

DEATH AND COMMEMORATION IN LATE
MEDIEVAL WALES

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Abstract

This study examines the attitudes to and commemoration of death in Wales in the period between the end of the thirteenth century and the middle of the sixteenth century by analysis of the poetical work produced during this period. In so doing, this is placed in the wider context of death and commemoration in Europe.

Although there are a number of memorial tombs and some evidence of religious visual art in Wales which has survived from the late medieval period, in comparison with that to be found in many other European countries, this is often neither so commonplace nor so imposing. However, the poetry produced during this period very much reflects the visual material that was produced in other parts of Europe. The poetry shows that the Welsh gentry at that time were familiar with many of the themes surrounding death and commemoration so obvious in European visual art such as the macabre and the fate of both the body and the soul after death.

With war, famine and disease being so commonplace during the Middle Ages, and the late medieval period witnessing the effects of the Black Death, it is, perhaps, little wonder that macabre imagery and concerns about the fate of the soul were so often produced in European visual art of the time. These concerns are reflected in the Welsh poetry of the period with several poets composing quite vivid poetry describing the fate of the body as a decomposing corpse after death or allusions to the personification of Death appearing to claim its victims. The tension that many felt between the role of God on Judgement Day and God as Redeemer is also apparent in a number of the poems composed at this time.

This study shows how important the role of the poet was amongst the gentry in Wales during the late medieval period, a role which ensured that the patrons of the poets were immortalised in words rather than by physical memorials. It also highlights the importance of poetical works of the period as an important primary source for historical research. Many of the poems give a contemporaneous account of important events of the period such as symptoms of plague victims which confirm that the Black Death was indeed the bubonic form of the plague.

Acknowledgements

Although completed on a part-time basis over a five-year period, this study has impacted on my personal time and that of my family considerably. Despite this, both my wife, Wendy, and my son, Craig, have been extremely supportive throughout. For putting up with me locking myself away in my study, dragging you both around countless churches, historical sites and libraries and being sound boards for me to bounce my ideas off, I thank you both from the bottom of my heart. Diolch yn fawr i chi'ch dau – rwyf yn cyflwyno hwn i chi ac i Kirsty fy merch.

When I first embarked on what has at times seemed like the work of a lifetime, it was with what was then the University of Wales, Newport that I was a student. I would like to thank the staff of the History Department, the Library and the Postgraduate Research Centre for their support in helping me begin this journey. In particular, I owe a massive debt of gratitude to Professor Madeleine Gray for the amazing support and direction which she has given me throughout the last five years. There were one or two low points in the final year when I started to feel that this was just not happening; an hour's conversation with Maddy soon had me revitalised and back on track. Thank you so much Maddy.

Having decided to produce this work in English added an extra burden – that of translating medieval Welsh into modern English. It was on Professor Ann Parry Owen that the task of checking my interpretation and translation fell and I am extremely grateful to her for the help and guidance that she has provided throughout. Also to the Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Research for allowing Professor Parry Owen the time to provide that assistance.

My final thanks goes to all those who went before me, transcribing and analysing the works of the Welsh poets, be they research students whose dissertations I have studied or editors of the works of specific poets. I could not have completed this research without reference to all that has gone before. I can only hope that my work is up to the standard that they have set and will help further promote a greater understanding of the part that Wales and the Welsh have played not just within our own borders, but throughout the United Kingdom and beyond.

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Abbreviations

- DE Roberts, T. (ed) (1914) *Gwaith Dafydd ab Edmwnd*. Bangor: The Bangor Welsh Manuscript Society.
- DWB Dictionary of Welsh Biography Available at:
<<http://wbo.llgc.org.uk/en/index.html>>
- GC Daniel, R. I. (ed.) (1999) *Gwaith Casnodyn*. Aberystwyth: Canolfan Uwchefrydiau Cymreig a Cheltaidd.
- GDC Daniel, R. I. (ed.) (2002) *Gwaith Dafydd y Coed a Beirdd Eraill o Lyfr Coch Hergest*. Aberystwyth: Canolfan Uwchefrydiau Cymreig a Cheltaidd.
- GDEp Thomas, O. (ed.) (2002) *Gwaith Dafydd Epynt*. Aberystwyth: Canolfan Uwchefrydiau Cymreig a Cheltaidd.
- GDID Davies, A. E. (ed.) (1992) *Gwaith Deio ab Ieuan Du a Gwilym ab Ieuan Hen*. Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru.
- GGDT Costigan, N. G. (Bosco), Daniel, R. I. and Johnston, D. (eds.) (1995) *Gwaith Gruffudd ap Dafydd ap Tudur, Gwilym Ddu o Arfon, Trahaearn Brydydd Mawr ac Iorwerth Beli*. Aberystwyth: Canolfan Uwchefrydiau Cymreig a Cheltaidd.
- GGG Ifans, Rh., Parry Owen, A., Dyfed Rowlands, W. and Rheinallt, E. H. (eds.) (1997) *Gwaith Gronw Gyriog, Iorwerth ab y Cyriog, Mab Clochyddyn, Gruffudd ap Tudur Goch ac Ithel Ddu*. Aberystwyth: Canolfan Uwchefrydiau Cymreig a Cheltaidd.
- GGGr Lewis, B. J. And Salisbury, E. (eds.) (2010) *Gwaith Gruffudd Gryg*. Aberystwyth: Canolfan Uwchefrydiau Cymreig a Cheltaidd.
- GGH Bowen, D. J. (ed.) (1990) *Gwaith Gruffudd Hiraethog*. Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru.
- GGLI Ifans, Rh. (ed.) (2000) *Gwaith Gruffudd Llwyd a'r Llygliwiaid Eraill*. Aberystwyth: Canolfan Uwchefrydiau Cymreig a Cheltaidd.
- GGM Howells, N.A (ed.) (2001) *Gwaith Gwerful Mechain ac Eraill*. Aberystwyth: Canolfan Uwchefrydiau Cymreig a Cheltaidd.

- Lewis, B. (ed.) (2003) *Gwaith Gruffudd ap Meredith: i Canu i Deulu Penmynydd*. Aberystwyth: Canolfan Uwchefrydiau Cymreig a Cheltaidd.
- GGMD i
- Lewis, B. (ed.) (2005) *Gwaith Gruffudd ap Meredith: ii Canu Crefyddol*. Aberystwyth: Canolfan Uwchefrydiau Cymreig a Cheltaidd.
- GGMD ii
- Parry Owen, A. (ed.) (2007) *Gwaith Gruffudd ap Meredith: iii Canu Amrywiol*. Aberystwyth: Canolfan Uwchefrydiau Cymreig a Cheltaidd.
- GGMD iii
- Gwefan Guto'r Glyn / Guto'r Glyn Website
<www.gutorglyn.net>
- GG.net
- Jones, A. E.(ed.) (1980) *Gwilym Tew: Astudiaeth Destunol a Chymharol o'i Lawysgrif, Peniarth 51, ynghyd ag Ymdriniaeth â'i Farddoniaeth* Ph D Thesis Bangor: Prifysgol Cymru.
- GGT
- Jones, I. (ed.) (1963) *Gwaith Hywel Cilan*. Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru.
- GHC
- Lake, A. C. (ed.) (1995) *Gwaith Huw ap Dafydd ap Llywelyn ap Madog*. Aberystwyth: Canolfan Uwchefrydiau Cymreig a Cheltaidd.
- GHD
- Evans, D. F. (ed.) (2000) *Gwaith Hywel Swrdwal a'i Deulu*. Aberystwyth: Canolfan Uwchefrydiau Cymreig a Cheltaidd.
- GHS
- Bryant-Quinn, M. P. (ed.) (2000) *Gwaith Ieuan Brydydd Hir*. Aberystwyth: Canolfan Uwchefrydiau Cymreig a Cheltaidd.
- GIBH
- Jones, H. Ll. and Rowlands, E. I. (eds.) (1975) *Gwaith Iorwerth Fynglwyd*. Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru.
- GIF
- Johnston, D. R. (ed.) (1998) *Gwaith Iolo Goch*. Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru.
- GIG
- Bryant-Quinn, M.P. (ed.) (2003) *Gwaith Ieuan ap Llywelyn Fychan, Ieuan Llwyd Brydydd a Lewys Aled*. Aberystwyth: Canolfan Uwchefrydiau Cymreig a Cheltaidd.
- GILIF
- Daniel, R. I. (ed.) (2003) *Gwaith Ieuan ap Rhydderch*. Aberystwyth: Canolfan Uwchefrydiau Cymreig a Cheltaidd.
- GIRh
- Lake, A. C. (ed.) (1994) *Gwaith Lewys Daron*. Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru.
- GLD

- GLGC Johnston, D. (ed.) (1995) *Gwaith Lewys Glyn Cothi*. Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru.
- GLM Rowlands, E. I. (ed.) (1975) *Gwaith Lewys Môn*. Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru.
- GLMorg Lake, A. C. (ed.) (2004) *Gwaith Lewys Morgannwg (2 vols.)* Aberystwyth: Canolfan Uwchefrydiau Cymreig a Cheltaidd.
- GLI Daniel, R. I. (ed.) (2006) *Gwaith Llawdden*. Aberystwyth: Canolfan Uwchefrydiau Cymreig a Cheltaidd.
- GLIBH Parry Owen, A. and Evans, D. F. (eds.) (1996) *Gwaith Llywelyn Brydydd Hoddnant, Dafydd ap Gwilym, Hillyn ac Eraill*. Aberystwyth: Canolfan Uwchefrydiau Cymreig a Cheltaidd.
- GLIG Johnston, D. (ed.) (1998) *Gwaith Llywelyn Goch ap Meurig Hen*. Aberystwyth: Canolfan Uwchefrydiau Cymreig a Cheltaidd.
- GLIGT Daniel, R. I. (ed.) (2007) *Gwaith Llywelyn ap Gutun*. Aberystwyth: Canolfan Uwchefrydiau Cymreig a Cheltaidd.
- GMB Lake, A. C. (ed.) (2002) *Gwaith Mathau Brwmffild*. Aberystwyth: Canolfan Uwchefrydiau Cymreig a Cheltaidd.
- GMBen Lewis, J. B. and Morys, T. (eds.) (2007) *Gwaith Madog Benfras ac Eraill o Feirdd y Bedwaredd Ganrif ar Ddeg*. Aberystwyth: Canolfan Uwchefrydiau Cymreig a Cheltaidd.
- GMD Edwards, H. M. (ed.) (2006) *Gwaith Madog Dwygraig*. Aberystwyth: Canolfan Uwchefrydiau Cymreig a Cheltaidd.
- GMRh Roberts, E. (ed.) (2003) *Gwaith Maredudd ap Rhys a'i Gyfoedion*. Aberystwyth: Canolfan Uwchefrydiau Cymreig a Cheltaidd.
- GO Bachellery, E. (ed.) (1950) *L'oeuvre Poétique De Gutun Owain*. Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion.
- GPC *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru: A Dictionary of the Welsh Language* (1950-2002) Vols. I - IV. Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru. Also available online at: <<http://geiriadur.ac.uk/gpc/gpc.html>>
- GPhE Bryant-Quinn, M. P. (ed.) (2001) *Gwaith Syr Phylib Emlyn, Syr Lewys Meudwy a Mastr Harri ap Hywel*. Aberystwyth: Canolfan Uwchefrydiau Cymreig a Cheltaidd.

- GRR Lake, A.C. (ed.) (2013) *Gwaith Raff ap Robert*. Aberystwyth: Canolfan Uwchefrydiau Cymreig a Cheltaidd.
- GRhB Williams, J. M. and Rowlands, E. I. (eds.) (1976) *Gwaith Rhys Brydydd a Rhisiart ap Rhys*. Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru.
- GRhGE Evans, D. F. (ed.) (2007) *Gwaith Rhys Goch Eryri*. Aberystwyth: Canolfan Uwchefrydiau Cymreig a Cheltaidd.
- GSC Lake, A. C. (ed.) (1996) *Gwaith Siôn Ceri*. Aberystwyth: Canolfan Uwchefrydiau Cymreig a Cheltaidd.
- GSDT Ifans, Rh. (ed.) (2005) *Gwaith Syr Dafydd Trefor*. Aberystwyth: Canolfan Uwchefrydiau Cymreig a Cheltaidd.
- GSH Lake, A. C. (ed.) (1999) *Gwaith Siôn ap Hywel ap Llywelyn Fychan*. Aberystwyth: Canolfan Uwchefrydiau Cymreig a Cheltaidd.
- GSRh Jones, N. A and Rheinallt, E. H. (eds.) (1995) *Gwaith Sefnyn, Rhisiardyn ac Eraill*. Aberystwyth: Canolfan Uwchefrydiau Cymreig a Cheltaidd.
- GTP Roberts, T. (ed.) (1958) *Gwaith Tudur Penllyn ac Ieuan ap Tudur Penllyn*. Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru.
- GyB Johnston, D. (ed.) (1993) *Galar y Beirdd Poets' Grief*. Caerdydd: Tafol.
- HCLI Harries, L. (ed.) (1953) *Gwaith Huw Cae Llwyd ac Eraill*. Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru.
- IGP Johnston, D. (ed.) (1993) *Iolo Goch: Poems*. Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer.
- OBWV Parry, Thomas (ed.) (1962) *The Oxford Book of Welsh Verse*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- TA Jones, T.G. (ed.) (1926) *Gwaith Tudur Aled*. Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru.

1 Introduction

It was the pioneering work by French historian, Philippe Ariès which seemed to open the door for debate on what had been perhaps a taboo subject in the twentieth century, namely that of death. While some of his findings may be disputed by some academics, his works such as *Centuries of Childhood* and *Western Attitudes to Death* still remain the standard references when studying the subject. It is likely that his work prompted many others such as Jeannie Labno (2011) and Thomas Lacqueur (2015) to analyse attitudes to death in various European, if not world, cultures and in so doing, develop and challenge Ariès theories. It is a field in which the historical context of attitudes to death in Wales, like so many other aspects of Welsh history, has been largely ignored in the wider international arena.

Similarly, how the Welsh historically commemorated their dead has received scant attention outside the Welsh-speaking community. Many studies have been undertaken such as those by Eamon Duffy (1992), Ralph Houlbrooke (1989 and 1998) and Richard Swanson (2007) and much has been published in journals and books by others such as Sally Badham (2015) and Philip Lindley (2007) on commemorative tombs in England, comparing them with those in continental Europe. As far as Wales is concerned, within the mainstream analysis of British history, it has often received little more than an afterthought or footnote. This may be because memorial tombs in Wales are fewer in number, and where they do exist, are less ornate than many of those seen elsewhere. It may also be that this has led to the significance of Welsh culture being seen as, at best, of little value in the overall European culture of memorials to the dead. Despite this scant attention paid to Welsh history by those from outside Wales, within the country, there have been a number of notable studies of memoria by those such as C. A. Gresham who published a study of north Wales memorial tombs in 1968 and J. M. Lewis whose study of Welsh monumental brasses was published in 1974. More recent studies have included those by Madeleine Gray (1991, 2000 and 2016) and Rhianydd Biebrach (2010) whose work on Welsh memorials and iconography has been extensive. However, despite the value of the work undertaken by these and others, it has tended to concentrate on the material aspects of commemoration, with little reference to the rich resource of medieval Welsh literature. The findings of these researchers, both on the Welsh aspect and the wider European context, along with the

work of many other researchers is considered in more detail in the relevant chapters that follow.

The purpose of this study is to gain an understanding of the attitudes to death and how the dead were commemorated in Wales in the late medieval period within the wider European context. In order to achieve this, a number of resources are considered. Although some attention is paid to memorial tombs and wills in Wales, the main area of research is the rich resource contained in the poetry composed at that time. This is a resource which has been largely neglected by historians despite the fact that it contains a wealth of information which can inform us of the customs and practices of the time in which it was composed. The fact that several of these poets were also clerics (as often denoted by the title 'Syr') or priests gives what may be considered as an 'official' description of the customs and practices surrounding death and commemoration. However, many of the poets were also from a less privileged background, so that their words may reflect a better understanding of how the ordinary populace viewed death and its associated memorial customs.

It may be that the reason that this poetry has not been used extensively as an historical source until recently is the difficulty presented by interpreting it. Much use is made of metaphorical language and this is further complicated by the very nature of the poetry itself, composed as it is in the unique Welsh *cynghanedd*, and the fact that it was composed in medieval Welsh, though this latter point does not present too great a challenge. However, many of the poetical works have now been edited, with the editors providing copious notes to help the interpretation of specific lines and phrases. With such a wealth of modern edited version of poetry and so much scholarly comment on the poems, this presents an ideal opportunity to examine this resource in order to gain a fuller understanding of its historical context. In so doing, it will help to promote greater understanding not only of Welsh history and culture but also of the part that Wales and the Welsh played in developing the wider European culture throughout the centuries to the wider non-Welsh-speaking audience as well as to the Welsh themselves.

2 Methodology

The stated aim of this thesis is to research attitudes and customs associated with death and commemoration in late medieval Wales and comparing these with what was happening in the wider European context. The first thing that had to be decided was what were the boundaries of the research. That is, a definition was required of what is meant by the phrase late medieval Wales so that the limits could be set for start and end dates of the period to be analysed.

The death of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd at Cilmeri in 1282 is considered to be the end of an era, the end of the Age of the Princes in Wales. Though there were a few skirmishes after this, such as those which lead to the death of Llywelyn's brother, Dafydd, this was a decisive point in Welsh history which had a far-reaching impact. With the loss of royal patronage, the poets had to seek their living elsewhere by shifting their focus somewhat. This period also coincides with Le Goff's assertion that it was at the end of the thirteenth century that the belief in Purgatory as a physical reality was accepted, and thus it was decided that this would present the ideal starting point for the research.

Following the Reformation of the Church in England starting in the 1530s, the belief in Purgatory and all its associated industry was actively discouraged, with the practices based on the belief made illegal. At the same time, the Acts of 1536 and 1542 'incorporated, annexed and united' Wales into the English sovereign state so that Wales from this time on became subject to English Law. This was a defining point for Wales, the beginning of a new era: it is perhaps at this time that we can say the early modern period began in Wales. Therefore, although the belief in Purgatory, and Catholicism in general, did not disappear overnight, it was decided that the end period for the research would be the mid sixteenth century. The period of research coincides with that era which is known in Wales as the age of the Poets of the Nobility or *Beirdd yr Uchelwyr*. Its time span is from c1300 until c1550 though there may be a slight overlap at either end in order to assess any changes which may have occurred following the loss of royal patronage at one end and the radical changes in the Church at the other.

The starting point of the research was to consider the background to the context of death and memorial of the deceased throughout Europe. As the nearest neighbour to Wales is England, it was felt that the English context should be given the greatest amount of consideration. However, as we know from the writings of the poets themselves, travel was not just confined to our nearest neighbour but also went to mainland Europe and beyond, especially by the pilgrims of the period. These travellers, along with travellers such as monks from Europe to Wales, would have brought some of the continental ideas with them to Wales. For this reason, the wider context of mainland European beliefs and practices has been included.

As is discussed elsewhere in this thesis, the quantity and quality of medieval tombs in Wales is considerably less than that found in many other parts of Europe; however, this is more than made up for by the quantity and quality of poems which were produced in Wales. Although much of that poetry has been lost, there is still a sufficient number of poems which have survived to the present day which make this an invaluable source and a unique historical foundation on which to analyse the way in which death was commemorated in Wales in the late medieval period.

Consequently, it is almost by definition a desk-top type research project, analysing the poetry composed in order to deduce how death was commemorated in Wales at that time. This is supplemented by some field research to the extent that several tombs were visited and their inscriptions examined.

Having established that the research would be based on a study of the poetry of the period, the first stage was to ascertain the text of the poems to be studied. It has traditionally been believed that the vast majority of the poems composed in this period were not actually recorded at the time but committed to memory and written down at a later period, in most cases by someone other than the actual poet who composed the work. In medieval Wales, a professional reciter known as a *datgeiniad* would often have been employed to recite or sing the poetry of a more accomplished poet. This *datgeiniad* would have had to memorise the poems performed, so it is also possible that later written versions in the manuscripts could have been based on the *datgeiniad's* version which may itself have been a corrupted form of the original. However, recent scholarly belief is that some of the poets themselves were also literate and kept written copies of their own poetry (e.g. Ann Parry Owen 2010): for example, manuscripts Peniarth 54 and 55 are believed to contain many autograph

poems by poets such as Dafydd Epynt, Hywel Dafi and others. Therefore in some cases, later copies of some poems are believed to be derived from a source in the poet's own hand. For example, even though no poem has survived in Iolo Goch's own hand, the high quality of many later copies of his poems suggest that they derived from a good exemplar, most likely to be in the poet's own hand. Often, more than one copy was made; sometimes from an earlier copy and at others, independently of other copies. Where multiple copies of the same poem exist, there are often differences between them. Occasionally this is seen as a difference in wording; in other cases, the order in which the lines were written differ between the various manuscripts. There are also copies of some poems which contain additional lines in some manuscripts which do not appear in other copies. This is only to be expected when those committing the words to written form were relying on what others could remember or on their own defective memory. Helen Fulton has pointed out (1996:xix – xxviii) that choosing the manuscript which best represents the original work of the author is a task which is next to impossible. Each written copy made is subject to the influence of the editor of that copy. It tends to represent the ideal of the age in which the transcriber or copyist lived rather than what may have been the actual format used by the original poet. This is especially true of later copies as many later editors tended to correct what they considered to be incorrect *cynghanedd*, basing this on the rules of their own period rather than the periods in which the poetry was composed (Enid Roberts 2003: 9). Indeed, Bernard Cerquiglini has pointed out that '[e]very copy is alteration' (1999:2). Quoting Joseph Bédier, Cerquiglini compares manuscripts to a living entity, evolving with each new transcription, but each copy having an equal validity that needs to be compared with all other copies however imperfect they may be. As Nicolas Jacobs argues, any variation between different versions of the same composition 'represents a decision on the part of the copyist' (1998:4) and are therefore 'literal realizations of the texts they represent' (*ibid*). For Welsh manuscripts, this would seem to imply that all copies have equal validity. Autograph poems are rare and each manuscript copy has been subject to modification at the hand of the copyist and can therefore only be a representation of the original composition.

To have studied all the manuscript versions of the poetry of such an extensive period as two hundred and fifty years would have been an immense task. It was therefore decided to use the *Beirdd yr Uchelwyr* series produced under the general editorship

of Ann Parry Owen at the University of Wales Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies as a starting point. As well as the fact that the poetic works in this series spans the period of research, the editorial quality of the series is of a very high standard. In some instances, the editor of a specific poet's work has reworded the poetry into modern Welsh. This makes translation of this work in to English easier; however, the process of editing is to a great extent a subjective process therefore the lines of the poems may be interpreted in many ways. It was therefore felt that both modern and medieval Welsh versions within those volumes which contained both versions should be examined. The editors of the poets in this series also made copious notes explaining how they had arrived at their interpretation of the meaning of some words. Included within these notes, the editors have also explained the historical context of many of the lines. This has been particularly useful in this research and great use has been made of these notes provided by the editors.

As a substantial study of the work of specific poets such as Dafydd ap Gwilym had already been undertaken, these poets were not included in the *Beirdd yr Uchelwyr* series (Ann Parry Owen, pers. corr.). In fact, for this poet and also Guto'r Glyn, there are websites which contain original texts of all the poems attributed to them along with translations into English; thus, for these two poets the relevant website for each of them were used. Every poem by all the poets whose work has been included in this series was analysed for relevance to the field of study, death and commemoration.

Having analysed all poems by the poets in the *Beirdd yr Uchelwyr* series, it was necessary to consider which other poets should be studied. For this, the volume produced by Elizabeth J. Louis Jones and Henry Lewis in 1928 *Mynegai i Farddoniaeth y Llawysgrifau* was utilised. Although now an old book, this publication provides a comprehensive list of poets from the period being studied, along with an indication of their poetry and the manuscripts in which this poetry can be found. Using the list of the names of the poets in the book as a starting point along with the National Library of Wales Maldwyn website (which is a much more modern and therefore up-to-date list of poets and manuscripts), edited versions of the works of some of the poets which had not been included in the *Beirdd yr Uchelwyr* series were identified, along with a number of unpublished theses where the work had already been transcribed from the original manuscripts. For those poets whose

work appeared in edited books or unpublished theses, a slightly different approach was adopted. Having completed the study of every poem by every poet in the *Beirdd yr Uchelwyr* series, it had been identified that *marwnadau* and those poems of a religious nature contained the information relevant to this research. Therefore, for this second group of poets, it was decided to limit analysis to poems in these genres only.

There still remained a number of poets whose work had not been edited and which could contain some useful information for the research. The number of poems listed under each individual poet in Jones and Lewis was quite considerable with many of these having more than one manuscript source. It was therefore decided to consider only those which had been identified within the *Mynegai i Farddoniaeth y Llawysgrifau* as being *marwnadau*. There was a further complication in that there were numerous manuscript versions available for many of the poems – the largest number being fifteen versions of *Marwnad Gwilym ap Gruffudd* by Gwilym ap Sefnyn and fifteen versions of *Marwnad Hywel y Farf a Mallt ei wraig* by Rhys Pennad. To have studied every manuscript version of every *marwnad* which had not already been transcribed would have been beyond the scope of this research. Therefore, taking these facts into consideration, it was decided to undertake a sample of these poems and if something new was discovered, to increase the sample size. Initially, it was decided to concentrate the sample on a specific group of poems, choosing those composed to commemorate the death of children. Having undertaken this and with no significant new findings forthcoming, it was decided that sufficient evidence was available for the aims of this research in confining studies to the *Beirdd yr Uchelwyr* series along with published versions of the works of poets not in the series and a sample of theses.

In the *Beirdd yr Uchelwyr* series, all the volumes produced have adopted the same standard. Original manuscripts often have little or no punctuation and the editor of each volume has added punctuation to coincide with her or his interpretation of sentence structure. Each new line also starts with a capital letter irrespective of the punctuation which precedes it. Other edited works have not necessarily followed this approach. For instance, Dafydd Johnston in *Gwaith Lewys Glyn Cothi* has only used capital letters at the start of a sentence where the punctuation of the previous line dictates and while Bachellery has added punctuation when transcribing the work of

Gutun Owain, he has retained the original orthography of the manuscripts. The manuscript versions of the poetry studied contain little if any punctuation and the use of capital letters is rather haphazard. This haphazard use of capital letters can often lead to ambiguity such as the case of *angau/Angau* (death/Death). The upper-case letter at the start of this word would suggest the personification of Death while the lower case would likely refer to the death of someone. This ambiguity is discussed further in the section on Representation of Death. In quoting lines of poetry from the various sources, each has been quoted as it appears in the edited version.

When quoting from any of the edited versions of the poetical works, the convention used in the *Beirdd yr Uchelwyr* series has been adopted. This uses an abbreviation for the volume of poetry in which the poem appears followed by the number given to that specific poem by the editor of that volume. This is then followed by a colon and the line numbers that have been quoted. The abbreviations used are listed at the front of this thesis, but to give an example GLMorg 14:19 – 20 would refer to the fourteenth poem in the works of Lewys Morgannwg, lines nineteen and twenty. Where the editor has used Roman numerals, this has been translated to standard modern numbers. Similarly, there are occasional references to the editor's notes to a poem which follows the same convention with the addition of the letter n. If the reference is to the general notes for the poem, the letter n follows the poem number thus GLMorg 14n while if the reference is to the notes of a specific line, the following convention is used GLMorg 14:19n.

To interpret and analyse the poetry, it is first necessary to understand the principles of its construction. The Welsh poetry composed during this period is in a unique form called *cyghanedd*; it is a form which remains popular to this day. It is a form of poetry which has been described by J. E. Caerwyn Williams (1997:198) as the most artistic known to the West, but he also regards it as the most difficult to interpret. This difficulty is further exacerbated by the fact that, as Barry Lewis has pointed out, '*cyghanedd* was a living system whose rules could be varied, bent or even broken as occasion demanded' (2015:45). A full description of *cyghanedd* would be beyond the scope of this dissertation. However, in brief, it relies on a complex set of stressed and unstressed syllables along with internal alliteration and rhyme. There are, in fact, four kinds of *cyghanedd* and twenty-four measures, all of which have their own particular rules such as the number of syllables per line, how

consonants must correspond within and between lines and where rhymes should occur. In some cases, the poet may choose a particular word more for its value to meet the rules of *cynghanedd* than for its exact meaning and it is often the case that a particular phrase or line from within one poem is re-used by the same poet in other poems. For example, Lewys Daron used the phrase ‘Poed ar ran Pedr ei enaid!’ (*Let his soul be on behalf of Peter!*) in his *marwnad* for Maredudd ab Ieuan ap Robert, Dolwyddelan (GLD 21:88) and again in his *marwnad* for Owain ap Meurig, Bodeon (GLD 14:72). It is this complexity of understanding how *cynghanedd* works, along with the use of metaphor so common in poetry, which makes analysis of the verse such a difficult task. It should be noted that in analysing the poetry, no attempt has been made to evaluate the quality of the poetry or the *cynghanedd*, but rather to interpret what the poet is trying to convey about death and commemoration. It is the historical value of the poetry which is important for this study rather than the literary value.

At the outset of this research, it was decided that in order to reach the widest possible audience and also to bring some of the immense information available within Welsh language works from the Middle Ages to a hitherto unaware public, that it would be written in English. This has meant that quotations from the poetry have had to be translated from medieval Welsh into modern English. It was felt that the best way to achieve this would be to provide as direct a translation of the quotation as possible without losing the sense of the meaning of the quotation. In arriving at the translation, it has been done in such a manner as to convey the poetic aspect of the work, where this does not detract from the understanding of the poem, rather than provide a prosaic interpretation. Having done this, an explanation is then given as to how the quotations have been interpreted within the context of the subject matter of the poem, making considerable use of *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* in these interpretations. By doing it in this way, it allows the reader to make their own interpretation of the original version for comparison.

For a small number of the poets studied, their work has already been translated into English by editors of their work - perhaps two of the best-known examples of this are the recent websites dedicated to the work of Dafydd ap Gwilym and Guto'r Glyn. Where such translations are available, these have been used for the basis of analysis. However, where the translation given is open to a different

interpretation which is relevant to this research, an alternative translation has been offered and this noted in the text. There was also a small number of cases where I disagreed with a translation given but since it had little if any overall effect on the meaning of the poem, the translation provided has been left unchanged. For example, where Dafydd Johnston translated *Gwiw Dduw* as True God (GyB Haint y Nodau:73), GPC gives the meaning of *gwiw* as ‘apt, fit, fitting, meet, proper, worthy; useful, profitable, availing; fine, excellent, handsome, good’. As this has little if any effect on the overall message contained in the poem, Dafydd Johnston’s translation has been used.

In several of the volumes in the series *Beirdd yr Uchelwyr*, the editor has given a re-wording of the poem in modern Welsh. These re-wordings have been considered in arriving at translations as is the case in any other instance where an editor has provided a translation. However, in the end it is I who am responsible for the final translation and any errors therein. As far as was possible, the original medieval Welsh version was used as the source for the translation.

There are numerous quotations from the works of poetry which have been analysed, some of these being of considerable length. As both the Welsh and English version of the quotation has been included in the thesis, it was felt that long quotations would detract from the flow. Consequently, it was decided that any quotation greater than ten lines in length would be placed in the appendices and a reference made to the relevant appendix in the main body of the text.

Some use was also made of existing research into tombs from Wales of this period. A cross-reference was made between the subjects of the poems, i.e. the person being commemorated to establish whether there still exists a commemorative tomb for that individual. Where such a tomb does exist, an examination was made of it to establish whether or not there is an inscription still remaining and if so, how this inscription fits in with the prevalent attitudes of the time. In some instances, this involved a field trip for a physical examination of the tomb itself while in other instances, use was made of existing research.

2.1 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis starts with an examination of the background and context of commemoration of the dead and attitudes toward death in the wider European context, with some references to cultures outside Europe, but mainly examining the practices in England. This is compared with the situation which we see was prevalent in contemporary Wales, with the various references to death and commemoration being discussed in the following sections, each section dealing with a different topic.

The first section considers the fate of the deceased, looking for any clues as to how they died or to whom the poet attributed their death. As the Black Death had such a great effect across Europe in the fourteenth century, analysis of this in the poetry of the time comprises a major part of this section. This section also deals with the personification of death.

The next section considers the attitude to death itself and what it was that caused the death of the individual being commemorated. This is followed with an analysis of the presumed fate of the corpse after death. In this section comparison is made with the visual art which was so prevalent throughout Europe at the time such as the cadaver tombs and pictorial images as are seen in copies of the *Danse Macabre*. It can also be useful if the poets tell us where the subject of the *marwnad* was interred. In some instances, other records are available which give this information; more often than not, there are no such records. In some instances, the tomb of the subject of the *marwnad* is still in existence. However, we know that there have been occasions where such tombs have been relocated. Where the poet claims the subject has been interred can be compared with our current knowledge and may even confirm a suspicion of the original place of burial.

It was commonplace in poetry of the time to praise the subject highly and mourn his (or less often, her) passing; this is what it would be expected to see in these poems. The analysis of the poems looks for something beyond the usual; it is useful to examine to what extent the poets use hyperbole to convey their grief, going beyond what may be considered normal. There is also the issue of commemoration of the

death of children. There has been a considerable amount of discussion and dissension amongst academics regarding the place of children in medieval society and to what extent they were mourned after their death. The following section examines the evidence for mourning in Welsh poetry of the period and evaluates this again within the European context.

The final section deals with the fate of the soul after death and considers the subject of intercession on behalf of the soul on the part of the poet and his audience. Included in this section are references to the Day of Judgement along with concern about the fate of the soul, references to Purgatory and an analysis of any requests for intercessory prayers.

2.2 Names

Both personal names and names of places can prove to be a potential minefield for the non-Welsh speaker. As with English, there was not a standardised way of spelling words during the medieval period – in fact it was with the translation and publication of the Bible in 1588 that what may be called the first standardised version of Welsh became available to all Welsh speakers. Consequently, there are a variety of spellings used throughout within the manuscripts produced. For consistency, the spelling re-produced by the editor of each individual volume of poetical works has been used when discussing the subjects. This often means that the name used in the discussion has been spelled differently from how it would be spelled in modern Welsh.

As regards place names, where the Welsh and English versions are similar to each other the Welsh version has been used as this has now become common practice. Thus, Llandaf is used in place of Llandaff, Caernarfon in place of Caernarvon. Where there is a difference between the two versions, the English version has been used in keeping with the overall ethos of presenting the findings of this research to the wider monoglot English-speaking audience. Thus, the use of the English Carmarthen when referring to Caerfyrddin.

In 1536, the system of counties was introduced throughout Wales, giving the thirteen counties which existed until they were reformed in 1974 and again in 1996. Further reforms are still under discussion as this research is coming to an end. Since the use of the post-1974 or post-1996 versions of local authority boundaries may cause some confusion, it was decided to use the titles and boundaries in existence immediately prior to reform in 1974.

3 Historical Context

There has been considerable research into the field of death and commemoration in recent years which has mostly concentrated on material and documentary evidence. While these sources are scarce in Wales, we have a substantial heritage of medieval commemorative poetry. Unfortunately, this has been largely ignored by non-Welsh-speaking historians and the subject of death and commemoration itself has had limited coverage by scholars of Welsh literature. The main issue here is that all the poetry is in medieval Welsh and that which has been written about it is mostly in Welsh. The rationale of this research is therefore to analyse this invaluable resource in order to examine the attitude to death and commemoration in late medieval Wales within the wider European context.

The poetry which has survived from the late medieval period is dominated by poems sponsored by and produced for the nobility and gentry or *uchelwyr*. In many ways, it is similar to that produced during the earlier period for the Princes – poetry praising the patron, poems of requests for gifts and elegies or *marwnadau*. However, the poets of this time had not merely imitated the work of the previous generation but had also developed the art. The early fourteenth-century poems of the *Uchelwyr* period include such developments as the *cywydd*, a new style of poetry. It is also the period of what can perhaps be described as an explosion in the production of satirical poetry best exemplified by arguably the greatest Welsh poet of all time, Dafydd ap Gwilym.

