ambling gait (with both legs on one side moving together). Jenkins, Op. cit. p. 7.

³⁵ When young, horses they had a value similar to that of oxen, but once they were 'ffrwynddof' (bridle tame), their value increased. Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Nerys Ann Jones, 'Horses in 'Medieval Welsh Court Poetry'', in *Horses in Celtic Culture*, ed. by Sioned Davies and Nerys Ann Jones, (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997).

Beasts of Battle, Men as Beasts

In Norse and Anglo-Saxon poetry³⁸, wolf, raven and eagle together form what has been called the *topos* of the Beasts of Battle,³⁹ devouring corpses on the battlefield. The similarity between Beasts of Battle as found in Early Medieval Welsh poetry and in Anglo-Saxon and Norse poetry is noted by Judith Jesch.⁴⁰ Traces of excarnation practised in the pre-Roman Iron Age could conceivably have remained in the folk memory of the Early Medieval Welsh.⁴¹ However, with the advent of Christianity came a promise of bodily resurrection, giving rise to a concern for the integrity of corpses.⁴²



Detail of a miniature showing vultures feeding on human carrion, from the Rochester Bestiary, south-eastern England (?Rochester), c. 1230, [Royal MS 12 F XIII](#), f. 50r⁴³. Reproduced with permission from the British Library.

³⁸ The topos is exemplified in a passage from *The Battle of Brunanburh* (lines 60-65a):
'They left behind corpses for the dark
Black-coated raven, horny beaked to enjoy,
And for the eagle, white-backed and dun-coated,
The greedy war-hawk, and that grey wild beast
The forest wolf.'

Translation by R. Hamer. See R. Hamer, *A Choice of Anglo-Saxon Verse, Selected, with an Introduction and a Parallel verse translation*, (Faber and Faber 1970), p. 43.

³⁹ According to David Klausner, the principal characteristics of the *topos* in Anglo-Saxon poetry are that the beasts appear together; that the battlefield is theirs by right to divide the spoils; that they enjoy or anticipate with enjoyment feasting on the corpses; and that they are identified by colour. See David Klausner, 'Beasts of Battle In Early Welsh Poetry', in *The Centre And Its Compass, Studies in Medieval Literature in Honour of Professor John Leyerle, Studies in Medieval Culture XXXIII* (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Western Michigan University, 1993), pp. 247-264.

⁴⁰ Judith Jesch, 'Eagles, Ravens and Wolves: Beasts of Battle, Symbols of Victory and Death', in *The Scandinavians from the Vendel Period to the Tenth Century, An Ethnographic Perspective* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2002), p. 260.

⁴¹ That exposure of bodies for the purposes of excarnation was practised in Britain in the Iron Age is suggested, though not entirely attested, by some archaeological findings. This practice has been associated with a belief in transmigration or some other form of immortality of the soul. See Jane Webster, 'The Archaeology of Pre-Roman Celtic Religion', in *Understanding Celtic Religion, Revisiting the Pagan Past*, ed. by Katja Ritari and Alexandra Bergholm, (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2015), p. 127.

⁴² Saint Augustine of Hippo provided reassurance that God would repair the body and reunite it with the soul. See Karl Steel, *How Not to Make a Human*, (Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press, 2019), pp. 111 ff).

⁴³ Copyright The British Library. <https://blogs.bl.uk/digitisedmanuscripts/2015/10/medieval-animal-tales.html>

Wolves, Ravens and Eagles

Wolves were almost certainly part of the fauna of early Medieval Wales. Saints' Lives of the eleventh and twelfth century relate that a wolf-infested forest surrounded the monastic settlement of St Tatheus at Caerwent, while Illtud found a thick forest in the valley near St David's and an 'unfelled wood' near Llantwit Major.⁴⁴ Alongside its role as a Beast of Battle, the wolf is a model for early Medieval warriors:⁴⁵ wolves have sharp teeth, speed and agility and they hunt in packs.⁴⁶ In early Medieval Ireland, bands of marauding warriors known as *Fían*, described in the tales of so-called Fenian Cycle, appear to have been continuing this tradition, whether consciously or otherwise.⁴⁷ Although the association with wolves is not explicit, rites in which young men train to become warriors by channelling their inner beast are described by Giraldus Cambrensis⁴⁸ and Walter Map.⁴⁹ The word '*ynfydon*', which means people who have gone mad or entered a frenzy, is used to describe young warriors in the *Brut y Twysogyon*.⁵⁰ Masculine rites of passage associated with warriors are also touched upon in *How Culhwch won Olwen*.⁵¹

⁴⁴ Wendy Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages*, (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982), p. 12.

⁴⁵ Klausner, 'Beasts of Battle in Early Welsh Poetry', p. 253.

⁴⁶ Wolf warriors are attested among Indo-European peoples from the second century BC, among the Hittites, the tribes of Vedic India, and the Scythians.⁴⁶ Michael P. Speidel, *Ancient Germanic Warriors, Warrior Styles from Trajan's Column to Icelandic Sagas* (Oxford: Routledge 2004), pp. 13ff.

⁴⁷ Among the Celts in Roman and sub-Roman Gaul, names such as Cunopennus, Cunocennus and Cunobarrus, all meaning 'dog-head' or 'wolf-head' suggest that Gaulish warriors may have fought with wolfskins over their heads like the Germanic wolf-warriors portrayed on Trajan's column. Wyatt, David, *Slaves and Warriors in Medieval Europe, 800-1200*, (Leiden, Boston: Brill 2009), pp. 68ff.

⁴⁸ According to Giraldus Cambrensis, writing in the late twelfth century, young men would go into the woods and mountains to train for war. '(...) by marching through the deep recesses of the woods and climbing mountain-peaks in times of peace, the young men train themselves to keep on the move both day and night . . . They spend their time in exercise and in practising with their weapons.' See Lewis Thorpe (trans.), Gerald of Wales, *The Journey Through Wales and The Description of Wales*, (London: Penguin Classics, 1978), pp. 234–236.

⁴⁹ Alexander Falileyev cites an anecdote from Walter Map about the Welsh King (Gryffydd ap) Llewellyn (*Re Walliae Luilinus*).⁴⁹ Reproaching the king for his idleness, his sister reminds him that, on that particular night, all the young men were out testing their skills and daring. Walter Map : '*Mos huius terre est quod hac nocte, que prima est in noctibus anni, exeunt omnes iuvenes in predam, vel in furta, uel saltam in audicionem, ut experimentum quisque de se capiat in his.*' ('It is a custom in this country that tonight, which is the first night of the year, all the young men should go out to raid and steal, or at least to listen, that each may make trial of himself thereby.'), quoted in Falileyev, *Welsh Equivalents to the Irish fían?*, *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*, No 72, Summer 2017, p. 35.

⁵⁰ *Brut y Tywysogyon or The Chronicle of the Princes. Red Book of Hergest Version*, ed. and trans. by T. Jones (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1955), pp. 68.25 ('*A'r eilweith yd aethant a galw ynuydyon Keredigyawn y chwanecau y rif, a chyrch dros nos y wlat a'e llosgi, a llad pawb o'r a gawssant yndi*' (...).') ('And for the second time they went and summoned hotheads from Ceredigion to add to their numbers, and they made for the land by night and burned it and slew all they found in it (...)'), 86 .17 ('*A gwedy clybot hynny ac ymgynnullaw attaw llawer of ynyuydon ieuainc o boptu wedy y twyllaw o chwant anreitheu*' (...).') ('And when that had been heard and there had gathered around him many young hotheads from all sides, lured by desire for booty' (...)), 88.27 ('*Odyna yd ymgynnullasant jeuienc ynuytyon y wlat o poptu attaw o tybygu goruot ohonaw ar pop peth o achaws y damwein hwnnw.*') ('Thereupon hotheaded youths of the land gathered to him from all sides, thinking because of that incident that he had overcome everything.'). These references are for the years between 1105 and 1116. See Wyatt, *Slaves and Warriors*, p. 92.

⁵¹ David Wyatt, *Slaves and Warriors*, p. 89.

Ravens and eagles⁵² feature as heraldic charges⁵³ in Europe along with a host of other, less sinister birds such as the cock and the swan, the crane and the heron.⁵⁴ In the *Mabinogion* tale *The Lady of the Well*, Owain is associated with 'Three Hundred Swords of *Cenferchyn* and the Flight of Ravens'. Sioned Davies⁵⁵ notes that the raven is a 'common metaphor for warriors in Welsh poetry'; she suggests that the 'Flight of Ravens' 'may well refer to his [Owain's] retinue', and that, in *Rhonabwy's Dream*, Owain's troops 'are literally ravens – they swoop down and attack Arthur's men'.⁵⁶

Two eagle personae are found in Welsh Medieval writing, perhaps of differing origins. One is a wise counsellor, as in the poem '*Ymddiddan Arthur a'r Eryr*'.⁵⁷ An eagle as guide also features in *How Culhwch won Olwen*.⁵⁸ In their search for Mabon, Arthur and his men consult the 'oldest animal in this world, and the one who has wandered most – the Eagle of Gwernabwy'. This Eagle tells how his tall rock, from which he pecked at the stars, has been worn away to less than a hand's breadth in height. He also tells of his first encounter with a salmon, which almost dragged him into the depths, a risk run by ospreys in the wild to this day.⁵⁹ Elsewhere, the eagle is portrayed as a Beast of Battle that feasts on the battle dead. Giraldus Cambrensis⁶⁰ reports that 'a remarkable eagle' lives in the mountains of Snowdonia and that '[e]very fifth feast-day, it perches on a particular stone, hoping to satiate its hunger with the bodies of dead men, for on that day it thinks war will break out.'⁶¹

⁵² The eagle features on some two percent of European arms, especially those of the nobility. Pastoureaux, *Heraldry, its Origins and Meaning*, p. 57.

⁵³ Rachel Bromwich tells us that '[a]memory of Owain's ravens survived in the standard bearing three ravens which was borne by the family of Sir Rhys ap Thomas of Abermarlais, which claimed descent from Owain's father Urien Rheged.' Rachel Bromwich (Ed.), *Trioedd Ynys Prydein, The Triads of the Islands of Britain*, (University of Wales Press, 1961, reprinted 2019), pp. 467-8. Rachel Bromwich also notes that this family's descent from Urien and the *brain Urien* on their coat of arms 'are frequently referred to by the *cywyddwyr*'. See also Britt, *The Beasts Of Battle*, pp. 146 ff.

A reference to man-eating birds is to be found in Triad 32 'Three Men who performed the Three Fortunate Slaughters': one Gall son of Dysgyfawd slew the Two Birds of Gwenddolau, which had a yoke of gold on them ('*Gall mab Dysgyfawt a ladwad deu der(ryn) Gwendoleu, ac yeu o eur a oed arnadt*'). Gwenddolau also appears in the Merlin cycle poems, *Cyfoesi Myrddin a Gwenddydd* and *Afallanau*. He was apparently Myrddin's patron and leader of one of the factions that fought in the battle of Arfderydd, where he was killed. An allusion to this is found in the poem *Mi a wum*, which contains striking references to ravens in Beast-of-Battle mode.

⁵⁴ Michel Pastoureaux, *Heraldry, its Origins and Meaning*, p. 61.

⁵⁵ *The Mabinogion, A New Translation*, by Sioned Davies, (Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 255.

⁵⁶ The significance of these ravens is examined by Hugo Edward Britt in his PhD thesis *The Beasts Of Battle, Associative Connections Of The wolf, Raven And Eagle In Old English Poetry*, PhD Thesis (University of Melbourne, 2014), p. 146ff.

⁵⁷ This poem is set by the shore, so perhaps this eagle is the majestic white-tailed sea eagle (*Haliaeetus albicilla*). The poem takes the form of a dialogue between King Arthur and an Eagle. It is found in a fourteenth century manuscript but tentatively dated to around the twelfth century or even earlier. In it the eagle claims to be Arthur's nephew Eliwod and attempts to instruct Arthur in the Christian faith. See Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry*, (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer 1990), pp. 285 ff. See also Nerys Ann Jones, *Arthur in Early Welsh Poetry*, (Cambridge: MHRA, 2019), p. 167ff.

⁵⁸ Sioned Davies, *The Mabinogion*, pp. 202ff in

⁵⁹ Ospreys (*Pandion haliaetus*), are occasionally drowned as a result of gripping on to large fish. Magne Husby, 'Osprey observed when drowned by its prey', in *Ornis Norvegica* (2020), 43: 28-31. Doi: 10.15845/on.v43i0.3066. The white-tailed sea eagle has a wingspan of up to 2.5 metres; it is hard to imagine a salmon dragging down such a mighty bird.

⁶⁰ Gerald of Wales, *The Journey Through Wales and The Description of Wales*, translated by Lewis Thorpe, (Penguin Books, 1978), p. 195.

⁶¹ This may be a golden eagle (*Aquila chrysaetos*). However, white-tailed eagles and ospreys will also eat carrion.

Lions, Bears and Snakes

The only native wild felines in the British Isles in the early Medieval period were lynxes and wildcats.⁶² The lion as a ravaging beast appears in several episodes in the Old Testament, such as Daniel in the Lions' Den.⁶³ The shepherd David before his encounter with Goliath claims to have killed a lion and a bear.⁶⁴ For Ambrose of Milan the lion was characterised by 'ungovernable anger and unbridled rage'.⁶⁵ Gildas, in *De Excidio Britanniae* 23, described the Saxons, invited as reinforcements by Vortigern, as 'a multitude of whelps' who 'came forth from the lair of this barbaric lioness'.⁶⁶ However, early Christian writers did not always portray lions in an unfavourable light: Saint Jerome is said to have healed a lion's paw and earned its friendship beyond the grave.⁶⁷ Lions have long been associated with nobility and kingship in many cultures, as reflected notably by the *Physiologus*,⁶⁸ nearly fifteen per cent of European arms are charged with a lion.⁶⁹ Like lions, bears were probably also imported into Britain by the Romans for fighting. However, they may still have been present in the wild in the early Middle Ages.⁷⁰ Like the boar and the stag, the bear has a long history as a charge in European heraldry.⁷¹ In Medieval Wales, it may have carried associations with King Arthur.⁷²

Snakes, considered sacred to the god Aesculapius,⁷³ were associated with healing in classical mythology. Snakes also appear in Iron-Age iconography from areas occupied by Celtic tribes, including Wales, as exemplified by snake bracelets forming part of hoard discovered near Llandovery.⁷⁴ Snakes feature prominently in Medieval hagiography: several Irish and Welsh saints, among them the early Welsh saint Samson,⁷⁵ are said to have killed snakes that were scourging the population, while Saint

⁶² Images of lions in British native artwork in the early Medieval period may be partly explained by the fact that large carnivores were imported by the Romans for entertainment purposes. See Lee Raye, *The Forgotten Beasts in Medieval Britain: a study of extinct fauna in medieval sources*, PhD thesis, university of Cardiff, 2016, p. 45.

⁶³ The Bible, Book of Daniel, Chapter 6. *The New Oxford Annotated Bible, Augmented Third Edition*, ed. by Michael D. Coogan, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 1266.

⁶⁴ 1 Samuel 17, 34-36. Ibid, pp. 426-7.

⁶⁵ Ambrose, 'On Faith in the Resurrection', in *Funeral Orations by Saint Gregory Nazianzen and Saint Ambrose*, trans. L. McCauley et al. (Washing, CD: 1953), p. 257. See Joyce E. Salisbury, *The Beast Within*, p. 102.

⁶⁶ Gildas, *De Excidio Britanniae*, trans. by J.A. Giles, 1891, reprinted by the Dodo Press, p. 16. He also described them as 'wolfish offspring'. Ibid.

⁶⁷ Laura Hopgood Oster, *Holy Dogs and Asses*, p. 74.

⁶⁸ Michael J. Curley, (trans. and ed.), *Physiologus, A Medieval Book of Nature Lore*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), pp. 3-4.

⁶⁹ Pastoureau, *Heraldry, its Origin and Meaning*, p. 61.

⁷⁰ Evidence from a cave in the Yorkshire Dales suggests the brown bear went extinct in the early medieval period - between about 425 and 594 AD. See Dr Hannah O'Regan, 'The presence of the brown bear *Ursus arctos* in Holocene Britain: a review of the evidence', in *Mammal Review*, 20 March 2018.

⁷¹ Michel Pastoureau, *Heraldry, its Origins and Meaning*, p. 61.

⁷² Arthur is sometimes referred to as a bear in Medieval Welsh literature, for example in the poem *Ymddiddan Arthur a'r Eryr* (Dialogue between Arthur and the Eagle) in which he is given the epithet '*arth llŷ*' ('bear of the hosts'). The name is derived by some, through the Latin name Arcturus, from the word '*arktos*' meaning 'bear' in Greek. See Thomas Green, *Concepts of Arthur*, (Stroud: Tempus Publishing, 2007), pp. 187ff. See also Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry*, (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer 1990, pp. 285 ff., and Nerys Ann Jones, *Arthur in Early Welsh Poetry*, (Cambridge: MHRA, 2019), p. 167ff.

⁷³ They were depicted curling round his staff, a symbol of healing that remains in use to this day.

⁷⁴ H.E.M Cool, 'The Significance of Snake Jewellery Hoards', *Britannia*, 2000, Vol. 31 (2000), 29-40, published by: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies. Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/526917>

⁷⁵ *The Life of St. Samson of Dol*, trans. Thomas Taylor (London, New York and Toronto: The Macmillan Co., 1935).

Patrick of Ireland is famously reputed to have cleared Ireland of snakes altogether.⁷⁶ In the saints' Lives, snakes clearly represent evil.⁷⁷

Beasts of the Field, the Wealth of the Land

In terms of technology, agricultural practices in the British Isles changed little between the Iron Age and Anglo-Saxon times.⁷⁸ Only the lowest status farms and settlements were unenclosed.⁷⁹ Much of our information about land and agriculture in Wales in the Early Middle Ages derives from charters such as those in the *Book of Landaff*.⁸⁰ Thomas Charles Edwards notes that one source of a king's power was to 'provide a land market for his leading men'.⁸¹ While, land was generally valued in terms of its renders, 'the accoutrements of an aristocratic mode of life' were valued in cows.⁸² In the *Buchedd Beuno*, a gold rod given in exchange for a tract or land is described as being worth sixty cows!⁸³

Several hill fort sites in Wales show signs of high-status occupation during the Early Medieval period. However, few have been so extensively excavated and documented as Dinas Powys,⁸⁴ where excavations were carried out in the 1950s under the direction of Leslie Alcock.⁸⁵ Although the site was occupied from the Iron Age through the Romano-British period, there was no Romano-British occupation. Various features suggest that it was an Irish settlement in the fifth to the seventh centuries

⁷⁶ There is no known fossil evidence for snakes in postglacial Ireland. Their absence has been put down to poor dispersal ability and climatic factors. See i.a. Simon Harrison, 'Never mind the gap: climate, rather than insularity, may limit Ireland's species richness', *The Irish Naturalists' Journal*, 27 November 2014, Vol. 33, p.116.

⁷⁷ The story of Eve's temptation by a serpent in the Book of Genesis was probably the main source of this belief. In Genesis 3.15, God addresses the serpent thus: 'I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between your offspring and hers: he will strike your head, and you will strike his heel.' *The New Oxford Annotated Bible*, p. 15 Hebrew Bible. From the twelfth century onwards, the role of the snake in the fall of man in the Book of Genesis inspired an iconography in Europe in which Eve was portrayed as somehow conflated with the serpent. For perceptions of Eve in Medieval Welsh poetry, see Jane Cartwright, 'The Welsh Cult of the Virgin Mary', in Jane Cartwright (ed.), *Feminine Sanctity and Spirituality in Medieval Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2008), p. 35ff. See also Joyce E. Salisbury, *The Beast Within*, p. 137.

⁷⁸ John G. Evans, *The Environment of Early Man in the British Isles*, (London: Paul Elek, 1975), 157.

⁷⁹ Roman-style towns and villas were largely absent from late fourth-century north-west Wales. The local elite appear to have occupied hill forts such as Dinas Emrys and Bwrdd Arthur. Elsewhere, enclosed hut groups have been found that are usually interpreted as the centres of local agricultural estates. A lower class of farmer is thought to be represented by unenclosed hut groups exemplified by the site at Ty Mawr on Anglesey. A similar picture emerges for south-west Wales, with evidence of a settlement hierarchy ranging from hill forts such as Castell Henllys and Tenby castle, through enclosed farms to unenclosed settlements such as Stackpole Warren. Ken Dark, *Britain and The End of the Roman Empire*, (Stroud: The History Press, 2006), pp. 170ff.

⁸⁰ A collection of Charters from late ninth and early tenth centuries details the price paid by one Cynwg son of Conuil who bought a *uilla* from King Ithael son of Morgan for 'two horses, one worth eight cows, the other worth three cows, and a sword worth twelve cows, and a (drinking) horn worth ten cows, and another worth fourteen cows'. See T.M. Charles Edwards, *Wales and the Britons, 350-1064*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 286.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Dafydd Jenkins notes that domestic animals had to have '*teithi*', the proper characteristics, to sell for their full price. In the case of cows, that was to produce calves and a specific minimum quantity of milk (about half a gallon a day). The value of the males (oxen) was as members of a plough team. Dafydd Jenkins, *Hunting and Husbandry in Medieval Welsh Law*, (Tabernacl Trust, Machynlleth, 1993), p. 5.

⁸³ *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae, The Lives and Genealogies of the Welsh Saints*, ed. and trans. by A.W. Wade-Evans, New Edition edited by Scott Lloyd, (Cardiff: The Welsh Academic Press, 2013), p. 341.

⁸⁴ Castell Henllys in Pembrokeshire shows signs of occupation in round houses between 500 and 100 BC. A farmstead thought to date from the Romano-British period has also been discovered there. See Harold Mytum, *Monumentality in Later Prehistory, Building and Rebuilding Castell Henllys Hillfort*, (Springer, 2013).

⁸⁵ Leslie Alcock, *Dinas Powys, An Iron Age and Early Medieval Settlement in Glamorgan*, (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1963).

AD,⁸⁶ which corresponds to Phase 4 of the occupation layers.⁸⁷ A recent study of bone assemblages from Dinas Powys show cattle bones making up 27.9% for phase 4A and 36.7% for phase 4B.⁸⁸ In post-Roman Britain, cattle were raised for meat and dairy.⁸⁹ The bull and the ox (a castrated bull used for traction) were also associated with strength and power. Bovine heads occur not infrequently on vessels and escutcheons found at Late Iron Age sites in Wales.⁹⁰ Not all are martial in character, and it is suggested that they were 'a means of displaying wealth'.⁹¹ Sheep were less of a feature than cows in Early Medieval Wales.⁹² Large-scale sheep-farming for the wool trade was introduced into Wales by the Cistercian monastic houses following the Norman Conquest.⁹³

Evidence for feasting on pigs in the Iron-Age has been found in early Iron-Age middens in Llanmaes, Wales.⁹⁴ Pigs were also bred at Dinas Powys in the early Medieval period.⁹⁵ In the *First Branch of the*

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 143.

⁸⁷ Wendy Davies notes that the material from the middens suggests that the fifth-to-seventh century inhabitants of the hill fort 'ate well on pork and beef, with some quantity of poultry, shellfish, salmon or sea trout, and some bread and puréed vegetables.' Wendy Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 35.

⁸⁸ Lloyd Laing, *The Archaeology of Britain and Ireland*, c. AD 400-1200, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 67, citing data from Roberta Gilchrist, 'A reappraisal of Dinas Powys: local exchange and specialized live-stock in fifth- to seventh-century Wales', *Medieval Archaeology* 32 (1988), 50-62, p. 36. Two thirds were over three years old at slaughter and one third of these (2/9 of the total) were over four. The age pattern is supportive of the view that they were kept primarily for dairying.

⁸⁹ The results of a study of zooarchaeological evidence 'show that cattle in the mid-fifth to mid-seventh centuries were largely used for a mixture of meat and secondary production, with few sites exhibiting specialized production of either meat or secondary products (Figure 3). This is consistent with the largely self-sufficient nature of farming during this period. A change in the economic use of cattle can be observed after the mid-seventh century, when they became more important for secondary products, a trend that peaked in the mid-ninth to eleventh centuries when the majority of cattle populations were culled as old adults or elderly animals after providing many years of milk or traction.' Matilda Homes, Helena Hamerow and Richard Thomas, 'Close Companions? A Zooarchaeological Study of the Human-Cattle Relationship in Medieval England', in *Animals* 2021,11,1174. <https://doi.org/10.3390/ani11041174>, p. 6. This study does not include Wales.

⁹⁰ Adam Gwilt, 'Silent Silures?', p. 309.

⁹¹ A firedog featuring horned bull's heads dating from the later Iron Age (c. 50 BC – 50 AD) was found buried in peat at Capel Garmon in 1852 and is now housed in the Museum of Wales. An image can be found here: https://museum.wales/iron_age_teachers/artefacts/capel_garmon_firedog/.

⁹² At Dinas Powys, sheep represent 20.7% of the assemblage from Phase 4A and 10.2% per cent of the assemblage from phase 4B. They appear to have been slaughtered at a later age (older than three years) than their Irish counterparts, where they were killed at between one and two years. This may suggest that they were exploited for wool and dairy by-products rather than simply as a meat resource. See Roberta Gilchrist, Op. cit. p. 57.

⁹³ A.D. Carr, 'Wales, Economy and Society', in *A Companion to Britain in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. by S.H. Rigby, (Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), p. 132.

⁹⁴ Pigs accounted for 71% of specimens from the main domesticates found in the faunal assemblage. Richard Madgwick and Jacqui Mulville, 'Feasting on fore-limbs: conspicuous consumption and identity in later prehistoric Britain' in *Antiquity*, 2015, pp. 629-644. <http://dx.doi.org/10.15184/aqy.2015.24> ⁹⁴ This research unleashed considerable interest, exemplified by the headline on the New Scientist website: 'Iron-age Britons engaged in mysterious pig trotter festivals'! Colin Barras, 'Iron-age Britons engaged in mysterious pig trotter festivals', New Scientist, 10 August 2015, available at <https://www.newscientist.com/article/dn28024-iron-age-britons-engaged-in-mysterious-pig-trotter-festivals/>.

⁹⁵ Roberta Gilchrist's reappraisal of bone assemblages from Dinas Powys shows that 60% of the pigs in sample 4A were killed before the end of their first year and 46% of the pigs in sample 4B before the age of six months. The killing peak for pigs at Irish rural sites is significantly later, between eighteen and twenty-six months, which suggests that the people of Dinas Powys had a faster maturing variety of pig or practised more intensive breeding. Roberta Gilchrist, Op. cit. p. 58.

Mabinogi, pigs are brought to Dyfed thanks to Pwyll's friendship with Arawn, king of Annwn;⁹⁶ they appear again in the *Fourth Branch* when Gwydion attempts to trick Math into leaving his court in Gwynedd to take them from Pryderi in Dyfed.⁹⁷ The name of Culhwch, hero of the story *How Culhwch Won Olwen*⁹⁸ means 'slender pig'. Culhwch's birth story may contain traces of a legend now lost.⁹⁹ Pigs also appear in Celtic saints' Lives as helpers or messengers; for example, a sow with her litter marked the spot where Saint Dubricius was to found his settlement and his church.¹⁰⁰ As in the Iron Age, pigs in the sub-Roman and Early Medieval periods lived semi-wild in oak woods, where they fed on acorns in the autumn.¹⁰¹

The middens from the Early Medieval Hill Fort at Dinas Powys show that there was also some poultry in the diet, as well as shellfish, salmon and sea trout.¹⁰² In addition to beer, the elite drank mead, as attested by heroic poetry. The bee lay between the wild and tame, the two principal categories of animal for the purposes of the lawbooks.¹⁰³ A swarm could be regarded as tame while in the hive, but once it left the hive, the owner lost his claim and the owner of the land on which it settled had first right.¹⁰⁴ While these laws cannot be extrapolated back to the earliest period of the Medieval Period (c. 500 – 800 AD), they may reflect practices in pre-Conquest Wales. Wendy Davies notes that honey 'was a constant element in many specified renders' in the Early Middle Ages, and that bees were kept in hives.¹⁰⁵

The Hunt: Auxiliaries and Prey

For Dafydd Jenkins, it is 'very clear' that the ideals of the royal courts in Medieval Wales had their origin in the Heroic Age, when many small kingdoms co-existed, each with one or more courts. Welsh courtiers appear to have been partial to hunting, as illustrated in the story of Pwyll, Prince of Dyfed, in the *First Branch of the Mabinogion*.¹⁰⁶ While stags, roebucks and hares were hunted for food, some

⁹⁶ These may be magical pigs; however, the story may draw on an older tradition referring to movements of animals in the past.

⁹⁷ Sioned Davies, *The Mabinogion*, pp. 49ff.

⁹⁸ Sioned Davies, *The Mabinogion*, pp. 179-213.

⁹⁹ At the start of the story, the Queen, who was temporarily out of her wits, encountered a swineherd and gave birth to Culhwch for fear of the pigs.

¹⁰⁰ G.H. Doble, *Lives of the Welsh Saints*, ed. by D. Simon Evans, p. 63. See also Karen Jankulak, 'Alba Longa in the Celtic regions? Swine, saints and Celtic Hagiography' in Jane Cartwright (ed.), *Celtic Hagiography and Saints' Cults* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003), pp. 271-284.

¹⁰¹ Pigs are still turned out into the forest in the autumn to eat acorns, beechnuts, chestnuts, and other nuts in some parts of Britain today. In the New Forest, they are referred to as pannage pigs.

¹⁰² Wendy Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages*, (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982), p. 35.

In his description of rural life and farming among Celtic tribes in Britain at the time of Caesar, Peter J. Reynolds notes that bone evidence for poultry is meagre. Caesar mentioned that geese were kept '*animi causa*'. Peter J. Reynolds, 'Rural Life and Farming,' in *The Celtic World*, ed. by Miranda J. Green, (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), p. 191. Wendy Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages*, (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982), p. 151.

¹⁰³ Jenkins, *Hunting and Husbandry in Medieval Welsh Law*, p. 4.

¹⁰⁴ A person who discovered a swarm on a branch on another's land had to offer it to the owner in return for fourpence. If the owner declined, he was free to take it. When a swarm left the hive, it was held to need three days to settle: 'a day to seek a place to move, and the second to move, and the third to rest'. After that, it was regarded as attached to the land and belonged to the landowner. He could pay the finder who informed him of it either by a penny or with the swarm's wax.

¹⁰⁵ Wendy Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages*, (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982), p. 41.

¹⁰⁶ Jenkins, *Hunting and Husbandry in Medieval Welsh Law*, p. 2. Pwyll appears to have hunted on foot, as he had to call for a horse to be fetched to pursue Rhiannon. In this instance, the intended prey appears to be a stag; the dogs come upon a stag brought down by Arawn's hounds and chase them away, giving his own hounds a chance

animals, such as foxes and martens, were hunted for their skins.¹⁰⁷ Pwyll and Arawn exchange horses, hunting-dogs and hawks.¹⁰⁸ Dafydd Jenkins considers it likely that hunting with hawks was introduced into Wales from the Saxons of the marches before the Norman conquest.¹⁰⁹ Birds of prey were used to hunt game birds such as ducks and grouse and perhaps small mammals.¹¹⁰

The close relationship of dogs with humans dates back many millennia.¹¹¹ However, as illustrated by the she-wolf in the Life of Saint Tatheus, dogs and wolves are close kin. For David Gordon White, the dog is 'the animal pivot of the human universe, lurking at the threshold between wildness and domestication and of all of the valences that these two ideal poles of experience hold'.¹¹² Much ink was expended in Medieval monasteries on the dog-headed monster known as the '*cyocephalus*'.¹¹³ In Medieval Wales, white hounds with red ears and noses were associated with Otherworld, for example the hounds of *Annfwn* in the story of Pwyll Prince of Dyfed. Arthur's hunting dog Cafall (horse) is mentioned in two extant medieval literary sources: the Wonders of Britain section of the *Historia Brittonum* attributed to Nennius¹¹⁴ and the *Mabinogion* tale *How Culhwch won Olwen*;¹¹⁵ the fierce Drudwyn, whelp of Graid son of Eri, who alone can hunt Twrch Trwyth, also features in that tale.¹¹⁶ Warriors are frequently referred to in Early Medieval Welsh poems as 'whelps' of their fathers and of their clans. Dogs are also guardians of the gate and of the field. The Irish superhero *Cú Chulainn* is described in the Ulster Cycle as the Hound of Culann;¹¹⁷ To make amends for killing Culann's dog, he offers to breed him a new one and, until it is grown, to act as guard dog himself. The poem *Marwnat Corroi m[ab] Dayry* ('The Elegy of Cú Roi Mac Dáiri') from the book of Taliesin refers to Cú Chulann, Cú Roi's slayer, as *Chocholyn*.¹¹⁸

to eat the meat. This suggests that the hunt was purely for pleasure, rather than for the kitchen, at least on this occasion. Sioned Davies, *The Mabinogion*, p. 3.

¹⁰⁷ The hide of an ox or stag was worth eightpence, and a sheepskin only a penny, but the skins of fox and otter and wolf were worth eightpence despite their small size. The skin of the ermine was particularly prized as it was used to ornament kings' robes. Jenkins, *Hunting and Husbandry in Medieval Welsh Law*, p. 4.

¹⁰⁸ Sioned Davies, *The Mabinogion*., p. 8.

¹⁰⁹ Jenkins, *Hunting and Husbandry in Medieval Welsh Law*, p. 9. The Welsh word '*hebog*' is cognate with the English word *hawk* and the German word *Habicht*, but it was used mainly for the falcon, particularly the peregrine falcon.

¹¹⁰ According to Dafydd Jenkins (ibid.), the female hunting bird was considered superior to the male. If a female falcon took a 'notable bird' (heron, curlew or bittern), the falconer was due special honours by the king.

¹¹¹ The first bones of dogs buried with humans date from around 14,000 years ago. However, dogs began to diverge from wolves some 135,000 years ago. They served humans as hunting partners, traction animals and guards against predators. See Joyce Salisbury, *The Beast Within*, p. 14.

¹¹² David Gordon White, 'Dog-Man', in *Holy Dogs and Asses, Animals in the Christian Tradition*, edited by Laura, Hobgood-Oster (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008), p. 15. See also Karl Steel, *How to Make a Human, Animals and Violence in the Middle Ages*, (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press), p. 136 ff.

¹¹³ Karl Steel, *How to Make a Human, Animals and Violence in the Middle Ages*, (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press), p. 136 ff

¹¹⁴ 'Quando uenatus est porcum Troynt, impressit Cabal, qui erat canis Arthuri militis, uestigium in lapide et Arthur postea congregauit congestum lapidum sub sapide in quo erat uestigium canis sui et uocatur Carn Cabal.' Nennius, *Historia Brittonum*, chapter 73, *Mirabilia Britanniae*. See John B. Coe and Simon Young, *The Celtic Sources for the Arthurian Legend*, (Felinfach: Llanerch Publishers, 1995), p. 10.

¹¹⁵ Sioned Davies, *The Mabinogion*, p. 208.

¹¹⁶ Sioned Davies, *The Mabinogion*, pp. 198 and 207ff

¹¹⁷ In the *Táin*, in a section devoted to his childhood deeds, Cú Chulainn kills the fearsome mastiff of Culann, which Culann describes as 'shield and shelter for my goods and cattle, guardian of my beasts about the house or in the fields'. *The Táin*, A new translation by Ciaran Carson, (London: Penguin Books, 2007), p. 43.

¹¹⁸ Patrick Sims-Williams, *Irish Influence on the Earliest Welsh Literature*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 44 ff. See also Marged Haycock (ed.), *Legendary Poems from the Book of Taliesin*, (Aberystwyth: CMCS),

Although stags were hunted in Medieval Wales, they also had a powerful resonance as symbols of masculinity. Like boars, stags feature as charges in many European coats of arms.¹¹⁹ Pre-Roman Iron-Age images of a horned god, identified as Cernunnos, have been found on Gaulish coins and in Italian rock art.¹²⁰ In Britain, the remains of what may have been an antler headdress were found in association with fourth-century AD material at a small Roman bath site near Hooks Cross in Hertfordshire.¹²¹ In *How Culhwch won Olwen*, the Stag of Rhendynfre is one of the Oldest Animals that help Arthur and Culhwch find Mabon.¹²² Stags are also found in the Lives of Celtic saints, notably Saint Tatheus and Saint Illtud,¹²³ to whose holy aura they are mysteriously drawn. Among the game animals addressed by the law books, red deer were the most important.¹²⁴ The roebuck was considered inferior game; like fox and otter, it could be hunted by anyone on any man's land.¹²⁵ However, it has some significance in Celtic mythology.¹²⁶

In the early Middle Ages the boar was hunted for food and sport.¹²⁷ The impressive tusks and of the male also made it a ready simile for warlike qualities.¹²⁸ A bronze boar's head from near Caerwent 'with raised crest and ears, prominent tusks, and snarling snout', is dated to the first or second century AD. A boar figurine from the period was also found in Gower.¹²⁹ The fearsome boar of Welsh legend,

p. 465. The poem is apparently based on an Irish tale 'Aided Con Roí' ('The Death of Cú Roí') which exists in several versions and is thought to date from the eighth century or earlier.

¹¹⁹ Stags appear to have been sacrificed in the early Celtic Iron-Age societies of central Europe. Miranda Aldhouse-Green, *Caesar's Druids*, p. 224.

¹²⁰ Miranda J. Green, *Exploring the World of the Druids*, (Thames & Hudson, 2005), p. 25. The Gundestrup cauldron, found in a Danish bog and probably made in the first century BC is often cited as depicting the Celtic horned god. However, it was probably made in Thrace, which is likely to have been occupied by non-Celtic-speaking tribes at that time.

¹²¹ Miranda J. Green, *Exploring the World of the Druids*, pp. 58-9. Red deer skulls with antlers, cut into what appear to be shamanic headdresses, have also been found at the Yorkshire Mesolithic site of Star Carr, dated to around 7500 BC.

¹²² He tells Arthur's messengers that when he first came to that place, there was a single oak sapling that grew into an oak with a hundred branches and fell, leaving nothing but a red stump. Sioned Davies, *The Mabinogion*, pp. 203-4.

¹²³ G.H. Doble, *Lives of the Welsh Saints*, edited by D. Simon Evans, pp. 107-8.

¹²⁴ The king had complete freedom to hunt throughout his realm; when a king's hounds killed a stag on another man's land, the landowner was obliged by law to keep the carcass for a defined period to allow the huntsmen to claim it. Stags could be hunted between the morrow of St John's Day (24 June) to the *Calan Gaeaf*, All Saints Day, 1 November, as the meat was only good to eat during that season Jenkins, *Hunting and Husbandry in Medieval Welsh Law*, p. 3.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Amaethon ab Dôn is a mythical character and probably originally a god of agriculture, mentioned in 'How Culhwch won Olwen' as a superhuman tiller. An account in *Peniarth MS.98b* tells that he stole a while roebuck and a whelp and a lapwing from *Annfwn*, giving rise to the 'Cad goddeu' (Battle of the Trees).¹²⁶ He also appears with his brother Gwidion in a poem in the *Book of Taliesin* (BT 68.15). 'When Amathaeon and Gwydion lived there was wisdom'. S.n. Amaethon ab Dôn, Peter C. Bartrum, *A Welsh Classical Dictionary*, (Aberystwyth: The National Library of Wales 1993).

¹²⁷ According to the law texts, in the period in which they applied, boars were hunted between the stag hunting season and the season for hunting hinds, which ended at midsummer. The boar hunting season lasted 'from 9 November to 1 December'. Jenkins, *Hunting and Husbandry in Medieval Welsh Law*, p. 3.

¹²⁸ Boar-headed war trumpets (Latin 'carnyces') have been found at Tintignac in central France and part of one, though to date from the first century AD, came to light in a marsh at Deskford in the Scottish Grampians. Miranda Aldhouse-Green, *Caesar's Druids*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 62.

¹²⁹ Adam Gwilt, 'Silent Silures?', p. 315

the Twrch Twyth, is thought to have its origins in Ireland.¹³⁰ A famous boar hunt in Medieval Welsh literature is Arthur's pursuit of the Twrch Trwyth in *How Culhwch won Olwen*.¹³¹ Arthur's men hunt on horseback.¹³² The purpose is not to kill the boar but to snatch the golden comb and scissors from between his ears! According to Sarah Sheehan, these implements were associated with male coming-of-age rites.¹³³

Fishes

The territory now known as Wales offers plentiful fish and seafood. Wendy Davies notes the importance of fishing rights for the monastic communities of St Cadog; charters from before 1086 occasionally attest to fishing rights as well as property rights.¹³⁴ A well-known symbol for Christianity, the fish also has many associations in Welsh and Irish mythology. Salmon in particular feature prominently in Welsh tales and are associated with wisdom.¹³⁵ In the *Hanes Taliesin*, of late origin¹³⁶ but possibly reflecting earlier tales, little Gwydion, having taken the three stray drops from the cauldron of inspiration (*awren*), transformed himself into a salmon to escape the wrath of Ceridwen.¹³⁷ In *How Culhwch won Olwen*, the Salmon of Llin Lliw leads Cai and the interpreter of animal speech Gwrhŷr Gwalstawd Ieithoedd¹³⁸ to the Mabon's place of imprisonment.¹³⁹

The World beyond the Gate – Animals and Birds in the Wild

The wild fauna of the British Isles appears to have changed little between the early millennia of the Post-glacial period and the Middle Ages.¹⁴⁰ In the Early Middle Ages, in the heart of the forests and on

¹³⁰ Bulls and boars are also credited with supernatural strength and potency in Irish and Welsh mythology. In the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, the longest tale in the Ulster Cycle, Queen Medb's desire to find a bull the match of one that she has lost to her husband Ailill sets in motion a series of cataclysmic events including 'the great slaughter'. *The Táin*, A new translation by Ciaran Carson, (London: Penguin Books, 2007).

¹³¹ Sioned Davies, *The Mabinogion*, pp. 209ff. Described as the son of Taredd Wledig, the Twrch Trwyth is clearly a supernatural creature: he was once a king, but 'for his sin God changed him into a swine'.

¹³² The pursuit takes them all over Wales and Cornwall, and accompanied by hounds, including Arthur's dog and the special hounds they had to abduct for the purpose. *Ibid.*, p. 210.

¹³³ For an interpretation of this tale, see Sarah Sheehan, 'Giants, Boar-hunts, and Barbering: Masculinity in "Culhwch ac Olwen"', in *Arthuriana*, Fall 2005, Vol. 15, No. 3 (FALL 2005), 3-25, Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27870699>.

¹³⁴ Wendy Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 33-4.

¹³⁵ Miranda Aldhouse-Green, *Celtic Myths, A Guide to the Ancient Gods and Legends*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 2015, reprinted 2018), pp. 118-20.

¹³⁶ It was first recorded in the mid-sixteenth century by Elis Gruffydd. The tale was also recorded in a slightly different version by John Jones of Gellilyfdd (c. 1607). See Patrick K. Ford, (ed. and trans.), *The Mabinogi and Other Medieval Welsh Tales*, (University of California Press, 1977, reprinted in 2019), p. 151ff.

¹³⁷ There are parallels between this story and that of the Irish hero *Fin Mac Cumhail* and his encounter with the salmon of wisdom. See Miranda Aldhouse Green, *The Celtic Myths*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 2015), pp. 118-120.

¹³⁸ Gwrhŷr Gwalstawd Ieithoedd, who knows all tongues, also converses with the boar Trwyth, taking on the guise of a bird. He also appears in *Rhonabwy's Dream*. He is a classic folklore helper, possessing an unusual gift.

¹³⁹ Sioned Davies, *The Mabinogion*, pp. 204-5.

¹⁴⁰ Several large animals of the interglacial periods, notably elephants, rhinoceros, hippopotami and lions, did not return to Europe after the last Ice Age, probably because of human activity, while reindeer and arctic fox were exterminated by the spread of woodland and the horse was much reduced in numbers, replaced by roe and red deer, elk, wild boar and aurochs. The species represented in the remains of the Mesolithic camps at Star Carr in Yorkshire (roe deer, elk, ox, pig, pine marten, hedgehog, hare, badger, fox, beaver and domestic dog) and Thatcham in the Kennet Valley, where they included wild cat and horse and a variety of water-fowl, are broadly the same as those attested in the Early Middle Ages. The Eurasian elk is thought to have been hunted to extinction around 1200 AD. See John G. Evans, *The Environment of Early Man in the British Isles*, (London: Paul Elek, 1975), pp. 86ff.

higher ground, wolves and perhaps bears still roamed, rarely encountered by men. However, areas of woodland near villages and small towns were probably to some extent managed on the periphery. Boars and deer were hunted, as we have seen above, and pigs lived semi-wild, feeding on acorns. Lynxes, wildcats, foxes and smaller mammals living near human settlement were hunted for skins, and in some cases as food by people who had little access to more prestigious sources of meat. Small mammals were also a threat to cereal and vegetable crops. In the *Third Branch of the Mabinogi*¹⁴¹ and in a poem by the cleric Rhygyfarch in the late eleventh century, *Carmen Ricomarch de Messe Infelici*, harvests are stolen by hosts of mice.¹⁴² Doubtless pest-control measures were taken to protect precious crops, vital for subsistence.¹⁴³ Wild birds too fed on crops as illustrated by stories in which a Saint (variously Samson, in the *Vita Illuti*, or Paul or Paulinus) performs creative pest control.¹⁴⁴ Birds feature quite prominently in the earliest surviving Welsh prose tales: the Blackbird and the Owl are among the Oldest animals in *How Culhwch won Olwen*.¹⁴⁵ In the *Fourth Branch of the Mabinogi*, Blodeuedd, the maiden made from flowers, is changed into an owl by Math as a punishment for betraying her husband, Llew Llaw Gyffes.¹⁴⁶ Unspecified song birds are associated with Rhiannon, the mysterious lady who marries Pwyll in *Pwyll Prince of Dyfed*, the first of the tales known as the *Four Branches of the Mabinogi*.¹⁴⁷ One of the quests imposed on Culhwch in *Culhwch ac Olwen*¹⁴⁸ is finding the birds of Rhiannon ('*adar Rhiannon*'), whose song can 'wake the dead and lull the living to sleep'.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴¹ Sioned Davies, *The Mabinogion*, pp. 41ff.

¹⁴² In the *Vita Cadoci*, attributed to Llifris, however, a mouse mysteriously discovers wheat hidden inside a tumulus so relieving a famine. Brigid. K. Ehrmantraut, '*Of Mice and Mounds*', in *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*, Number 81 (Summer 2021), 94-111.

