

5. Lewys Glyn Cothi

Lewys Glyn Cothi was writing at the same time as Dafydd Nanmor and Deio ap Ieuan Du. His poems span forty two years from 1447 to 1489.³⁶ In Ceredigion he shares patrons with these and other poets of the time. Lewys has 238 works firmly attributed to him, some written on parchment in his own hand, which show his familiarity with patrons from most parts of Wales.³⁷ Given the extent of his travels, it is not surprising two of his poems are asking for horses (GLGC 33,70). This body of work is the only testament of his life, and sadly there are no surviving contemporary accounts to add an external perspective on the character of this remarkable poet (Jones E.D,1984, ix).

It is inferred from his poetry that Lewys takes his name from the Cothi valley in northern Carmarthenshire. Dafydd Johnston suggests that Lewys was brought up near Llanybydder in the area of the royal forest of Glyn Cothi (GLGC, xxii). Fifty five of his poems are to households in Carmarthenshire (*Sir Gaerfyrddin*), the suggested area of his upbringing, and twenty to households in Ceredigion (*Sir Aberteifi*) (GLGC xi), fifteen³⁸ of which are addressed to patrons in the south of the county.

With such a ubiquitous presence in the period it is not surprising to see poems to the Tywyn household amongst the collection of Lewys Glyn Cothi. Rhys ap Maredudd of Tywyn was clearly a popular and generous patron. Lewys himself uses Tywyn as an exemplar in an *awdl* of praise to the commote of Caeo³⁹ in Carmarthenshire (GLGC 40), probably not far from where he was brought up, by saying it would be hard to leave; even Tywyn is a weaker call than Caeo:

I Gaeo y deuaf, ac i Dywyn

O Gaeo nid af er gwan dyfyn.

Marwnad to Rhys ap Maredudd

There are three surviving *marwnadau* to Rhys ap Maredudd of Tywyn⁴⁰. One can imagine the poets gathered together with his family and friends to honour this generous patron of the arts. Each poem offers an interesting study of the genre in terms of personal style and perspective. Lewys' *cywydd* conveys a sense of personal loss, combined with collective grief reverberating much further than the household and local community. This extract begins with trumpets and lights in every place, and tears of Ceredigion for Rhys, his men and his descendants:

Utygyrn a llugyrn pob llan

fu achos Einion fychan;

am Rys ei âyr mae'r oes hon

gur a deigr ar G'redigion.

Hil Gwrwared ap Gwilym,

hwn a ddug anhunedd ym.

Gwae a âyr fal Hen Gyrys

geisio rhodd ac eisiau Rhys;

gwae'r deau, gwae finnau'n f'oes,

gwae am Rys Gymru eisioes.

Johnston (2014, 246) observes that Lewys has particular qualities of sensitivity, for he manages to write *cynganedd* lightly and especially with endearments and words of solace to families. In his moving *marwnad* to his 5-year-old son (GLGC 237:3), he uses ‘*cudab*’ (fondness or affection) to show his loving feelings.

Un mab oedd degan i mi;

Dwynwen, gwa'e'i dad o'i eni.

Gwa'e a edid, o gudab,

i boeni mwy heb un mab.

GLGC 237:1-4

In the *marwnad* to Rhys he gently balances the formal with the familiar. He speaks directly to Margaret his wife and describes her sons Tomas and Rhydderch as lords in studded armour (71:35-44).

The praising of Rhys’ wine and food goes beyond the usual trope. There is a common factor in this *marwnad* with Dafydd Nanmor’s *awdl foliant* to Rhys (PWDN II:1-4, see p.29 above), using the number of ships Rhys employed, the diversity of wines and places they came from as an emblem for the abundant character of his life:

Ai rhaid enwi'n rhaid ynys

onid y rhain wedy Rhys,

a'u neges i lynges lawn,

a gwin teg i gant eigiawn?

A ddaw gwin o ddeg ynys

hyd aber Rhin nad byw Rhys?

Ni bu'r un dug na brenin

o'r Asia mal Rhys am win.