At the end of the thirteenth century, following the Edwardian conquest, the poets of Wales are likely to have felt that their livelihood was at its greatest risk in centuries. Traditionally, the poet had been paid by the king or prince to ensure the immortality of the ruler in verse. The place of the poet in the court and the hierarchical structure of the various grades of poet had been enshrined in law as illustrated in the Laws of Hywel Dda. This came to a rather abrupt end on 12th December 1282. Llywelyn ap Gruffudd was killed by an English raiding party at Cilmeri near Builth Wells and, despite attempts to restore the Gwynedd dynasty by his brother Dafydd, the last royal dynasty of Wales came to an end and the role of court poet would have seemed to become superfluous.

Thus, at the beginning of the fourteenth century the Welsh poets were forced to reinvent themselves in order to survive. The rules of Welsh poetic practice, of which the earliest surviving written copy dates from the 1320s, were known as *Gramadegau'r Penceirddiaid* which is attributed to Einion Offeiriad. Some two hundred years later, the hierarchical structure of the poets was reaffirmed in the document known as the Statute of Gruffudd ap Cynan written at the time of the first Caerwys Eisteddfod in 1523.

Despite the likelihood of influence on Welsh literature from mainland Europe, there remained a distinctive native style to much poetry of this period. Dafydd Johnston (2005) suggests that this is likely to be because Wales is geographically on the fringe of Europe and further shows how other fringe literary traditions persisted in Ireland and Iceland.¹ In Wales in particular, the *marwnad* is seen as something distinctively native.

There is much evidence which shows that many Welsh men would have travelled extensively in Europe in medieval times for purposes of pilgrimage and for education. For instance, it is known that Adam of Usk travelled to Rome and practised law there (DWB). While some may have travelled to mainland Europe for their education, it seems that it was in England and at Oxford that most students from Wales chose to study (Hays 1968:325). Consequently, these well-travelled and well-versed individuals would have learned about much of European culture and could even have contributed to it in some way. It is equally probable that what these Welsh travellers witnessed on their journeys would have been brought back to Wales and likely have influenced Welsh culture.

3.1 Christianity in Wales

Following the adoption of Christianity by the Roman Empire, Wales became a part of the western European Catholic tradition. As such, Wales was influenced by and contributed to Christian beliefs and customs, including those associated with death and commemoration. Thus, in order to fully understand the way in which death was

¹ A more detailed analysis can be found in Johnston, Dafydd *Llên yr Uchelwyr* (Rhagymadrodd).

perceived and commemorated in medieval Wales, it is essential that the fuller European context is examined in some detail.

Some of the earliest death imagery recorded in Welsh literature is in the lives of the saints. In the life of Cadog for instance, it was claimed that he caused robbers to be swallowed up by the earth while Saint David gained the reputation of not only being able to rescue his friends from the depths of hell but also to consign his enemies there (Williams 1991:6). The church in Wales changed markedly with the coming of the Normans. From the mid fourteenth century onwards, the numbers of Welshmen appointed as bishops reduced considerably as their appointment became under the prerogative of the monarch. Along with this Anglicisation of the bishoprics, the Normans also endowed English abbeys with Welsh churches – for instance, Gloucester received Llancarfan – and introduced priories into Wales which were dependant on Benedictine abbeys in England and France. All of this means that the church in Wales would have been far more open to influence from outside sources. The link through Canterbury to Rome became much stronger and the doctrines of Rome would have received a much wider distribution throughout Wales. This influence of central doctrine was further strengthened in the following centuries by the spread of other monastic settlements, especially of the Cistercian order and to a lesser extent by the growth of the mendicant friaries. As Huw Pryce asserts, ‘the presence of the mendicants provides further evidence that Wales was not isolated from contemporary European trends’ (2009:417).

Although it was the Norman conquerors who introduced the reformed monastic orders into Wales, the native Welsh leaders were quick to follow suit. Gwenwynwyn ap Owain of Powys had granted a charter to Strata Marcella in 1191 ‘for the salvation of my soul and those of my father and mother and all my ancestors and successors’ (quoted from the charter in Williams 2001:169). Morgan ap Seysil gave land to Dore in c1245 ‘for his soul and the burial of his body’ (*op cit*). As Pryce points out (2009:420) the Cistercian houses appeared to strike a chord with Welsh people, with many Welshmen joining the order. Abbots of this order were expected to attend the General Chapter at Citeaux which was held annually. While it may be true that not all Welsh abbots attended every year, nevertheless, there was an expectation that they would attend regularly. This would reinforce the assumption that the people of Wales would have been in a position to learn of theological

changes in mainland European Christianity quite quickly, though, it seems, still maintaining a unique Welsh perspective. That the people of Wales continued to revere the native saints while at the same time, embracing the devotion of mainstream saints such as Mary shows how open they were to European ideas and how they were able to assimilate these ideas while still holding on to traditional beliefs.

Glanmor Williams (1991:8 – 9) comments on how the lives of the people during the Middle Ages would have been dominated by the imagery that would have been presented to them by the clergy. To them, life would have been a battle between the forces of good and evil, with the frighteningly real forces on either side fighting for human souls. One of their greatest fears would have been to have died without having their sins absolved and the images that were presented to them was of an eternal damnation whose unrelenting terror was so horrifyingly undeniable. It almost seems as if their lives would have been dominated with the knowledge that death was always at hand and that would lead to a terrifying judgement being made which could consign their immortal souls to the horrors of hell for eternity.

It is perhaps difficult for us in a twenty-first century western society to imagine the effect that visual imagery could have on the medieval audience. Most, if not all, of the congregation would not have been able to read the text which often accompanied these images but that does not necessarily mean that they would have been unable to decode the often subtle messages contained in them. Indeed. It is likely that many would surely have been overawed by such stark visual imagery in which death was often portrayed at this time. The imaginations of these people would likely have been further fuelled from the pulpit, where the joy of heaven and the eternal damnation of hell would have been expounded. Even though not everyone would have been willing to accept such dogma, it is probably true to say the priests of that age would have starved had they not preached about the horrors of hell.

With the advent of the printing press, literacy became more widespread during the later Middle Ages. Despite this, the imagery of the earlier period remained popular and indeed, many images were reproduced in the printed Books of Hours which appeared at this time. The fact that such images were so popular amongst the

ordinary people give rise to claims of idolatry, with the Lollards especially being vociferous in such accusations.²

3.2 Death and Commemoration

During the medieval period, the general populace gradually developed the belief of a kind of interim staging post for the soul between the death of an individual and its eventual destination (Le Goff 1984:1 – 14). It was generally believed that those who were pure such as saints would rise immediately on their death into the bosom of God in heaven while the evil would immediately fall into the clutches of damnation in hell. However, the fate of the not so good and not so bad along with that of the unbaptised child was a cause for concern. The fate of the unbaptised child caused particular anguish to parents as the church doctrine was that everyone was born in sin, being the fruit of the parents' intercourse which, since the Fall of Adam and Eve, was considered to be carnal lust. Since the new born child was unable to repent, the soul could only be saved through baptism. However, as the child had not lived long enough to commit further sin then the church considered the soul to be one 'not entirely good nor entirely bad' therefore its fate was to pass into the interim state of Limbo for the unbaptised. For those who died after baptism, the belief grew that the soul passed to a place where minor sins could be purged and so was born the doctrine of Purgatory. Here, the soul suffered the torment of fire and ice for a period of time which depended on how sinful the individual had been in life. It was also believed that the living were able to ease the suffering of the souls of the dead in Purgatory, indeed, that they had a duty to do so, and that this would be through the saying of prayers and masses and the giving of alms to the poor.

The belief in Purgatory as a physical place was not officially sanctioned by the Catholic Church until the thirteenth century; Berstein (2009:209) attributes this to Innocent IV's letter *Sub catholicae professione* of 1254. However, references to such a place occur long before that time with the evolution of the belief in Purgatory probably dating back to the time of St Augustine of Hippo (d. 430). It is in the text *Saint Patrick's Purgatory*, written sometime around 1180 that Purgatory is perhaps

² A full account of the use of imagery in medieval religion along with the claims and counter-claims that it represented idolatry can be found in Kathleen Kamerick (2002).

first explicitly described as a physical place. The English monk Bede (c673-735) related a story which has come to be known as the Incredible Vision of Drythelm (in Le Goff 1984:113 – 116). In this story, a pious man dies one night but comes back to life again the next morning. In his death, he is taken on a journey where he observes the souls of the dead. At one point, he sees souls alternatively going through consuming flames and cutting cold. These, he is told, are the souls of those who delayed confessing and repenting until on the death bed. They have to go through this trial because they left confession until so late. However, this suffering may be relieved by the prayers, alms and fasting of the living and especially the saying of masses. A. N. Galpern described this as ‘a cult of the living in the service of the dead’ (quoted in Gordon and Marshall 2000:3). By the end of the Middle Ages, the belief in Purgatory had become ingrained in the European psyche. In essence, it was seen as a place where those who had died before being able to reform their ways could seek a temporary refuge in order to purge the sins committed while living (Lindberg 1996). However, Purgatory was not to be seen as the easy option. In his *Supplication of Souls*, Thomas More (1478-1535) describes its horrors thus (cited in Lindberg 1996:32):

If ye pity any man in pain, never know ye pain comparable to ours; whose fires as far passeth in heat all the fires that ever burned upon earth . . . If ever ye lay sick and thought the night long and longed sore for day, while every hour seemed longer than five, bethink you then what a long night we silly souls endure, that lie sleepless, restless, burning and broiling in the dark fire one long night . . . of many years together.

Purgatory was seen as ‘a place above hell and fanned by its fires’, ‘a place of torment where souls received the punishment still due to forgiven sins’ (Eire 1995:174). However, time spent in Purgatory could be reduced in a number of ways. Penitence in this life would pay back much more than that done while in Purgatory. Suffrages performed by others on behalf their soul would not actually release the soul from Purgatory but would aid in the soul’s passage through. These were to be undertaken in the spirit of love or grace and could be undertaken in the form of almsgiving, fasting, prayer and most importantly, the saying of masses for the soul. This belief is partly based on a passage of the Bible which is generally only included in Catholic versions, II Maccabees 12 which states that ‘[i]t is a holy and wholesome thought to pray for the dead that they may be loosed from their sin’ (Paul J. Glenn).

Perhaps one of the greatest fears amongst the European populace at this time was that of sudden death where the individual had not had time to repent their sins before death. Prayers that the individual be spared death in sin were quite commonplace at this time; bystanders who were at the side of Richard ap Meredith who suffered a spear wound in an affray at Barnet were said to have prayed to ‘Saint’ Henry VI that he live long enough for him to make his final confession (Duffy 1992:311). However, it was considered foolhardy to rely on deathbed confession and suffrages to save the soul from torment in Purgatory. It was equally important to lead a virtuous life, as by not doing so it was believed that the individual was merely deceiving himself. For the sake of a few bodily pleasures in this life, individuals were consigning the soul to an eternity of torture in hell; they would not even have the opportunity to purge their sins after death. In brief, it was believed that they were nurturing their bodies as food for worms to feed upon while consigning their souls to eternal damnation.

3.3 Prayers

The saying of prayers for the souls of the dead is associated with the post twelfth century idea of Purgatory and with the words of Revelation 7:9 to 17 (Boase 1972:39 – 42). However, there is evidence that this practice was undertaken, if not common, long before this period. According to the eighteenth-century chancellor of Durham Richard Burn, the custom could be traced back to the sixth century and Pope Gregory the Great. It was Burn’s assertion that it was Gregory who first allowed burial within churches and that this allowance was made for the fees that monks and priests could earn by praying for the dead buried within their church (in Laqueur, 2015). During the Carolingian period (c780 – 900) the practice of saying masses for the dead on the third, seventh and thirtieth day after death became established (Schmitt, 1998). Geary (1994) relates how, during this period, the Frankish noble woman Dhuoda left instructions in the form of a book to her son William which included the instruction that he should say prayers for both the living and the dead, be they good, bad or indifferent that they may be resurrected.

Geary also records that the Church came to dominate the remembrance of the dead early in the middle ages in Europe, citing several examples of Frankish aristocracy

leaving gifts to the Church in order to ensure perpetual prayers for the dead. A conspiratorial role by the Church is denied by Geary as he maintains that in the fluid dynamics of the period, the Church provided the only consistency which could assure the perpetuity (1994:90 – 91).

It was not only the saying of prayers that were believed to shorten the soul's passage through purgatory. In sixteenth-century Spain, it was believed that the size of the funerary cortege would also benefit the soul; the longer the cortege, the shorter the time that would have to be spent in Purgatory (Eire 1995:123). A link between the size of the cortege and prayers for the soul can be discerned here – the larger the cortege, the greater the number of people; the greater the number of people, the greater the number of prayers. This has been linked to the commonly held belief that it was immediately after death that the soul was most vulnerable to temptation by demons (Eire 1995:30 illustration).

In Italy, too, there is evidence of requests which suggest that there was a belief that the more elaborate the mass, the more likely that time spent in Purgatory would be shortened. In 1371, the parish priest of Santa Cecilia in Florence left a large sum of money in his will so as to ensure that every year on the anniversary of his death, a mass would be sung for the Virgin Mary. This was to be followed by a general mass for the souls of the dead before finally holding a vigil and singing a mass for his soul and that of his ancestors. As well as these masses, he left instruction that for the rest of her life, Bilia the daughter of Piero de' Macci was to ensure that masses were sung on the feast day of Madonna dell Neve for his and his ancestors' souls and that within the first eight days of each month, an anniversary mass was also to be sung again for the souls of his ancestors and himself (Samuel K. Cohn Jr, in Gordon and Marshall 2000:33 – 34).

Prayers for the souls of the departed were also quite commonplace in England during the normal church services, with benefactors to the church earning themselves a place on the bede roll which guaranteed prayers for their souls. Susan Wabuda (2002:52) describes how the pre-reformation Dean of St. Paul's in London would request that his congregation offer prayers for him before then asking that they pray for the dead. In similar vein, John Fisher who was Bishop of Rochester, prayed for the soul of his patron, Lady Margaret Beaufort and that it be accepted into heaven. A

further example quoted by Wabuda is that in recorded in *Camden Miscellany* of 1875 under the title *Two Sermons Preached by the Boy Bishop*. In these sermons, the congregation is asked to remember all those souls which lie in pain in Purgatory (*ibid*).

Others would seem to suggest that the church was not being entirely honest in its interest in the saving of souls. Christopher Daniell comments on the vast amounts of money that was donated to shorten the time the soul would spend in Purgatory (1997:12). Prayers were bought and gifts were given to the church in order to secure its assistance in the matter. Names were added to the church bederoll so that their souls could be prayed for. Not only did the reading of the bederoll assist the dead in their passage through Purgatory, it reminded the living of how important it was to have their names included. Although originally intended for the select few, by the fifteenth century, anyone could have their name added – for a price. Daniell describes how Robert Southe of Salisbury paid 40s to have himself, his wife and their parents added to the bederoll in 1499/1500 (1997:18).

Houlbrooke notes how the congregation at funerals were encouraged to consider the fate of the deceased and pray for the soul at judgement (1998:296). These were considered to be important themes in pre-reformation funereal sermons though Houlbrooke (1998:297) goes on to quote how Sir Thomas More ‘imagined the souls in purgatory regretting their waste of time and money in arranging for a learned priest to preach to their praise at their month’s mind.’ Large amounts of money were often spent on funerals at this time, with gifts being given to many of the attendees. The recipients of these gifts were expected to pray for the soul of the deceased, thus the more opulent the gifts, the more prayers were expected (Daniell, 1997:56). It was, in fact a process which was nothing less than an attempt to purchase an eternal paradise, what Duffy has called ‘the use of the Mammon of iniquity to make friends with God by promoting his service’ (1992:132).

As has already been stated above, the fear of sudden death, when the stricken person had not had time to prepare and repent was a real concern to the people of medieval Europe. It was felt important that those who were near to death should be able to confess their sins and receive absolution from a priest and receive the Eucharist before dying – known as shrift and housel. It was believed at the time that Saint

Katherine, Saint Barbara or Saint Erasmus were able to guarantee shrift and house and so it was often to these that intercessory prayers were devoted to fend off sudden death (Duffy 1992:311).

3.4 Indulgences

The picture is further confused by the medieval market in indulgences. The actual indulgence itself was bought by the living as a remission in the time that the soul would have to spend purging worldly sins while in Purgatory after death. They were what Swanson describes ‘one of several “strategies for eternity”’, complementing masses and alms deeds as ways to hasten the journey through Purgatory’ (2007:224). The granting of indulgences came under some not inconsiderable criticism in the late medieval period. Some claimed that such grants were used cynically by some clergy in order to illicit money from a gullible laity. However, there is some evidence that clergy were ‘responding to, not directing, popular practices’ (Kamerick, 2002:7). In fact, in some instances, it seems that the indulgences granted merely confirmed a popular practice rather than being designed to initiate a new source of income. Indulgences could be granted by those in the church hierarchy from a bishop up to the pope himself with a limit set on maximum value of the indulgence based on the position of the grantor in the hierarchy. For example, a bishop could grant a maximum of forty days while that of the pope could be for thousands of years – Sixtus IV is alleged to have allowed 11,000 years merely for devotional prayer before a depiction of an image of Our Lady in the Sun (Swanson 2007:258). As indulgences could augment each other and the same indulgence could be used by several popes, again each augmenting the last, the reciting of specific prayers before specific images could result in tens of thousands of years of remission. While this may seem a rather large difference in the number of years which the various individuals could grant, the actual time that the soul would spend in Purgatory was itself an unknown factor. The general belief was that it would be there for what seemed to be an eternity so that even 11,000 years would be a mere drop in the ocean of the soul’s tortured journey to redemption.

Indulgences were typically granted for acts of piety; in return for sums of money given to the church to assist in, for example, building work; or for contributing either financially or physically to a crusade. Some of the indulgences granted bordered on

what may appear to us in the twenty-first century as bizarre. For example, Bishop Wittlesey of Worcester in 1367 offered a full forty days of remission to those who completed their annual confession before Lent. This was reduced to twenty days for those who confessed in the week following Lent with no remission for those who came any later (Swanson 2007:71). In another case, an indisposed bishop extended an indulgence to those who attended a service taken by his stand-in (Swanson 2007:72).

Although originally intended for the living to accumulate prior to death, in 1476, indulgences were officially extended so as to be made available for those souls already in Purgatory. Even before this time indulgences and prayers for the soul of the deceased could be intertwined as in the case of one William Shoreham in the 1320s, who, in a collection of poems which he compiled, requested that prayers be said for his soul. Archbishop Simon Mepham of Canterbury granted forty days of pardon to anyone reciting an Our Father and an Ave on Shoreham's behalf as a reward to those who undertook to pray for him (Swanson 2007:163). In a similar vein, Bishop Alcock of Ely granted an indulgence of forty days to anyone saying or hearing mass at the altar of the Virgin in Walsingham priory and praying for the souls of a group of people who included Sir John Cheney and his wife (Swanson 2007:246). At Llanfihangel Rogiet in south-east Wales, a carving on the tomb of Ann Martel (died c1270) offers an indulgence to anyone who prays for her soul. Grants such as these offered immeasurable benefits to the souls of those named as it attracted so many who gained from the reciprocal value of the indulgence. Also in Wales, Ellen Gethin, the widow of Sir Thomas Vaughan obtained an indulgence from the pope for anyone who prayed for the soul of her husband. Sir Thomas Vaughan himself was killed at the battle of Edgecote in 1469. The tomb of him and his wife is in St Mary's Church, Kington in what is present day Herefordshire but was prior to 1536 a part of the Welsh March.

3.5 Commemoration and Wills

French historians such as Pierre Chaunu, Jacques Chiffolleau and Michelle Vovelle have proven that wills are 'indispensable for the study of popular attitudes' to death (Eire 1995:9). As Eire asserts, '[s]ince the thirteenth century, when the practice of

the writing of wills began to be diffused throughout all social classes in Western Europe, the will has played a vital, active role in the evolution of attitudes to death and the hereafter' (1995:43). Glanmor Williams points out (1991:31) that it became common practice during medieval times for money to be left in one's will for the singing of as many masses as could be afforded. This because of the increasing belief that the benefits which could be gained for the dead from church masses was in direct proportion to the number of masses sung. Many such examples of this have been discovered in English wills. Houlbrooke (1998:260 – 261) notes that in the will of Anne Fortescue at Stonor, Oxfordshire in 1518, the sum of £3 6s 8d was left in order that a priest sing mass for Anne's soul for six months. In 1502, John Coote of Suffolk stipulated in his will that a cross be set at the head and foot of his grave each with an engraving requesting that passers-by pray for his soul (Houlbrooke 1998:361). These masses were often extended to the ancestors of the testator, as evidenced in some fourteenth-century French wills and others in the fifteenth century in Italian city states (Gordon and Marshall 2000:37).

The saying of masses for the dead has been described as 'one of the most important and most rapidly growing industries of sixteenth century Spain' (Eire 1995:521). Money was invested into this industry in order to pay the labourers (clergy) to carry out their duties and in turn provide these labourers with a means of living. In fact, it could be said that by leaving large sums of money for masses to be said in perpetuity, those with sufficient money were also ensuring their immortality even if this was only in name. There is some evidence that perhaps the piety which was supposed to be exhibited through leaving large sums of money for the saying of masses for the soul was not all it seemed to be. In sixteenth-century Spain, for instance, it became quite common place for a relative to be named to act as chaplain for the masses (Eire 1995:221). This may be seen as a way of ensuring that such masses would be conducted into perpetuity by placing a heavy responsibility on a member of the family. It is also the case that a number of such named chaplains managed to maintain a reasonable living for the remainder of their lives thanks to the bequest in a relative's will. Indeed, in a practice which Giovanni Miccoli describes as 'a special way of assuring a privileged vehicle for prayers and intercession' on behalf of the family (in Le Goff 1997:57), it was quite common for parents to offer their sons to God by placing them in monasteries.

It was not only the family that gained through the money left in wills. In his account of the medieval cities of Europe, Jacques Rossiaud (in Le Goff 1997:163) describes how confraternal organisations eased the passage of the soul after death. Members of these organisations would sponsor masses and prayers for the soul of an associate who had died. In return, it was believed that the dead interceded for the living from Purgatory, thus easing their future passing. Perhaps one of the earliest grants of this kind in Wales is that by Gwyddaint to Saint Beuno of Clynnog Fawr for the soul of his cousin Cadwallon, king of Gwynedd who died in 634. This is recorded in a fifteenth century *Inspeximus* but is likely to be a copy of a much earlier document of unknown date (Pryce 2009:238).

Further evidence of an 'industry of death' can be found in Spain. Following the ruling of the Synod of Zaragoza in 1357, burial in consecrated ground of anyone who had died intestate was expressly forbidden (Eire 1995:20). Burial in such instances would only be permitted once the family of the deceased had contributed part of the inheritance to the church to use for pious bequests. Even those who had left a will (which had to include pious bequests) could not be buried until the funds needed to carry out the bequests stipulated in the will had been handed over to the church. This requirement extended across the whole social structure of Spain; those elements of society who had no riches to bequeath were still required to leave a declaration of poverty and provide for as much as may be afforded.

As a consequence of the 1357 ruling of the Synod of Zaragoza, the writing of wills increasingly became the prerogative of a notary. Thus, Spanish wills in the later medieval and early modern periods show a remarkable degree of conformity, never varying from a common outline which included a meditation on the judgement of the soul and requests for suffrages (Eire 1995:36). This formulaic process was not, of course, confined to just Spanish wills. J. S. W. Helt has described how English wills in the Elizabethan period were essentially formulaic in their preamble ('Women, memory and will-making in Elizabethan England' in Gordon and Marshall 2000). It is probably safe to assume that this approach to writing of wills, although differing somewhat in wording, was mirrored in the wills of the late medieval period.

In the preamble to medieval wills, it was commonplace for the body to be offered up to earth and soul to heaven, as is often seen in examples from England during this

time. During this period, the area that we today call Wales was subject to a number of differing legal regimes. Some areas were subject to Welsh Law, others to English Law and other areas had a mixture of the two, the specific mixture being subject to the whims of that particular Lord. As far as wills were concerned, both Welsh Law and English Law had specific requirements regarding inheritance that had to be followed. However, as Wales had been subject to rule by Canterbury in ecclesiastical matters since Norman times, it made little or no difference under which jurisdiction a deceased person had lived. The Catholic Church in England and thus Wales had no regulations regarding burials of individuals who had not made a will in consecrated ground.

The value that was put upon the saying of masses by individuals in medieval Europe can be illustrated by the request made by a certain Elvira Hernandez of Madrid. She requested that masses be said for ‘those souls in purgatory that need them most and who are receiving the least assistance’ (Eire 1995:212). This request displays an act of charity for those in need which undoubtedly was also meant to earn the requester merit in the eyes of God and so be of benefit to her. Eire has shown that such bequests were, though, small in number and perhaps only grudgingly offered.

In the fourteenth-century city state of Florence, Albizius the son of Nardus of the Genti family left the not insubstantial sum of 160 florins for his funerary arrangements which included employing a friar to celebrate masses for his soul (Samuel K. Cohn Jr. in Gordon and Marshall 2000:27). In fact, there are many examples in Italy where bequests were made in wills which stipulated the place and adornment of the grave and these from the poorest in society to the richest. One such example was that of Nutius Cioli of Perugia who left twenty-five lire so that his grave could be adorned with a painting which was to include Christ, the Virgin Mary and Saints John and Constantine. He left a further sum so that enough oil could be bought so as to illuminate this painting for ten years after his death (Samuel K. Cohn Jr. in Gordon and Marshall 200:28 – 29). In this way he was, perhaps, ensuring that his grave would be visited and prayers said for his soul. In some cases, sufficient money was left for a chapel to be built, again perhaps in the hope that it would remind anyone using the chapel to pray for the soul of the benefactor.

It was also quite common in Italy for sums of money to be left for the giving of alms to the poor on the seventh and thirtieth day after burial and also occasionally on the anniversary date (Samuel K Cohn Jr. in Gordon and Marshall 2000:31). Again, this would have been to secure prayers for the soul of the deceased and so ease its passage through Purgatory. Clive Burgess ('Longing to be prayed for: death and commemoration in an English parish' in Gordon and Marshall) has identified a number of instances of bequests for anniversary masses in the parish of All Saints, Bristol. That of Alice Hailes 'for my soul and the soul of William Hailes, my man, and for the souls of all our ancestors and successors, in order that our souls shall specially be held in memory of the church' provided an important income for the church warden. Indeed, the bequest was held in such esteem that although it was made in 1261, her memory was still alive some two hundred years after her death (Clive Burgess in Gordon and Marshall 2000:59). In fact, as Burgess identifies (in Gordon and Marshall 2000:63 and 64), the bequests made and the goods paid for in bequests to ensure intercessory prayers for the souls of the deceased provided churches with a considerable income along with more concrete fittings such as vestments and vessels, rood screens and windows and much more which all added to the overall wealth of the churches.

With the fate of a man's goods after his death having been already decided under native Welsh Law, the making of wills in Wales was seen to be unnecessary. However, as English and Canonical Law made headway in to Wales, the role of the church came increasingly to bear on this subject and a number of bishops opposed the Welsh system. As parts of Wales came under English rule and Welsh rule during different periods, especially during the Edwardian conquest campaigns, the influence of the English system increased. Under Welsh Law, land had automatically passed to the male heirs and moveable goods were distributed according to a strict rule. Some of the moveable goods went to the lord of the deceased - a bequest known as *daered*. As the influence of English Law and Church increased, bequests of *daered* were also made to the Church. Pryce states that this was probably the mortuary fees paid to the Church for burial (2009:121). However, the actual definition of the Church *daered* is not known and it seems too much of a coincidence for this to appear during the second half of the thirteenth century, coinciding with the increasing evidence of bequests made to say prayers for the soul of the deceased in

England and beyond. It could be then that this Church *daered* was a similar bequest made by Welsh nobility for the benefit of their eternal souls.

3.6 Memorial Monuments

Memorial stones, tombs and monuments serve to remind the living of those who have died. Often, they were commissioned by the families of the deceased though in some instances, provision may have been made for a memorial of some kind in a will or indeed have been paid for prior to the death of the individual being commemorated. In many cases, several individuals, and indeed whole families, are the subject of a singular such memorial. In some instances, as Sherlock has explained (2008) some memorials served a dual purpose in that they were placed to celebrate the glory of the dead person. Some memorials have an inscription giving a brief history of the individual along with the genealogy of the family, thus providing important genealogical information which would be of future value in cases of disputed inheritance. Occasionally, some of the details in the inscriptions were falsified in a crude attempt to rewrite history, erasing instances of wrong-doing and overstating the virtues of family members.

Paul Binski (1996:71) however believes that after the end of the thirteenth century, memorials were erected to serve a far more important purpose. He asserts that by this time, with the physical entity of Purgatory having become accepted, memorial tombs, especially those with an effigy of the deceased, would also have provided a means by which the living would have been brought into the employ of the dead. By reminding passers-by of the deceased in what was often a rather macabre manner, they were exhorted to pray for their souls. In so doing, the living would also have profited as they would have gained remission from their time in Purgatory after their deaths through their good deeds while alive. The same could also be said of memorial brasses on some examples of which were inscribed an image of Christ as Man of Sorrows together with the mass of Saint Gregory as a means to solicit prayers for the deceased being commemorated (Swanson 2007:259). As Clive Burgess so succinctly put it, memorial tombs provided a means by which ‘the dead and those about to die contrived to be commemorated and thus benefit from intercession’ (in Gordon and Marshall 2000:51).

Such memorials are quite commonplace in churches throughout Europe. Aron Ja. Gurevich associates the proliferation of such memorial tombs with the growth of the merchant in medieval Europe. He sees the pomp and pageantry surrounding funeral ceremonies, along with the tombs and costly monuments as an attempt to immortalise their own glory (in Le Goff 1997:261 – 262). In the late fourteenth century in Douai in France, families started to commission family tombs where husbands and wives could be buried side by side. Some of these also included effigies of the couple – sometimes even more than one spouse where a widowed husband had remarried – as well as their children, including those that had died before the parents (Samuel K. Cohn Jr. in Gordon and Marshall 2000:34). In this way, a benefactor could not only ensure prayers for his and his spouse's souls, but also for their descendants.

In England, the designs of memorials could vary from a quite simple brass plaque to a massive elaborate monument such as that in Durham Cathedral to commemorate Thomas Hatfield, who was Bishop of Durham from 1345 until his death in 1381. Perhaps one of the grandest such memorial tombs in England is that which Henry VII created at Westminster Abbey in preparation for his death. In addition to what Susan Wabuda describes as a 'dynastic tour-de-force' (2002:20), Henry also provided for alms-houses, a chantry and the saying of masses every day for as long as the world would continue to exist. This he did not only for his own soul but that of his wife, Elizabeth of York, his mother, Lady Margaret Beaufort, and every Christian soul in Purgatory.

Many memorials have a carved effigy representing the deceased. The majority of these show the person at rest and in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it was commonplace for the deceased to be shown lying on his or her back with hands clasped as in prayer. The supposition is that the individual is directing his or her prayers to God though John Dart, an eighteenth-century observer, remarked that it was as if they were entreating the prayers of passers-by (quoted in Houlbrooke 1998:344).

It was not just in tombs and effigies that the dead could be remembered and prayers be requested. In some instances, other memorials were purchased which entreated

congregations to offer their prayers for the souls of the benefactors. At Llangadwaladr, the donors of the Crucifixion window, Meurig ap Llywelyn ap Hulkyn his wife, Margaret ferch Evan Fychan, their son Owain and his wife Elen are commemorated by kneeling figures and an inscription in Latin reminds the reader to pray for their souls (Gray 2000:60).

3.7 The Macabre and Medieval European Art

In general, most people associate the term art with the visual arts probably because visual art is in the universal language of pictures. To fully appreciate written forms such as poetry and prose, one has to be fluent in the language in which the work is written; translations from one language to another are never quite the same and idiomatic phrases are notoriously difficult to transfer from one language to another.

Within that great body of European visual art, there are many images which allude to death, the Day of Judgement and the tortures of hell. But it would appear to be that morbid images such as these only started to appear in the twelfth century. Prior to this there was a deeply held belief that Christians would awaken at the Second Coming and the fact that they were Christians would mean that they would be resurrected in the magnificence of Christ. It was this resurrection at the Second Coming that had been the prevalent image in Christian religious art. Of course, the fate of non-Christians was not to be so fortunate. Ariès suggests (1976:31) that their lot 'would be [to be] abandoned to a state of non-existence.' Then, in the twelfth century, in place of the Second Coming, the Day of Judgement becomes the illustration in churches such as Beaulieu and Conques (as described by Philippe Ariès 1976:31). Now, the dead appear before Christ in judgement. Later medieval art depicts the dead carrying a book of their deeds. The good deeds are weighed against the bad ones and judgement made as to whether the soul may pass to eternal bliss or be damned to an eternity of torture. At the same time, illustrations of the worm-ridden rotting corpse also begin to appear though Ariès (1976:42) claims that such work was not as wide spread as was once thought.

The art of the macabre continued to flourish during the late medieval period. One theory for this interest in such images would have been the Black Death which came

to Europe through Sicily and Italy in or about 1347. Its effect was both devastating and profound; Giovanni Villani (quoted in Binski 1996:127) claims that half the population of Florence died in the summer of 1348. It is easy to see how this catastrophe on a biblical scale could have been interpreted as retribution from God. Religious art images would have served as a visual reminder to what was largely an illiterate populace of their fate if they failed to be true to the Christian faith. This was recognised as early as the sixth century by Pope Gregory the Great, who writing to the bishop of Marseilles insisted that ‘what writing is for those who know how to read, painting is for the illiterate who look at it, because those who do not know letters can read in it, for which [reason] painting serves principally as a lesson to the people’ (quoted by Enrico Castelnuovo in Le Goff 1997:213).

It is in the fourteenth century that images of Purgatory make their first appearance in European art (Bernstein 2009:216) and by the end of the fifteenth century, numerous examples of the macabre occur in art throughout Europe. The illustrations in Binski (1996 between 128 and 129) show a number of examples from France, Holland and England. Perhaps one of the most famous illustrations is the Dance of Death, the earliest version having been in the cemetery and charnel house of the Innocents in Paris. There are a number of theories regarding the meaning of this particular painting discussed by Binski (1996:153 – 159) and central to the work appears to be the illustration of death coming to everyone from the highest in society down to the lowest. It may also have been a piece of propaganda by the church to remind the populace at large of the importance of praying for the souls of the dead and the necessity of leaving money for prayers for one’s own soul. Although its appearance would seem to coincide with the appearance of the Black Death in Europe, and indeed, it could be attributed to the impact which this disease had, meditation on the fate of the flesh had been quite commonplace long before (Duffy 1992:305).

This image was to be copied in churches throughout Europe and although there is no evidence to support the existence of one in Wales, it is evident from the poetry of the period that Welsh people were at least aware of the existence of the copy painted on the walls of the cloisters in St Paul’s, London. Although this particular painting was destroyed and its rubble used to build Lord Somerset’s house in the Strand (Duffy 1992:304), there is no doubting the impact which it had, with several references in contemporary Welsh poetry to *dawns Powls*.

3.8 The Welsh Bardic Tradition

The few remaining or suspected examples of medieval church art in Wales aside, as a nation Wales does not have a great tradition of visual art. It is also the case that the religious art which did once exist was largely destroyed or white-washed during the period of the Reformation. However, in Wales, as in other cultures such as Ireland, it was mainly through the spoken word that cultural traditions were maintained. It was the poet, perhaps more especially the court poet, and his poetry that served predominantly to provide the canvas for Welsh art in a rich, vernacular, spoken format.

The importance and status of the poet and his poetry in medieval Wales raises the question why this was so. It has already been shown that the position and hierarchy of the poets was laid down in Welsh law from an early period. As portrait and religious painting increased in prestige in mainland Europe during the Middle Ages, so dawned the age of the professional artist who could command considerable fees for their work. In Wales however, the poet already had this status. The professional paid poet had existed for centuries in a system which Dafydd Johnston describes as very similar to the professional closed craft guilds which gave them certain privileges and kept membership closed to the select few (2005:18).