¹⁴³ The bizarre practice of putting animals, including rodents and cockerels, on trial for doing harm to humans or their property, is recorded in France from the eleventh century to around 1520. No such trials were recorded in Britain, where animals were themselves considered property. See Joyce Salisbury, *The Beast Within*, pp. 108ff. There may be a remote connection between this continental practice and the episode in the *Third Branch of the Mabinogi* where Manadawan threatens to hang a mouse caught ravaging his crops. See Sioned Davies, *The Mabinogion*, pp. 41ff.

¹⁴⁴ G.H. Doble, *Lives of the Welsh Saints*, edited by D. Simon Evans, pp. 95, 97, and 110.

¹⁴⁵ Sioned Davies, *The Mabinogion*, pp. 203-4.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 63. His name is sometimes translated as the Lion with the Steady Hand. He is alternatively known as Lleu, the Fair One.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 3ff.

¹⁴⁸ They also feature in the second branch, singing to entertain the group of British survivors who, with the head of Bendigeidfran, spend seven years feasting in Harlech, before moving to Gwales in Benfro where they spend a further eighty years before they finally go to London to bury Bendigeidfran's head facing France. The blackbird also appears in the tale of *Culhwch ac Olwen*, as one of the Oldest Animals that help Arthur and his men to find Mabon. Sioned Davies, *The Mabinogion*, p. 203.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 32, 196, 230 and 236.

Part II The Poems

Introductory remarks

In 1970, Joseph Clancy¹⁵⁰ published a selection of early Welsh poetry in English. He divided the first section devoted to the *Cynfeirdd* (600 – 1100) into the following sub-sections: *Taliesin*, *Aneirin*, *Poems from the Llywarch Hen Saga*, *Poems from the Heledd Saga*, and *Miscellany of Poems*. The Corpus of poems examined in this paper is broadly similar, with some omissions and additions dictated in part by the subject matter, and is divided up along similar lines, albeit in a different order.¹⁵¹

Group 1: Songs for fallen warriors of the Heroic period¹⁵²

Y Gododdin, Dyfnal Frych, Gorchan Tudfwlch and Gorchan Cynfelyn¹⁵³

The poems known as *Y Gododdin* have been preserved in only one medieval copy, the *Book of Aneirin*, thought to date from the thirteenth century. This manuscript, housed in the Central Library in Cardiff, presents some complexities.¹⁵⁴ The published edition used for this paper is that of A.O.H. Jarman.¹⁵⁵ *Y Gododdin* is set not in Wales but in northern Britain, known to the Welsh as ‘*Yr Hen Ogledd*’, in the late sixth century A.D. A poet Neirin is named in §62 of *Historia Brittonum*, attributed to Nennius¹⁵⁶ and thought to date to around 830 BC, along with Taliesin in a context that places them in the mid-sixth

¹⁵⁰ Joseph P. Clancy, *The Earliest Welsh Poetry* (London: Macmillan, St Martin’s Press, 1970).

¹⁵¹ The three Saga Englynion Cycles form a group, while individual *englynion* poems have been included in the fourth group entitled a Miscellany and one, the *Englynion Cadwallon*, in the first section with *Y Gododdin*. Poems from the Book of Taliesin have been grouped together and divided into two sections, the Praise Poems and Other Poems. In addition to several *englynion* poems, the fourth group contains several gnomic and nature poems, penitential poems and two poems from the putative Merlin cycle. The decision to place the poems from the Book of Taliesin after the Heroic poems and the *Saga Englynion* is based on the more sophisticated nature of the poems, which may or may not reflect a later date, and the wider range of human experience they represent. It does not seem at all likely that these poems as they stand date to the sixth century, despite the mention of the poet Taliesin by Nennius as a contemporary of Neirin.

¹⁵² Nora and Horace Chadwick divided heroic poetry generally into five categories, A (narrative poems), B (speech poems), C (didactic poems), D (elegies) and E (personal poems),¹⁵² noting that type A ‘narrative poems’, typified by Homeric epics and Norse heroic narrative poems, ‘is practically unrepresented in Welsh heroic poetry’.¹⁵² All the poems in Group 1, which includes the long poem *Y Gododdin*, fall into category D, together with many of the *Saga Englynion* poems and the praise poems and death odes from the Book of Taliesin. There is certainly some overlap between categories D and E (‘personal poems’), to which Chadwick assigns the elegies of *Llywarch Hen* ‘in view of their subjective character’.

¹⁵³ Unless otherwise indicated, all references to *Y Gododdin* are based on the following edition: Aneirin: *Y Gododdin, Britain’s Oldest Heroic Poem*, ed. by A.O.H. Jarman (Llandysul: Gomer Press, 1990).

¹⁵⁴ The greater part of the poem (eighty-eight stanzas) is in what is known as the hand of scribe A. A second scribe known as B added another, incomplete version of the poem. Scribe A also wrote the four *Gorchanau* (additional poems), following the main poem, which are now sandwiched between six stanzas penned by B and the remainder of the text penned by B.¹⁵⁴ Two of these, *Gorchan Maeldderw* and *Gorchan Adebón*, are not included in A.O.H. Jarman’s edition. The other two are included only partially.

¹⁵⁵ The spelling of the Welsh text has been modernised by A.O.H. Jarman. A version transcribed from the 1852 William Rees edition by David Price is to be found on the Project Gutenberg site.

<https://www.gutenberg.org/files/9842/9842-h/9842-h.htm>.

The Welsh text is also to be found in *Canu Aneirin*, gyda Rhagymadrodd a Nodiadau gan Ifor Williams, (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru 1970).

¹⁵⁶ Nennius, *Historia Brittonum*, History of the Britons, Translated by G.A. Giles, (Cambridge Ontario: in Parentheses Publications, 2000), p. 27.

century BC¹⁵⁷, but the poems as preserved are significantly later.¹⁵⁸ The *Gorchanau* also refer to characters and events associated with *Yr Hen Ogled*; intriguingly, the *Gorchan Cynfelyn* opens with a reference to the collar of the boar Trych Trwyth, associated with an Irish legend and with the *Mabinogion* tale 'How Culhwch won Olwen'.¹⁵⁹

Englynion y Beddau

The *Englynion y Beddau* are a *sui generis* group of poems inspired by the graves of legendary heroes.¹⁶⁰ The seventy-three *englynion* (stanzas) are found in the *Black Book of Carmarthen*, which dates from the thirteenth century. The texts are thought by some to be somewhat older than the manuscript that preserves them, perhaps dating back in part as far as the eighth or ninth century. An edition with English translation was published by Professor Thomas Jones in 1967.¹⁶¹

Marwnad Cynddylan (MC)

The *Marwnad Cynddylan* is a death ode in the *awdl* metre.¹⁶² Cynddylan was the brother of Heledd, the narrator of the Saga Englynion poem *Canu Heledd*. He was the son of a king of Powys, Cyndrwyn. Two *marwnads* are devoted to him: one in the *englyn* metre, opens the *Canu Heledd*.

Englynion Cadwallon (EC)

The *Englynion Cadwallon* refer to Cadwallon's campaigns around Wales from his base in Powys and his death on campaign in battle on 'Dunawd's land' ('*Bro Dunawt*').¹⁶³ Another poem, in *awdl* metre, known as '*Moliant Cadwallon*' and partially edited by Ifor Williams,¹⁶⁴ portrays him as overlord of the

¹⁵⁷ John T. Koch has attempted to reconstruct an earlier version of *Y Gododdin* in a language closer to Old Brythonic. John T. Koch (Ed.), *The Gododdin of Aneirin, Text and Context from Dark-Age North Britain*, (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997).

¹⁵⁸ Brendan O'Hehir has suggested that part of *Y Gododdin* is a collection of bardic *exercices de style*, celebrating the heroes of a by-gone age. See Brendan O'Hehir, 'What is the Gododdin?' in *Early Welsh Poetry*, ed. by Brinley Roberts, (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1988), pp. 57-95. A short review of scholarly views about the authorship and date of composition of *Y Gododdin* is provided by Stefan J. Shustreder. Stefan J. Shustreder, *Strategies of Identity Construction: The Writings of Gildas, Aneirin and Bede*, (Bonn: Bonn University Press, 2015), pp. 112-121.

¹⁵⁹

'Pei mi ganwn;	Were I to praise,
Tardei warchan gorche gin.	Were I to sing,
Gweilging torch trychdrwyt	The Gwarchan would cause high shoots to spring,
Trychethin trychinfwrth.'	Stalks like the collar of Trych Trwyth,' (Translation Skene)

<http://www.ancienttexts.org/library/celtic/ctexts/a04w.html>

This section is not included by A.O.H. Jarman in his edition. For Edward Anwyl, Trychdrwyt was 'evidently the same as *Twrch Trwyd*, the *Porcus Troit* of Nennius, the *Twrch Trwyth* of the *Mabinogion* and the *Orc* (or *Tore*) *Treith* (gen. of *Triath*) of the Irish legends'. Edward Anwyl, 'Wales and the Britons of the North', *The Celtic Review*, Jan. 1908, Vol. 4, No. 15 (Jan., 1908), 249-273, p. 259. Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/30069945>

¹⁶⁰ For suggested identifications of the sites of some of these graves, see *Englynion y Beddau, The Stanzas of the Graves*, ed. and trans. by John K. Bollard, illustrations by John Anthony Griffiths, (2015).

¹⁶¹ Thomas Jones (ed. and trans.), *The Black Book of Carmarthen 'Stanzas of the Graves'*, Sir John Rees Memorial Lectures, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967).

¹⁶² This poem is first attested in National Library of Wales 4973, (pp. 108a-109b), a manuscript of ancient poetry compiled by Dr John Davies of Mallwyd around 1631-4.

¹⁶³ Possibly Dunoding in North Wales. Alternatively land in northern Britain ruled by Dunawd m. Pabo. See Jenny Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poems*, note 15b, p. 615.

¹⁶⁴ In the *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* vii.

Britons. There may once have been a cycle of poems about Cadwallon, only remnants of which now survive.¹⁶⁵

Animals in the Songs for the fallen

The Horse: a companion at arms

Out of the hundred or so death odes in *Y Gododdin*, about one third refer to horses. The bard tells us that three hundred horses took part in the campaign (line 875), so every lord was mounted on his war steed, almost as if horse and man were melded into one creature,¹⁶⁶ the 'horseman' ('*marchog*') (lines 193, 269).¹⁶⁷ Horses and men are several times described together ('*a meirch a gwŷr*' and '*o veirch a gwŷr*') (lines 580-1 and lines 794-5 respectively). In her article on *Warfare and Horses in the Gododdin*, Jenny Rowland notes that '[h]orses are clearly the dominant non-figurative animals of the *Hengerdd*',¹⁶⁸ pointing out the use of the compounds '*cad farch*' (war horses) and '*cadfarchog*' (battle horsemen), which occur once each in *Y Gododdin* (830 and 192 in the Jarman edition), and the expression '*marchawc trin*' (cavalryman) found in the *Canu Urien (infra)*.¹⁶⁹ The expression '*meirch mel*'¹⁷⁰ ('war horses') also occurs in the *Englynion y Beddau* (S. 47).¹⁷¹ Battle horses are generally described in terms of their swiftness, their spirit, their colouring and their well-fed condition.¹⁷²

Meirch mwth myngfras
O dan forddwyd mygrwas;
Ysgwyd ysgafn lydan
*Ar bedrain main fuan.*¹⁷³
(*Y Gododdin*, Lines 13-16)

'Blaen, aur a phorffor cainasmygai,
Blaen, eddystrawr pasg ai gwaredai,
*Wrth lef agerw, bryd a'u derllyddai.*¹⁷⁴
(*Y Gododdin*, Lines 155-7)

¹⁶⁵ See R. Geraint Gruffydd, 'Canu Cadwallon ap Cadwan', in *Astudiaethau ar yr Hengerdd*, gol. gan R. Bromwich a R. Brinley Jones, (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1978), pp. 25-43.

¹⁶⁶ It is tempting to see in this melding of man and beast an echo of a horseman cult, as suggested by Miranda Aldhouse-Green. Miranda Aldhouse-Green, 'The Symbolic Horse in Pagan Celtic Europe', in Davies, Sioned and Nerys Ann Jones (Ed.), *The Horse in Celtic Culture, Medieval Welsh Perspectives* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997), pp. 1-22, pp. 14ff.

¹⁶⁷ Although the Welsh word '*marchog*' is an adjective rather than a compound made up of two substantives (the first recorded use of the English word 'horseman' in the sense of a rider is dated by Merriam Webster dictionary to the fourteenth century), the adjective also serves as a noun meaning a man on horseback and hence a horseman.

¹⁶⁸ The term *Hengerdd* is roughly synonymous with the term *Cynfeirdd*.

¹⁶⁹ Rowland, Jenny, 'Warfare and horses in the *Gododdin* and the problem of Catraeth', *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 30 (1995) 13-40, p. 17.

¹⁷⁰ The text has '*meirch mei*', but the expression is translated as war horses.

¹⁷¹ Rowland, Jenny, 'Warfare and horses in the *Gododdin* and the problem of Catraeth', p. 15. Jenny Rowland cites Pictish stones as possible evidence for use of sword and spear by mounted warriors in Britain the early Middle Ages. See also Irene Hughson, 'Horses in the Early Historic Period', in Davies, Sioned and Nerys Ann Jones (Ed.), *The Horse in Celtic Culture, Medieval Welsh Perspectives* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997), pp. 23-42.

¹⁷² See Glossary Appendix II.

¹⁷³ 'Swift long-maned steeds

Under the thigh of a handsome youth;

A light broad shield

On a slender fleet horse's crupper.'

¹⁷⁴ 'Blaen delighted in gold and purple clothing;

Blaen, well-fed horses ran under him

At the sound of battle: his high intent merited them.'

The description of Marchlew fighting on horseback is one of the most vivid in *Y Gododdin*:

*'Bu gwir mal amceuddai Gadlew,
Ni ddeliis meirch neb Marchlew.
Heesid waywawr yng nglyw
I ar llemenig llwybrdew.
Cyn ni faged am fyrn, am borth,
Dywal ei gleddyfal yn ei orth.
Heesid onn o bedryollt ei law
I ar feiniell fygedorth.¹⁷⁵
(Y Gododdin, Lines 291-4)*

That horses were as an expression of wealth and status is highlighted in several references to their breeding and their gifting by the lords;¹⁷⁶ horses were among the rich gifts heaped on minstrels and poets by lords like Cynddilig Aeron, desirous of praise and entertainment:

*'Hu mynnai yng nghylch byd eidol anant¹⁷⁷
Er aur a meirch mawr, a medd feddwaint¹⁷⁸
(Y Gododdin, Lines 641-2)*

In the *Englynion y Beddau*, only in Owain (S. 14)¹⁷⁹ and Cynddylan (S. 15) are associated with their horses:

*'Gyudi gurum a choch a chein
a goruytaur maur minrein,
In Llan Helet bet Owein.¹⁸⁰*

*'Gwydi gweli a gwaedlan
a gviscav seirch, a meirch cann,
neud ew hum bet Kintilan.¹⁸¹*

¹⁷⁵ 'It was true as Cadlew spoke,
No one's horses overtook Marchlew.
He cast spears in battle
From a bounding, wide-tracked charger.
Although his rearing was not without burdens, with suffering,
His sword-stroke was fierce in his battle-station.
He threw spears from the grasp of his hand
From his steaming slender bay horse.'

¹⁷⁶ This would seem to support the supposition, based on the later laws, that the rulers had a virtual monopoly on the breeding and selling of war horses. Dafydd Jenkins, *Hunting and Husbandry in Medieval Welsh Law*, The Hallstatt Lecture, 1993, (The Tabernacl Trust, Machynlleth: August 1993), p. 7.

¹⁷⁷ This plural word is defined in the GPC as 'musicians, minstrels, bards'. Geriadur Prifysgol Cymru, s.v. 'anant'.

¹⁷⁸ 'He desired around him the praise of minstrels
In return for gold and great horses and drunkenness on mead,'

¹⁷⁹ Owein or Owain is the son of Urien Rheged the subject of the Saga Englynion cycle *Canu Urien* (see below). He is also the subject of the *Mawnat Owein* from the Book of Taliesin (see below), where he is said to have given away horses. In the Saga Englynion poem Llym Awel (stanza 27), Pelis describes himself as 'following Owein on a white horse' ('y ar can kanlin owein'); he also says in stanza 29 that 'Owein Rheged raised me' ('owein reged am ry vaeth'). For Owein's connection with ravens, see below.

¹⁸⁰ 'After wearing dark-brown clothes, and red, and splendid,
And riding magnificent steeds with sharp spears
In Llan Heledd is the grave of Owain.'

¹⁸¹ 'After wounds and bloody plains,
And wearing harness and riding white horses,
This, even this, is the grave of Cynddylan.'

However, in Stanza 47, Eiddew and Eidal, sons of Meigen are described as breeding war-horses ('mekid meibon Meigen meirch mei.').¹⁸² A common *causus belli* in Early Medieval Wales was livestock rustling, often followed by reprisals. Like cattle, horses were precious booty, which could reinforce the chieftain's own status and serve as gifts to his loyal followers, including his bard,¹⁸³ as illustrated in the *Marwnad Cynddylan*:

'Maured gymined mawr ysgafael
y rhag Caer Luitcoed neus dug moriael
Pymtheccant muhyn a phum gwriael
pedwar vgeinmeirch a seirch cychafael'¹⁸⁴
(*Marwnad Cynddylan*, Lines 53-5)

Beasts of Battle, Men as Beasts

References to all three beasts in the Beasts-of-Battle trope occur in *Y Gododdin*, but wolves occur mainly in what Klausner calls the 'warrior simile'¹⁸⁵ whereby warriors are identified with or, more infrequently, compared to the beasts.¹⁸⁶ The ferocity attributed to these animals is harnessed for the 'in-group', becoming worthy of praise when displayed by the poet's own clan in the face of the enemy.¹⁸⁷ Even the Beasts of Battle take sides, as it were, at least for a time: they are 'fed' by the warriors with the bodies of the enemy. Hyfaidd Hir¹⁸⁸ and Ywain¹⁸⁹, are described as preferring the feast of wolves or ravens to a nuptial or a burial. Perhaps these expressions have their origin in the banter exchanged over mead before an engagement.

'Cynt i gig blaidd nogyd i neithiawr
Cynt i fudd brân nogyd i allawr'¹⁹⁰
(*Y Gododdin*, Line 62)

'Cynt i fwyd brain
Nog i argyfrain'¹⁹¹
(*Y Gododdin*, Lines 25-6)

¹⁸² Meigen ap Rhun is the subject of stanzas XVII-IX but he is not known elsewhere. Bollard and Griffiths, *Englynion y Beddau, The Stanzas of the Graves*, p. 78.

¹⁸³ See references to *Yspeil Taliessin* in the section on Praise Poems from the Book of Taliesin below.

¹⁸⁴ 'The greatness of swordplay – great booty –
before Lichfield Morfael took it:
fifteen hundred head of cattle and five?
eighty horses, and harnesses besides.'

¹⁸⁵ Klausner, 'Beasts of Battle in Early Welsh Poetry', p. 253.

¹⁸⁶ References to warriors 'wearing brooches' ('caeog'), e.g. line 49 which also refers to the warrior as a wolf, suggest that the animals may have been displayed on their items of battle jewellery.

¹⁸⁷ Although formal heraldry dates back only to around 1000 AD, the hypothesis that some heraldic charges may have their origins in Roman military badges, many of which featured fierce animals, and the totemic animals of 'barbarian' tribes in the Iron Age, Roman and Sub-Roman periods, seems at least plausible. Crests on helmets and shields go back to classical antiquity and were used as devices to terrify the enemy. Later, they came in some cases to represent a clan, or a family identified with a particular animal or bird. Michel Pastoureau, *Heraldry, Its Origins and Meaning*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1997), pp. 57-9.

¹⁸⁸ Hyfaidd Hir is mentioned in the Second Branch of the *Mabinogion* as one of the seven elders left behind to govern Britain while Bendigeidfran and his warriors were away in Ireland. See Sioned Davies, *The Mabinogion*, p. 25.

¹⁸⁹ Ywain is another form of Owein or Owain. Owain is particularly associated with ravens in the stories *The Lady of the Well* and *Rhonabwy's Dream*. See Sioned Davies, *Mabinogion*, pp. 138 and 222ff.

¹⁹⁰ 'Quicker to a wolf-feast than to a nuptial
Quicker to the raven's gain than to the altar'

¹⁹¹ 'Quicker to the raven's feast
Than to a burial'

The classic heroic metaphor in which feeding carrion birds is used to mean killing the enemy is also found in the *Englynion Cadwallon*.¹⁹²

*'gwnaeth eryron yn llawn
Gwedy trin dynineu dawn.'*¹⁹³
(*Englynion Cadwallon* S. 14)

Only once in *Y Gododdin* does the poet appear to speak of a warrior of his own party as being eaten by carrion birds.

*'Bu bwyd i frain, bu budd I frân'.*¹⁹⁴
(*Y Gododdin*, Line 272)

Reminiscent of the poem *Pen Urien* in the *Canu Urien*, where the persona of the poem has carried away Urien's head and the ravens attack the breast of the corpse (*infra*), the 'interpolated' poem *Dynfwal Frych* contains a reference to the head of a fallen warrior being eaten by ravens:

*'A phen Dynfwal Frych brain a'i cnoyn.'*¹⁹⁵

In battle, but also in the wider context of praise by poets for their lords, one of whose roles is that of a warrior chief,¹⁹⁶ a lord is sometimes compared to an eagle, with its graceful movement and its general fierceness. The eagle is said to 'laugh' in battle, perhaps a reference to its cry.¹⁹⁷

*'Gan wlith, eryr tith tirion
Ac o du gwasgar gwanet tu bron'*¹⁹⁸
(*Y Gododdin*, Lines 274-5)

*'Rhuthr eryr yn ebyr pan llithiwyd.'*¹⁹⁹
(*Y Gododdin*, Line 41)

*'Eryr brwydrin, trin tra chwardd.'*²⁰⁰
(*Y Gododdin*, Line 509)

The battle fury of the warrior is often associated with his 'beastly' nature, as illustrated by three typical examples from *Y Gododdin*:

*'Baran baedd oedd Bleiddig mab Eli.
Eryfesid gwn gwydrlestri llawn,*

¹⁹² As Lee Ray points out, with the exception of horses, most of the animals in '*Y Gododdin*' and the attached '*Gorchanau*' are used 'only' as metaphors. Lee Raye, *The Forgotten Beasts in Medieval Britain: a study of extinct fauna in medieval sources*, PhD thesis, university of Cardiff, 2016, p. 56.

¹⁹³ 'he made eagles full;

After battle corpses were their reward.'

¹⁹⁴ 'He was food for ravens, he was benefit to the crow.'

¹⁹⁵ 'And the head of Domnall Brecc, ravens gnawed it.'

¹⁹⁶ The role of the '*penteulu*', or head of the lord's household, was 'to lead his lord's forces into battle while his master remained at court' due to 'age, illness or other commitments'. According to Sean Davies, 'Mynyddog Mwynfawr was responsible for gathering the force sent to Catreth, but he took no part in the expedition'. See Sean Davies, *War and Society in Medieval Wales 633-1284*, (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2004).

¹⁹⁷ The cry of a white-tailed eagle: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_MFGSXfhjiM

¹⁹⁸ At dew-fall, the eagle of graceful movement, Beside the wave's spray near the hillside.'

¹⁹⁹ 'The swoop of an eagle in the estuaries when fed.'

²⁰⁰ 'A fierce eagle, laughing in battle'

*Ac yn nydd camawn camp a wnëi
I ar Arfwl Can²⁰¹; cyn no'i drengi
Calanedd cochwedd a edewi.²⁰²
(Y Gododdin, Lines 882-826)*

*'Tarw byddin yn nhrin gomyniad,²⁰³
(Y Gododdin, Line 329)*

*'Hud effyd ei wryd l lwrw Elffin,
Eithinyn folaid, mur graid, tarw trin.²⁰⁴
(Y Gododdin, Lines 405-6)*

The Stanzas of the Graves contain two references to '*tarv trin*' (bull of battle) and one to '*tarv torment*'²⁰⁵. Unusually, the poet appears to praise Llwyd the gentle, who was attacked by '*tarv trin*' (S. 66), for his lack of aggression. In Stanza 49, the 'smile' of the boar may be a reference to its flashing tusks.

*'Bet Lyvid lledneis ig Kemeis tir:
kin boed hir tuw y eis,
dygirchei tarv trin o treis.²⁰⁶*

*'Piev y bet hun ? [] nid
aral gyuthuch urth ervid
trath lathei chwartei vrthid.²⁰⁷*

The warrior is almost always identified rather than compared with the animal; he is temporarily transformed, taking on the attributes of a powerful creature. Most animals referred to in this way are native species such as bulls (the most frequent), oxen and boars. This identification also suggests a link with the home base. When a Lord took his army into the field, often to join forces with allies against a common enemy, part of his identity as protector of his 'herd' and his 'host' went with him.²⁰⁸

Y Gododdin contains two snake similes, one relating to Cynon and the other to Merin son of Madiain:

*'Sarff seri alon?²⁰⁹
(Y Gododdin, Line 211)*

*'Sarff saffwy graen'
(Y Gododdin, Line 588)*

²⁰¹ Arfwl Can (Huge White) was the name of his horse.

²⁰² 'The fury of the boar was Bleiddig son of Eli.

He drank the wine of brimming glass vessels,
And in the day of conflict he performed feats
Upon Arfwl Can; before he died
He left blood-stained corpses behind him.'

²⁰³ 'Bull of an army, a hewer in the fighting'

²⁰⁴ 'He pressed forward with courage, like Elffin,
The celebrated Eithinyn, wall of battle, bull of combat.'

²⁰⁵ The word '*torment*' has two meanings in Welsh. The first is 'host' or 'army', a synonym of '*llu*', '*byddin*'. The plural is given as '*tormentoedd*'. The second is a 'torment' or 'pesky person' (pl. '*tormentau*'). *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru (GPC)*, app. provided by the University of Wales Trinity Saint David, s.v. '*torment*'.

²⁰⁶ The grave of Llwyd the gentle is in the land of Cemais:

Though long was the growth of his ribs,
The bull of battle attacked him violently.'

²⁰⁷ 'Whose is this grave?...

the frenzy of a wild boar under blows,
whilst he slew thee he would smile at thee.'

²⁰⁸ Urien Rheged features in Triad 6 as one of the three Bull Protectors of the Island Britain (*Thri Tharw Caduc*). See Rachel Bromwich (ed. and trans.) *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*, p. 12.

²⁰⁹ 'A serpent on the enemies' path'

Two references are made to lions, which are not native (one relating to Cynon and one to Bubon), and two to bears (relating to Blaen and Merin son of Madiain), which were native but scarce at the period. These are not constant epithets, however; the same warrior may be compared to more than one animal as is the case with Merin (bear and snake) and Cynon (lion and serpent).²¹⁰ Of the handful of references to hounds and 'war hounds', most refer to the warriors themselves.

'Dwys, dengyn, ydd ymleddyn aergwn'.²¹¹
(*Y Gododdin*, Line 87)

'Re cŵn cyfarth',²¹⁴
(*Y Gododdin*, Line 583)

'Trychwn a thrychant',²¹²
(*Y Gododdin*, Lines 191 and 877)

'Oedd ech eu tymyr trais ganaon'.²¹⁵
(*Y Gododdin*, Line 636)

'Dau gatgi Aeron a Chynon daerawd',²¹³
(*Y Gododdin*, Line 246)

The Beasts of the Field

Cattle, as opposed to oxen and bulls, are referred to only as booty in war, for example in praise of *Eithinyn*²¹⁶ *mab Doddw Adaf*:

'Disgynsid yn nhrwm rhag dwyrain alaf',²¹⁷
(*Y Gododdin*, Lines 412 and 425)

'Ysgwydfrw rhag biw, Beli bloeddfawr',²¹⁸
(*Y Gododdin*, Line 427)

The reference from *Marwnad Cynddylan* to horse raiding (*supra*) also refers to cattle as booty, together with horses and harnesses. Cattle reaving, in and outside of war, seems to have been considered 'fair game'.

The Hunt

The only two references to hunting in *Y Gododdin* form a striking contrast. Line 522 concerns one Cynwal.²¹⁹

'Y mae dewr'²²⁰ yn ei gell
Yn cnoi angell

'Gnawd yn llwrw alan buan byddai',²²²
(*Y Gododdin*, Line 949)

²¹⁰ Although individual warriors carried standards or badges bearing animals or birds in the early Middle Ages, identification of a heraldic animal with a lineage did not become the norm in Britain until the twelfth century. See Richard Marks and Anne Payne, *British Heraldry, from its Origins to 1800*, (British Museum Publications Ltd., 1978), p. 11.

²¹¹ 'In close ranks, grimly, the war-hounds fought'.

²¹² 'Three hounds and three hundred,'.

²¹³ 'The two battle-hounds of Aeron and Cynon returned,'.

²¹⁴ 'Swift were the baying hounds,'.

²¹⁵ 'The whelps of violence were away from their lands'.

²¹⁶ Eithinyn is one of the Northern heroes mentioned in *Y Gododdin* and also in the *Gorchan Cynfelyn*, though not in the section included by Jarman in his edition. See Edward Anwyl, 'Wales and the Britons of the North', in *The Celtic Review*, Jan. 1908, Vol. 4, No. 15 (Jan. 1908), 249-273, p. 259. Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/30069945>

²¹⁷ 'He attacked in battle before the cattle-herds of the eastlands,'.

²¹⁸ 'With shattered shield before the cattle, the vociferous Beli'.

²¹⁹ If he is the one gnawing the buck's leg, he is clearly not dead, unlike his fellows, unless the poet is referring to an episode in his past. See A.O.H. Jarman (ed.), Aneirin, *Y Gododdin*, note to line 425, p. 115.

²²⁰ The word 'dewr' means brave. It is also a variant of the word Deifr which means man of Deira.

²²² 'It was usual that on the track of a deer he was swift,'.

*Bwch, budd o'i law;
Iddaw poed ymbell.*²²¹
(*Y Gododdin*, Line 522)

The second reference is clearly praise for Bubon's qualities as a tracker.²²³

Animals in the Wild

Other than as warrior similes, as Beasts of Battle, and in a few sparse references to hunting (*infra*), wild animals barely feature in these poems. Only the *Marwnad Cynddylan* refers to fish, in the somewhat gnomic line:

*'Pob pysg a milyn yd fydd teccaw'*²²⁴
(*Marwnad Cynddylan*, Line 35).

The meaning would appear to be that, while he lived, Cynddylan was in his element 'like a fish in water'.

Summary Group 1

Chart 1 (*infra*) shows the total number of references in this group of poems analysed according to the first set of tags.²²⁵ The most frequent tags applied to these poems are Equestrianism, Warrior Similes and Beasts of Battle.

The range of animals appearing in these poems is quite limited (see Charts below). Horses feature most prominently, particularly in *Y Gododdin*. Most references are to the mounts of cavalrymen and, in smaller measure, the breeding of war horses and horse raiding for booty. The masculine word *march* or its plural *meirch* is by far the most frequently used term.²²⁶ The emphasis in *Y Gododdin* is on horses, collectively and individually, as prized possessions and companions in war. References to eagles, ravens, and to a lesser extent, wolves, in Beast-of-Battle mode also feature. Eagles and wolves, together with other animals perceived as fierce or powerful, such as bears, boars, lions and snakes, form part of the poets' vocabulary of Praise. Hounds also feature, both as real animals and as similes for warriors. Cattle are mentioned in passing in connection with raiding and rustling, usually to praise the fallen chieftains who kept their herds from harm and succeeded in wresting livestock from their rivals.

Chart 4 illustrates the distribution of animal references characterised by the second set of tags.²²⁷ Although all these poems are dedicated to fallen warriors, the tone is more celebratory than elegiac.²²⁸ The 'warrior simile' is liberally employed by the poet to praise keenness in battle, while the pathos implicit in the contrast between the full-blooded descriptions of these warriors and the fact and circumstances of their deaths remains tacit or understated.

²²¹ 'The brave one is in his hut
Gnawing the leg
of a buck, a gain in his hand.
For him it may be a rarity.'

²²³ The cradle song *Pais Dinogad*, which appears among the *Gorchanau*, is entirely devoted to hunting. This poem is included in Group 4 (Other early Welsh poems – A Miscellany) (see below).

²²⁴ 'Every fish and animal is where it is the finest'.

²²⁵ For the definitions of the tags, see first section of Appendix III.

²²⁶ There are no references to mares or geldings in these poems. See Appendix II GLOSSARY, section B, Horses.

²²⁷ For the definitions of the tags, see Appendix III.

²²⁸ The decision to tag these references as Praise rather than Lamentation is, of course, subjective and results in a very different chart.

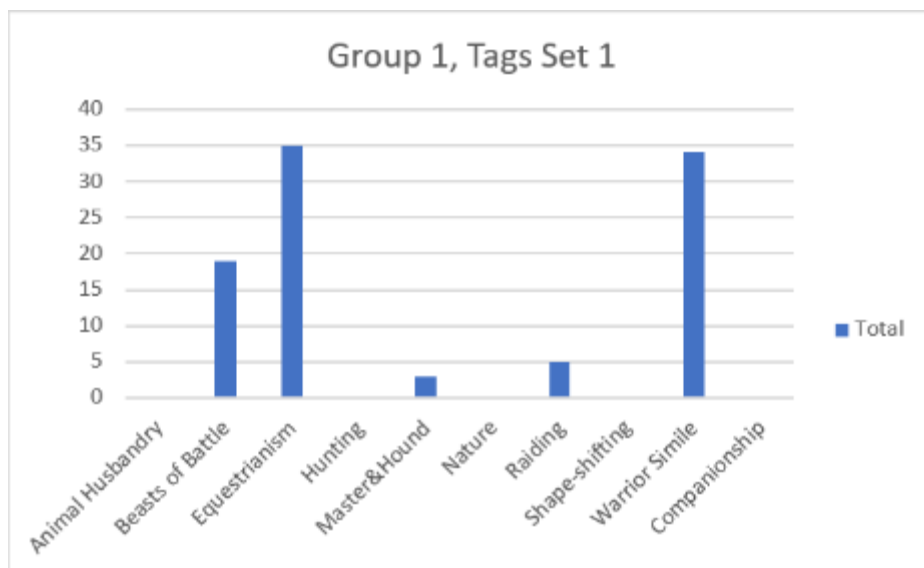


Chart 1: Poems Group 1 by Tags (Set 2)

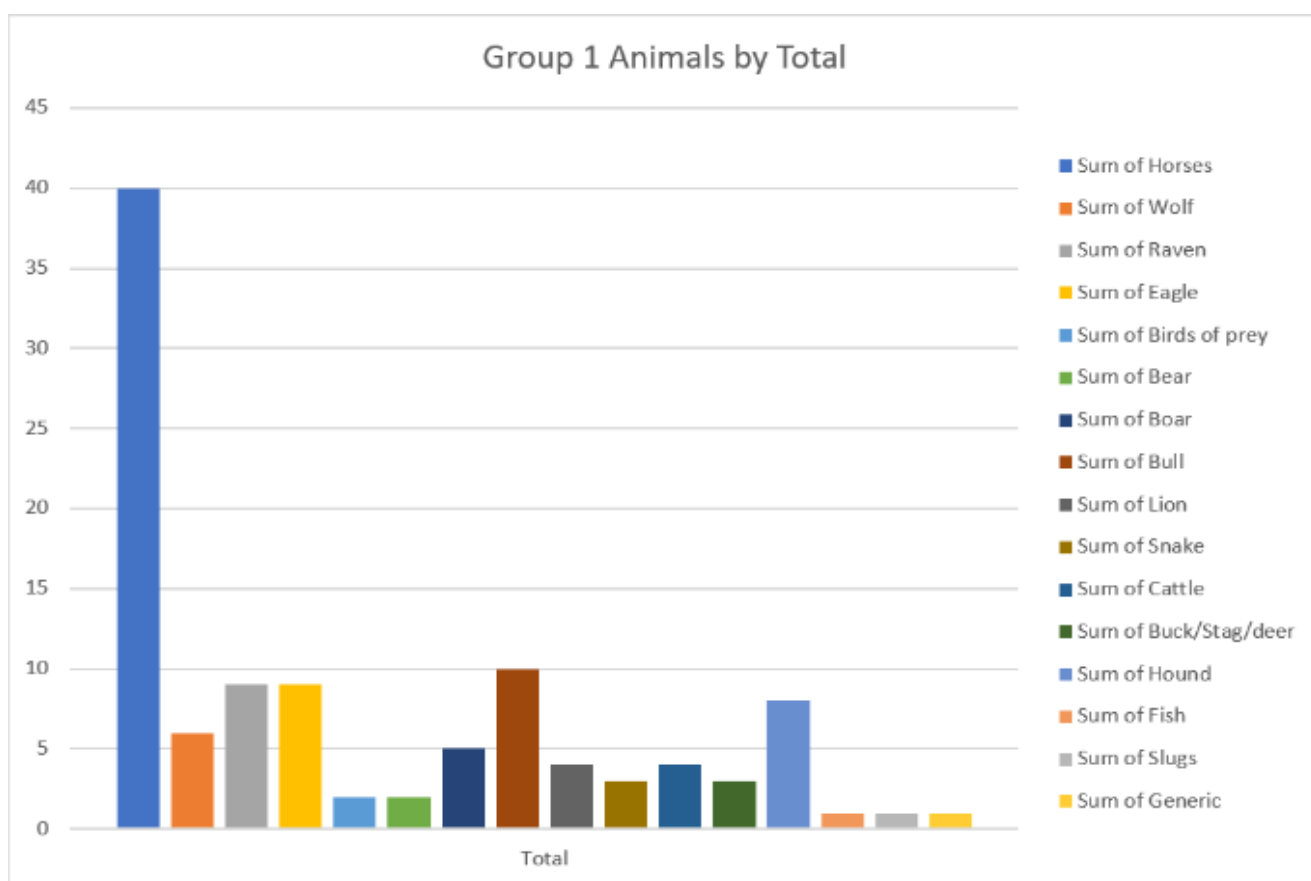


Chart 2: Poems Group 1, animals by total

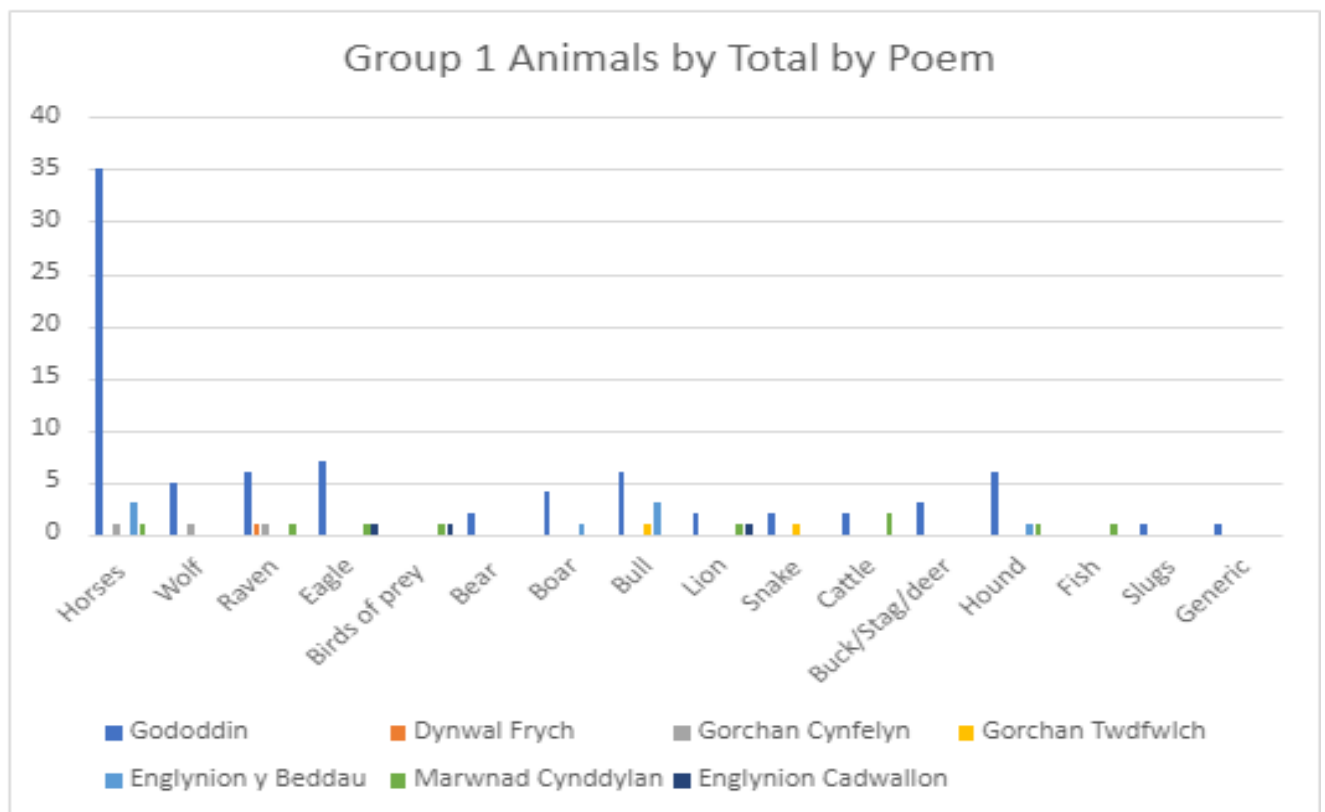


Chart 3: Poems Group 1, animals by total by poem

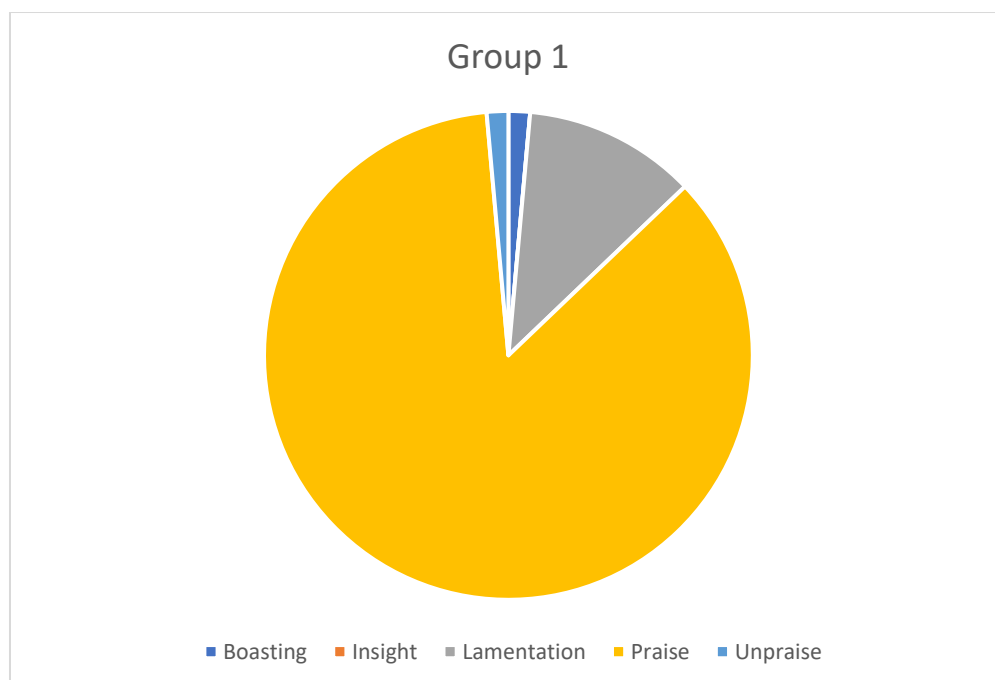


Chart 4: Poems Group 1, by Tags (Set 2).

Group 2: The Saga *Englynion* – lost battles and their aftermath

The Saga *Englynion* are lyric poems in a stanzaic metre.²²⁹ An in-depth study of these poems was published by Jenny Rowland in 1990.²³⁰ The three main cycles are found in the *Red Book of Hergest* and in the *White Book of Rhydderch*.²³¹ A broad range of individual *englynion*, including some stanzas from the Llywarch Hen Cycle, are found in the *Black Book of Carmarthen*.²³² The three cycles, the *Canu Llywarch Hen*, *Canu Urien* and *Canu Heledd*, refer to events that can be situated in the sixth century AD. Some of the *dramatis personae* appear briefly in genealogies and chronicles but little of their stories remains. The cycles contain a strong, albeit non-linear, narrative element:²³³ each cycle has a first-person narrator. The Heledd narrator's female persona is highly unusual in Welsh poetry of this period.²³⁴ In the case of the Urien cycle, the narrator is harder to identify. Once thought to be Llywarch himself, he is referred to as 'y bardd'. In each cycle, the persona is a protagonist in the events that may once have contextualised the verse.

Animals in the Saga *Englynion* Cycles

The Horse

Relatively few references to horses occur in the *Canu Llywarch Hen*. The poem dedicated to Llywarch's son Pyll contains two: the tone is quite jocular and familiar, that of a proud father describing his virile son.²³⁵

'Mat dodes [m]jordwynt dros obell y orwyd'²³⁶
(CLH Pyll, S. 32)

'Pan sauei yn drws pebyll
y ar orwyd erewyll.
ardelwei o wr wreic pyll.'²³⁷
(CLH Pyll, S. 34)

The reference to the horses of Mechydd illustrates by *litotes* the harsh way horses were used in battle. Mechydd was another of Llywarch's sons.²³⁸

²²⁹ The stanzas may be of three or four lines. The three-line form was popular in the ninth and tenth centuries, whereas the four-line form is characteristic of higher status bards writing from the eleventh century onwards. See Jenny Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry, A Study and Edition of the Englynion*, (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1990), Introduction, pp. 1ff.

²³⁰ Jenny Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry*.

²³¹ Although some parts of the *White Book* text are missing from the manuscript, two early modern copies survive. <https://www.library.wales/discover/digital-gallery/manuscripts/the-middle-ages/white-book-of-rhydderch#c=&m=&s=&cv=&xywh=-363%2C-1%2C4804%2C4080>.

²³² *Ibid.*, pp. 393-402. Except for a few poems found only in the *Black Book of Carmarthen*, the text edited by Jenny Rowland is that of the *Red Book of Hergest*.

²³³ See David Callander, *Dissonant Neighbours*, (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2019), p.11, with reference to *Canu Urien*.

²³⁴ As female character lamenting a loved one, she has parallels in Anglo-Saxon and Irish verse of a broadly similar period. However, she is lamenting not a lover or a husband, but a brother, together with several other brothers and several sisters, some of whom are named. Most of all, she is lamenting the destruction of her world.

²³⁵ This ribald comment is a rare reference to a gendered relationship in this entire Corpus of poems.

²³⁶ 'Well did he put his thigh over the saddle of his steed.'