GLGC 71:47-54

The lament gently ends with Rhys parted from his temporal pleasures, forever in heaven.

Praise of Rhydderch ap Rhys

The first part of this *awdl* to Rhydderch is a chain of six *englynion unodl* that begin with evocative rhymes on Tywyn; Rhydderch draws the wandering poets from Anglesey to Emlyn to visit Tywyn (GLGC 72:1-4) through wooded dell, mountain and vale, through night and day (5), on horses as fast as the wind (7). Rhydderch's kind hospitality is celebrated with repetitions and plays on the word 'serch' 'affection' (9,11,20,21), which of course rhymes with Rhydderch. In amongst these lines Lewys is able to include clever references to Rhydderch's ancestral line:

arian y sy'n arwain serch,

aur a rodder ar Rydderch.

I Rydderch ap Rhys hwy roddan' - y gair,

gorwyr Einion Fychan;

o Wrwared yr euran'

yfory frawd fu i'r frân.

(GLGC 72:11-16)

Then the metre changes to *cyhydedd naw ban*,⁴¹ each line rhyming with the last syllable of ‘Ferwig’⁴². The tone changes with the metre too: Lewys speaks of Rhydderch’s military character, his strength, pride, his service in the region of the river Humber and Alnwick, the fear of his pike (25-40). He is one of the esquires of Henry VII, now wearing a silk gown in Is Aeron (53-56). The poem ends sombrely by calling on St David, God, St John, Mary and Anna (57-60), before comparing Rhydderch to Amlyn and his deceased wife to Amig, characters known for their valour and their friendship (61-64).

Moliannau to Dafydd and Lleucu

The river Teifi flows down from near Lampeter not far from the river Cothi and on some miles further through Llandysul, Newcastle Emlyn then onwards to its mouth and the sea at Tywyn. Castell Hywel near Llandysul was the home of Dafydd ap Llywelyn ap Gwilym Llwyd and his wife Lleucu daughter of Ieuan ap Jenkin Llwyd of Llwyndafydd.⁴³ There are four poems by Lewys Glyn Cothi for this household; two praising Dafydd ap Llywelyn and his wife Lleucu, the others are *marwnadau* for Lleucu.

The first *moliant* to Dafydd and Lleucu could almost be a wedding poem, with its emphasis on both partners. It is long and entertaining, with a mixture of moods controlled mostly by the different metres, commencing quite formally with four verses of *englynion unodl union*. Lewys praises the court as being Ceredigion’s light, the Milky Way of wine, a court fair like a noble lady of summer (1-4). It is Dafydd and Lleucu’s court (6), and six other courts together have less wine than this one (7,8). The section ends cleverly by invoking the names of Dafydd’s father and grandfather, also known for giving money, clothes and food:

Tad Dafydd a’i daid, da y tyfwyd - alarch

Llywelyn, Gwilym Llwyd,

ac o Rydderch y gwreiddwyd

i roddi bath rhudd a bwyd.

(GLGC 73:13-16)

The middle section uses the metre *cyhydedd hir* that splits each verse into three short rhyming lines of 5 syllables with a little postscript of 4 syllables that connects each verse with a main rhyme on the last word. In this context it is light and jerky, at times almost gently teasing. It starts with a note as to its main subject - food and wine - but diverts to pay kind tribute to Lleucu's father Siancyn Llwyd, and Lleucu herself, good daughter, able and pure, from Llwyndafydd :

O'i fwyd a'i win fal

neuadd Ddinawal,

o'i fedd a'i aur mâl cymal nis cêl;

Lleucu felly fydd

lleuad ei llywydd,

Llwyndafydd beunydd a aeth â'r bêl.

Llin i Siancyn Llwyd,

lloer oll a eurwyd,

hi a deilyngwyd o law angel.

Merch dda a merch ddoeth,

merch gall a merch goeth,

mae o drachyfoeth i'm drychafael.