It needs also to be considered why this role of the professional poet should continue to exist in Wales through the medieval period while other societies were seeing a move to the visual arts. There is no doubt that Welsh princes and nobles wanted to emulate the new culture that spread into Wales from the east – indeed, as has been shown earlier there had always been cross-fertilisation of ideas since possibly pre-Roman times. However, the very identity of Welshness was under threat following the Norman invasion of England. As the Normans started moving into Wales, they brought with them a Norman-French way of life. This had already changed English (i.e. Anglo-Saxon) culture and life beyond all recognition and it is perhaps as a reaction to this that some Welsh customs were held on to so tenaciously.

The manner in which poetry was written at this time was subject to specific rules – one of the first grammars to appear in Welsh was the *Gramadeg Penceirdd* attributed to Einion Offeiriad and Dafydd Ddu Hiraddug. This formulated how poetry was to

be composed and who may compose certain types of poetry. It is perhaps as a result of this grammar that T Gwyn Jones could claim that *marwnadau* and the style in which they were written were nothing but customs (TA:lxxxii).

Parts of these early Welsh grammars would appear to be translations of Latin works of grammar, perhaps with the intention of elevating the status of the Welsh language to that enjoyed by Latin in the Middle Ages. The fact that such works were translated into Welsh shows that there would have been Welsh speaking scholars of Latin. However, there are sufficient linguistic mistakes in the works of some poets who attempted to insert Latin words and phrases to show that not everyone who had been tutored as a poet was necessarily a master of Latin (Williams and Jones 1934:xcix). According to the rules in the Welsh grammars, one of the duties of the bardic schools was to ensure and preserve the purity of the Welsh language and thus it may be deduced that to the *uchelwyr* of the day – for it was from this class of (mostly) men that the poets were trained – there was attributed to Welsh a certain status that placed it on an equal footing to the classical languages of Europe.

A sixteenth-century version of the *Gramadeg*, attributed to Einion Offeiriad and Dafydd Ddu Hiraddug, starts by giving instruction on who the poet should praise in his poetry, the most important being God and the saints

'It is necessary to know now in which way everything to which poetry is addressed should be praised and to which things poetry should be composed. To two things should poetry be composed, nothing else, a heavenly spiritual thing and an earthly bodily thing; a thing heavenly and spiritual such as God, Mary and the saints and the angels; a thing earthly and corporeal such as a man or a beast or a situation. God is praised because He is the omnipotent creator and the spiritual father of all creatures and unsparing and compassionate and possess all-goodness and all-wisdom and omnipotence and possession of the whole universe and he is Blessed and magnanimous and king of heaven and earth and hell and [he is praised] for sanctity and creation and paternity and filiality and spirituality and sole divinity and honour without death never ending. Amen' (Williams and Jones, 1934:131; my translation)

After which, it instructs the poet on the manner in which he should praise the various class of individuals listed. For example, a nobleman should be praised because of his *'bravery and his strength and his military prowess and his countenance and his nobility and his gentleness and his generosity and his agreeableness and his wisdom and his knowledge and his excellence and his support and his riches and his magnanimous acts and his governance and his integrity of word and action and thought to his lord.'* (Williams and Jones, 1934:131 to 133; my translation)

The *marwnad* is a specific type of praise poem or *moliant* which, though similar in style to the *moliant* in the way in which it praises the subject of the poem, goes beyond this to often discuss the sense of loss felt by the family and/or community as well as at times giving details of the death and burial of the subject. According to George Henry Owen, one of the main duties of the poet in late medieval/early modern Wales was that of the composing of the *marwnad*. Quoted in Edwards (2000:21), he says:

'At the marriage of any gentleman the presence of some of the Bards were requisite, soe at the Christeninge or buryeing of any, at which time he was to register the marriage, or christening, in their books, and after the death of any gentleman or woman he was to be ready with the Epitaph, called in Welsh *Marwnad*, of ye deceased, and in the same he was bound to write truly and at large the genealogie and descent of the gentleman soe dyeinge by his eight ancestors, called in Welsh *Yr wyth ran rhieni*, and also any other generous familie or stirpe whereof the partie deceased was descended, and, mournfully in manner of bemoaninge, he was to declare the name of the wife or husband of the deceased and his or her descent and progenie as is beforesaid, and also to recite all the children of the deceased. And this he was to keep registered in his bookes and to deliver a true cobby thereof to the heire of the deceased to remaine in the house forever, and for his paines, over and besides the fees due vnto him: and allowed by the said Statutes, he was assured to have large guifts and rewards of all the familie, kindred, alliance, and friends of the deceased. This epitaph of the dead they were to have in readinesse that day moneth that the burial was, against which day the chiefest of the family and kindred of the deceased would be present, and the chiefest gentlemen of the

country would be assembled together to heare and judge of the same, in whose hearinge the same epitaph must be openly, and with a loud and cleare voice, recited,'

Though the rules as drawn up in the Caerwys Eisteddfod of 1523 seems not to place the specific timescale of four weeks on the recitation of the *marwnad*; in fact, these rules state that unless otherwise invited, a bard should only produce a *cywydd* at four special occasions: Easter, Christmas, Whitsun or All Saints (2000:22).

Huw Meirion Edwards (2000) also argues that despite references to 'a month' in many *marwnadau* of the period, and the assertion by George Henry Owen that the epitaph be recited on the month's anniversary, this was not always necessarily the case. He bases this on the frequent references to 'yesterday' or 'last night' which many of the *marwnadau* include when stating when the loss occurred. Despite this, Edwards accepts that it is not totally unreasonable to accept that the *marwnad* would have been presented to the family at the deceased's memorial service. He notes similarities with this tradition in Bristol at the end of the Middle Ages (2000:8 and 29) and acknowledges that 'the bonds between the living and the dead before the Protestant Reformation were tightly bound' (2000:29). He further suggests that this memorial service may have been at the first anniversary of the death and that the tradition may have dated back to the early medieval period in Wales. Huw Meirion Edwards also accepts that poems could often be formulaic and that the constraints of the *cynganedd* used to write the poetry often gave the poets limited scope when choosing words to fit the requirements of this style of poetry. Thus when a poet refers to a period of time such as yesterday or even a month, the time period may just be metaphorical and not actually a true measure of time passed since the death.

As explained above, the *Gramadeg* also placed a duty on the poet to compose poetry praising God and all thing spiritual and many such poems appear in the works attributed to the poets of this period. As well as those poems praising God, Jesus, the Virgin Mary or one or more of the saints, there is a corpus of work which considers the fate of the soul after death. Amongst these poems are those which are devotional, often meditative in their nature and dedicated to a specific sacred object such as a rood screen. Christine James is of the opinion that such sacred objects is a reflection

of the 'devotional context and theological significance of the period' (2006:69); the devotional poetry to these objects must also be seen within this context. Also within this devotional context were the sacred places of worship such as the shrine to the Virgin Mary at Pen-rhys in south Wales. Such sacred places were the destination of medieval pilgrimages and it is therefore hardly surprising that the shrine at Pen-rhys was the inspiration for poets of the period especially considering the European context of the Cult of the Virgin Mary which began to flourish at the start of the fourteenth century as discussed by Christine James (1995).

Other devotional poetry dwells on the more unsavoury or macabre fate of body or soul. Probably the most well-known of the poets of this particular *genre* is Siôn Cent who Jean Rittmueller notes is pessimistic in his attitude to both the material world and his belief in the ultimate mercy of God (1983:107). Cent's work often displays a puritanical view of the world, describing as it does 'the corruption of man's nature, the temporality of life, the inevitability of death, and the imminence of the Day of Judgement.' (*ibid.*) Siôn Cent was not alone in composing religious poetry; as D. Simon Evans has commented (1986) religion featured in poetic compositions dating back perhaps as early as the eighth century and sombre poetry such as that composed by Cent is seen amongst the Poets of the Princes of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (*op. cit.*:6 – 7). The sentiments expressed in such poems are also to be seen in Welsh medieval prose, texts which the poets would have had knowledge of (*op.cit.*:69). Although it is Siôn Cent who is perhaps best known of the medieval Welsh poets for this *genre* of sombre poetry, as G. E. Ruddock (in Jarman and Hughes 1997:163) points out, death themes left a considerable mark in the works of other poets from this period, poets whose work is not generally thought of as being particularly morbid nor religious, such as Guto'r Glyn and Tudur Aled. That being so, it must also be remembered that such poetry, though an important aspect of medieval Welsh literature, forms only a relatively small percentage of the poems which have survived to the present day and should not, therefore, be considered representative of the whole corpus of poetry of the period.

3.9 The Renaissance

The thirteenth century saw a flourish of interest in the study of classical antiquity. Latin texts of Greek works such as Plato and Aristotle along with translations of the works of Arab philosophers were studied with great interest. However, there were many within the church who opposed this, seeing it as an outpouring of paganism and in a counter reaction to this renaissance, Bishop Etienne Temper of Paris condemned many of the propositions as ‘erroneous and inspired by pagan philosophy’ (Le Goff 1984:238). According to Larissa Juliet Taylor (in Gordon and Marshall 2000:224 – 225) it was only ‘[w]ith the revival of classical and rhetorical values in the Renaissance’ that the funeral oratory of classical times was rediscovered. Houlbrooke also comments on the use of the poetic tributes of elegy and ode which are in some ways similar to the funeral sermon. He traces this back to its classical roots in ancient Greece and concludes that their use was stimulated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by the Renaissance movement of that time (1998:327 – 328).

While the Renaissance may indeed have played a part in this form of remembrance, Houlbrooke, like many other English historians, has ignored the possibility of an influence from Wales. *Marwnadau* or poetic elegies had long been common practice in Wales and following the accession of Henry VII to the throne could quite likely have had an influence upon contemporary England. In fact, this is another example which shows why Wales and Welsh art in the broadest of terms was not a part of the Renaissance in classical ideas which was so popular in much of Europe – Welsh art had never actually lost its links with its classical past.

3.10 The Reformation

The fourteenth century witnessed an increase in dissatisfaction with the governance and theology of the Church across Europe. Malcolm Vale notes how during the 1440s, there were two major revolts against the Church; that attributed to Lollardy inspired by the fourteenth-century cleric, John Wycliffe in England and the so-called Hussite rebellion in Bohemia (in George Holms 1988:310). Although a close neighbour to England and, no doubt, influenced by theological thinking in England,

it seems that, although two Welsh students at Oxford were excommunicated for supporting the teachings of John Wycliffe, there was little if any support for Lollardy in Wales (Davies 1993:193).

When the Act of Supremacy was passed in 1534, Henry VIII's biographer, Edward Hall, claimed that 'the Pope with all his College of Cardinalles with all their Pardons and Indulgences was utterly abholished out of this realme' (quoted in Swanson 2007:469). Although not being entirely banned in the early years of the Reformation, with the banning of such 'popish superstition,' intercessory prayers which it could be said also gave assistance to the living, came under repeated attack. In doing these, the living often felt that they were doing something for a dead relative. Following the abolition of these prayers, the funeral sermon could be said to have taken their place. Although the two are considerably different in their form and intention, they both answered the relatives' desire for reassurance of the fate of the departed soul (Houlbrooke 1998:317).

Even though the practice of saying prayers for the dead had been attacked under the Henrician reforms, there was a compromise during Henry's reign to the extent that he himself left money in his will for the saying of prayers for his soul. With the complications associated with the reigns of Edward IV followed by his sister Mary, the saying of prayers for the souls of the dead was finally abolished by the Elizabethan settlement. Even after this, in 1570 Bishop Robinson of Bangor felt compelled to officially forbid the saying of prayers and ceremonies for the dead. As Peter Marshall asserts (2002:128) this suggests that such practices must have been accepted if not still common at the time. Earlier, in 1567, Bishop Robinson had complained of 'images and alters standing in churches undefaced' while in 1577 Richard Davies of St David's remarked that 'even the magistrates defend papistry, superstition and idolatry' and that they further 'procure the wardens to conceal images, rood lofts and altars' (quoted in Gray 2000:74). After visiting the same diocese of St David's in 1583, Bishop Middleton felt obligated to write an attack on traditional funerary practices in the diocese (Marshall 2002:128). Although this study does not include the period of the Reformation in its timeframe, there is some evidence of the continued practice of Catholic doctrine in Wales seen in the works of some of the poets of that time such as Siôn Brwynog (John Gwynfor Jones 2003).

4 The Representation of Death

Although there are numerous examples in the poetry studied where the cause of the death of the individual being commemorated is not given, there are also many other poems which either directly state the cause of death, give some hints as to what may have caused the death or allude to some fact from which the cause of death may be deduced or surmised. In cases such as these, the knowledge gained from the poetry may confirm what had previously only been suspected or reinforce what was already known about the death of specific individuals. As may be expected in poetry composed during the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Black Death figures prominently as a cause of death.

4.1 Death Caused by Plague³

Widespread war and famine which was a characteristic of fourteenth-century Europe would have greatly weakened the population of the continent, especially the poorer divisions of society. It would probably have not taken much to have wreaked death on a massive scale on such a badly enfeebled population, thus when Europe was hit by a pestilence so merciless as the Plague just a few years after having suffered all else, it should come as little surprise that the death toll would be so great. The Plague was also indiscriminate in its effect, taking rich and poor alike. In fact, it may have been the case that the rich were more likely to have succumbed to the Plague as they would have travelled more widely and thus have been more likely to have come into contact with it. It is, perhaps, the fact that the Plague was such a great leveller, affecting all strata of society, that was one of the underlying ideas behind the production of the Dance of Death which is discussed in more detail below.

The Plague first arrived in England in August 1348 and it was affecting the population of Wales by March 1349. It is estimated that between a third and a half of the population of Europe were killed by the Plague – possibly over 25 million people. Without the modern medicines that we have today, it is likely that most of the patients suffering its symptoms would have died within days. According to the

³ This section is based on a paper presented at the Fforwm Hanes /History Forum Annual Conference at Maentwrog in November 2016. My thanks to the organisers of the Conference for the invitation to present there.

historian, the late John Davies (1993:186), although evidence about the Plague in Wales is incomplete, about twenty-five per cent of the population died as a direct result of it - less than the estimates for the rest of Europe. It is possible that this was due to a mixture of the nature of the land and the way in which society was organised. There were no large towns or cities in Wales as was common throughout the rest of Europe and hence no major centres of population. Coupled with this is the topography of Wales with its mountainous landscape. Together, these factors likely meant that travel was limited and social interaction in the land less common than was the case in many other countries which would likely have affected how the disease spread.

Although precise information regarding the effects of the Plague on the general population during the Middle Ages are not always complete, the poetry composed in Wales at that time contains some records which may help us understand these effects better. One such example is the poem entitled *Cwyn oherwydd y pla* (Complaint against the plague) by Tudur ap Gwyn Hagr. Only two poems by this poet survive, and the editor of his work, R. I. Daniel suggests that he could have been a poet priest (GDC 18n). It appears that the priest used his poetry to complain about the fact that so many people had died there were not enough tithes available to enable him to live the life to which he had been accustomed. This meant that he would now have to care for himself, as he says (Appendix 3.27:1 – 4):

My graveyard has for some time turned into a wild land and wretched is the life of the parson.

It is so sad that the young are taken so soon and no income comes from the dead.

That is, his graveyard has turned into a wilderness because of the mass graves caused by the plague and he is sad that the young (represented by the word ‘bun’) are taken so quickly; with so many families being wiped out at once, there is no-one left to pay him his burial fees. He goes on to complain that the parish used to be very rich and that he would usually have received ten loads of corn (Appendix 3.27:5 – 8). But, he should not worry too much, after all he says that although he must suffer as a result of the Plague, he must carry on scratching his living amongst his parishioners (Appendix 3.27:9 – 12). It was not unusual for satire to be used in the works of the poets of this period and that could be what has been used here. It could also be that the poet is using what could be described as light-hearted stoical humour in the face

of adversity. Examples of this type of humour are seen in the Chronicles of Marchioni di Coppo Stefani written in the 1370s (Usher, undated).

There were, and there still are, three types of Plague – the pneumonic, the bubonic and the less common septicemic. The former is passed on through breathing the infection into the lungs while the other two are commonly passed on by the bites of fleas which are carried by rats. The symptoms of the types of Plague are a little different, and in a poem entitled *Haint y Nodau* or Disease of the Buboes which Barry Lewis believes was composed by the Ceredigion poet, Llywelyn Fychan, there is a detailed description of the bubonic type. The description confirms that it was indeed this form of the Plague which was responsible for the deaths, a point of some debate until recent DNA analysis of Plague victims from medieval graves also confirmed this.

The poem begins with a prayer to God for deliverance (Appendix 3.21:1 – 20). This is followed by an expression of grief by Llywelyn Fychan for those who died (Appendix 3.21:21 – 34). The actual subjects of this is not known though it has been suggested that it could be the children of the poet (GyB *Haint y Nodau* notes). The ages of the subjects are not mentioned here, but it is quite likely that they were relatively young, especially the one named Ieuan who is referred to as ‘everyone’s favourite’. What is apparent from the tone of the poem is that Llywelyn Fychan loved the subjects deeply and that he was distraught at their loss.

He later gives a description of the Plague on the body (Appendix 3.21:35 – 72) before noting what he regards the fate of the souls. In the final part of his poem, Llywelyn Fychan seems to lay the blame for their death on God and asks Him that He takes them into His care. In the final lines, Llywelyn Fychan asks that God recompense the loss of the children by bringing him peace of mind and aiding him in his understanding of that loss (Appendix 3.21:73 – 90).

In *Marwnad Teulu Trefor*, the poet Llywelyn Ddu ap y Pastard does not mention the Plague directly; however, he refers to the fact that there is no-one now who is without death in the family. The poem was composed to commemorate four members of the same family which suggests that they all died around the same time though there is nothing which actually states that. If that was the case, then it is

likely that it was the Plague which was responsible for their deaths (GLIBH 18:36 – 40):

Gwedy nad oes awr heb fawr farwnad,
Gorau ynn geisiaw, heb fraw, heb frad,
Gŵr a gynnail sail seithradd prelad,
Gorfoledd gwinwledd gwenwlad – dragywydd
Lle bydd hael Llywydd haul a lleuad.

*After a period when there is not an hour without great death,
It is best for us to seek, without fear, without deceit,
The Man who holds the basis for the seven grades of priest
[And] the ecstasy of the feast of wine in the land of eternal sanctuary
Where the Prince of the sun and moon will be generous.*

Dafydd Nanmor says how the mother of Tomas ap Rhys of Tywyn grieves for him. In so doing, the poet states (GDN 9:25) ‘Gwae Farged weled dialedd – i blwyf!’ GPC gives several meanings to the word ‘dialedd’, namely *vengeance, retribution, nemesis; pain, ailment, disease, plague*. The Book of Revelation in the Bible uses particularly apocalyptic language and talks about the vengeance of God coming on the world, wreaking death. A number of poets use the word ‘dialedd’, vengeance, when referring to death and it could be that it is used in the biblical sense of God’s vengeance on the world, that is, that the Black Death was seen as that. Whatever meaning the poet had in mind in this case, the suggestion is quite plain that there have been a number of deaths in the parish and they have all been attributed to the same cause.

In his *cywydd* to God and the planet Saturn, the same poet reflects the belief which was current in medieval times that that planet had a bad omen associated with it and that perhaps it was Saturn which was responsible for the Plague descending on mankind (Appendix 3.3). In the *cywydd*, the poet refers to the Plague as coming from the east; he may have been aware that in fact the disease had spread from the far-east or it may be metaphorical statement, based on the fact that invasions of the British/Welsh had all come from that direction. Also the phrase ‘dialedd Duw a welwn’ again raises the question about the meaning of the word *dialedd*. Has God used the plague to dispense his retribution in the form of a plague? Dafydd Nanmor also mentions war and famine, these of course being horsemen of the Apocalypse,

which had preceded the Plague as well as questioning what will be the fate of those who die after their death.

The belief that the Plague was God's judgement on mankind is highlighted in *Marwnad Robert ap Siôn ab Ithel o Degeingl* where Tudur Aled states that Robert ap Siôn had 'the black pox on an arm which was white' and that God had 'carried off a bounteous, generous body' (Appendix 3.26.3:61 – 72).

For Dafydd Llwyd ap Gruffudd of Abertanad, the appearance of an abscess on his body was a sign that death was approaching according to the poet Guto'r Glyn. It was a warning from God similar to those received by Noah and Lot (GG.net 89:1 – 10):

I gilio rhag ei elyn
Y bydd Duw'n rhybuddio dyn.
Duw a rybuddiodd rhag dŵr
Noe ei hunan yn henwr,
Ac ail rhybudd i giliaw
I Lot a'i wraig o'r wlad draw.
Trydydd i Ddafydd a ddoeth
Tridiau cyn marw gŵr tradoeth:
Cornwyd ar y gŵr llwydwyn,
Carnedd o ddialedd ynn.

*To flee from his enemy
God will warn a man.
God warned Noah himself
Against the water when he was an old man,
And he gave a second warning to Lot and his wife
To flee from the land yonder.
A third warning came to Dafydd
Three days before the death of a very wise man:
A bubo on the fair and holy man,
A cairn of retribution for us.*

The suggestion here is that Dafydd was warned of his imminent death by the appearance of a bubo – a sign that he was infected by the plague. Catrin the wife of Dafydd had died before him 'Marw hon ddoe' (154), though the reference to 'ddoe'

(yesterday) cannot be taken literally as it can be used to mean sometime in the past. Although there is nothing in the *marwnad* to confirm it, it is likely that they both died of the same disease. Hywel Swrdwal also uses the word *dialedd* in *Marwnad Gwilym Fychan ap Ieuan* in which he compares the death of the subject with the vengeance of God in the destruction of Sodom and Gomora in the Bible (Appendix 3.11.2). Although he does not use the word plague, Hywel Swrdwal mentions *afiechyd* (illness) which along with *dialedd* may be a play on words referring to the Plague.

Another poet who used the word *dialedd* ambiguously was Lewys Daron in *Marwnad Wiliam ap Morys o Riwedog* (GLD 23:1 – 4):

Trwy Iesu gwyn trais a gad
A droes dialedd dros dwywlad.
Tynnu gŵr tan y gweryd,
Torres y bont tros y byd.
*Through blessed Jesus was violence had
Who spread vengeance across two lands.
By pulling a man under the soil,
The bridge across the world broke.*

Later in the poem there is the suggestion that a number of members of William's family died around the same time. Although not stated, again, it could have been the Plague which was responsible for these deaths (GLD 23:17 – 19):

Ei daid fo, ei dad a'i fam.
Mwy'n dialedd mynd Wiliam.
*His grandfather, his father and his mother.
More vengeance [with] William's leaving.*

The Plague was totally indiscriminate; it struck everyone regardless of age and class and of course, priests were not able to escape its clutches as Iolo Goch shows in his *marwnad* for the archdeacon of St Asaph, Ithel ap Robert (Appendix 3.14:1 – 6). The final couplet here gives a contemporary description of how the plague affected its victims. As he was an archdeacon, there seems to be an assumption that there would be a place for him alongside the saints in the kingdom of heaven (Appendix 3.14:131 – 146):

It seems that the poet Dafydd ap Edmund died of the Plague. He was the uncle of another poet, Tudur Aled and in his *marwnad* for Dafydd, Tudur Aled says (TA 70:37 – 38):

Doe, bwriodd haint y bardd hen,
Dwrn deau dyrnod awen;
*Yesterday, pestilence struck the old poet,
A right fist punch to the muse;*

GPC defines *haint* as ‘any fatal infectious or contagious epidemic disease, pestilence, (the) plague.’ However, there is nothing else in this poem to suggest that it was the Plague which caused Dafydd’s death, so it could have been any illness which was responsible. There would also appear to be a play on words here with the word *awen* which can mean muse or cheek-bone. Thus, it could be that Dafydd ab Edmwnd, the muse, was struck down.

Perhaps one of the most poignant of the poems about death being caused by the plague is that composed by Ieuan Gethin following the death of his son (GyB Marwnad i’w Fab:9 – 12):

Minnau od yw, am nad iach,
fy mebyn oedd fy mwbach
am weled, mi a wylwn,
y ddufrech ar ddwyfraich hwn.
*As for me, because he was not well,
my little boy was my bogeyman
when I saw, how I wept,
the black pox on his arms.*

Although Lewys Glyn Cothi does not actually mention the plague in *Marwnad Nest o Caeo*, the poem gives us a sense of how speedy death could occur in the middle ages (Appendix 3.15.4:29 – 36). In fact, her husband, her sons and her grandchildren all died before she did which suggests that it may have been a contagious disease such as the Plague which was responsible (Appendix 3.15.4:43 – 52). It seems that it may have been the Plague which was responsible for the deaths of another family, that of Ieuan ap Dafydd ab Ithel Fychan of Tegeingl, as Tudur Aled states in his *marwnad* for him and his wife (Appendix 3.26.2).

Dafydd ap Hywel ap Gruffudd ab Ednyfed is described by Tudur Aled as having been marked by God that he would die (TA 90:27 – 28):

[E]i ddal ef a wnâi Dduw lwyd,

A'i farc arno fu'r cornwyd;

Holy God caught him,

And His mark on him was the plague;

In modern Welsh, *cornwyd* is translated as boil or pimple but in medieval Welsh it could also mean pestilence or plague. This may suggest that Dafydd ap Hywel was yet another Plague victim, however it should also be noted that boils were symptoms of other contagious diseases including smallpox. There is the added complication that diagnosis of diseases was difficult during this period and would likely have led to mis-diagnosis of lesser skin complaints, even leprosy, as Plague.

As has been stated in the introduction, it was considered that the worst fate was to die before having a chance to confess one's sins and repent, a theme picked upon by Siôn Cent (GSC 23:1 – 4):

Gwyn i fyd, nid er gwynfydu

Y dyn, cyn gloes angeu du,

A fedro gweddïo'n dda

Er ennill bodd wŷr Anna.

Lucky the man, not though to rejoice,

Before the pain of the black death,

Who is able to pray well

To win the favour of Anna's grandson.

It must be remembered that the Plague descended on the population on more than one occasion over the centuries. In the sixteenth century, three brothers were killed by it: Wiliam, Siôn and Trahaearn Morgan. In his *marwnad* for them, Lewys Morgannwg refers to the classics (GLMorg 62:3 – 6):

Tri mab o lin – trwm o bla! –

Trahaearn fal gwŷr Troea.

Meirw'r tri fal meibion Priaf,

Mawr wenwyn haint, meirw'n yr un haf.

The sons of the lineage – heavy of plague! –

Of Trahaearn like men of Troy.

The three are dead like Priam's sons

Great poison of pestilence, dead in the same summer.

He goes on to claim (GLMorg 62:37):

Diwedd y bla fu'r dydd blin;

The end of the plague was the woeful day;

And it is likely that the three brothers died around the same time as one another as the poet says (GLMorg 62:49 – 50):

Tri o'r oes mewn tair awr aed,

Tro at angau'r tair tyngaed.

Let three of the [same] age go in three hours,

The three fates turn to death

Siôn ap Hywel mentions 'glas wenwyn' (blue poison) in *Marwnad Sioned ferch Robert ap Ieuan Fychan*. The use of metaphor is quite common in poetry through the ages, including the poetry of the period being studied. Therefore, it is possible that the blue poison is a metaphor for the black death which brought anguish to the land (GSH 9:25 – 28):

Blwyddyn, angau biau bâr,

A'i diwedd fydd i ddaear.

Gwaith angau, dagrau fu'i dwyn,

Gloes i Wynedd, glas wenwyn.

A year, death owns anger,

And its end it will be to the earth.

The work of death, tears were caused,

Anguish to Gwynedd, blue poison.

In *Marwnad Elis ap Cadwaladr o'r Rhiwlas*, Gruffudd Hiraethog seems to blame God and Jesus more directly for causing many deaths in the world (Appendix 3.6). In line 5 of the poem the poet uses the term 'dial y nod', meaning 'vengeance of the bubo', a likely metaphor for the Plague. His use of *iaith* in line 10 is likely to be race or people and the poet is complaining that so many people were struck down last year but despite that, God has taken more this year.

4.2 Killed or Struck Down?

In a number of instances, the poet gives us a little more detail of the circumstances surrounding the death of an individual, telling us that he died in battle or was drowned. Other times, we are just told that the individual was struck down with no reference as to what it was that actually caused the death. The use of the term ‘struck down’ may suggest that the individual being commemorated died suddenly, perhaps not having had the time to prepare for death by repenting any sins committed while living. While this may have caused concern to those left to mourn the passing of a loved one, as is shown on the section on grief and mourning, the loss felt was often immense no matter what the cause.

4.2.1 Cause of Death Given

Although there is some doubt historically about the subject of Iorwerth ab y Cyriog’s *marwnad*, Einion ap Seisyll, the opening lines clearly state that he was killed in a valiant battle (GGG At i:1, 3):

Awst y llas ’y nghastell i,

.....

Pan fu ymgyrchu gorchest

[In] August my defender was killed,

.....

When there was a valiant attack

The poem goes on to say that he was fighting on behalf of Cyfeliog against Arwystli and it is known that Arwystli was involved in a number of bloody battles including some against Cyfeiliog (GGG At i n).

The exact nature of the death of Gruffudd ap Madog ab Iorwerth of Llechwedd Ystrad is not given, but Madog Dwygraig’s *marwnad* starts with the suggestion that he met a violent end – though this, of course, would not rule out that he was killed by the Plague (GMD 1:1):

Gwlad y’n trig trawsddig llwrw treisddwyn – Gruffudd,

*A land where we have bitter anger because Gruffudd was taken
through violence,*

It was a violent end for brothers Sir William and Sir Richard Herbert who were both executed by the Earl of Warwick following the Battle of Edgecote. Huw Cae Llwyd makes reference to this ‘treachery’ in his *marwnad* for them (Appendix 3.10.3). In another example of a poet commemorating the execution of a nobleman, Ieuan Gethin’s *marwnad* for Owain Tudur is more of a complaint about the fact. He alludes to the fact that this occurred without the chance being given for his men to pay a ransom for his life – indeed, he goes as far as to suggest that Henry VI would have paid such a ransom (GIGeth 10: 19 – 20, 25 – 26):

Doded ef yn ddiglefyd

Drwy boen i fyned o’r byd.

.....

Di-ffael, a chaniadu ffin,

Oedd i’w brynu dda brenin;

He was forced while still healthy

To leave the world through pain.

.....

Without fail, had a fine been allowed,

Would be the king’s riches to buy him;

Tudur Llwyd of Yale appears to have been killed in a fight, perhaps a battle as Siôn ap Hywel mentions a spike that cut his cheek (GSH 8:23 – 24):

Dellten o gethren gythrudd,

Darn grin a dorrai’n y grudd.

Lath of a spike vexatious,

A searing piece that cut the cheek.

Goronwy ap Tudur Fychan drowned while at Kent, a fact which Iolo Goch notes in his *marwnad* for him and his brother, Ednyfed (IGP 6:83 – 84):

Braw eisoes oedd i’r bresent

Suddo ei gorff yn Swydd Gent;

but it was a shock to the people of this world

that his body sunk in Kent;

Later in the poem (IGP 6:95 – 96) there is the suggestion that Goronwy died before his brother but the details of the death of the latter are not mentioned.

4.2.2 Struck Down

In Guto'r Glyn's *marwnad* for Dafydd Llwyd ap Gruffudd of Abertanad, the poet suggests that Dafydd was probably a victim of the plague (see above). Later in the poem, he states that Dafydd was smitten down (GG.net 89:43 – 45):

Bwrw Dafydd, bu ar dyfiad,
Llwyd i lawr, colled y wlad;
Ei fwrw ef a friwai wŷr
*Smiting Dafydd Llwyd down,
he was progressing, the land's loss;
smiting him who shattered men*

Lewys Glyn Cothi states that Siôn Dafydd ap Gruffudd Fychan was struck down (GLGC 30:5 – 6):

Doe y bwriwyd y barwn
du da, doeth, o waed Dwn
*Yesterday was struck the good
black wise baron of Dwn's blood.*

Tudur Aled uses this phrase when referring to the death of Tomas Salbri Hen (TA 78:5 – 6):

Brig ddyrnwyd [ei]n aelwyd ni,
Braens seilbren, bwrw Hen Salbri;
*The head of our hearth was struck down.
Wood-based heir, striking Old Salbri;*

Though later on in the poem, he also claims that God took him.

Gutun Owain states that the striking of Tomas Salbri Hen was terrifying, also stating that he who paid and fed them (i.e. through patronage) was struck (GO 57:3 – 6):

Bwriwyd aur a bwyd i'r bedd,
Bwrdd a llynn beirdd holl Wynedd.
Bwrw iawn hen waed brenhinoedd,
Braw ynn, Tomas Salbri, oedd.
*The gold and food was stricken to the grave,
The table and drink of the whole of Gwynedd's bards.*

*Striking the very old blood of kings,
It was terror for us, Thomas Salsbury.*

In his *marwnad* for Elisau ap Gruffudd ab Einion, Tudur Aled notes that it was the same fate for the subject (TA 89:3 – 4):

Byriwyd doe ŵr fal brawd da,
Ba ddaw weithian? bwy ddoetha?

*Yesterday was struck down a man like a good brother,
What comes hereafter? who wisest?*

The fate of Dafydd ap Hywel ap Gruffudd ab Ednyfed has been discussed above where it was suggested that he may have been a Plague victim. Tudur Aled also says that he was struck down (TA 90:5 – 6):

Byriwyd mab heb wryd mwy,
Brenin hyd, bro Nanheudwy.

*A son without greater stature was struck down,
A king [in] size, [of] the land of Nanheudwy.*

Huw ap Dafydd ap Llywelyn ap Madog uses the metaphor of a bush providing an orchard of food when claiming that Rhisiart ap Hywel of Alrhe was struck down GHD (6:11 – 12):

Bwrw ein henwalch breninwych,
Bwrw y llwyn oedd berllan wych.

*Striking our old hawk, an excellent king,
Striking the bush which was an excellent orchard.*

Here, *henwalch* can also be used figuratively meaning an old scallywag.

The same poet also makes allusion to classical antiquity, comparing Tudur Aled with Dionysus Cato, a Roman author of wisdom, when stating that the Welshman had been stricken (GHD 15:24):

Bwriwyd cytysg brawd Catwn

*The one of the same learning as the brother of Dionysius Cato was
struck down.*

Later in the same poem, the poet claims that Tudur Aled was taken by God (GHD 15:47 – 48):

Duw ni fynnodd dwyn f' einioes;
Dug fy mhen, - dig wyf o'm hoes.

God did not insist on taking my life;

He took my chieftain, - I am angry because of my life.

In the final phrase here, the poet is showing his anger that he still lives while his chieftain has been taken by God.

When Wiliam Watgyn of Pen-rhos was struck down, Lewys Morgannwg claimed that it was as if Judgement Day had come across the two commotes of Gwent (GLMorg 36:22, 24 – 26):

Bwrw gwaed Barri a Godwin.

.....

Bwrw gwal a'i brig o Wilym.

Bwrw tēyrn, Dyddbrawd Dwywent,

Bwrw nêr gwych bro Ynyr Gwent

Striking the blood[line] of Barri and Godwin

.....

Striking the leader and its summit of William

Striking the leader, Judgement Day for two Gwents

Striking the excellent chief of the land of Ynyr Gwent

Lewys Morgannwg makes much use of metaphor and references to relatives and heraldry in stating that Syr Rhisiart Herbert of Montgomery was struck down and taken from his family and land (GLMorg 76:5 – 12):

Bu ryw dwrf fal bwrw derwen

Yn bwrw tŵr o Herbert hen:

Bwrw dêr Gwent, brodir y gwin,

Briwo coed hen barc Godwin;

Bwrw ceiliog torchog at wart,

Brân Syr Rhys, bwrw'n Syr Rhisiart.

Dallwyd brud llewod a brain

Dwyn ewythr, dwyn nai Owain.