²³⁷ 'When he stopped before his tent
on a splendid steed,
Pyll's wife owned she had a man.'

²³⁸ The same line also occurs in the poem *Llym awel*, which was thought by some to be part of the Llywarch Hen Cycle (see below). In that poem, the horse *Arful Felyn* is named. This horse is associated elsewhere (Triad 43) with Pasgen son of Urien. See Peter C. Bartrum, *A Welsh Classical Dictionary*, (Aberystwyth: The National Library of Wales, 1993), s.n. Mechydd ap Llywarch Hen.

*'Nid oet vagaud meirch mechit.'*²³⁹
(CLH, *Enwev Meibon Llywarch Hen*, S. 7)

'Meurygawg marchawg meuen'
*'Meurygawg marchawg maes'*²⁴⁰
(CLH, *Gwahodd Llywarch i Lanfawr*, SS. 1,2²⁴¹)

An 'unbroken horse' ('*march glas*') is one of the pleasures Llywarch can no longer enjoy in his old age. His mention of a girl as another of these pleasures is rare reference to relations between the sexes in these poems. The warriors in *Y Gododdin* in contrast seem so fired up by the bloodlust they share in as companions at arms that they are 'Quicker to a wolf-feast than to a nuptial' (*Y Gododdin*, line 62) (*supra*).²⁴²

'A gereis .i. yr yn was yssy gas gennyf.
*merch estrawn a march glas.'*²⁴³
(CLH *Cân yr Henwr*, S. 15)

References to horses are found in the *Canu Urien*, in the poem *Dwy Blaid* and in a group of miscellaneous verses. All refer to attacks on Erechwydd.²⁴⁴ The reference to making corpses is a classic heroic *topos*, but this poem is concerned with the fate of the defeated rather than the exploits of the war heroes.

'Pwyllei dunawt marchawc gwein.
*erechwyd gwneuthur kelein.'*²⁴⁵
(CU *Dwy Blaid*, S. 37)

'Ar erechwyd ethyw gwall
*o vraw marchawc ys gweill.'*²⁴⁷
(CU *Misc. verses*, S. 44)

'Pwyllei Wallawc, marchawc trin,
*Erechwyd gwneithur dynin'*²⁴⁶
(CU *Dwy Blaid*, S. 39)

In the *Canu Heledd*, horses are associated with lost wealth and status: Heledd recalls the luxury of her former life and anxiously questions her future fate and that of her dead brother's possessions, including his 'fourteen steeds' ('*bedwardeg meirch*').

²³⁹ 'The horses of Mechydd were not pampered.'

²⁴⁰ 'Horseman of the plain, like Meurig'.

²⁴¹ Ifor Williams does not include the first stanza in his edition.

²⁴² There are two references to mighty heroes being 'breathless' or 'modest' before a maiden (e.g. '*diffun ymlaen bun*', line 32, and '*dysgiawr pan fai bun*', line 687)). A third reference to a maiden (line 446) is suggestive of greater virility: '*Trywyr, er bod bun, Bradwen*', translated as 'The equal of three men, for the favour of a maiden, was Bradewen'. It is not clear how we should interpret these remarks, redolent of the banter of the mead hall.

²⁴³ 'Those things which I loved since I was a youth
are hateful to me: a girl, a stranger, and an unbroken horse'.

²⁴⁴ For a discussion on ideas as to where we might locate Erechwydd, see Paul Russell, 'Three Notes on Canu Urien', *North American journal of Celtic studies* [Vol. 4, No. 1 \(Spring 2020\)](#), 48-78, pp. 16ff.

²⁴⁵ 'Dunawd, horseman of slaughter,
intended to make corpses in Erechwydd'

²⁴⁶ 'Gwallawg, horseman of battle, intended
to make corpses in Erechwydd'.

²⁴⁷ 'Need has befallen Erechwydd
because of fear of a horseman'

'Gwedy meirch hywed a chochwed dillat.
A phluawr [mawr] melyn.' ²⁴⁸
(CH Newid Byd S. 72)

'o duw padiw yth rodir.
meirch vym bro[dyr] ac eu tir.' ²⁴⁹
(CH Heledd Hwyledig, S. 78)

Beasts of Battle, Men as Beasts

The Beasts of Battle occur several times in the Saga *Englynion* Cycles. *Canu Urien* evokes all three but not in combination. In '*Dwy blaid*' the wolves are in fact men: Urien's enemies Dunawd and Brân fab Ymellyrn. The latter is described as 'a wolf who howled at the breach' ('*bleid a ugei wrth ebyrn*'). ²⁵⁰ In *Pen Urien*, the white of human flesh and the black colour of ravens make an arresting contrast: ²⁵¹

'ac ar y vronn wenn vran du' ²⁵²
(CU *Pen Urien*, S. 8)

'ac ar y vronn wen vrein ae hys' ²⁵³
(CU *Pen Urien*, S. 9)

In the poem *Unhwch*, the epithet 'of the eagle's grasp' ('*greidyawl gauael eryr*') applied to Urien Rheged is a flattering image, echoing the identification of warriors with eagles in *Y Gododdin*. This poem seems to express a grudging admiration for the ferocity of both Urien and his enemies, Unhwch and Dunawd. ²⁵⁴ The *Canu Heledd* contains a single reference to a wolf, in company with a lion, in the form of a classic warrior simile in the opening lament for Cynddylan. In contrast to the way the trope is used in *Y Gododdin* (*supra*), the narrator's own kin become carrion for the Beasts of Battle, who are now on the side of the enemy.

'Kyndylan gulhwch gynnifiat llew
bleid dilin disgynnyat' ²⁵⁵
(CH *Marwnad Cynddylan*, S. 10)

Ravens are not found in the Heledd cycle but two entire poems are dedicated to eagles, feasting, or anticipating feasting, on the flesh of warriors. These finely worked poetic elaborations on the Beasts-of-Battle image are vivid and evocative, both visually and acoustically. ²⁵⁶ The birds are flesh and blood creatures. ²⁵⁷ Their cries can be interpreted as a sort of Greek chorus, echoing the plangent voice of

²⁴⁸ 'After broken horses with red trappings
and great yellow plumes.'

²⁴⁹ 'Oh God, to whom are given
my brothers' horses and their land?'

²⁵⁰ In her note to this line, Jenny Rowland says 'The wolf is generally a heroic animal, but the parallel with line 41b ('a shrew who scratched at a crag' / '*llyc a grauei wrth glegyr*') indicates that the line should be contemptuous and therefore the wolf must be behaving shamefully.' Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry*, p. 565.

²⁵¹ Black was the colour of death for the Romans; in Christian times, contrasted with white, the colour of dignity, purity and light, it became associated with evil.

²⁵² 'And on his white breast is a black raven'.

²⁵³ 'And ravens on his white breast consume him'.

²⁵⁴ Dunod ap Pabo, also known as Dunod Fawr, was a Northern British king assigned to the sixth century. A death date of 595 for Dunaut filius Pabo is found in the *Annales Cambriae*. See Peter Bartrum, *A Welsh Classical Dictionary*, s.n. Dunod Fwr ap Pabo Post Prydyn.

²⁵⁵ 'Cynddylan, a warrior like Culhwch, a lion,
a wolf pursuing attacker'.

²⁵⁶ The cry of an osprey: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_KTpxps7mrw

²⁵⁷ The eagle of Eli is identifiable as a white-tailed sea eagle but may also be a simile for a warrior. See Lee Raye, *Sea eagles (Haliaeetus albicilla) in 'Canu Heledd' (the Singing of Heledd)*. Lee Raye considers that the white-tailed sea eagle may be the creature normally intended in descriptions of the beasts of battle.

Posted on April 27, 2014, <https://historyandnature.wordpress.com/2014/04/27/eaglesincanuheledd/>

the narrator.²⁵⁸ In the Llywarch Hen Cycle, a warrior simile compares Llywarch's son Gwên to an eagle, echoing both *Y Gododdin* (Line 41) and the poem *Eryr Eli* from the *Canu Heledd* (Stanza 38).

*'ruthyr eryr yn aby'r oedut.'*²⁵⁹

(CLH, *Marwnad Gwên*, S.19)

One of Llywarch's sons is identified with a bull in another classic warrior simile. As Jenny Rowland points out,²⁶⁰ the expression *'tarv trin'* ('bull of battle'), which also occurs in *Y Gododdin*, is the opening epithet of the dialogue between Gwyn ap Nudd and Gwyddno (*infra*).²⁶¹ In the Llywarch Hen poem it is associated with other references that may have a religious connotation.

'Tarv trin ryuel adun.

cledir kad kanvill. o gimun.

*Ren new ruy a endeid hun.'*²⁶²

(CLH, *Enwev Meibon Llywarch Hen*, S. 5)

The Beasts of the Field

In *Gwahodd Llywarch i Lanfawr*. Llywarch, who has fallen on hard times, meets a rider whom he appears to recognise and asks him for help; he says that when he prospered, he 'did not eat acorns like pigs' (*'Nid ysswn fegis moch mes'*), as he is presumably reduced to doing now. As the northern lands are in the hands of enemies of the fallen king Urien, Llywarch's kinsman,²⁶³ the man advises him to go to Llanfawr, in Powys and speaks of a way along the Dee followed by herdsmen of calves.²⁶⁴

The *Canu Urien* poem *Marwnad Rhun* refers to a hundred homesteads and a hundred oxen (*'can tref a chant eidyonyd'*) bestowed by Rhun on the narrator. In *Canu Heledd* the narrator refers to the wealth of the land in the form of domestic animals, especially cattle: the poems *'Eglywsau Basa'* (Baschurch) and *'Y Drefwen'* ('The Fair Town'), describe the devastation wrought in two towns which had been prosperous farming communities. The clover in Baschurch, which had presumably been grazing for the cows, is bloody, the oxen no longer go to their noontime resting place (*'nogyt ych y echwyd'*) and the land is no longer ploughed. The sequence of poems that follow focus on the land that has been laid waste.²⁶⁵ In the three stanzas of the poem *'Gorwynion'*, the narrator speaks of the 'cattle of Ederinion' (*'gwarthec edernyawn'*), which grazed safely while Gorwynion²⁶⁶ lived, and have now presumably been taken as booty. In describing how her life has changed since the destruction of her menfolk, the Heledd narrator contrasts her former finery with the rough goat skins she now wears.

²⁵⁸ For a development of this idea, see Aled Llion Jones, *Darogan, Prophecy, Lament and Absent Heroes in Medieval Welsh Literature*, (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2013), pp. 88ff.

²⁵⁹ 'you were the rush of an eagle in the estuaries.'

²⁶⁰ Jenny Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry*, p. 546.

²⁶¹ See Glossary, Appendix II, Section M Cattle, bulls, oxen.

²⁶² 'Bull of battle, foremost in war,

pillar of warfare, candle?... (sic)

Lord of Heaven, ?... (sic)'

²⁶³ Jenny Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry*, pp. 42ff.

²⁶⁴ The expression 'herdsman of calves' suggests that the calves were separated from the cows. Calves can be naturally weaned at about five months' old. This would be consistent with the maintaining of a dairy herd.

²⁶⁵ In this poem, the land is identified with the women of the house, notably Ffreuer, one of Heledd's sisters, who also died, perhaps in the attack or possibly earlier.

²⁶⁶ A Gorwynion appears in the lists of the sons of Llywarch Hen in the 'Hanesyn Hen' Tract. See Bartrum P., a Welsh Classical Dictionary, (Aberystwyth: The National Library of Wales, 1993), s.n. Gorwynion ap Llywarch Hen.

*'Kynn bu ryg kylchet croenen gauyr galet
chwannawc y gel[yn]
rym goruc y uedw ued brynn.'*²⁶⁷
(CH *Newid Byd*, S. 69)

The Hunt

Hunting as such barely features in these Cycles, but the reference to hounds and hawks in the scene-setting opening stanza of *Aelwyd Rheged* (*Canu Urien*) hints at the pleasures of the hunt as a peacetime occupation for warlords:

*'Llawer ki geillic a hebawc wyrennic
a lythiwyd ar y llawr
kyn bu er lleon llaweddraw'*²⁶⁸
(CU, *Aelwyd Rheged*, s. 48)

In the elegy to Cynddylan at the start of the *Canu Heledd*, Cynddylan is described as a whelp of his father and a 'ferocious hound of war'. He is also described as having 'the heart of a hunting hound' and the heart of a hawk. Several references to boars in connection with Cynddylan in the poem suggest a close identification of the warrior with the boar.²⁶⁹

*'Kyndylan callon milg'*²⁷⁰
(CH *Marwnad Cynddylan*, S. 7)

*'Kynndylan callon hebawc'*²⁷¹
(CH *Marwnad Cynddylan*, S. 8)

*'keneu kyndrwyn kyndynyawc'*²⁷²
(CH *Marwnad Cynddylan*, SS. 8 and 12)

The enigmatic Llemenig,²⁷³ 'maker of flame' (*'fflam daffar'*), who appears at the end of the cycle is described as a 'ferocious, victorious hound of war' (*'airgi gwyth gwaithfuddig'*) (CH *Llemenig*, S. 113).

In the poem *Cân yr Henwr*, in which the Llywarch persona self-consciously and self-deprecatingly disparages what he has become in his old age, a stag appears in a stanza highly reminiscent of poems such as *Llym Awel* and *Eiry Mynydd* (see Group 4, Miscellany, below). The poem is addressed to his wooden staff (*'baglan brenn'*).

²⁶⁷ 'Before my coverlet was the hard skin of a goat
greedy for holly
The mead of Bryn made me drunk.'

²⁶⁸ 'Many a lively hound and spirited hawk were fed on its floor Before this place was ruins'.

²⁶⁹ Stanza 3 contains an ambiguous reference:

*'Kynndylan, callon iaen gaeaf,
a want twrch trwy y benn.'*
(CH *Marwnad Cynddylan*, S. 3)

This is translated by Rowland as 'Cynddylan with a heart like winter ice, who ran a boar through its head', apparently a reference to hunting, or possibly to war. It could be interpreted as 'whom a boar[-like warrior] struck through the head', but the reference to his icy calm sits better with the former reading.

Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry*, p. 576, note to stanza 3.

²⁷⁰ 'Cynddylan with the heart of a hunting hound'.

²⁷¹ 'Cynddylan with the heart of a hawk'.

²⁷² 'the unyielding whelp of Cyndrwyn'.

²⁷³ The similar name Llemenig (Lleminavc) appears twice three times in the Book of Taliesin, once in *Priddeu Annwn*, and has been associated with Arthur. In the life of Gruffudd ap Cynan, it refers to a deliverer of prophesy. See Nerys Ann Jones, *Arthur in Early Welsh Poetry*, p. 150.

'Dyr gwenn gwynt gwynn gne.
godre
gwyd dewr hyd diwlyd bre.
eidyl hen hwyr y dyre.'²⁷⁴
(CLH *Cân yr Henwr*, S. 13)

The World beyond the Gate

In the poem *Aelwyd Rheged* in the *Canu Urien*, wild pigs and chicks dig in the abandoned hearth of a ruined hall after the death of Urien and his son Owain. In similar vein, in the very short poem '*Gwal Twrch*' ('The Boar's Den') in the *Canu Heledd*, boar piglets are cracking nuts (or bones). Animal young are rare in the Corpus and appear to represent a breakdown of the order of things; wild animals are breeding in places that used to be enclosed and occupied by humans and their domestic animals, hounds and hunting hawks. The outside world has forced its way in, and the people have become, for the time being, homeless. In the poem *Marwnad Rhun*, the 'hundred homesteads with a hundred oxen' ('*can tref a chant eidyonyd*') bestowed on the narrator by Rhun are contrasted with the state of the armies which resembles 'a swarm without a queen bee' ('*heit heb uodrydaf hu byd*'). In *Dwy Blaid*, an enemy is described as 'a shrew who scratched at a crag' ('*llyc a grauei wrth glegyr*'), perhaps the only mention of a rodent in the entire Corpus. In contrast, Llywarch Hen is moved by the singing of a bird in a pear tree at the grave of his son Gwên.²⁷⁵ Elsewhere, the plaintive song of a cuckoo²⁷⁶ in the spring reminds him that, being old and frail, he is 'rejected by maidens'.²⁷⁷ For him, at least, the warrior ethos was not incompatible with amorous pleasures.

'Tec yd gan ir adaren
ar perwit pren. vch. pen gwen.'²⁷⁸
(CLH *Enwev Meibon Llywarch Hen*, S.1).

'Baglan brenn neut gwaeanwyn.
Rud cogeu goleu ynghwyn.
Wyf digarat gan morwyn.'²⁷⁹
(CLH, *Cân yr Henwr*, S. 6.)

Summary Group 2

Warrior similes and Beasts of Battle are the most common types of animal references in these poems, followed by Equestrianism (see Chart 5 below). Animal Husbandry and Nature also feature more prominently than in Group 1. The narrator of the Heledd cycle is deeply engaged in the life of the land and the agricultural cycle and has experienced its destruction as a personal wound. In contrast to *Y Gododdin*, these poems, mostly narrated in the first person, express emotion of a very personal nature; they also have a subversive quality, questioning heroic values and their devastating impacts on

²⁷⁴ 'Swirling (sic) is the wind; white the aspect of the edge of the woods.

The stag is bold; the hill hard.

Feeble is the old man; slowly he rouses.'

²⁷⁵ Ibid, p. 537.

²⁷⁶ The cuckoo in question is described as '*rud*' (red), translated by Jenny Rowland as 'brown'. As Nicolas Jacobs points out, cuckoos are grey, not red, or indeed reddish brown. This intriguing enigma could be a result of a corruption of the text. Nicolas Jacobs, 'Red, Brown and Grey Cuckoos, A Problem in Poetic Ornithology', in *Cambrian Medieval Studies*, ed. by Patrick Sims-Williams, Number 40, Winter 2000, 27-34.

²⁷⁷ A similar reference to a cuckoo's plaintive song features in *Angar Kyfundawt* from the Book of Taliesin (*infra*).

²⁷⁸ 'Beautifully sings the bird

on the pear tree above Gwên'

²⁷⁹ 'Little wooden staff, it is spring.

Cuckoos are brown; audible is their plaint.

I am rejected by maidens'.

people's lives and livelihoods. The poem, *Cân yr Henwr* in the Llywarch Hen cycle contains stanzas in which natural scenes are described and related by the narrator to the human condition in a way reminiscent of poems such as *Claf Abercuawg* and *Llym awel*,²⁸⁰ which were once attributed to Llywarch himself.

As shown in Charts 6 and 7, these poems refer to a somewhat wider range of animals than those in Group 1. Eagles feature most prominently, thanks to the two eagle poems in the *Canu Heledd*, followed by horses and hounds. The boar is particularly identified with Heledd's brother Cynddylan. Cattle herds and oxen appear in all three Cycles as a key element in the local landscape and economy. The poet conveys a strong sense of the domestic sphere, its vulnerability, and the encroachments of wilder elements, both animal and human.

As illustrated by Chart 8, there is a more even distribution of poetic intent than in Group 1. Lamentation, Praise are Insight are evenly balanced with a very small part taken by Boasting, mainly attributable to the Llywarch Hen Cycle.

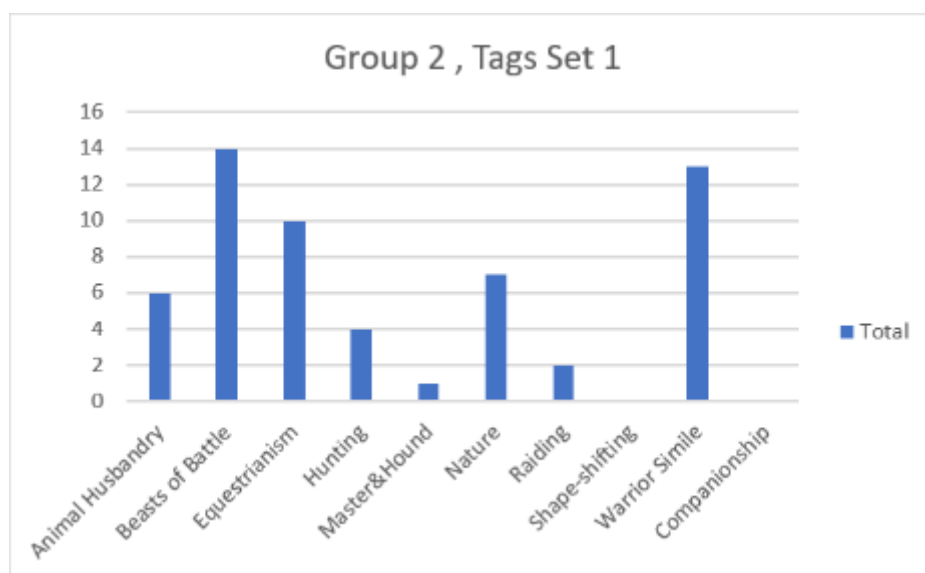


Chart 5: Poems Group 2, by Tags (Set 1)²⁸¹

²⁸⁰ See section Miscellany of Early Welsh Poems (*infra*).

²⁸¹ For the definitions of the tags, see first section of Appendix III.

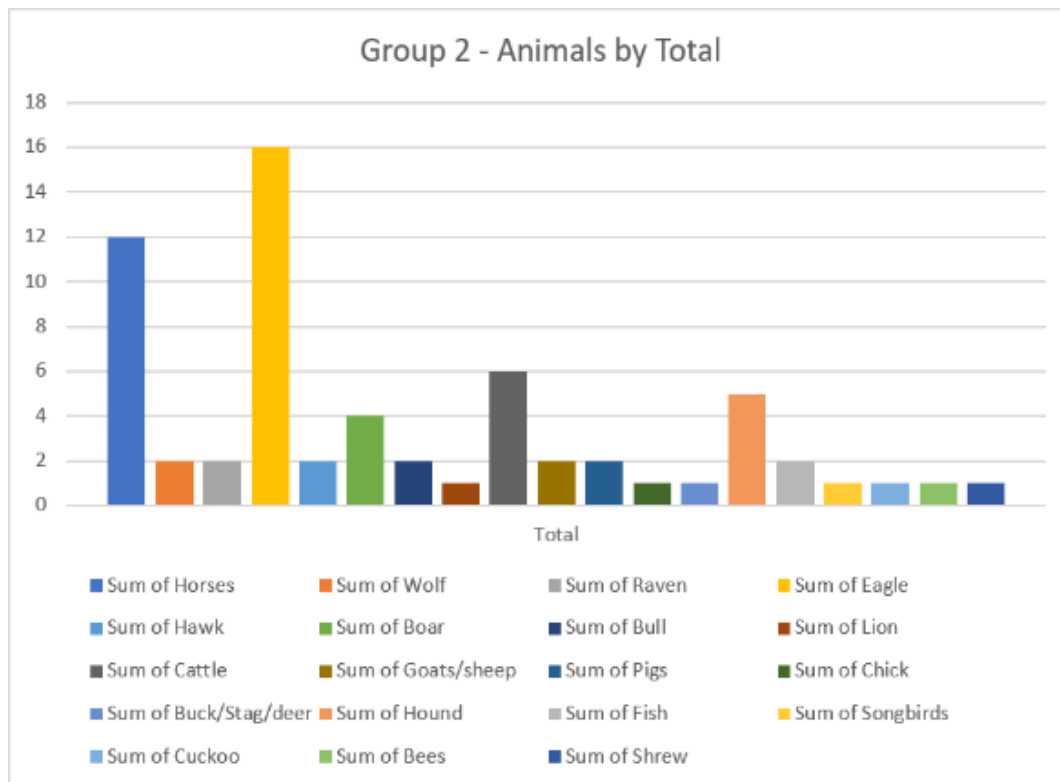


Chart 6, Poems Group 2, Animals by Total

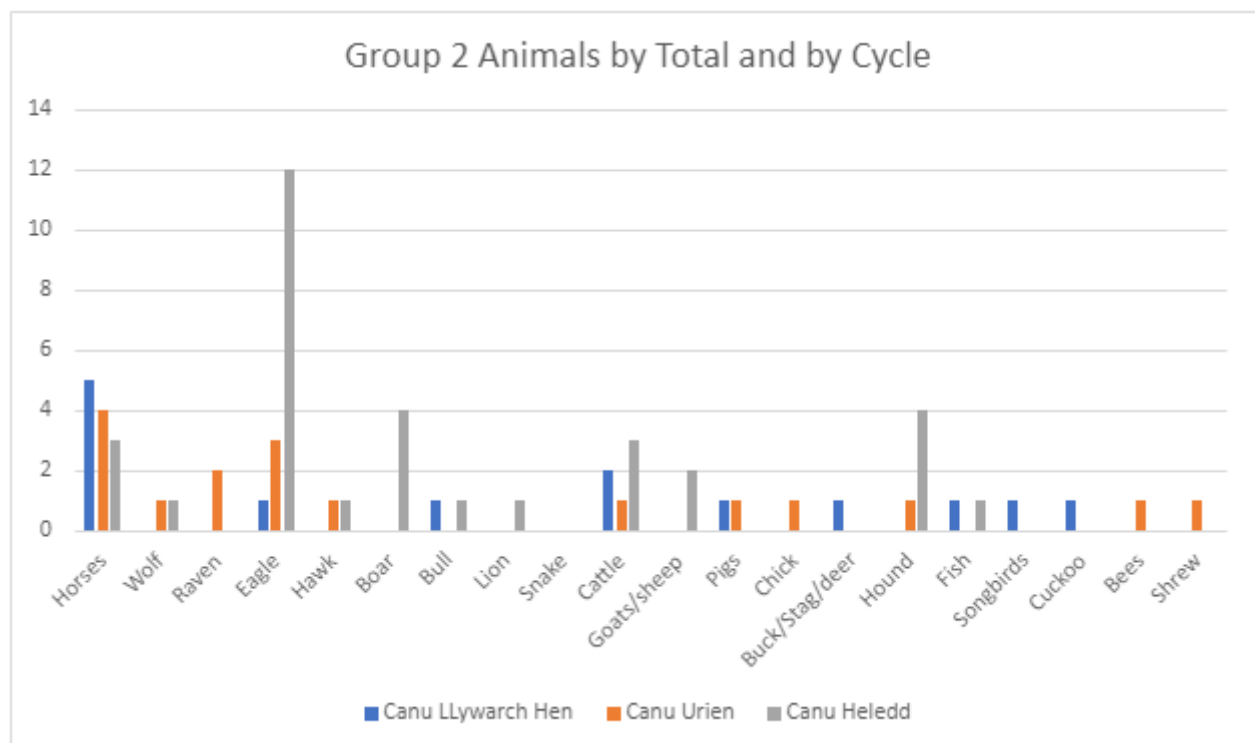


Chart 7, Poems Group 2, Animals by Total by Cycle

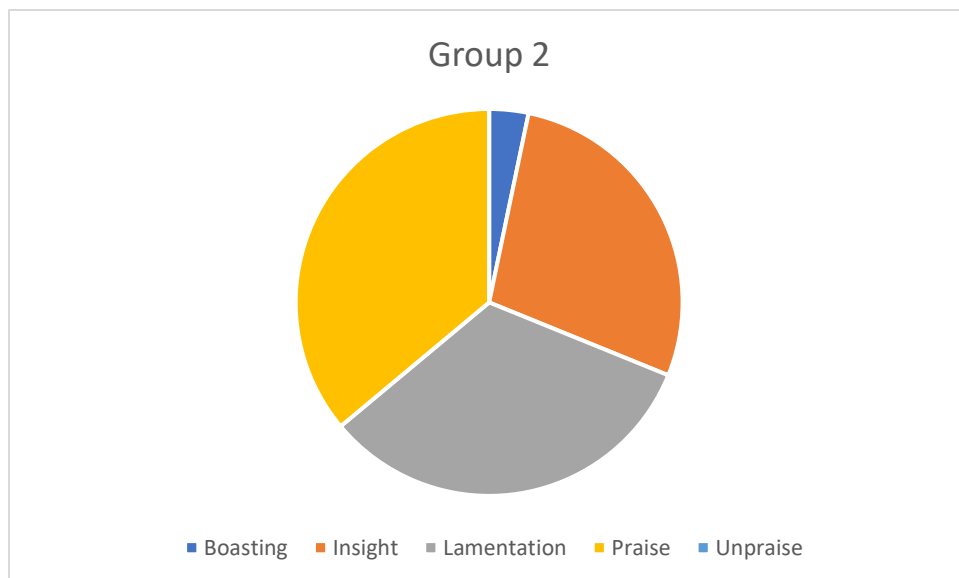


Chart 8, Poems Group 2, by Tags (Set 2)

Group 3: Selected poems from the Book of Taliesin

The manuscript known as *Llyvyr Taliessin* (Book of Taliesin) is *Peniarth 2*, kept in the National Library of Wales in Aberystwyth and dated to the first half of the fourteenth century.²⁸² A selection of the poems it contains was published in the original Welsh with English translations by Meirion Pennar in 1988.²⁸³ An English translation of the poems by Gwyneth Lewis and Rowan Williams was published in 2019,²⁸⁴ but without the Welsh text. Marged Haycock published an in-depth study, with Welsh texts and an intercalated English translation, of the 'Legendary' poems in 2015. The English version of Ifor Williams' edition of *Armes Prydein* contains a translation by Rachel Bromwich.²⁸⁵ The Taliesin of the Praise Poems is a court bard who heaps praise on his patrons in return for rich gifts. The persona of the legendary and more gnomic poems is closer to a *magus*, apparently another aspect of the bardic role.²⁸⁶ In both cases, the bard delights in his own poetic prowess and mocks the ignorance of others.²⁸⁷ It is unlikely that all the poems are by the same poet, still less by a poet who served Urien Rheged in the Old North.

Animals in Selected Poems from the Book of Taliesin

Group 3a: Praise Poems from the Book of Taliesin²⁸⁸

The Horse

As in the heroic songs for the fallen, horses are bred by the poet's patrons or taken as booty, given away as boons, and ridden by chiefs into battle:

*'Kynan kat diffret am arlofeis ket.
kanyt geu gofyget. Gwrthelgwn trefbret.
kant gorwyd kyfret. aryant eu tudet.'*²⁸⁹
(*Trawsganu Kynan Garwyn mab Brochfael*,
BT 45, Lines 1-3)

²⁸² Marged Haycock, *Legendary Poems from the Book of Taliesin*, (Aberystwyth: CMCS, 2015), p. 1. A facsimile and typography text was published by Gwenogvryn Evans in 1910, followed by a translation which was severely critiqued. Much of issue 28 ('Taliesin') of *Y Cymmrodor*, the magazine of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, edited by Sir John Morris-Jones, was devoted to criticism of the translations, which Morris-Jones described as 'one huge mistake'.

²⁸³ Meirion Pennar, *Taliesin Poems*, (Felinfach: Llanerch Enterprises, 1988).

²⁸⁴ Gwyneth Lewis and Rowan Williams (Eds.), *The Book of Taliesin, Poems of Warfare and Praise in an Enchanted Britain*, (London: Penguin Classics, 2019). This book has a succinct but wide-ranging introduction.

²⁸⁵ Ifor Williams (ed.), *Armes Prydein, The Prophecy of Britain, From the Book of Taliesin*. English version by Rachel Bromwich (Dublin: School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 2006).

²⁸⁶ See Jenny Rowland, 'Genres', in *Early Welsh Poetry*, ed. by Brynley F. Roberts, (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1988), pp. 179-80.

²⁸⁷ Patrick Sims Williams notes that 'a considerable amount of the esoteric learning ascribed to Taliesin derives from medieval Latin encyclopaedic knowledge'. Patrick Sims Williams, 'The early Welsh Arthurian poems', in: Bromwich, Rachel, A. O. H. Jarman, and Brynley F. Roberts (eds.), *The Arthur of the Welsh. The Arthurian legend in medieval Welsh literature*, (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1991), 33-71, p. 34.

²⁸⁸ There are several different numbering systems for these poems. The indications given here are those given by Ifor Williams for the Praise Poems and Marged Haycock for the Other Poems.

²⁸⁹ 'Cynan, war's bulwark,
Poured on me prizes,
For his fame is not false,
Manor's great master.
A hundred swift steeds,
Silver their trappings'.

This theme is developed in the poem *Yspeil Taliessin*, in which the poet praises the generosity of Urien (*infra*). In the death ode to Owain, son of Urien (*Marwnat Owain*), Owain is praised for his generosity in giving horses to those who asked him for a boon.²⁹⁰ The generosity of lords to their poets suggests that the latter's role as panegyrists may have been more than that of chief cheerleader; bards may have been credited with the ability to channel or invoke superhuman powers in favour of – or against – their patrons.²⁹¹

*'Gwir gwiw uch y amlw seirch.
a rodei veirch y eircheit.
kyt as cronyei mal calet.
ny rannet rac y eneit.'*²⁹²
(*Marwnat Owain*, BT 67, Lines 19-20)

In the poem entitled by Meirion Pennar '*Urien at Home*', Taliesin in court-poet mode describes the scene at Urien's *llys*, which is reminiscent of those described in *Y Gododdin*.

*'gnawt amdanat twrwf pystylat.
Pystalat twrwf ac yuet cwrwf.'*²⁹³
(*Er gorffowys*, BT 58, Lines 17-18)

Men are described as riding into battle in the poem 'What if Urien Were Dead?' (*Ar vn blyned*).²⁹⁴ The speculative nature of this poem is in keeping with the more philosophical and intellectually playful character of the Taliesin poems' narrator. The poet toys with the idea of Urien's death and its consequences for him, almost as if he were tempting fate – or impudently teasing his patron – by daring to imagine it.

*'ei pawb oe wyt dyfynt ymplymnwyt. Ae
varch ydanaw Y Gododdin godeu gweith
mynaw.'*²⁹⁵
(*Ar vn blyned*, BT 59, Lines 5 and 6)

²⁹⁰ The word '*erchat*', pl. '*ercheit*' (mod. Welsh '*eirchiad*', pl. *erchiaid*) is glossed as 'suppliant' by Ifor Williams. Ifor Williams (ed.), *The Poems of Taliesin*, Note to poem X, p. 117. The GPC gives the meaning as 'suppliant, petitioner, suitor', but also 'bard or minstrel qualified to ask for gifts, competitor'. *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* (GPC), app. provided by the University of Wales Trinity Saint David, s.v. '*eirchiad*'. The latter definition seems more meaningful in this context.

²⁹¹ The poets were feared as satirists as they were rewarded as panegyrists. See Jenny Rowland, 'Genres', in *Early Welsh Poetry*, ed. by Brynley F. Roberts, (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1988), 179-208.

²⁹² 'Splendid man in pied armour,
He gave steeds to suppliants:
Though he stored like a miser,
It was shared for his soul's sake'.

²⁹³ 'Constantly around you
is the pounding of horses
horses pounding, and the quaffing of beer'

²⁹⁴ Ifor Williams suggests that the campaign was a raiding party rather than a pitched battle. *The Poems of Taliesin*, edited and annotated by Ifor Williams, (Dublin: The Dublin Centre for Advanced Studies, 1975), Introduction, p.i.

²⁹⁵ 'Each went on campaign,
Eager in combat,
His steed beneath him,
Set to raid Manaw'.

In the two poems on the battles of Gallawg, the emphasis is on speed of intervention of a war party, in which horses play a key part.

*'Cleda cledifa cledifarch*²⁹⁶.
Nyt amtyrr y lu y ledrat.
nyt amescut y gaw y kywlat.
Tyllynt tal yscwydawl rac taleu y
*veirch.*²⁹⁷
 (Gwallawc II, BT 63, Lines 42-44)

Beasts of Battle, Men as Beasts

The Praise Poems from the Book of Taliesin feature the Beast-of-Battle trope, but only sparingly. In *Gweith Argoed Llwyfain*, crows feast, and 'Awdre Reged' (Rheged Arise!), a pack of ravening wolves make a rare appearance in the Corpus; this reference may be a warrior simile, as in the poem *Marwnat Owein* (*infra*).

<i>'A rac gweith argoet llwyfein</i>	<i>'llwyth lithyawc cun ar ormant gwaet,</i>
<i>bu llawer kelein.</i>	<i>Atueilaw gwyn gouchyr kyt</i>
<i>Rudei vrein rac ryfel gwyr.</i> ²⁹⁸	<i>mynan eigyl edyl gwrthryt.</i> ²⁹⁹
(Gweith Argoed Llwyfain, BT 60, Lines 20-22)	(Awdre Reged, BT 61, Lines 26-28)

In the poem *Marwnat Owein*, Owain and his men are scourging the enemy savagely 'like a wolf-pack after sheep.' ('Owein ae cospes yn drut / mal cnut [y]n dylut deueit.'). The use of 'mal' to make the comparison distinguishes this image from the direct identification of warriors with animals found in *Y Gododdin* and, to some extent, in the Saga *Englynion*.³⁰⁰

Beasts of the Field

In the Praise Poems, the bard evokes cattle raiding and his patrons' prowess in resisting it, as in the poem to Cynan Garwyn:

²⁹⁶ Ifor Williams suggests that the word 'cledifarch' should be read as 'cledifarth' to rhyme with the two preceding lines. Ifor Williams (ed.), *The Poems of Taliesin*, note 41, p. 135.

²⁹⁷ 'The mounted warrior wields his sword.

His host does not cut
 into territory by stealth
 Those from adjacent lands
 were not slow
 before this disciplined grafter.
 The rim of their shields
 pierced the head-dresses of their horses.'

²⁹⁸ 'Before Argoed Llwyfain
 There was many a dead man.
 Crows were crimsoned from warriors.'

²⁹⁹ 'a pack of ravening wolves
 regaling themselves
 on a surfeit of blood,
 the drive of the foe
 ebbing away
 in the ferocious collision.'

³⁰⁰ One is reminded of Lord Byron's famous line 'The Assyrian came down like a wolf on the fold' in his poem *The Destruction of Sennacherib*, which earned him the derision of Ogden Nash in the poem *Very Like a Whale*. Available at: <http://www.people.fas.harvard.edu/~pahk/poems/021221.html>

*'Nac ny rywelet y biew rac ffriw neb,*³⁰¹
(*Trawsganu Kynan Garwyn mab Brochfael*, BT 45, Line 14)

In the poem *Ar vn blyned*, the chief has gone to war to seek booty in the form of livestock, while in the poem *Gwallawc II*, the poet says of his Lord that he should sell off his fatted cows at the end of the summer, perhaps to finance rewards for his followers.

<i>'a chwanec anaw bud am li amlaw. with vgein vn</i> <i>lliw o loi a biw.</i> <i>biw blith ac ychen a phob kein agen.</i> ³⁰² (<i>Ar vn blyned</i> , BT 59, Lines 7-9)	<i>'darwerther tewued yn diwed haf.</i> ³⁰³ (<i>Gwallawc II</i> , BT 63, Line 28)
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The Hunt

The poem *Yspeil Taliessin* features a stag and its herd hiding away, possibly from huntsmen,³⁰⁴ perhaps intimating that the stag protects its herd just as a lord will protect his lands and his family when enemy warriors invade his lands.

*'Vn yw hyd hydgre yn diuant.*³⁰⁵
(*Yspeil Taliessin*, BT 62, Line 40).

The World beyond the Gate

Animals in the wild are not a feature of the Praise Poems from the *Book of Taliesin*, as the poet is mostly behind stout gates in the sheltered world of the *llys*.

Group 3b: Other Poems from the Book of Taliesin

The Horse

In this group, the poem *Canu y Meirch* (BT 47-8) the Song of the Steeds) is devoted entirely to horses. An extract is given below (lines 1-3 and 25-40):³⁰⁶

<i>'Torrit anuynudawl</i> <i>tuthiawl dan yscawl.</i> <i>Efiolet oduch llawr</i> (...) <i>Trithi nodet</i> <i>atcor ar henet,</i> <i>a march Mayawc,</i> <i>a march Genethawc,</i>	<i>a march Gwa[w]rdur,</i> <i>a march Arthur -</i> <i>ehofyn rodi cur -</i> <i>a march Taliessin,</i> <i>a march Llew, lletuegin'</i> <i>a 'Phebyrllei' llwynin</i> <i>a 'Grei' march Cunin,</i> <i>'Kornan' kynheilwawc,</i>
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³⁰¹ 'Never any before seen heading his herd.'

³⁰² 'For the sake of wealth,
Profit in plenty,
Eight herds alike
Of calves and cattle,
Milch cows and oxen,
And each one worthy.'

³⁰³ 'Let him sell off his fatted cows at the end of the summer.'

³⁰⁴ The red deer's mating behaviour follows the harem system. The males spend most of their time in a single-sex herd. The dominant male forms a harem during the rut, driving off other males.

³⁰⁵ 'Fine is the stag
with its herd hiding away;'

³⁰⁶ In her Introduction to *Tryoedd Ynys Prydain*, Rachel Bromwich compares the names of the horses in *Canu y Meirch* with those listed in the Triads of the Horses, suggesting various amendments. Rachel Bromwich (ed.), *Tryoedd Ynys Prydain* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1961, reprinted 1019), Introduction, pp. lxxxiii ff

*a march Karadawc -
kymrwy teithiawc -
a march Gwythur,*

*'Awyd' awydawc.*³⁰⁷

The opening lines speak of breaking in a horse. The 'ploughing team beasts of yore' opens the list of horses that follows, the first few lines of which are quoted above. Some of the horses are referred to only by the names of their owners, while others have names, many of which reflect certain attributes: adjectives such as '*llemenic*' (leaping), '*yscodic*' (skittish) '*kynheilwawc*' (supportive) suggest that the poet invests the horses with personality, rather than considering them merely as adjuncts of their owners.

The Taliesin persona of these poems is clearly interested in horseflesh. If he is the poet of the Praise Poems, he was gifted horses in number by his patrons. We may therefore assume that he ran his own stables and possibly bred his own stock. The poem refers to the three geldings 'that will never go to stud' ('*a'r tri Carnaflaw nyt ant hynt hilaw*'). He also liked to ride, as we learn from *Yspeil Taliessin*.

*'Adunswb y ar orwyd ffysciolin
tut ynyeil gwerth yspeil taliessin.
Vn yw gwrys gwr llawr a gorwyd,*³⁰⁸
(*Yspeil Taliessin*, BT 62, Lines 36-7)

In the prophetic poem *Armes Prydein*, two striking references to horses illustrate the cruel and bloody nature of warfare.³⁰⁹ The poet does not appear to relish such wanton destruction.

*'Atui gwraged gwedw a meirch gweilyd.'*³¹⁰
(*Armes Prydein*, BT 13-18, Line 118)

³⁰⁷ 'An untamed horse was broken in,
a prancing steed beneath a champion.
May there be praise of the one above the earth (...)
'[May there be] the protection of the nine [Heavenly grades]
For the ploughing-team beasts of yore,
and [for] Madog's horse,
and Genethod's horse,
and Caradog's horse –
a powerful one with the proper attributes –
and Gwythur's horse
and Gwawrddur's horse
and Arthur's horse –
fearless in inflicting injury –
and Taliesin's horse,
and Lleu's nurtured horse,
and well-hung 'Strong Dun'
and Cunin's horse, 'Gray'
'Cornan' the supportive,
'Awydd' the eager.'

³⁰⁸ 'I would have loved to have gone on a frisky horse
with the foragers
for the spoils of Taliesin...

Fine is the rush of a champion and his horse;'

³⁰⁹ The reference to women left widowed echoes *Y Gododdin*, lines 266 and 537, where warriors are described as making women widows ('*grwagedd gwyddw*') by killing the enemy.

³¹⁰ 'Women will be widowed, horses left riderless.'

'Dybi o Lydaw prydaw gyweithyd,
ketwyr ar y katueirch ny pheirch en hennyd.'³¹¹
(*Armes Prydein*, BT 13-18, Lines 153-4)

Beasts of Battle, Men as Beasts

*Preiddeu Annwn*³¹² ends with a diatribe against monks, comparing them to a pack of dogs and a pack of wolves. These are not the ravaging wolves of the Praise Poems but rather ignorant and uncouth creatures dwelling in the intellectual wilderness.

'Myneich dychnut val cunin cor'³¹³
(*Preiddeu Annwn*, BT 54-6, Line 49)

'Myneich dychnut val bleidawr'³¹⁴
(*Preiddeu Annwn*, BT 54-6, Line 53)

The poet is mocking monks for their ignorance, probably in the context of a clash of cultures in ninth century Wales between the poets, steeped in memorised lore and learning and using the oral medium of poetry, and the monks and clerics, who mechanically read and copy texts.³¹⁵ *Preiddeu Annwn* refers to a battle of masters ('*cyfranc udyd*'). As Sims-Williams put it, 'the poet is using the persona of Taliesin to strike a playful blow for the secular poets or the *cyfarwyddiaid* against the vain pretensions of the Welsh clerical orders.'³¹⁶ They are purportedly ignorant of the 'Brindled Ox' ('*Ych Brych*')³¹⁷ and 'the animal they guard, silver its head', which appear to have a religious or bardic significance.³¹⁸

'ny vdant-vy yr Ych Brych, bras y penrvy,
seith vgein kygvung yn y aervy.'³¹⁹
(*Preiddeu Annwn*, BT 54-6, Lines 39-40)

'ny vdant py dyd peridys Pen, py avr ymeindyd y ganet Perchen,
py vil a gatwant, aryant y pen.'³²⁰
(*Preiddeu Annwn*, BT 54-6), Lines 44-6)

³¹¹ 'A powerful host will come from Llydaw,
Warriors on warhorses, pitiless to enemies.'

³¹² This more usual spelling is used here, although Marged Haycock uses the spelling '*Prideu Annwfyfyn*'.

³¹³ 'Monks gather like a pack of dogs'

³¹⁴ 'Monks congregate like wolves'

³¹⁵ Mark Adderley, 'Singing to the Silent Sentinel: Pryddeu Annwn and the Oral Tradition', in the *Review of English Studies*, Apr. 2009, Vol. 60 no 244 (Apr. 2009), 175-193, p. 187.

³¹⁶ Patrick Sims-Williams, 'The Early Welsh Arthurian Poems', in *The Arthur of the Welsh: The Arthurian Legend in Medieval Welsh Literature*, ed. by Rachel Bromwich, A.O.H. Jarman and Brynley F. Roberts, (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1991), pp. 31-77, p. 54. Also cited by Nerys Ann Jones (ed.) in *Arthur in Early Welsh Poetry*, (MHRA, 2019), pp. 141-2.

³¹⁷ The Brindled Ox appears in The Triads (Triad 45, Three Principal Oxen of the Island of Britain). Rachel Bromwich (ed.), *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*, The Triads of Britain (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1961, reprinted in 2019), pp. 125-6. His capture, along with three other oxen, is among the challenges set Culhwch by the Giant Ysbaddaden Bencawr in *How Culhwch won Olwen*. See Sioned Davies (ed. and trans.), *The Mabinogion*. This creature was clearly an ox, so probably castrated, not a bull, unlike the bull the Greek oracular hero Hercules was tasked with stealing from Crete. Hercules also made several journeys to Hades.