GLGC 73:17-28

4. Dafydd Lleucu and Buildings

What comes next is an impressive list of the different wines that the household offers to its guests, including *rwmnai*, *malmsai*, *osai*,⁴⁴ wine from Rochelle, Bourgogne, Poitou, Rhine, claret, sweet wine and muscatel (35-49). This list almost eclipses the hospitality received by Dafydd Nanmor, Lewys and others further down the Teifi at Tywyn. For landowners with access to trade on the sea, this seems to have been a time of prosperity and largesse in which an accomplished poet was able to partake. Saunders Lewis suggested that the poets and their patrons were the *connoisseurs* of the fifteenth century.⁴⁵

The final section of this praise poem changes metre again to *cyhydedd wythban*; verses of four lines of eight syllables each rhyming on the last syllable. It is quite a feat: in this case, with twelve verses to find 48 words with an ending of ‘-edig’ to fit into the context. Lewys complicates the task by adding some extra flourishes along the way, particularly the repetition of the word *adail* (building) in every line of six of the verses:

Ys da adail gosodedig

ydiw'r adail didroëdig.

Ai gwell adail digolledig?

Ai lled adail cysylltedig?

Y glas adail yn glosiedig

da sy adail dewisedig;

y crwys adail, dai croesedig,

sy ail adail Emrys Wledig.

(GLGC 73:80-87)

With the emphasis on buildings, perhaps this is a celebration of a new or ongoing construction also mentioned in the *awdl* below. Whatever the reason, Lewys goes to some length to laud the animals, the buildings and the owner; comparing the place to the second home of an early British hero Emrys Wledig (*Ambrosius Aurelianus*).⁴⁶

The following *moliant* to Dafydd ap Llywelyn and Lleucu, much in the same vein, is an *awdl* starting with a chain of four *englynion unodl union* morphing into twelve verses in the *gwawdodyn byr*⁴⁷ metre:

Ei natur rhifo yw'n y trefydd

ar geirt win a â i'w gwrt newydd,

a'i dynnu o geirt onwydd - yn win pêr,

a'i dro i'w seler ar drosolwydd.

Iddaw dwy seler, dau fwtler fydd,

a thwr a chegin a thri chigydd,

a neuadd seithradd sy i hydd - Gwilym Llwyd,

ac wyth a wniwyd â'r gwaith newydd.

(GLGC 74:21-28)

The new court is explicitly mentioned (74:22); now Dafydd has two cellars, a butler, a host, a kitchen and three butchers (26). The *awdl* continues with praise to the home and the hosts. In classic bardic style Lewys Glyn Cothi introduces an interesting mix of places and people from Welsh history: Caersidyll, St Oswald and St Frideswide,⁴⁸ before signing off with an explicit dedication to the patron Dafydd, his building and his young wife Lleucu (57-65).

Marwnadau to Lleucu ferch Ieuan

There is a moving simplicity in the way Lewys speaks words of consolation to friends and family on the death of a loved one. These two poems on the early death of Lleucu, wife of Dafydd ap Llywelyn of Castell Hywel, vary in style yet both share the poignancy of losing this young woman. They speak to her spouse and her family and offer the consolation of a life now lived in heaven.

The first poem opens with ‘Lleucu in the hands of holy Jesus ... daughter of Ieuan ap Siancyn; In Castell Hywel a harp mourns for the lady of white wine’ (75:1-4). The metre starts as five verses of chained *englynion unodl union*, with an emphasis on the grief of both her father and her husband. A verse of *englyn proest* is used to change the metre to pairs of *toddaid* rhyming on the final ‘u’ of Lleucu’s name:

Gŵr prudd oedd Ddafydd lle ydd ŷm, - alarch

Llywelyn ap Gwilym;

gwŷr o wlad Greal ydym,

heb awen gref, heb win grym.

Heb y gwin grym, heb gan grod,

heb wisg werdd a heb ysgûd,

heb arian wedy’r blaned,

heb dda bath y bydd y byd.

Y byd heb fywyd a fu - drwy’r ynys

ddwyn aco Emrys oedd enw Cymru.