There was some tumult like the striking an oak

Striking the warrior old Herbert;

Striking a mighty oak-tree of Gwent, the wine region,

*Shattering the trees of Goodwin's old park;
Striking the crested cockerel to imprisonment,
The crow of Sir Rhys, striking our sir Richard.
The prophesy of lions and crows was blinded
By taking an uncle, taking Owain's nephew.*

The same poet refers to Tudur Aled as the 'master' and 'king of poets' when claiming that he was struck down (GLMorg 93:9 – 12):

Bwrw un henfeistr brenhinfeirdd,
– Ba awen byth? – oedd ben beirdd,
Bwrw ein tad, a'n braint ydoedd,
Bwrw y dysg hyd Dydd Brawd oedd.
*Striking one old master of royal poets,
– What will become of the muse? – who was head of poets,
Striking our father, and he was our privilege,
This was the striking the learning until Judgement Day.*

Lewys Morgannwg makes effective use of the word *bwrw* (to strike) in many of his *marwnadau*. At the start of four consecutive lines it is used to convey how heavily the loss of Henry VIII was felt when he was struck down (GLMorg 99:9 – 12):

Bwrw Wyth, brenhinllwyth brenhinllawr – Wesmestr,
Bwrw Rismwnt a Winsawr;
Bwrw nen a'i friwo'n unawr,
Bwrw tarw Môn fal bwrw tŵr mawr.
*Striking Eight, royal dynasty royal base – Westminster,
Striking Richmond and Windsor;
Striking a lord and wounding him at the appointed hour,
Striking the bull of Anglesey like striking a large tower.*

Gruffudd Hiraethog notes how Maredudd ap Dafydd of Carwedfynydd would still be loved had he not been struck down (GGH 73:21 – 22):

Bwrw bonedd llawnwedd llu,
Bwrw gŵr a barai'i garu.
*Striking a noble full featured host,
Striking a man who would still be loved.*

There are several allusions to classical Roman and Greek works which appear in the poetry of the period being analysed such as that to Dionysus Cato by Huw ap Dafydd ap Llywelyn ap Madog or the reference to Priam by Lewys Morgannwg. Perhaps the most surprising references to antiquity, given the authority of the Church and its opposition to heretical beliefs across Europe, are some of the lines which appear in the works of Guto'r Glyn and Lewys Morgannwg. Both poets refer to the three Moirae or Fates from Greek mythology who were responsible for allotting and measuring the length of an individual's lifetime. Clotho spun the thread of life and its length was measured by Lachesis. Once the allotted time was reached, Atropos cut the thread and so ended the life.

William Herbert, the first earl of Pembroke died in 1469 and it is in Guto'r Glyn's *marwnad* for him that the first mention of the Three Fates is noted (GG.net 24:41 – 50):

Tair merched, tair tynged ton
 Y sy'n dwyn oes ein dynion:
 Un a gynnail cogeilyn,
 Arall a nydd dydd pob dyn,
 Trydedd yn torri edau
 Er lladd iarll a'r llu dduw Iau.
 Mynnwn fy mod ymannos
 Yn torri pen Atropos.
 Nid rhan i'r tair a henwais
 Nyddu oes hir yn nydd Sais.

Three women, three misshapen fates

Take away the life of our men:

One holds a distaff,

A second weaves the number of every man's days,

A third cuts a thread

To kill an earl and the host on Thursday.

I wish I had been the other night

Cutting off the head of Atropos.

The three women whom I have named

Do not get to weave a long life while there is an Englishman around.

The final line here is perhaps a sideways swipe directed at the earl of Warwick who had had William Herbert executed following his defeat at the battle of Edgecote.

In *Marwnad Lewys ap Tomas a Gruffudd Llwyd, ei fab*, Lewys Morgannwg has exchanged the roles of Clotho and Lachesis; this may be because the poem was written in haste soon after the death of Lewys (GLMorg 61:25 – 39):

Tair morwyn fu yn dwyn dau,
Tair tynged, draw at angau:
Cloto wen, cul at einioes,
Câi â'i gwe lin cogail oes.
Mewn ystad mae'n astudiaw,
Mae'n daly oes mewn ei dwy law.
Letises ail at oesoedd
Wrth ei dysg â'r werthyd oedd.
Hoedl dyn, huawdl hyd unnos,
Hon a'i nydd yn nydd a nos.
Os edau einioes ydyw;
Awtropôs a'i tyr. Pa wiw?
Och grined oedd ei hedau
Nos a dydd am einioes dau!

*Three maidens took two,
Three fates, across to death:
Fair Clotho, narrow at a lifetime,
Received with her web the distaff of life.
In a state she studies,
She holds life in her two hands.
Lachesis is the second to the ages
By her learning with the spindle was she.
The life of a man, eloquent through a night,
Does she spin by day and night.
If it is the thread of a lifetime;
Atropos cuts it. What is it worth?
Woe withered was her thread
Night and day for the lifetime of two!*

A similar reference is made in *Marwnad tri brawd: Wiliam, Siôn a Thrahaearn Morgan* (GLMorg 62:49 – 52):

Tri o'r oes mewn tair awr aed,
Tro at angau'r tri tyngaed.
Dwy a nydd i bob dyn oes;
E dyr un edau'r einioes.

*Let three of the age go in three hours,
Turn to death of the three fates.
Two spin a lifetime for every man;
One cuts the thread of the lifetime.*

4.3 Death Personified

With death being such an everyday occurrence during the Middle Ages, it comes as no surprise that the figure of Death personified became a popular image in European art of the period. Christine Kralik asserts that 'by the mid fifteenth century, the appearance of Death as a personification appeared more ominous and insidious (in Oosterwijk and Knöll 2011:144). Often, this image of Death is associated with the Fourth Rider of the Apocalypse being depicted as a man riding a white charger in early illustrations from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in England and France. In many of these illustrations, Death wears a hat or turban and brandishes a sword or a brazier of fire. Images which developed in Italy portray Death as a female on a black horse, carrying a scythe and a bow and arrows (Sylvie Bethmont-Gallerand in Oosterwijk and Knöll 2011:172). In some cases, Death is portrayed as a cadaver, often dressed in a shroud, and again brandishing a sword (Aberth 2000). In such cases, the horse is also depicted as emaciated or skeletal. Developments of the personification of Death show a number of variations. Sylvie Bethmont-Gallerand (*op. cit.*) has described how in many illustrations, Death is seen to be riding an ox, a cow or even a heifer. She or he is also illustrated brandishing a variety of weapons such as a lance a dart or a scythe as well as a sword. In some cases, Death carries a coffin as if to signify the fate of the person being attacked or an hour glass signifying that time has run out.

Perhaps one of the most well-known of the images of Death personified taking the living to their graves is that known as the Dance of Death or *Danse Macabre*. Many copies of the *Danse Macabre* were produced throughout Europe, some showing the figure of Death as a rotting worm-infested corpse (Oosterwijk, 2009). It is uncertain where this particular image originated but one of the earliest was that painted on the cemetery wall of Cimetière des Innocents in Paris between August 1424 and Lent 1425 (Oosterwijk, 2009). Along with the painting were accompanying verses describing what was going on. A number of copies were made of this painting across Europe including the one produced by the monk John Lydgate on the walls of the cloister around the Pardon Churchyard of St. Paul's Cathedral London around 1426.

In his book examining medieval visual images in Wales, Peter Lord (2009) states that there was an increase in interest in the image of death in Wales during this period and that this interest was expressed in the poetry produced. His belief is that the St. Paul's painting of The Dance of Death can be seen as an influence in some of this poetry. Although there is no evidence that copies were painted in Welsh churches, there is sufficient evidence that the Welsh were at the very least familiar with copies in St Paul's Cathedral in London or in other English churches as several poets make reference to it, referring to it as 'Dawns Powls' or 'The Dance of Paul's'. The Welsh here reflects contemporary English spelling and as with the English references, may be a generic term rather than specifically referring to the painting in St Paul's Cathedral itself.

The development of the art of the macabre has been traced back to the twelfth century though it was in the fourteenth century that it became much more popular. In his study of Romanesque wall paintings in France, Paul-Henri Michel describes in some detail ninety-one paintings dating throughout the twelfth century. Although there are a number of macabre examples in these works, these are mainly illustrating the passion of Christ or the martyrdom of one of the saints. There are some examples depicting demons such as the Descent into Hell at Tavant and the gruesome scene of a woman about to eat her baby while being persecuted by a dragon at Saint-Savin-sur-Gartempe (Michel, illustrations 7 and 52 respectively). In Italy, several frescoes portraying the legend of the Three Living and Three Dead illustrate the dead as corpses in various stages of decomposition lying in their coffins

(Aberth, 2010). In the fresco believed to date from the mid fourteenth century entitled ‘Triumph of Death’, a group of riders is illustrated showing a variety of reactions to three corpses ranging from curiosity to disgust (Aberth, 2010).

As stated above, the medieval Welsh must have been familiar with the paintings depicting the *Danse Macabre* as there are several allusions to it in the poetry. One such example is that of Lewis Môn in his *marwnad* to Sir Thomas Salisbury (GLM 59:1 – 2):

Para gwymmp i wŵr y god?

Pa loes Angau Powls yngod?

What kind of fall for the man of pride?

What agony the Death of Paul’s nearby?

This particular couplet provides the intriguing suggestion that a copy of the *Danse* may have existed near to Sir Thomas Salisbury’s home in Denbighshire, perhaps in the Dominican priory at Rhuddlan, an order which is associated with the spread of the popularisation of the *Danse*. Or it may be that there was a painting on Lewys Môn’s home island of Anglesey as Sophie Oosterwijk also notes that the Franciscan Order is often closely linked with the imagery of the *Danse* (2009:62) and there was a Franciscan friary on that island. In another *marwnad* by Lewys Môn, this time for Siôn Grae, there is an image of a bird dragging people into the dance – an image which does not occur elsewhere. This again may be a reference to a specific painting that Lewys Môn had seen, perhaps on Anglesey (Appendix 3.16).

It is believed that the poet Syr Dafydd Trefor was born in the parish of Llanddeiniolen in Caernarfonshire and he is described as the rector for Llanygrad or Llaneugrad-cum-Llanallgo on Anglesey in 1504 (DWB). From his *marwnad* for Owain ap Maredudd of Porthaml on Anglesey (Appendix 3.25.2) it is obvious that he was familiar with the image of the *Danse Macabre*. This poem was composed in the second half of the fifteenth century and makes the most detailed of any reference in contemporary Welsh poetry to the *Danse*, claiming that Death led Owain Maredudd away. Line 17 of the poem refers to Death taking the emperor from his father’s tower. The word ‘tŵr’ could be translated as tower or may simply mean the house or court. Whatever the actual meaning, it seems to be a reference to an image which is not known to be present in any of the paintings anywhere in Europe (Madeleine Gray, pers. corres.). Thus, once more, there is a possible reference to a drawing of

the *Danse* which has since been lost. With Lewys Môn being a native of Anglesey and Syr Dafydd Trefor obviously being familiar with the island, any evidence of a painting of the *Danse Macabre* would seem to point, circumstantially at least, to that being on the island of Anglesey.

The figure of Death which appears in scenes such as those of the *Danse Macabre* is widely assumed to be the personification of death itself as a cadaver coming to claim the souls of the living. Sophie Oosterwijk has questioned this interpretation and suggested that the cadaver figure may be a representation of the living person and that the soul is coming to lead the body to the grave (2009:274). While either interpretation may be valid, it is almost certain that the description presented in Syr Dafydd Trefor's *marwnad* is that of Death personified and there is no doubting the fact that Death personified such as that of 'an Ankoù' in Brittany, was popular in many cultures throughout Europe. In Welsh popular culture, the figure was known as Angau and depending on the interpretation, this figure may be present in some of the Welsh poetry from this period.

In analysing the poetry, the convention of the editors of the poems has been followed, presenting the initial letter of the word angau/death in upper or lower case where they have done so. When referring to Death personified, it is usual to capitalise the first letter thus – Angau/Death. However, it should be noted that the original manuscripts were written in lower case and with little or no punctuation; these have all been added by the modern-day editors of the work. Thus, it is often open to interpretation whether the original author was referring to the personification of Death or to the actual death of the subject.

One of the earliest examples in which death is mentioned by name is that in Guto'r Glyn's *marwnad* for Sir Benet, the parson of Corwen. Here, the poet sees Death not as a figure leading but as a destroyer (GG.net 47:27 – 28):

Cryf fu angau crafangawg,
Gwypmo'r holl gampau yrhawg.
*Clawed death was strong,
striking down all the feats thenceforth.*

In this example, the reference to 'Angau crafangawg' (Clawed Death) suggests an image of Death personified which is very much in keeping with the later

development in medieval art which depicted Death as a more aggressive figure. This is also illustrated in the development of the paintings of the Three Living and the Three Dead which in earlier versions depicted the Dead as stationary figures, giving a warning to the Living but later had the Dead pursuing and attacking the Living.

In the *marwnad* for Hywel ap Madog ap Hywel, Lewys Môn also alludes to Death and its clutching claws, claiming that it takes the lives of fearful men (GLM 45:1 – 6):

Mae'r Angau oll, mawr, yng ngwanc
y mab cryf, ym mhob crafanc.
Oes creadur, os credwn,
oes, dan haul, nas edwyn hwn?
Ai gwir dwyn gwrda unawr
ganol ei oes – gwae ni – i lawr?

*Great Death [in its] entirety is, in the greed
the strong son, in every clutching claw.
Is there a creature, if I would believe,
is there, under the sun, whom he does not know?
Is it true that a nobleman is taken in an instant
in the middle of his life – alas – to the ground?*

Death as a destroyer, taking life through violence, is described in several of the poets' work of the period. Llywelyn Goch ap Meurig Hen claims that Goronwy ap Tudur was taken violently before then stating that he was destroyed by death which could be Death personified (GLIG 5:33 – 34, 37 – 38):

Treiswyd ni am ein trysor,
Trwsiad traws ei dad, Dudyd.

.....

Peredur gystal, parawdoch - gyngerth
Rhag angau a'i foloch;

*We were violated for our treasure,
The steadfast adornment of his father, Tudur.*

.....

*A man as good as Peredur, intense and speedy woe
Because of death and its destruction;*

It is the sixteenth-century poet, Lewys Morgannwg who has the most references to death in his work. In the *marwnad* for Arnold Butler of Bryn-y-frân, he refers to Death as the warriors' angel which came and took the subject. With angels being God's messengers, there is a contrast here with on the one hand Death depicted as aggressive and destructive but at the same time being the messenger of God (GLMorg 12:45 – 46, 51 – 52):

Angau, angel rhyfelwr,
Â brig ei wayw fu'n bwrw gŵr:

.....

A'r un saeth, awr yn nesáu,
A ollyngodd llaw angau.

*Death, a warrior's angel
With the tip of his spear struck a man:*

.....

*And with the one arrow, the hour approaches,
Released the hand of death.*

The reference to the spear in this poem is reminiscent of some of the later paintings of the Three Living and the Three Dead as well as of the *Danse* which show Death holding a spear with which to kill the victim or driving a lance through the victim's body.

In the *marwnad* for Margaret Bawdrey, he simply states (GLMorg 7:29 – 30):

Nos drist am arglwyddes draw
Y dôi'r angau i'w dringaw.

*A sad night for a yonder lady
When death came to take her up.*

Which may mean that she ascended to heaven after she had died or that Death came to her and took her to heaven. If the latter is the case, there is another clear contrast here depicting Death as God's messenger rather than as an aggressor.

There is a similar claim by Lewys Morgannwg that it was Death as God's messenger which came to fetch Dafydd Cemaïs of St Mellons sometime after 1544 (GLMorg 25:47 – 50):

Y dydd yn ei fedyddiaeth

Â Duw Nef ei gadw a wnaeth.
Duw a dyrroedd daearol;
Ing un nos angau'n ei nôl.

*The day of his baptism
With God in Heaven he did him keep.
God has gathered an earthly one;
Anguish one night, death fetched him.*

Lewys Morgannwg claims that it was God who allowed death to strike Ieuan ap Dafydd of Llangewydd and in so doing, caused distress to his supporters (GLMorg 14:19 – 20):

Doe'r angau'n cael dringo'n coed
Drwy Dduw; blin diwreiddio'i blaid.

*Yesterday, death was allowed to climb our trees
By God; distressing was the uprooting of his supporters.*

In the first line here, the definite article is used with the word *angau* / death which would suggest that it is Death personified. The second line also suggests that it is through God that Death is acting, it therefore being likely that the poet was referring to Death as God's messenger, which again is suggestive of a non-demonic personification of Death as noted in the *marwnad* for Arnold Butler above.

In claiming that Death is violent in taking Tudur Aled, fellow poet Raff ap Robert also notes that Death caused distress or torment to those left to mourn. Tudur Aled died in 1526 so it is likely that this poem was written around that time. In it, Raff ap Robert makes the assertion that death is always nearby – again this could be alluding to Death personified (GRR 6:63 – 66):

Rhywliwr oedd, rhol Hiraddug,
Rhyw angau diau a'i dug.

Taer yngod wyt ti'r angau
Tynni o'n plith, wyt yn ein plâu;

*A leader was he, the roll of Hiraddug,
A kind of certain death which took him.*

Violent nearby are you death,

You take people from amongst us, you torment us;

The reference to Hiraddug is likely to be the poet Dafydd Ddu Hiraddug who played an important role in laying down the rules of grammar for Welsh poetry. The likely meaning of these lines is that Tudur Aled was also held in high regard by his fellow poets to such an extent that he could be considered to be as significant to them as was Dafydd Ddu.

It is the causing of distress which Tudur Aled makes reference to when claiming that Death exacted revenge upon Tudur Llwyd of Yale (TA 79:61 – 62):

Angeu a fu ing i faint,

Dal carw yn dial ceraint!

Death caused distress being so great,

Catching a stag in kindred's revenge!

The reference to a stag here is figurative, being a description often used by poets from this period to describe the bravery of a patron.

Composing poetry at the beginning of the sixteenth century, Siôn ap Hywel in his *marwnad* for Sioned the daughter of Robert ap Ieuan Fychan, accuses Death of bringing anguish to the land (GSH 9:25 – 28):

Blwyddyn, angau biau bâr,

A'i diwedd fydd i ddaear.

Gwaith angau, dagrau fu'i dwyn,

Gloes i Wynedd, glas wenwyn.

A year, death owns anger,

And her end will it be to the earth.

The work of death, her taking caused tears,

Anguish to Gwynedd, blue poison.

The reference to 'blue poison' may be an accusation by Siôn ap Hywel that Death has brought the Plague to Gwynedd which is causing suffering to the population.

In noting the anguish that the death of Sir William Matthew of Radyr caused, Lewys Morgannwg states that death comes to take the subject of the poem (GLMorg 4:5 – 8):

Dwyn marchog tiriog tyrau – Syr Rolant,

Dwyn Syr Wiliam Mathau;
Ni ad ing o daw angau
I'r rhai byw 'rhawg hir barhau.

Taking a knight of landed towers – Sir Roland,

Taking Sir William Matthew;

If death comes anguish does not allow

Those living thereafter to continue for a long time.

Here, there is some ambiguity as to whether it is Death personified which took Sir William Matthew or whether it is the death of Sir William to which the poet refers.

Similarly, on the death of Thomas ap Sir Siôn Morgan of Machen in 1538, Lewys Morgannwg is direct in his assertion that it is Death who took the subject and that this caused distress – this time to the poet himself (GLMorg 31:25 – 28):

Angau dug, ing y digiais,
Yn unnos waed Einion Sais:
Dwyn llew doe o Waunllŷwg;
Dyn fo da Duw Nef a'i dwg.

Death took, anguish that I am displeased,

In one night the blood of Einion Sais:

Taking the lion yesterday of Gwynllwg;

Any man who is good, God of Heaven will take him.

When mourning the loss of Rhys ap Siôn of Neath, Iorwerth Fynglwyd notes his grief at the loss of Rhys, addressing his complaint to Death/death (GIF 5:55 – 56):

O gŵyn am ei ddwyn eiddunaf, angau,
O udo 'ngenau, nid ynganaf.

In grieving that he was taken I beseech, death

From wailing [of] my mouth, I will not speak.

Is it Death personified that Iorwerth Fynglwyd is addressing here?

Several of the poems just state that Death/death has taken the subject with no mention of this being an act of violence or of any distress or anguish caused. Dafydd ab Edmwnd's *marwnad* for Dafydd ab Ieuan of Llwydiarth describes death taking Dafydd to his grave which could be Death personified. From the grave, he will go to

God's house to pay rent i.e. to live (Appendix 3.1). On the death of Hywel ap Siencyn ap Iorwerth, Tudur Aled states (TA 82:9 – 10):

Yngo'r aeth angau ar wýdd
O gyff Hywel gwayw ffawydd;
*Nearby death went on a weaver [of poetry]
Of Hywel's family a beech spear;*

Again it seems, it is Death personified which has taken the subject of the poem.

The reference which Huw Cae Llwyd makes to death in the *marwnad* for Gwilym Fychan is a little more uncertain (HCLI 25:55 – 56):

Daeth angau o'ch maddau i mi,
Nid â'r angau heb drengi.
*Death came to me by dispensing of you,
Death does not go without dying.*

In the second line of this couplet, the definite article 'r' is used in front of *angau* which suggests, as noted above, that the poet is referring to Death personified. The couplet could then be interpreted as once Death comes, it does not leave until it takes someone in death.

In his *Marwnad yr Arglwyddes Siân* which is believed to have been composed to commemorate Siân Gruffudd, first wife of Sir William Herbert of Colebrook who died in 1505 or 1506, Lewys Morgannwg used similar motifs, claiming that she was taken by God but also by Death (GLMorg 88:13 – 16):

Duw'n dwyn – pam na edid ynn? –
Y bu anrhaith o Benrhyn, -
Angau'n ôl degau digoll
O i wrth Dduw anrheithoedd oll.
*God takes – why was she not left for us? –
She was a treasure from Penrhyn, -
Death fetches blameless tens
From God's side all were pillaged.*

He goes on to state that playing with Death is folly, seemingly implying that Death is God's messenger as he further states that God will win every time. In another statement which is reminiscent of visual art depicting games of chance, the poet states that it is as if it is like a game of dice for Him, although there is some

ambiguity as to whether it is God or Death who is casting the dice (GLMorg 88:39 – 42):

Chwarae ag angau nid gwiw;
Rhy gadarn yrhawg ydyw.
Duw sydd, fal disiau iddaw,
Ar ennill oll i'r un llaw.

*Playing with death is not worthy;
It is always too steadfast.
It is God, [it is]like [playing] dice for Him,
Who will win everything in the one hand.*

It was Death, claims Lewys Morgannwg which took fellow poets Lewys Môn and Iorwerth Fynglwyd (GLMorg 94:61 – 66):

Wb o'r dydd am brydyddion!
Wylais am wawd Lewys Môn.
'F aeth Iorwerth fyth i orwedd;
Fath fardd nid â fyth i fedd.
Angau a'i dug yngod, wŷr,
A'i iawn frawd, fy hen frodyr.

*Alas the day for poets!
I wept for the poetry of Lewys Môn.
Iorwerth went to lie down for ever;
Another such poet will never go to a grave.
Death took him nearby, men,
And his true brother, my old brothers.*

On the passing of William Siôn of Caerleon, Lewys Morgannwg quite simply states that death comes. While the allusion here is that the poet is simply stating that everyone must eventually die, he could also be saying that it is at the hands of Death (GLMorg 39:39 – 40):

O daw angau – 'nid engyn? –
Nid oes da a geidw oes dyn.

*If death comes – is it not a wretch? –
There is no wealth that retains a man's life.*

Lewys Morgannwg once again refers to Death as an enemy with whom it is folly to play in his *marwnad* for Sir Richard Herbert of Montgomery: this time the game being played is a ball game (GLMorg 76:49 – 51):

Chwarae'r bêl y mae gelyn
Nos a dydd am einioes dyn.
Chwarae ag angau nid gwiw;
The enemy plays the ball
Day and night for the lifetime of a man.
Playing with death is of no avail;

4.4 God as Executioner

It was noted in the previous section that the personification of Death may be at times interpreted as a messenger from God, coming to take the life of the living subject. In a number of poems, it is God Himself who is seen by the poet as being the one responsible for the death of an individual. Occasionally this is seen as being an act of violence, perhaps as a vengeful act against the individual or the community for some perceived wrong-doing. In some instances, while God may be claimed to be responsible for killing the subject, the reason for the killing or taking is not apparent. In some of the poems, though stating that God has taken the individual, it seems more likely that the poet is referring to God taking the soul to heaven rather than being responsible for the death.

It was a vengeful act by God which Guto'r Glyn claims was responsible for the death of Siôn ap Madog Pilstwn of Hafod-y-wern. The poet claims that God did not consider the grief that the death of Siôn would cause, refusing any monetary payment in place of Siôn's life but rather acting out of anger to exact vengeance, though the reason for this anger is not given (GG.net 72:9 – 10, 39 – 40):

Nid edrychodd Duw'r achwyn,
Ni mynnodd aur namn ei ddwyn.
.....
Er bâr Duw a bwrw dial
Y bu'r bedd a'r gaib a'r bâl.
God did not consider the grief,

he did not wish to safeguard the life of a dear one but to take it away.

.....

*God's anger and the exacting of vengeance are the reason for
the grave and the pick and the spade.*

Tudur Aled also claims that God's vengeance was responsible for the death of Dafydd Llwyd ap Tudur claiming that a vengeful blow by God's fist killed him (TA 74:55 – 56):

Dyrnod yw, dwrn a'i dial,

Dwrn Duw ar gadernid Iâl!

*A punch it is, a fist that wreaks vengeance upon him,
God's fist on the steadfastness of Yale!*

In his marwnad for Dafydd ap Siancyn Fychan, Lewys Glyn Cothi makes reference to the 'three vengeances throughout' the region of Alun in Dyfed and the magic across the land of Alun which caused sleep. This is a reference to the Third Branch of the Mabinogion wherein the poet likens the death of Dafydd to the devastation of Dyfed first by flood and then by its inhabitants being placed in a magical sleep. It is God, the poet claims, who is responsible for all of this, perhaps as an act of vengeance against Dafydd's community (GLGC 31:1 – 8):

Duw, fo roes o'r blaned frau

dri dial drwy'r deau:

Duw gwyn, fal troi llyn ar lled,

a droes dwfr ar draws Dyfed;

hud fu'r ail hyd fro Alun,

yn y fro hir iawn fu'r hun;

dwyn Dafydd yw'r trydedd trais,

wedy'i gael doe o Galais.

God, he gave from the harsh destiny

three vengeances throughout the south:

Blessed God, as if turning a lake at length,

placed water across Dyfed;

magic was the second across the land of Alun,

in this land sleep was very long;

taking Dafydd is the third act of force,

after he was seized yesterday from Calais.

In his *Marwnad* for Dafydd Llwyd ap Tudur of Bodidris, Gutun Owain notes how God was ‘earnest to avenge’ when he ‘struck the pure courage and leadership of Bodidris.’ There is also a reference to St Paul’s feast, which may refer to the site of Dafydd Llwyd’s death or it may be another reference to the *Danse Macabre* (GO 41:1 – 6):

Duw sy’ dda, dwys i ddial,
Doe y gwnaeth draeth o dir Iâl:
Gyrru penn aic i orwedd,
Gwiw wyl Bawl, mewn gwely bedd.
Bwrw ffyniant bur a ffennaeth
Bodidris yn is a wnaeth.

*God who is good, earnest to avenge,
Yesterday turned the land of Yale into a beach:
Compelling a leader of men to lie,
Fitting St Paul’s feast, in the tomb’s bed.
He struck down the pure courage and leadership
Of Bodidris.*

Huw ap Dafydd ap Llywelyn ap Madog claims that it was a vengeful act against Denbigh, his community, when God took Syr Rhoser Salbri of Lleweni (GHD 12:25 – 28):

Dialedd Duw a welwn;
Dinbych oll dan y baich hwn.
Ei ddur, a’i faich, oedd ddaered,
A maner llew, main ar lled;

*[It is] God’s vengeance we see;
All of Denbigh under this burden.
His steel, and his burden, was his bequest,
And his lion standard, stones across him;*

This could be an allusion to the fact that Sir Roger left his armour and banner as a bequest to the church in payment for his ‘burdan’ i.e. his sins. GPC also gives a second definition of ‘daered’ as being soil or earth which may suggest that Sir Roger was buried in his armour perhaps wrapped in his banner.

It is God's vengeance which took Morys Sainsion claims Lewys Morgannwg (GLMorg 18:53 – 56):

Duw las y dernas gadarnaf – o'r byd
Es ennyd sy wannaf;
Dialau Duw a welaf:
Duw oll yn dwyn gwaed Llandaf.

*Holy God harmed the strongest – of the world
Since a time which is weakest;
It is the vengeance of God which I see:
Almighty God taking the blood of Llandaf*

In the final line, 'the blood of Llandaf' is a metaphor for Morys.

Although not claiming the act to be one of vengeance, Lewys Glyn Cothi nevertheless claims that God violated the people by taking the life of Sioned Bwlclai (GLGC 229:23 – 26):

Duw yn y byd, nid o'n bodd,
i'n tir isod a'n treisiodd
ban ddug Sioned, cyn Medi,
Bwlclai heb ei heilcael hi.

*God in the world, not to our satisfaction,
to our land below and violated us
when he took Sioned Buckley, before September,
without reinstating her.*

It was the whole of Wales, along with his family and friends who suffered when God's violence led to the death of Dafydd Llwyd of Abertanad states Hywel Cilan (GHC 5:7 – 8):

Cymru a llu Dafydd Llwyd,
O drais Duw a dristawyd.

*Wales and the host of Dafydd Llwyd,
Because of God's violence were saddened.*

It has been suggested that Sioned, the daughter of Robert ab Ieuan Fychan, may have died as a result of the Plague (see above). This may be seen as God's vengeance as

Siôn Hywel claims that it was an act of violence by God which was ultimately responsible and that Tegeingl became a land totally at loss because of this violence (GSH 9:33 – 34, 43 – 44, 89 – 90). A similar comment is made by Gruffudd ap Maredudd ap Dafydd claiming that it was God who had taken Hywel ap Goronwy, archdeacon of Anglesey, causing great sadness on that island (GGMD i 1:53 – 54).

In several instances, it is the poets themselves who portray a personal sense of loss following the death of a patron or his wife and blaming this on the violence of God. One such example is that of Gronw Gyriog who claims that God acted violently in taking Gwenhwyfar the wife of Hywel ap Tudur ap Gruffudd of Coeden in his *marwnad* for her (GGG 2:9 – 10). In similar vein, Gutun Owain blames God's violence for causing his sorrow on the death of Annes Trefor of Pentre Cynwric (GO 35:5 – 6) while in *Marwnad Dafydd ap Gruffydd ap Dafydd ap Llywelyn o Ferffordd yn Sir y Fflint* Gutun Owain claims that God dispossessed the people in taking Dafydd (GO 61:29 – 30). In his *marwnad* for Morys ap Siôn of Tregaron, Hywel Swrdwal complains that there was no sense in the death of Morys and states that in taking him, God is 'ravishing us of our treasure' (GHS 16:35 – 40). It was out of grudge that God took Robert Mathau of Meisgyn, Hywel Swrdwal claimed. In so doing, the poet states that his death was a perversion to the nation (GHS 10:9 – 10, 23 – 24). In the case of Tomas ap Rhydderch, Lewys Glyn Cothi claims that God offended the family by taking Tomas (GLC 57:63). Comparing Gruffudd Llwyd ap Dafydd Llwyd ap Dafydd ap Robyn to one of the heroes of Welsh mythology, Nudd, Tudur Aled claims that God took him 'to vex us' (TA 97:15 – 16):

Dwyn Gruffudd, ail Nudd, a wnaeth
 Duw, i'n poeni dwyn pennaeth;
*God took Gruffudd, the second Nudd,
 Taking a chieftain to vex us;*

When Henry, Earl of Worcester died shortly after the death of Henry VIII, Lewys Morgannwg blamed God for their deaths, suggesting perhaps that it was out of anger. In this case, though, there is no suggestion of vengeance against the Earl nor his family (GLMorg 46:1 – 4):

Duw gadarn, ai dig ydwyd?
 Duw fyw ddoeth, ai difa 'dd wyd?
 Dwyn yr Wyth, doe anrheithiaw,

Dwyn ato'r iarll, Dwywent draw.

Mighty God, are you angry?

Living [and] wise God are you destroying?

Taking [Henry] the Eighth, pillaging yesterday,

Taking to him the earl, two Gwents yonder.

The poet again later claims that it was God who took the Earl (GLMorg 46:51 – 52):

Duw anfonnes dan fynwent

Gwleddau a gwin arglwydd Gwent,

God sent under a cemetery

The feasts and wine of the lord of Gwent,

Although not claiming vengeance or violence, nevertheless there are many instances when the poet asserts that God has been cruel in taking the individual, again suggesting God's hand in the death. One such claim is that by Iolo Goch, claiming that the death of Ithel Ddu was a cruel, angry slaughter (IGP 23:5 – 6):

Gwae doeth, bu gwayw adwythig,

Y gwnaeth Duw, bu gwyniaith dig;

wise man's woe, there was a baneful spear,

that God did – it was vicious slaughter;

By taking Siôn Hafard, Huw Cae Llwyd accuses God of being cruel and describes the grief that was left behind following Siôn's death (Appendix 3.10.2). The cruelty of God is further reinforced by the reference to the fact that Sioned had already lost her first husband and now He is taking Siôn, causing Sioned to 'leave her senses' and mourn their passing. In taking Syr Hywel ap y Dai, Siôn ap Hywel claims that God has committed an outrage (GSH 4:15 – 16), while Casnodyn claims that God 'inflicted a crass calamity' when striking down Madog Fychan of Tir Iarll (GC 2:7 – 9, 16 – 17):

Dywan garw Duw a'n gorug

Dan sygn poen dygn pan 'dug.

Dug Duw Dad bost cad,

.....

Bwrw naf o lwrw nef i lawr.

I lawr Fadog fawr....

God inflicted a crass calamity to us

*Causing a sign of acute pain when He took him away.
God the Father took a defender [in] battle,
.....
Striking a lord down from heaven's direction.
Mighty Madog was struck down*

God caused the chilling of the land when he took Siôn Eutun ap Siâmys, claims Gutun Owain (GO 48:15 – 16) and Lewys Daron makes a similar claim when accusing God of taking Wiliam ap Gruffudd ap Robin of Cwchwillan, referring to Wiliam as ‘Swallow of the Britons’ (GLD 8:5 – 8, 35 – 36). Gutun Owain also claimed that the death of Siôn Trefor Hen was a destruction by God and the same poet claims that the death of Robert Trefor of yr Hôb was a strike by ‘the King of heaven’ (GO 38:48). He also claimed that it was God who took Alswn, comparing her to Dwynwen, a paragon of beauty and godliness (GO 46:37 – 38), and that in killing Siôn ap Robert ap Madog of Maelor, he took the keeper and the dispenser of gifts – probably referring to the fact that Siôn was a patron of the poets (GO 51:9 – 16, 19 – 20):

Dwyn Siôn, vlodevyn synwyr!
Doe'n lladd a wnaeth Duw yn llwyr;
Val Pedyr hen am y gwenyn
Vu'r modd i'n lladdodd vallyn.
Dwyn Eliwlad vab Madawc!
Duw Rrên a'n didyai rrawc:
Dwyn keidwad enwoc kadarn,
Diwedd vv val Dydd y Varn.

.....
Pennaeth y sir, pan aeth Siôn,
Y diwreiddiodd Duw roddion;

*Taking Siôn, flower of sense!
Yesterday God struck us down completely:
Like old Peter for the bees
Was the manner [in which] he killed us like this.
Taking Eliwlad the son of Madog!
Lord God who dispossessed us now:
Taking the famous steadfast keeper,*

It was an end like Judgement Day.

.....

*The head of the county, when Siôn went,
God uprooted the gifts;*

There are a large number of poems which seemingly refer to God as being the cause of the death of the individual, not claiming that it was in anyway intended to be seen as an affront to those left behind nor that God acted with cruel intent. Rather, the poet seems to be just noting that it was God who was responsible for the death. One such example is the death of Master Harri Morgan, where Lewys Morgannwg claims that it was the hand of God which caused suffering but that the same hand will give Harri a place in heaven (GLMorg 33:49 – 50):

Llaw Dduw oedd holl ddiodef,

Llaw a wna roi lle ‘n y nef,

*The hand of God was [cause] of all suffering,
The hand that will give a place in heaven,*

The Herbert family were descendants of Dafydd Gam, and in his *marwnad* for one of these descendants, Syr Wiliam Herbert of Colebrook, Lewys Morgannwg claims that both were taken by God (GLMorg 34:4 – 5), later in the same poem, stating that Syr Wiliam was struck down (GLMorg 34:27 – 28, 31 – 32):

Bwrwiwyd haul bro deheulawr,

Bwrwiwyd lamp Harbard i lawr.