³¹⁸ Marged Haycock has suggested that the creature with the silver head is a riddle for a Bishop's crozier. See Marged Haycock, 'Taliesin's Questions', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*, 33 (1997), 19-79, p. 32. Cited by Nerys Ann Jones in *Arthur in Early Welsh Poetry*, p. 156.

³¹⁹ 'those who do not know of the Brindled Ox, with its stout collar,
[and] seven score links in its chain.'

³²⁰ 'who do not know on what day the Ruler is created
[nor] on what hour in the middle of the day the Lord was born
[nor] what animal is it they guard with its silver head'

Ifor Williams derives the name Bleiddudd, which occurs in the poem *Etmic Dinbych*, from ‘blaidd’ ‘wolf’ and ‘-iudd’ ‘lord’.³²¹ This poem, which describes a promontory hill fort that has been interpreted as an analogy for sixth-century Tintagel,³²² also refers to an eagle, which almost certainly represents a warlord. A similar reference occurs in *Yspeil Taliessin*.

‘Ac eryr uch wybyr a llwybyr granwyn.’³²³
(*Etmic Dinbych*, BT 42-4, Line 16).

‘Vn yw yn deuwy pan ofwy y weirin.
eryr tir tuhir tythremyn.’³²⁴
(*Yspeil Taliessin*, BT 62, Lines 34-35).³²⁵

In the vatic poem *Armes Prydein*³²⁶ the British warriors are described as bears:

‘Dychyrchwynt gyfarth mal arth o vynydd.
Y talu gwynyeith gwaet eu hennydd.’³²⁷
(*Armes Prydein*, BT 13-18, Lines 113-4)

‘deu arth nys gwna gwarth kyfarth beunydd.’³²⁸
(*Armes Prydein*, BT 13-18 Line 170).

These appear to be more than random warrior similes. The bear from the mountain could be associated with Arthur, who is replaced by Cadwaladr in this poem.³²⁹

The Beasts of the Field

The things the poet finds fair listed in the poem *Aduwyneu Taliessin*, include cattle grazing on salt marshes.³³⁰ He also praises the time of year when calves are suckling, an indication that cattle as well as horses aroused his interest.

³²¹ Ifor Williams, *The Beginnings of Welsh Poetry*, ed. by Rachel Bromwich (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1980), p. 160.

³²² Ken Dark, ‘*Etmic Dinbych*: A Ninth-Century Literary Analogy for Sixth-Century Tintagel’, *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 80 (Winter 2020), pp. 1-8.

³²³ ‘And the eagle flew high on the track of pale-faced enemies.’

³²⁴ ‘Fine it is on the banks of Dyfwy when the waters flow;
fine is the eagle Tir Tuhir
on its way...’.

³²⁵ Ifor Williams considered that the references to an eagle in *Yspeil Taliessin* refer figuratively to a Chieftain; he suggests that Tuhir may be a placename derived from ‘*tu hir*’ (long side). *The Poems of Taliessin*, edited and annotated by Sir Ifor Williams, (Dublin: The Dublin Centre for Advanced Studies, 1975), p. 103.

³²⁶ The Welsh text of this poem is taken from Ifor Williams’s edition and the translation is by Gwyneth Lewis and Ronan Williams.

³²⁷ ‘Like a bear from the mountain, our men rush to battle
To exact full payment for their comrades’ blood’

³²⁸ ‘Two bears never shamed in their daily battles.’

³²⁹ Cadwaladr was a seventh-century king of Gwynedd. Andrew Breeze notes that like Conan, a legendary founder of a Breton colony in the fourth century, Cadwaladr was regarded as a deliverer of the Britons. Andrew Breeze, ‘*Armes Prydein*, Hywel Dda and the Reign of Edmund of Wessex’, in: *Etudes Celtiques*, vol. 33, 1997. 209-22, p. 215.; doi : <https://doi.org/10.3406/ecelt.1997.2119> .

³³⁰ Evidence has been found for seasonal movements of cattle to coastal pasture in South Wales during the late Iron Age. See Adam Gwilt, *Silent Silures?* P. 301.

'Arall atwyn morua y warthec.'³³¹

(Aduwyneu Taliessin, BT 8-10, Line 48)

'Atwyn tymp pan dyn lloe llaeth'³³²

(Aduwyneu Taliessin, BT 8-10, Line 49)

In the poem *Angar Kyfundawt* (BT 19-23, Line 240), *locus classicus* of Taliesin's questions and boasts.³³³ the poet says that he has been 'a fiery bull' ('*tarw toste*'). This may be a reference to a shapeshifting incarnation, particularly as he also says that he used to be a stallion at stud ('*amwys ar re*'). Marged Haycock observes that through his animal transformations, particularly the bull and the hound, which are 'used as kennings'³³⁴ in praise poetry, 'Taliesin seems to "inhabit" the very poetic metaphors of his guild.'³³⁵

In more clearly mythical vein, the poem *Kadeir Kerrituen* (BT 35-36) refers to pigs in connection with Gwydion; in the same verse, a reference is made to the creation of Blodeuwedd.³³⁶ The theft of the pigs by Gwydion is recounted in the *Fourth Branch of the Mabinogi*, in which Blodeuwedd is created by Gwydion with his uncle Math as a bride for Llew Llaw Gyffes.³³⁷ The Otherworld nature of pigs in the *Four Branches* and elsewhere may be a reflection of their liminal status between domestic and wild.

'Gwydyon ap Don dygynuertheu,

a hudwys gwreic o vlodeu

a dyduc moch o Deheu'³³⁸

(*Kadeir Kerrituen*, BT 35-6, Lines 14-16)

Angar Kyfundawt features a hen,³³⁹ alluding to the story of Gwion Bach and Taliesin, in which Gwion, after tasting drops from Ceridwen's cauldron of inspiration, undergoes several transformations, finally becoming a grain that is swallowed by Ceridwen, who has turned herself into a hen.³⁴⁰

³³¹ 'Another fine thing is a sea-marsh for cattle.'

³³² 'Fair is the time when the calf is sucking.'

³³³ Marged Haycock, 'Taliesin's Questions', in *Cambrian Medieval Studies*, 33 Summer 1997, pp. 19-79, p. 23.

³³⁴ A kenning is a metaphorical phrase or compound word used in place of the name of something or someone in Anglo-Saxon poetry, notably *Beowulf*, e.g. 'light of battle' for sword and 'raven-harvest' to mean corpse.

³³⁵ Marged Haycock, 'Taliesin's Questions', p. 21.

³³⁶ Like the hare (see note 344), the owl is a surprising absentee from the Corpus, unless he too has gone undiscovered. Both are associated with the Otherworld in Celtic legends. Blodeuwedd's transformation into an owl by Math by way of punishment is one of the most iconic images in Welsh folklore.

³³⁷ Sioned Davies, *The Mabinogion*, pp. 58-9.

³³⁸ 'Gwydion son of Dôn, consistently [producing] splendid things, who conjured up a woman from flowers, who stole pigs from the South'.

³³⁹ It also contains a shapeshifting reference to a cockerel (*Angar Kyfundawt*, BT 19-23, Line 238):

'Bum keilyawc brithwyn

ar ieir yn Eidyn'.

'I was a speckled white cockerel

covering the hens in Eidyn'. Eidyn is the old Welsh name for Edinburgh.

³⁴⁰ When Ceridwen discovers that Gwion has received drops from the cauldron, she pursues him through a series of shape-shifts, finally turning herself into a tufted black hen and swallowing Gwion, who has turned himself into a grain. Nine months later, she gives birth to him as a child. The origin of this story is unknown as it first appears in a manuscript from the sixteenth century. Marged Haycock notes a similarity with the description of the grain's progress from seed to beer in *Kanu y Cwrwff*, suggesting that the story is an allegory for breadmaking and that the story in the Hanes Taliesin is based on a literal interpretation of the poems.

'Bum gronyn erkennis (...)
 A'm haruolles yar
 grafrud, grib esgar;
 gorffowysseis naw nos
 yn y chroth yn was.'³⁴¹
 (Angar Kyfundawt, Lines 249-50)

The poem *Canu y Med* (BT 40) refers to the role of bees in collecting honey, noting, perhaps with a hint of irony, that they are not the ones to enjoy it.

'As kynnull gwenyn ac nys mwynha'³⁴²

This poem is the only one in the Corpus to make explicit the association between bees and mead, which was an important element in the bonding of the warbands.³⁴³ In Irish mythology, the name of the warlike Queen Medb of Connacht is thought to mean 'she who intoxicates' and to be cognate with the English word 'mead' and the Welsh word 'med'.³⁴⁴

The Hunt

Explicit references to the hunt are rare in these poems. However, the poet's metamorphoses include stags and roebucks, for instance in *Angar Kyfundawt*.³⁴⁵

'Bum ki, bum hyd'³⁴⁶
 (Angar Kyfundawt, BT 19-23, Line 231)

'Bum iwrch ymynyd'³⁴⁷
 (Angar Kyfundawt, BT 19-23, Line 233)

In boastful gnomic references to these and other animals, the poet claims esoteric knowledge about them, perhaps because he has incarnated them at some time in his past.

'[Gogwn] buch pan yw bannawc'³⁴⁸
 (Angar Kyfundawt, BT 19-23, Line 133)

³⁴¹ 'I was a grain ? (...).

A hen got hold of me –

A red-clawed one, a crested enemy

I spent nine nights residing in her womb.'

³⁴² 'The bees collect it and [yet] they don't have the use of it.'

³⁴³ *Y Gododdin* contains many references to mead, drinking in mead halls and 'paying for one's mead' ('*talw med*') by fighting and, if necessary, dying in battle.

³⁴⁴ Britta Irslinger, 'Medb 'the intoxicating one'? (Re-)constructing the past through etymology', *Ulidia 4. Proceedings of the Fourth International Conference on the Ulster Cycle of Tales*. Queens-University, Belfast, 27-29 June, 2013, (Ed. Mícheál Ó Mainín & Gregory Toner, 2013).

The quaffing of mead by warriors before a battle helped to induce a state of battle frenzy. References to an extreme form of battle frenzy (Irish '*riastradh*'), sometimes called a 'warp spasm', are found notably in the Irish legend of Cú Chulainn.³⁴⁴ In *How Culhwch won Olwen*, the extraordinary physical characteristics of Arthur's companion Cai are described in somewhat similar terms.

³⁴⁵ A conspicuous absentee from these poems is the hare, considering that the legend of Taliesin's inspiration has him turn into a hare to flee from Ceridwen, unless, hiding in plain sight, he has managed to be overlooked. The word 'bwch', which occurs in both *Canu Meirch* and *Angar Kyfundawt*, is usually translated as buck. However, it may also mean a male or buck hare.

³⁴⁶ 'I was a dog, I was a stag'.

³⁴⁷ 'I was a roebuck in the mountains'.

³⁴⁸ '[I know] why a buck has horns'.

*'[Gogwn] pan yw brith iyrchwyn'*³⁴⁹
(*Angar Kyfundawt*, BT 19-23, Line 143).

The World beyond the Gate

Several of the wild birds and animals in these poems appear to be dwelling in their natural habitat. Like the roebuck, ravens, swans and fish are the object of riddling boasts in which the poet claims to have been the creature and to know its secrets. *Angar Kyfundawt* contains a series of examples:

*'[Gogwn] pan yw gwyrliw brein'*³⁵⁰
(*Angar Kyfundawt*, BT 19-23, Line 164)

*'[Gogwn] pan yw gwyrdd llinos'*³⁵¹
(*Angar Kyfundawt*, BT 19-23, Line 147)

*'[Gogwn] coc, py twyn py gan'*³⁵²
(*Angar Kyfundawt*, BT 19-23, Line 157).

*'[Gogwn] pan yw du troet alarch gwyn'*³⁵³
(*Angar Kyfundawt*, BT 19-23, Line 216).

The reference to a cuckoo follows a reference to a harp (*'Tant telyn py gwyn'*³⁵⁴), suggesting that the cuckoo's lament is being implicitly compared to the melancholy sound of the harp strings.³⁵⁵ In *Aduwyneu Taliessin* (BT 8-10) and *Etmic Dinbych* (BT 42-44) the poet expresses an appreciation of the beauty of birds and beasts in the wild apparently unencumbered by any symbolic or mythological associations. The seagulls that flock over *Etmic Dinbych* are described as the companions of Bleidudd, lord of the court, suggesting that the Lord himself had a personal relationship with the birds that flocked about his fortress.

*'Atwyn eryr ar lan llyr pal llanhwy,'*³⁵⁶
(*Aduwyneu Taliessin*, BT 8-10, Line 15)

*'Arall atwyn gwylein yn gwarwy.'*³⁵⁸
(*Aduwyneu Taliessin*, BT 8-10, Line 16)

*'Atwyn didryf ewic ac elein,'*³⁵⁷
(*Aduwyneu Taliessin*, BT 8-10, Line 39)

*'Atwen yn dinbych gorwen gwylan.
kyweithyd wleiddud ud erllyssan.'*³⁵⁹
(*Etmic Dynbich*, BT 42-4, Lines 35-6)

Fishes

Angar Kyfyndawt (BT 19-23) contains several boasts relating to submarine animals, notably:

*'Gogwn py pegor
Yssgyd y dan vor:
Gogwn eu heissor*

³⁴⁹ '[I know] why a roebuck is dappled'.

³⁵⁰ '[I know] why ravens are iridescent'.

³⁵¹ '[I know] why a greenfinch is green'.

³⁵² '[I know] what the cuckoo laments, what it sings'

³⁵³ '[I know] why a white swan's foot is black'

³⁵⁴ 'What does the string of a harp lament?'

³⁵⁵ See Marged Haycock, 'Talesin's Questions', p. 28.

³⁵⁶ 'Fair is the osprey on the seashore when the tide is flowing'.

³⁵⁷ 'Fair in the uninhabited spot are the doe and the hind;'

³⁵⁸ 'Another fair thing is seeing the seagulls at play'.

³⁵⁹ 'I know at Dinbych – pure white is the sea-gull –
The companions of Bleiddudd, lord of its court.'

*Pawb yn y oscar.*³⁶⁰

(*Angar Kyfyndawt*, BT 19-23, Lines 24-6).

Marged Haycock observes that questions and answers about fish are common in dialogue literature, both Latin and vernacular and appear to be inspired by Isidore of Seville or derived vocabulary lists.³⁶¹

Lynx, cat

The only occurrence in the Corpus of a word for cat is in the poem *Canu y Meirch* (BT 47-48): it is described as speckled-headed (*'kath penurith'*), which suggests a wild cat. The context is gnomic and there may be an allusion to a myth or a legend.³⁶²

*'Bum kath penurith ar tri phren,'*³⁶³

Summary Group 3

In this group, the tag Equestrianism features in first place, thanks to the *Canu y Meirch*, followed by Nature (see Chart 9 below).³⁶⁴

As shown in Charts 10-13 (*infra*), the range of animals and birds referred to in Sub-group 3a is comparable with that in the heroic poems, whereas the range in Sub-group 3b is considerably wider. While the Praise Poems remain broadly comparable with the previous two Groups in their overall tenor, the poetic voice is more subtle and more playful. These qualities are given much freer rein in the poems in the second Sub-group, which contain a profusion of references to animals and birds. The poet claims to have been many different creatures and to possess arcane knowledge. These poems are not intended to reveal all their secrets to the uninitiated; the Taliesin poet is showing off his knowledge of bardic lore, classical literature, and mythology, both Celtic and classical. Indeed, Boasting is the most prominent form of expression associated with the animal references in these poems, followed by Praise (see Chart 14 below). In the Praise Poems, the bard boasts of his generous patrons and their gifts, while in the more gnomic poems, he boasts of his esoteric knowledge.

³⁶⁰ 'I know what animals are under the sea: I know their nature, each in its troop.'

³⁶¹ Marged Haycock, 'Taliesin's Questions', pp. 60-61.

³⁶² A reference to the legendary *Cath Paluc* is found in Triad 26 Thee Three Powerful Swineherds of the Island of Britain. The third of these (alongside Drystan son of Tallwch and Pryderi, son of Pwyll), is Coll son of Collfrewy. He guarded the sow Henwen, who brought forth a grain of wheat and a bee in Gwent, a grain of barley and a bee in Pembroke and a wolf-cub and an eagle in Eryri. Finally, she brought forth a kitten which Coll threw into the Menai. That kitten became the fearsome Palug's Cat, which Cai is said to have fought in the poem '*Pa gur yw'r porthor*' (Black Book of Carmarthen no 31). Rachel Bromwich (ed.), *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*, The Triads of the Island of Britain, (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1961, reprint 2019), pp. 50-58 and 473-476.

³⁶³ 'I've been a speckled-headed cat on three trees'.

³⁶⁴ For the definitions of the tags, see Appendix III.

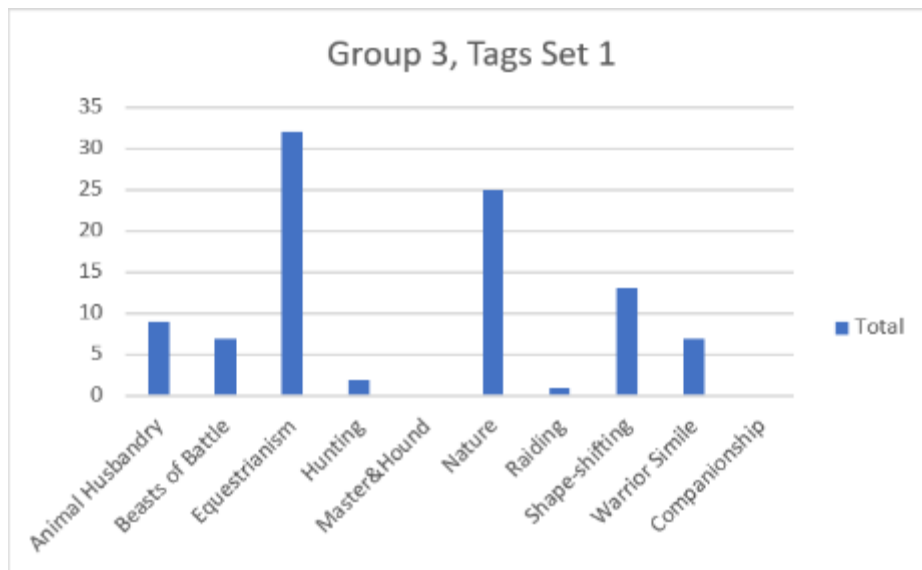


Chart 9, Poems Group 3, by Tags (Set 1)

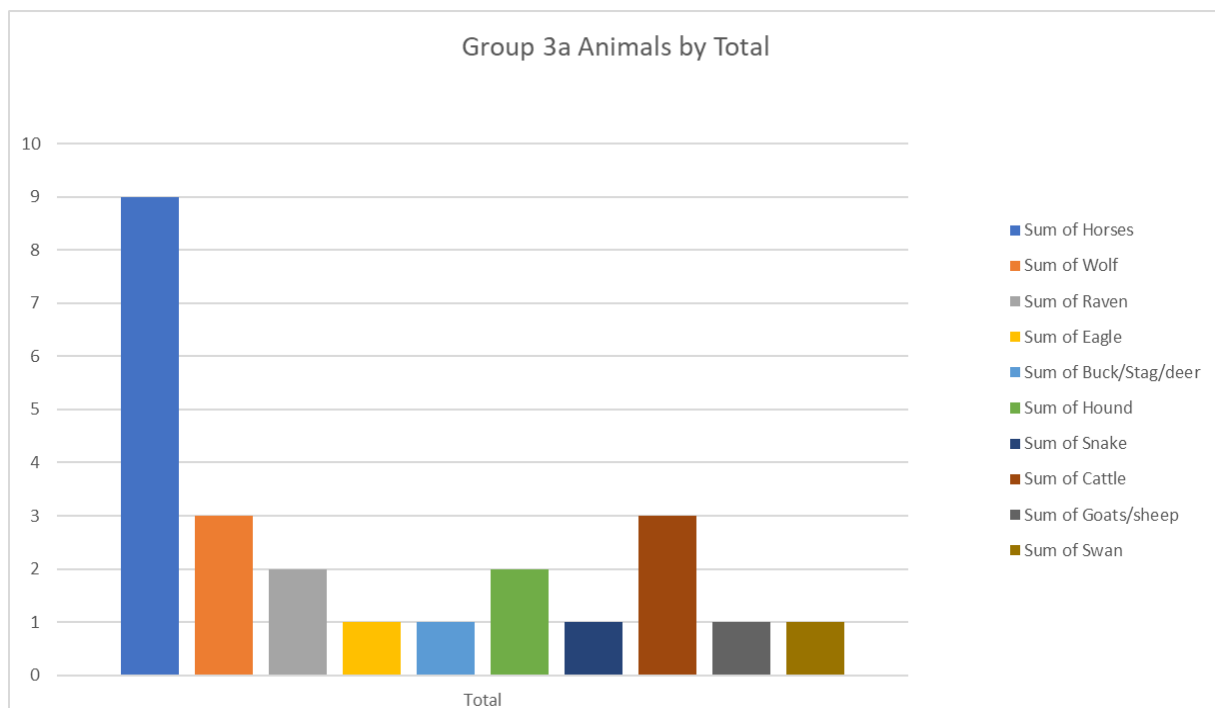


Chart 10, Poems Group 3a, Animals by Total

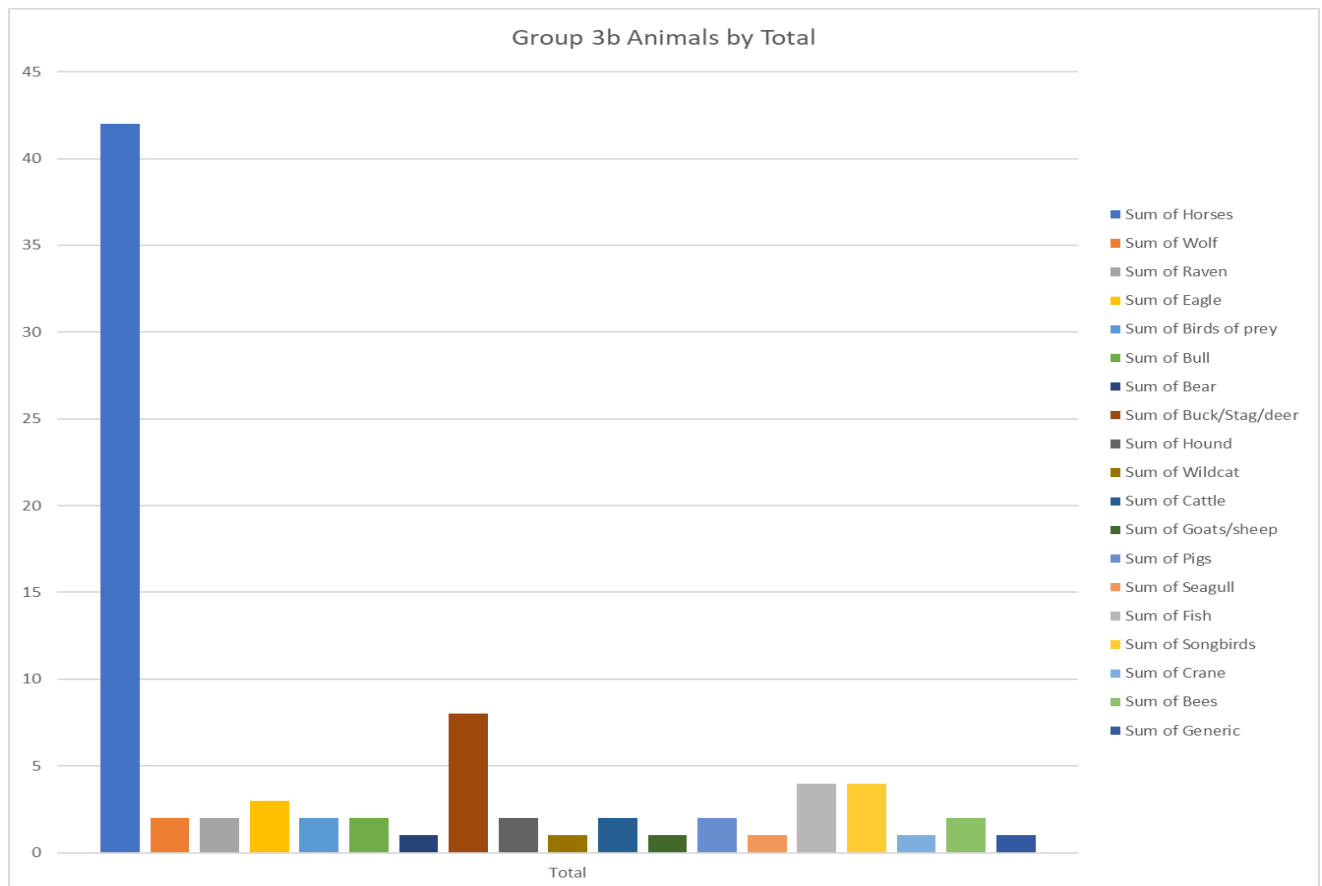


Chart 11, Poems Group 3b, Animals by Total

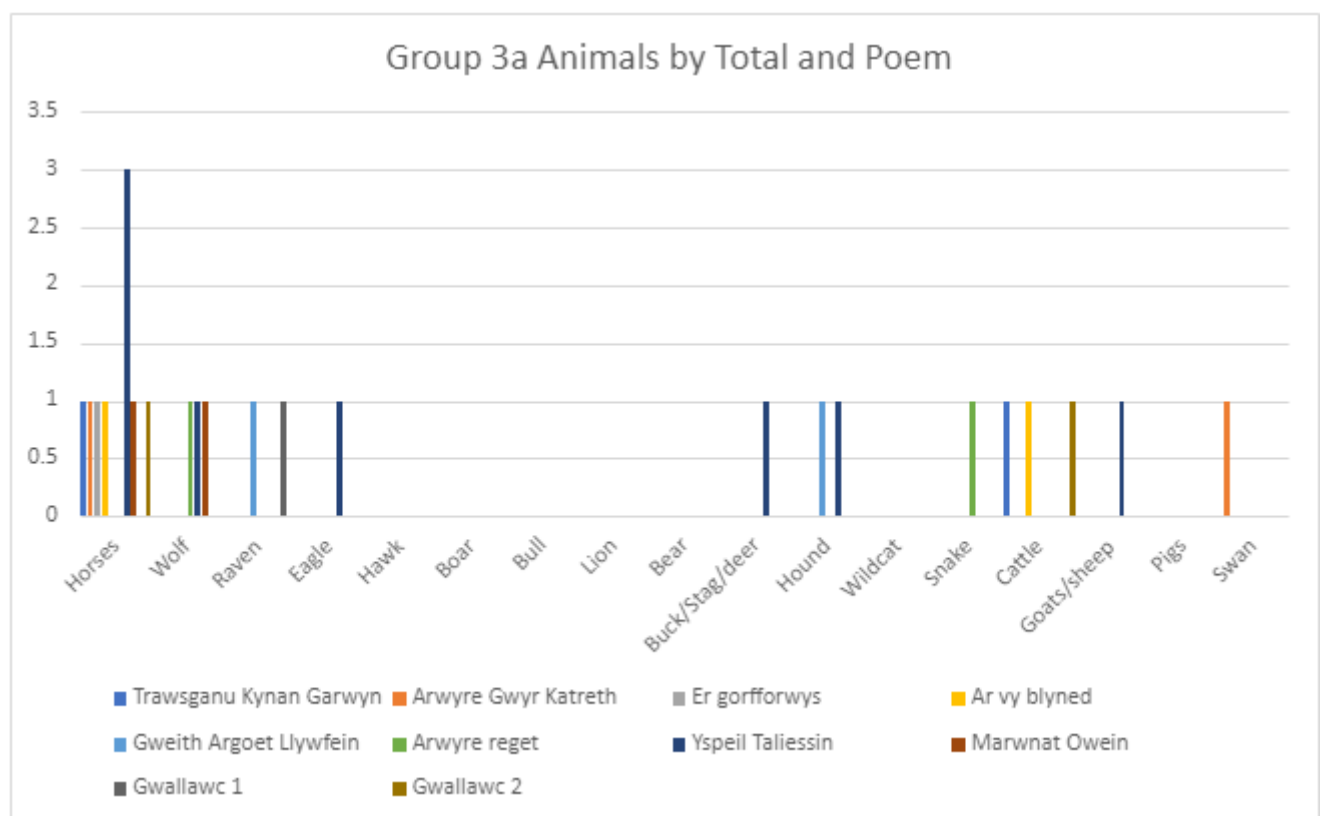


Chart 12, Poems 3a, Animals by Total by Poem

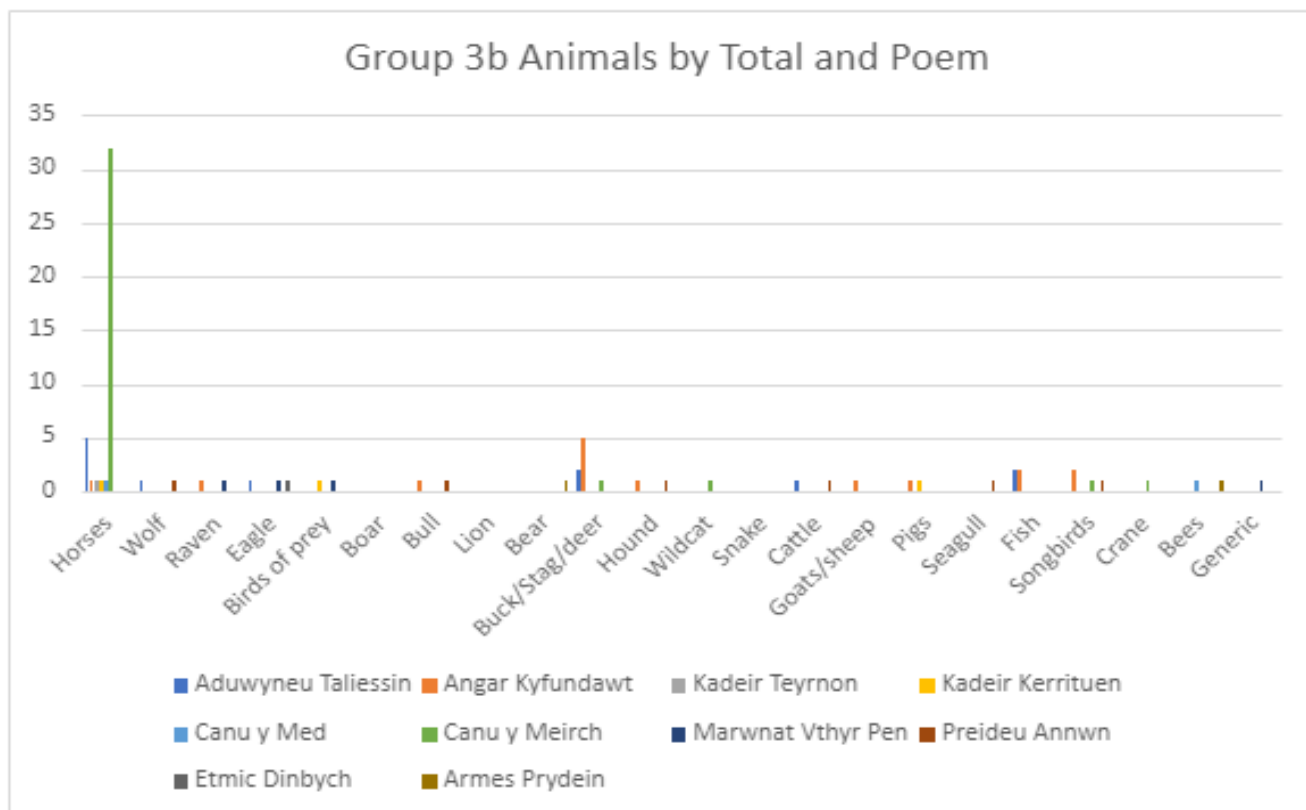


Chart 13, Poems 3b, Animals by Total by Poem

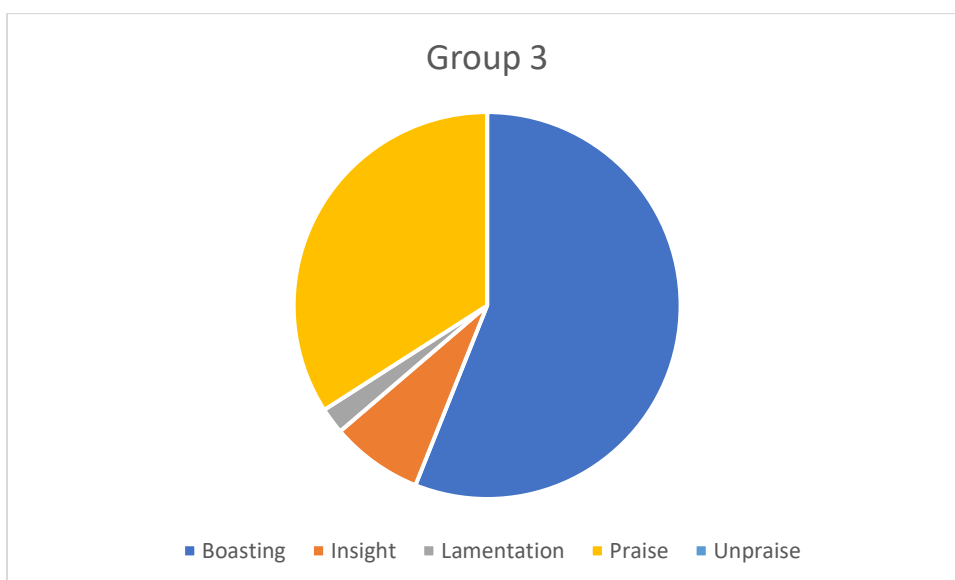


Chart 14, Poems Group 3, by Tags (Set 2)

Group 4: Other early Welsh poems – A Miscellany

The poems in this section are generally attributed to the *Cynferdd*, writing before 1100. Some, found with the *Saga Englynion* in the *Red Book of Hergest*, were once attributed to Llywarch Hen.³⁶⁵ The dialogue poems *Gereint fab Erbin* and *Gwyn ap Nudd* and *Taliesin ac Ugnach* have traits in common with the *Saga Englynion*. *Mi a Wum* is a boasting and riddling poem in the style of Taliesin, thought by some to be part of *Gwyn ap Nudd*.³⁶⁶ *Kyntaw Geir* and *Ysgolan* are penitential poems, though very different in tone: *Kyntaw Geir* is more upbeat while *Ysgolan* is gloomy and sinister. *Ysgolan*, all in black, is a sinner in search of redemption.³⁶⁷ *Claf Abercuawg* also has penitential elements, while *Llym awel* and *Eiry Mynydd*³⁶⁸ are more gnomic in character, though all three share similar traits. *Llym awel* has some saga elements which may be interpolations. The poem *Pais Dinogad* appears to be a cradle song, but its inclusion in the *Gorchanau* and the use of the past tense suggests that the father's hunting exploits lie in the past and that he may be dead.³⁶⁹ Two poems from the putative Merlin cycle (*Oianau* and *Cyfoesi Myrddin a Gwendydd ei chwaer*) have been included in this group because of Myrddyn's association with the wild forest, although they may in part be later than 1100.³⁷⁰

Animals in other early Welsh poems³⁷¹

The Horse

The poem *Kyntaw Geir*, a pilgrimage poem³⁷² in which the narrator is preparing for his journey, may be linked to the Llywarch Hen Cycle. The chestnut horse is to bear him to Rome, not into battle;³⁷³ the

³⁶⁵ See N.J.A Williams, 'Llywarch Hen and the Finn Cycle', in Rachel Bromwich and R. Brinley Jones (gol.), *Astudiaethau ar yr Hengerdd* (Caerdydd: Wasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1978), pp. 234-265.

³⁶⁶ *Mi a wum* contain a reference to Llachar son of Arthur. Gwyn ap Nudd is thus included, with *Gereint fab Erbin*, by Helen Fulton in the main texts in which Arthur appears as a Warrior-Hero. Helen Fulton, 'Arthur and Merlin in Early Welsh Literature: Fantasy and Magic Naturalism', in *A Companion to Arthurian Literature*, ed. by Helen Fulton, (Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2012), p. 85.

³⁶⁷ In the Breton legend Skolan, his Breton counterpart, having repented, ascends to heaven and is dressed in pure white. The earliest extant version of the tale of Skolan appears in an anthology 'Le Barzaz Breiz', published by Théodore Hersart de la Villemarqué in 1893. Donatien Laurent suggests that Villemarqué was inspired by the ballad from the Black Book of Carmarthen and attributed to Merlin, published in 1801 by Iolo Morganawg and John Myfyr in *Myrvian Archaeology of Wales* in 1801. See Donatien Laurent, 'La Gwerz de Skolan et la Légende de Merlin', *Ethnologie française*, 1971, nouvelle série, T. 1, No. 3/4 (1971), 19-54, pub. by Presses Universitaires de France. Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40988167>

³⁶⁸ Morfedd Owen notes that the *Eiry Mynydd* stanzas preserved in the *Red Book of Hergest* were attributed to Aneirin for a time beginning in the sixteenth century.³⁶⁸

³⁶⁹ Rachel Bromwich notes that a *Dinogat*, m. *Kynan Garwyn* occurs with his horse Swift Roan (*keithin kyflym*) in Triad 44, 'Three Horses who carried Three Horse-Burdens' and Triad 46B Three Coursing Horses of the Island of Britain. Rachel Bromwich (ed.), *Triodedd Ynys Prydein, The Triads of the Island of Britain*, (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1961, reprinted 2019), pp. 329, 115 and 127.

³⁷⁰ Several poems associated with Myrddyn Wyllt are to be found in the *Black Book of Carmarthen* (including *Oianau*), the *Red Book of Hergest* (*Cyfoesi Myrddin a Gwendydd ei chwaer*) and the *White Book of Rhydderch*. There is no extant Welsh version of the life of Myrddyn Wyllt, which can be roughly pieced together from the poems. See Peter Bartrum, *A Welsh Classical Dictionary*, (Aberystwyth, the National Library of Wales, 1993), s.n. Myrddyn Wyllt. See also J.K. Bollard, 'The Earliest Myrddin Poems' in *Arthur in the Celtic Languages*, ed. by Cerridwen Lloyd Morgan and Erich Poppe, (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2019), pp. 35-50.

³⁷¹ The poems in these tables are to be found in the form of extracts in the following edition: *Arthur in Early Welsh Poetry*, edited by Nerys Ann Jones, (Cambridge: MHRA 2019).

³⁷² Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry*, p. 226.

³⁷³ Curiously, there is a reference in stanza to a sneeze as a bad omen at the outset of a journey. For sneezes as omens in Irish poetry, see Jacqueline Borsje, 'Celtic Spells and Counterspells', in *Understanding Celtic Religion, Revisiting the Past*, edited by Katia Ritari and Alexandra Bergholm, (University of Wales Press, 2015), pp. 23ff.

focus is on penitence and redemption. The drinking horn of sweet mead is now bitter ('*chweru vuelin met melis*').

'Ystarn de wineu fruïn guin.
redech hiraethauc raun rin.'³⁷⁴
(Kyntaw Geir, S. 8)

'Ystarn de wineu hir y neid.
ruit ygnyw rgig. woteid.'³⁷⁶
(Kyntaw Geir, S. 10)

'Ystarn de wineu birr y blev.
Ruit ygniw rgyig. otew.'³⁷⁵
(Kyntaw Geir, S. 9)

The poem *Llym awel* opens with a wintry setting described in gnomic vein. The poet hammers out the relentless snowfall by opening six successive *englynion* with the words ('*Ottid eiry*').³⁷⁷ In Stanza 9, the horse is 'imprisoned' ('*karchaur goruit cul biv*'),³⁷⁸ perhaps because the weather is too harsh for riding. However, after stanza 18, we enter a non-contextualised³⁷⁹ narrative in which the narrator appears to be riding through snow with a companion to attack a neighbouring country. He reminisces about the fall of Mechydd, one of Llywarch's sons, using wording in S. 7 identical to that found in the Llywarch Hen Cycle poem *Enwev Meibon Llywarch Hen*, S. 31. ('*nyd oet uagaud meirch mechit*').³⁸⁰

'y ar can kanlin owein'³⁸¹
(*Llym awel*, S. 27)

'Mechit mab llywarch. Dihawarch vnben.
Glvystec llen lliw alarch.'³⁸⁴
Kyntaw. a ffruinclymus march.'³⁸⁵
(*Llym awel*, S. 36)

'Kin ottei eiry hid in aruul melin.'³⁸²
nim gunaei artu awirtul.'³⁸³
(*Llym awel*, S. 25)

³⁷⁴ 'Saddle the chestnut with the white bridle,
eager to run, with a rough coat.'

³⁷⁵ 'Saddle the short-haired chestnut,
free-moving in hard going, with an ambling course.'

³⁷⁶ 'Saddle the chestnut with the long leap,
free-moving in hard going, desiring to amble.'

³⁷⁷ This is known as anaphora or *cymeriad*. A similar use of a snow expression as a *cymeriad geiriol* is to be found in The Dialogue of Llewellyn and Gwrneth (*Ymattrec Llewellyn a Gwrneth*) from the Red Book of Hergest (*Mynydd eira*) and in the poem *Eiry Mynydd* at the end of this section. The words '*ottid eiry*' are more staccato than the softer '*Mynydd eira*' or '*Eiry mynydd*'.

³⁷⁸ 'The steed is a prisoner; cattle are lean.'

³⁷⁹ Whether the context was once there, perhaps in the form of a prose tale, and has been lost must remain a mystery unless new evidence comes to light.

³⁸⁰ 'The horses of Mechydd were not pampered.'

³⁸¹ 'following Owain on a white horse'

³⁸² Arfwl Melyn was the horse of Pasgen mab Urien, brother of Owain. See note 25a in Jenny Rowland (ed.), *A Selection of Early Welsh Saga Poems*, (Cambridge: MHRA, 2014), p. 71.

³⁸³ 'Though it should snow up to the cruppers of Arfwl Melyn

It would not cause fearful darkness to me.'

³⁸⁴ Presumably this means white. Because of their striking white plumage, swans were associated with purity and with Christ in Medieval times. They were also associated with royalty and their elite consumption in Britain can be traced back into the Early Medieval Period. See Oliver H. Creighton, *Designs upon the Land*, p. 104ff.

³⁸⁵ 'Mechydd mab Llywarch, bold lord,
comely and fair (his) swan-coloured mantle.
The first who tied up his horse.'

Gereint fab Erbin describes a battle at a place called Llongborth and contains a reference to Arthur in stanza 18.³⁸⁶ *Gereint fab Erbin*³⁸⁷ is the eponymous hero of an Arthurian tale in the *Mabinogion*. In the poem, Geraint is '*prydein ogonet*' (Britain's glory) and appears to have fought on the same side as Arthur. Nerys Ann Jones³⁸⁸ points out that the poem is in three sections: one describing Geraint's victory and the resulting carnage (blood-stained horses); one describing the battle and its aftermath; and one describing the long-legged grain-fed steeds of Geraint, 'rushing into battle like eagles of different hues'.³⁸⁹ The closing stanzas (19-27) referring to horses being ridden by Geraint all come from the *Red Book* and the *Black Book*. The first line is repeated exactly: '*Oed re redeint dan uordwyt gereint*'.³⁹⁰

'gweleis y veirch krymrud o gat.'³⁹¹
(*Gereint fab Erbin*, S. 3, S. 4)

'gweleis meirch can [creu] eu [cnes].'³⁹²
(*Gereint fab Erbin*, S. 5)

'Oed re redeint dan uordwyt gereint
garhryon grawn [gynnyd],
ruthur godeith ar diffeith vynyd.'³⁹³
(*Gereint fab Erbin*, S. 19, repeated with slight
variations in SS. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27)

The poem *Gwyn ap Nudd* opens with a dialogue in which Gwyddno Garanhir, is asking Gwyn ap Nudd for protection. Gwyn ap Nudd, who appears in *How Culhwch won Olwen*, where he is the suitor of Creiddylad, daughter of Llud Llaw Ereint, is described in this poem as a warrior.³⁹⁴ When he introduces himself, he mentions his white horse Camgrwn. He is also associated with hunting and has some Otherworld attributes, in particular his white horse and the red ears of his hounds.³⁹⁵

³⁸⁶ 'Yn llongborth llas y Arthur.

gwyr dewr kymynynt a dur.

amherewadyr llywyawdyr llauur.'³⁸⁶

³⁸⁷ The text edited by Jenny Rowland is a composite of stanzas from the *Black Book of Carmarthen* and from the *Red Book of Hergest*. Stanza 18 appears in both. Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry*, pp. 257-461.

³⁸⁸ Nerys Ann Jones, *Arthur in Early Welsh Poetry*, pp. 18ff.

³⁸⁹ The two colours '*glas*' and '*llwyd*' have been translated as grey but '*glas*' is a kind of bluish grey.

'rudyron ruthur eryron glew.' GfE, s. 20 / 'reddened with blood, of the rush of bold eagles'

'rudyron ruthur eryron gwynn' GfE s. 21 / 'reddened with blood, of the rush of white eagles'

'rudyron ruthur eryron brith' GfE s. 22 / 'reddened with blood, of the rush of speckled eagles'

'rudyron ruthur eryron glas' GfE s. 23 / 'reddened with blood, of the rush of grey eagles'

'rudyron ruthur eryron coch' GfE s. 24 / 'reddened with blood, of the rush of red eagles'

'rudyron ruthur eryron llwyd' GfE s. 25 / 'reddened with blood, of the rush of grey eagles'

'rudyron ruthur eryron du' GfE s. 26 / 'reddened with blood, of the rush of black eagles'

³⁹⁰ 'It was swiftly that the long-legged horses ran under Geraint's thighs'.

³⁹¹ 'I saw bowed, bloodstained horses because of battle.'

³⁹² 'I saw white horses – their coats were bloodstained,'

³⁹³ 'It was swiftly that the long-legged horses ran
under Geraint's thighs, growing sturdy on grain,
of the rush of heathfire on mountain wastes.'

³⁹⁴ Arthur intervenes in a tussle between him and another suitor, Gwythr son of Greidol, condemning Creiddylad to stay with her father while the two rivals for her hand meet every May Day to engage in combat until Judgement Day. Sioned Davies, *The Mabinogion*, p. 207. Creiddylad has been identified as a model for Cordelia in Shakespeare's *King Lear*.

³⁹⁵ In this poem, he mentions his 'red-nosed' ('*truinrut*') hound Dormach, which belonged to Maelgwyn.