Heddiw dwyn gwreigdda’n haeddu - ‘i bendithiaw

y daw’r ail cwynaw ar ôl canu.

The *marwnad* continues with some moments of skilful alliteration empathising with the grief of the listeners (75:45-48). It draws to a close by calling on St Tusul of the parish, St Urful, Gwenful and the biblical Enoch, who never died, along with St David and Jesus (57-60).

Imagine a carter coming to take the body of Lleucu away from her court - this is the picture Lewys paints in the opening of the second *marwnad* (76:1). Using the simpler *cywydd* metre he combines the idea of Lleucu as *cniwyll* 'essence' of her father and his descendants (76:15), with grief ('*cwyn*'). Her children are the walnut-trees of Ceredigion (*Cyll Frengig Ceredigion* – 19), in other words they are special, descendants with a promise of importance. The *marwnad* ends with the image of Lleucu in the court of Jesus while 'her children grow on the land, her grandchildren will be adorned with gold and descendants of this one woman will arise strong like trees from an apple, ancestors endlessly and for ever' (53-62).

Llys Gwernan was in the area known today as *Troed yr Aur*⁴⁹ between Rhydlewys and Brongest. Four works of Lewys Glyn Cothi for Hywel ap Dafydd Goronwy of Gwernan are recorded (GLGC 83-86).

From the evidence of the poems Hywel was a generous patron and a military man. In two works of praise and a *marwnad* Lewys is liberal with saints, relatives, historical and legendary heroes with whom to compare Hywel ap Dafydd. In this one verse Hywel is said to be descended from *Macsen Wledig*, the legendary roman conqueror who, according to the Dream of Macsen Wledig, married the daughter of a Welsh chieftain. Hywel is also related to the great families of Llawdden and Tewdwr and, through his mother, to Owain ap Gruffudd:⁵⁰

a wn innau o Winionydd,

ac o Wernan ei gerennydd

at Lawdden hen yn gynt no hydd;

y gŵr o Dewdwr dedwydd - yw'n ieuanc,

nai Owain ap Gruffudd.

(GLGC 83:57-62)

Lewys' final work for the household at Gwernan was a *moliant* to Hywel's son Dafydd. Johnston's notes (GLGC, 564) show that Dafydd was constable of Cilgerran Castle when this poem was presented. The *awdl* demonstrates how much historical water has passed under the bridge in Lewys' life, because by this time Jasper was Duke of Bedford and Henry VII was on the throne (1485):

Teýrnas Henri, trwy onwydd - cedryn

y'i cedwir dragywydd;

ynys y dug nos a dydd

digreiffion a geidw Gruffydd.

Am âyr y Perod y dywod An

y dôi o'i raement darw i ymwan;

i'r Dug o Betfford rhyw degan - rhyfel

yw llew Hywel, medd mab y lleian.

(GLGC 86:9-12,17-20)

Half way between Llandysul and Lampeter, lies the small village of Llanwenog on the side of a steep hill going down to a *nant* that flows quickly into the river Teifi. This is where Dafydd ap Tomas Fychan lived. Nearby is said to be the site of a 10th century battle: “The Danes under their leader Godffryd, invading South Wales in 981 desolated the County of Pembroke and demolished St. David's: but having fought the celebrated Battle of Llan Wenog in which the Welsh were probably commanded by Einion ab Hywel Dda, they were forced to retire out of the Country.”⁵¹ Lewys Glyn Cothi doesn't mention the battle in his *cywydd* to Dafydd ap Tomas Fychan but he does draw attention to the family's ancestry, mentioning Cydfor ab Dynawal who, it is said, won back Cardigan castle for Lord Rhys in 1164:⁵²

Coed plan Tomas Fychan fu

ei blant ef abl yn tyfu;

gwreddiaw mae o Ddyfnawal,

a phob gwreiddyn dyn a dal,

eginyn coed Gwaithfóed fawr,

ac a dyf o Gedifawr,

o Einion, nid oedd anael

o frigyn hen Forgan hael.