.....

Bwrw maen gwal, growndwal a gryn,

Bwrw gwaed Herber a Godwin.

*The sun of the southern country was struck down,
The lamp of the Herberts was struck down.*

.....

*Striking of the stone of a wall, the foundation shakes,
Striking the blood of Herbert and Godwin.*

There are a number of examples in the work of Guto'r Glyn where the poet claims that God is responsible for the death of the subject of the *marwnad*. On the death of Abbott Rhys of Strata Florida, he states that God has deprived him of his office.

Guto'r Glyn is probably referring to the fact that his patron is now dead meaning in essence that he has lost his livelihood (GG.net 9:2 – 3, 22). In the case of Harri Gruffudd of Cwrtnewydd, Guto'r Glyn claims that it was a blow by the fist of God which took Harri who subsequently went to heaven (GG.net 36:2, 52 – 54) and it was also the fist of God who was responsible for the death of Syr Bened, the parson of Corwen (GG.net 47:7 – 8):

Trewis Duw dyrnod trist iawn,
Torri dwrn tir Edeirniawn,
*God struck a very sad blow with his fist
By smashing the fist of the land of Edeirnion*

Lewys Daron claims that God 'shortened the life' of Siôn ab Elis Eutun of Rhiwabon and dealt him a hammer blow (GLD 27:19 – 22, 33 – 34):

E ddug hwn, â'i ddau kannwr,
Da ran oes, derwen o wŵr.
A fai dda, a'i fyw dwyoes,
Fo wŵyr Duw fyrred ei oes.
.....
Duw a roddes, diwreiddiaw,
Ddyrnod yr ordd arno draw.
*He took him, with his two hundred men,
A good part of life, an oak of a man.
Whoever is good, and his living for two ages,
God knows how short is his life.
.....
God who gave, overthrowing,
A hammer blow on him yonder.*

In killing the poet Dafydd ab Edmwnd, Tudur Aled claims that God has killed the muse (TA 70:1 – 2):

Llaw Dduw a fu'n lladd awen,
Lladd enaid holl ddwned hen!
*The hand of God killed the muse,
Killed the whole soul of the old poetic grammar!*

In claiming that God took the life of Siancyn ap Maredudd, Deio ap Ieuan Du goes on to say that Siancyn's fate is to go to heaven (GDID 6:63 – 64):

Dy hoedl a ddug Duw hudlyw,

Dos i'r Nef, dy siwrnai yw;

God the enchanting ruler took your life,

Go to heaven, it is your journey;

The meaning of 'hudlyw' here is uncertain. It could be that it is a variant form of the word 'adlyw' which means acting as regent or it could be a composite word 'hud' + 'llyw'. 'Hud' is given in GPC as 'so, thus' or 'magic, wizardry' while the meaning given for 'llyw' is 'leader, chieftain, ruler, lord, also of God or Christ'. As 'hudlyw' is a composite word, 'hud' would be describing 'llyw' which would give the meaning 'magical cheiftain', or, as interpreted here, 'enchanting ruler.'

In taking Dafydd ab Ieuan ap Hywel of Llwydiarth, Hywel Cilan states that it was not just Dafydd who was killed, but so too were the people of Anglesey such was their grief at Dafydd's death though there is no suggestion here that it was an act of vengeance by God on the community (GHC 20:1 – 4):

Ni bu fyd i neb o Fôn

Mor oer ag y mae'r awron.

Didyodd, lladdodd i'r llawr,

Duw ddynton diwedd Ionawr.

There was no world for Anglesey's people

So cold as it is now.

God dispossessed, killed to the ground,

People at the end of January.

In what is likely to be a reference to the deaths of both Siancyn Twrberfil and his father Siancyn ap Gilbert, Hywel Swrdwal's *marnwad* for the former claims that both were taken by the hand of God (GHS 11:31 – 32) and the poet's son, Ieuan ap Hywel Swrdwal also lays the blame on God for the death of Gruffudd Fychan Deuddwr of Y Collfryn (GHS 28:5 – 10):

Duw gadarn fendigedig,

Dan ei draed pob dyn a drig,

Dwyn byd y mae dan ei bwys,

Dwyn byw dynion o Bowys,

Diddawn Fechain a Deuddwr,
Dwyn dysg oll, dwyn dewis gŵr.
*Steadfast praiseworthy God,
Under his feet every man dwells,
He takes the world under his weight,
Taking the life of the men of Powys
Worthless Mechain and Deuddwr,
Taking all learning, taking the chosen man.*

Mechain was a cantref (hundred) and Deudwr a commote in Powys.

Syr Dafydd Trefor claims that it was God who was responsible for the death of Henry VII in the *marwnad* which he composed following the monarch's death (GSDT 5:39 – 40):

Duw nef, ni wrandawai ni,
A roes cwyp y rhosgampi.
*God in heaven, he would not listen to us,
Caused the fall of the rose champion.*

GPC defines 'rhos y campi' as the rose champion which, if this were accepted, suggests that Henry is being compared to the beauty of that flower. However, this could also be compound word so much favoured by Welsh poets, made up of 'rhos' and 'campi' (probably Latin, 'of the field'). Although GPC gives no other definition of 'campi' other than that already explained, this composite word could also possibly be a reference to 'campwr' or champion. Though this is unlikely, if it were the case, the poet would be alluding to the fact that Henry was the champion of (the war of the) roses. These are both cases which the editor of Syr Dafydd Trefor's work, Rhiannon Ifans, has considered (GSDT 5:40n).

It would appear from the *marwnad* which Tudur Penllyn composed for the three sons of Dafydd Llwyd ap Syr Gruffudd Fychan that all three perished while fighting alongside their uncle in the English war against the French. It is, however, God, the poet claims, who took their lives (GTP 18:17 – 20, 35 – 36):

Mair wen , dod ym yr un dyn,
Duw a redodd a'i dridyn –
Dwyn ei ffrwyth a dynion Ffrainc,
Dwyn ewythr dynion ieuainc.

.....

Torri a wnâi Dduw, taro'n ddwys,

Y tri bwa trwy Bowys;

Blessed Mary, bring to me the one man,

God who ran with his three men –

Taking his fruit and men of France,

Taking the uncle of young men.

.....

God broke, striking grievously,

The three bows through Powys

In claiming that God took both Dafydd Llwyd of Abertanad and Rheinallt ap Gruffudd ap Bleddyn of Mold, Ieuan ap Tudur Penllyn also notes how through his death on the cross, Jesus paid for and thus owns their souls (GTP 50:47 – 48, 68 – 74), while Iorwerth Fynglwyd sees the hand of God causing destruction across the land in his *marwnad* for Rhisiart Herbert of Euas (GIF 11:3 – 4). Similarly, in the *marwnad* for Syr Water Herbert, Iorwerth Fynglwyd states that Gwent and the whole world had been uprooted (GIF 15:1 – 4):

Dwyn Syr Water, nêr, Duw unhyd roddi;

Diwreiddiaist yr hollfyd:

Dwyn, o'i farw, Deau'n foryd;

Diwreiddio Gwent drwyddi i gyd.

Taking Sir Walter, Lord, God you give of the same quality;

You uprooted the whole world:

Making, by his death, the South into a sea;

Uprooting Gwent throughout.

Sir Rhys ap Thomas had been made sheriff over south Wales following Henry VII's victory at Bosworth. Consequently, when he died, Iorwerth Fynglwyd claims the whole of that region suffered and that it was God who was the cause of this suffering (GIF 18:29 – 30, 71):

Lladd a wnaeth llaw Dduw yn wir

Lled a hyd holl Deheudir.

.....

Duw a'i dug,

*The hand of God did indeed strike
Across the length and breadth of the whole South.
.....
God took him,*

When fellow poet Ieuan Gethin died, the *marwnad* composed by Iorwerth Fynglwyd claims that God had broken ‘the line of all poetic inspiration’ (GIF 29:15 – 16).

Lewys Glyn Cothi gives no details surrounding the death of Edmund Tudur, simply claiming that it was God who was responsible (GLGC 10:6). It was also God who was responsible for putting the daughter of Syr Dafydd Gam, Gwladus into her grave of a ‘fresh earthen roof’, according to Lewys Glyn Cothi (GLGC 110:1 – 6):

Y seren o Efenni,
at Duw a’r saint y troes hi,
Gwladus lwyddiannus ddinam
oedd o gorff Syr Dafydd Gam.
Bwriodd Duw dan bridd-do ir
braich i Went a Brychandir.

*The star of Abergavenny,
she turned to God and the saints,
faultless successful Gwladus
was from the body of Sir Dafydd Gam.
God struck beneath a fresh earthen roof
the strength of Gwent and Brecon’s land.*

In his *marwnad* for Hywel Goch ap Rhys ap Dafydd, Lewys Glyn Cothi likens Hywel to woodbine and a powerful oak tree which has been cut down by God (Appendix 3.15.5:19 – 32). The use of the phrase ‘pren defnydd lle ’fferennwn’ (wood of substance where I would say mass) in line 21 is interesting here as it may be an allusion to the legend about the trees from which the Cross used to crucify Jesus was made. The poet then goes on to extend the metaphor of the tree to claim that Hywel’s was one of seven roots from his father Rhys and that Jesus had cut that root out, thereby being responsible for his death (Appendix 3.15.5:39 – 42).

In expressing his grief at the death of Dafydd Llwyd ap Dafydd, Lewys Glyn Cothi claims that it was God brought death to the region (GLGC 202:1 – 6). It is the metaphor of the oak which Lewys Glyn Cothi uses to describe Gruffudd ab Aron who again was taken by God (GLGC 233:7 – 8, 11 – 14). Later in the same poem, Lewys Glyn Cothi restates his assertion that it was God who took Gruffudd, stating that in so doing, Rhys, who presumably was Gruffudd's son, was left behind (GLGC 233:53 – 60):

Ni rodia'n wahanredol
Duw nef heb wyrda'n ei ôl;
Duw nefol yn rheoli,
Duw nef aeth â'n gwrda ni.
Duw'n graff a wnaeth dwyn Gruffudd,
Duw a'i rhoes, benadur rhydd.
Duw gwyn a'i dug o'i ynys,
Duw yrhawg i adu Rhys.

*God of heaven does not wander specifically
Without noblemen behind him.
Heavenly God ruling,
God of heaven took our nobleman.
Steadfast God took Gruffudd,
God gave him, a free lord.
Holy God took him from his island,
May God for now leave Rhys behind.*

In his *marwnad* for Morys ap Siôn ap Maredudd, Lewys Môn compares the strength of Morys to the transoms and rafters of the roof of a house, taken from his loved ones by God (GLM 46:89 – 90):

Torres, cyd torres caterwen a'n braich,
torres Duw'n unbraich, trawst a nenbren.
*He broke, [He] broke together a steadfast oak and our arm,
God broke our one arm, [our] transom and rafter.*

In his *marwnad* for Edward IV, Maredudd ap Rhys claims not only that God took Edward but also that Edward's soul is with God in paradise (GMRh 13:63 – 66):

Bu rydaer Duw, brawdwr dwys,

Bwrw Edward i baradwys.
Brenin, cyd bo blin i'w blaid,
Brenin nef biau'r enaid.

*God was too zealous, profound judge,
Casting Edward to paradise.
A king, though it be distressing in his favour,
The King of heaven owns his soul.*

Tudur Aled complains that by taking his patron Syr Thomas Salbri, God has deprived him of his sustenance (TA 10:115 – 118). It appears that Tudur Aled is again complaining about the loss of his livelihood in claiming that God took another patron, Tomas Salbri Hen (TA 78:17 – 18). There appears to be some uncertainty surrounding the death of Tudur Llwyd of Yale as Tudur Aled says (TA 79:61 – 62):

Un ai anap neu wenwyn
Fu, neu Dduw a fynnai'i ddwyn!
*It was either a mishap or poison,
Or that God decided to take him!*

However, there was no uncertainty about the death of Hywel ap Rhys ap Dafydd ap Hywel of Grug, with Tudur Aled asserting that God took him by force (TA 84:21 – 26, 34):

Dwyn trysor, Duw a'n treisiodd,
Da gwnâi roi digon o rodd;
Un lle ato fu'n llety,
At [e]i frawd, awn eto fry;
Ef a rydd Duw i feirdd dâl
A ddug hwn oedd i'w cynnal.
.....
O weithred Duw, aeth â'r tad.
*Taking a treasure, God used violence against us,
Good would it be to give much offering;
One place for him was our lodging,
To his brother, we shall go again on high;
God will bestow payment on poets
Who took this one who was to support them.*

.....

By God's hand, he took the father.

When God took Siôn Wyn ab Ieuan ap Rhys of Ystrad Alun, Tudur Aled saw this as a sign of uncertain time (TA 87:77 – 80):

Nid oer, unawr, drueni

Ond a wnaeth un Duw â ni,

[E]ji roi a'i ddwyn, arwydd oedd

Oes anwadal, Siôn ydoedd;

Not cold, now, a pity

But that which one God did with us,

Bestowing him and taking him, it was a sign

Of an uncertain time, Siôn;

God 'cut the tenters' of both Gruffudd ap Rhys ap Dafydd ap Hywel and his unnamed wife when they died according to Tudur Aled (TA 88:14 – 19) while the same poet notes the sorrow which was caused when God 'drew to a close' the life of Elisau ap Gruffudd ab Einion (TA 89:71 – 72).

Lewys Daron claims that a relic of the True Cross was sent for in order to save the life of Owain ap Maredudd ap Tomas of Porthaml, but that it was in vain as God still took him (GLD 16:21 – 24, 27 – 30):

Gyrrwyd henaaur gertweinaid,

Gyrrais i nôl y Groes Naid.

Ofer fu'r hyder o'r rhain, -

Fy Nuw a fynnai Owain.

.....

Erfyn i Dduw, 'r fan ydd aeth,

Garu aelod gwroliaeth.

Duw gwyn, o dug ei einioes,

I ddwyn ei fath ni ddaw'n f'oes.

A full cart of gold was sent,

I sent to fetch the relic of the True Cross.

In vain was the confidence in these, -

My God insisted on Owain.

.....

A weapon of God, the place he went,

Courting a member of prowess.

Holy God, if he has taken his life,

He will not come [again] in my lifetime to take one such as he.

‘Y Groes Naid’ or the True Cross was believed to be of the cross on which Jesus was crucified in the possession of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd. Such was the importance of this relic that it was handed over to Edward I after the defeat of Llywelyn in 1282 as a symbol of Edward’s total defeat of the Welsh (J. Beverley Smith 1986:236). It is highly unlikely that it was the actual True Cross to which Lewys Daron referred but perhaps more likely a contact relic such as a container in which the original relic had been kept. This contact relic may have been in Aberconwy where the relic itself was handed over to Edward in June 1283 (*ibid* 391n).

When God took Maredudd ab Ieuan ap Robert of Dolwyddelan, Lewys Daron claims that it brought an end to Gwynedd. However, there is no suggestion of an act of vengeance in this poem, the poet probably referring to the deep sense of loss felt (GLD 21:9 – 10):

Duw gwyn, o dug ei einioes,

Diwedd ar Wynedd a roes.

If Blessed God took his life,

He put an end to Gwynedd.

Lewys Morgannwg suggests that God was responsible for the death of Tudur Aled in his *marwnad* for the poet (GLMorg 93:21 – 22, 59 – 60):

Duw a ddug, ni adodd waisg,

Dyn newyddfrau deunyddfraisg.

.....

Bwrw un urddol, brain orddwy,

Bu law Duw mawl heb ladd mwy.

God took, he did not leave strong, (i.e. Tudur Aled)

A man recently generous [dressed in] coarse material.

.....

Striking one [so] honourable, through God’s privilege,

God’s hand showed praise no-one greater was [ever] killed.

Tudur Aled died while visiting one of his patrons, Rhys ap Thomas, in Carmarthen (GLMorg 93n). It seems that he was probably buried in the habit of the Franciscans which it is likely is the coarse material referred to in the second line. Siôn ap Hywel's *marwnad* for Tudur Aled also claims that it was God who struck him, 'uprooting the muse' (GSH 11:1 – 2).

Huw ap Dafydd ap Llywelyn ap Madog's *marwnad* for Siôn ab Elis Eutun of Rhiwabon claims that God was responsible for the death of Siôn, likening his death to that of Troilus, the son of Priam in Homer's tale of Troy (GHD 5:1 – 2):

Troes Duw oergwypmp tros dewrgorff,
Tarw Elis gwypmp, Troelus gorff.
*God caused a cold fall over a brave body,
The fall of Elis's bull, the fall of Troilus*

The poet then goes on to state (GHD 5:36 – 40):

Dyn da ddoe, a Duw'n dy ddwyn.
Duw dug gorff godidog gwych,
Dan y pridd d'wyneb rhwyddwych.
Dy gwyn i feirdd, dygan' f'oes,
A Duw'n ennill, dwyn d'eiioes.
*A good man yesterday, and God taking you.
God took a magnificent, excellent body,
Under the earth your ready excellent face.
Your complaint to poets, they take my livelihood,
And God winning, taking your lifetime.*

This suggests that the *marwnad* was composed shortly after Siôn's death.

It was the hand of God which struck both Morgan ab Owain and his wife Sisli according to Dafydd Epynt (GDEp 20:23, 51 – 52):

Llaw Dduw a'i lladdodd â'i ddart,
.....
Duw a wnaeth ei dwyn hithau
O'i flaen ef i lanw y iau:
*The hand of God killed him with his dart,
.....
God took her also*

Before him to fill the yoke:

The metaphor of two oxen in a yoke occurs several times in the poetry of the period to describe how two brothers or a husband and wife are re-united in heaven.

It was God's hand which was responsible for the death of Siôn Gemais claims Lewys Morgannwg (GLMorg 10:27 – 28):

Lloer wyllt yn lladd gwyllt a gwâr,
Llaw Duw dros yr holl ddaear.

*A wild moon killing [both] wild and gentle,
The hand of God across the whole earth.*

Noting that Siôn Gemais was from Norman stock, Lewys Morgannwg repeats that he had been struck down later in the poem this time not claiming that God was responsible (GLMorg 10:83 – 86):

Bwrw ynys gronigl braens a grinant,
Bwrw to iefanc briwa eu tyfiant;
Bwriwyd llin ermin iarll Normant – i'r llawr,
Bwriwyd ar elawr unbrawd Rolant.

*Striking the chronicle of the island, branches wither,
Striking the young crowd wounds their growth;
The ermine line of Norman earls was struck – to the ground,
Roland's one brother was struck on a bier.*

The metaphor of the bloodline is used when Lewys Morgannwg claims that God was responsible for taking the life of Ieuan ap Dafydd (GLMorg 14:17 – 20):

Duw a roes gwymp dros y gwaed
A dorres llwyn derw Rys llwyd;
Doe'r angau'n cael dringo'n coed
Drwy Dduw; blin diwreddio'i blaid.

*God caused the downfall of the blood[line]
And cut the oak grove of grey Rhys;
Yesterday the death was allowed to climb our trees
By God; woefully uprooting his supporters.*

In his marwnad for Rhys ap Hywel of Bodowyr, Mathau Brwmffild states that death has descended on the land but that it is God who was responsible for this (GMB 1:17 – 20):

Marwolaeth a wnaeth i ni,
A Duw ollnerth, dywyllni.
Duw, dy ras, doe direswm,
Buost draw'n chwarae, bwys trwm.

*Death caused for us,
And almighty God, gloom.
God, your grace, without reason yesterday,
You were here playing, a heavy burden.*

The same poet makes a very similar statement in *Marwnad Hywel ap Dafydd ap Meurig Fychan, Nannau* (GMB 10:1 – 4).

In his marwnad for Tomos ap Morgan Gwyn of Cil-y-cwm, Mathau Brwmffild simply claims that God has taken Tomos, suggesting that his soul is in heaven (GMB 16:31 – 32, 50):

Duw aeth â'n pennaeth a'n pont,
Y gŵr gwell nog o wŷr gant.

.....

A nefoedd Duw'n dwyn un oen ufudd, -

*God took our head and our bridge,
The better man than a hundred men.*

.....

And God's heaven taking one obedient lamb, -

Comparing Siôn ap Dafydd ab Ithel Fychan to an oak, Siôn ap Hywel claims that it was God who was responsible for felling the tree (GSH 10:1 – 4):

Bwriwyd derwen, brau torres,
Brig mawr lle bu rywiog mes.
Ni thorres un fath dderwen
Ond Duw o'r brenhingoed hen.

*An oak was struck, fragile cut,
Large top-most branches where acorns were fine.
No such oak was ever cut*

Of the old large trees except by God.

Raff ap Robert claims that it was God who took Robert Amiltwn of Yr Ystrad (GRR 2:5 – 8) and in a *marwnad* composed for Robert Salbri, the same poet claims that both he and an un-named other, presumably Robert Salbri's wife, were taken by God (GRR 3:65 – 68). Raff ap Robert also lays the blame for the taking of Edward ap Siôn the Archdeacon of Carmarthen on God, commenting on the grief that God has caused to the people (GRR 5:1 – 2, 43 – 46):

Duw a'n blinodd, dwyn blaenawr,

Darfu i'n mysg derfyn mawr:

.....

Gwedi hyn i gyd o hawl

Gorfu ado'r gaer fydawl.

Dwyn y gŵr, Duw'n ei garu,

Dirnad fawr o'r diwrnod fu.

God distressed us, taking a leader,

He died in our midst a great death:

.....

After all this of just cause

He compelled him to leave the earthly fortress.

Taking the man, God loving him,

Great lamentation of the day it was.

On Raff ap Robert's death, Siôn Tudur composed a *marwnad* for him, in which he claims that 'God has put to an end the muse', a statement reminiscent of Raff ap Robert's own *marwnad* for Tudur Aled (GRR At i:1 – 8)

Duw ddoe'n diweddu awen,

Dan bridd hwnt dwyn y bardd hen;

Duw a wnâi bwnc nid o'n bodd,

Dwyn henfardd doe o'n hanfodd;

Dwyn brenin, brigyn breugerdd,

Dwyn rhosyn, maen coryn cerdd;

Dwyn Raff, a'i gau dan yr arch,

Fab Robert, fab brau, hybarch.

Yesterday God put to an end the muse,

*Under yonder soil taking the old bard;
 God was making a point not to our liking,
 Taking an old bard yesterday against our wishes;
 Taking a king, a pinnacle of refined poetry,
 Taking a rose, a crown stone poetry;
 Taking Raff, and locking him under the coffin,
 Son of Robert, a generous son, revered.*

In another variation of the theme, Gruffudd Hiraethog claims that it was a ‘visitation’ by God which ended up in the death of Robert Fychan ap Gruffudd of Talhenbont (GGH 66:12). However, Gruffudd Hiraethog reverts to the style so common amongst the poets before him when he claims that Jesus took Siôn Wyn ap Robert of Llangynhafal and that everyone is grieving as a result of this (GGH 70:1 – 6):

Iesu a wnaeth i’n oes ni
 Ym mro Glwyd mawr galedi.
 Dirymus yw, mae’n drwm sôn,
 Dwyn y glanaf o’r dynion;
 Dwyn Siôn Wyn, dinas yn waeth
 Rhuthun, a phob rhai waethwaeth.

*Jesus caused in our age
 Great hardship in the Vale of Clwyd.
 It is [i.e. the Vale] in a weak state, it is heavy to mention,
 Taking the fairest of the men;
 Taking Siôn Wyn, a city worse
 Is Rhuthin, and everyone much worse.*

In *Marwnad Owain Eutun o Eutun*, after claiming that God has taken Owain, Gruffudd Hiraethog goes on to state that Owain gave himself to God. This could be an allusion to a death-bed confession (GGH 74:3 – 4, 39 – 40):

Bwriodd o’n anfodd Dduw Naf
 Y brenhinol bren hynaf.

 Yna’n niwedd ei einioes
 I Dduw mawr iawn ydd ymroes.

God of heaven struck to our displeasure

The oldest royal tree.

.....

At the end of his life

To just great God he gave himself.

In his *marwnad* for Siôn Trefor of Trefalun, Gruffudd Hiraethog claims that God cut the life of Siôn (GGH 87:1 – 2) while in the case of Robert Salbri of y Rug, Gruffudd Hiraethog claims that it was Jesus who was responsible for his death (GGH 90:11):

Marw gŵr, Mab Mair a'i gorug,

The death of a man, the Son of Mary caused it,

It has been argued that some of the *marwnadau* for Dafydd ap Gwilym were composed while he was still living and are thus *pseudo-marwnadau* (e.g. Huw Meirion Edwards 1999). In the case of the one composed by Madog Benfras, there is no indication one way or the other as to whether it is a true *marwnad* (GMBen 4n), however, whichever type it is irrelevant, in claiming that Dafydd has been taken by God Jesus, Madog Benfras reflects that which would have been deemed acceptable in the poetry of that time in claiming that God had taken Dafydd. (GMBen 4:1 – 4):

Da ar feirdd – a dewrwr fu

Y dewisodd Duw Iesu.

Poen bu dwys, Pen bydysawd,

Pan aeth â gwar, pennaeth gwawd:

Good amongst poets – and he was brave

That God Jesus chose.

The pain was intense, Lord of the universe

When He took the lord, the lord of poetry:

It is interesting to note here the poet's use of the term God Jesus. According to the theology of the trinity, Jesus is in fact God and in some instances it is Jesus that the poet claims took the deceased. Such an example is that by Lewys Glyn Cothi in his *marwnad* for Phelpod ap Rhys (GLGC 144:45 – 46):

torres Iesu gaterwen

o wŷdd Rhys, nid oedd rhy hen;

Jesus broke a spreading oak

of the stock of Rhys, he was not too old;

Lewys Daron also claims that it was Jesus who took Owain ap Meurig of Bodean (GLD 14:31 – 32):

Iesu, 'n wir, mae eisiau'i nerth,
A ddug wŷr Adda ac Iorwerth.

*Jesus indeed, there is need for his strength,
Took the grandson of Adam and Iorwerth.*

Adam or Adda was the great-grandfather of Owain's mother, Marged (GLD 14:32n); presumably, Iorwerth was another ancestor.

There are a large number of instances where the meaning of the poem is open to interpretation as to whether God was responsible for the death of the individual or whether the poet is noting that He took the soul to heaven after the death. Such an example is that by Sefnyn, who claimed that it was Mary who had taken the poet Iorwerth ab y Cyriog. It is uncertain whether he was claiming that she was responsible for his death as the wording is similar to the claims made by other poets that God or Jesus had been responsible for the death of the subject of the *marwnad*. It is probably more likely that Sefnyn saw Mary as the one responsible for ensuring that the soul of Iorwerth had been granted entry to heaven (GSRh 2:8):

Maer gwin, mur gwerin, Mair a'i gwarawd.

Steward of wine, defender of the people, Mary took him away.

Similarly, Guto'r Glyn notes that God 'took away the earl of both regions of Gwent' following the execution of William Herbert on Thursday 27 July 1469 (GG.net 24:7 – 8). The same poet also claims that God 'took two who were as one' in his *marwnad* for Meurig Fychan ap Hywel Selau and his wife Angharad (GG.net 50:47 – 52). While in the case of Edward ap Dafydd of Bryncunallt, Guto'r Glyn claims that God took him in order to pass judgement on him (GG.net 104:11 – 12, 55 – 56):

Aeth Duw â chyfraith a dawn

A synnwyr Powys uniawn.

.....

Duw o'r byd i dorri barn

Aeth ag Edwart ddoeth gadarn.

God has taken away both the law and talent

And the unswerving wisdom of Powys.

.....

*God took wise and steadfast Edward
From the world to pronounce judgement*

It was also God who had taken Edward's son Robert according to Guto'r Glyn (GG.net 105:11 – 12):

Aeth Duw ymaith â deuwr,
Y tad a'r pedwerydd tŵr.

*God has taken away two men,
Namely the father and one of the four towers.*

The four towers is a metaphor in which the poet is comparing Edward ap Dafydd to Edward I's castles, with the four towers being Edwards four sons, one of which, Robert, has died.

In claiming that God took Hywel ap Goronwy of Hafod y Wern, Gutun Owain goes further in also asserting that Hywel's soul now resides with God on account of the generosity of Hywel (GO 44:53 – 62):

I dir a'i dda dayarrol
Ydiw nef a chlod yn ôl:
Y'r enaid gwedy'r einioes
Y daw'r aur a'r da a rroes.
Ym, yn i ôl yma'n is,
Weithian Duw aeth â'n dewis:
Aeth diwedd ar y gwleddoedd,
Yr haelaf o Addaf oedd.
Aed Duw ac ennaid Howel,
I'r wledd heb ddiwedd ydd êl!

*His land and his earthly goods
Are heaven and praise remaining:
To the soul after life
Comes the gold and the wealth he had given.
To me, after him here below,
Now God took our chosen one:
An end came to the feasts,
He was Adam's most generous one.
May God take Hywel's soul,*

May he go to the feast without end!

An anonymous *marwnad* for Gutun Owain claims that God took the ‘architect of love’ (GO 67:3 – 4):

Duw aeth â saerniaeth serch,

Diflannwyd dwyfawl annerch.

God took the architect of love,

Divine salutation was made to disappear.

There are similar statements of God taking the subject by Huw Cae Llwyd (HCLI 38:26), Iolo Goch (IGP 4:33 – 34), Hywel Swrdwal (GHS 9:37 – 38), Ieuan Gethin in his parody *cywydd Marwnad Ieuan y töwr* (GIGeth 5:3 – 4), Tudur Penllyn (GTP 19:19 – 22) and (GTP:37, 75 – 78), Lewys Glyn Cothi (GLGC 212:55 – 56), Lewys Môn (GLM 2:81 – 82), (GLM 25:11 – 12) and (GLM 70:17 – 18), Gutun Owain (GO 39:38), Dafydd Epynt (GDEp 21:3 – 4), Lewys Morgannwg (GLMorg 25:53), (GLMorg 30:62), (GLMorg 31:11 – 12) and (GLMorg 99:53, 85 – 88), Gruffudd Hiraethog (GGH 8:29 – 30), (GGH 64:43 – 44), (GGH 86:47 – 48), (GGH 75:21 – 22, 31 – 32, 71 – 72), (GGH 79:73 – 74) and (GGH 84:85 – 90) and Tudur Aled (TA 72:75 – 76), (TA 76:91 – 92), (TA 80:79 – 80), (TA 82:73 – 76), (TA 83:1 – 4), (TA 91:57 – 58, 91 – 92), (TA 94:77 – 80), (TA 96:9 – 10), (TA 115:1 – 4, 9 – 14).

Several poets also claim that Tudur Aled himself was taken by God, e.g. Gruffudd ab Ieuan ap Llywelyn Fychan (TA *Marwnadau i Tudur Aled* 1:1 – 2), Lewys Daron (TA *Marwnadau i Tudur Aled* 3:51 – 52) and Morys Gethin who also states how deeply he grieved because God had taken ‘the stem of all poetry’ (TA *Marwnadau i Tudur Aled* 6:3 – 8).

It can therefore be seen from these quotations that while in many cases the poet claims that God had acted in vengeance or violently and is ultimately responsible for the death of the individual being commemorated in the *marwnad*, in many other cases, this assertion is not so clear. In these cases, when the poet refers to God ‘taking’ the individual, it could mean taking the life or equally, it could mean taking the soul to heaven.

There are also several poets who appear to allude to Providence, suggesting that God ultimately decides when the time has come for someone’s life to end. Huw Cae

Llwyd stated that God had marked the day of Morgan ap Dafydd Gam, suggesting that it was God who had decided when he would die, before then stating that God had indeed been responsible for Morgan's death (HCLI 13:5 – 6, 47):

Nid o ofni un defnydd,
Ond i Dduw nodi ei ddydd.

.....

Duw a'i dug. Ai da digiaw?

*Not from fearing one purpose,
But for God to mark his day.*

.....

God took him. Is it good to be angry?

Hywel Cilan's *marwnad* for Gruffudd Fychan of Deuddwr claims that God is responsible for ending the lives of everyone before then being more specific and stating that it was He who had taken Gruffudd (GHC 2:5 – 10):

Duw gadarn fendigedig,
Dan dy ras pob dyn a drig.
Dwyn y byd yma dan bwys,
Dwyn byw dynion o Bowys.
Diddawn Fechain a Deuddwr
Dwyn dysg oll, dwyn dewis gŵr.

*Steadfast and blessed God,
By your grace every man who dwells.
Taking this world by [your] authority,
Taking the life of the men of Powys.
Unworthy Fechain of Deuddwr
Taking all learning, taking the chosen man.*

In claiming that God took Dafydd ap Hywel ap Gruffudd ab Ednyfed of Nanheudwy, the poet seems to also be stating that it is God who decides when this should happen (TA 90:61 – 62):

Duw a rydd gŵr dewr, addwyn,-
Iawn i Dduw, pan fynno, [e]i ddwyn.

*It is God who gives a brave, virtuous man,-
It is right for God, when he desires, to take him.*

In his *marwnad* for Wiliam Siôn of Caerleon, Lewys Morgannwg asserts that it is God who decides when everyone must die and that this is a well-known fact (GLMorg 37:37 – 40, 45 – 48):

Er hyder, balchder, da byd,
Duw biau nodi bywyd.
O daw angau, - 'nid engyn? –
Nid oes da a geidw oes dyn.

.....

Doeth ef o Loegr a'i threfydd
Wedy i Dduw nodi ei ddydd.
Duw a yrr pawb, dihareb hen,
Dôl i warchad, i dywarchen.

*Despite confidence, dignity, worldly goods,
It is God who determines life.
If death comes– is it not a wretch? –
There is no wealth that will preserve a man's life.*

.....

*He came from England and its towns
After God determined his day.
God dispatches everyone, an old adage,
He went to captivity, to the sod.*

The fact that it is God who ultimately takes all is also expressed by Siôn Ceri in his *marwnad* for Wmffre Cinast (GSC 26:23 – 24):

Llaw ddyn nis lladdai ennyd;
Llaw Dduw gwyn a'n lladd i gyd.

*No man's hand could ever have killed him;
Holy God's hand kills us all.*

5 Death and the Fate of the Body

The fourteenth century ushered in a period of war, famine and pestilence in Europe. This was a period in history when, perhaps more than at any other time, death was ever present. Death could strike suddenly, without warning or could be a slow, painful process. It also struck everyone equally; wealth and power was no defence against death when it came. Death was the great leveller – the grim reaper came to claim the bodies of everyone from kings and popes down to the lowest beggar. Although later than the period being studied, the detailed description of the death of Phillip II of Spain gives an example of how painful and protracted death could be. It was reported that he spent fifty-two days in such agony that he could not bear anyone to touch his body. He had festering sores that had to be lanced, yielding large amounts of pus each day. He suffered from severe diarrhoea but was in too much pain to allow his bed linen to be changed. He finally died covered in his own excrement and, it is said, infested by lice.⁴ It is, perhaps, little wonder that many across Europe believed that they were living in a time of the Apocalypse, that the Antichrist had arrived and chaos reigned (Aberth, 2010)

It is against this background that a culture of the macabre in art began to become more popular or prevalent, especially in north-western Europe (Binski 1996). It was also in c1376 that the word macabre made its first appearance in France in a poem by Jehan Le Fèvre entitled *Respit de la Mort* (Boas 1972:104, Oosterwijk 2009:28). The original meaning of the word macabre is uncertain; the Oxford English Dictionary defines it as grim or gruesome, having perhaps derived from Macabé with reference to a miracle play showing the slaughter of the Maccabees. Sophie Oosterwijk points out that the actual meaning of the word in the poem depends on the interpretation of the first line of this play, especially the word *fistz* which has been translated as did or made (2009:28). Oosterwijk claims that the culture of the macabre ‘illustrate[s] the late medieval preoccupation with death’ (2009:177). Some have suggested that this came about because of the general pessimism of the day, brought about by famine and plague (e.g. Lindberg, 1996). By the beginning of the fourteenth century, there had been a growth in urbanisation across Europe, a growth

⁴ The example of Phillip II’s death has been used here as there are so few such detailed descriptions of terminal illness from earlier periods or of lower social classes. A full account of Phillip’s death can be found in Book 2 of *From Madrid to Purgatory* by Carlos Eire

which necessitated an increase in food production to sustain it. However, the crop failures in the first half of the century would likely have resulted in an emaciated and weakened populace. These already weakened people were then confronted with the appearance of the Plague and then at the end of the fifteenth century, another epidemic swept through Europe when syphilis first appeared in the continent. The fragility of life and closeness of death must have never been far from the front of the population's minds.