*'Ca[rn]grwn wi march kad trablut.
hu dim gelwir e guin mab nud.
gortech [creidilad] merch lut.'*³⁹⁶
(Gwyn ap Nudd, S. 6)

*'Yscithreid vy modrwy eur kywruy cann.'*³⁹⁸
(Gwyn ap Nudd, S. 10)

*'Nim gad e gan kyulauaret
a thi. urth I fruyn yd wet.'*³⁹⁷
(Gwyn ap Nudd, S. 8)

The poem *Taliesin ac Ugnach* is a dialogue between Ugnach ap Mydno, on horseback accompanied by white hounds, riding towards his fortress, and Taliesin, also on horseback, making for the estuary on his way to battle. Ugnach invites Taliesin to his fortress to drink mead and stay the night. It is not clear whether Taliesin accepts, after his initial refusal, but he declines the offer to stay until Wednesday.³⁹⁹ Ugnach son of Mydno appears to be an Otherworld figure, luring Taliesin to his home with offers of fine wine and gold.

*'Marchauc a girch y dinas
ae cun gwinion ae cirn bras'*⁴⁰⁰
(*Taliesin ac Ugnach*, S. 1)

*'Marchauc a kirch ir aber.
y ar march cadarn kadfer.'*⁴⁰¹
(*Taliesin ac Ugnach*, S. 2)

The poem *Ysgolan* is found in the *Black Book of Carmarthen*. The figure of Ysgolan is related to the *Suibhne-Lailocen-Myrddyn* traditions.⁴⁰² There is also a more modern Breton tradition in which Ysgolan (Skolan) repents his misdeeds and goes to heaven.⁴⁰³ In this poem, the horse is just one element of his 'all-black' apparition; it is as if the horse were part of him, in a compound figure as discussed earlier in connection with a possible 'rider cult' and with the epic poems.

*'Dv dy uarch du dy capan.
du dy pen du duhunan.
iad [d]u ae ti yscolan.'*⁴⁰⁴
(*Ysgolan*, S. 1)

In the poem *Eiry Mynydd*, which refers to almost every other animal included in this study, there is only one oblique reference to a horse, ridden by a lord, in association with a reference to a fleeing stag.

³⁹⁶ 'Camgrwn is my horse, of battle tumult.

Thus am I called Gwyn mab Nudd,
lover of Creddylad daughter of Ludd.'

³⁹⁷ 'The white horse does not allow me conversation with you.

He leads with his bridle.' The horse appears to have a mind of its own.

³⁹⁸ 'My ring is engraved, gold the saddle of my white horse.'

³⁹⁹ The significance of Wednesday ('dyv merchir') is not explained but could have religious connotations. Ash Wednesday is the first day of Lent, the beginning of Christ's forty days and nights in the desert. The Bargain of Judas is also associated with Wednesday.

⁴⁰⁰ 'Horseman who makes for his fortress
with his white hounds and his loud hunting horns'.

⁴⁰¹ 'Horseman who makes for the estuary
upon a strong horse, steadfast in battle'.

⁴⁰² See Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry*, pp. 201-2.

⁴⁰³ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁴ 'Black is your horse; black is your cloak;
black your head; black yourself.
Black skull – is that you, Ysgolan?'

*'Eiry mynyd hyd ar daraf;
gnawt gan gynran eiryan araf
ac ysgynnu o du corof
a disgynnu bar ar [v] araf'*⁴⁰⁵
(*Eiry Mynydd*, S. 8)

Beasts of Battle, Men as Beasts

The poem *Gereint fab Erbin* contains a classic Beasts-of-Battle reference to ravens feasting on entrails. This is an image of desolation, not bloodlust.

*Yn llongborth gweleis drablud
er[y]uein brein ar golud.'*⁴⁰⁶
(*Gereint fab Erbin*, S. 11)

The boasting poem *Mi a wum*, which resembles some of the poems in the Book of Taliesin, also refers to carrion ravens in relation to the battles where famous warriors of Britain, including Llachau, son of Arthur, were slain.

*'ban ryerhint [ryreint] brein ar crev'*⁴⁰⁷
(*Mi a wum*, S. 1, 3)

*'ban ryerint brein garthan'*⁴⁰⁹
(*Mi a wum*, S. 3)

*'ban ryreeint brein ar cig'*⁴⁰⁸
(*Mi a wum*, S. 4)

The dialogue poem *Cyfoesi Myfddin a Gwendydd ei chwaer* contains references to lions and wolves used as similes for the qualities of a king. King Henry (II) is also referred to a whelp ('*keneu*').

*'Dilgoganaf nat gwas beid,
Brenhin llew llawdiwreid.
Gyluin geuel gauel bleid.'*⁴¹⁰

In the poem *Oianau*, the poet as Myrddyn refers to the serpent-like cunning of the Saxons, the emblematic (once and) future enemies of the Britons and the Welsh. The serpent simile is therefore to be understood as Unpraise in the form of satire rather than Praise.

*'Ban eistetho saesson iny sarffren.
A chirchu o pell castell gollwin
A tuit dillad hoev a glove dullin.'*⁴¹¹

⁴⁰⁵ 'Mountain snow, stag in flight;
Common for a lord, gleaming blade, and mounting a saddle bow,
And dismounting, anger well-armed.'

⁴⁰⁶ 'In Llongborth I saw tumult,
the feast of ravens on entrails'.

⁴⁰⁷ 'when ravens rushed to gore.'

⁴⁰⁸ 'when ravens rushed to flesh.'

⁴⁰⁹ 'when carrion crows rushed.'

⁴¹⁰ 'I will predict what no youth will venture,

A king, a lion with a steady hand,
Gylvin Devel with a wolf-like grasp.'

⁴¹¹ 'When the Saxons repose from their serpent cunning,
And the castle of Collwyn is resorted to front afar,
Clothes will be smart, and the black pool clear.'

Both wolves and ravens appear in *Eiry Mynydd*, apparently as real creatures in the wild, not similes or exemplars, although Nicolas Jacobs suggests a possible link between early Welsh gnomic poems which show ‘a desire to read moral lessons in the natural world’ and the *Physiologus* or Bestiary tradition.⁴¹² The last line of each stanza generally refers to the human condition. In the opening stanza, a raven cries, and the poet warns against sleeping too much, a reminder of the need to be watchful.⁴¹³ In the wolf stanza, the connection, if any, is obscure: perhaps, just as a wounded animal cannot move far, a wounded man has few choices. The similarity between man and beast lies not in their ferocity but in their vulnerability.

‘*Eiry mynydd, buan bleid;
ystlys diffeithwch a dreid;
gnawt pob anaf ar dieid.*’⁴¹⁴
(*Eiry Mynydd*, S. 22)

‘*Eiry mynydd, gwynn pob tu;
kynneuain bran a chanu;
ny daw da o drachyscu.*’⁴¹⁵
(*Eiry Mynydd*, S.1)

Beasts of the Field

The poem *Claf Abercuawg* contains a reference to cattle safely shut away in their shed, safe from the winter weather.

‘*Alaf yn eil meil am lat.*’⁴¹⁶
(CA, S. 23)

‘*crin calaf alaf yn eilyat*’⁴¹⁷
(CA, S. 26)

In this poem, the narrator has lost his status as a figure of authority and is reduced to a condition similar to that of animals and women.⁴¹⁸ Lisa M. Bitel notes that in early Mediaeval times, it was considered that ‘[a]nimals ought to be confined every night; cows should go into their enclosure, swine in a sty, horses in a stable and sheep in a fold’. Like animals, ‘disenfranchised humans’ (children, women, slaves and imbeciles) for whom men were responsible, had to stay indoors at night too.⁴¹⁹ Similar references to bees and fish in shelter appear in *Llym awel* and *Eiry Mynydd*. We may see an echo here of the order of things that has temporarily broken down in the Saga *Englynion* cycles.

The Hunt

The poem *Pais Dinogad* is a cradle-song for a young child praising its father’s exploits as a hunter. The child is dressed in clothes made from their skins, suggesting a close relationship between the child and the wild creatures that clothe it. The poem is set in the past tense, which suggests that it may also be

⁴¹² Nicolas Jacobs (ed.), *Early Welsh Gnomic and Nature Poetry*, (Cambridge: MHRA, 2012), p. xxix.

⁴¹³ There is perhaps a faint echo of the biblical instruction to the disciples to ‘watch and pray’ (Gospel according to Matthew, 26.41).

⁴¹⁴ ‘Mountain snow, wolf swift-footed,
He prowls the edge of the wild;
Common, steadfast the wounded.’

⁴¹⁵ Mountain snow, each region white,
Common the raven calling;
No good comes of too much slumber.’

⁴¹⁶ ‘Cattle are in the shed; ale is in the bowl.’

⁴¹⁷ ‘Withered are the stalks; the cattle are in the shed.’

⁴¹⁸ Robin Chapman Stacey evokes the emphasis on warding off intrusion and the role of the high-ranking household in protecting and confining women in ‘Ancient Irish Law Revisited’ in *Understanding Celtic Religion, Revisiting the Pagan Past*, ed. by Katja Ritari and Alexandra Bergholm, (University of Wales Press, 2015), pp. 100-119.

⁴¹⁹ Lisa M. Bitel, *Landscape with Two Saints*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 131.

an elegy of sorts, perhaps to a son of Cynan Garwyn.⁴²⁰ In addition to roebuck, boar and stag, he hunted fish ‘as a lion kills its prey’ (*‘mal ban llad llew llywiwg’*), speckled grouse from the mountain as well as lynx and fox. So great a hunter was he that ‘none escaped that was not winged’ (*‘Nid angai oll I fai oradain’*).

*‘Pan elai dy dad di I fynedd,
Dyddygai ef pen iwrch, pen gwythwch, pen hydd’*⁴²¹

In the poem *Oianau*, the Merlin persona warns his little pig companion to stay hidden from the fierce dogs of *Rhydderch Hael*, a King of *Alt Clut* (Strathclyde, Welsh *Tudwal*) active in the late sixth century. Rhydderch’s hounds are also referred to as cunning (*‘cyn kyfruyd’*). Merlin has taken to living in the wild woods, and fears discovery by Rhydderch and his hounds.⁴²² They may be hunting hounds but they may also be fierce guard dogs, guarding Rhydderch’s *llys* against dangers from without.

*‘Clat in lle argel in acoedit.
Rac erwis ritech hael ruyfadur fit.’*⁴²³

The World beyond the Gate

Of all the poems in this Corpus, only *Claf Abercuawg*, *Llym awel* and *Eiry Mynydd* focus extensively on animals in their natural habitat. *Eiry Mynydd* in particular describes a profusion of animals in the wild.⁴²⁴ While *Claf Abercuawg* and *Llym awel* contain elements of narrative, almost every stanza of *Eiry Mynydd* is a *haiku*-like poem describing an animal, usually a stag, in a situation linked to the harshness of the winter and the inhospitable nature of the terrain, and concluding with an observation redolent of folk wisdom such as ‘a stranger requires cunning’ or ‘who acts harshly is hated’. In the examples below, the first contains an observation relevant to a man away from home, perhaps on an undercover mission, and the second a reference to the fate of a man who has a bad wife, perhaps comparing her to a barren winter landscape!

*‘Eiry mynydd, hyd escut;
Gnawt ym prydein gynrein drut;
reit oed deall y alltut.’*⁴²⁵
(*Eiry Mynydd*, S. 4)

*‘Eiry mynydd, bronn kreic;
Krin kalaf, alaf dichleic;*

⁴²⁰ See name *Dinogat* in the list of personal names in Rachel Bromwich (ed.), *Triodd Ynys Prydein /The Triads of the Island of Britain*, (University of Wales Press, 1961, reprinted in 2019), p. 329.

⁴²¹ ‘When thy father went to the mountain,
He would bring back a roebuck, a wild boar, a stag’.

⁴²² Geoffrey of Monmouth drew together the sparse threads of the ‘wild man’ Merlin legend in his poem *Vita Merlini*, weaving the wounded Arthur into the tale. See Helen Fulton, ‘Arthur and Merlin in Early Welsh Literature’, in *A Companion to Arthurian Literature*, ed. by Helen Fulton, (Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2012), p. 98.

⁴²³ ‘But stay here, secluded in the wood,
Hidden from the dogs of Rhydderch the Faithful.’

⁴²⁴ These poems are not unique; the *Red Book of Hergest* contains other poems in similar vein, such as *Gnawt gwynt*, *Kalan gaeaf a’r Misoedd*, *Baglawc Bydin* and *Gorwynion*. Nicolas Jacobs (ed.), *Early Welsh Gnomie and Nature Poetry*, (Cambridge: MHRA, 2012).

⁴²⁵ ‘Mountain snow, stag nimble;
Common to Britain, proud princes;
A stranger requires cunning.’

*Gwae wr a gaffo drycwreic!*⁴²⁶
(*Eiry Mynydd*, S. 17)

The observations are pithy, almost cynical, and largely devoid of religious references, in stark contrast to the advice proffered in catechetic poems such as the dialogue poems *Ymattrec Llewellyn a Gwrneth*,⁴²⁷ which contains some similar stanzas, and *Ymddiddan Arthur a'r Eyr*.⁴²⁸ The boundaries between human habitats and the domain of wild animals and fish are shown to be fluid: in winter, human habitations are flooded and 'the world is a sea'⁴²⁹ (*Llym awel*). A solitary reference to sea worms is to be found in the penitential poem *Ysgolan*: Ysgolan says that he was nibbled by them when tied to a pole in a wear.

Summary Group 4

Nature is by far the most prominent type of human-animal interaction (see Chart 15 below) here.⁴³⁰ The poem *Oianau* from the putative Merlin cycle provides the only instance of a relationship between humans and animals tagged as Companionship in the entire Corpus.⁴³¹

As shown in the Charts 16 and 17 (*infra*), the range of animals covered by these poems is the widest of all the groups. Horses and stags are the most prominent: horses appear in many of the poems, while stags feature mainly in the gnomic poems: *Eiry Mynydd* alone contains over twenty references to stags and deer. Birds (seagulls, songbirds, cuckoos) are also a significant presence in these poems.

The primary poetic intent associated with animal references in these poems is tagged as Insight (see Chart 18 below); the reference to an animal is associated, albeit somewhat obliquely, with a life lesson or an intuition about the human condition. Its attribution is necessarily subjective. Its predominance reflects a wider and more subtle range of engagements with nature than is found in the first three groups of poems of the Corpus, but also a more objective and detached poetic voice.

⁴²⁶ 'Mountain snow, crag's breasts studded;
Reeds withered, herd shunning water;
Pity him who has a bad wife.'

⁴²⁷ This poem is partially published with an English translation in Sharpe, Richard, 'Claf Abercuawg and the Voice of Llywarch Hen', in *Studia Celtica*, XLIII (2009), 95–121, pp. 88ff. The article provides an interesting discussion of the series of gnomic-style *englynion* found in the *Red Book of Hergest*, followed by the three Saga Englynion cycles with which they have some elements in common.

⁴²⁸ For a discussion of religious *englynion*, including *Llywellyn and Gwrneth* and *Ymddiddan Arthur a'r Eyr*, see Rowland, Early Welsh Saga Poetry, pp. 283–290. For a discussion of *Ymddiddan Arthur a'r Eyr*, see also Nerys Ann Jones (ed.), *Arthur in early Welsh Poetry*, pp. 184 ff.

⁴²⁹ 'guilchid lliw llaur trewit;
neud gueilgi gueled <ir> eluit.'

⁴³⁰ For the definitions of the tags, see Appendix III.

⁴³¹ Humans' relationships with horses and dogs are tagged with Equestrianism (E) and Master and Hound (MH).

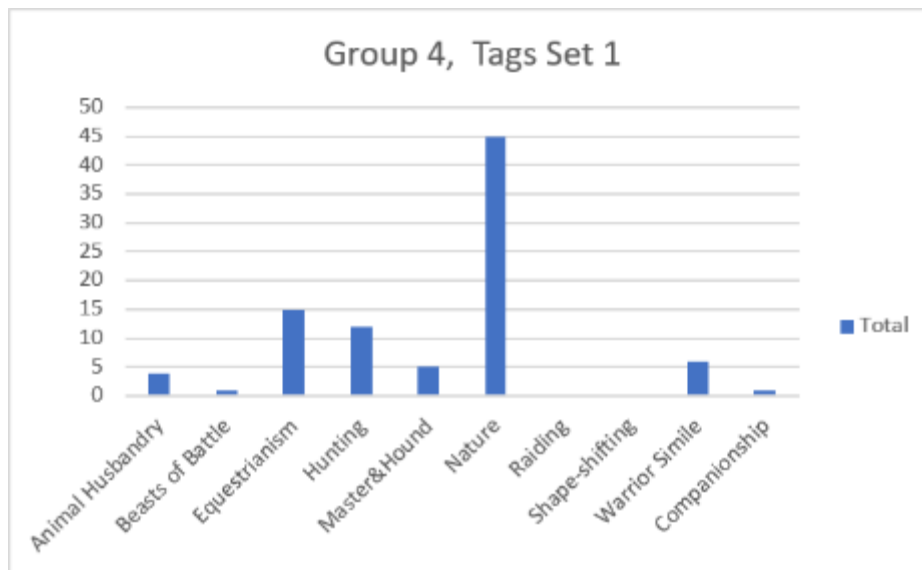


Chart 15, Poems Group 4, by Tags (Set 1)

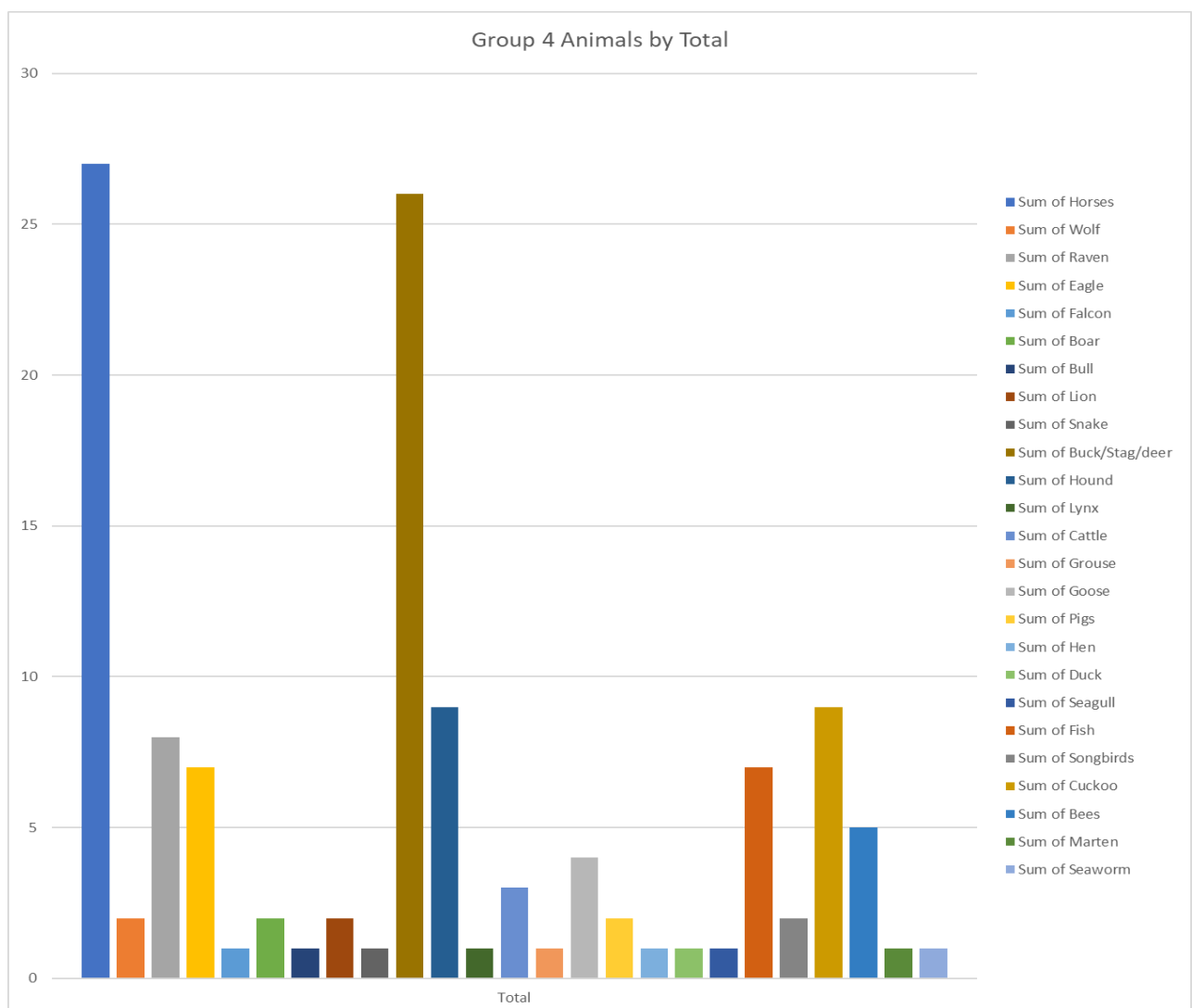


Chart 16, Poems Group 4, Animals by Total

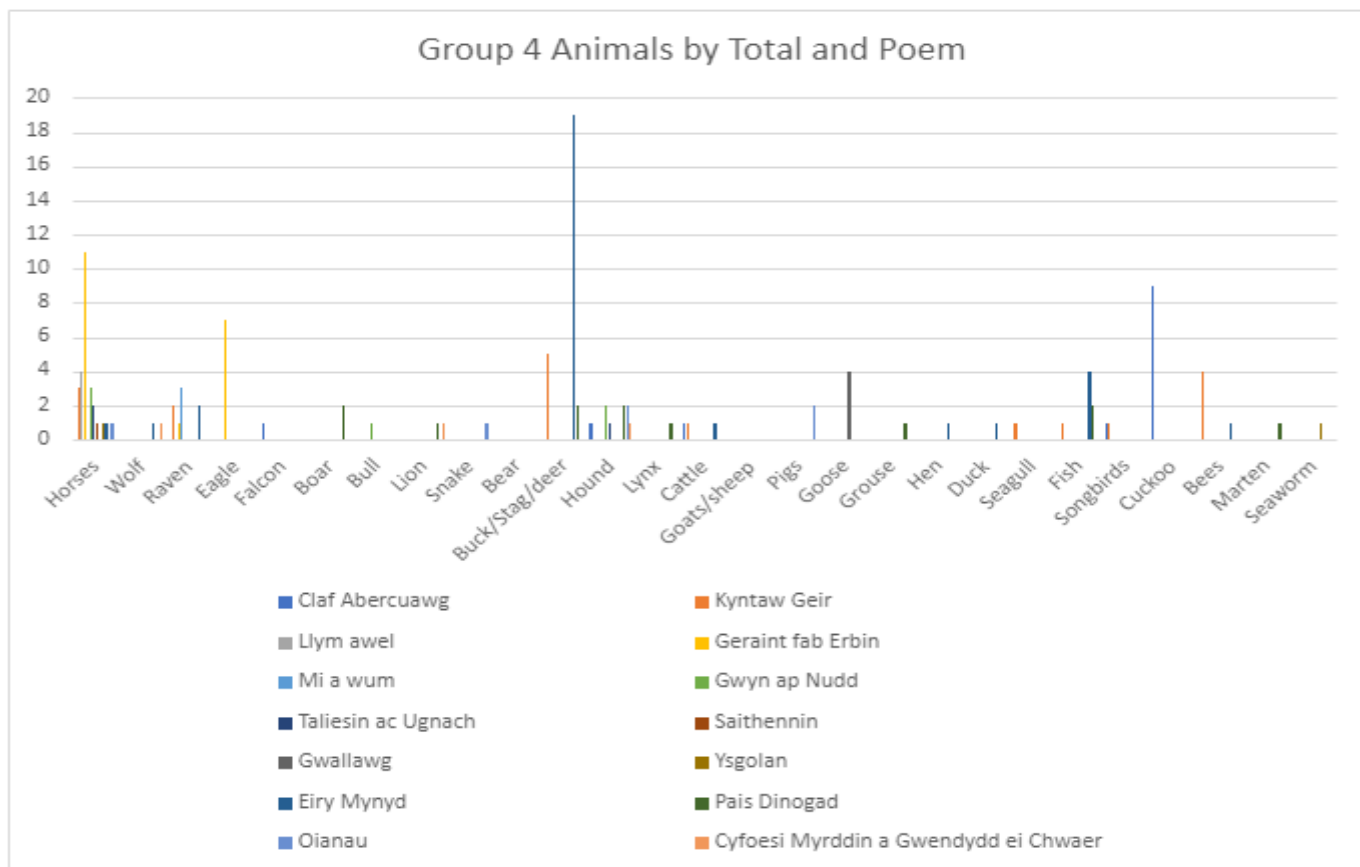


Chart 17, Poems Group 4, Animals by Total by Poem

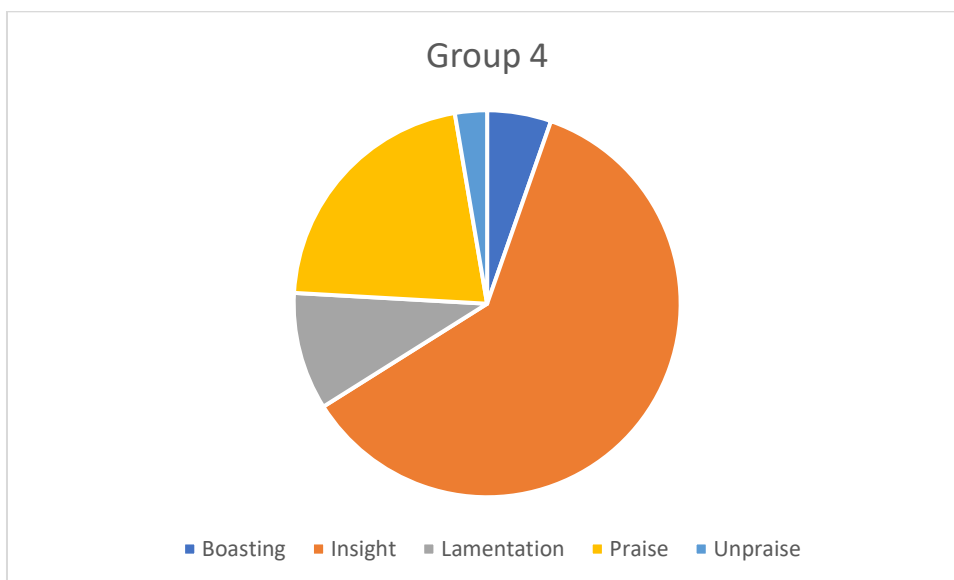


Chart 18, Poems Group 4, by Tags (set. 2).

Part III Analysis and Conclusions

Animal-human relationships

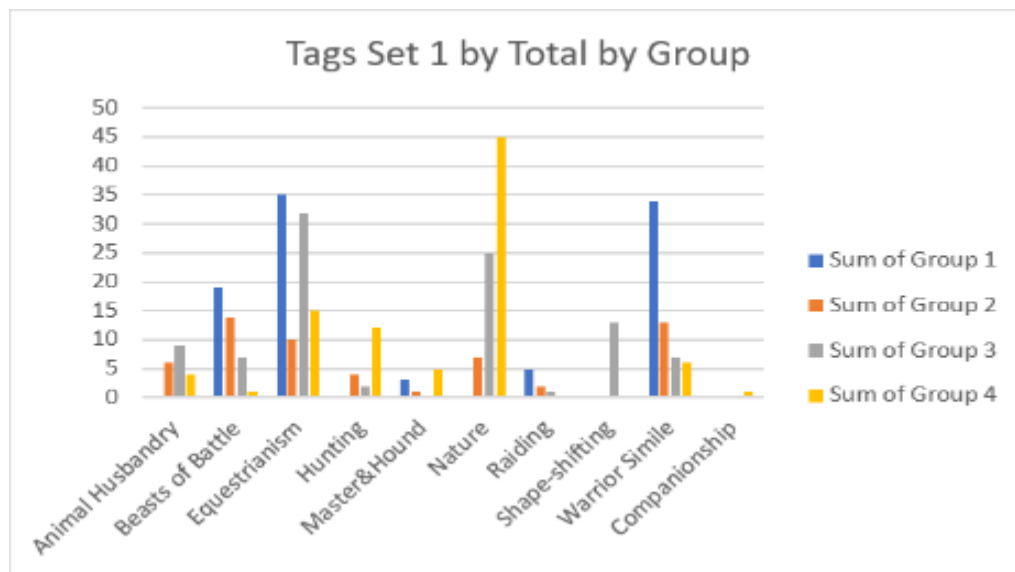


Chart 19, Poems Groups 1-4, by Tags (Set 1)

Among the principal animal-human relationships encountered in the Corpus (see Chart 19), Equestrianism features prominently in all groups: horses were clearly endowed with a meaning and importance over and above their utilitarian roles and were intimately associated with warlords both on campaign and at home. Images and symbolism relating to war (Beasts of Battle and Warrior Similes) are also a striking component, not only of the heroic poems, but of the entire Corpus, suggesting that war was an integral part of social relations in Early Medieval Wales. Animal Husbandry features as a minor theme in all but the heroic poems, which refer only to the specialities of horse-breeding and livestock raiding; the importance of cattle as a source of food, wealth and prestige is a small but important strand running through the poems of the Corpus. Raiding, of cattle and horses principally, features in all but Group 4. In contrast, Hunting and the keeping of hounds and birds of prey feature surprisingly little, considering their importance as aristocratic pursuits in the later Middle Ages, suggesting that for poets and their patrons of the Early Medieval Wales, warfare eclipsed hunting as a source of prestige and renown. Shapeshifting appears only in the poems from the Book of Taliesin, which are significantly richer in allusions to myth and legend than any other group in the Corpus. Finally, Nature and animals in their own habitats feature quite prominently in all groups but the first; the poets of this period were clearly attuned to the natural world, the landscape, and the seasons.

Traces of Belief and Ritual

Bards in Early Medieval Wales belonged to a cultured class which had much in common, and certainly some contact, with monks and the ecclesiastical milieu. However, as evidenced by the strictures of Gildas against poets⁴³² they did not always see eye to eye. Stefan J. Schustreder states that 'no Christian

⁴³² Gildas berates King Maelgwyn of Gwynedd for listening not to praise of God, but to 'thy own praises (which are nothing) rung out after the fashion of the giddy rout of Bacchus by the mouths of thy villainous followers, accompanied with lies and malice' Gildas, *de Excidio Britanniae*, 34.6, (reprint by Dodo Press of *De Excidio Britanniae*, trans. by A.J. Giles, 1891), p. 25.

element' can be found in the *Y Gododdin* stanzas of hand B, regarded as the most archaic.⁴³³ He does, however, identify several references to penance and the Trinity in other stanzas.⁴³⁴ The afterlife is referred to in apparently Christian terms, but suggests a warriors' paradise rather than a reward for virtue: the warriors live on '*yng glwlad nef, addef afeued*'⁴³⁵ (*Y Gododdin*, Line 774). In stanza 69 the poet calls for mercy upon a warrior who was a foe to many ('*tarv trin, trugaret itav*')⁴³⁶, an odd juxtaposition of a warrior simile with an apparently Christian invocation. There is an enigmatic reference to an Archbishop in the *awdl* metre *Marwnad Cynddylan*, followed by the words '*nis noddas myneich llyff afael*,'⁴³⁷ (line 57), perhaps echoing (or prefiguring) the anti-clerical jibes of the Taliesin poet in *Preiddeu Annwn*.

Warhorses and their riders form a close association, possibly a vestige of a horseman cult in the Later Iron Age and sub-Roman periods. Warrior similes identify warriors with creatures regarded as powerful, fierce or cunning. The epithets are not necessarily constant or exclusive, suggesting that in some cases at least the identification was based not on totemic clan badges but on individual identification of warriors with ferocious beasts for the purpose of praise. The association of some of these beasts, particularly the boar and the bull, with war and power, may have their origin in pre-Christian times. We may also postulate the perpetuation in Wales of an Indo-European tradition of 'wolf warriors', perhaps through the intermediary of the Irish Fían. By the same token, the Beasts of Battle, the eagle and the wolf that feed on dead warriors, appear to belong to a pagan tradition shared by the Welsh with other peoples of Northern Europe. The *Stanzas of the Graves* are almost totally devoid of overtly Christian references.⁴³⁸

The emotion and self-consciousness conveyed in the poems of the Llywarch Hen and Heledd Cycles is in stark contrast with the more channelled sentiments of *Y Gododdin* and other heroic elegies for fallen warriors. Bereft of protection and dressed in rough goatskin, Heledd addresses God several times, beginning with the words '*ac a mynno duw derffit*'⁴³⁹ in the first stanza of the *Marwnad Cynddylan*. In *Stafell Gynddylan* (stanza 30), she says '*Y mawr drugarawc duw pa wna?*'⁴⁴⁰ Llwyarch's survival while his twenty-three sons have died in battle challenges his self-image as a doughty - and lusty - warrior as well as causing him personal grief; his very survival as one of the defeated is almost impossible to reconcile with the warrior ethos. He finds some solace in bird song and wanders the countryside with his staff, a broken man mourning his lost youth and his dead sons. In *Enwev meibon*, he appears to evoke the Lord of Heaven to guide the soul of his son Rhun, but the text is corrupt and other interpretations are possible.⁴⁴¹ Interestingly, this stanza opens with a reference to '*Tarv trin*', the bull of war.

⁴³³ Stefan J. Schustreder, *Strategies of Identity Construction: The Writings of Gildas, Aneirin and Bede*, (Bonn: Bonn University Press, 2015), p. 156.

⁴³⁴ Ibid., pp. 150ff.

⁴³⁵ 'in the land of heaven, the home of plenty'.

⁴³⁶ 'A foe to many was his hand,
Bull of battle, mercy to him.'

⁴³⁷ Jenny Rowland translates this as 'book-clutching monks did not protect them'.

⁴³⁸ This is a little surprising, considering that burials of this period in Western Britain generally followed Christian rites; very few have been found with grave goods or animals. Intriguingly, however, archaeological investigation has revealed the presence of a variety of activities of a non-funerary nature in Welsh cemeteries of the post-Roman period. See Marion R. Shriner, 'Burial in Early Medieval Wales, Identifying Multifunctional Cemeteries', in *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 40(3) 2021, pp. 268–285.

⁴³⁹ 'Let that which God wills come to pass'.

⁴⁴⁰ 'Great merciful God, what shall I do?'

⁴⁴¹ *Enwev Meibon*, Stanza 5. See Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry*, note p. 536.

The praise poems and death odes from the Book of Taliesin naturally focus on praising the poet's patrons, on whom he depends, and their material world, which he enjoys. D. Simon Evans notes that in Taliesin's death ode to Cynan, whose brother was Saint Tysilio, 'no Christian influence can be detected.'⁴⁴² In the so-called 'legendary' poems, the Taliesin poet takes on a *magus*-like persona, boasting of his knowledge and his prowess as a poet, mocking the ignorance of his fellow poets and the book learning of monks. In several of these poems, he boasts of his shape-shifting incarnations and, somewhat obliquely, the origin of his gift of inspiration. The Taliesin poet has the universe as his playground, even visiting the Under- or Otherworld in the poem *Preiddeu Annwn*. He was clearly familiar with Latin texts, sacred and profane. Much of the lore in his poems is clearly not of Christian origin: he not only feels connected with animals; he has been in their skins and experienced their lives from within in a profusion of shape-shifting exploits which have made him privy to secret knowledge.⁴⁴³ These poems share several references to the supernatural phenomena with the *Mabinogion* tales. Whether they have their origin in pre-Christian myth, classical or Celtic, bardic lore or some mixture of both, or something else altogether, is not easy to ascertain.

Among the poems in the Miscellany, *Claf Abercuawg*, which shows similarities with the poems of the Llywarch Hen cycle, contains several references to God, most of which suggest that the Christian religion is no comfort to the sick man. Other poems in this group, notably the dialogue poems *Gwyn ap Nudd* and *Taliesin ac Ugnach*, and the saga poem *Gereint fab Erbin*, feature animals which, like their protagonists, have larger-than-life, and perhaps Otherworldly traits. The penitential poems *Kyntaw Geir* and *Ysgolan* in contrast have an explicit connection with Christianity. They concern sin, pilgrimage and redemption; the horses in these poems are companions on their riders' spiritual journeys. Of the two, *Ysgolan*, all in black, with his black horse, is the stranger and more sinister figure.

Domus and Agrios

In both the heroic poems and the Saga *Englynion*, the animals that belong, with the land, to the Lord and his kin group are distinguished from those that normally live outside the domestic sphere (the *domus*), in the wild (the *agrios*). The concepts of *domus* and *agrios* were used by Ian Hodder to interpret the archaeology of the Neolithic: the domestication process is seen as a 'symbolic or metaphorical relationship between humans and other species (...), grounded in the longer-term process of the domestication of society, through development of the concept of *home*'.⁴⁴⁴ In her book '*How to be Animal*', Melanie Challenger, like Ian Hodder, perceives traces of a sea-change in man's relations with animals at the dawn of the Neolithic in Çatalhöyük.⁴⁴⁵ The distinction between domestic and auxiliary animals and animals in the wild we find in these poems was in line with the thinking of the Church fathers, but could also have been a natural consequence of people's relationships with and dependence on certain types of animals in their day-to-day lives; the relationship between people and domestic animals is 'invasive and intimate', and domesticated animals acquire social status and a socio-

⁴⁴² G.H. Doble, *Lives of the Welsh Saints*, edited by D. Simon Evans, (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, reprinted 2013), p. 47.

⁴⁴³ The shape-shifting poems have been compared with the so-called Song of Amergin, an Irish poem preserved in a twelfth century manuscript. See *The Book of Taliesin, Poems of Warfare and Praise in an Enchanted Britain*, trans. by Gwyneth Lewis and Rowan Williams, (London: Penguin Classics, 2019), p. xxiv.

⁴⁴⁴ "'Domus' encompassed the dwelling place, the domestic community, cultivation, nurturing and femininity, and its opposite, 'agrios', connoted the waste, the forest, masculinity and violence.' See Keith Ray & Julian Thomas, *Neolithic Britain, the transformation of social worlds*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), p. 30. Hodder did not extend his narrative beyond the Neolithic but did not rule out the possibility that it could be so extended in a meaningful way. Ian Hodder, *The Domestication of Europe*, (Wiley Blackwell, 1991), p. 275.

⁴⁴⁵ Melanie Challenger, *How to be Animal, A New History of What it Means to be Human* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 2021), pp. 105-6.

political role as well as a cultural role.⁴⁴⁶ In the heroic poems, a distinction is discernible between horses and dogs, and to some extent bovines, which are part of the human sphere, and the wild animals used in similes and tropes associated with war, described by Eliška Svobodová as a 'symbolic dualism between the settlement and wildlife'.⁴⁴⁷ Boars, which were wild but sometimes managed, and pigs, which were domestic but lived semi-wild, lay, like bees, somewhere in between. The Welsh 'heroic' poetry reflects a strong presence of *agrios*, which Hodder associates with males, hunting, defence and warfare, in the ethos of the dominant social group, not unlike that of the later Neolithic in Central Europe as interpreted by Hodder.⁴⁴⁸

Like *Y Gododdin*, the Saga *Englynion* poems evoke the impact of war as seen from the point of view of the defeated. However, they focus not so much on martial prowess as on loss: loss of sons, brothers and sisters, land and herds, and the safety of the *llys*. In the *llys*, life is organised and orderly and people and animals each have their place; the world outside is fraught with danger and always ready to encroach. The courts of Urien and Cynddylan are in ruins and animals make their nests in them. The death of Urien Taliesin playfully imagined has become a reality. These poems may be read as subversive in relation to the heroic ethos that glorifies war and those whose lives are lost on the battlefield. The *Canu Heledd* in particular, seem to run counter to the *agrios*-dominated ethos of the warrior class. The female voice of Heledd is a poignant plaidoyer for *domus* in the face of a dominant ideology of *agrios*. For Llywarch Hen, the former warrior, now an outcast, *domus* is lost and longed for; he must survive in a kind of limbo. The Taliesin poet, while he profits from and pays lip service to his patrons' campaigning and raiding, is clearly attached to the *llys* with its luxuries and pleasures, where he can indulge his taste for learned pursuits in comfort. Of all the poems in the Corpus, the gnostic *englynion* included in the Miscellany reflect the greatest preoccupation with nature, but at the same time the most dispassionate, evoking the seasons, the landscape and a wide variety of animals in the wild. These poems convey a keen sense of the physical landscape, forged by the changing seasons, and the harshness of winter for man and animal alike. References to animals (cows, bees and fish) in shelter as well as to animals facing food shortages in the winter ('*cul hyt*') are reminders of the precariousness of human as well as animal life and the constant need to assure food and shelter as well as protection from warmongering, the consequences of which emerge through the Saga *Englynion* cycles.

Perhaps the most striking animal-human relationship is the companionship between Merlin and his little pig in the poem *Oianau*, the only instance of a human-pet relationship⁴⁴⁹ in the entire Corpus. The *Myrddyn wyllt* persona was supposed to have lost his wits and may have conjured up the pig as a sort of '*alter ego*'. Like the early Celtic hermits such as Saint Illtud in his youth, he is living in the woods amongst wild beasts, having fled *domus* for *agrios*. The *Myrddin* figure in the Welsh poems has parallels

⁴⁴⁶ Eliška Svobodová, 'Cognitive Foundations of the relationship between humans and animals among hunters – gatherers and traditional Farmers', in *Interdisciplinaria archaeologica, natural sciences in archaeology*, Volume III, Issue 1/2012, 131-139, p. 135.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid. p. 134.

⁴⁴⁸ See Hodder, *The Domestication of Europe*, p. 156 ff. Hodder refers to "warriors and the wild" and a decline in 'attempts to use the domus in the pursuit of group definition' in Central Europe in the fourth Millennium BC. It is possible to postulate a cycle, beginning with the Neolithic, in which the destructive powers of *agrios*, harnessed to protect the *domus*, because they threaten the very existence of the *domus* (home and means of subsistence), alternate with more inward-looking cultural climates.

⁴⁴⁹ The relationship between humans and dogs undoubtedly had elements of companionship in the Early Middle Ages as it does today. However, dogs appear to have been valued primarily as guard dogs, herders and hunting dogs.

in Ireland in the tale of *Suibne* and in Scotland with the tradition of *Lailoken*,⁴⁵⁰ where living in the wild is also associated with inspiration and the gift of prophesy. Like Myrddyn, the persona of Taliesin, with whom he is sometimes conflated, is surrounded by a profusion of legends concerning their prophetic gifts and supernatural powers, the origin of which appear to lie in a quasi-shamanic relationship with nature in the wild perhaps characteristic of the bard at the height of his powers.

Crossing Boundaries

Where gender is determinable, the animals in these poems are overwhelmingly male. Specific words for female animals are almost entirely absent from the poems. Only domestic animals such as cattle and fowl, and herds of deer, can be assumed to contain a (sometimes sizeable) 'non-male' element. In the heroic poems and the Saga *Englynion* cycles, such references occur chiefly in connection with cattle raiding and animal husbandry. Occasional references to female animals and their young, possibly with mythological connotations, are found in poems from the Book of Taliesin and in the gnomic and nature poems included in the Miscellany, while the Saga *Englynion* contain references to piglets and chicks in abandoned hearths of Urien and Cynddylan. Taliesin has been a fiery bull and a stallion at stud, a dog, a stag, a roebuck and a cockerel, and a blue salmon; unlike Gwydion and Gilfaethwy,⁴⁵¹ he did not change sex.⁴⁵² While Giraldus Cambrensis evokes animal gender and even bestiality in several of his tall tales,⁴⁵³ the poems of the *hengerdd* generally pass the sex life of animals over in silence. Taliesin's reference to his time as a stallion in stud is a notable exception. This reticence may be interpreted as the idiom of *agrios*, reflecting a dominance – or resurgence – of values associated with masculinity, namely the warrior ethos, rites of passage, raiding and hunting: 'prowess *in* the wild as opposed to control *over* nature takes on a renewed significance' (original author's italics).⁴⁵⁴

In their relationships with humans, several of the animals that appear in these poems seem to have had a Janus-like quality in Medieval Wales: like humans, they could be noble and praiseworthy or sinister and menacing or harsh and ferocious. Snakes, associated with evil by the Church, are among the animals used in battle similes in Medieval Welsh poetry; transposed into the context of war, the snake's cunning and skill in killing became virtues worthy of praise in the warriors of the 'home side'. Whereas wild animals could be tamed by the saints, men going to war became feral, taking on the attributes of wild beasts, crossing over to the wild side of creation.⁴⁵⁵ In doing so, they partook in a

⁴⁵⁰ These stories appear to have their origins in sub-Roman Britain when tribes from Strathclyde settled in Wales. Aubrey Galyon and Zacharias P. Thundy, 'Lailoken', in *The Romance of Merlin, An Anthology*, ed. by Peter Crouch, (Garland Publishing Incorporated, 1990), pp. 3ff.

⁴⁵¹ In *The Fourth Branch of the Mabinogion*, the brothers are punished by Math by being transformed into the male and female of various animals and forced to mate with one another. Sioned Davies, *The Mabinogion*, p. 53.

⁴⁵² It is perhaps also worth pointing out that gendered relationships between humans are not a significant feature of most of these poems; women appear occasionally as widows, sisters, occasionally wives and mothers. The poem *Pais Dinogad*, which has been characterised as a cradle song, is unusual among the poetry of this period in that it has a female voice and addresses a child. The old warrior Llywarch Hen regrets that his wenching days are gone and makes a ribald remark about the wife of one of his sons; in *Eiry Mynydd* the poet notes that 'Many couples are in love and never come together.'⁴⁵² There is, however, nothing in this Corpus of poems to compare with the love poetry of the classical poets or the Welsh court poets of later periods. This is remarked upon by Gwyneth Lewis and Rowan Williams in relation to the Taliesin poems. See *The Book of Taliesin*, trans. by Gwyneth Lewis and Rowan Williams, p. xiv-xv.

⁴⁵³ See note 15. Giraldus also tells a curious tale of a doe with an unnaturally masculine build, killed by accident by Einion, son-in-law of the Lord Rhys of Deheubarth, who immediately lost his health and his wits.

⁴⁵⁴ Hodder, *The Domestication of Europe*, p. 224.