(GLGC 80:5-12)

Lewys wrote a *marwnad* for Dafydd's father Tomas Fychan ap Tomas of Llanwenog and praise poems to other members of the family (GLGC 78,79), just a few kilometres east along the Teifi valley in Abergrannell near Llanybydder (GLGC p561, 78:1 note). The *marwnad* uses five *englynion unodl union* rhyming on the 'an' of Fychan, followed by nine verses using a kind of *gwawdodyn byr*⁵³ rhyming on the 'og' of Llanwenog:

Mae Ceredigion a phob man - o'r tir

yn torri'n bedeirran;

mae pob llys, y mae pob llan

mal lladdfa Droea druan.

Mae pob ban i'r llan yn llai - o arian,

mae'n fychan rhan pob rhai;

mynnwn wrth geisio mwnai

mewn y bedd âr grym na bai.

Hwn ym Mharadwys y sydd henwog,

hwn a'i annedd y sy'n nhai Enog,

hwn a'n gadewis yn anhunog - caeth,

hwn yw'r gŵr a aeth hyd yn nhai'r Grog.

(GLGC 77:9-12, 17-20,37-40)

Tomas Fychan is praised as long lived (*oedioig, 1*), humorous and generous (*arab, rhoes arian, 5*). All of Ceredigion, everywhere, is broken, every court, every place, and everyone is grieving as after the slaughter of Troy (9-12). The strong man is in the grave (20). He was not unwise but noble; he wasn't difficult or deceitful; he wasn't a villain, but lively and brave; he wasn't irascible towards anyone behind his back (21-24). He is in paradise, is renowned, and his dwelling place is in Enoch's houses (37,38). The final verse finds Tomas in heaven commended to the care of St Tysul and those grieving for him in his home in the parish of Gwenog (53-56).

The travels of Lewys in this little corner of Wales represent just a small part of his output. This material shows him as at ease with the complexity of mixing measures in *awdlau* as

he is with the deceptive simplicity of the *cywydd* preferred by many in this period. It is with other patrons that examples of genre beyond *mawl* and *marwnad* are found, such as asking and thanking poems. E. Jones (1997,233) observes that Lewys solicited “two cows from ladies in Elfael, a green mantle from Elis Holh of Gladestry, (see GLGC,163), and a bow and arrow from Dafydd Llwyd of Abertanat … Perhaps the most curious of his *cywyddau gofyn* is the one asking William Vaughan, constable of Aberystwyth Castle, to shave his beard for him (see GLGC,90)…” after returning from a pilgrimage.

Religion

It is evident from the examples from Ceredigion above that Lewys is as familiar with the religious pantheon of saints, biblical characters and holy places as he is with the classical bardic material of Welsh heroes and legends. As Johnston suggests (2014,244), Lewys was possibly the most godly ('*duwiol*') poet of his time, though he wasn't pious and puritanical like Siôn Cent. Lewys would enjoy worldly pleasures as much as he would be comfortable praying for support against misadventure for himself and his patrons. Apart from the religious material that peppers most of his poetry there are poems to patrons who were priests or from a religious order and there are nine works that are specifically dedicated to religious topics, such as the 120 verse chained *englynion* to God (GLGC 1), a *cywydd* to the Crucifix (2) and works to different saints (3-9). There is also evidence, perhaps, that he was educated in a religious house.⁵⁴

In his lively account of the Wars of the Roses in Wales, Howell Evans (1915) has a chapter titled ‘The historical value of contemporary Welsh literature’, where under the heading ‘national prejudices’ Evans discusses the ‘invectives and vilification’ of the poets against the ‘Saxon’. He goes on: “This feature in the poets, however, has its value for the historian; for it reveals the deep chasm which separated the two nations. Its most outspoken exponent was Lewys Glyn Cothi who could rarely hide his invincible repugnance to the name of Saxon” (p.3). Could a man capable of fluent sensitivity in the form of the *marwnad* also be

justifiably accused of using ‘invective’ against the English? Well, some of his poetry when roused by events in the Wars of the Roses is muscular and passionate:

A'r gwragedd Seisnig i'r dŵr meddal,

a'r Saesnes ormes i dref Gingsal,

a'r Saesneg wangreg i wâl - yr eigion,

a'r Saeson duon, ddimyn ys tâl.