It was at this time that cadaver effigy tombs first appeared in Europe, being introduced into England in the first quarter of the fifteenth century (Daniell 1997). Such effigies depicted a decomposing corpse, often with toads or worms incorporated into the design. It is generally believed that this cadaver effigy is meant to represent the decaying corpse of the person who was buried there though Oosterwijk has challenged this perception and suggests that it may have been intentionally ambiguous and that the effigy could have represented the personification of Death itself (2009:231). It is also interesting to note here that toads, rats and even insects were associated with witches' familiars in medieval times (Thomas 1971).

Discussing the subject of cadaver tombs at length, Oosterwijk (2009:238 – 245) notes that though a number of such tombs exist in England these are not as macabre as those to be found on mainland Europe. The European examples fall into two broad types: those in France, Holland and Belgium generally have worms or serpents in the bodily cavities or exiting through the eye sockets or mouth while those in the Germanic countries depict a greater variety of vermin with the cadaver effigies having toads or lizards mixed in with the serpents and worms. In Wales, while there are three known cadaver tombs, none of these have the macabre images of vermin on them; Scotland similarly has no such tombs. It is almost as if the influence from continental Europe had had a filtering effect by England on these neighbouring countries. However, with England extending its sphere of influence into Ireland during this period, it might be expected that tombs there would follow the same pattern as the other countries of the British Isles. This is not the case as there are a larger number of macabre tombs to be found in Ireland seemingly influenced by the Germanic model, having a variety of vermin included on them (Oosterwijk 2009:249).

A development of the cadaver effigy was the double-decker tomb which had two effigies, one above the other. The effigy on the top would have been a life-like image of the deceased, while that underneath would have been a cadaver effigy. The reason that such macabre designs came to be used is not fully understood, but a possible explanation is that it was to show that the body is the vessel of sin unlike the soul which is perfect in nature (Daniell 1997). It may also be that the design could have been based on the illustration to be found in the Gospel Book of Henry III (cited by Boase 1972:28). This illustration shows the rich man, Dives, from the parable of Dives and Lazarus, in a richly decorated bed. Below this, he is shown in the flames of Hell, illustrating the fate of his soul. The theory is that the use of such designs may have been to illustrate that no matter how wealthy one may be nor how pleasing one's appearance may have been when living, the fate of all is to become a rotting corpse. This idea of someone once so high now becoming nothing more than food for vermin may also have resulted in a greater sense of pity for the deceased. Passers-by would have seen how grand the deceased would have looked in life, dressed in all his finery, and in the same picture frame would have been the grotesque image of a rotting corpse. This juxtaposition could well have been designed to illustrate the reality of the mortality of the flesh to passers-by and perhaps evoke pity for the inhabitant of the tomb and thus elicit more prayers for the soul in its journey through Purgatory (Duffy 1992:307). A further theory put forward by Sophie Oosterwijk is that the cadaver in the double decker tomb may be a representation of the personification of Death (in Oosterwijk and Knöll 2011:9 – 43). Perhaps this type of tomb was meant to signify Death drawing the living down into the grave.

The macabre effigies described above may have taken their inspiration from apocryphal tales of the time such as the Legend of the Three Living and the Three Dead, images of which had appeared long before the first arrival of plague epidemics (Oosterwijk, 2009). This was a moral tale in which three young nobles meet three corpses in various degrees of decomposition whilst out hunting. In the dialogue that follows between the two groups, the three noblemen are asked to consider the transience of their human condition. The message from the three corpses is what you (the living) are now, once we were; what we (the dead) are now you will become. It is in fact a moral tale, offering the three living the opportunity to improve, and is

based on an ancient legend (Binski 1996:135). The precise origins of this tale are not known; however, it seems to have been particularly popular in England and France in the thirteenth century (Biggs 2014) and during the medieval period, numerous paintings depicting this story were to be seen across Europe. Gresham (1968) identified a tomb slab which used to be in Chirk Castle in north Wales which had inscribed on it what the first of the Three Dead is usually described as saying to the Living '*Sum quod eris*' – I am what you will be. He believed that this dated from the thirteenth century but since Gresham recorded it, the slab has been sold and its present whereabouts have not been disclosed (Madeleine Gray, pers. corres.)

There is some evidence that macabre visual imagery was used in Welsh churches, testimony to which are the images uncovered during renovations at Saint Cadog's church in Llancarfan in 2008. There is also the surviving image of Doom over the chancel arch in Wrexham along with a heavily restored version on the rood screen panels at Llanellian-yn-Rhos, also in north Wales (Lord 2000:191 – 192). The Wrexham painting depicts bodies, some of some of them wearing crowns or mitres, crawling out of tombs (Gray 2000:58). As with the *Danse Macabre*, this image shows that Death makes no differentiation between rich and poor; it is further illustrated with a mixture of kings, bishops and common people being welcomed up to heaven or herded into the flames of hell in the same painting. Dafydd Johnston in his historical analysis to the background of medieval literature in his book *Beirdd yr Uchelwyr* (2005) points out that people of the day would have been familiar with the somewhat overwhelming images of the Day of Judgement and the pains of hell as these paintings were depicted on most chancel arches. As the Doom images show Christ in the red robes of a judge but also showing his wounds and being surrounded by angels holding banners bearing the instruments of the Passion, these images may also have offered hope of salvation to those who viewed them as much as a threat of the final Judgement.

Although examples of cadaver tombs and macabre art were comparatively rare in medieval Wales, there are a number of references to the macabre in the poetry of the period. While this may originally have been influenced by the feeling of impending doom brought about by periods of famine and the Great Plague of the fourteenth century, many of the examples date from the fifteenth century, perhaps suggesting that they were composed for a shock effect for, although there were further outbreaks

of the Plague during the fifteenth century, they were not so devastating in their effect. Also, with the reduction in population of the fourteenth century, there was less pressure on resources; with a reduced population, more land was available per person and thus more food would have been available.

5.1 The Body in the Grave

Our knowledge of burial customs and even of where individuals were buried during the medieval period is at best confused and often non-existent. Although there are memorial tombs in Wales, compared to England and other parts of Europe, these are relatively few in number and simple. Where carvings exist on such tombs in Wales, they again tend to be quite simple and often lack the name of the person being commemorated. Coupled with this is the difficulty associated with churchyard archaeology; archaeological investigation of medieval tombs is seen as desecration and is rarely undertaken except in exceptional circumstances such as the accidental uncovering of a burial site when other works are being carried out. All of this means that our knowledge of burial customs and often our knowledge of where an individual has been buried is rather lacking. However, by analysing the poetry of the late medieval period, a surprising amount of information can be gleaned, as many of the *marwnadau* give important information about the practices associated with burial, often telling us where an individual was buried and even occasionally what type of memorial was erected.

Marwnad Lleucu Llwyd by Llywelyn Goch ap Meurig Hen is analysed in more detail below with particular respect to mourning an individual after their death. However, the poet notes that Lleucu is under ‘clo durdderw a daear’ (GLIG 12:99 – 100) (a lock of hard oak and earth). This suggests that the deceased was buried in an oak coffin, a practice which Julian Litten has shown dates from at least the fourteenth century at which time it would have been seen as a sign of the status the individual held when alive (1991:81). Dafydd ab Edmwnd also makes reference to wood in his *marwnad* for Dafydd ap Ieuan of Llwydiarth (DE 41:47 – 48):

A rhoi llen ar holl wnedd
A chwyr a bwrdd a chay /r/ bedd
Llyna gor llawn o gariad
Llanvaes deg llawn fv o stad

*And placing a cover over the whole of Gwynedd
As well as wax and board and closing the grave
There is a choir full of love
Fair Llan-faes was full of dignity*

The phrase '[a] chwyr a bwrdd' (and wax and board) here is quite intriguing. The board is likely to refer to the use of a simple wooden coffin made of planks such as that illustrated by Julian Litten (*op. cit.*) or possibly wooden planks laid on the base of the grave as discussed by Gilchrist and Sloane (2005:145). Wax could refer to the use of candles during the service, but as the line states 'and closing the grave' it could also be a reference to the corpse being wrapped in cerecloth, a waxed linen, which could suggest that the body had been embalmed in a similar manner to that of Archbishop Godfrey de Ludham who died in 1265 (Litten 1991:35 – 37).

Tudur Aled makes two references to being buried 'in wood', both of them oak, which suggests that the subject had been buried in a wooden coffin. In the first, he says of Robert ap Siôn ab Ithel of Tegeingl (TA 72:83 – 84):

Dy roi 'mysg daear a main,
A derwgist,
*Placing you amongst earth and stone,
And an oaken chest,*

In the case of Elin Bwlclai he says that she is in 'llen a dêr' (TA 76:67). 'Llen' could be translated as a canopy, sheet or pall while 'dêr' is oak-tree. It is unlikely that Elin was buried in a pall as these were generally the possessions of the parish, used and re-used for the burial service. It is more likely that Tudur Aled is referring to a shroud and that Elin was buried in a shroud in a coffin of oak.

When Tudur Aled himself died, several of his contemporaries composed *marwnadau* for him, that by Morys Gethin stating that he was in a coffin but not saying from what that coffin was made (TA Marwnadau i Tudur Aled 4:67):

Mae cerdd mewn arch yngharchar
Poetry is imprisoned in a coffin

Another poet, Llywelyn ab y Moel, is also described as being in a coffin by Guto'r Glyn (GG.net 82.1), while Tudur Penllyn makes reference to a coffin of un-named material in the *marwnad* by him for Maredudd ap Tudur where he states that

Maredudd is locked by the clean soil ‘dros wyneb ei arch’ (over the face of his coffin) (GTP 19:38).

Gruffudd Hiraethog borrows the English word ‘coffer’ to describe how Rosier Rodn was buried (GGH 67:29):

A phrudd gau coffr a wyddwn,

And I experienced the sad closing of a coffer,

Although numerous archaeological studies have been made of what are often termed ‘pre-historic’ burial mounds, as has been stated above, there is a reluctance to undertake such surveys of graves from the medieval period. Where such opportunities have presented themselves such as when previously unknown graves are accidentally uncovered during building work, historians and archaeologists are given little time to study the site before work recommences. However, Roberta Gilchrist and Barney Sloane’s work on monastic cemeteries in Britain (2005) has some remarkable resonances with some of the descriptions of graves, and particularly the soil in the grave, which may highlight a specific burial practice which was undertaken in medieval times.

Gilchrist and Sloane describe a particular practice uncovered during excavations of the use of different materials as a basal lining in the graves studied. In particular, they note that in certain localised areas there appears to have been a tradition of using crushed or chipped stone. They point to evidence from three sites including one at Saint Budoc’s Priory (Pill Priory) in west Wales as well as two others in Surrey and Cambridgeshire in England (2005:144). Within many of the poems studied during this research, various terms are used to describe the earth of the grave but the one that seems to occur most often is the word ‘gro’. It is a term which occurs throughout the period studied, being used by Mab Clochyddyn and Iolo Goch in the early fourteenth century through to Syr Dafydd Trefor and Lewys Môn who were composing poetry in the early sixteenth century. GPC defines this word as:

coarse mixture of pebbles and sand deposited in river-bed or on seashore, &c., gravel, shingle, also proverbially for infinite number, &c.; the earth as the resting-place of the dead, the grave; (as fem. n.) shingly beach, ridge of pebbles formed by sea, gravelly shore, strand.

Although one of the definitions is the earth of the grave, it could be that it is actually a lining of gravel in the grave. The argument in favour of defining ‘gro’ as gravel is reinforced by the use of the phrase ‘gro a phridd’ (gravel and soil) in Iolo Goch’s *marwnad* for Tudur Fychan (see below) which suggests that ‘gro’ is something different from ‘pridd’ (soil). Gilchrist and Sloane describe a variety of base linings used in monastic cemeteries (2005:142 – 145). It could be that what the poets are describing in the following quotations is the use of a specific material used during burial which was seen as cleaner than a covering of the original soil which had been excavated to make the grave.

In the example of the *marwnad* for Siôn ab Elis Eutun by Lewys Môn, the poet states that Siôn is *under* the gravel which may further suggest a custom of covering the grave with gravel. The poet also states that the deceased is in the care of Mary (GLM 76:75 – 84):

Seler i Grist islaw’r gro:
 Siôn, ei henw, y sy’n honno.
 Mab Elis, bwmparis pêr;
 mewn daeardy mae’n dewrder.
 Mae’i lun yn ymyl Annwn;
 mae’i enaid draw mewn y trŵn:
 mae’r un gŵr mawr yn gorwedd;
 mae’r wen Fair ym mron ei fedd.

*A cellar for Christ beneath the gravel:
 Siôn, his name, who is in there.
 Ellis’s son, a sweet fruit-tree;
 in a dungeon is our brave man.
 His body is beside the underworld;
 his soul is yonder in the firmament:
 the one great man is lying;
 the blessed Mary is on the breast of his grave.*

In the *marwnad* for Gwenhwyfar, Mab Clochyddyn says that Gwenhwyfar was laid on a floor of gravel (GGG 6:16):

Grudd gwawr a gro llawr ei llen.
The lady’s cheek and the gravel of the floor being her cloak.

In his *marwnad* for Tomas ap Rhys of y Tywyn, Dafydd Nanmor describes him as being ‘mewn gro a cherrig mae’n garcharawr’ (he is a prisoner in gravel and stones) (DN 9:28). Here, the wording of the line along with the use of the word ‘cerrig’ meaning stones again reinforces the suggestion that ‘gro’ refers to gravel rather than soil in general.

Syr Dafydd Trefor states that Owain ap Maredudd ap Tomos is in a white shirt in a gown of gravel in his *marwnad* for him, also suggesting that the body is in a shroud along with a reference which could allude to a stone coffin or possibly a chest tomb (GSDT 4:38 – 39):

Gwyn ei grys yn y gown gro,
Trom gistiad,
White his shirt in the gown of gravel,
A heavy chestful,

It is possible here that ‘gro’ could be the earth around the body rather than a gravel base or covering as the poet uses the metaphor of a gown, suggesting that it envelopes the body. The word ‘cistiaid’ or chestful could mean that the body fills a chest and being ‘trom’ or heavy it could be a stone chest or stone coffin.

In his *marwnad* for Syr Dafydd ap Gwilym, vicar of Llanarthne, Lewys Glyn Cothi uses the phrase ‘heavy gravel’ (GLGC 26:5 – 6):

Aeth Syr Dafydd i ymguddiaw
i’r gro trwm o’r gweryd draw.
Syr Dafydd went to conceal himself
in the heavy gravel of the grave yonder.

The same poet uses the word ‘gro’ when describing the burial of Gruffudd ab Aron (GLGC 233:9 – 10):

Wyneb Gruffudd a guddiwyd
â gro yn Llan Egryn llwyd.
The face of Gruffudd was hidden
with gravel in blessed Llanegryn.

In his *marwnad* for Elin Bwlclai, Lewys Môn comments on the gravel that was raked which could again suggest a covering over the grave (GLM 2:19 – 20):

er mwyn gwraig (âi i'r main) a'r gro
y cribiniwyd côr Beuno.

*for the sake of the woman (she went to the stone) and the gravel
Beuno's choir was raked.*

It is under the gravel or soil that Morys ap Siôn ap Maredudd's body was placed states Lewys Môn (GLM 46:43):

Ile claddwyd, bwriwyd, mab Urien dan ro,

where was buried, was cast, Urien's son under gravel,

In the *marwnad* for Llywelyn ab y Moel, Rhys Goch Eryri uses the word 'graean' meaning gravel and mentions soil when he comments on his burial (GRhE 10:31, 34 – 35):

Bod pencerdd

.

Dan raean yn druan draw,

Prudd dristyd, a'r pridd drostaw

That a master poet

.

Is under gravel wretchedly yonder,

Woeful sorrow, and the soil over him

Iolo Goch says of Tudur Fychan that gravel and soil were placed over his face, suggesting that perhaps he was buried in a shroud. Although the use of a coffin is not mentioned here, we can never be certain how literally the poetry should be taken. As was stated in the Methodology section, all of these poems are open to interpretation (IGP 4:62 – 64):

Gweled bod mewn gwaelod bedd

Anhudded oer iawn heddiw

O ro a phridd ar ei ffriw;

seeing at the bottom of a grave

that there is a very cold covering today

of gravel and earth on his face

On other occasions, the poets just state that the deceased is covered with earth or soil such as in the *marwnad* for Tomas Pennant by Siôn ap Hywel (GSH 2:27):

I'w bridd âi wyneb a'i ras

To the soil went a face and its grace

In his *marwnad* for Dafydd ab Edmwnd, Lewys Môn states that the poet has been covered with earth (GLM 89:1 – 2):

Daeary sy gau dros y gerdd:

doe dycwyd odidowcerdd.

[The] earth is closed over the poetry:

yesterday noteworthy poetry was taken.

Similarly, in his *marwnad* for another poet, Tudur Aled, Lewys Môn notes that 'the poet Aled went to his earthen bed' (*bridd gwely*) (TA Marwandau i Tudur Aled 4:37).

Gruffudd ap Maredudd ap Dafydd is less descriptive of the grave of Hywel y Fwyall (Hywel the Axe), so called because of his prowess in battle, merely stating that he was placed in the floor of Beuno's church (GGMD iii 2:2) while Lewys Glyn Cothi describes Hywel ap Rhys's grave as a bed of earth (GLGC 179:12). Gutun Owain states that Alis, the daughter of Huw Lewys of Anglesey and wife of Siôn ap Siôn ap Madog Pilstwn (GO 52n) is in the soil of Wrexham (GO 52:18). In the case of Siôn Gemais, Lewys Morgannwg tells us (GLMorg 10:50):

Mae'r hydd mawr ym mhridd a main.

The great stag is in earth and stones.

Gruffudd Hiraethog comments on the colour of the soil in his *marwnad* for Rosier Rodn of y Talwrn (GGH 67:30):

A phridd rhudd Gresffordd ar hwn.

And the ruddy earth of Gresford on him.

This line also places the grave of Rosier Rodn in Gresford in north Wales and many of the poems give information on the burial place of the deceased, often describing the tomb in some detail. In other cases, there is no definitive statement as to where the body has been buried but there is a suggestion that it is in a church or monastery as the poet mentions burial in the choir or chancel of an establishment.

One such example of the latter is the burial place of Siôn ap Dafydd ab Ithel Fychan of Broneirian. In Siôn ap Hywel's *marwnad* for him it seems that he and his wife were buried together (GSH 10:51 – 54):

Ydeiliwyd eu dwy elor,
Arwain eu cyrff i'r un côr.
Dyna gôr, dawn o gariad,
Doeth i'w lawr fendith y wlad.

*Their two biers were built,
Leading their bodies to the same choir.
What a choir, a gift of love,
To its ground came the blessing of the country.*

The place of burial for Tomas Pennant, abbot of Basingwerk is not directly stated by Siôn ap Hywel, the poet simply noting that he is under the temple's floor which very likely refers to Basingwerk Abbey itself (GSH 2:27 – 28):

I'w bridd âi wyneb a'i ras
A llawr teml lle rhoed Tomas.

*To the soil went a face and its grace
And the temple floor where was placed Thomas.*

The friary at Llan-faes on Anglesey was founded by Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, Llywelyn Fawr (the Great) in memory of his wife Joan (Siwan in Welsh) who died in 1237 (Burton and Stöber 2013:62). It seems to have been a place favoured for the burial of the elite in north Wales, being the chosen place of interment of the wives of both Llywelyn ab Iorwerth and Llywelyn ap Gruffudd (Eleanor de Montfort). It was here that Gwenhwyfar, the wife of Hywel ap Tudur ap Gruffudd of Coeden, it seems, was buried according to Gronw Gyriog (GGG 2:5 – 8):

Llan-faes fan uwch marian môr
A gudd Gwen – hoywfudd – hwyfar,
Llety saint a braint brodyr,
Llawrgudd bun, llwyrgawdd hun hir.

*Exalted Llan-faes above the sea's moraine
Hides Gwenhwyfar of sprightly favour,
Homestead of saints and privileged place of the friars,*

[The] girl [is in] a hiding place [in] the ground, utter grief [because of her] long sleep.

Mab Clochyddyn's description of Gwenhwyfar's resting place concurs with that of Gronw Gyriog but is much more descriptive (Appendix 3.28). He states that she is 'in a prison of stonework' and 'her countenance was placed under a sheet' suggesting that she was wrapped in a shroud and then placed in a stone coffin. There is also the reference to 'marble around her' suggestive of an alabaster memorial. If this is indeed a reference to an alabaster tomb, it would be one of the earliest examples in Wales as Mab Clochyddyn's *floruit* was the first half of the fourteenth century. One of the first tombs to use alabaster in England was that for Edward II who died in 1327 (Dressler 2015:65).

Gruffudd ap Maredudd ap Dafydd states that Goronwy Fychan ap Tudur was buried on the banks of the Menai and again makes reference to a 'marble grave' probably an alabaster effigy tomb (GGMD i 7:67 – 68):

Rhoed yn ael (rhodiwn alar)

Menai mywn rhwym bedd mynor

Placed beside (we wander in mourning)

Menai in a binding of a marble grave

Barry Lewis states that the reference to Menai is a reference to Llan-faes Priory from where Goronwy Fychan's tomb was moved to Penmynydd at the time of the reformation (GGMD i 7:68n). This would seem to settle the debate which has been on-going for some time as to whether the tomb for Goronwy Fychan which is at Penmynydd is in fact an original or a retrospective (see Gray 2014:1 – 26).

There has also been some debate about the chest tomb in the parish church of Llandygái. Some have claimed that it is to commemorate members of the Gruffudd family of Penrhyn and that the tomb was originally at Llan-faes while others have disputed this claim (Gray 2014:11). Some light may be shed on these counter-claims by the *mawrnad* for Gwilym ap Gruffudd of the Penrhyn who, according to Rhys Goch Eryri, was buried at Llan-faes (GRhGE 3:71 – 76):

Pwy a ddwg ceirw, eirw eurael,

Gotarmur hen Iarddur hael?

Pan aeth ef, mawr fu'r llefain,

I gôr dan fedd mynor main,
Llys Duw ym Môn, llesty mawl,
Llawnfoes da Llan-faes dwyfawl.

*Who will take the stags, golden browed waves,
The coat-of-arms of old and generous Iarddur?
When he went, great was the weeping,
To a choir under the marble stone grave,
God's court in Anglesey, praiseworthy beneficial place,
Moral [and] good, divine Llan-faes.*

Again, we get the reference to a 'marble stone grave', a likely alabaster tomb. The poet also tells us that Gwilym ap Gruffudd was interred in the chancel or choir of the church.

It was also in the chancel of Llan-faes that Dafydd ap Ieuan of Llwydiarth in Anglesey was buried according to Dafydd ab Edmwnd (DE 41:49 – 50):

Llyna gor llawn o gariad
Llanvaes deg llawn fv o stad
*There is a choir full of love
Fair Llan-faes was full of dignity*

Hywel Cilan gives the same information in his *marwnad* for the same subject, adding that his wife Angharad, was interred alongside him (GHC 20:45 – 48):

Rhoed yn un bedd, mawredd Môn,
Eu deugorff urddedigion,
Yng nghor, ef ac Angharad,
Llan-faes deg, llawn fu o stad.
*Their two exalted bodies
Were placed in one grave, magnificence of Anglesey,
In the choir, he and Angharad,
Of fair Llan-faes, it was of stately condition.*

Burial in monasteries, friaries and abbeys was popular during this time. Edmund Tudor who was married to the great-grand-daughter of John of Gaunt, Margaret Beaufort, was the father of Henry Tudor, future king Henry VII. The manner of his death is not mentioned by Lewys Glyn Cothi. He does, however, note his burial

place as being in the Franciscan house of Carmarthen and once again, there is the reference to the marble tomb under which he was interred (GLGC 10:83 – 88):

Ei fedd a wnaethpwyd yn fur
ym Mynyw o faen mynor;
medrod sy 'Nghwrt y Brodyr
i'r teyrn ar hyd daear;
yn y fedrod y'i dodir
y doded yr hen Dewdwr.

*His grave which was made a wall
in St David's from marble;
in a tomb which is in the Friars' Court
for the lord across the earth;
he is placed in the tomb
in which old Tewdwr was placed.*

Lewys Môn notes that another Tudur, the poet Tudur Aled, was buried in Llanfair in the Franciscan graveyard in Carmarthen (TA Marwnadau i Tudur Aled 4:35 – 38, 71 – 72):

Ymroi i Dduw a marw 'ddoedd
Yn sut nofys at nefoedd -
Bardd Aled âi i bridd wely,
Y Brawd Llwyd, talwyd i'r tŷ;
.....
Ag yn Llan Fair, gwinllan fydd,
Y trig awen tragwydd.

*Surrendered to God in death was he
As a novice to heaven –
The poet of Aled went to his earthen bed,
The Grey Friar, the house was paid;
.....
And in Llanfair, a vineyard will be,
The muse will live an eternity.*

Tudur Aled's place of burial is confirmed by Morys Gethin, who states that the body is in a coffin but does not tell us from what the coffin was made (TA Marwnadau i Tudur Aled 6:53 – 60):

Bwriwyd awdur, brawd ydyw,
I Sain Ffrawns, iesin [e]i ffriw;
Aeth i grefydd ufuddfaint,
I gadw'r Sul gyda'r saint;
Mae cerdd mewn arch yngharchar
Yng Nghwrt y Brodyr, fy nghâr;
A geir fyth [e]i gyfryw fardd
Gwedi [e]i orfedd, gadeirfardd?

*An author was stricken, a brother is he,
To Saint Francis, handsome his appearance;
He went to religion, obedient and privileged,
To keep the Sunday with the saints;
The poetry is in a coffin imprisoned
In the Brothers' Court, my kinsman;
Will there ever be had such a poet as him
After his laying, the chaired poet?*

The phrase 'brawd ydyw' (a brother is he) might suggest that Tudur Aled had in fact been admitted to the Order or that he had possibly become a tertiary, i.e. although a member of the Order and living according to its ideals of the Order, not actually living within the community. This possibility is supported by Lewys Morgannwg in his *marwnad* for Tudur Aled. In stating that he was buried in 'Merlin's town', a reference to the Welsh legend which associates Merlin with Carmarthen, he also notes the connection between Tudur Aled and the Franciscans, perhaps suggesting that he was buried in the habit of the Order (GLMorg 93:65 – 74):

Ni orwedd, aeth yn ardd win,
Y rhyw fardd yn nhre Fyrddin.
Nid âi i gôr do a gwýdd
Fyth, y brawd, y fath brydydd.
Yna rhoed yn anrhydedd
Awen y beirdd yn un bedd:
O feirdd teilwng fardd dulwyd
Fu wraidd holl iaith yn fardd llwyd.

Ei frawd, a'i fardd fry ydyw,
A ffryns i Sain Ffrawnsess yw.

*There does not lie, it has become a wine garden,
Such a poet in Merlin's town.
Such a poet never went to a choir
[With] roof of timber, the brother.
There was placed in honour
The muse of the poets in one grave:
Of worthy poets a grey-black poet
Was the root of all language, a grey poet.
His brother, and his poetry is on high,
And a friend to Saint Francis is he.*

Angharad ferch Dafydd was a descendant of Owain Glyndŵr and was buried in a Dominican friary (GLM 44:51 – 52):

Dwyn gwe lawnt Owain y Glyn
doe mewn côr Dominic hirwyn.

*The taking of the fine linen of Owain the Glyn
yesterday into the choir of tall, fair Dominic.*

Rowlands (GLM 44n) states that this was in the same place that Siân Stradling was buried, which was Hirerw, a district of Bangor which is today known as Hiraël or Hirel. Siân Stradling of the wealthy Glamorganshire family married Wiliam Gruffudd of Penrhyn who also had a sister called Siân (GLMorg 88n). When she died, she was interred in Bangor, possibly alongside her sister-in-law according to Lewys Môn which suggests that there was a Gruffudd of Penrhyn family connection with this place (GLM 40:29 – 32):

Y ddwy wragedd ddarogan,
ym muroedd saint mae'r ddwy Siân:
ym Mangor wen, myn y Grog,
mae merch a mam y marchog.

*The two wives of prophesy,
in the walls of the saints are the two Siâns
in blessed Bangor, I swear by the rood,
are the daughter and mother of the knight.*

The statement ‘yn muroedd saint’ (in the walls of the saints) may refer to an inter-mural burial in the church at Bangor which could very well have been the Dominican friary which Monastic Wales states had a famous rood carving. In using the term ‘merch a mam y marchog’, Lewys Môn is likely referring to the fact that Siân Stradling was the daughter and mother of knights.

It was also here that Gruffudd ap Maredudd ap Dafydd states that Hywel ap Goronwy, the archdeacon of Anglesey, was buried (GGMD i 1:52):

O gymell Hirerw gem alloriau.

Because [one like] an altar's gem was made [to go] to Hirerw.

There was also a Dominican friary at another Llan-faes, this one being near to the town of Brecon in south Wales. Dafydd Johnston notes that Morgan ap Dafydd Gam lived in Llandduw or Llanddew, a small village near Brecon (GLGC 134n). It could be in the Dominican friary that Morgan was buried although also at Brecon is the Church of Saint David's, Llan-faes (Clwyd Powys Archaeological Trust) which could be the Llan-faes referred to in Lewis Glyn Cothi's *marwnad* for Morgan. This church is recorded in the 1291 Taxatio (GLGC 134:1 – 8):

Y pennaeth ym mhob bonedd
sy'n Llan-faes winllan a'i fedd,
Morgan, garw difan Dafydd
Gam yw'r sant i Gymru sydd.
Llan-faes oll yw nef ei wŷr,
lle mae eilwaith lle milwyr,
lle rhoed tarian a maneg
Llandduw dan y llen ddu deg.

*The head in every nobility
who is in Llan-faes's vineyard and his grave,
Morgan, perfect stag of Dafydd
Gam who is the saint for Wales.
The whole of Llan-faes is his men's heaven,
where there is once more a soldier's place,
where the shield and gloves
of Llanddew were placed under a fair black mantle.*

Lewys Glyn Cothi also composed a *marwnad* for Morgan's son, Maredudd, noting that he too was interred in Llan-faes (GLGC 135:29 – 34):

Ni a awn bawb yn unnod
hyd Llan-faes lle dlywn fod,
lle maen' oll ym min allawr,
dau wely mewn adail mawr,
gwely murgalch gloyw Morgan,
gwely'i fab wrth gil y Fan.

*We who go, everyone with one purpose
along to Llan-faes where I should be,
where they all are at the edge of the altar,
two beds in a grand building,
Morgan's polished whitewashed bed,
his son's bed by the recess.*

The final line of this quotation '[c]il y Fan', could relate to the location of the church in the shadow of one of the mountains in the area or it may be considered to have a lower-case f. This would then suggest that the tomb was in a recess in the church wall.

The Cistercian order seemed to have a particular resonance with the Welsh, with a number of grants having been made to them by several of the Welsh princes, i.e., prior to 1282. Casnodyn states that Madog Fychan of Tir Iâl has been buried in Margam, probably in the Cistercian abbey which once stood there as there is evidence of lay burials in Margam, particularly for patrons of the abbey which this poem suggest was the case (GC 2:53 – 54, 175 – 176):

Aeth Madog enwog anwad,
Uthr gyflam, Fargam fawrged,
.....
Aeth ffraeth faeth fangor, uthrlawn dawn iawn iôr,
Oeth ddoeth goeth gyngor, mawrgoeth Margam.

*Honourable Madog [one] truly famous,
[Through] sudden terrible fate, went to Margam [to which] he gave
much
.....*

*A wonderful, just lord full of blessing [one of] ready livelihood,
Went to the truly wonderful consecrated keeping of Margam.*

It was at another Cistercian abbey, Valle Crucis, that Gutun Owain notes that Robert Trefor of Yr Hôb was buried (GO 38:23 – 24):

Aeth y'r Glyn â'r gerdd vthr gled,
Ar varn, i ddayar Verned.

*He took to the Glyn the fearful funeral poem,
On judgement, to Bernard's earth.*

The use of the phrase 'ddayar Verned' (Bernard's earth) may suggest that there was a relic of Bernard of Clairvaux at Valle Crucis, however, there is no evidence of this. It is more likely to be a reference that Valle Crucis was a Clairvaux filiation through Whitland and Strata Marcella and thus being a Cistercian establishment would have had a cult of Bernard.

Gruffudd Gryg composed a *marwnad* for his illustrious contemporary, Dafydd ap Gwilym which is the subject of some controversy. The poem claims that Dafydd has been buried beneath a yew tree in the grounds of the Cistercian abbey of Strata Florida (GGGr 5:1 – 4):

Yr ywen i oreuwas
Ger mur Ystrad-fflur a'i phlas,
Da Duw wrthyd, gwynfyd gwŷdd,
Dy dyfu yn dŷ Dafydd.

*The yew for the best man
Beside the wall of Strata Florida and its mansion,
Blessing of God on you, paradise of trees,
That you have grown as a house [for] Dafydd.*

Some such as Rachael Bromwich (1984:14 – 15) have argued that this is possibly a pseudo *marwnad* and as such should not be taken as proof that Strata Florida is the final resting place of the poet. However, others such as Sir Thomas Parry, who describes pseudo *marwnadau* as 'niwsans glân' (pure nuisance) (Barddas 87 and 88:15), D. J. Bowen (Barddas 87 and 88:15 and 16), Dafydd Johnston (1998a:307) and Huw Meirion Edwards (1999) maintain that it is not. There is also a pair of *englynion* attributed to Hopcyn Thomas which places Dafydd ap Gwilym's burial in the Premonstratensian Abbey at Talley.

Marwnadau to fellow poets are quite common in the poetry which has survived from this period and reference to the place of burial is often made in these poems. In his *marwnad* for Llywelyn ab y Moel, Rhys Goch Eryri states that he was buried in the chancel of Strata Marcella (GRhGE 10:29 – 36):

Disiomgar oedd wrth chwarae
Tyst a'i gŵyr, pand tost y gwae
Bod pencerdd, ni waherddid,
Gwynedd a Phowys, lwys lid,
Dan raean yn druan draw,
Prudd dristyd, a'r pridd drostaw
Yng nghôr Ystrad, rad rybudd,
Marchell yng nghanell ynghudd?

*Unruffled he was while playing
A witness knows this, is it not painful the woe
That a master bard, he was not denied,
Of Gwynedd and Powys, comely passion,
Is under gravel wretchedly yonder,
Doleful sorrow, and the soil over him
In Strata Marcella's chancel, blessed warning,
Hidden in the sanctuary?*

The burial place for Llywelyn ab y Moel is confirmed in Guto'r Glyn's *marwnad* for the same subject, with this poet adding that Llywelyn was buried in a coffin (GG.net 82:1 – 2):

Mae arch yn Ystrad Marchell
Ym mynwent cwfent a'u cell,
*There is a coffin in Strata Marcella
In the cemetery of a monastery and their cell,*

Although an abbey had been built at Rhedynnog Felen near Clynnog Fawr, this was later moved to Aberconwy by Llywelyn ab Iorwerth. However, there was a collegiate church of Saint Beuno at Clynnog and Syr Hywel y Fwyall was one of those laid to rest there (GGMD iii 2:2n). Gruffudd ap Maredudd ap Dafydd in his *marwnad* for Syr Hywel, describes how he is buried in the church and that he lays

under marble which likely means that a marble or alabaster effigy tomb had been erected when the poem was composed. This could mean that the poem was composed sometime after the death, possibly at year's mind (GGMD iii 2:1 – 2, 33):

Gwisgodd bedd eurgledd aerglo – lluruglas,
Yn llawr eglwys Feuno;

.....