⁴⁵⁵ It is difficult to gauge the extent to which these similes conjured up images of men transformed (shape-shifted?) into wild beasts. The vividness of the images suggests that they were not mere formal epithets but something more deeply rooted in the warrior culture, whatever its origins, that prevailed in Early Medieval Wales.

kind of pack-like brotherhood. The carrion-eating Beasts of Battle are portrayed as auxiliaries of the warriors of *Y Gododdin* who feed them with enemy corpses, whereas In the Saga *Englynion*, they are on the side of the enemy. By their very nature, like the gods (or goddesses) of war and fate, they have no lasting allegiance and can never be wholly appeased. Eagles are generally portrayed as fierce and rapacious in these poems, in contrast to their role as wise counsellors in the *Mabinogion* tales and the poem *Ymddiddan Arthur a'r Eryr*.⁴⁵⁶

The imposing qualities of bulls, which are part of the domestic sphere, and boars and stags, which, as game, dwelt on its periphery, are also harnessed by the warriors for the in-group in its confrontations with rival out-groups. Bulls, when employed in warrior similes, are often given the epithet 'of war' suggestive of a bull god, as depicted on the firedog from Capel Garmon.⁴⁵⁷ In a sense, the warrior bands take their '*domus*' with them, if only symbolically, in their attempts to seize the land and livestock of their rivals. Ironically, as we see in the Saga *Englynion*, when they fail, their own lands and livestock are forfeit and *agrios* encroaches on *domus*. In the nature poems (*Claf Abercuawg*, *Llym awel* and *Eiry Mynydd*), the boundaries between human settlements and the wild, between shelter and exposure, are seen to shift with the severity of the climate, which, like the impact of warfare, damages human habitation and blurs the distinction between *domus* and *agrios*.

The Taliesin poet has inhabited the animal world which, he claims, holds no secrets for him. The boundaries between man and animal, and between this world and Otherworld, are broken down in the shapeshifting and boundary-crossing claims made by the poet. This may be seen as the role of a shamanic or magus-like bard figure, mediating between the worlds of *agrios* and *domus*, life and death, praise and satire, and moving seamlessly between them. Less playful and apparently more fraught with anxiety, the *Myrddin* poems, which contain elements of both narrative and prophesy, blur the boundaries not only between domestic and wild but between real and imagined, past and future, sanity and madness. Myrddyn's pig may be real or a figment of his imagination. By choosing to live in the wild among the beasts of the forest, like some of the ascetics of the early Church, he has himself become wild (*wyllt*), or semi-human, but at the same time he has acquired the gift of prophesy and inspiration.

The animals take a bow

The animals in these poems clearly played a significant part in the lives of the landed classes and their entourages, to which the poets belonged. They were variously domestic species, sources of food and furs, instruments of war and exemplars for warriors, but also beautiful creatures to be admired and enjoyed. There is ample evidence that animals played culturally significant roles in Early Medieval Welsh society, serving notably as links between man and the natural – and possibly also the supernatural - world. Animals that are associated at once with warlike qualities and lordly prowess, such as bulls, bears, boars and stags, appear to have held particular significance for the Welsh elite of the period. At the other end of the scale, bees, as creatures living on the boundary of the domestic and wild spheres, also played a role in the rituals of war through their gift of honey, the main ingredient of mead.

In parallel with the intensity of the poets' engagement with the animal world, the range of animals referred to increases markedly as we move through the groups, culminating in the rich and varied fauna of the Miscellany. Although it is tempting to interpret this as an evolution over time, evidence to underpin such a hypothesis is elusive, as the dating of these poems, like their authorship, is

⁴⁵⁶ The earliest version of this poem is found in a manuscript (Jesus 20) dating from the early fourteenth century.

⁴⁵⁷ The Capel Garmon firedog is to be found in the National Museum of Wales.

https://museum.wales/iron_age_teachers/artefacts/capel_garmon_firedog/

extremely difficult to pin down. The differences we perceive may be attributable to individual poets, to different but contemporary schools of poetry, some more conservative than others, to the composition of different types of poems for different occasions and different audiences, or to all these factors combined. The animals we encounter these poems are, with a few notable exceptions, not their protagonists, but they provide a kaleidoscope of tiny windows into the shifting and sometimes contradictory ways in which animals were perceived by, and interacted with, humans of the land-owning classes in Early Medieval Wales. The very profusion of such references is a striking indication of the importance of animals in the lives of these poets and their patrons.

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Appendices

I THE CORPUS AND THE METHODOLOGY

The Corpus

Poem	Main manuscript(s)	Main editor	English Translation
I Songs for fallen Warriors			
Y Gododdin - YG	Book of Aneirin (BA)	A.O.H. Jarman ⁴⁵⁸	A.O.H. Jarman ⁴⁵⁹
Dyfnwal Frych - DF	BA	A.O.H. Jarman ⁴⁶⁰	A.O.H. Jarman
Gorchan Tudfwlch - GT	BA	A.O.H. Jarman ⁴⁶¹	A.O.H. Jarman
Gorchan Cynddylan - GC	BA	A.O.H. Jarman ⁴⁶²	A.O.H. Jarman
Englynion y Beddau - EB	Black Book of Carmarthen (BBC)	Thomas Jones ⁴⁶³	Thomas Jones ⁴⁶⁴
Marwnad Cynddylan - MC	NLW 4973	Jenny Rowland ⁴⁶⁵	Jenny Rowland ⁴⁶⁶
Englynion Cadwallon - EC	Red Book of Hergest (RBH)	Jenny Rowland ⁴⁶⁷	Jenny Rowland ⁴⁶⁸
II The Saga Englynion			
Poem	Main manuscript(s)	Main editor	English Translation
Canu Llywarch Hen - CLH <i>Marwnad Gwên</i> <i>Pyll</i> <i>Enwev Meibon Llywarch Hen</i> <i>Gwahodd Llywarch i Lanfawr</i> <i>Cân yr Henwr</i>	RBH	Jenny Rowland ⁴⁶⁹	Jenny Rowland ⁴⁷⁰
Canu Urien – CU <i>Unhwch</i> <i>Pen Urien</i> <i>Miscellaneous Verses</i> <i>Marwnad Rhun</i>	RBH	Jenny Rowland ⁴⁷¹	Jenny Rowland ⁴⁷²

⁴⁵⁸ *Aneirin, Y Gododdin*, edited by A.O.H. Jarman (Llandysul: Gomer Press. 1990).

⁴⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 67

⁴⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

⁴⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 72.

⁴⁶³ The Black Book of Carmarthen 'Stanzas of the Graves', ed. and trans. by Thomas Jones (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 1967. See also *Englynion y Beddau, The Stanzas of the Graves*, ed. and trans. by John K. Bollard with illustrations by Anthony Griffiths (*Gwasg Carreg Gwalch*, 2015).

⁴⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶⁵ Rowland, Jenny (ed.), *Early Welsh Saga Poetry*, (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1990), pp. 175-9.

⁴⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 446-7.

⁴⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 495-6.

⁴⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 404-418.

⁴⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 468-476.

⁴⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 419-428

⁴⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 477-482.

<i>Dwy Blaidd</i> <i>Aelwyd Rheged</i>			
Canu Heledd – CH <i>Marwnad Cynddylan</i> <i>Stafell Gynddylan</i> <i>Eryr Eli</i> <i>Eryr Pengwern</i> <i>Eglwysau Basa</i> <i>Y Drefwen</i> <i>Ffreuer</i> <i>Y Bugeiles Lom</i> <i>Afonydd</i> <i>Newid Byd</i> <i>Gorwynion</i> <i>Grythmyl</i> <i>Heledd Hywedig</i> <i>Gazing</i> <i>Gwal Twrch</i> <i>Llemenig</i>	RBH	Jenny Rowland ⁴⁷³	Jenny Rowland ⁴⁷⁴
Poem	Main manuscript(s)	Main editor	English Translation
III Poems from the Book of Taliesin			
Praise poems from the Book of Taliesin			
I Trawsganu Kynan Garwyn mab Brochfael - TCG	Book of Taliesin (BT)	Ifor Williams ⁴⁷⁵	Joseph P. Clancy ⁴⁷⁶
Arwyre gwyr katraeth - AGK	BT	Ifor Williams ⁴⁷⁷	Meirion Pennar ⁴⁷⁸
IV Er gorffowys - EG	BT	Ifor Williams ⁴⁷⁹	Meirion Pennar ⁴⁸⁰
V Ar vn blyned - AVB	BT	Ifor Williams ⁴⁸¹	Joseph P. Clancy ⁴⁸²
VI Gweith Argoet Llwyfein – GAL	BT	Ifor Williams ⁴⁸³	Joseph P. Clancy ⁴⁸⁴
VII Ardwyre reget – AR	BT	Ifor Williams ⁴⁸⁵	Meirion Pennar ⁴⁸⁶
VIII Yspeil Taliessin - YS	BT	Ifor Williams ⁴⁸⁷	Meirion Pennar ⁴⁸⁸

⁴⁷³ Ibid., pp. 419-428

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid., pp. 483-494.

⁴⁷⁵ *The Poems of Taliesin*, edited and annotated by Sir Ifor Williams, English version by J.E. Caerwyn Williams, (Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1975), p. 1. See also *Taliesin Poems*, trans. by Meirion Pennar, (Felinfach: Llanerch, 1988), pp. 41-6.

⁴⁷⁶ Joseph P. Clancy, *The Earliest Welsh Poetry*, (London: Macmillan, St. Martin's Press, 1970), p. 23.

⁴⁷⁷ *The Poems of Taliesin*, Ifor Williams, p. 2.

⁴⁷⁸ *Taliesin Poems*, trans. by Meirion Pennar, (Felinfach: Llanerch, 1988), pp. 51-2.

⁴⁷⁹ *The Poems of Taliesin*, Ifor Williams, p. 4.

⁴⁸⁰ *Taliesin Poems*, Meirion Pennar, pp. 63-4.

⁴⁸¹ *The Poems of Taliesin*, Ifor Williams., p. 5.

⁴⁸² Joseph P. Clancy, *The Earliest Welsh Poetry*, pp. 27-9. See also Meirion Pennar Op. Cit., pp. 69-70.

⁴⁸³ *The Poems of Taliesin*, Ifor Williams., p. 6.

⁴⁸⁴ Joseph P. Clancy, *The Earliest Welsh Poetry*, pp. 30-31. See also Meirion Pennar Op. Cit., pp. 75-6.

⁴⁸⁵ *The Poems of Taliesin*, Ifor Williams., p. 6.

⁴⁸⁶ Meirion Pennar, Op. cit., p. 83-35.

⁴⁸⁷ *The Poems of Taliesin*, Ifor Williams., p. 7.

⁴⁸⁸ Meirion Pennar, Op. cit., pp. 87-94.

X Marwnat Owein - MO	BT	Ifor Williams ⁴⁸⁹	Joseph P. Clancy ⁴⁹⁰
XI Gwallawc – G1	BT	Ifor Williams ⁴⁹¹	Meirion Pennar ⁴⁹²
XII Gwallawc -G2	BT	Ifor Williams ⁴⁹³	Meirion Pennar ⁴⁹⁴
Other poems from the Book of Taliesin			
Aduwyneu Taliessin - AT	BT	Marged Haycock ⁴⁹⁵	Marged Haycock ⁴⁹⁶
Angar Kyfundawet - AK	BT	Marged Haycock ⁴⁹⁷	Marged Haycock ⁴⁹⁸
Kadeir Teyrnnon - KT	BT	Marged Haycock ⁴⁹⁹	Marged Haycock ⁵⁰⁰
Kadeir Kerrituen - KK	BT	Marged Haycock ⁵⁰¹	Marged Haycock ⁵⁰²
Canu y Med - CMd	BT	Marged Haycock ⁵⁰³	Marged Haycock ⁵⁰⁴
Canu y Meirch – CM	BT	Marged Haycock ⁵⁰⁵	Marged Haycock ⁵⁰⁶
Preideu Annwn - PA	BT	Marged Haycock ⁵⁰⁷	Marged Haycock ⁵⁰⁸
Marwnat Uthyr Pen - MUP	BT	Marged Haycock ⁵⁰⁹	Marged Haycock ⁵¹⁰
Etmic Dinbych - ED	BT	Ifor Williams ⁵¹¹	Ifor Williams ⁵¹²
Armes Prydein - AP	BT	Ifor Williams ⁵¹³	Gwyneth Lewis and Rowan Williams ⁵¹⁴
Poem	Main manuscript(s)	Main editor	English translation
IV Other early Welsh poems			
Claf Abercuawg - CA	RBH	Jenny Rowland ⁵¹⁵	Jenny Rowland ⁵¹⁶

⁴⁸⁹ *The Poems of Taliesin*, Ifor Williams., p. 12.

⁴⁹⁰ Joseph P. Clancy, *The Earliest Welsh Poetry*, pp. 31-2. See also Meirion Pennar, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 101-106.

⁴⁹¹ *The Poems of Taliesin*, Ifor Williams., p. 12.

⁴⁹² Meirion Pennar, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 107-112.

⁴⁹³ *The Poems of Taliesin*, Ifor Williams., p. 14-15.

⁴⁹⁴ Meirion Pennar, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 113-119.

⁴⁹⁵ *Legendary Poems from the Book of Taliesin*, ed. and trans. by Marged Haycock (CMCS, 2013), pp. 94-7.

⁴⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 110-123.

⁴⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 295-9.

⁵⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 316-8.

⁵⁰² *Ibid.*

⁵⁰³ *Ibid.*, pp. 351-2.

⁵⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 390-4.

⁵⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 435-8.

⁵⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 505-507.

⁵¹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹¹ Ifor Williams, *The Beginnings of Welsh Poetry*, ed. by Rachel Bromwich (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1980), p. 162-6.

⁵¹² *Ibid.*

⁵¹³ *Armes Prydein O Lyfr Taliesin, gyda Rhagymadrodd a Nodiadau gan Ifor Williams* (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1955), p. 1-7.

⁵¹⁴ *The Book of Taliesin, Poems of Warfare and Praise in an Enchanted Britain*, trans. by Gwyneth Lewis and Rowan Williams, (Penguin Classics, 2019), pp. 121-128.

⁵¹⁵ Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry*, pp. 448-452.

⁵¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 497-9. See also Richard Sharpe, 'Claf Abercuawg and the Voice of Llywarch Hen', *Studia Celtica*, XXIII (2009), 95-121.

Kyntaw Geir - KG	RBH	Jenny Rowland ⁵¹⁷	Jenny Rowland ⁵¹⁸
Llym awel - LA	BBC	Jenny Rowland ⁵¹⁹	Jenny Rowland ⁵²⁰
Geraint fab Erbin - GfE	RBH/BBC	Jenny Rowland ⁵²¹	Jenny Rowland ⁵²²
Gwyn ap Nudd - GaN	BBC	Jenny Rowland ⁵²³	Jenny Rowland ⁵²⁴
Mi a wum - Maw	BBC	Jenny Rowland ⁵²⁵	Jenny Rowland ⁵²⁶
Taliesin ac Ugnach - TaU	BBC	Jenny Rowland ⁵²⁷	Jenny Rowland ⁵²⁸
Seithenin - S	BBC	Jenny Rowland ⁵²⁹	Jenny Rowland ⁵³⁰
Gwallawg - G	BBC	Jenny Rowland ⁵³¹	Jenny Rowland ⁵³²
Ysgolan - Y	BBC	Jenny Rowland ⁵³³	Jenny Rowland ⁵³⁴
Eiry Mynydd – EM	RBH	Nicholas Jacobs ⁵³⁵	Joseph P. Clancy ⁵³⁶
Pais Dinogad - PA	BA	A.O.H. Jarman ⁵³⁷	A.O.H. Jarman ⁵³⁸
Oianau - O	BBC		W. Forbes Skene ⁵³⁹
Cyfoesi Myrddin a Gwendydd ei chwaer - CMG	RBH		W. Forbes Skene ⁵⁴⁰

The Methodology

Defining the Corpus

The Corpus consists of a representative selection of poems in Middle Welsh⁵⁴¹ belonging to the *Cynfeirdd* period generally thought to have been written, at least in part, before 1100, all of which

⁵¹⁷ Jenny Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry*, pp. 452-3.

⁵¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 499-500.

⁵¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 454-7.

⁵²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 501-3.

⁵²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 457-61.

⁵²² *Ibid.*, pp. 504-5.

⁵²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 461-2.

⁵²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 506-7.

⁵²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 462.

⁵²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 507.

⁵²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 463-4.

⁵²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 507-8.

⁵²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 464-5.

⁵³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 508-9.

⁵³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 465.

⁵³² *Ibid.*, p. 509.

⁵³³ *Ibid.*

⁵³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 510.

⁵³⁵ *Early Welsh Gnostic and Nature Poetry*, ed. by Nicholas Jacobs, (MHRA, 2012).

⁵³⁶ Joseph P. Clancy, *The Earliest Welsh Poetry*, pp. 99-102.

⁵³⁷ *Aneirin, Y Gododdin*, ed. and trans. by A.O.H. Jarman, p. 68.

⁵³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

⁵³⁹ William Forbes Skene (trans.), *The Four Ancient Books of Wales*, Vol. I, *The Epic Poems attributed to the bards of the Sixth Century*, (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1868, reprinted by Hardpress, 2019), pp. 482-490.

⁵⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 462-478.

⁵⁴¹ The English translations used are generally those found in the most recent scholarly editions of the poems, listed in the Bibliography, except where otherwise indicated. The Welsh texts of the poems are to be found in

contain at least one reference to an animal. The poems have been divided into four groups. For an explanation of the basis for this division, see the Introductory remarks to Part II, the Poems.

Identifying the animals

Only real biological animals are covered by this study. The animals are divided into broad categories based primarily on their relationships with human beings: horses as animals bred and ridden by humans; beasts associated with battle; domesticated animals; the hunt; and animals and birds in the wild. A Glossary of animal terms contained in the Corpus is provided in Appendix II. Statistical charts have been generated showing the relative numbers of references to different animals in the different groups of poems.

Classifying the references

A Conspectus of animal references in the Corpus, based on published editions and translations, is provided in Appendix III. As a conceptual framework for the analysis of the references, a system of tags has been devised. They are divided into three sets. The first, which concerns the relationships between man and animals, broadly reflects the categories of animals addressed in Part I. The second set of tags is intended to identify the emotional charge or poetic intent conveyed by reference to an animal in a poem. The third set indicates the animal's gender, where determinable. These tags are found the Conspectus in Appendix III. For details of the tags and their definitions, see Appendix III. Charts have also been generated for the first and second sets. No statistics have been generated for gender as the data is incomplete.

various editions that are listed in the Bibliography under primary sources. A summary table of the Corpus is provided in Appendix II.

II GLOSSARY OF ANIMAL NAMES AND RELATED TERMS FOUND IN THE CORPUS

A Generic words for animal

Welsh Word	English translation	Poems
Gelew (Celew)	Lion, eagle, wild beast?	<i>Y Gododdin</i>
Mil (lenited =vil), (pl. milynn)	Animal, creature (animal not usual consumed by man, GPC)	<i>Preiddeu Annwn</i> <i>Marwnad Cynddylan</i>
Balaon pl. (sing. belau, bela, bali)	Wild beasts, predatory beasts (See C Wolves, etc. below).	<i>Armes Prydein</i>

B Horses⁵⁴²

Y Gododdin, *Englynion y Beddau*, *Dynfal Frych*, *Gorchan Tudfwlch*, *Gorchan Cynddylan*, *Marwnad Cynddylan*, *Englynion Caswallon*

Welsh word	English translation	Poems
Pedrain (see Bedrain)	Horse's crupper	<i>Y Gododdin</i>
Breichir	Long-legged (horse)	<i>Y Gododdin</i>
Cad feirch Cadfarchog	War horse Battle horseman	<i>Y Gododdin</i> <i>Y Gododdin</i>
Cafall	Horse, steed	<i>Y Gododdin</i>
Ceinion (pl. of can)	White horses	<i>Y Gododdin</i>
Cochre	Sorrel	<i>Y Gododdin</i>
Eddystr, pl. eddystrawr	Horse, steed, colt	<i>Y Gododdin</i>
Erchlas	Dapple-grey	<i>Y Gododdin</i>
Farch (see March) Farchog (see Marchog)	Horse Horseman	<i>Y Gododdin</i> <i>Y Gododdin</i>
Feiniell (see Meiniell)	Slender bay or chestnut horse	<i>Y Gododdin</i>
Freichir (see Breichir)	Long-legged (horse)	<i>Y Gododdin</i>
	Swift horses	<i>Y Gododdin</i>
Ffysgiolin	Spirited (steed)	<i>Y Gododdin</i>
Gad feirch (see Cad feirch)	War horse	<i>Y Gododdin</i>
Gafall (see Cafall)	Horse, steed	<i>Y Gododdin</i>
Gorwydd Gorwyddawr [G]orwyddan Goruytaur	Horse, steed Horselike	<i>Y Gododdin</i> <i>Y Gododdin</i> <i>Y Gododdin</i> <i>Englynion y Beddau</i>
Graddforion	Long-striding (horses)	<i>Gorchan Cynddylan</i>
Gweilwion	Grey horses	<i>Y Gododdin</i>
Llemenig	Leaping (horse)	<i>Y Gododdin</i>
Llwybrdew	Wide-tracked (horse)	
March, pl. meirch	Horse, stallion	<i>Y Gododdin</i> <i>Englynion y Beddau</i> <i>Marwnad Cynddylan</i>
Pedwar vgeinmeirch	Eighty horses	
Marchawg, Marchog	Horseman	<i>Y Gododdin</i>

⁵⁴² In view of the number of different words for horses, they have been separated into tables by group of poems.

Main fuan (unlenited = buan)	Slender swift (horse)	<i>Y Gododdin</i>
Meinllywyd	Slender grey (horse)	<i>Y Gododdin</i>
Meiniell	Slender bay or chestnut horse	<i>Y Gododdin</i>
Meirch mel	War horses	<i>Englynion y Beddau</i>
Meirch cann	White horses	<i>Englynion y Beddau</i>
Mythfarch	Swift horse	<i>Y Gododdin</i>
Orwydd (see Gorwydd)	Horse, Steed	<i>Y Gododdin</i>
Pedrain	Horse's crupper	<i>Y Gododdin</i>
Rawn rhyn	Rough-hair(ed) (horses)	<i>Y Gododdin</i>

Saga Englynion

Welsh word	English translation	Poems
Gorwyd Goruit Uorduit	Horse, steed	<i>Canu Llywarch Hen</i>
March, pl. meirch	Horse, stallion	<i>Canu Llywarch Hen</i> <i>Canu Heledd</i>
March glas	Unbroken horse	<i>Canu Llywarch Hen</i>
Marchawg Marchawc	Horseman	<i>Canu Llywarch Hen</i> <i>Canu Urien</i>

Praise Poems from the Book of Taliesin

Welsh word	English translation	Poems
Gorwyd, gworwyd	Horse, steed	<i>I Trawsganu Kynan Garwyn mab Brochfael</i>
Gogyueirch	Big horse	<i>Yspeil Taliessin</i>
Gorwyd ffysciolin	Spirited horse	<i>Yspeil Taliessin</i>
Kaffon	Horses	<i>Arwyre gwyr katraeth</i>
March Meirch	Horse Horses	<i>Ar vn blyned</i> <i>Marwnat Owein</i> <i>Gwallawc - 2</i>
March myth	Swift horse	<i>Yspeil Taliessin</i>
Twrwf pystylat, pystylat twrwf	Stamping (of horses)	<i>Er gorffowys</i>
Veirch (see Meirch)	Horses	<i>Marwnat Owein</i>

Other Poems from the Book of Taliesin

Welsh name	English name	Poems
Amws	Stud horse	<i>Angar kyfundawt</i>
Anuynudawl (mod. Welsh anfuynudol)	Wild, unbroken horse	<i>Canu Meirch</i>
Atcor	Plough-team	<i>Canu Meirch</i>
Carnaflawg	Cloven-hooved	<i>Canu Meirch</i>
Edystyr	Destrier, war-horse	<i>Aduwyneu Taliessin</i>
Ewynawc	Foaming (steed)	<i>Canu Meirch</i>
Ewynawc marchogaeth	Riding on a foaming (steed)	<i>Aduwyneu Taliessin</i>
Gorwyd llemenic	Leaping steed	<i>Canu Meirch</i>
Gorwydawt	Horses	<i>Kadeir Kerritven</i>
Gostrodur	Under saddle, harnessed	<i>Kadeir Teynon</i>
March, pl. meirch	Horse, pl horses	<i>Canu Meirch</i> <i>Aduwyneu Taliessin</i>

March lletuegin	Domesticated animal, well-nurtured, fattened	<i>Canu Meirch</i>
Meirch gvelv	Light-grey or pale horses	<i>Kadeir Teyrnnon</i>

Miscellany of other Early Welsh poems

Welsh Word	English Translation	Poems
Can Can(n)	White horse White horse	<i>Llym Awel</i> <i>Gwyn ap Nudd</i>
Goruit Uorduit	Horse, steed	<i>Kyntaw geir</i> <i>Gereint fab Erbin</i> <i>Llym Awel</i>
Gwineu Gwinev	Bay, chestnut (horse)	<i>Kyntaw Geir</i> <i>Seithennin</i>
Kifvri (mod. Welsh cyfrwy)	Saddle	<i>Oianau</i>
March, pl. meirch	Horse, horses	<i>Llym Awel</i> <i>Gwyn ap Nudd</i> <i>Ysgolan</i> <i>Armes Prydein</i>
Marchawg	Horseman	<i>Taliesin ac Ugnach</i>
Meirch can (see also Can)	White horse	<i>Gereint fab Erbin</i>
Ysgynnu / disgynnu	Mounting / Dismounting	<i>Eiry mynyd</i>

C Wolves, Foxes, Lynxes, Wildcats

Welsh word	English translation	Poems
Balaon (sing. belau, bela, bali)	Wild beasts, wolves, martens, polecats	<i>Armes Prydein</i>
Balaod (see Balaon)	Martens	<i>Pais Dinogad</i>
Blaidd Bleid, pl bleidawr	Wolf, wolves	<i>Y Gododdin</i> <i>Canu Urien</i> <i>Canu Heledd</i> <i>Preideu Annwn</i> <i>Aduwyneu Taliessin</i>
Cad fleiddiau	Wolves of war	<i>Gorchan Cyndfelyn</i>
Cun Cnut	(Pack of) dogs or wolves Pack of dogs or wolves	<i>Ardwyre reget</i> <i>Marwnat Owein</i>
Gauel bleid	Wolf's grasp	<i>Cyfoesi Myrddin a Gwendydd</i>
Gwyddgi, pl gywddgwn	Wild dog, wolf, fox jackal	<i>Y Gododdin</i> <i>Yspeil Taliessin</i>
Kath penurith	Speckled-headed cat, wild cat?	<i>Canu y Meirch</i>
Llewyn a llwynain	Lynx and fox	<i>Pais Dinogad</i>
Vch	Fox?	<i>Ar vn blyned</i>

D Lions

Welsh word	English translation	Poems
Lew LLew Lleuon	Lion Lions	<i>Y Gododdin</i> <i>Pais Dinogad</i> <i>Canu Heledd</i> <i>Englynion Cadwallon</i> <i>Cyfoesi Myrddin ac Gwendydd</i>

E Bears

Welsh word	English translation	Poems
Arth	Bear	<i>Y Gododdin</i> <i>Armes Prydein</i>

F Snakes

Welsh word	English translation	Poems
Neidr, pl nadredd	Snake	<i>Gorchan Tudfwlch</i>
Sarff, pl. sarffen	Snake, serpent	<i>Y Gododdin</i> <i>Ardwyre reget</i> <i>Oianau</i>

G Ravens

Welsh word	English translation	Poems
Brân, pl. brain, vrein, brein	Raven, ravens, crows	<i>Y Gododdin</i> <i>Kyntaw Geir</i> <i>Gereint fab Erbin</i> <i>Mi a wum</i> <i>Gweith Argoet Llwyfein</i> <i>Gwallawc</i> <i>Marwnat Uthyr Pen</i> <i>Eiry Mynydd</i>
Brain du Vrain du	Black ravens	<i>Y Gododdin</i> <i>Canu Urien</i> <i>Dyfnwal Frych</i> <i>Angar Kyfundawt</i>
Brein garthan	Carrion (lit. battle) crows	<i>Mi a wum</i>

H Eagles

Welsh word	English translation	Poems
Eryr, pl. eryron	Eagle, eagles Osprey, ospreys (sea eagles)	<i>Y Gododdin</i> <i>Canu Llwyarch Hen</i> <i>Canu Urien</i> <i>Canu Heledd</i> <i>Engyl'nion Cadwallon</i> <i>Yspeil Taliessin</i> <i>Marwnad Uther Pen</i> <i>Etmic Dinbych</i> <i>Aduwyneu Taliessin</i>
Eryron brith	Speckled eagles	<i>Gereint fab Erbin</i>
Eryr brwydrin	Fierce eagle	<i>Y Gododdin</i>
Eryron coch	Red eagles	<i>Gereint fab Erbin</i>
Eryron du	Black eagles	<i>Gereint fab Erbin</i>
Eryron glew	Bold eagles	<i>Gereint fab Erbin</i>
Eryron glas	Blue-grey eagles	<i>Gereint fab Erbin</i>
Eryron gwynn	White eagles	<i>Gereint fab Erbin</i>
Eryron llwyd Eryron llywt	Grey eagles	<i>Y Gododdin</i> <i>Gereint fab Erbin</i>
Eryr (penngwern) penngarn llwyd	Grey-crested eagle (of Pengwern)	<i>Canu Heledd</i>
Eryr tith tirion	Eagle of graceful movement	<i>Y Gododdin</i>

Gauael eryr	(of the) eagle's grasp	<i>Canu Urien</i>
Rhuthr eryron Ruthyr eryr	Swoop of eagles Rushing of an eagle	<i>Y Gododdin</i> <i>Canu Llywarch Hen, Marwnad Gwên</i>
Ruthur eryron		<i>Gereint fab Erbin</i>

I Birds of prey

Welsh word	English translation	Poems
Etneint (mod. Welsh ednain(t), Pl of ednan or edn)	Birds of prey	<i>Englynion Cadwallon</i> <i>Etmic Dinbych</i>
Hebawc	Hawk	<i>Canu Urien</i> <i>Canu Heledd</i> <i>Claf Abercuawg</i>
Wytheint (mod. Welsh wythaint)	Birds of prey	<i>Kadeir Kerrituen</i>
Ysglyf, sglyfon	Bird of prey, birds of prey	<i>Y Gododdin</i>

J Other Birds

Welsh word	English translation	Poems
Adaren, pl. adar	Bird, birds	<i>Y Gododdin (ref. to ravens)</i> <i>Englynion Cadwallon</i>
Adar	(Song) birds	<i>Can Llywarch Hen</i> <i>Claf Abercuawg</i>
Alarch, pl. eleirch Lliw eleirch Alarch gwyn	Swan, swans Swan coloured White swan	<i>Llym Awel</i> <i>Y Gododdin</i> <i>Angar Kyfundawt</i>
Breith bron	Thrush	<i>Llym Awel</i>
Coc, pl. cogeu	Cuckoo, cuckoos	<i>Claf Abercuawg</i> <i>Angar Kyfundawt</i>
Garan	Crane	<i>Canu Meirch</i>
(Pen) grugiar fraith	Speckled grouse	<i>Pais Dinogad</i>
Guilan Gwylein	Seagull Seagulls	<i>Llym Awel</i> <i>Aduwyneu Taliessin</i> <i>Llym Awel</i>
Penurith	Godwit	<i>Canu Meirch</i>

K Fowl

Welsh word	English translation	Poems
Guit	Goose	<i>Gwallawg</i>
Keilyawc	Cockerel	<i>Angar Kyfundawt</i>
Kywen	Chicks	<i>Canu Urien</i>
Yar, pl. ieir	Hen, hens	<i>Angar Kyfundawt</i> <i>Eiry Mynydd</i>

L Boars and pigs

Welsh word	English translation	Poems
Baedd	Boar	<i>Y Gododdin</i>
Banhoch	Pig, boar	<i>Canu y Meirch</i>
Banw	Young animal, piglet	<i>Canu y Meirch</i>
Gwythhwch	Wild pig, boar	<i>Englynion y Beddau</i> <i>Canu Heledd</i>
Hwch	Wild pig Sow	<i>Canu Urien, Aelwyd Rheged</i> <i>Canu y Meirch</i>

Knyw	Young animal, piglet or boar	<i>Canu Heledd</i>
Moch	Pig (domestic)	<i>Canu Llywarch Hen, Gwahodd Llywarch I Lanfawr Angar Kyfundawt</i>
Parchell, Parchellan	Pig, piglet	<i>Oianau</i>
Twrch Tyrch	Boar	<i>Y Gododdin Canu Heledd</i>

M Cattle, bulls, oxen

Welsh word	English translation	Poems
Alaf	(cattle) herds	<i>Y Gododdin Claf Abercuawg</i>
Biw Biv Biew	Cattle	<i>Y Gododdin Ar vn blyned Llym Awel I Trawsganu Kynan Garwyn mab Brochfael</i>
Biew blith (pl)	Milch cows	<i>Ar vn blyned</i>
Buch	Cow	<i>Canu Heledd</i>
Darwerther tewued	Sell fatted (cows)	<i>Gollawc 2</i>
Eidyonyd (pl)	Oxen	<i>Canu Urien</i>
Gwertheg	Cattle	<i>Canu Heledd Aduwyneu Taliessin</i>
Gwartec		
Gwarthegydd Warthegydd	Cattle reaver Cattle owner, drover	<i>Canu Heledd Armes Prydein</i>
Llo, pl. lloe	Calf, calves	<i>Canu Llywarch Hen Aduwyneu Taliessin</i>
Tarw	Bull	<i>Y Gododdin Gorchan Tudfwlch Angar Kyfundawt</i>
Tarw byddin	Bull of an army	<i>Y Gododdin</i>
Tarw trin, tarv trin	Bull of combat, battle	<i>Y Gododdin Englynion y Beddau Enwev meibon llywarch hen Gwyn ap Nudd</i>
Tarv torment	Bull of battle	<i>Englynion y Beddau</i>
Ych, Ychen	Ox, Oxen	<i>Y Gododdin Canu Heledd Ar vn blyned</i>
Ych (eurdochawr) Ych Brych	(Gold-torqued) ox Brindled Ox	<i>Y Gododdin Preideu Annwn</i>

N Goats

Welsh word	English translation	Poems
Croenen gauyr	Goat skin	<i>Canu Heledd</i>
Llill, pl. llillen	She-goat, kid	<i>Canu Heledd</i>
Myn	Goat kid	<i>Angar Kyfundawt</i>

O Sheep

Welsh word	English translation	Poems
Deueit	Sheep	<i>Marwnat Owein</i>

P Dogs/hounds

Welsh word	English translation	Poems
Aergwn	War hounds	<i>Y Gododdin</i>
Airgi	Battle hound	<i>Canu Heledd</i>
(Canav), canavon Keneu Cheneu Chenau Colwyn	Cubs, whelps	<i>Englynion y Beddau</i> <i>Canu Heledd</i> <i>Gweith Argoet Llwyfein</i> <i>Yspeil Taliessin</i> <i>Angar Kyfundawt</i> <i>Cyfoesi Myrddin ac Gwendydd</i>
(Ci), pl. cŵn Ki Orev or cvn Cwn Cŵn	Dog, hound; dogs, hounds The best of hounds Dogs	<i>Y Gododdin</i> <i>Canu Urien (Aelwyd Rheged)</i> <i>Gwyn ap Nudd</i> <i>Angar Kyfundawt</i> <i>Gwyn ap Nudd</i> <i>Claf Abercuawg</i> <i>Pais Dinogad</i>
Cunin cor	Pack (lit. choir) of dogs (whelps?)	<i>Preideu Annwn</i>
Cun gwinion	White hounds	<i>Gwyn ap Nudd</i>
Cvn cyfruy	Cunning hounds	<i>Oianau</i>
Cwn cyfarth	Baying hounds	<i>Y Gododdin</i>
Erwis (Erchwys)	Pack of hounds, greyhounds	<i>Oianau</i>
Gatgi	Battle hound	<i>Y Gododdin</i>
Milgi	Hunting hound	<i>Canu Heledd</i>
Lithyawc cun	Ravens (flesh-fed) dogs, wolves	<i>Ardwyre reget</i>
Trychwn	Three hounds	<i>Y Gododdin</i>
(Dornach) truinrut	Red-nosed (Dornach)	<i>Gwyn ap Nudd</i>

Q Stag/deer/roe-buck

Welsh word	English translation	Poems
Alan	(Young) deer	<i>Y Gododdin</i>
Bwch	Buck, roe-deer (also he-goat, male rabbit or hare)	<i>Y Gododdin</i> <i>Canu Meirch</i> <i>Angar Kyfundawt</i>
Buch		
Carv Caru	Stag	<i>Llym Awel</i> <i>Llym Awel</i>
Cellëig Cellëig ffaw	Of a stag, staglike Celebrated stag, Reputation of a stag	<i>Y Gododdin</i>
Lliew cellëic	Stag-coloured (horse)	<i>Canu Meirch</i>
Eilion	Deer, stag	<i>Eiry Mynydd</i>
Ewic ac elein	Doe and hind	<i>Aduwyneu Taliessin</i>
Hit (mod. Welsh hydd) Hyd Hydd	Stag	<i>Cân yr Henwr</i> <i>Llym Awel</i> <i>Yspeil Taliessin</i> <i>Angar Kyfundawt</i> <i>Pais Dinogad</i> <i>Eiry Mynydd</i>

(Pen) iwrch, Iwrch, wrchwyn	Roebuck	<i>Pais Dinogad</i> <i>Angar Kyfundawt</i> <i>Eiry Mynydd</i>
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R Bees

Welsh word	English translation	Poems
Gvenin Gwenyn	Bees	<i>Llym Awel</i> <i>Eiry Mynydd</i>
Heit (mod. Welsh haid) Heit heb uodrydaf	Swarm (of bees) A swarm without a queen	<i>Canu Llywarch Hen</i> <i>Canu Llywarch Hen</i> <i>Armes Prydein</i>

S Fish

Welsh word	English translation	Poems
Glas gleissat	Blue salmon	<i>Angar Kyfundawt</i>
Pegor (...) dan vor	Creatures under the sea	<i>Angar Kyfundawt</i>
Pysg, Pyscodyn, Pl. pyscawt Pisscaud	Fish	<i>Pais Dinogad</i> <i>Canu Heledd</i> <i>Llym Awel</i> <i>Aduwyneu Taliessin</i> <i>Angar Kyfundawt</i> <i>Eiry Mynydd</i>
Pryued	Seaworm	<i>Ysgolan</i>

T Rodents

Welsh word	English translation	Poems
LLic (mod. Welsh llyg)	Shrew	<i>Canu Urien</i>

Welsh word	English translation	Poems
Rhonin	Hairy slug, caterpillar? <i>The modern word 'rhonion' means 'maggot'.</i>	<i>Y Gododdin</i>

III CONSPECTUS OF ANIMAL REFERENCES IN THE CORPUS

Tags used to classify references:

Tags Set 1 Relationship between man and animal	Tags Set 2 Poetic intention	Tags Set 3: Gender of animal where determinable
AH = Animal husbandry	B = Boasting	M= male
BB = Beasts of Battle	I = Insight	F= female
C = Companionship	L = Lamentation, nostalgia, elegiac sentiment	
E = Equestrianism	P = Praise	
H= Hunting	U= Unpraise, satire, cursing	
MH = Master and Hound		
N = Nature		
R = Horse Raiding		
S= Shapeshifting		
WS = Warrior Simile		

These are defined as follows:

Set 1

Relationship between man and animal

Tag	Definition
Animal husbandry (AH)	A reference to a domestic animal in connection with farming and land use. ⁵⁴³
Beasts of Battle (BB):	A reference to one, two or all three of the trio of wolf, raven and eagle as carrion birds feeding on the corpses of warriors.
Companionship (C)	A reference to an animal as a companion or pet to a human.
Equestrianism (E)	A reference to horses being bred and/or ridden for riding, especially by knights/warriors.
Hunting (H)	A reference to hunting of wild game animals and birds or to fishing. The reference may be to animals as helpers or as prey.
Master and Hound (MH)	A reference to the relationship between a master and his hound(s).
Nature (N)	A reference to wild animals or birds in their natural habitat in a context unrelated to battle or agriculture. ⁵⁴⁴
Raiding (R)	A reference to raiding of cattle or horses by a group of warriors or marauders.
Shape-shifting (S)	a reference to transformation of a person into an animal or vice versa.
Warrior Simile (WS)	Identification of a warrior with an animal.

⁵⁴³ Stockbreeding of horses is included here despite differences in social context and connotation.

⁵⁴⁴ References to animals in their habitat may be conceptualised as prey for hunters even when there is no explicit reference to that effect.

Set 2

Poetic Intention

Tag	Definition
Boasting (B)	A reference to an animal for the purposes of self-praise, expression of self-satisfaction or satisfaction with one's position or possessions, in the first person.
Insight (I)	An insight, possibly of a religious or prophetic nature, sometimes implicit and sometimes in the form of an adage, linked to the animal world.
Lamentation (L)	A reference to an animal in a context where the poet or a persona is expressing an elegiac sentiment (sorrow, regret, nostalgia) for something or someone lost.
Praise (P):	A reference to an animal or bird by a poet or a persona to express praise for a patron or a warrior. Praise may be indirect, through descriptions of damage done to enemies or their land. Where a person is compared to an animal by means of a word such as 'like', this is referred to as Praise by Comparison (PC); where the poet refers to a person as an animal in order to praise him, this is tagged as Praise by Identification (PID).
Unpraise (U)	A reference to a person as an animal or comparing a person to an animal by a poet or persona when disparaging, satirising or cursing a person.

Set 3

Gender

Tag	Definition
Male (M)	An animal that is male by virtue of the word used (a term specific to or generally used for male animals) or identification of the animal with a male individual.
Female (F)	An animal that is female by virtue of the word used (a word specific to female animals) or a reference to specifically female activities such as suckling young.

I References to Animals in Y Gododdin, the Gorchanau, the Englynion y Beddau, Marwnat Cynddylan and the Englynion Cadwallon

Y Gododdin

Animal	Welsh text ⁵⁴⁵	English translation ⁵⁴⁶	Tags ⁵⁴⁷		
			1	2	3
Horses	‘Meirch mwth myngfras <i>O dan forddwyd mygrwas;</i> <i>Ysgwyd ysgafn lydan</i> Ar bedrain main fuan.’ Lines 13-16	Swift long-maned steeds Under the thigh of a handsome youth; A light broad shield On a slender fleet horse’s crupper. (Ywain son of Marro)	E	P	M
	<i>‘Blaen, aur a phorffor cainasmygai,</i> <i>Blaen, eddystrawr pasg a’i gwaredai,</i> <i>Wrth lef agerw, bryd a’u derllyddai.’</i> Lines 155-7	Blaen delighted in gold and purple clothing; Blaen, well-fed horses ran under him At the sound of battle: his high intent merited them.’	E	P	
	‘Tri chadfarchog <i>Eidyn euruchog,</i> <i>Tri llu llurugog,</i> <i>Tri aur deyrn dorchog,</i> Tri marchog <i>dywal,</i> <i>Tri chadgyhafal,</i> <i>Tri chyfnaid cyfnar,</i> <i>Chwerw ffysgynt esgar.’</i> Lines 192-199	‘Three battle horsemen From Eidyn of the goldsmiths, Three mail-clad hosts, Three gold-torqued kings, Three fierce horsemen, Three battle-peers Three leaping together, coequal, Harshly they routed the enemy.’ (Cynri and Cynon and Cynrain of Aeron)	E	P	
	<i>‘Ardwyai can ŵr arwr mynawg,</i> <i>Anfonawg eisyllud, alltud</i> farchawg, <i>Un maban i Gian o dra Bannawg.’</i> Lines 258-60	‘The princely hero protected a hundred men, Of noble nature, a foreign horseman, Cian’s only son from beyond Bannog.’ (Llif)	E	P	
	<i>‘Arwr ardwy ysgwyd o dan ei dalfrith</i> <i>Ac ail tith orwyddan,</i> <i>Bu trydar an aefre, bu tân</i> <i>Bu bwyd i frain, bu fudd i frân’</i> Lines 268-71	‘Hero of the protective shield below his grey forehead In movement like a horse, He was a tumult on the battle-slope, he was a fire, His spears were swift, he was radiant,	E	P	M

⁵⁴⁵ Animal names and related terms included in the Glossary appear in bold.

⁵⁴⁶ The translation is by A.O.H. Jarman.

⁵⁴⁷ For the definitions of the tags, see first section of Appendix III.