(GLGC 12:69-72)

Here Jasper Tudor is urged to drive the English into the sea, the English oppression to Kinsale (Eire) and the weak English to the deep. It is also true the expression of ire against the ‘Sais’ is a trope commonly used in the tradition of Welsh literature.⁵⁵

Lancastrians, Yorkists and the English

Welsh leaders and their retinues fought and died in battles associated with the Wars of the Roses, both within Wales and beyond. This meant that Lewys himself experienced the grief of loss for friends and patrons.⁵⁶ The penal laws instituted after the Glyndŵr rising had established a kind of internal apartheid against Welsh people in parts of their own country.⁵⁷ Additionally, the hope for a rise to power of Welsh leaders in Wales and on the throne of England/Britain as potential liberators from these oppressions was a powerful driver behind Welsh support and participation in this battle for the English throne. Lewys himself saw the Lancastrians, particularly Jasper Tudor and later Henry, as the embodiment of this opportunity. He wrote six works to members of the Tudor family (GLGC,10-15) and makes many favourable references to them in his other works.

E.D. Jones refers to an unsubstantiated story (1997, 228) that Lewys was involved in the campaign that led to the defeat of the Lancastrians at Mortimer's Cross on 2 February

1461. The poet also refers to his hiding place on the slopes of Pumplumon in a *cywydd* to Maredudd ap Maredudd (GLGC, 191: 27-30).

There is a tradition loosely supported by a couple of his poems that Lewys may have been treated badly by men in Chester as a result of the Lancastrian Penal Laws (E.D. Jones, 232, GLGC xxvii). The poet's particular works for Lancastrians do appear to betray his leanings but it is notable that "the border Yorkists welcomed his visits. Patron and poet understood the basic principle of bardism. The poet was professionally bound to praise his patron for his loyalty to his overlord and the patron accepted eulogy without questioning the poet's political affiliations" (E.D Jones, 227). Glanmor Williams (7) notes the fact that Lewys mourned the deaths of Welsh Yorkists at and after the battle of Edgecote (Danesmoor) near Banbury in 1469 (GLGC, 124). Lewys Glyn Cothi seems to be primarily concerned with Wales and those who might advance its cause.⁵⁸

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Footnotes

³⁶ First poem with a definite date is *marwnad* to Syr Gruffydd Fychan from Gegidfa in July 1447. Last datable poem is a *cywydd* to Wiliam ap Rhys (GLGC, 46) in 1488; it is thus suggested Lewys died in 1489. GLGC xxiii.

³⁷ The Table of Contents in GLGC, ix-xvi, separates the works firstly into two groups: 1. Religious nine poems and six poems to Tudors; 2. Poems to patrons classified by the area the patrons lived. Two hundred and thirty eight poems in total.

³⁸ GLGC: 71-81,83-86.

³⁹ Caeo includes the river Cothi.

⁴⁰ Deio ap Ieuan Du, Dafydd Nanmor and Lewys Glyn Cothi all wrote *marwnadau* to Rhys ap Maredudd of Tywyn.

⁴¹ *Cyhydedd naw ban*: groups of four lines of nine syllables per line with a common rhyme in each four. Each line should include *cynghanedd*. See Glossary.

⁴² Ferwig is the parish in which the home of the lords of Tywyn was located.

⁴³ PWLGC, V1, p.258; NBSA, p.102. Siancyn Llwyd of Llwyndafydd seems to be the same *uchelwr* who Deio ap Ieuan Du wrote praising his wine (GDID 9) and is also mentioned in an asking poem for a swan to Tomos of Trefdraeth (GDID 10).