Neud hiraeth, oergaeth ei argel – mynor,

*The leader who had a golden sword [and] silver armour was
contained in a grave,*

In the earth of [Saint] Beuno's church;

.....

There is great longing, sad confinement in his marble hiding place,

Rhisierdyn confirms the place of burial in his *marwnad* for the same subject (GSRh 6:1 – 4, 8 – 9):

Rhy-gudd llew afrudd, llyw eurfro – gwingost,
Yng nghongl gwyngor Beuno,
Rhwyf clodnerth rhyfyg Clydno,
Rhyddewr grair, rhudd dderw a gro.

.....

Calonnus is Celynnog.

Llawr Celynnog Fawr a fedd – ei orchudd.

*Red oak and gravel concealing the red-bearded hero, head of an
excellent land – provider of wine,*

In a corner of the chancel of blessed Beuno's [church],

[The] leader of famed strength [of] Clydno's daring,

So valiant a loved one.

.....

[He who was] high-spirited is under [the floor of] Clynnog [church].

The floor of Clynnog Fawr is his veil,

Here, there is no mention of a marble tomb so it could be that this *marwnad* was composed earlier than that by Gruffudd ap Maredudd ap Dafydd, perhaps around the time that Syr Hywel died. The poet also tells us that Syr Hywel was buried in the chancel of the church.

Lewys Môn notes that Elin Bwlclai was also interred in Saint Beuno's Church in Clynnog Fawr (GLM 2:19 – 20):

er mwyn gwraig [âi i'r main] a'r gro
y cribiniwyd côr Beuno.

*for the sake of a woman [who went to the stone] and the gravel
Beuno's choir was raked.*

Nobility and gentry in Glamorganshire are often associated with Llandaf which is dedicated to the Welsh Saints Teilo, Dyfrig and Euddogwy as well as Saints Peter and Paul. Arnallt Bwtler was descended from the Tewder family through his mother who was a Mathau (GLMorg 12:17n, 19n), details which Lewys Morgannwg included in his *marwnad* for him along with the fact that he was buried in Llandaf (GLMorg 12:13 – 14, 17 – 20):

O chladdwyd, wayw a chleddyf,
Ein och, gwŷr da, 'n iach, Gaerdyf,

.....

Mathau, ben bannau bonedd,
Mae un o'i byst mewn y bedd.

Wylent waed o lin Tewdwr

Yn Llandaf yn llynnau dŵr.

*If he was buried, spear and sword,
It is our anguish, good men, farewell, Cardiff,*

.....

*Matthau, the pinnacle and head of the lineage,
One of his pillars is in the grave.*

*They from the line of Tewdwr would sob blood
In Llandaf in lakes of water.*

The tombs of William Mathew and his wife Jenete are still to be found in the cathedral at Llandaf. The inscription on the tomb reads:

Orate p' aiabus Gulielmi Mathew Militis qui obiit decimo die Marcii Ao D
Mcccc° vices° VIII et etiam Jenete ux'is eius que Deo reddidit Spiritum ---

die --- mensis Ao D'ni Millmo ccccc trices^o quorum animabus propitietur
Deus Amen⁵

*(Pray for the souls of William Mathew a knight who died 10th March 1528
AD and also Jenete his wife who rendered her Spirit to God ---day --- month
1530 on whose souls God have mercy Amen)*

This is one of the rare occasions in Wales where an inscription requesting the prayers for the souls of the deceased has survived attack by iconoclasts. It also provides us with a date for their deaths – 1528 for William and 1530 for Jenete. Lewys Morgannwg's marwnad for Sir William notes his burial in Teilo's house (GLMorg 4:29 – 30):

Mae draw 'nhŷ Deiliaw, dolur – holl geraint

Lle gorwedd Paredur,

He is yonder in Teilio's house, [such] sorrow – all the kinsfolk

Where lies Peredur,

Cynfael Lake notes that Peredur here is a reference to Peredur ab Efracg, one of the characters in the Three Romances of the *Mabinogion* (GLMorg 4:30n). Thus this is likely to be a metaphorical name for Sir William.

The Morgans were a prominent family in south-east Wales, descended from the patron of Dafydd ap Gwilym, Ifor Hael. It is for a member of this family that Lewys Morgannwg composed *Marwnad Mastr Harri Morgan*, a *marwnad* which shows that he appears to have been sufficiently important to warrant intra-mural burial in the chancel of Llandaf (GLMorg 33:4, 11 – 12):

Mae'r llên doeth ym mur Llandaf.

.....

Lle doded llwyth Maredudd,

Da le, 'nghôr Deilo ynghudd,

The wise learning is in Llandaf's wall.

.....

Where was placed Maredudd's descendant.

A good place, hidden in Teilo's choir,

⁵ My grateful thanks to Madeleine Gray for providing me with her transcription from this tomb and for her assistance in translating the Latin.

Another very prominent family were the Herberts of Raglan, descendants of William ap Thomas and his wife Gwladys ferch Dafydd Gam. Gwladys was buried in St Mary's Priory Church, Abergavenny along with William and many of the family tombs can still be seen to this day in the Herbert chapel. The *marwnad* for Gwladys by Lewys Glyn Cothi gives a detailed description of her tomb in all its splendour as well as showing the high esteem in which the family were held (Appendix 3.15.1). Of particular interest is the description of the detail on the tomb. The existing tomb as it survives today has the twelve apostles along one side and the twelve prophets carved along the other. On the east end is a carving of the Annunciation while the carving on the west end is missing. It could be that the reference to God and the angels in Lewys Glyn Cothi's poem (Appendix 3.15.1:47 – 50) is a description of this missing carving. There is also a possible reference to the funeral liturgy in the couplet 'Organau oll hyd frig nef ag arainllais, gôr unllaf' (Organs the whole length of heaven on high and silver voices, a choir in one voice). The reference to an organ is particularly interesting as it may suggest that there was an organ in the priory at Abergavenny. Lewys Glyn Cothi describes them as a leading family, a family from which future leaders will spring

Buried alongside members of his family in Saint Mary's priory, Abergavenny was Siôn ap Rhosier, with Hywel Swrdwal noting that he and his kinsmen are buried in the chancel of the church (GHS 9:43 – 48):

Ancr yw Siôn o fewn côr saint
 - Llyna gôr llawn o geraint –
 Lle gwyl mil i Syr Wiliam
 Fedd gwyn a merch Ddafydd Gam.
 Syr Rhisiart a roes resaw
 I'w gâr o'i lwyth ger ei law.

*Siôn is an anchorite in the saints' chancel
 - There is a chancel full of kinsfolk –
 Where see a thousand for Sir William
 A sacred grave and the daughter of Dafydd Gam.
 Sir Richard welcomed
 His kinsman from his family beside him.*

Sir Richard is likely to refer to Richard Herbert whose tomb is also still in the Herbert chapel at Abergavenny.

In mourning the death of Ieuan ap Gwilym ap Llywelyn of the Peutyn Gwyn, Ieuan ap Hywel Swrdwal notes that he was buried in the chancel of Hafard chapel which, at that time, was in the priory of Saint John the Evangelist in Brecon (GHS 29:3 – 8):

Trist iawn, myn Pedr, yw edrych,
Torred pen y wlad wen wych,
Ar ôl dwyn, och o'r ail dydd,
Yng nghôr Hafart yng nghrefydd.
Dewiniodd Duw â'i enau
Dwyn yr ail i dynnu'r iau.

*Very sad, by Peter, is looking,
The head of the excellent holy country was cut off,
After taking him, woe the second day,
Into the holy ground of the chancel of Hafard.
God divined with his mouth
To take the second to pull the yoke.*

Although burial in the grounds of a monastery, friary or priory may have been seen as a means to assist the soul on its journey to heaven, many were nevertheless buried in a church local to where they lived. It was often felt that the local saints would intercede on behalf of the soul of the deceased thus it may have been deemed advantageous to be buried in the church dedicated to this saint. The most prestigious place for burial within the church was considered to be the chancel or choir where the saint's relics were kept. Initially, this was the reserve of the clergy although it was gradually extended to include firstly the great nobles and founders' kin and eventually the gentry and poets. Although not specifying that he was buried in the chancel, Tomas ap Rhys of the Tywyn was buried with four other members of his family in the family grave at Yr Erwig (now called Verwig) which was to the north of Cardigan as can be deduced from Dafydd Nanmor's *marwnad* for him (DN 9n) (DN 9:21 – 24, 37 – 40):

Mredydd, Tomas, Rhys, gymerodedd – teml,
Tomas a'i etifedd;
Mewn un gaer maen' yn gorwedd.
Mae yno bump mewn un bedd.

.....

Mab Rhys aeth o'i lys i lawr – yr Erwig.
Mewn gro a cherrig mae'n garcharawr.
Ban aeth gwroliaeth ar elawr – o'r llys,
Bu bobl i ynys heb i blaenawr.

*Meredudd, Tomas, Rhys, an approved temple,
Tomas and his heir;
In one camp they lie.
There are five in one grave.*

.....

*Rhys's son went down from his court – to Yr Erwig.
In gravel and stones he is a prisoner.
When manhood went on a bier – from the court,
The people of his island were without their leader.*

Llawdden's *marwnad* for Elen Gethin of Llinwent tends to dwell on the virtues of its subject rather than the fate of her body or her soul or the manner of her death. The husband of Elen Gethin, Tomas ap Syr Rhosier Fychan of Hergest, had been killed in the battle of Edgecote or Banbury which Barry Lewis has shown to have taken place on 24th July 1469 (2011: 97 – 117), a battle which is one of the least understood of those fought during the Wars of the Roses (*ibid*:97). Llawdden explains how Elen had his body brought home for burial at Kington in what is now Herefordshire and how her body was later placed alongside. He also mentions Mwrog, a saint associated with Rhuthun and Llanfaethlu in Anglesey and Mariaith, a saint associated with Elfael, the commote in which Llinwent lay (Appendix 3.18). The alabaster effigy tomb depicting Elen and Syr Rhosier is still to be seen in St Mary's church, Kington. R. I. Daniel notes how in 1474 Elen had managed to secure an indulgence from the pope for anyone who prayed for the soul of her deceased husband (GLI 21n). Also buried in the same church as his parents was Rhisiart ap Tomas. Lewys Glyn Cothi states that he was buried near the entrance to the chancel of the church in Kington (GLGC 128:27 – 36):

Maestr Rhisiart, rymus drysor,
mae'n y cudd ym min y côr;
mae llen gêl ar wallt melyn,
mae ar y gwallt farmor gwyn.
Nid drwg gan olwg Elin

hwyl ei mab yn ei helm wen,
a'i weled wrth wely'i dad
yn gorwedd yn un gariad.
Dau angel i'w dau wely
o rent a aeth i'r un tŷ.

*Master Richard, virtuous treasure,
He is in the hiding place at the edge of the choir;
There is a concealing veil on yellow hair,
on the hair is white marble.
Not wretched in Elin's view
the state of her son in his white helm,
and seeing him beside his father's bed
lying as one loved one.
Two angels to their two beds
went to the same house as a render.*

The references to white marble and a white helm again suggest that an alabaster tomb marked the place of burial

It is likely that it was in the church at Llanidan that Owain ap Maredudd ap Tomas was buried according to Syr Dafydd Trefor in his *marwnad* for him (GSDT 4:37 – 40):

Trwm Angharad wrth ado
Gwyn ei grys yn y gown gro,
Trom gistiaid, llonaid y llan,
Llenwi adail Llanidan.

*Heavy [is] Angharad [with grief] from leaving behind
The one in the white shirt in the gown of gravel,
A heavy chestful, full the church,
Filling the building of Llanidan.*

The home of Meredudd ap Tudur was in Ysbyty Ifan which is in the modern-day county of Conwy and Tudur Penllyn notes that he was buried in the church in the village. His son Rhys, who carried Henry Tudor's standard at the Battle of Bosworth, is buried in the same church (GTP 19:37 – 40):

Gwely sy'n Eglwys Ifan

I'w gloi â gro, weryd glân,
A bedd, dros wyneb ei arch,
A llew Cynwrig ap Llywarch;

*There is a bed in St John's church
To lock him in with gravel, clean soil,
And a grave, over the face of his coffin,
And the lion of Cynwrig ap Llywarch;*

Cynwrig ap Llywarch was one of the ancestors of Meredudd ap Tudur and the lion was one of the heraldic symbols of the family (GTP 19:40n).

Lewys Glyn Cothi composed a *marwnad* for the vicar of Llanarthne in Carmarthenshire, Syr Dafydd ap Gwilym. In the poem, Cothi notes that the vicar was buried in his own church (GLGC 26:5 – 8):

Aeth Syr Dafydd i ymguddiaw
i'r gro trwm o'r gwryd draw.
Ni aetham i'r llawr neithwyr
wrth hynny'n Llan Arthne'n llwyr.

*Syr Dafydd went to conceal himself
in the heavy gravel of the grave yonder.
We went to the grave last night
together at Llanarthne.*

The home of Phelpod ap Rhys was in the parish of Brulai which is the modern day Brilley, a parish which straddles the border of Radnorshire and Herefordshire (GLGC 144n). In his *marwnad* for him, Lewys Glyn Cothi informs us that he was buried in the parish church of Saint Mary (GLGC 144:57 – 58):

Yn Eglwys Fair y cwysiwyd,
yng ngwart Mair, fy llewpart llwyd,
*In the Church of Mary he was buried,
in Mary's ward, my pious leopard,*

In the Welsh county of Radnorshire which borders on Herefordshire, there are at least four churches dedicated to Mary which date back to the fifteenth century (The Historic Churches Survey) and it is most likely that it was in the parish church dedicated to Mary in Brilley that Ieuan ap Gruffudd Fychan was buried as Lewys Glyn Cothi reiterates (GLGC 161:9 – 14):

Efo gynt yn un afael
o Feurig Coch oedd frig hael,
a heddiw, medd a'i haddef,
yn wreiddyn yn nyffryn nef.
I gysegr y'i dug Iesu
i eglwys Fair, mor glos fu.

*He earlier in one grasp
of Meurig Coch who was the topmost branch of generosity,
and today, in [his] grave which is his dwelling,
a root in the valley of heaven.
To sanctuary Jesus took him
to the church of Saint Mary, it was so close.*

Meurig Coch was Ieuan ap Gruffudd's maternal great-grandfather (GLGC 161:10n).

There is a record of an early medieval church dedicated to Saint Cynllo at Llangunllo near Knighton (The Historic Churches Survey). Dafydd Johnston notes that Hywel Rhys lived in the parish of Llangunllo (GLGC 176n), it is in the chancel of this church that Hywel was interred and possibly his father, Rhys ap Dafydd as is noted in Lewys Glyn Cothi's marwnad for Hywel (GLGC: 179:11 – 14, 33 – 34):

Enwawg ydoedd drwy'r ynys
wely pridd Hywel ap Rhys.

Pren plan yn Llan Gynllo oedd,
blin wedy'r blannu ydoedd.

.....

Rhoed adaf Rhys ap Dafydd
oll yn nghôr Cynllaw ynghudd.

*Famous through the island was
the earthen bed of Hywel ap Rhys.*

*It was a tree planted in Llangynllo,
it was weary after being planted.*

.....

*All of Rhys ap Dafydd's generosity
is hidden in Cynllo's choir.*

In his *marwnad* for Gruffudd ab Aron, Lewys Glyn Cothi notes that he was buried in the church of Llanegryn in Merionethshire (GLGC 233:9 – 10):

Wyneb Gruffudd a guddiwyd
â gro yn Llan Egryn llwyd.
*The face of Gruffudd was hidden
with gravel in blessed Llanegryn.*

The *marwnad* for Nest Fychan by Lewys Môn at first seems to state that she was buried at Holyhead (GLM 24:13 – 16):

Cwyn mawr bod elawr heb dolian,
gweiddi pan guddiwyd Nest Fechan.
Caergybi, côr ag uban;
cwyr ymhob lle, cri ’mhob llan.
*Great mourning without stinting that there is a bier,
crying when Nest Fechan was hidden.
Holyhead, a choir with wailing;
Wax everywhere, crying in every church.*

However, line 53 mentions Eglwys Edern which is likely the church of St Edern in Bodedern, Anglesey which could also be a reference to her place of burial. The wax in the final line would refer to the candles that would have surrounded the coffin while the phrase ‘cri ’mhob llan’ (crying in every church) may also possibly imply that votive masses were held in a number of churches.

Lewys Môn informs us that Ieuan ap Llywelyn was buried in the chancel of a church dedicated to Saint Beuno (GLM 25:5 – 6):

Beuno grair, heb un gŵr well,
âi ag Ifan i’w gafell.
*Beuno the treasure, without one man better,
took Ifan to his choir stall.*

It was in a church dedicated to the same saint that that Lewys Daron states that Robert ap Maredudd of Glynllifon was interred (GLD 5:31 – 32 and 53 – 54):

Beuno’n cael, bu ennyn cwyr,
Bedd sy annedd i synnwyr.

.....

Y fan, i dŷ Feuno y doeth,
Man nid iawn myned annoeth.

*Beuno receiving, there was an igniting of wax,
A grave which is the abode of wisdom.*

.....

*The place, to Beuno's house he came,
A place which is not right for an unwise man to go.*

There is also the reference in this poem to the burning of wax or lighting of wax candles during the burial ceremony.

The family of Morys ap Siôn ap Maredudd was based at Rhiwaedog which is near the town of Bala. There was a church consecrated to Saint Beuno at nearby Llanycil so it is likely here that Lewys Môn states that Morys was buried (GLM 46:41 – 44):

Lliw daear Beuno, lle'i derbynien,
yn llawn niwlach, oll ni welen;
lle claddwyd, bwriwyd, mab Urien dan ro,
llu, a lle eigio, lle llewygen.

*The colour of Beuno's earth, where we were receiving him,
full of unpleasant clouds, we would not see all;
where was buried, was struck, Urien's son under gravel,
a throng, and where [is] weeping, where they would faint.*

Lewys Môn notes that both Ieuan ap Hywel and his wife, Gwerful were buried in Llangedwyn in his *marwnad* for them. He also claims that they have been reunited in heaven (GLM 77:63 – 70):

Gwerful aeth, ei gair fu lân,
mal i Nef ymlaen Ifan:
Ieuan ddewr yn ddaearol,
ni fynnai hwn fyw'n ei hôl.
Cipio i lawr cwpl i orwedd;
cau, dan ball Cedwyn eu bedd.
Cartref yn y Nef a wnân:
caid dau'n fyw, cytûn fuan.

Gwerful went, her word was pure,

*as to Heaven before Ieuan:
Ieuan the brave,
he did not wish to live on earth after her.
The couple were snatched to lie;
closed, their grave under Cedwyn's pall
They are making home in Heaven:
where both were living, they were of one mind.*

The phrase 'under Cedwyn's pall' could be understood as burial near to relics or an effigy of the saint. It seems that Morys ab Ieuan ap Hywel was also buried in the church of Llangedwyn, possibly near to his parents for Tudur Aled states (TA 80:9 – 10):

Mae â bedd, a mab iddaw,
Acw dan draed Cedwyn, draw;
*He has a grave, and a son,
Yonder under the feet of Cedwyn*

In his marwnad for Morgan ap Siôn ap Hywel Holand of Eglwys Fach, Tudur Aled notes that he was buried at Eglwys Fach (TA 71:91 – 92):

Eglwys Fach a gloes [e]i fedd,
A gloyw binagl y bonedd;
*Eglwys Fach which locked his grave,
And lustrous pinnacle of the gentry;*

Eglwys Fach is near Conwy in Denbighshire as line 6 of the poem refers to the church being in the land of Eithlyn; a river running near to Eglwys Fach is named as Hiraethlyn on some maps (TA 71:6n).

Robert ap Siôn ab Ithel of Tegeingl was, states Tudur Aled, interred in 'Eurgain's house' (TA 72:83 – 84):

Dy roi 'mysg daear a main,
A derwgist, i dŷ Eurgain!
*Placing you amongst earth and stone,
And an oaken chest, in Eurgain's House!*

Tŷ Eurgain or Eurgain's house would here refer to the church of Llaneurgain. There are two such churches in Wales and the most likely in this case would be that in the village of Northop in Flintshire as this falls within the ancient cantref of Tegeingl.

According to the history of the church at Llandwrog in Caernarfon, the original church was built by the local saint Twrog who was a close associate of Beuno. It seems that it was here, according to Tudur Aled, that Elin Bwlclai was buried. Her husband, Robert ap Maredudd ap Hwlcyn Llwyd was a native of the village (TA 76:67 – 70):

Llen a dêr yn Llandwrog,
Yn llawr grwn allor y Grôg.

O rhown i Fair rhan a fo,
Mae'r rhodd benna 'mhridd Beuno;

*A canopy and oak wood in Llandwrog,
In the ridged ground of the Crucifix' altar.*

*If we give to Mary a share of what we have,
The greatest gift is in the soil of Beuno;*

The fact that a specific saint is mentioned here and indeed in so many of the poems reiterates the point made above about the importance of local saints to the individuals concerned, probably in respect of interceding on behalf of their souls.

Gwyddelwern is a small village which, historically was in Merionethshire but is now in modern Denbighshire (Vision of Britain). It has a church dedicated to St. Beuno and it is presumably in this church that Elisau ap Gruffudd ap Einion was buried according to Gutun Owain (GO 43:23 – 25):

Gwyddelwern yn gwayddolef,
Gwaed a wyl beirdd gwedy ef:
A roe i bawb aur a bwyd
I dŷ Veuno 'dyvynwyd.

*Gwyddelwern is suffering misery,
The poets cry blood for him:
He who gave gold and food to all
To Beuno's house was summoned.*

The daughter of Huw Lewys of Anglesey, Alis, was married to Siôn ap Siôn ap Madog Pilston (GO 52n), a family based in Hafod-y-wern near Wrexham (GG.net

72n). Two lines in the *marwnad* for her by Gutun Owain would suggest that she was buried in Wrexham in the chancel of the Church of Silin – the only medieval church in Wrexham being that dedicated to Saint Giles (Church in Wales Parishes) (GO 52:18 and 27):

Gwraic sy 'mhridd Gwregsam a'i roes.

.....

Os Alis sy 'nghôr Silin,

A wife who is in the soil of Wrexham gave it.

.....

If Alice is in the choir of Giles,

It is believed that Morgan ab Owain and his wife Sisli lived in Merthyr Cynog (GDEp 20n). It seems that this is also where they were buried as Dafydd Epynt states (GDEp 20:9 – 10):

Mae'r gwraidd, lle gorwedd gwŷr,

Yn meirw weithian ym Merthyr.

The wives, where lie the husbands,

Are dead now in Merthyr.

Hywel Amhadog ap Trahaearn and his descendants are associated with Llansanffraid and Llanfrynach near Brecon. In his *marwnad* for him, Dafydd Epynt suggests that he was buried in the church of Llansanffraid (GDEp 21:15 – 16):

Nid â'n ei orwedd heddiw

O dŷ San Ffred iesin ffriw;

He goes not to lie today

From fair-faced St Brigit's house;

It is likely that both Siôn Gemais and Morys Sainsion died in London as Lewys Morgannwg noted that both were buried there (GLMorg 10:49 – 50):

Mae llew'r India 'm mhwl Llundain,

Mae'r hydd mawr ym mhridd a main.

The lion of India is in a London pit,

The great stag in soil and stones.

(GLMorg 18:38):

Bedd Morys yn Llundain;

Morris's grave in London;

Lewys Morgannwg's *Marwnad Siôn ap Tomos ap Morgan, Caerllion* states that Siôn was interred in the chancel of the church in Caerleon.

(GLMorg 30:49 – 53):

Y tŷ i bawb ytyw y bedd;
Arhown dŷ i roi'n diwedd.
Yng nghôr, llew, 'Nghaerllion
Llen a chroes wen a chwyr, Siôn,
A gweddi yn dragwyddol
Am a wnaeth yma 'n ei ôl.

*The house for everyone is the grave;
We expect a house to place our end.
In the choir, a lion, in Caerleon
A canopy and a white cross and wax, Siôn,
And a prayer for eternity
For what he did here for him.*

The church in Ysgeifiog is dedicated to St Mary. The Clwyd and Powys Archaeological Trust describes the present building on the site as being erected in 1836/7, replacing an earlier medieval structure of which there are no records. It seems that it was in the chancel of this church that Hywel ap Siôn ap Dafydd ab Ithel Fychan of Ysgeifiog was according to Gruffudd Hiraethog (GGH 9:3 – 4):

Am oer alaeth mawr wylen',
Am a roed yn nghôr Mair wen.

*For cold sorrow greatly were they wailing,
For who was put in blessed Mary's choir.*

Rosier Rodn was from Y Talwrn which is near Gresford in Flintshire. In his *marwnad* for Rosier, Gruffudd Hiraethog states that it was at Gresford that he was interred (GGH 67:29 – 30):

A phrudd gau coffr a wyddwn,
A phridd rhudd Gresffordd ar hwn.

*And I experienced the sad closing of the coffer,
And the ruddy earth of Gresford on him.*

The same poet notes that it was in the chancel of the church in Bangor that Owain Eutun of Eutun was buried (GGH 74:67 – 68):

Ac Owain yn dragywydd

Yn nhemlgor Bangor y bydd.

And Owain for time everlasting

In Bangor's church choir will be.

As Owain Eutun lived in north-east Wales, this could be a reference to the church of Saint Dunawd at Bangor Is-coed.

In his *marwnad* for Dafydd Owain of Maenan, Gruffudd Hiraethog notes that he died in 1558 (GGH 84:11 – 12). Dafydd held the living of the church in Llandoged (GGH 84n) and the poet notes that it was in this church that Dafydd was interred (GH 84:6):

I dŷ Doged a'i dygodd,

To Doged's house that took him,

In the *marwnad* for Siôn Trefor of Trefalun, Gruffudd Hiraethog states that he was buried in the sacred ground of All Saints. This probably refers to the church in Gresford (GGH 87:31 – 32):

O'r fro i'w gysegrdir fraint,

Yr hael Siôn i dŷ'r Holsaint,

From his land to his sacred privileged land,

The generous Siôn to the house of All Saints,

Wiliam Egwad was a poet and a contemporary of Iorwerth Fynglwyd. Peniarth 122 states that Egwad was buried in Llanegwad (GIF 30n) but the *marwnad* for him by Iorwerth Fynglwyd would seem to suggest that it was actually in Llanddarog that he was buried (GIF 30:5 – 6):

Llawr cul yw'r wisg yn lle'r clog,

Llen ddu oer yn Llanddarog.

A narrow floor is the clothing instead of the mantle,

A cold black curtain in Llanddarog.

Gutun Owain's *marwnad* for Dafydd ab Edmwnd states that he was interred in Saint Chad's church (GO 62:33 – 34):

Ymddivad wyf am Ddavydd,

Eglwys Siat yn i gloi sydd;

I am orphaned for Dafydd,

He is locked in St Chad's Church;

There is a Saint Chad's church in the parish of Holt which is not far from Wrexham.

This suggests that it is here that Dafydd ap Edmund was buried.

There seems to be little consistency in where medieval ladies were interred with some being buried alongside or in the same church as their husbands while others were returned to the fathers' burial place for their interment. In the case of Catrin the wife of Wiliam Glynllifon, it appears that she was buried in her father's vault in Gloddaith (GGH 85:15 – 16):

F'aeth un o bum gwyddfa'i thad

Egwlys Gloddaith, gloes gladdiad.

One of five went to her father's vault [in]

Gloddaith church, pangs of burial.

Lewys Morgannwg does not state precisely where Marged Bawdrem was buried but rather that she was taken over land and sea for burial (GLMorg 7:31 – 32):

I dre'i thad, wrth ddeheudir,

Yr aeth hon ar fôr a thir

To the town of her father, in the south,

She went on sea and land

A. Cynfael Lake believes that this means that Marged was taken to her father's home at Swansea for burial (GLMorg 7:31 – 2n).

Gwenhwyfar of Pentraeth on Anglesey was buried at Holyhead, some distance from her home according to Gruffudd ap Maredudd ap Dafydd (GGMD iii 5:69 – 72):

Pan aeth (mau hiraeth herwydd trymfryd)

I glaer Gaer Gybi, fro rhi rhoddglyd,

Llun difreg prifdeg yn ôl pryd – gwenwawr,

Llawer llef a gawr uwch llawer lleiryd.

When she went (I had such longing as a result of despondency)

To radiant Holyhead, a land of a lord famous for his gifts,

*[A girl with] faultless complexion rather splendid like the complexion
of a radiant dawn,*

There was much crying and shouting above the open ford.

The fact that her body was transported so far (approximately twenty-five miles on modern-day roads) suggests that the family had close ties with the church at Holyhead. Perhaps, as Ann Parry Owen has suggested (GGMD iii 5n) the family were patrons of the church. The open ford referred to here is that which connects Holyhead island with mainland Anglesey across which Gwenhwyfar was carried to be buried (GGMD iii 5:72n). The poem also tells us that Gwenhwyfar was buried in the chancel of the church (GGMD iii 5:24 and 48), in an oak coffin (GGMD iii 5:84) and in a grave made from stone (GGMD iii 5:9).

The body of Gruffudd Carreg of Carreg must have been transported over the sea for burial as Lewys Daron suggests he was buried on Bardsey Island (GLD 7:23 – 26):

Dwyn gŵr, diwyno'i geraint,

Doe'r ai sêl i dir y saint.

Oes blas a'm ysbeiliai i?

Oes, unllwybr Ynys Enlli.

Taking a man, defiling his kinsmen,

Yesterday he of great ardour went to the land of the saints.

Is there a place which robs me?

Yes, the one path to Bardsey Island.

Legend states that twenty thousand saints are buried on Bardsey Island and the remains of an Augustinian abbey can still be seen on the island (Bardsey Island Trust). It could be that Gruffudd Garreg was a patron of the Augustinian canons or that perhaps he felt that having twenty thousand saints alongside him would benefit him on Judgement Day.

In his marwnad for Einion ap Gruffudd of Llechwedd Ystrad, Guto'r Glyn notes that he was buried in 'Pennant' (GG.net 42:25 – 26):

A Phennant i gorff Einiawn

Oedd wyddfa lwys ddeddfol iawn,

And Pennant for Einion's body

Was a very rightful beautiful burial place,

Here, Pennant is Pennant Melangell, quite some distance from Llechwedd Ystrad which is near Llanuwchllyn, Merionethshire. However, it seems that other members of his family had been buried there (GG.net 42n).

It was quite usual for family members to be buried close to one another which Gruffudd Hiraethog notes to be the case with Morys ab Ieuan of the Waun (GGH 80:23 – 26):

Yn y fan y mynnai fod,
A ddewisodd i'w osod:
Tir fynwent daer Feuno,
Wrth hir fedd ei ewythr fo.

*In the place where he insisted on being,
Where he chose to be placed:
The cemetery's land of Beuno's earth,
Beside the long grave of his uncle.*

5.2 The Macabre in Late Medieval Welsh Poetry

There is only a small corpus of Welsh poems containing macabre images and it seems to be limited to just a few poets. Predominantly, such poems were composed by poets of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries though there is a hint that perhaps there was some interest in macabre imagery at the end of the thirteenth century in the poetry of Dafydd Benfras. The fact that there are so few would suggest that perhaps such poems may not be representative of the corpus of poems composed at this time. Alternatively, there may not have been a tradition of writing them in the manuscripts as happened with the satirical poetry from the Age of the Princes. What has been preserved is none the less quite vivid in the descriptions of the fate of the body after death. The most detailed description is that by Dafydd Ddu of Hiraddug, composed in the first half of the fourteenth century. His depiction of the rotting corpse of a previously privileged person, with the empty eye sockets and insects crawling over it (Appendix 3.2) has many of the images associated with macabre art and cadaver tombs described above.

Although there are only three poems attributed to the mid-fourteenth century poet Gronw Ddu, the first of these *Awdl benydiol* (Penitential ode) gives a clear view of what the poet considered to be the lot of mankind in this period. The first five lines tells us that no matter how well someone has lived their life, repenting all sins, their ultimate fate is to die. The fate of the body is the darkness of the soil (pridd ein dued [GMBen 11:8]), home will be a cold, black cover of earth (daear dyddyn, duoer duded [GMBen 11:11]); the body's fate is a house of marble (i dir mynor mad yw'r myned [GMBen 11:15]). He states that death comes to us all (y daw angau [GMBen 11:14]) and calls on God to save us from the enemy the devil (Duw ddwywol Naf, dig a ganaf Rhag diawl elyn Duw'n harbed [GMBen 11:21 and 22]). He asks that God defends us should death come from destruction of disease (felly Duw Ren da offeren, y'n differed, o ball heiniau o daw angau [GMBen 11:29 and 30]). The phrase 'o ball heiniau' could be interpreted in several ways. 'Heiniau' is a plural of the word 'haint' which GPC defines as '*any fatal infectious or contagious epidemic disease, pestilence, (the) plague; disease, malady, sickness, disorder; also fig.; spasm of pain, pang, twinge.*' The word 'pall' has two meanings given by GPC: '*failure, a failing, defect, fault, lack, blight, decay, infirmity, destruction, cessation; refusal, denial; ?erroneous, faulty, failing*' or '*cloak, curtain, covering; pall (eccl.); tent, tabernacle; throne, bed of state; also fig.*' Thus, 'o ball heiniau' could be taken to mean the plague. The *awdl* finishes by reasserting the fate of all mankind and how worthless is the body (GMBen 11:36 – 39):

Credaf, y dodaf, ein dwyn (tyddyn – prudd)

I'n pridd wely cyndyn:

Mor wir y daw dir derfyn,

Mor ddielw dymyn delw dyn!

I believe, I say, that we shall be taken (despondent homestead)

To our perverse bed of earth:

So truly comes unavoidable end,

A small thing so worthless is man's form!

A little later than Dafydd Ddu and Gronw Ddu, perhaps the start of the fifteenth century, Siôn Cent produced a number of sombre poems regarding the fate of body and soul after death. In his *cywydd* to the grave, there is a description of the corpse lying in its coffin being food for a toad, an image which resonates with some of the

more macabre cadaver effigies from the period. It is followed by a brief contemplation of its fate after death (GSCent 36:63 – 66):

Llyffant hyll, tywyll yw'r tŷ,

Os gŵyl fydd i was gwely;

Yna ni bydd i'r enaid

Na phlas, nac urddas na phlaid.

Ugly toad, dark is the house,

Because there be a feast for the bed servant;

Then the soul will not have

Neither a palace nor dignity nor succour.

In a *cywydd* which is reminiscent of the Legend of the Three Living and the Three Dead, Ieuan ap Rhydderch's *Ymddiddan a'r Enaid* is a conversation between the corpse and the soul. In this poem composed in the fifteenth century the poet (whose *floruit* was c1390 – c1470) uses the conversation to show that no matter how grand a life had been previously led, the fate of the dead is always the same – for the body to decay and the deceased to be forgotten (Appendix 3.12).

5.3 Grief and Mourning

Perhaps one of the most important, if not controversial, theorists on the attitudes to death was the late French medievalist and historian Philippe Ariès. His more controversial theories on the place of children in the middle ages are considered in the next section; here, it is his more generalised theories on death which will be discussed. Ariès claims that in the early medieval period, European cultures moved away from inscribing graves with the names of those interred, only to readopt the practice in about the twelfth or thirteenth century (1981); it seemed almost as if the dead were being forgotten. However, Ariès notes that the 'conventions involving mourning were scrupulously respected, especially when they involved the person's social status' (1981:325). Ariès describes these conventions as 'ritualised' and as having arisen during the Middle Ages 'when the priests and the mendicant friars, and later the confreres and the poor, took the place of the weeping family and friends in the home, the funeral procession, and the church' (*ibid*). This all seems to suggest that, for Ariès at least, the outward signs of mourning were not an honest

representation of what family and friends actually felt but rather an outward show to meet convention.

In his description of the death of Roland in the *Chanson de Roland*, Ariès notes that though he wept, ‘this emotion was short lived, as was the subsequent mourning by the survivors. It was a ritual moment’ (1974:9). The important point here being the suggestion that the mourning was only a *ritual*. It is a theme that Ariès returns to when he describes death in bed as a solemn but banal event, one which was expected but in which the onlookers followed ‘rituals laid down in custom’ (*op cit* 59). It was, Ariès claims, in the twelfth century that excessive mourning became ritualised, being ‘manifested in the garments and manners’ and having ‘a specific duration precisely fixed by custom’ (*op cit* 66).