		He was food for ravens, he was benefit to the crow' (Buddfan son of Bleiddfan)			
	<i>'Bu gwir mal amceuddai Gadlew, Ni ddeliis meirch neb Marchlew. Heesid waywawr yng nglyw I ar llemenig llwybrdew. Cyn ni faged am fyn, am borth, Dywal ei gleddyfal yn ei orth. Heesid onn o bedryollt ei law I ar feiniell fygedorth.'</i> Lines 291-4	<i>'It was true as Cadlew spoke, No one's horses overtook Marchlew. He cast spears in battle From a bounding, wide-tracked charger. Although his rearing was not without burdens, with suffering, His sword-stroke was fierce in his battle-station. He threw spears from the grasp of his hand From his steaming slender bay horse.'</i>	E	P	M
	<i>'Gwŷr a aeth Gatraeth yng nhgad, yng ngawr, Nerth meirch a gwrmseirch ac ysgwydawr, Peleidr ar gychwyn a llym waywawr, A llurugau clauer a chleddyfawr.'</i> Lines 356-360	<i>'Warriors went to Catraeth, embattled, with a cry, A host of horsemen in dark-blue armour, with shields, Spear-shafts held aloft with sharp points, And shining mail-shirts and swords.'</i> (Rhufon Hir)	E	P	M
	<i>'Ffêr ei law, fflaglai ffowys farchog, Glew dias, dinas i lu ofnog.'</i> Lines 376-9	<i>'With mighty hand he set fire to the fleeing horseman, Undaunted in the strife, he was a refuge for a timorous host.'</i> (the son of Fferog)	E	P	
	<i>'Rhaglym ei waywawr, Calchdrai, tyllai fuddinawr, Rhagfuan ei feirch, rhagrygiawr.'</i> Lines 388-90	<i>'Sharp-pointed were his spears, With shattered shield he tore through armies, His horses swift, racing forward.'</i> (Cynon)	E	P	M
	<i>'Adderchog farchog rhag Gododdin, Eithinyn, mur graid, tarw trin.'</i> Lines 410-11	<i>'A magnificent horseman before the Gododdin, The celebrated Eithinyn, wall of battle, bull of combat.'</i>	E	P	
	<i>'A'n deliid cynllwyd i ar gynhorawr, Gorwydd gwareus, rhith rhyn, ych eurdochawr'</i> Line 429	<i>'A grey-haired warrior, a gold- torqued ox, sustained us on his leading horse, spirited and erect.'</i> (Cadfannan)	WS E	PID	M
	<i>'Gnawd yn ei neuadd fythfeirch,</i> Line 499	<i>'In his hall there were wont to be swift horses, (Senyllt)</i>	E	P	M
	<i>'Ni mad ddodes morddwyd Ar freichir meinllywyd.'</i> Lines 518-19	<i>'Not fortunately did he lay his thigh</i>	E	P L	

		Across the long-legged slender grey.’ (Cynwal)			
	<i>Line 559-60</i> <i>‘Ac o dan Gadfannan cochre feirch, Marchog godrudd ym more.’</i> <i>Line 559-60</i>	‘And beneath Cadfannan there were sorrel steeds, Fierce horseman in the morning.’	E	P	M
	<i>‘Lledrud llewyr, A meirch a gwŷr, Rhag Gododdin.’</i> <i>Lines 580-2</i> <i>(See lines 794-5)</i>	‘Blood-stained were many, Both horses and men, Before the Gododdin.’ (Merin)	E	P	M
	<i>Lines 620-1</i> <i>‘Gwryd ardderchog, marchog mysgi, Rhuddfedel, rhyfel a eidduni.’</i> <i>Lines 620-1</i>	‘Excelling in courage, a horseman in the turmoil, A blood-shedding reaper, he longed for war. (Gwaednerth son of Llywri)	E	P	
	<i>‘Ar les Mynyddog, marchog maon, Ef dodes ei du ar wayw galon.’</i> <i>Lines 632-3</i> <i>(See lines 630-1, Eagles)</i>	‘For the sake of Mynyddog, horsemen of hosts, He set his side against the enemy’s spears.’	E	P	
	<i>‘Hu mynnai yng nghylch byd eidol anant Er aur a meirch mawr, a medd feddwaint’</i> <i>Lines 641-2</i>	‘He desired around him the praise of minstrels In return for gold and great horses and drunkenness on mead,’ (Cynddilig Aeron)	E	P	M
	<i>‘Perchen meirch a gwrmsseirch ac ysgwydawr iäen,’</i> <i>Line 688</i>	‘The possessor of horses and dark-blue armour and icy-hued shields’ (Ywain)	E	P	M
	<i>‘Mudyn geinion ar ei helw,’</i> <i>Line 714</i>	‘White horses neighed under his protection.’	E	P	
	<i>‘Gnisynt gweilwion ar ei helw,’</i> <i>Line 725</i>	‘Grey horses neighed under his protection.’	E	P	
	<i>‘I ar orwydd erchlas penwaddawr.’</i> <i>Line 742</i>	‘On a dapple-grey horse, arching its neck.’ (Morieid)	E	P	
	<i>‘Torred ergyr o feirch a gwŷr’</i> <i>Lines 794-5</i>	‘A host was broken of horses and men’	E	L	M
	<i>‘Rhagorai feirch rhagfuan yn nhrin,’</i> <i>Line 830</i>	‘He ran before swift horses in battle,’ (Eiddef)	E	P	M
	<i>‘Ei gad feirch a’i seirch greuled.’</i> <i>Line 840</i>	‘His war-horses and his blood-stained armour.’ (Gorthyn Hir, son of Urfai)	E	P	M

	<i>‘Ac ar Ryd Benclwyd pennawd oedd ei feirch,’</i> Line 860	<i>‘And at Rhyd Benclwyd his horses were in the forefront,’</i> (Gwair Hir)	E	P	M
	<i>‘Trychan meirch godrudd’.</i> Line 875	<i>‘Three hundred impetuous horses’</i>	E	P	M
	<i>‘Diriaid o seirch meirch yng nghynnor gawr Hëyn gwaywawr celyn creuddai.’</i> Line 889	<i>‘Conquerors from their horses’ saddles in the van of battle Would cast their blood-covered spears of holly.’</i> (Bleiddig son of Eli)	E	P	M
	<i>‘Ardeml meirch a seirch a serig ddillad,’</i> Line 901	<i>‘A multitude of horses and armour and silken clothing’</i> (Gwaednerth)	E	P	M
	<i>‘Gosgordd Gododdin i arrawn rhyn, Meirch eiliw eleirch a seirch gwehyn,’</i> Lines 903-4	<i>‘The war-band of Gododdin on rough-haired steeds, Swan-coloured horses, tightly harnessed’</i>	E	P	M
	<i>‘Browys meirch Cynon.’</i> Line 924	<i>‘Cynon’s steeds were spirited.’</i>	E	P	M
	<i>‘Oedd gyrrh, oedd cuall, Ar gefn ei gafall’</i> Lines 937-8	<i>‘He was hard, impetuous, Riding his steed’</i> (Heinith son of Nwythton)	E	P	
	<i>‘Gnawd i ar ffysgiolin amddiffyn Gododdin’</i> Line 947	<i>‘It was usual on a spirited horse to defend Gododdin’</i> (the son of Golystan)	E	P	
	<i>‘Goddolai o haid meirch y geaef.’</i> Line 970	<i>‘He gave gifts of horses from the herd in winter’</i> (Gwawrddur)	E	P	M
Wolf	<i>‘Caeog, cynhorog, blaidd am maran’</i> Line 49	<i>‘Wearing a brooch, in the forefront, a wolf in fury’</i> (Gwefrfawr son of Ysgyrran)	WS	PID	
	<i>‘Cynt i gig blaidd nogyd i neithiawr Cynt i fudd brân nogyd I allawr’</i> Line 62	<i>‘Quicker to a wolf-feast than to a nuptial Quicker to the raven’s gain than to the altar’</i> (Hyfaidd Hir)	BB	P	
	<i>‘Ef llithiai wyddgwn⁵⁴⁸ o’i angad:’</i> Line 330	<i>‘He fed the wolves by his hand:’</i> (Caradog)	BB	P	
	<i>‘A ddalwy mwng blaidd heb bren y ei law Gnawd gwychnawd yn ei len:’</i> Line 452	<i>‘He who holds a wolf’s mane without a spear in his hand has a bold spirit under his mantle:’</i> (Bradwen)	WS	P	
	<i>‘Staddal fleiddiad, blaidd cyman;’</i> Line 604	<i>‘Defending his position, the wolf of the host’</i>	WS	PID	

⁵⁴⁸ *gyddgi* is a wolf or a fox

Raven	<i>‘Cynt i fwyd brain Nog i argyfrain’</i> Lines 25-6	<i>‘Quicker to the raven’s feast Than to a burial’</i> (Ywain)	BB	P	
	<i>‘Cynt i fydd brân nogyd i allawr’</i> Line 63	<i>‘Quicker to the raven’s gain than to the altar’</i> (Hyfaidd Hir)	BB	P	
	<i>‘Bu bwyd i frain, bu budd l frân A chyn edewid yn rhydon, (...) Beirdd byd barnant wŷr o gallon.’</i> Line 272	<i>‘He was food for ravens, he was benefit to the crow, And before he was left at the fords, (...) The poets of the world judged him to be of manly heart.’</i> (Buddfan son of Bleiddfan)	BB	P?	
	<i>‘Ail Neddig nâr, Neus dug trwy fâr Gwledd i adar O drydar drin.’</i> Lines 570-3	<i>‘A lord worthy of Neddig, Through his fury he brought A feast for the birds From the uproar of battle.’</i> (Merin son of Mardian)	BB		
	<i>‘Gorochai brain du ar fur caer Cyn ni bai ef Arthur.’</i> Lines 971-2	<i>‘He fed black ravens on the rampart of a fortress Though he was no Arthur.’</i> (Gwawrddur)	BB	P	
	<i>‘Llithiesid adar ei adaf’</i> Line 975	<i>‘His hand fed the birds’ (Cibno son of Gwengad))</i>	BB	P	
Eagle	<i>‘Rhuthr eryr yn ebyr pan llithiwyd.’</i> Line 41	<i>‘The swoop of an eagle in the estuaries when fed.’ (Cadfannan)</i>	BB	PID	
	<i>‘Yng nghafarfod gwŷr, Bwyd i eryr erysmygai.’</i> Lines 214-15	<i>‘In the clash of armed men/he made food for eagles.’</i> (Cydywal son of Sywno)	BB	P	
	<i>‘Gan wlith, eryr tith tirion, Ac o du gwasgar gwanet tu bron,’</i> Line 274	<i>‘At dew-fall, the eagle of graceful movement Beside the wave’s spray near the hillside,’</i> (Budfann son of Bleiddfan)	BB	PID	
	<i>‘I am wŷr, eryr Gwyddien;’</i> Line 440	<i>‘For his warriors, Gwyddien was an eagle;’</i>	BB	PID	
	<i>‘Eryr brwydrin, trin tra chwardd.’</i> Line 509	<i>‘A fierce eagle, laughing in battle’</i> (Rhys?)	BB	PID	
	<i>‘Rhifesid ei loflen pen eryron llwyd; Yn annwyd gworeu bwyd i sglyfon.’</i> Line 630	<i>‘The beaks of grey eagles esteemed his hand; in his fury he fed birds of prey.’</i> (Cynon)	BB	P	
	<i>‘Diechyr eryr gwŷr gofaran,’</i> Line 828	<i>‘An invincible eagle of wrathful men,’</i>	WS	PID	
Boar	<i>‘Pan grysiat Garadog i gad, Mal baedd coed, trychwn drychiad,’</i>	<i>‘When Caradog charged into battle</i>	WS	PC	M

	Line 328	Like a wild boar, slayer of three warriors,’			
	‘ Twrch gorug amod ymlaen ystre ystrywiawr,’ Line 431	‘A boar pledged himself before the treacherous boundary’ (Cadfannan)	WS	PID	M
	Lines 848-850 ‘Ef gwenid a dan fab Urfai, Ef gwenid a dan dwrch trahaog, Un rhiaid a morwyn a mynog’. Lines 848-850	‘There would approach the son of Urfai, There would approach the arrogant boar, A lady and a maiden and a lord.’ (Gorthyn Hir)	WS	P	
	‘Baran baedd oedd Bleiddig mab Eli. Eryfesid gwn gwydrlestri llawn, Ac yn nydd camawn camp a wnëi I ar Arfwl Can; cyn no’i drengi Calanedd cochwedd a edewi.’ Lines 882-886	He drank the wine of brimming glass vessels, And in the day of conflict he performed feats Upon Arfwl Can; before he died He left blood-stained corpses behind him’	WS	PID	M
Bull/ox	‘ Tarw byddin yn nhrin gomyniad,’ Line 329	‘Bull of an army, a hewer in the fighting’ (Caradog)	WS	PID	M
	‘Hud effyd ei wryd i lwrw Elffin, Eithinyn folaid, mur graid, tarw trin .’ Lines 405-6	‘He pressed forward with courage, like Elffin, The celebrated Eithinyn, wall of battle, bull of combat.’	WS	PID	M
	‘Adderchog farchog rhag Gododdin, Eithinyn, mur graid, tarw trin .’ Lines 410-11	‘A magnificent horseman before the Gododdin, The celebrated Eithinyn, wall of battle, bull of combat.’	WS	PID	M
	‘A’n deliid cynllwyd i ar gynhorawr, Gorwydd gwareus, rthuth rhyn, y ch eurdochawr ’ Line 429	‘A grey-haired warrior, a gold-torqued ox, sustained us on his leading horse, spirited and erect.’ (Cadfannan)	WS	PID	M
	‘Safwy cadafwy Gwynedd, Tarw byddin, trais trin tēyrnedd’ Lines 707-8	‘The steadfast war-avid one of Gwynedd, Bull of an army, violent in the conflict of kings.’ (A man of Gwynedd, in Gwannon is his grave)	WS	PID	M
	‘Ni chiliws tarw trin led un erw, Traws ei achaws, llyfrddelw.’ Line 727	‘The bull of battle did not retreat an acre’s width, Harsh of purpose, agile in form.’ (Erf)	WS	PID	M
Hound/ Dog	‘Dwys, dengyn, ydd ymleddyn aergwn .’ Line 87	‘In close ranks, grimly, the war-hounds fought’. (Son of Cian from Maen Gwyngwn)	WS	PID	
	‘ Trychwn a thrychant,’ Lines 191 and 877	‘Three hounds and three hundred,’	MH		

	<i>'Ni ddiengis namyn tri o wrhydri ffosawd, Dau gatgi Aeron a Chynon daerawd A minnau o'm gwaetffrau gwerth fy ngwenwawd.'</i> Line 246	'Only three escaped through prowess in battle, The two battle-hounds of Aeron and Cynon returned, And I from my blood-shedding on account of my fair song.'	MH	P, L	
	<i>'Re cŵn cyfarth,'</i> Line 583	'Swift were the baying hounds,'	MH		
	<i>'Oedd ech eu tymyr trais ganaon.'</i> Line 636	'The whelps of violence were away from their lands'	WS	PID	M
Lion	<i>'Mor hael, baran llew, llwyr fwyaf Â Chynon, lary fron, addon decaf,'</i> Lines 41-2	'So noble with a lion's fury, widely faring As Cynon, generous hearted, of finest attributes.'	WS	P	M
	<i>'Tri gwaeth ffrawdd ffrawddus lew,'</i> Line 945	'Three times fiercer than a savage lion' (Bubon)	WS	PC	M
Bear	<i>Lines 158-9 'Blaen arwyre gawr. Biddfawr drai, Arth n llwrw, byth hwyr y techai.'</i>	158-9 'Blaen raised the battle-cry, gainful was his return, A bear in manner, ever reluctant to retreat.'	WS	PID	
	<i>'Arth arwynawl, Drwsiad dreisiawr, Sengi waywawr'</i> Lines 66-68	'A fearful bear, Violent defender, He would trample on spears' (Merin son of Madiain)	WS	P	
Snake	<i>'Sarff seri alon?'</i> Line 211	'A serpent on the enemies' path' (Cynon)	WS	PID	
	<i>'Sarff saffwy graen'</i> Line 588	'Serpent with the terrible sting' (Merin son of Madiain)	WS	PID	
Buck/ Stag/deer	<i>'Y mae dewr yn ei gell Yn cnoi angell Bwch, budd o'i law; Iddaw poed ymbell.'</i> Line 522	'The brave one is in his hut Gnawing the leg of a buck, a gain in his hand. For him it may be a rarity.' (Cynwal)	H	L ?	
	<i>Line 805-6 'Cu cystuddiwn, Cu caraswn, Cellëig ffaw.'</i> Line 805-6	'For a dear one I grieved, A dear one I had loved, A celebrated stag.' (Gereint)	WS	PID L	M
	<i>'Gnawd yn llwrw alan buan byddai,'</i> Line 949	'It was usual that on the track of a deer he was swift'	H	P	
Cattle	<i>'Disgynsid yn nhrwm rhag dwyrain alaf,'</i> Lines 412 and 425	'He attacked in battle before the cattle-herds of the eastlands,' (Cadfannan)	R	P	
	<i>'Ysgwydfriw rhag biw, Beli bloeddfawr,'</i>	'With shattered shield before the cattle, the vociferous Beli'	R	P	

	Line 427			
Slugs	'O dan droed rhonin. ' Line 473	'Beneath the feet of hairy slugs'		U?
Generic	'CynhebY Gododdini gelew: <i>erydmygaf.</i> Line 413'	'Like a wild beast: I honour him.'	WS	PID

Dyfnwal Frych

Animal	Welsh text	English translation ⁵⁴⁹	Tags ⁵⁵⁰		
			1	2	3
Ravens	<i>A phen Dyfnwal Frych brain a'i cnoyn.'</i> Line 996	'And the head of Domnall Brecc, ravens gnawed it.'	BB		

Gorchan Tudfwlch (selections)

Animal	Welsh text	English translation ⁵⁵¹	Tags ⁵⁵²		
			1	2	3
Bull	'Camhwrog darw <i>Carud dy farw</i> Lines 1032-3	'Heroic bull I mourn thy death'	WS	PID	M
Snake	<i>Pubell beleidr, Peifr pryd neidr O lwch nadredd, Gwelydd ydd wyd, Gwelyddon rwyd,</i> Lines 2023-5	'With spear-shaft eyes, Shining snake-like From the snakes' lair, A champion art thou, Ensnarer of champions,'	WS	PID	

Gorchan Cyntfelyn (Selections)

Animal	Welsh text	English translation ⁵⁵³	Tags ⁵⁵⁴		
			1	2	3
Horses	'Dyrrraith graddforion <i>O dan forddwyd haelon</i> Lines 1086-7	'Long-striding horses galloped Under the thighs of noble warriors'	E	P	
Carrion birds	'Goborthiad adar <i>ar ddynin adwyar</i> Lines 1084-5	Feeder of birds on bloody corpses'	BB	P	
Wolves	'Pan fyrwyd arfau <i>Tros ben cad fleiddiau</i> Lines 1108-9	'When weapons were hurled Over the heads of the wolves of war'	BB	PID	

Englynion y Beddau

Animal	Welsh text	English translation ⁵⁵⁵	Tags ⁵⁵⁶		
			1	2	3

⁵⁴⁹ The translation is by A.O.H. Jarman.

⁵⁵⁰ For the definitions of the tags, see first section of Appendix III.

⁵⁵¹ The translation is by A.O.H. Jarman.

⁵⁵² For the definitions of the tags, see first section of Appendix III.

⁵⁵³ The translation is by A.O.H. Jarman.

⁵⁵⁴ For the definitions of the tags, see first section of Appendix III.

⁵⁵⁵ The translation is by Thomas Jones. A new translation was published by J.K. Bollard in 2019.

⁵⁵⁶ For the definitions of the tags, see first section of Appendix III.

Horses	14 'Gyudi gurum a choch a chein a goruytaur maur minrein, In Llan Helet bet Owein.'	14 'After things blue and red and fair And great steeds with taut necks, At Llan Heledd is the grave of Owein.'	E	P L	
	15 'Gwydi gweli a gwaedlan a gviscav seirch, a meirch cann , neud ew hum bet Kintilan.'	15 'After wound and field of blood, And wearing harness, and white steeds, This is the grave of Cynddylan.'	E	P L	
	47 'Eitew ac Eidal, diessic alltudion kanavon cylchuy drei mekid meibon Meigen meirch mei. (mel?) '	47 'Eiddew and Eidal, sturdy exiles, Whelps with broken shields: Meigen's sons rear the horses of the fields.'	E	P L	
Hounds	47 'Eitew ac Eidal, diessic alltudion kanavon cylchuy drei'	47 'Eiddew and Eidal, sturdy exiles, Whelps with broken shields.'	WS	PID	M
Bulls	5 'Bet Keri cletifhir ygodir Hen Eglwys Yn y diffuis graende, tarv torment, ymynwent Corbre'.	5 'The grave of Ceri Long-sword is in the region of Hen Eglwys, on the gravelly hillside, bull of battle, in Corbre's churchyard.	WS	PID	M
	66 'Bet Lyvid lledneis ig Kemeis tir: kin boed hir tuw y eis, dygirchei tarv trin o treis.'	66 'The grave of Llwyd the gentle is in the land of Cemais: Though long was the growth of his ribs, The bull of battle attacked him violently.'	WS	L	M
	48 'Piev y bet in ar allt trav? Gelin y lauer y lav, Tarv trin, trugaret itav !	48 'Whose is the grave on the slope yonder? A foe to many was his hand, Bull of battle, mercy to him.	WS	PID	M
Boars	49 'Piev y bet hun ? [! nid aral gyuthuch urth ervid trath lathei chvartei vrthid.'	49 'Whose is this grave?... the frenzy of a wild boar under blows, whilst he slew thee he would smile at thee.'	WS	PID	M

Animal	Welsh text	English translation ⁵⁵⁸	Tags ⁵⁵⁹		
			1	3	3
Horses	<i>'Maured gymined mawr ysgafael y rhag Caer Luitcoed neus dug moriael Pymtheccant muhyn a phum gwriael pedwar vgeinmeirch a seirch cychafael'</i> MC Lines 53-5	'The greatness of swordplay – great booty – before Lichfield Morfael took it: fifteen hundred head of cattle and five? eighty horses, and harnesses besides.'	R	P B	
Ravens	<i>'rhag Caer Luitcoed neus dionsyn crau y dan frain a chrai gychwyn'</i> MC Lines 48-9	'Before Lichfield they caused it: Gore under ravens, and severe arising.'	BB	P	
Dogs	<i>'ni ellynt fyn nwyn brodir am bjuaid gwell ban vythin Canawon artir wras dinas degyn'</i> MaC Lines 46-7	'I had brothers – it was better while they were alive – Strong-handed whelps, a resolute protection.'	WS	PID L	M
Cattle and sheep	<i>'I drais a gollais gwir echassaw Rhiau Rhirid and Rhiadaw a rhigyfarch lary lu pob eithaw Dyrrynt eu preiddau a doleu taw Caith cwynynt brefynt grydynt alaw'</i> MC Lines 35-39	'I lost to violence most brave warriors: Rhiau, and Rhirid, and Rhiadaf, and Rhigyfarch the generous lord of the host, on every side of the army. They drove their flocks from the river-meadows of the Taf.	R	P	
2	<i>'Maured gymined mawr ysgafael y rhag Caer Luitcoed neus dug moriael Pymtheccant muhyn a phum gwriael pedwar vgeinmeirch a seirch cychafael'</i> MC Lines 53-5	The captured ones complained, cattle bellowed and lowed.' 'The greatness of swordplay – great booty – before Lichfield Morfael took it: fifteen hundred head of cattle and five? eighty horses, and harnesses ?besides.'	R	L	
Fish and animals generic	<i>Pob pysg a milyn yd fydd teccaw'</i> MC Line 35	'Every fish and animal is where it is the finest'	N	P?	

Animal	Welsh text	English translation ⁵⁶⁰	Tags ⁵⁶¹
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⁵⁵⁷ Ed. by Jenny Rowland in *Early Welsh Saga Poetry*, (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1990), pp. 174 – 179. See also pp. 122ff.

⁵⁵⁸ The translation is by Jenny Rowland.

⁵⁵⁹ For the definitions of the tags, see first section of Appendix III.

⁵⁶⁰ The translation is by Jenny Rowland.

⁵⁶¹ For the definitions of the tags, see first section of Appendix III.

			1	2	3
Birds of prey	<i>'lloegyr ar dres armes etneint'</i> EC s. 2	'England in affliction, tribulation from birds of prey'		L U	
Eagles	<i>'gwnaeth eryron yn llawn Gwedy trin dynineu dawn',</i> EC s. 14	'he made eagles full; After battle corpses were their reward.'	BB	P	
Lion	<i>'llew lluydawc y saesson',</i> EC s. 3	'A lion with hosts against the Saxons'	WS	PID	M
	<i>'llew lluosawc y werin',</i> EC s. 16	'A lion with numerous soldiers'	WS	PID	M

II References to Animals in the Saga *Englynion*

Canu Llywarch Hen - CLH

Animal	Welsh text	English translation ⁵⁶²	Tags ⁵⁶³		
			1	2	3
Horses	<i>'Mat dodes [m]ordwyt dros obell y orwyd'</i> CLH Pyll, s. 32	'Well did he put his thigh over the saddle of his steed'	E	P	
	<i>'Pan sauei yn drws pebyll y ar orwyd erewyll. ardelwei o wr wreic pyll.'</i> CLH Pyll, s. 34	'When he stopped before his tent on a splendid steed Pyll's wife owned she had a man.'	E	P	
	<i>'Nid oet vagaud meirch mechit.'</i> CLH Enwev meibon Llywarch Hen s. 7 (See LA s. 31.)	'The horses of Mechydd were not pampered.'	E	P	
	<i>'Meurygawg marchawg meuen'</i> <i>'Meurygawg marchawg maes'</i> CLH Gwahodd Llywarch i Lanfawr', s. 1,2 ⁵⁶⁴	'Horseman of the plain, like Meurig'	E		
	<i>A gereis .i. yr yn was yssy gas gennyf. merch estrawn a march glas. neut nat me eu kyudas.'</i> CLH Cân yr Henwr, s. 15	'Those things which I loved since I was a youth are hateful to me: a girl, a stranger, and an unbroken horse It is not for me that they are appropriate'	E	L	M
Eagle	<i>'ruthyr eryr yn abyrd oedut.'</i> CLH Marwnad Gwên s. 19	'you were the rush of an eagle in the estuaries.'	WS	PID	
Bull	<i>'Tarv trin ryuel adun. cledir kad kanvill. o gimun. Ren new ruy a endeid hun.'</i> CLH Enwev meibon LLwarch Hen, s. 5	'Bull of battle, foremost in war, pillar of warfare, candle?... Lord of Heaven, ?...'	WS		

⁵⁶² The translation is by Jenny Rowland.

⁵⁶³ For the definitions of the tags, see first section of Appendix III.

⁵⁶⁴ Ifor Williams does not include the first stanza in his edition.

Cattle	<i>'bugail lloë llanfawr llwyprawd'</i> CLH Gwahodd Llywarch i Lanfawr, s. 6	'Let the herdsman of calves go to Llanfawr'	AH		
	<i>'bugail lloë [llanfawr] llwybryn'</i> CLH Gwahodd Llywarch i Lanfawr, s. 9	'Herdsman of calves, they lead to Llanfawr'	AH		
Pigs	<i>'Nid ysswn fegis moch mes'</i> CLH Gwahodd Llywarch i Lanfawr', s. 2	'I do not eat mast like pigs' '		L B	
Stag	<i>'Dyr gwenn gwynt gwynn gne. godre gwyd dewr hyd diwlyd bre. eidyl hen hwyr y dyre.'</i> CLH Cân yr Henwr, s. 13.	'?Swirling is the wind; white the aspect of the edge of the woods. The stag is bold; the hill hard. Feeble is the old man; slowly he rouses.'	H N	I	
Song birds	<i>'Tec yd gan ir adaren ar perwit pren. vch. pen gwen.'</i> CLH Enwev meibon Llywarch Hen, s.1	'Beautifully sings the bird on the pear tree above Gwên'	N	L	
Cuckoo	<i>'Baglan brenn neut gwaeanwyn. Rud cogeu goleu ynghwyn. Wyf digarat gan morwyn.'</i> CLH Cân yr Henwr, s. 6	Little wooden staff, it is spring. Cuckoos are brown; audible is their plaint. I am rejected by maidens'.			

Canu Urien - CU

Animal	Welsh text	English translation ⁵⁶⁵	Tags ⁵⁶⁶		
			1	2	3
Horses	<i>'Pwy llei dunawt marchawc gwein. erechwyd gwneuthur kelein.'</i> CU Dwy Blaid, s. 37	'Dunawd, horseman of slaughter, intended to make corpses in Erechwydd'	E	U	
	<i>'Pwy llei Wallawc, marchawc trin, Erechwyd gwneithur dynin'</i> CU Dwy Blaid, s. 39	'Gwallawg, horseman of battle, intended to make corpses in Erechwydd'	E	U	
	<i>'Ar erechwyd ethyw gwall o vraw marchawc ys gweill.'</i> CU Misc. verses, s. 44	'Need has befallen Erechwydd because of fear of a horseman'	E	U	
	<i>'Ym myw run reawdyr dyhed. dynrein enwir eu gyded. Heyrn ar veirch enwired.'</i> CU Marwnad Rhun, s. 35.	'In the lifetime of Rhun, ruler of war, ?..... fettters on the horses of the wicked.'	?	U	
Wolf	<i>'bleid a uugei wrth ebyrn'</i> CU Dwy Blaid, s. 40	'a wolf who howled at the breach'	BB	PID	
Raven	<i>'ac ar y vronn wenn vran du'</i> CU Pen Urien, s. 8	'And on his white breast is a black raven'	BB	L	

⁵⁶⁵ The translation is by Jenny Rowland.

⁵⁶⁶ For the definitions of the tags, see the first section of Appendix III.

	<i>'ac ar y vronn wen vrein ae hys'</i> CU Pen Urien, s. 9	'And ravens on his white breast consume him'	BB	L	
Eagle	<i>'vryen reget greidyawl gauael eryr</i> CU Unhwch s. 5 and 6	'Ardent Urien Rheged of the eagle's grasp'	WS	PID	
	<i>'ac ar y vronn wen vrein ae hys'</i> CU Pen Urien, s. 9	'Ardent Urien Rheged of the eagle's grasp'	WS	PID	
Hawk	<i>'Llawer ki geillic a hebawc wyrennic a lythiwyd ar y llawr kyn bu er lleon llawedrawr</i> '. CU, Aelwyd Rheged, s. 48	'Many a lively hound and spirited hawk were fed on its floor Before this place was ruins'.	H, MH	L	
Hound	<i>'Llawer ki geillic a hebawc wyrennic a lythiwyd ar y llawr kyn bu er lleon llawedrawr</i> '. CU, Aelwyd Rheged, s. 48	'Many a lively hound and spirited hawk were fed on its floor Before this place was ruins'.	H	L	
Oxen	<i>'can tref a chant eidyonyd Ac vn (tref) oed well nogyd'</i> CU Marwnad Rhun, s. 34	'a hundred homesteads with a hundred oxen and one homestead was better than the others'	P	L	
Pig	<i>'Yr aelwyd honn neus clad hwch</i> CU Aelwyd Rheged s. 57	'This hearth – a wild pig digs in it.'	N	L	
Chick	<i>'Yr aelwyd honn neus clad kywen.'</i> CU Aelwyd Rheged, s. 58	'This hearth – a chick digs in it.'	N	L	
Bee	<i>'heit heb uodrydaf hu byd.'</i> CU Marwnad Rhun, s. 32	'A swarm without a queen bee is thus.'	N	PID	F
Shrew	<i>'Ilyc a grauei wrth glegyr.'</i> CU Dwy Blaid, s. 41	'a shrew who scratched at a crag'	N	L	

Canu Heledd - CH

Animal	Welsh text	English translation ⁵⁶⁷	Tags ⁵⁶⁸		
			1	2	3
Horses	<i>'Gwedy meirch hywed a chochwed dillat. A phluawr [mawr] melyn.'</i> CH Newid Byd s. 72	'After broken horses with red trappings and great yellow plumes.'	E	B L	
	<i>'o duw padiw yth rodir. meirch vym bro[dyr] ac eu tir. Heled hwyedic am kyueirch. o duw paidw yth rodir gurmseirch. kyndylan ae bedwardeg meirch.'</i> CH Heledd Hwyledig, ss. 78 and 79.	'Oh God, to whom are given my brothers' horses and their land?' ?Wandering Heledd greets me. Oh God, To whom are given the dark trappings of Cyndyllan and his fourteen steeds?'	R	L	

⁵⁶⁷ The translation is by Jenny Rowland.

⁵⁶⁸ For the definitions of the tags, see the first section of Appendix III.

	<i>'Marchawc o gaer a danaw. nyt oed hwyr a gwynnyon. Gwr o sanneir.'</i> CH Fragment, s. 82.	'A horseman from Caer... under him ?.....'	E		
Wolf	<i>'Kyndylan gulhwch gynnifiat llew bleid dilin disgynnyat'</i> CH Marwnad Cynddylan, s. 10	'Cynddylan, a warrior like Culhwch, a lion, a wolf pursuing attacker'	WS	PID	M
Eagle	'Eryr Eli (CH s. 34-39) <i>Eryr eli ban y lef [heno] llewssei gwy[a]r llyn. creu callon kyndylan wynn.</i> <i>Eryr eli gorelwi heno ygwaet gwyr gwynn novi. ef ygoet trwm hoet ymi.</i> <i>Eryr eli a glywaf heno. creulyt yw nys beidyaf. ef ygoet trwm hoet arnaf.</i> <i>Eryr eli gorthrymet heno diffrynt meissir [myget] dir brochuael hir ry godet.</i> <i>Eryr eli echeidw myr. ny threid pyscawt yn ebyr. Gelwit gwelit o waet gwyr.</i> <i>Eryr eli gormyda coet. [heno] Kyuor e kinyawa. Ae llawch llwydit y draha.</i>	Eagle of Eli The eagle of Eli – high is his cry tonight. He has drunk a bloody drink: The heart blood of Cynddylan Wyn. The eagle of Eli has cried out loudly tonight. He has wallowed in the blood of warriors. He is in the wood; sorrow is heavy for me. It is the eagle of Eli I hear tonight. He is gory – I do not defy him. He is in the wood; sorrow is heavy upon me. The eagle of Eli – how grievous tonight Is the fine valley of Meisir. The land of Brochfael has been long afflicted. The eagle of Eli watches over the seas: fish do not penetrate into the estuaries. He calls, ?he feasts on the blood of warriors. The eagle of Eli travels through the woods tonight. His feasting is to his fill. The violence of he who indulges him succeeds.	BB BB BB BB BB	BB PID	M
	'Eryr Pengwern' (CH s. 40-44)	Eagle of Pengwern	BB N	PID	

	<i>Eryr penngwern penngarn llwyt. [heno] aruchel y atleis. eidic am gic. [a gereis].</i>	The grey-crested eagle of Pengwern – tonight his screech is very high, greedy for the flesh which I loved.			
	<i>Eryr penngwern penngarn llwyt. [heno] aruchel y euan eidic am gic kynndylan.</i>	The grey-crested eagle of Pengwern – tonight his?... is very high, greedy for the flesh of Cynddylan.	BB		
	<i>Eryr penngwern pengarn llwyt [heno] aruchel y adaf eidic am gic a garaf.</i>	The grey-crested eagle of Pengwern – tonight his talons are very high, greedy for flesh I love.	BB		
	<i>Eryr penngwern pell galwawt heno. Ar waet gwyr gwylawt ry gelwir trenn tref difawt.</i>	The eagle of Pengwern will call for a long time tonight. He will feast on the blood of warriors. Tren is called an unfortunate town.	BB		
	<i>Eryr penngwern pell gelwit heno. Ar waet gwyr gwelit. ry gelwir trenn tref lethrit.</i>	The eagle of Pengwern calls for a long time tonight. He feasts on the blood of warriors. Tren [was] called a splendid town.	BB		
Hawk	<i>‘Kynndylan callon hebawc’</i> CH Marwnad Cynddylan s. 8	‘Cynddylan with the heart of a hawk’	H	PID	
Lion	<i>‘Kyndylan gulhwch gynnifiat llew bleid dilin disgynnyat’</i> CH Marwnad Cynddylan, s. 10	‘Cynddylan, a warrior like Culhwch, a lion, a wolf pursuing attacker’	WS	PID	M
Hounds/ Dogs	<i>Kyndylan callon milgi’</i> CH Marwnad Cynddylan, s. 7	‘Cynddylan with the heart of a hunting hound’	WS	PID	M
	<i>‘keneu kyndrwyn kyndynyawc’</i> CH MaC s. 8	‘the unyielding whelp of Cyndrwyn’	WS	PID	M
	<i>‘keneu kyndrwyn kwynitor’</i> CH Marwnad Cynddylan s. 12	‘The whelp of Cyndrwyn is mourned’	WS	PID L	M
	<i>‘airgi gwyth gwaithfuddig’</i> CH Llemenig, s 113	‘ferocious, victorious hound of war’	WS	PID	M
Boar/ pig	<i>Kynndylan, callon iaen gaeaf, a want twrch trwy y benn.’</i> CH Marwnad Cynddylan s. 3	‘Cynddylan with a heart like winter ice, who ran a boar through its head’	H WS	PID L	M
	<i>Kyndylan callon gwythhwch’</i> CH Marwnad Cynddylan, s. 9	‘Cynddylan with the heart of a wild boar’	WS	PID	M

	<i>'nyt atuer twrch tref y dat.'</i> CH Marwnad Cynddylan s. 10	'The boar will not return to his father's town'	WS	PID L	M
	<i>'Ryuedaf dincleir na diw yn ol kilyd deluyd cluw. Y Gododdingwal tyrch torri ceu knyw.'</i> CH Gwal Twrch, s. 90	'I wonder,? ... not back. Able companion, listen. In the lair of the boars, piglets are cracking nuts'.	N	L	
Bull/ox	<i>'oed gnodach ysgwyt tonn. Yn dyuat o gat nogyt ych y echwyd.'</i> CH Y Drefwen s. 55	'More unusual was a broken shield coming from battle than oxen going to the noon-time resting place'	AH	P L	M
Cattle/	<i>'Y mynyd kyt atuo vch. nyt eidigafaf y dwyn vym buch'</i> CH Y Bugeiles Lom, s. 66	'The mountain – although it may be higher I will not suffer its bearing my cow'	AH	L	F
	<i>'Gwerthec edeirnyawn ny buant gerdennin.'</i> CH Gorwynion s. 73 and 74	<i>'The cattle of Eeirnion were not wayfaring'</i>	AH	L	
	<i>'warth gwartheygyd gwerth gwyl a negyd.'</i> CH Gorwynion s 7.5	'The shame of a cattle reaver because of a gentle refusal'	R	L	
Goats	<i>'Kynn bu vyg kylchet croenen gauyr galet chwannawc y gel[yn] rym goruc y uedw ued brynn.'</i> CH Newid Byd, s. 69	'Before my coverlet was the hard skin of a goat greedy for holly The mead of Bryn made me drunk.'		B L	
	<i>'Kynn bu vY Gododdinkylchet croenen gauyr galet keringar y llillen rym goruc y uedw ued Tren.'</i> CH Newid Byd, s. 70	'Before my coverlet was the hard skin of a goat the kid fond of holly The mead of Tren made me drunk.'		B L	
Fish	<i>'ny threid pyscawt yn ebyr'</i> CH Eryr Eli, s. 38	'fish do not penetrate into the estuaries'	N	PID	

III References to Animals in Selected Poems from Book of Taliesin⁵⁶⁹

Praise poems from the Book of Taliesin

I Trawsganu Kynan Garwyn mab Brochfael - TCG

Animal	Welsh text	English translation	Tags ⁵⁷⁰		
			1	2	3
Horses	‘Kynan kat diffret am arllafeis ket. kanyt geu gofyget. Gwrthelgwn trefbret. kant gorwyd kyfret. aryant eu tudet.’ TCG lines 1-3	‘Cynan, war’s bulwark, Poured on me prizes, For his fame is not false, Manor’s great master. A hundred swift steeds, Silver their trappings	E	P B	
Cattle	‘Nac ny rywelet y biew rac ffrw neb’ TCG line 14	‘Never any before seen heading his herd.’	AH	P	

II Arwyre gwyr katraeth - AGK

Animal	Welsh text	English translation	Tags ⁵⁷¹		
			1	2	3
Horses	‘ gwanecawr gollychyntrawn eu kaffon ’ – AGK line 22	‘Waves washed the tails of their horses’	E	P	

IV Er gorffowys – EG

Animal	Welsh text	English translation	Tags ⁵⁷²		
			1	2	3
Horses	‘ gnawt amdanat twrwf pystylat. Pystalat twrwf ac yuet cwrwf. EG lines 17-18	‘Constantly around you is the pounding of horses horses pounding, and the quaffing of beer’ ⁵⁷³	E	P	

V Ar vn blyned – AVB

Animal	Welsh text	English translation	Tags ⁵⁷⁴		
			1	2	3
Horses	‘ ei pawb oe wyt dyfynt ymplymnwyt. Ae varch ydanaw Y Gododdigodeu gweith mynaw.’ AVB lines 5 and 6	‘Each went on campaign, Eager in combat, His steed beneath him, Set to raid Manaw’	E	P	

⁵⁶⁹ The English versions are taken from Joseph P. Clancy, *The Earliest Welsh Poetry*, (London: Macmillan, St. Martin’s Press, 1970), unless otherwise indicated. Where the poem is not translated by Clancy, the translation is taken from Meirion Pennar’s *Taliesin Poems*, (Felinfach: Llanerch, 1988). The Welsh text is taken from Ifor Williams (ed.), *The Poems of Taliesin* (Dublin: The Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1975).

⁵⁷⁰ For the definitions of the tags, see the first section of Appendix III.

⁵⁷¹ For the definitions of the tags, see the first section of Appendix III.

⁵⁷² For the definitions of the tags, see the first section of Appendix III.

⁵⁷³ Translation Meirion Pennar.

⁵⁷⁴ For the definitions of the tags, see the first section of Appendix III.

Cattle	<i>‘a chwanec anaw bud am li amlaw. with vgein vn lliw o loi a biw. biw blith ac ychen a phob kein agen.’</i> AVB lines 7-9	‘For the sake of wealth, Profit in plenty, Eight herds alike Of calves and cattle, Milch cows and oxen, And each one worthy.’	R AH	P	F,M
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VI Gweith Argoed Llwyfein - GAL

Animal	Welsh text	English translation	Tags ⁵⁷⁵		
			1.	2	3
Crow/ raven	<i>‘A rac gweith argoed llwyfein bu llawer kelein. Rudei vrein rac ryfel gwyr’</i> GAL – lines 20-22	‘Before Argoed Llwyfain There was many a dead man. Crows were crimsoned from warriors.’	BB		
Dog	<i>‘A cheneu vab coel bydei kymwyawc lew. kyn as talei o wystyl nebawt.’</i> GAL lines 11-12	‘And the cub of Coel’s line must be pressed Hard before he’d render one hostage.’	WS	PID	

VII Ardwyre reget – AR

Animal	Welsh text	English translation	Tags ⁵⁷⁶		
			1	2	3
Pack of Wolves or dogs	<i>‘llwyth lithyawc cun ar ormant gwaet, Atueilaw gwyn gouchyr kyt mynan eigyl edyl gwrthryt.’</i> AR lines 26-28	‘a pack of ravening wolves regaling themselves on a surfeit of blood, the drive of the foe ebbing away in the ferocious collision.’ ⁵⁷⁷	WS BB	PID	
Snake, serpent	<i>‘neu vi a weleis wr yn buarthaw, sarff soned virein segidyd lawr.’</i> AR lines 45-6	‘I saw a man penning men in, serpent of fair renown, treader of champions.’ ⁵⁷⁸	WS	PID	

VIII Yspeil Taliessin – YS

Animal	Welsh text	English translation	Tags ⁵⁷⁹		
			1	2	3
Horses	<i>‘Eg gwrhyt gogyueirch yn trafferth’</i> YS line 1	‘In his bravery on big horses fretting’	E	P	M
	<i>‘Vn yw maon meirch mwth miledawr. dechreu mei ym powys bydinawr.’</i> YS line 32	‘Fine are fast cavalrymen in the militia, armies resting in May time.’	E	P B	M

⁵⁷⁵ For the definitions of the tags, see the first section of Appendix III.

⁵⁷⁶ For the definitions of the tags, see the first section of Appendix III.

⁵⁷⁷ Translation Meirion Pennar.

⁵⁷⁸ Translation Meirion Pennar.

⁵⁷⁹ For the definitions of the tags, see the first section of Appendix III.

	<i>‘Adunswb y ar orwyd ffysciolin tut ynyeil gwerth yspeil taliessin. Vn yw gwrys gwr llawr a gorwyd.’</i> YS lines 36-37	‘I would have loved to have gone on a frisky horse with the foragers for the spoils of Taliesin... Fine is the rush of a champion and his horse;’	E	P B	
Eagle	<i>‘Vn yw yn deuwy pan ofwy y weirin. eryr tir tuhir tythremyn.’</i> YS lines 34-35	‘Fine it is on the banks of Dyfwy when the waters flow; fine is the eagle Tir Tuhir on its way...’	N		
Wolf	<i>‘Vn yw bleid banadlawc anchwant.’</i> YS line 41	‘fine is the wolf in the gorse all ravenous’	H N		M
Stag	<i>‘Vn yw hyd hydgre yn diuant.’</i> YS line 40	‘Fine is the stag with its herd hiding away;’	BB N		
Dog	<i>‘Ac vn wed a vnson katua ketwyr unswn drwc yieaian. A chenau a nud hael a hirwlat ydanaw.’</i> YS lines 43-5	‘Just as I would have wished a fighter’s fight I would have wished evil befall the young one, with his long domain under the whelp of Nudd Hael.		PID U	M

X Marwnat Owein - MO

Animal	Welsh text	English translation	Tags ⁵⁸⁰		
			1	2	3
Horses	<i>‘Gwir gwiw uch y amlw seirch. a rodei veirch y eircheit. kyt as cronyei mal calet. ny rannet rac y eneit.’</i> MO lines 19-20	‘Splendid man in pied armour, He gave steeds to suppliants: Though he stored like a miser, It was shared for his soul’s sake’.	E	P B	M
Wolf	<i>‘Owen ae cospes yn drut mal cnut [y]n dylut deueit.’</i> MO lines 17-18	‘Owein scourged them savagely Like a wolf-pack after sheep.’	WS	PC B	
Sheep	<i>Owen ae cospes yn drut mal cnut [y]n dylut deueit.’</i> MO lines 17-18	‘Owein scourged them savagely Like a wolf-pack after sheep.’	WS		

XI Gwallawc – G1

Animal	Welsh text	English translation	Tags ⁵⁸¹		
			1	2	3
Crows Ravens	<i>‘ym pen coet cledyfein. Atuyd kalaned gwen. A brein ar disperawt.’</i> G1 lines 37 - 39	‘In Pencoed there are daggers galore, many stinking corpses and scattered crows.’ ⁵⁸²	BB		

XII Gwallawc - G2

Animal	Welsh text	English translation	Tags ⁵⁸³		
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⁵⁸⁰ For the definitions of the tags, see the first section of Appendix III.

⁵⁸¹ For the definitions of the tags, see the first section of Appendix III.

⁵⁸² Translation Meirion Pennar.

⁵⁸³ For the definitions of the tags, see the first section of Appendix III.

			1	2	3
Horses	<i>'Cleda cledifa cledifarch. Nyt amtyrr y lu y ledrat. nyt amescut y gaw y kywlat. Tyllynt tal yscwydwr rac taleu y veirch.'</i> G2 lines 42-44	'The mounted warrior wields his sword. His host does not cut into territory by stealth Those from adjacent lands were not slow before this disciplined grafter. The rim of their shields pierced the head-dresses of their horses.' ⁵⁸⁴	E	P	
Cattle	<i>'darwerther tewued yn diwed haf.'</i> G2 line 28	'Let him sell off his fatted cows at the end of the summer.'	AH	P	F

Other Poems from the Book of Taliesin⁵⁸⁵

Aduwyneu Taliessin - AT

Animal	Welsh text	English translation	Tags ⁵⁸⁶		
			1	2	3
Horses	<i>'Atwyn march mygvras maugre;'</i> AT Line 11	'Fair is the thick-maned stallion in the stud;'	E	P B	M
	<i>'Atwyn march ac eurgalch gylchwy;'</i> AT Line 17	'Fair are the stallion and the gold-chased round shield;'	E	P B	M
	<i>'Atwyn edystyr Y Gododdinkebystyr lletrin;'</i> AT Line 43	'Fair is the horse in his leather halter;'	E	P B	M
	<i>'Arall atwyn ewynawc archuein.'</i> AT Line 40	'Another fair thing is a slender foaming steed.'	E	P B	
	<i>'Arall atwyn ewynawc marchogaweth'.</i> AT Line 50	'Another find thing is riding on a frothing horse.'	E	P B	
Wolf	<i>'Atwyn Nud, ud bleid naf;'</i> AT Line 5	'Fair is Nudd, a leader, a lord like a wolf;'	WS	PID	M
Osprey, eagle	<i>'Atwyn eryr ar lan llyr pal llanhwy;'</i> AT Line 15	'Fair is the osprey on the seashore when the tide is flowing'	N	I	
Seagulls	<i>'Arall atwyn gwylein yn gwarwy.'</i> AT Line 16	'Another fair thing is seeing the seagulls at play'	N	I	
Deer, Doe, hind	<i>'Atwyn didryf ewic ac elein;'</i> AT Line 39	'Fair in the uninhabited spot are the doe and the hind;'	N	I	F M
Cattle	<i>'Arall atwyn morua y warthec.'</i> AT Line 48	'Another fine thing is a sea-marsh for cattle.'	AH	I	

⁵⁸⁴ Translation Meirion Pennar.