⁴⁴ Rwmney - sweet wine of Greek origin; malmsey – a strong sweet wine also of Greek origin; osey – sweet white wine from Portugal or Spain. See: <http://geiriadur.ac.uk/gpc/gpc.html?gwin>

⁴⁵ Saunders Lewis, Braslun o Hanes Llenyddiaeth Gymraeg, Caerdydd, 1932, 132 : 'y connoisseurs biau barddoniaeth Gymraeg y Ganrif Fawr.'

⁴⁶ Mentioned in *Historia Regum Britanniae* as a leader of the Britons in the 5th century, won important conquests over the English.

⁴⁷ See [Glossary](#).

⁴⁸ Caersidydd a mythological place referred to in the book of Taliesin especially the ‘boasting Taliesin’ See note 47 to poem 74 in GLGC. Oswallt King in the north east of Britain c.604-642 referred to in the saga poems by Heledd. St Frideswide died 727, established a nunnery in Oxford. Patron saint of the University and the city. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10183?docPos=1> accessed Nov 16 2016.

⁴⁹ Lewis.S, ‘A Topographical Dictionary of Wales, Vol 2, (1845) London,415. - The name probably derived from *Llanfihangel Tref-Deyrn* associated with a church dedicated to St Michael the archangel.

⁵⁰ The mother of Hywel ap Dafydd of Gwernan was descended from the grandfather of Rydderch ap Tewdwr. GLGC 84:25 note. Hywel ap Dafydd of Gwernan's great grandmother was descended from Llawdden. GLGC 84:25 note. Owain ap Gruffudd (y Glyn), GLGC 17:39 note.

⁵¹ Nicholas Carlisle, Topographical Dictionary of Wales of the Dominion of Wales, London, 1811.(Llan Wenog)

⁵² PWLGC, V2, 290, note on poem IV. Though there is another story that J.E. Lloyd (1937) recounts that ‘it was through the agency of Rhigyfarch, a cleric of the town, that the capture [of Cardigan Castle] was effected, and it was his own men who handed over to Rhys the constable of the castle, the famous Robert fitzStephen,...’ 65.

⁵³ Lewys varies the length of the first couplet in places. For *gwawdodyn byr* see note ... on page ... above.

⁵⁴ E.D Jones (1995,225) suggests an englyn in the *awdl* to Morgan son of Owain, Prior of Carmarthen (66) includes a reference to Lewys’ background of learning in a religious house. Johnston (GLGC, xxiv) refers to this and also to a *cywydd* to Syr Huw Iolo, priest of Llansanffraid-yn-Elfael that may refer to the education of LGC (154:22-24). Johnston observes this church was one of the prebendaries of the church college of Abergwili, not far from his home. He wonders if it was here Lewys learnt his latin and how to illustrate manuscripts (GLGC, xxiv)?

⁵⁵ Thomas Parry (1955) in his history of the Welsh Poetry refers particularly to the vaticinatory poetry ‘between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, like Adda Fras, Y Bardd Cwsg, Y Bergam, Rhys Fardd.’ p.157. Johnston (2014, ch 12) devotes a chapter to *Proffwydoliaeth a Phropaganda* (Prophecy and Propaganda) in which the trope of Wales rising up and usurping the English is a dominant theme.

⁵⁶ GLGC,124 - Tomas ap Syr Roger Fychan and Herbert Earl of Pembroke fighting on the Yorkist side were beheaded with several of his relatives at Banbury after the battle of Danesmoor (Edgecote).

⁵⁷ Lewys celebrates the occasion of the appointment of Welsh leaders to office, as it meant that Welshman could be preferred, contrary to the practices of the penal laws (GLGC,104:39-43): ‘*Ni welir Sais diddirwy/na Saeson mewn sesiwn mwy,/ na dyn o Sais yn dwyn swydd,/na deuSais na bon’ diswydd.*’

⁵⁸ Rhidian Griffiths (2013) explores the loyalties and motives of Welshmen who participated in both sides during the Wars of the Roses, commenting also on the support of poets also. In the context of Guto’r Glyn’s support for the Yorkists, Griffiths titles his paper ‘*Mwy o Gymro na Iorcaid.*’ (69).