⁵⁸⁵ See *Arthur in Early Welsh Poetry*, edited by Nerys Ann Jones

⁵⁸⁶ For the definitions of the tags, see the first section of Appendix III.

	<i>‘Atwyn tymp pan dyn lloe llaeth’</i> AT Line 49	‘Fair is the time when the calf is sucking.’	AH	I	F
Fish	<i>Atwyn pysc yn y lyn llywyawt.</i> AT Line 53	‘Fair is the fish in the shining lake’	N	I	

Angar Kyfundawt - AK

Animal	Welsh text	English translation	Tags ⁵⁸⁷		
			1	2	3
Horse	<i>‘Bum amws ar re’</i> AK Line 239	‘I was a stallion at stud’	E S	B	M
Stag	<i>‘[Gogwn] hyd pan yw medysc’</i> Line 214	‘(I know) why a stag is....’	N	B	M
	<i>‘py voch, neu py grwydur hyd’</i> AK Line 222	‘what swine or what wandering stag.’	N	B	M
	<i>‘Bum ki, bum hyd’</i> AK Line 231	‘I was a dog, I was a stag’	S	B	M
Buck/ Roebuck	<i>‘[Gogwn] buch pan yw bannawc’</i> AK Line 133	‘(I know) why a buck has horns’	N	B	M
	<i>‘[Gogwn] pan yw brith iyrchwyn’</i> AK Line 143	‘[I know] why a roebuck is dappled’	N	B	M
	<i>‘Bum iwrch ymynydd’</i> AK Line 233	‘I was a roebuck in the mountains’	S	B	M
Bull	<i>‘Bum tarw toste’</i> AK Line 240	‘I was a fiery bull’	S	B	M
Kid goat	<i>‘[Gogwn] pan yu baruawt myn’</i> AK Line 136	‘[I know] why a kid-goat is bearded’	N	B	M
Pig	<i>‘[Gogwn] py voch, neu py grwdyr hyd.’</i> AK Line 222	‘[I know] what swine or what wandering stag.’	N AH	B	
Dog	<i>‘Bum ki, bum hyd’</i> AK Line 231	‘I was a dog, I was a stag’	S	B	M
Puppy	<i>‘[Gogwn] pan yw medw colwyn’</i> AK Line 140	‘[I know] why a puppy is intoxicated’			
Raven	<i>‘[Gogwn] pan yw gwyrliw brein’</i> AK Line 164	‘[I know] why ravens are iridescent’	N	B	
Greenfinch	<i>‘[Gogwn] pan yw gwyrdd llinos’</i> AK Line 147	‘[I know] why a greenfinch is green’	N	B	
Cuckoo	<i>[Gogwn]‘coc, py twyn py gan’</i> AK Line 157	‘[I know] what the cuckoo laments, what it sings’	N	B	
	<i>‘Gogwn gogeu haf, a uydant ygayaf.’</i>	‘I know the summer cuckoos – whether they exist in winter’	N	B	

⁵⁸⁷ For the definitions of the tags, see the first section of Appendix III.

	AK Lines 177-8				
Swan	‘(Gogwn) pan yw du troet alarch gwyn ’ AK Line 216	‘[I know] why a white swan’s foot is black’	N	B	
Cockerel/ Hen	‘Bum keilyawc brithwyn ar ieir yn Eidin’ AK Line 238	‘I was a speckled white cockerel covering the hens in Eidin’	S AH	B	M
	‘Bum gronyn erkennis (...)’ A’m haruolles yar grafrud , grib escar; gorffowysseis naw nos yn y chroth yn was.’ AK Lines 243, 249-52	‘I was a grain ? (...)’ A hen got hold of me – A red-clawed one, a crested enemy I spent nine nights residing in her womb.’	S AH	B	F
	‘gres grafrud a’m rode’s’ AK Line 260	‘the red-clawed one imbued me with passion’	S	B	F
Fish, Sea Creatures	‘[Gogwn] pet pegor yssyd y dan vor’ AK Lines 187-8	‘[I know] how many creatures are under the sea’	N	B	
	‘pan yw du pyscawt – moruwyt uyd eu cnawt’ AK Lines 212-13	‘[I know] why fishes are black – their flesh is seafood’	H	B	
	‘[Gogwn] pan yw gannawc pysc ’ AK Line 215	‘[I know] why a fish has scales’	N	B	
Salmon	‘bum glas gleissat ’ AK Line 230	‘I was a blue salmon’	S	B	

Kadeir Teyrnion - KT

Animal	Welsh text	English translation	Tags ⁵⁸⁸		
			1	2	3
Horses	‘Neu’s duc o Gavrur meirch gvelv gostrodur.’ KT Lines 13-14	‘He bore off from Cawrnur, Pale horses harnessed.’	E R	P	M

Kadeir Kerrituen – KK

Animal	Welsh text	English translation	Tags ⁵⁸⁹		
			1	2	3
Horses	‘[Gwydyon ap Don] (...) a rithwys gorwydau y ar plagawt llys, ac enwrys kyfrwyu.’ KK Lines 19-23	‘[Gwydion son of Dôn] (...) who fashioned horses in order to assuage objection, As well as wondrous saddles.’	E	B P	M
Pigs	‘Gwydyon ap Don dygynuertheu, a hudwys gwreic o vlodeu a dyduc moch o Deheu’	‘Gwydion son of Dôn, consistently [producing] splendid things, who conjured up a woman from	R	B	

⁵⁸⁸ For the definitions of the tags, see the first section of Appendix III.

⁵⁸⁹ For the definitions of the tags, see the first section of Appendix III.

	KK Lines 14-16	flowers, who stole pigs from the South'			
Raptors Birds of prey	'Gweleis ymlad taer yn Natn Frangcon Duw Sul pylgeint, rwng wytheint a Gwydyon.' KK Lines 28-9	I saw desperate fighting in Nant Francon early on Sunday morning between raptors and Gwydion.'	BB	B	

Canu y Med – CMd

Animal	Welsh text	English translation	Tags ⁵⁹⁰		
			1	2	3
Horses	<i>Y gwr a'm rodes y gwin a'r cwrwf a'r med, A'r meirch mawr modur, mirein eu gwed.'</i> CMd Lines 17-18	He who gave me the wine and the ale and the mead, and the great powerful horses, fine their appearance.'	E	P B	M
	'Elfinawc varchawc , medhwyr- dy Ogled.' CMd Line 22	'O Elffin rider, may you possess the North!'	E	P	M
Bees	'As kynnull gwenyn ac nys mwynha' CMd Line 7	'The bees collect it and [yet] they don't have the use of it.'	N		

Canu y Meirch - CM

Animal	Welsh text	English translation	Tags ⁵⁹¹		
			1	2	3
Horses	<i>'Torrit anuynudawl tuthiawl dan yscawl. Efiolet oduch llawr (...) 'Trithi nodet atcor ar henet, a march Mayawc, a march Genethawc, a march Karadawc - kymrwy teithiawc - a march Gwythur, a march Gwa[w]rdur, a march Arthur - ehofyn rodi cur - a march Taliessin, a march Lleu, lletuegin' a 'Phebyrlllei' llwynin'⁵⁹² a 'Grei' march Cunin,</i>	'An untamed horse was broken in, a prancing steed beneath a champion. May there be praise of the one above the earth (...) [May there be] the protection of the nine [Heavenly grades] For the ploughing-team beasts of yore, and [for] Madog's horse, and Genethod's horse, and Caradog's horse – a powerful one with the proper attributes - and Gwythur's horse and Gwawrddur's horse and Arthur's horse – fearless in inflicting injury – and Taliesin's horse, and Lleu's nurtured horse, and well-hung 'Strong Dun' and Cunin's horse, 'Gray'	E WS	P B	M

⁵⁹⁰ For the definitions of the tags, see the first section of Appendix III.

⁵⁹¹ For the definitions of the tags, see the first section of Appendix III.

⁵⁹² The remaining lines are taken from Marged Haycock, *Legendary Poems From The Book Of Taliesin*, Aberystwyth: CMCS (2015).

	‘Kornan’ kynheilwawc, ‘Awyd’ awydawc. ‘Du Moroed’ enwawc, march Brwyn Bron Bradawc, a’r tri ‘Carnaflaw <>’ nyd ant hynt hilaw. ‘Kethin’ march Keidaw karn aflaw arnaw, ‘Yscwydurith’ yscodic gorwyd llemenic march Ryderch rydic ‘Llwyd’ lliew cellëic, a ‘Llamrei’ llam elwic, a ‘Froenuoll’ gwirenhic march Sadyrnin, a march Custenhin, ac ereill yn trin rac tir allwynin; ‘Henwyn’ mat dyduc Kychwedyl o Hiraduc. CM Lines 1-58	‘Cornan’ the supportive, ‘Awyd’ the eager. Famous ‘Black o the Seas’ Brwyn Craft-Breast’s horse, And the three ‘Clefted [geldings] Who’ll never go out to stud. ‘Ceidio’s horse ‘Ceithin’ With a cloven hoof, Skittish ‘Dappled withers’ a bounding steed, wrathful Rhydderch’s horse ‘Grey’, stag coloured, and ‘Grey Leaper’ with useful leap, and lively ‘Flaring Nostril’ Sadyrnin’s horse, And Custennin’s horse, And others in battle Before the afflicted land. ‘Henwyn’ [who] happily brought Tidings from Hiraddug.			
Sow, boar, pig	Bum hwch, bum bwch, bum syw, bum swch, bum banw, bum banhoch, (...) CM Lines 59-61	I’ve been a sow, I’ve been a buck, I’ve been a sage, I’ve been a ploughshare, I’ve been a piglet, I’ve been a boar.	S	B	M
Buck/ Stag	Bum hwch, bum bwch, CM Line 69	I’ve been a sow, I’ve been a buck	S	B	F M
	‘Llwyd’ lliew cellëic,’ CM Line	‘Grey’, stag coloured,’ (horse)	E	B	
Cat Wildcat	Bum kath penurith ar tri phren, CM Line 66	I’ve been a speckled-headed cat on three trees	S	B	
Godwit	< > bum pengafyr ar yscawpren,’ CM Line 67	I’ve been a godwit on an elder tree,	S	B	
Crane	Bum garan gwala gwlelet golwc.’ CM Line 68	I’ve been a crane with his gaze eying up his fill.	S	B	

Marwnat Uthyr Pen - MUP

Animal	Welsh text	English translation	Tags ⁵⁹³		
			1	2	3
Ravens	‘Midwyf vard moladwy yghyweint, poet y gan vrein ac eryr ac wytheint;’	‘I am a poet, my skilful art deserves praise may it be with ravens and eagle(s) and raptors;	BB	B	

⁵⁹³ For the definitions of the tags, see the first section of Appendix III.

	MUP Lines 25-6				
Eagles, Birds of prey	<i>Midwyf vard moladwy yghywreint, poet y gan vrein ac eryr ac wytheint;</i> MUP Lines 25-6	I am a poet, my skilful art deserves praise may it be with ravens and eagle(s) and raptors;		B	
	<i>'Drigyaw y Nef oed ef vy chwant, rac eryr, rac ofyn amheirant.'</i> MUP Lines 29-30	'To ascend to the heavens was my desire, beyond the eagle, beyond fear of harm.'	N	B	
	<i>'Bum kalch vriw vriwat, huescyll edeinat.'</i> MUP Lines 35-6	'I was a destroyer with a shattered shield, a swift-winged bird.'	S	B	

Preideu Annwn - PA

Animal	Welsh text	English translation	Tags ⁵⁹⁴		
			1	2	3
Ox	<i>'ny vdant-vy yr Ych Brych, bras y penrwy, seith vgein kygvung yn y aervy.'</i> PA lines 39-40	'those who do not know of the Brindled Ox, with its stout collar, [and] seven score links in its chain.'		P B	M
Dog	<i>'Myneich dychnut val cunin cor'</i> PA line 49	'Monks gather like a pack of dogs'		U	M
Wolf	<i>'Myneich dychnut val bleidawr'</i> PA line 53	'Monks congregate like wolves'		U	
Generic	<i>'ny vdant py dyd peridys Pen, py avr ymeindyd y ganet Perchen, py vil a gatwant, aryant y pen.'</i> PA lines 44 - 46	'who do not know on what day the Ruler is created [nor] on what hour in the middle of the day the Lord was born [nor] what animal is it they guard with its silver head'		B	

Etmic Dinbych - ED⁵⁹⁵

Animal	Welsh text	English translation	Tags ⁵⁹⁶		
			1	2	3
Eagles	<i>'Ac eryr uch wybyr a llwybyr granwyn.'</i> ED line 16	And the eagle flew high on the track of pale-faced enemies.	BB	P	
Birds	<i>'Aduwyn gaer yssyd ae gwna kyman. medut a molut ac adar bann.'</i> ED lines 27 – 9	There is a fine fortress, where a multitude Makes loud revelry, and so do the singing birds.	N?	I	
Seagulls	<i>'Atwen yn dinbych gorwen gwylan. kyweithyd wleiddud ud erllyssan.'</i> ED lines 35-6	I know at Dinbych – pure white is the sea-gull - The companions of Bleiddudd, lord of its court.	N	P	

⁵⁹⁴ For the definitions of the tags, see the first section of Appendix III.

⁵⁹⁵ Translation Ifor Williams (see also Sims Williams, CSANA YB 3-4).

⁵⁹⁶ For the definitions of the tags, see the first section of Appendix III.

Seabirds	<i>‘dychrych bar karrec cred more ednein’</i> ED line 52	Hoarse sea birds make for the top of the rock	N		
Cattle	<i>‘Bendith culwyd nef gytlef a fein. ar nyn gwnel yn vrowyr gorwyr owein.’</i> ED lines 56-7	The blessing of the Lord of harmonious heaven will prevail, He who will not make us the cowherds of Owain’s grandson	AH	B I	

Armes Prydein - AP⁵⁹⁷

Animal	Welsh text	English translation	Tags ⁵⁹⁸		
			1	2	3
Horses	<i>‘Atui gwraged gwedw a meirch gweilyd.’</i> AP Line 118	‘Women will be widowed, horses left riderless.’	E	L	
	<i>‘Dybi o Lydaw prydaw gyweithyd, ketwyr ar y katueirch ny pheirch en hennyd.’</i> AP Lines 153-4	‘A powerful host will come from Lldaw, Warriors on warhorses, pitiless to enemies.’	E	L	
Cattle	<i>‘deu hael deu gedawlll gwlat warthegydd.’</i> AP Line 167	‘Two generous men, lavish with land and cattle’	AH	P	
Bear	<i>‘Dychyrchwynt gyfarth mal arth o vynyd. Y talu gwynyeith gwaet eu hennyd.’</i> AP Lines 113-4	‘Like a bear from the mountain, our men rush to battle To exact full payment for their comrades’ blood’	WS	PID	M
	<i>‘deu arth nys gwna gwarth kyfarth beunyd.’</i> AP Line 170	‘Two bears never shamed in their daily battles.’	WS	PID	M
Bees	<i>‘Am ynys gymwyeit heit a deruyd.’</i> AP Line 186	‘As for the Island’s tormentors – a passing swarm.’		U B	
Wild beasts	<i>‘A mal [bwyd] balaon Saeson syrthyn.’</i> AP Line 60	‘And, like food for wild beasts, Saxons falling’	BB		

IV References to Animals in Miscellany of Other Early Welsh Poems

Claf Abercuawg - CA

Animal	Welsh text	English translation ⁵⁹⁹	Tags ⁶⁰⁰		
			1	2	3
Hounds	<i>‘Gordyar adar ar erywy ard. bann llef cwn yn diffeith.</i>	‘Noisy are the birds on the highland of Edrywy.	N H	I	

⁵⁹⁷ Translation Gwyneth Lewis, Rowan Williams; Welsh text Ifor Williams, 1955.

⁵⁹⁸ For the definitions of the tags, see the first section of Appendix III.

⁵⁹⁹ Translation Jenny Rowland.

⁶⁰⁰ For the definitions of the tags, see the first section of Appendix III.

	<i>Gordyar adar eilweith.</i> CA, s. 16	High the cry of hounds in the wasteland. Noisy the birds again.'			
Cattle	<i>'Alaf yn eil meil am lat.'</i> CA, s. 23	'Cattle are in the shed; ale is in the bowl.'	AH	I	
	<i>'crin calaf alaf yn eilyat'</i> CA s. 26	'Withered are the stalks; the cattle are in the shed.'	AH	I	
Birds	<i>'yd endeweis l leis adar.'</i> CA s. 9	'I listened to the cries of birds'	N	I	
	<i>'Gordyar adar gwlyb neint;'</i> CA s. 11	'Noisy are the birds; wet the valleys'	N	I	
	<i>'Gordyar adar gwlyb gro;'</i> CA s. 13	'Noisy are the birds; wet the shingle;'	N	I	
	<i>'Gordyar adar gwlyb traeth;'</i> CA ss 14, 15	'Noisy are the birds; wet the shore;'	N	I	
	<i>'Gordyar adar ar erywy ard. bann llef cwn yn diffeith. Gordyar adar eilweith.'</i> CA, s. 16	'Noisy are the birds on the highland of Edrywy. High the cry of hounds in the wasteland. Noisy the birds again.'	N	I	
Cuckoo	<i>'tra vo da gan goc canet'</i> CA, s. 3	'While it pleases the cuckoo let it sing'	N	I	
	<i>'Coc lauwar a gan gan dyd'</i> CA, s. 4	'A vocal cuckoo sings with the daybreak'	N	I	
	<i>'Coc lauwar canet yrawc'</i> CA, s. 5	'Vocal cuckoo, let it sing for a long time to come'	N	I	
	<i>'Yn aber cuawc yt ganent gogeu'</i> <i>'Yn aber cuawc yt gagant gogeu'</i> <i>'Yn aber cuawc cogeu a ganant'</i> CA, ss. 5, 6, 7	'In Abercuawg cuckoos sing'	N	I	
	<i>Neus endeweis l goc ar eidoruc brenn, CA s. 8</i>	'I have listened to a cuckoo on an ivy-covered tree'	N	L	
	<i>'coc uann cof gan bawp a gar'</i> CA s. 9	'Noisy cuckoo, everyone remembers that which he loves'	N		
	<i>'Kethlyd kathyl uodawc hiraethawc y llef teith odef. tuth hebawc.</i>	'Singer of continual song, its cry full of longing, intending to wander, of hawk-like movement'	N	L	

	<i>coc vreuier yn aber cuawc.</i> CA, s. 10	is the vocal cuckoo in Abercuawg.'			
Hawk	<i>Kethlyd kathyl uodawc hiraethawc y llef teith odef. tuth hebawc.</i> <i>coc vreuier yn aber cuawc.</i> CA, s. 10.	'Singer of continual song, its cry full of longing, intending to wander, of hawk-like movement is the vocal cuckoo in Abercuawg.'	N	I	

Kyntaw Geir - KG

Animal	Welsh text	English translation ⁶⁰¹	Tags ⁶⁰²		
			1	2	3
Horses	<i>'Ystarn de wineu fruïn guin. redech hiraethauc raun rin.'</i> KG s. 8	'Saddle the chestnut with the white bridle, eager to run, with a rough coat.'	E	I	
	<i>'Ystarn de wineu birr y blev. Ruit ygniw rgyig. otew.'</i> KG, s. 9	'Saddle the short-haired chestnut, free-moving in hard going, with an ambling course.'	E	I	
	<i>'Ystarn de wineu hir y neid. ruit ygnyw rgig. woteid.'</i> KG s. 10	'Saddle the chestnut with the long leap, free-moving in hard going, desiring to amble'	E	I	
Ravens	<i>Dyrcheuid bran y hasgell arowun myned. impell.</i> KG s. 6	'A raven raises its wing / desiring to go far.'	N	I	
	<i>'Dyhreuid bran y hadein arowun myned ruvein.'</i> KG s. 7	'A raven raises its wing desiring to go to Rome.'	N	I	

Llym awel - LA

Animal	Welsh text	English translation ⁶⁰³	Tags ⁶⁰⁴		
			1	2	3
Horse	<i>'karchaur goruit cul biv.'</i> LA s. 9	'The steed is a prisoner; cattle are lean'	E	I	M
	<i>'y ar can kanlin owein'</i> LA s. 27	'following Owain on a white horse'	E	B	
	<i>'Kin ottei eiry hid in aruul melin. nim gunaei artu awirtul.'</i> LA s. 25	'Though it should snow up to the cruppers of Arfwl Melyn'			

⁶⁰¹ The translation is by Jenny Rowland.

⁶⁰² For the definitions of the tags, see the first section of Appendix III.

⁶⁰³ The translation is by Jenny Rowland

⁶⁰⁴ For the definitions of the tags, see the first section of Appendix III.

		It would not cause fearful darkness to me;' LA s. 25			
	'nyd oet uagaud meirch mechit' LA s. 31 See CLH Enwev meibon Llywarch Hen, s. 7	'the horses of Mechydd were not pampered'	E	P	
	'Mechit mab llywarch. Dihawarch vnben. Glvystec llen lliw alarch. Kyntaw. a ffruinclymus march. ' LA s. 36	'Mechydd mab Lywarch, bold lord, comely and fair (his) swan-coloured mantle. The first who tied up his horse.'	E	P	M
Swan	'Mechit mab llywarch. Dihawarch vnben. Glvystec llen lliw alarch. Kyntaw. a ffruinclymus march. ' LA s. 36	'Mechydd mab Lywarch, bold lord, comely and fair (his) swan-coloured mantle. The first who tied up his horse.'	E	P	
Thrush	' Bronureith breith bron breith bron bronureith. ' LA, s. 21	'The thrush of the speckled breast, the speckle-breasted thrush'	N	I	
Seagull	'glas glan guilan in emriv. garv mir glau a uit hetiv.' LA s. 16	'Silver-grey the shore; the seagull is in sea spray.'	N	I	
Birds	' Gvenin igogaur guan gaur adar.' LA s. 12	'Bees are in shelter; weak the cries of the birds'	N	I	
Cattle	'karcharaur goruit cul biv.' LA s. 9	'The steed is a prisoner; cattle are lean'	AH	I	M
Stag	' cul hit caun barywhaud.' LA s. 4	'lean the stag; bearded the stalks'	N	I	M
	'oer callet cul hit;' LA s. 17	'cold the growth; lean the stag;'	N	I	M
	'Kirchid carv crum tal cum clid.' LA s. 20	'The stooped stag seeks the head of a sheltered valley.'	N	I	M
	'bruihid tal glan. Gan garn carv culgrum cam.' LA s. 21	'The edge of a bank breaks against the hoof of a lean, stooping, bowed stag.'	N	I	M
	'Crin caun caru iscun' LA s. 24	'withered the stalks; lively the stag.'	N	I	M
Fish	'Oer guely piisscaud Y Gododdinkisscaud iaen' LA s. 4	'Cold is the bed of the fish in the shadow of ice'	N	I	
Bees	' Gvenin igogaur guan gaur adar' LA s. 12	'Bees are in shelter; weak the cries of the birds'	N	I	
	' Gvenin igodo. Oer agdo rid.' LA s. 13	'Bees are in shelter; cold the covering of the ford.'	N	I	
	' Guenin ig keithiv gwirtliv mor;' LA, s. 14	'Bees are in captivity; green-coloured the sea;'	N	I	
	' Gwenin ig clidur rac gulybur gaeaw.' LA, s. 15	'Bees are in shelter against the wetness of winter;'	N	I	

Geraint fab Erbin – GfE

Animal	Welsh text	English translation	Tags ⁶⁰⁵		
			1	2	3
Horses	'gweleis y veirch krymrud o gat.' GfE s. 3, s. 4	'I saw bowed, bloodstained horses because of battle.'	E	P	
	'gueleis meirch can [creu] eu [cnes].' GfE s. 5	'I saw white horses – their coats were bloodstained.'	E	P	
	'Oed re redeint dan uordwynt gereint garhryon grawn [gynnyd] GfE s. 19	'It was swiftly that the long-legged horses ran under Geraint's thighs, growing sturdy on grain' Repeated with slight variation in ss. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27.	E AH	P L	
Ravens	'Yn llongborth gweleis drablud er[y]uein brein ar golud.' GfE s. 11	'In Llongborth I saw tumult, the feast of ravens on entrails'	BB	I	
Eagles	'rudyon ruthur eryron glew .' GfE, s. 20	'reddened with blood, of the rush of bold eagles'	BB	I	
White eagles	'rudyon ruthur eryron gwynn .' GfE s. 21	'reddened with blood, of the rush of white eagles'	BB		
Speckled eagles	'rudyon ruthur eryron brith .' GfE s. 22	'reddened with blood, of the rush of speckled eagles'	BB	I	
[Blue-]grey eagles	'rudyon ruthur eryron glas .' GfE s. 23	'reddened with blood, of the rush of grey eagles'	BB	I	
Red eagles	'rudyon ruthur eryron coch .' GfE s. 24	'reddened with blood, of the rush of red eagles'	BB	I	
Grey eagles	'rudyon ruthur eryron llwyd .' GfE s. 25	'reddened with blood, of the rush of grey eagles'	BB	I	
Black eagles	'rudyon ruthur eryron du .' GfE s. 26	'reddened with blood, of the rush of black eagles'	BB	I	

Mi a wum – Maw

Animal	Welsh text	English translation ⁶⁰⁶	Tags ⁶⁰⁷		
			1	2	3
Ravens/ Crows	'ban ryerhint [ryreint] brein ar crev' Maw s. 1, 3	'when ravens rushed to gore.'	BB	B	
	'ban ryreeint brein ar cig' Maw s. 4	'when ravens rushed to flesh.'	BB	B	
	'ban ryerint brein garthan .' Maw s. 3	'when carrion crows rushed.'	BB	B	

⁶⁰⁵ For the definitions of the tags, see the first section of Appendix III.

⁶⁰⁶ The translation is by Jenny Rowland.

⁶⁰⁷ For the definitions of the tags, see the first section of Appendix III.

Animal	Welsh text	English translation ⁶⁰⁸	Tags ⁶⁰⁹		
			1	2	3
Horses	‘Ca[rn]grwn wi march kad trablut. hu dim gelwir e guin mab nud. gortech [creidilad] merch lut.’ GaN s. 6	‘Camgrwn is my horse, of battle tumult. Thus am I called Gwyn mab Nudd, lover of Credidylad daughter of Ludd.’	E	B	M
	‘Nim gad e gan kyulauaret a thi. urth I fruyn yd wet.’ GaN s. 8	‘The white horse does not allow me conversation with you. He leads with his bridle.’	E	I	
	‘Yscithreid vy modrwy eur kywruy cann .’ GaN s. 10	‘My ring is engraved, gold the saddle of my white horse.’	E	B	
Bull	‘ Tarv trin anvidin blaut arbenic llw llid anhaut dinam erioes am oes naut.’ GaN s. 1	‘Bull of battle, fierce, terrible, leader of a host, not easy to anger, of faultless faith, is there protection for me?’	WS	PID	M
Hound	‘Ys tec vy ki ac is trun. Ac yss ew. orev or cvn . Dornach a fv y maelgun. GaN s. 13	‘My hound is beautiful and he is fair / and it is he who is best of hounds: Dornach who belonged to Maelgwn.’	MH	B L	M
	‘Dornach truinrut ba ssillit arnaw caniss amgiffredit. dy gruidir ar wibir [i winit]. GaN s. 14	‘Red-nosed Dornach, what nature does he have since I cannot follow your course above on the sky?’	MH	L	M

Animal	Welsh text	English translation ⁶¹⁰	Tags ⁶¹¹		
			1	2	3
Horse	‘ Marchauc a girch y dinas ae cun gwinion ae cirn bras’ TaU s. 1	‘Horseman who makes for his fortress with his white hounds and his loud hunting horns’	E H	P	
	‘ Marchauc a kirch ir aber. y ar march cadarn kadfer.’ TaU s. 2	‘Horseman who makes for the estuary upon a strong horse, steadfast in battle’	E	P	
Hounds	‘ Marchauc a girch y dinas ae cun gwinion ae cirn bras’ TaU s. 1	‘Horseman who makes for his fortress’	E H	P	

⁶⁰⁸ The translation is by Jenny Rowland.⁶⁰⁹ For the definitions of the tags, see the first section of Appendix III.⁶¹⁰ The translation is by Jenny Rowland.⁶¹¹ For the definitions of the tags, see the first section of Appendix III.

		with his white hounds and his loud hunting horns'			
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Seithennin - S

Animal	Welsh text	English translation ⁶¹²	Tags ⁶¹³		
			1	2	3
Horse	'Diaspad mererid. y ar gwinev kadir.' S s. 7	'The cry of Mererid from the back of a fine chestnut steed'	E	P	

Gwallawg - G

Animal	Welsh text	English translation ⁶¹⁴	Tags ⁶¹⁵		
			1	2	3
Goose	'Boed emendiceid ir guit . attinvis y ligad. in y wit'. G s. 2	'May the goose be cursed which pulled out his eye on his face.'	AH	P U	
Black goose	'Boed emendiceid ir guit dv. attinvis y ligad oe ttv.' G s. 3	'May the black goose be cursed which pulled out his eye from his side'	AH	P U	
White goose	'Boed emendiceid ir guit guenn. attinvis y ligad oe penn.' G s. 4	'May the white goose be cursed which pulled out his eye from his head'	AH	P U	
Grey goose	'Boed emendiceid ir guit glas. attinnwis y ligad in guas.' G s. 5	'May the grey goose be cursed which pulled out his eye in his youth'	AH	P U	

Ysgolan – Y

Animal	Welsh text	English translation ⁶¹⁶	Tags ⁶¹⁷		
			1	2	3
Horse	'Dv dy uarch du dy capan. du dy pen du duhunan. iad [d]u ae ti ysgolan.' Y s. 1	'Black is your horse; black is your cloak; black your head; black yourself. Black skull – is that you, Ysgolan?'	E	L	
Sea worm	'Bluitin llaun im ry doded. Ym. vangor ar paul cored. edrich <de> poen imy gan mor pryued .' Y s. 5	'For a full year I was placed on a pole in a weir in Bangor. Regard the pain caused to me by sea worms'		L	

Eiry Mynydd - EM

Animal	Welsh text	English translation ⁶¹⁸	Tags ⁶¹⁹		
			1	2	3

⁶¹² The translation is by Jenny Rowland.

⁶¹³ For the definitions of the tags, see the first section of Appendix III.

⁶¹⁴ The translation is by Jenny Rowland.

⁶¹⁵ For the definitions of the tags, see the first section of Appendix III.

⁶¹⁶ The translation is by Jenny Rowland.

⁶¹⁷ For the definitions of the tags, see the first section of Appendix III.

⁶¹⁸ The translation is by Joseph P. Clancy.

⁶¹⁹ For the definitions of the tags, see the first section of Appendix III.

Horse	<i>‘Eiry mynyd hyd ar daraf; gnawt gan gynran eiryan araf ac ysgynnu o du corof a disgynnu bar ar [v] araf’ S. 8</i>	<i>‘Mountain snow, stag in flight; Common for a lord, gleaming blade, and mounting a saddle bow, And dismounting, anger well- armed.</i>	E	P	
Wolf	<i>‘Eiry mynyd, buan bleid; ystlys diffeithwch a dreid; gnawt pob anaf ar dieid.’ S.22</i>	<i>‘Mountain snow, wolf swift- footed, He prowls the edge of the wild; Common, steadfast the wounded.’ S.22</i>	N BB	I	
Raven	<i>‘Eiry mynyd, gwynn pob tu; kynneuin bran a chanu; ny daw da o drachyscu.’ S. 1</i>	<i>‘Mountain snow, each region white, Common the raven calling; No good comes of too much slumber.’ S.1</i>	N	I	
	<i>‘Eiry mynyd, hyd yn llwn; purdu bran, buan jyrchwyn; iach ryd, ryuedot pa gwyn.’ S. 14</i>	<i>‘Mountain snow, stag in grove; Raven, dark black, roebuck swift, One free and well, strange he should groan.’</i>	N	L	
Cattle	<i>‘Eiry mynyd, bronn kreic; Krin kalaf, alaf dichleic; Gwae wr a gaffo drycwreic! S.17</i>	<i>‘Mountain snow, crag’s breasts studded; Reeds withered, herd shunning water; Pity him who has a bad wife.’ S.17</i>	AH	L	
Stag/ deer/ Roebuck	<i>‘Eiry mynyd, hyd escut; Gnawt ym prydein gynrein drut; reit oed deall y alltut.’ S. 4</i>	<i>‘Mountain snow, stag nimble; Common to Britain, proud princes; A stranger requires cunning.’ S.4</i>	N	B	M
	<i>‘Eiry mynyd, hyd ar des; hyweit yn llynn, gwynn aches; hwyr hen, hawd y ordiwes.’ S.5</i>	<i>‘Mountain snow, stag in rut; Ducks on the lake, ocean white; Slow the old, soon overtaken.’ S.5</i>	N	I	M
	<i>‘Eiry mynyd, hyd ar dro; chwerdyt bryt wrth a garo; kylt dywetter wrthyf chwedyl, Mi a atwen veuyl lle y bo.’ S. 6</i>	<i>‘Mountain snow, stag bending; The heart laughs for one loved; Though a tale be told of me, I know shame wherever it be.’ S.6</i>	N	I	M
	<i>‘Eiry mynyd hyd ar daraf; gnawt gan gynran eiryan araf ac ysgynnu o du corof a disgynnu bar ar [v] araf’ S. 8</i>	<i>‘Mountain snow, stag in flight; Common for a lord, gleaming blade, and mounting a saddle bow, And dismounting, anger well- armed.’ S.8</i>	N	P	M

	<i>‘Eiry mynyd, hyd kyngwrn; llawer a dywedeis os gwynn anhebic y hafdyd hwn.’ S. 9</i>	‘Mountain snow, stag hunched- up; Many have muttered truly, This is not like a summer day.’ S.9	N	I	M
	<i>‘Eiry mynyd, hyd hellawt; gochwiban gwynt ywch bargawt twr; trwm, a wr, yw pechawt.’ S. 10</i>	‘Mountain snow, stag hunted; Whistle of wind over tower eaves; Burdensome, Man, is sin. S.10	N H	I	M
	<i>‘Eiry mynyd, hyd ar neit; gochwiban gwynt ywch gwenbleit uchel; gnawt tawel yn deleit.’ S. 11</i>	‘Mountain snow, stag bounding; Whistle of wind over high white wall; Common, a quiet beauty.’ S.11	N	I	M
	<i>‘Eiry mynyd, hyd ym bro; gochwiban gwynt ywch blaen to; nyt ymgel drwc yn lle y bo.’⁶²⁰ S. 12</i>			I	
	<i>‘Eiry mynyd, hyd ar draeth; collyt hen y fabolaeth; drycdrem a wna dyn an gaeth. S. 13</i>	‘Mountain snow, stag on sea- strand; An old man knows his youth lost; A foul face keeps a man down.’ S.13	N	L	M
	<i>‘Eiry mynyd, hyd yn llwn; purdu bran, buan jyrcwyn; iach ryd, ryuedot pa gwyn.’ S. 14</i>	‘Mountain snow, stag in grove; Raven, dark black, roebuck swift, One free and well, strange he should groan.’ S.14	N	L	M
	<i>‘Eiry mynyd, hyd mwyn brwyn; oer micned, med ygherwyn; gnawt gan BB anauus gwyn.’ s. 15</i>	‘Mountain snow, stag in rushes; Marshes freezing, mead in cask, Common for the crippled to groan.’ S.15	N	L	M
	<i>‘Eiry mynyd, hyd yn foss; Kysgyt gwenyn yn didos; Kytuyt lleidyr a hir nos.’ S. 18</i>	Mountain snow, stag in gully; Bees are sleeping, well-sheltered; A long night suits a robber.’ S.18	N	I	M
	<i>‘Eiry mynyd, hyd nyt hwyr; dygwydyt glaw o awyr; megyt tristit lleturyt llwyr.’ S. 23</i>	‘Mountain snow, stag is not sluggish; Rain is falling from the sky; The foolish nourish sorrow’. S. 23	N	I	M

⁶²⁰ This stanza is not translated by Joseph P. Clancy.

	‘Eiry mynyd, eilion ffraeth ⁶²¹ ; gowlychyt tonneu glann traeth; keluyd, kelet y aruaeth.’ S. 24	‘Mountain snow, deer fleet- footed; Waves drench the bank of the beach; The cunning conceals his plan. S. 24	N	I	M
	‘Eiry mynyd, hyd mywn glynn; gwastat uyd haf, afaf llynn; baryflwyt rew, glew y erchwynn.’ S. 25	‘Mountain snow, stag in glen; Tranquil is summer, lake still; Fungus freezes, the brave stand firm.’ S. 25	N	I	M
	‘Eiry mynyd, pysc yn ryt; kyrchyt carw culgrwn cwm clyt; Hiraeth am uarw, ny weryt.’ S. 28	‘Mountain snow, fish in ford; Lean-bowed stag seeks the snug combe; Yearning for the dead is useless.’ S.28	N	I	M
	‘Eiry mynyd, hyd Y Gododdinkoet; Ni cherda detwyd ar droet; meckyt llwuyr llawer adoet.’ S. 29	‘Mountain snow, stag in woodland, One well-off does not go on foot; The coward causes much harm.’ S. 29	N	I	M
	‘Eiry mynyd, hyd ym bronn; gochwiban gwnyt ywch blaen onn; trydd troet y hen y ffonn.’ S. 30	‘Mountain snow, stag on hillside, Whistle of wind over ash-tree top; Third foot for the old, his staff.’ S. 30	N	I	M
	‘Eiry mynyd, hyd ar naw; hwyet yn llynn, gwynn alaw; diryeit, ny mynn gwarandaw.’ S. 31	‘Mountain snow, stag swimming; Ducks on the lake, lily white; The rogue does not wish to listen.’ S. 31	N	I	M
	‘Eiry mynyd, hyd escut; odit a’ m didawr o’r byd; rybud y drwch, ny weryt.’ S. 33	‘Mountain snow, stag nimble; Seldom the world concerns me; Warning to the doomed is worthless.’ S. 33	N	I	M
Falcon	‘Eiry mynyd, pysc yn llynn; balch hebawc , bacwyawc unbynn; nyt ef a geiff pawb a uynn.’ S. 20	‘Mountain snow, fish in lake; Falcon proud, prince in splendour, One who has all does not groan.’ S.20	N	I	M
Ducks	‘ hwyet yn llynn, gwynn aches; S. 5	‘Ducks on the lake, ocean white;’ S.5	N	I	
	‘ hwyet yn llynn, gwynn alaw; S. 31	Ducks on the lake, lily white; S. 31	N		

⁶²¹ For an examination of the word ‘ffraeth’ in Middle Welsh, see Pierre-Yves Lambert, Two Middle Welsh Epithets for Horses, *trebelid* and *ffraeth* (Breton *fraez*), in *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*, No 44, Winter 2002, pp. 103-6. Interestingly, it is used here of a deer, not a horse. This usage does not support the suggestion that it may come from a word meaning ‘broken (in)’ (of a horse).

Hens	<i>‘Eiry mynyd, coch traed ieir; bas dwfyr myn yt leueir; chwenneckyt meuyl mawreir.’</i> S. 32	<i>‘Mountain snow, hens’ feet red; Water shallow, where it babbles; Dishonour delights in boasting.’</i> S.32	AH	I	F
Fish	<i>‘Eiry mynyd, graennwyn gro; pysc yn ryt, cylt y ogo; kas vyd a oreilytto.’</i> S. 7	<i>Mountain snow, shingle white grit; Fish in ford, shelter in cave; Who acts harshly is hated.’</i> S.7	N	I	
	<i>‘Eiry mynyd, pysc yn llynn; balch hebawc, bacwyawc unbynn; nyt ef a geiff pawb a uynn.’</i> S. 20	<i>‘Mountain snow, fish in lake; Falcon proud, prince in splendour, One who has all does not groan.’</i> S.20	N	I	
	<i>‘Eiry mynyd, llwmm blaein cawn; crwm blaen gwyrsc, pysc yn eigiawn; lle ny bo dysc ny byd dawn.’</i> S. 27	<i>‘Mountain snow, reed-tips stripped bare; Haulm tops bent, fish in the deeps; No skill where learning’s lacking.’</i> S. 27	N	I	
	<i>‘Eiry mynyd, pysc yn ryt; kyrchyt carw culgrwn cwm clyt; Hiraeth am uarw, ny weryt.’</i> S. 28	<i>‘Mountain snow, fish in ford; Lean-bowed stag seeks the snug combe; Yearning for the dead is useless.’</i> S. 28	N	I	
Bees	<i>‘Eiry mynyd, hyd yn foss; Kysgyt gwenyn yn didos; Kytuyt lleidyr a hir nos.’</i> S. 18	<i>‘Mountain snow, stag in gully; Bees are sleeping, well-sheltered; A long night suits a robber.’</i> S. 18	N	I	

Pais Dinogad - PD

Animal	Welsh text	English translation ⁶²²	Tags ⁶²³		
			1	2	3
Hounds	<i>‘Pan elai dy dad di l helia, Llath a rei ysgwydd, llory yn ei law, Ef gelwi gŵn gogyhwg; ‘Giff, Gaff; daly, daly, dwg, dwg!’</i>	<i>‘When thy father went a-hunting, A spear on his shoulder, a club in his hand, He would call the nimble hounds, ‘Giff, Gaff; catch, catch, fetch, fetch!’.</i>	H	P L	
Roebuck Stag	<i>‘Pan elai dy dad di l fynedd, Dyddygai ef pen iwrch, pen gwythwch, pen hydd’</i>	<i>‘When thy father went to the mountain, He would bring back a roe-buck, a wild boar, a stag’</i>	H	P	
Boar	<i>‘Pan elai dy dad di l fynedd, Dyddygai ef pen iwrch, pen gwythwch, pen hydd’</i>	<i>‘When thy father went to the mountain, He would bring back a roe-buck, a wild boar, a stag’</i>	H	P	

⁶²² The translation is by A.O.H. Jarman.

⁶²³ For the definitions of the tags, see the first section of Appendix III.

	<i>'O wythwch a llewyn a llwynain'</i>	'Wild boar and lynx and fox'	H	P	
Lion	<i>'Ef lledi bysg yng nghorwg Mal ban lladd llew llywisg.'</i>	'He would kill a fish in his coracle As a lion kills its prey.'		P	
Martens	<i>'Pais Dinogad, fraith, fraith O grwyn balaod ban wraith'</i>	'Dinogad's smock, pied, pied, It was from martens' skins that I made it.'	H	L	
Lynx, fox	<i>'O wythwch a llewyn a llwynain'</i>	'Wild boar and lynx and fox'	H	P	
Speckled grouse	<i>'Pen grugiar fraith o fynydd'</i>	'A speckled-grouse from the mountain'	H	P	
Fish	<i>'Ef lledi bysg yng nghorwg Mal ban lladd llew llywisg.'</i>	'He would kill a fish in his coracle As a lion kills its prey.'	WS	P	
	<i>'Pen pysg o Raeadr Derwennydd'</i>	'A fish from Rhaeadr Derwennydd'	H	P	

Cyfoesi Myrddin a Gwendydd ei chwaer - CMG

Animal	Welsh text	English translation ⁶²⁴	Tags ⁶²⁵		
			1	2	3
Lion	<i>'Dilgoganaf nat gwas beid, Brenhin llew llawdiwreid. Gyluin geuel gael bleid.'</i>	'I will predict what no youth will venture A king, a lion with a steady hand, Gylvin Devel with a wolf-like grasp.'	WS	I	
Wolf	<i>'Gyluin geuel gael bleid'</i>	Gylvin Devel with a wolf-like grasp.'	WS	I	
Dog, whelp	<i>'Mi ae dyweit o reget kann am kyueirch ynogonet keneu henri ryuyget. Byth ynyoes nyt oes waret.'</i>	'From Rheged [Mersey] he comes – Since I am seriously questioned – The whelp of illustrious Henri Never in his time will there come deliverance.'	WS	I	

Oianau - O

Animal	Welsh text	English translation ⁶²⁶	Tags ⁶²⁷		
			1	2	3
Horses	<i>'O kiwranc o kynvrein bron reinon kifvri,'</i>	'From the contention of chieftains; breast will heave on the saddle'.	E	I	
Pig	<i>'Oian a parchellan, a parchell dedwit Nachlat dyredeir ympen minit.'</i>	Listen, O little pig! ⁶²⁸ Happy little pig,	C MH	I	

⁶²⁴ The translation is by William Forbes Skene.

⁶²⁵ For the definitions of the tags, see the first section of Appendix III.

⁶²⁶ The translation is by W. Forbes Skene.

⁶²⁷ For the definitions of the tags, see the first section of Appendix III.

⁶²⁸ The words 'Oian a parchellan' are repeated at the start of each stanza.

	<i>Clat in lle argel in acoedit. Rac erwis ritech hael ruyfadur fit.'</i>	Do not go rooting on top of the mountain. But stay here, secluded in the wood. Hidden from the dogs of Rhydderch the Faithful.'			
Dogs	<i>'Clat in lle argel in acoedit. Rac erwis ritech hael ruyfadur fit.'</i>	'But stay here, secluded in the wood. Hidden from the dogs of Rhydderch the Faithful.'	MH	I	
	<i>'Oian y parchellan. Guin gvis. Nacchuste hun bore. Nachlat im prisc. Rach dyuod Ryderch hael ac cvn kyfruys. Kin caffael o honautte y coed reddaud dychuis.'</i>	'Listen, O little pig! Blessed little pig of the country! Do not sleep in the morning, burrow not in the fertile region Lest Rydderch Hael and his cunning dogs should come, And before thou couldst reach the wood, thy perspiration trickled down.'	MH	I	
Serpent	<i>'Ban eistetho saesson iny sarffren. A chirchu o pell castell gollwin A tuit dillad hoev a glove dullin.'</i>	'When the Saxons repose from their serpent cunning, And the castle of Collwyn is resorted to front afar, Clothes will be smart, and the black pool clear.'	WS	P	