Perhaps the greatest contribution that Ariès made to this field of research is that he opened up the subject for debate. He was the pioneer who first introduced the subject of death as a discussion point and having set his stall, others were able to enter into the debate and offer their contributions whether they be to agree with or oppose the views which Ariès expressed. In considering whether the grief exhibited by surviving family and friends of the deceased was ritual or otherwise, the fact is that it existed; individuals in the Middle Ages grieved the passing of the dead, although this grieving may not be obvious because of the lack of evidence that is available to us in the sources which have survived to the present day. Alicia Marchant states that while deaths may be recorded in contemporary records, ‘the emotional terms associated with death and mourning: terms such as sadness, fear, grief, and relief did not commonly appear’ (2014:82). It is, perhaps, the nature of the chronicles which recorded death that are to blame for this apparent lack of emotional response to death. As Marchant goes on to say, the narrative is in a ‘voice that is impersonal and unemotional in style’ and the ‘[h]istorical events were arranged in the narrative sequentially in order of their occurrence, and into discrete paragraph entries’ (2014:84). In essence, the chronicles of events as written at the time are rather like disjointed diary entries, recording often unconnected events in a chronological order and with very little other detail than the actual event itself.

In his analysis of medieval tales of apparitions of the recently dead which had appeared to family or friends of the deceased, Jean-Claude Schmitt contends that this

was likely to be as a result of the deep grief felt by the survivor. He states that they are the result of distress and ‘the desire to forget and the impossibility of doing so’ (1998:9). Recognising that kinship, community and rituals helped provide relief to the bereaved in previous times, Schmitt maintains that sudden death, the death of an unbaptised child or an individual who had not had time to repent fed into the imaginations of the surviving family and friends, creating the imagery of the apparition or ghost (*op cit* 226). Katherine Goodland claims that the lamentations of family and friends ‘is grounded in the belief’ that such grieving ‘assists the soul on its journey through the afterlife’ (2005:10). Thus, it may be that it was felt that the process of grieving may also have been to ensure that the soul of the deceased would feel that those left behind were participating in a ritual for its benefit and not need to return to the family in the form of a disembodied spirit. It may also be as Goodland also asserts, that the process of lamentation ensured that the community would not forget the deceased (*op cit* 11). This may have been especially so when grieving was carried out on a communal basis.

Medieval Welsh society was based on the extended family or ‘clan’ in which all members of the family depended on one another for their well-being as well as for the continued prosperity and indeed survival of the clan. In societies such as these, it has been argued (e.g. Katherine Goodland, 2005:8) that it was women who were the principal mourners at the death of a clan member and that it was generally the closest female relatives to the deceased who lead the mourning. Kristen Mills (2013:2) notes that some medieval sources equate mourning with weakness, suggesting that the ‘manly’ response to death is to exact revenge. In Scandinavian culture, she asserts that open grieving by men was acceptable in some circumstances such as the loss of a leader, but somehow ‘unmanly’ at other times such as the death of a wife (*op cit.* 5). However, she also suggests that such a broad-brushed analysis has tended to result in ‘the demotion of men’s grief to a position of unimportance as a subject of study’ (*op cit.* 4). Mills goes on to show how mourning by men in this Scandinavian culture may have been more acceptable where the person being mourned was a figure of authority. She quotes the *Fagrskinna*, a twelfth or thirteenth century tale, possibly of Norwegian origin, wherein two kings, Magnús and Hákon are mourned by profuse weeping following their deaths. Following the death of the first of these, the tale relates how ‘over his grave wept many a worthy man’ while after the death of Hákon, ‘his men came back to Kaupangr with the news that people were to go and

receive King Hákon's body, and all the people did so, nearly all of them weeping, because everyone was very fond of him' (*op cit.* 77 and 78).

To what extent any excesses in mourning were (and indeed, are) genuine and to what extent they are part of a ritual expected and possibly enforced by society, it would be difficult if not impossible to conclude. Enright in describing a Chinese funeral which he attended sometime in the twentieth century comments on the way in which the grieving widow apparently attempted to throw herself on her husband's coffin after it had been lowered into the grave (1987:101). The actions of the widow raised the question in the author as to whether she was genuine in her attempt to throw herself into the grave or was she exhibiting what was expected of her by the norms of the society in which she lived. For us in western Christian society, similar societal expectations seem to have existed. Ecclesiastes in the Bible states:

Weep bitterly, beat your breast, observe the mourning the dead deserves for a day or two, to avoid censorious comment, and then be comforted in your sorrow; for grief can lead to death, a grief-stricken heart loses all energy.
(Ecclesiastes 18: 17 and 18)

The implication here being that society expects the surviving family to grieve and to display this outwardly. It is almost as if the Bible is encouraging ritualistic behaviour. However, the same sermon goes on to warn against excessive grief as this can be harmful to the griever:

In affliction sorrow persists, a life of grief is hard to bear. Do not abandon your heart to grief, drive it away, bear your own end in mind. Do not forget, there is no coming back; you cannot help the dead, and you will harm yourself. (Ecclesiastes 18: 19 – 21)

McNamara and McIlvenna are of the opinion that in the medieval and early modern periods, death was seen as an opportunity to learn, to ascertain 'how to better live in this life as well as how to prepare for the afterlife' (2014:10). The depth of the grief felt for the loss of a loved one in medieval society would be impossible for us to understand were it not for the evidence that has been left for us. In fourteenth century Italy, Coluccio Salutati has been identified as one of the prime influences in the development of a new way of expressing grief (Sharon Strocchia and George McClure cited in Naama Cohen-Hanegbi 2014:42 and 43). Salutati encouraged a less outward display of grieving, advocating that a more meditative form of grieving which promotes an acceptance of personal loss is more acceptable.

Memorial effigy tombs became very common throughout Europe in the late Middle Ages to remind the surviving family and friends of a departed loved one though it must be remembered that only the upper strata of society would have been able afford these. Earlier examples of these would have been in the form of incised slabs, often with little illustration and only occasionally with any inscriptions. These tombs became more and more complex with full effigy figures depicting the deceased carved in stone, marble or alabaster. These tombs were occasionally embellished with illustrations of the funeral cortege (as shown in Boase 1972:80), perhaps showing the extent of the loss to society of the deceased for, as Boase states, the tomb of the eldest son of Louis IX of France is a perpetuation of ‘funeral pomp, the mourning for the lost heir’ (1972:81). Full scale effegial tombs with carvings on the chest depicting the mourners were probably the reserve of society’s elite. That of the comtesse de Joigny has an illustration of one of the daughters carved onto it, showing obvious grief (*op cit* 1972:83 and 86) while a memorial for Philippe Pot, Grand Seneschal of Burgundy, has cowed figures carrying the body of the deceased, their heads bent in what may be interpreted as a display of grief (*op cit* 1972:84 and 85).

With the advent of brass plaques later in the period, such memorials became less expensive and therefore available to lower orders in society. Despite their relative cheapness, again these types of memorial were not common-place in Wales. Where such brasses were used, we must not be fooled into thinking that they were always an indication of the grief of those left behind. Some of them were commissioned by the individual commemorated before death; however, testimony from ecclesiastical court records suggest that executors of wills could be at best slow to act and at worst rapacious and hence the wishes may not always have been carried out. Eamon Duffy notes that in some wills from the period the testators were apparently aware that their wills would be subject to the sympathy of the executors, and added clauses which appealed to their sense of justice (1992:350 – 352).

Here in Wales, although not so widely researched as elsewhere in Europe (Biebrach 2010), there are some memorial tombs to be found dating from the mid and late medieval period. They are comparatively few in number and generally on not such a grand scale as those for example found in England but nevertheless contribute a great deal to our understanding of commemoration in Wales. It was also the case that even

though they were less expensive, memorial brasses were not particularly popular in Wales (Lewis 1974). It is to the poetry of the period that we must turn in order to gauge the depth of the loss felt on the death of a loved one as it is this medium which provides so much more insight into the grief felt by those left to mourn. The relationship between a poet and his patron can perhaps be described as symbiotic. The poet relied on the patron for his livelihood; without this, there would be no shelter over his head and no food on his table. For his part, the patron gained renown, enhancing his reputation and, perhaps, feeding his ego. Thus, the question posed is to what extent did the poet reflect his personal feelings in these poems and to what extent was he merely performing his duty? The theory developed by the psychologist Abraham Maslow in 1943 might suggest that the poet's loss was more personal than emotional⁶. With the loss of the patron, the physiological needs of the poet would potentially have not been satisfied, placing the poet at the base of a hierarchy of personal needs, unable to provide for himself or his family. However, while there may be some truth in this it ignores the possibility that a real emotional bond had developed between poet and patron. Where such a bond had developed, it would be expected that genuine grief be exhibited as is seen in some of the *marwnadau* composed.

Dafydd Nanmor shows how deep was his grief on the death of Rhys ap Maredudd, Lord of Tywyn in his *marwnad* (GDN 7:6 – 8)

A gwae fi yn ôl, rhag f'anwyled,
Am nas caf un haf dan hed – yn ateb
Y gwnae Duw'r wyneb gyn druaned!

*Woe is me who is left, since he loved me so well,
As I cannot have him in the course of summer– in answer [to me]
That God made my face so sad!*

The suggestion here is that God has made the poet sad by taking Rhys away from him. Here, the translation suggested by Ifor Williams who revised the original version edited by T. Roberts has formed the basis of the interpretation (Roberts 1923:134 and 135).

⁶ There are many descriptions of this theory such as that which can be found in Beardwell and Holden (1994, p501)

Later, when Rhys's son Tomas dies, the grief of both the poet and Tomas's mother is expressed (GDN 9:25 – 32):

Gwae Farged weled dialedd – i blwyf!
Gwae i blant o'i orwedd!
Gwae Elliw bod i ddiwedd!
A gwae Vallt o gau i fedd!

Mewn bedd yn gorwedd, egored – fo'r nef
I'r naill fab i Farged!
Ag ar ôl, dagrau a red,
Y mab hwnw i'm poened.

*Woe Marged to see vengeance (plague?) – upon the parish!
Woe to his children because of his lying [in his grave]!
Woe Elliw that his end has come!
And woe Mallt because of the closing of his grave!*

*He lies in a grave – let heaven be open
To one of the sons of Marged!
And it was after, tears which flow,
That son that I was tormented.*

The torment to which Dafydd Nanmor refers is likely to be the pain he felt following the death of Tomas. The meaning of the word 'dialedd' is discussed in 4.1 above.

Deio ab Ieuan Du expressed a similar grief following the death of Rhys of Tywyn in his *marwnad* for the same subject as Dafydd Nanmor (GDID 4:13 – 16):

Duw oll Ef aeth â'm dillad
A thorri 'nhŷ a thre 'nhad;
'Y mhoeni i'm hoyw ynys,
'Y 'sbeilio, 'nhreisio, dwyn Rhys.
*God almighty He took my clothing
And destroyed my house and my patrimony;
Torturing me in my joyful realm,
Robbing me, ravaging me, taking Rhys*

Perhaps here it is the fact that Rhys was such a generous patron that is being mourned rather than the loss of the man himself.

In lamenting the loss of Tomas Fychan ap Tomas, Lewys Glyn Cothi makes reference to the fact that all the poets mourned his passing. There is, perhaps, a suggestion here that it is the patronage of Tomas or the loss of a leader that they were mourning rather than the man himself (GLGC 77: 53 to 56):

a'r gŵr yn y nef yn drugarog,
a'r beirdd od ydiw'n brudd dawedog,
a Dusul a'i ceidw dywysog – ein bro,
a'r fro'n ei gwyno a phlwyf Gwenog.

*and the man in heaven is merciful,
and the poets assuredly are earnestly sad,
and Tysul will guard the prince – of our land,
and the land laments him and the parish of Gwenog.*

It is probable that the 'man' referred to in the first line is God or Jesus as he is described as merciful, though it could refer to Saint Tysul. Lewys states that Saint Tysul is looking after Tomas – this could be an oblique reference to a saint interceding on behalf of his soul. The parish of Gwenog likely refers to Llanwenog which is not far from Llandysul in Cardiganshire.

For Gutun Owain also, there is the suggestion that it is the loss of patronage that may be the cause of the poet's grief following the death of the Abbot Siôn of Valle Crucis (GO 23:1 – 6):

Doe'r oedd dros dayar weiddi:
Dwyn Nvdd yn abadav ni!
Diwedd a briw val Dydd Brawd,
Duw, arnom vu'r diwyrnawd.
Dwyn Siôn, athro haelioni:
Duw ddoe a'm dideodd i.

*Yesterday there was across the earth crying:
Taking the Nudd of our abbots!
An end and pain like Judgement Day,
God, was this day for us.
Taking Siôn, the teacher of generosity:*

Yesterday God rendered me homeless.

A similar message is expressed by the same poet following the death of Siôn Trefor Hen (GO 36:7 – 8):

Doe'r aeth y meistrolaeth mav,
Dvc v'annedd Duw, gwae vinnau!
*Yesterday went my patronage,
God took my abode, woe me!*

It is rather a mixed message with the death of Elisau ap Gruffudd ap Einion as Gutun Owain firstly says that the local area mourns him deeply but then comments on the fact that the poets also grieve his passing. Again, is this the loss of patronage which is being mourned or is it Elisau himself? (GO 43:23 – 24):

Gwyddelwern yn gwayddolef,
Gwaed a wyl beirdd gwedy ef:
*Gwyddelwern is suffering misery,
The poets cry blood for him:*

However, Gutun Owain then goes on to show compassion for the grieving widow (GO 43:37 – 40):

O Dduw! Oer, o'i ddayarv,
Kwyn kolled i Vargred 'vv:
Dwyn i gwr dan y gweryd,
Dydd o bwys, diwedd y byd!
*O God! Because of his internment, sad
For Margred was the grief of his loss:
Taking her husband under the soil,
A burdensome day, the end of the world!*

It is the death of both father and son that caused Gruffudd Hiraethog's grief in his *marwnad* for Gruffudd ap Robert Fychan of Talhenbont. Again, there is mention of the patron's generosity which the poet will now lose (GGH 69:24 – 28):

Doeth i'm oes dau adwyth mawr:
Un fu ddwyn – i nef ydd aeth –
Ei aer, gwrol ragoriaeth;
Heddiw'r ail, hawdd yr wylwn,

Hydd hael, am ddyhuddo hwn.

There came to my life two great misfortunes:

One was taking – to heaven he went –

His heir, exceedingly valiant;

Today the second, easy that we weep,

A generous stag, for burying him.

The reference to two great misfortunes would suggest that the son of Gruffudd ap Robert had died before the father.

Although writing some 400 to 500 years after the period under consideration in this study, John Bowlby identified the second stage of grief as being characterised by ‘persistent yearning, searching, intense pining intermittent hope of recovery of the lost object, disappointment, anger, weeping, deep and pervasive sadness’ (quoted in Bruce and Schultz, 2001:20). These are all symptoms exhibited to some degree in the extracts quoted in this section and so would seem to suggest that the feelings expressed by the poets were feelings that they genuinely felt themselves or are at the very least a reflection of the feelings felt by those around them. This in turn suggests that the poems were composed with the intent of meeting an emotional need of the poet and/or the wider community of the deceased. This, of course, is not something new. Nicole Laraux’s belief is that the mourning exhibited by women of fifth-century BC Greece for dead spouses or sons was not a personal outpouring of grief but rather grief for the loss of the king and the power that went with him (cited in Mills 2013:12). In some respects, the scene described by Pádraig Breatnach in an Irish fifteenth-century poem shows some resonance with this. In the poem, the poet is lying on the grave ‘competing for position there among a throng of mourners that includes territorial status-holders, member of the deceased’s household, other poets, but above all a crowd of keening women who cry out, clap hands, trample on the freshly-turned clay and shed their tears on the tombstone’ (cited in Mills 2013:59).

Lamenting the loss of Roger ap Llywelyn, the fourteenth century poet Yr Ustus Llwyd mentions that the lamenting was great, suggesting that the loss of Roger was felt by the whole of the community of which he was the leader (GMBen 19:5 – 6):

Gruffudd arfer Roser, rwysg Cymro, - cwyn uthr

Can ethyw mywn maendo;

Roger of the custom of Gruffudd, a mighty Welshman, - great the lament

Because he has gone under the roof of a stone;

Although only two lines from the *englyn*, they clearly show that there is great feeling of grief for Roger who is now in his grave ‘under a roof of stone.’

Similarly, Gruffudd ap Maredudd notes the great sense of loss felt by the wider community on the death of their leader in his *Englynion Marwnad Goronwy Fychan ap Tudur*. Here there is also a mixture of praise with grief (GGMD i 7:9 to 12)

Bu dygn (bid ogyrch dolur
Am fleiniad gwengad gwingar)
Boddi draig, beiddiad ragor,
Baedd yn aer, byddin eryr.

*Exceedingly painful (may there be a circle of grief
Because of the wine-loving leader of a great army)
Was the drowning of a dragon, the excellence of a challenger,
A boar in battle, the army's eagle.*

The ‘drowning of a dragon’ refers to the fact that Goronwy Fychan drowned while in Kent.

In the *marwnad* to Gruffudd ap Madog ab Iorwerth of Llechwedd Ystrad, the poet Madog Dwygraig praised Gruffudd as a stout defender against the English forces. His burial in the Cistercian abbey of Valle Crucis near Llangollen was a time of grief for the whole family. The poet also uses the phrase ‘three myriads’ to convey the number of people who mourned the passing of Gruffudd, i.e. that it is not just the family but the whole community which mourns his death. There is also reference in the poem to the fact that he was buried along with his shield and spear which were placed above his tomb. This was common practice during this period, a fact which Gresham noted in his analysis of north Wales tombs (GMD 2:9 – 12):

Gwedy yng Nglyn Egwestl, gwydn och – gyfarwydd,
A llif am arglwydd a llef mawrgloch,
Gwelygyrdd trimyrdd, tromoch – o’r golled,
Gweled ei darged a’i lafn durgoch?

Now we have seen in Glyn Egwestl – a familiar sad sigh,

*And a flow [of tears] for a lord, and a great bell's
exclamation,
Three myriads of families, a heavy sigh – from the loss,
His shield and ruddy steel blade?*

Following the death of Gwilym ap Gruffudd of Penrhyn, the poet Rhys Goch Eryri claims that there was great weeping when the body was laid to rest, again suggesting that the grief was felt in the wider community (GRhGE 3:73 – 74):

Pan aeth ef, mawr fu'r llefain,
I gôr dan fedd mynor main,
*When he went, great was the weeping,
To a choir under the marble stone grave,*

When Sir Roger Fychan of Tretower died, the poet Huw Cae Llwyd claimed that the grief following his death was felt throughout the land (GHCLl 26:1 – 4):

Troes Duw lef, trist wylofain,
Trwy fôr, trwy ddaear, trwy fain,
Trwy rwndwal y tair talaith,
Torri pen a nen ein hiaith.
*God turned a wail, sad lament,
Through sea, through land, through stones,
Through the foundation of the three provinces,
Cutting off the head and roof of our people.*

'Y tair talaith' or three provinces in this quotation would refer to the three ancient kingdoms of Deheubarth, Gwynedd and Powys. It is evident here that Huw Cae Llwyd laments Sir Roger Fychan's loss as the head of the land.

On the death of Hywel ap Goronwy of Hafod y Wern, the whole of the land of Maelor which was struck down as if by the Day of Judgement (GO 44: 3 – 8):

Briwyd llawr Maelawr y medd,
Bwriwyd enw bro dwy Wynedd:
Bwrrw Howel a'n brywhaodd,
Baner yr haelder a'r rrodd;
Dâr a grynodd dir Gronwy,
Dydd y Varn onid oedd vwy?

*The land of Maelor [rich] in mead was wounded,
The name of the two lands of Gwynedd was struck:
Striking Hywel wounded us,
The banner of generosity and the gift;
The oak of Goronwy's land trembled,
Was it not greater than Judgement Day?*

In the *marwnad* for Siôn ap Madog ap Robert of Maelor, Gutun Owain claims that in taking Siôn, God had dispossessed everyone such that it was akin to Judgement Day for them (GO 51:14 – 16):

Duw Rrên a'n didyai rrawc:
Dwyn keidwad enwoc kadarn,
Diwedd vv val Dydd y Varn.

*Lord God who dispossessed us forever:
Taking the famous steadfast keeper,
It was an end like Judgement Day.*

Lewys Glyn Cothi's *marwnad* for Hywel Goch ap Rhys ap Dafydd is much more straightforward in its message. The poet simply states that there is weeping at the loss of Hywel but that Hywel has gone to heaven (GLGC 179:59 – 60):

Mae wylaw am y milwr,
mae nef yn gartref i'r gŵr.

*There is weeping for the soldier,
heaven is home to the man*

It seems that the poet Lewys Môn was in attendance at the burial of Nest Fechan as he describes the scene in the church along with the display of grief at the funeral. He also refers to crying in every church, suggesting that the loss was felt widely and showing that the loss of a woman could affect the community as much as that of a man (GLM 24:13 – 16):

Cwyn mawr bod elawr heb dolian,
gweiddi pan guddiwyd Nest Fechan.
Caergybi, côr ag uban;
cwyr ymhob lle, cri 'mhob llan.

Great mourning that there is a bier without stinting,

crying when Nest Fechan was hidden.
Holyhead, a choir of wailing;
Wax everywhere, crying in every church.

When Sir Roger Salisbury of Lleweni died, the poet Huw ap Dafydd ap Llywelyn ap Madog quite simply stated that there was great sorrow throughout the world on his passing (GHD 12:1):

Mawr wae'r byd am ŵr âi i'r bedd!
Great is the world's sorrow for a man who went to his grave!

After the death of Siân Stradling, Lewys Môn claims that it was as if the world had lost a leader and that Judgement Day could not come soon enough (GLM 40:85 – 86):

Byd heb ben bod heb honno:
bid Dydd Barn, boed heddiw bo.
A world without a head it is without her:
that it would be Judgement Day, let it be today that it is.

The sixteenth century poet, Gruffudd Hiraethog, commented on how everyone mourned the death of Hywel ap Siôn ap Dafydd ab Ithel Fychan of Ysgeifiog (GGH 9:3 – 4):

Am oer alaeth mawr wylen',
Am a roed yn nghôr Mair wen.
Because of cold sorrow greatly were they wailing,
For he who was put in blessed Mary's choir.

In some cases, it is the family rather than the wider community which the poets comment on. In several of his poems, Gutun Owain comments on how the widow grieves. For example, following the death of Robert Trefor of Yr Hôb, he says (GO 38:17 – 21):

Trvan oedd Gatrin addwyn
Trosto ddoe; trist yw i ddwyn!
Trais Duw, o hynn trist yw hi;
Tŷ gweddw yw'r plas tec iddi.
Doe o'i thŷ y doeth awen,

Dvrgrys oedd, i dai'r Groes Hen.

*Gentle Catrin was in pity
Over him yesterday; sad is his taking!
God's violence, from this is she sad;
The fair manor is a widow's house for her.
Yesterday, the muse left her house,
It was a steel shirt, to the houses of the Old Cross.*

Similarly, on the death of Dafydd Llwyd ap Tudur of Bodidris, Gutun Owain claims that the death of Dafydd seemed like Judgement Day to his wife, Mallt (GO 41:17 – 18):

Dwyn gŵr a Duw'n i garv
Y'w briod Vallt Dydd Brawd vu:
*Taking a man whom God loves
To his wife Mallt it was Judgement Day:*

In a number of *marwnadau*, there is a deep sense of personal grief expressed by the poet following the death of a friend or of a loved on. The death of the poet Trahaearn Brydydd Mawr, prompted Gwilym Ddu of Arfon to proclaim (GGDT 8:5):

Doeth inni gŵyn o'i ddwyn o'i ddawn – gynnydd,
*Grief came to us because he was taken from the middle of the success
of his muse,*

At the same time, the poet sees that both death and the mourning associated with it is inevitable (GGDT 8:10):

Diau yw angau dagrau digrawn.
Inevitable is death with its copious tears.

For Lewys Môn, the loss of another poet, Dafydd ab Edmwnd, was like Judgement Day to him (GLM 89:1, 3 – 4):

Daear sy gau dros y gerdd:
.....
Dafydd aeth hyd fedd weithian:
diwedd bryd cof, dydd brawd cân:
[The] earth is closed over the art of poetry:

.....

Dafydd has gone into the grave hereafter:

the end of a dear one's memory, Judgement Day upon song:

In the final phrase, 'Judgement Day upon song', the poet is claiming that it is Judgement Day for the poet Dafydd ab Edmwnd or perhaps for the whole of the bardic community.

Perhaps one of the most poignant poems from this period is *Marwnad Lleucu Llwyd* by Llywelyn Goch ap Meurig Hen where the poet is mourning the death of a lover. Though some have claimed that this is a pseudo-*marwnad*, the intensity of grief shown could support the argument that it is a true *marwnad*. In many ways, the depth of feeling expressed in this *marwnad* is similar to that of Ophelia in Shakespeare's Hamlet. This, of course, is a literary expression of grief rather than the grief of a living individual which could support the argument that Llywelyn Goch ap Meurig Hen's *marwnad* is a pseudo one. While we can never be absolutely certain of the veracity of the feelings of the poet, and even if this is not a genuine *marwnad*, the poem shows that the very vivid expression of the depth of grief shown here was considered to be appropriate and legitimate.

Returning to Ophelia, her grief is intensified when she imagines Polonius in his grave, and in so doing, she 'begins the process of separation from the dead and the return to society' (Katherine Goodland 2005:18). It could be here that Llywelyn Goch's poem is a catharsis, releasing his emotions so that he too can re-join his community as he gives vent to the grief of the loss of his love, who, it seems, was married to another

It is unusual for poets of this period to mention a will directly within a *marwnad*. Here, however, Llywelyn Goch ap Meurig Hen specifically states that Lleucu Llwyd's will was that her body be committed to sacred earth, her soul to God and her worldly goods to the 'proud dark man' who, presumably, was her husband. However, it is he, the poet and her lover, who has been left to mourn her (Appendix 3.22).

It is his lover who Gwilym ab Ieuan Hen mourns in *Marwnad Cariad y Bardd* (GDID 22:65 – 66):

Angau a wnaeth ing yn ôl

Un toriad annaturiol:

Death brought anguish following

One unnatural cut:

He goes on to ask God to bring comfort to her soul (GDID 22:87 – 88):

Un Duw 'mhlaid ei henaid hi,

Un wych oedd, yn iach iddi!

One God in support of her soul,

She was noble, farewell to her!

In a *marwnad* to a girl that Huw ap Dafydd ap Llywelyn ap Madog admired, the message seems to be that because she has died, she is no longer obtainable. This is causing the poet immense distress to the extent that the only answer seems to be his own death, upon which he commends his soul to heaven (GHD 23:41 – 46):

Mawr boen yw marw beunydd,

Enbyd am fywyd ym fydd.

Yna'dd wyt ti ar ddianc

A minnau drois yma ar dranc.

Yma fyth, gwen, am na'th gaid,

Wyf ym mhoen, nef i'm henaid!

Great pain is [caused by] death daily,

Perilous for life for me will it be.

There are you about to escape

And I turned here to death.

Here ever, fair maiden, for not having you

I am in pain, heaven for my soul!

The fact that the poet claims that he is grieving so much that death will be his only salvation may be an exaggeration but nevertheless can be seen as a formulaic response to the death of a loved one. Perhaps the point is here is that even if it is an exaggeration, it represents what was deemed acceptable at that time.

A common occurring theme amongst the poets is a biblical reference to floods of tears causing a deluge such as that experienced by Noah. While this may be an exaggeration, the metaphor here is quite obvious and the metaphor of tears causing flooding is one that Eurig Salisbury and Hywel Griffiths have identified as being

commonplace in literature throughout Europe during this period (in Evans *et al* 2013). Salisbury and Griffiths maintain that it is in the work of Guto'r Glyn that the metaphor of weeping causing floods of the scale seen by Noah appears most often. They further state that the *cynghanedd* between 'llif Noe' (Noah's flood) and 'llefain' (crying) became very popular amongst the poets of the fifteenth century (*op cit* 438). One such example of this appears in Guto'r Glyn's *Marwnad yr Abad Rhys ap Dafydd o Ystrad-fflur* in which he quite simply states (GG.net 9:69):

Llif Noe yw'r llefain a wnawn,
Noah's flood are the tears I shed,

In *Marwnad Hywel ab Owain o Lanbryn-mair*, Guto'r Glyn is a little more descriptive of the grief felt, perhaps this time in the wider community (GG.net 40:19 – 23):

Am ei hoedl y mae hedlif,
A môr llawn yma'r â'r llif.
Dŵr Noe oedd daear a naint
I'm hwyneb am ei henaint.
*There is an overrunning flood of tears because of his life,
and the flood is becoming a whole sea here.
The waters of Noah, covering earth and valleys,
were over my face because of his old age.*

The same poet describes how such was the quantity of tears shed for Einion ap Gruffudd, it caused the local rivers to flood as if it had rained on a Biblical scale (GG.net 42:1 – 4):

Dwfr Alwen doe fu'r wylaw,
Dros y glêr Duw a roes glaw;
Dwfr Dulas, Dyfrdwy, Alun,
Dwfr Noe wedi'i fwrw yn un.
*The weeping yesterday was the water of the river Alwen,
God caused rain to fall over the minstrels;
the water of the rivers Dulas, Dee, Alun,
Noah's water all rained together.*

As Eurig Salisbury and Hywel Griffiths have suggested (*op cit*), although three of the four rivers mentioned in this poem do not flow in the area in which Einion ap

Gruffudd lived, the suggestion is that his death had an effect across the people of a much wider area.

The poem *Marwnad Gruffudd Fychan ap Gruffudd o Gorsygedol* opens by declaring that God has taken King Edward IV along with two of his stoutest defenders. He claims that their loss will be felt by all and that the floods caused by the mourning for them will be on such a scale as to demolish houses along with the church.

Furthermore, the rivers Menai and Dee overflow to such an extent that mountains will disappear (GG.net 52:1 – 10):

Duw Rhên dug Edwart Frenin,
Difurio llwyth Deifr a'u llin;
Dug fry gydag ef i'r wart
Dau geidwad deg i Edwart:
Dau athro byd aeth i'r bedd,
Dau gun Deau a Gwynedd,
A phob tref a phawb hyd draw
Am ddwyn Wiliam ddoe'n wylaw.
Am Ruffudd fuchudd Fychan
Y tyr llif y tai a'r llan.
Troes Menai tros y mynydd,
Troes Dyfrdwy oll, trist fu'r dydd

*Lord God took King Edward,
the men of Deira and their descendants are ruined;
he took with him above to the fortification
two fair defenders for Edward:
two of the world's teachers have gone to the grave,
two leaders of the South and Gwynedd,
and every town and everyone yonder
were crying yesterday because of the taking of Wiliam.
For the jet-black-haired Gruffudd Fychan
a flood will demolish the houses and church.
The river Menai overflowed over the mountain,
and the whole of the river Dee overflowed, it was a sad day.*

Guto'r Glyn uses a similar theme in *Marwnad Dafydd Llwyd ap Gruffudd o Abertanad* (Appendix 3.8.1:13 – 16). He then goes on to claim that such is the weeping that the rivers Alun and Severn are flooding, asking whether the Great Flood has returned to the land (Appendix 3.8.1:23 – 36).

In a *cywydd* simply entitled *Marwnad*, Huw Cae Llwyd also uses the metaphor of biblical floods to convey the sorrow felt (GHCLI 39:39 – 40):

Llif Gwy yn fwy'n ei fywyd,
Llyfnu'i gwm llif Noe i gyd.
*The Wye floods more [than] in its life,
Harrowing his valley all Noah's flood.*

Watgyn Fychan was killed in a skirmish in Hereford which occurred at a time of tension between the Welsh and English residents of the town. As a result of Watgyn's death, his kinsman William Herbert had a number of men unlawfully hanged which added to the tensions between the two sides (Hodges, 1989). In his *marwnad* for Watgyn, Hywel Swrdwal uses the biblical metaphor of Noah along with Judgement Day (GHS 23:1 – 10):

Y mae utgorn am Watgyn
A llif Noe a llefain ynn,
A diwedd braint fal Dydd Brawd –
Yn Henffordd mawr fu'n hanffawd.
Mawr o dwrdd ym Mrodorddyn,
Mawr yw poen cant, marw pen-cun,
Cyffro fal diwreiddo dêr,
Corn Duw yn crynu daear.
*There is a trumpet for Watkin
And flood of Noah and crying for us,
And an end to privilege like Judgement Day –
In Hereford great was our misfortune.
A great clamour in Bredwardine,
Great is the pain of a hundred, the death of the chief leader,
Tumult like uprooting a mighty oak,
God's trumpet shaking earth.*

Thus, in this example there is a mixture of floods of tears and anger at the death of the subject.

In mourning the loss of Mabli ferch Wilym, the poet Lewys Glyn Cothi states that such was the weeping that the waters were chin deep (GLGC 59:13 – 16):

Ef aeth ynn hiraeth Noe hen – am y tir,
drymed dŵr ffurfafen;
y dŵr a aeth hyd yr ên
ym mrig wyth ym mro Gathen.

*He brought to us old Noah's yearning – about the land,
so heavy the water of the firmament;
the water which went as far as the chin
at the height of fury in Cathen's land.*

Cathen founded Llangathen in Carmarthenshire, the area with which Lewys Glyn Cothi is associated. Thus, it can be assumed that Mabli lived in or in the vicinity of Llangathen.

The rather exaggerated description of the floods being chin deep is a common feature of *marwnadau* of this period as are what may seem to the modern reader some of the rather humorous descriptions. Huw Meirion Edwards dismisses the claims of others such as Rachael Bromwich that such comments betray the fact that they are *pseudo-marwnadau*. Edwards maintains that rather than being humorous, they are in fact in keeping with the type of metaphors commonly used by poets at this time (1999). It is also worth noting that such exaggerations are not just reserved for male patrons, but also occur in *marwnadau* for female gentry, such as the one that follows for Siân Buckley. This probably shows the high esteem in which female patrons were held and perhaps specifically, the generosity of their patronage in the community.

Lewys Glyn Cothi refers to a deluge and Judgement Day in his *marwnad* for Siân Buckley, bringing in not only the theme of the biblical flood due to the tears that were shed but also that the loss was so great that for the whole of Britain it was comparable to Judgement Day itself (GLGC 229:37 – 38):

Diliw hyd heddiw fu hyn,
Dydd Brawd heddiw i Brydyn.
A deluge up to today was this,

Judgement Day today for Britain.

In the *marwnad* for Sir Thomas Salisbury, Tudur Aled quite simply states that such will be the weeping that all of north Wales will be flooded in the same way that the earth suffered in the story of Noah (TA 10:30):

Bu ddŵr Noe yn boddi'r North

The waters of Noah flooded the North

It is a theme that occurs in a number of Tudur Aled's poems such as the *marwnad* for Morgan ap Siôn ap Hywel Holand of Eglwys Fach (TA 71:61 – 62):

Boddi'r dail ba ddŵr dilyw,

Bu lif Noe, ba lefain yw?

Drowning the leaves, what a deluge of water,

It was Noah's flood, what causes weeping?

A similar image is presented when Elin Buckley, the wife of Robert ap Maredudd ap Hwlcyn Llwyd died with the poet commenting on the loss of such perfection as Elin was (TA 76:79 – 80):

Llif Noe, wedi'r llef, a wnaeth

Am – bu oerffrau – em berffraeth;

Noah's flood, after the exclamation, was made

For – there was cold streaming – a sweet and lively gem;

It is a simple message which Tudur Aled gives on the death of Robert Pilstwn (TA 83:25):

Ai llefain hallt llif Noe hen,

Is there salty (bitter) crying of old Noah's flood,

The death of the parson of Llaneilien, Syr Nicholas ap Huw Elis, inspires a similar response by Tudur Aled, this time suggesting that the lamenting is more protracted (TA 86:5 – 6)

Llyna wylo'n Llan Eilien,

Llefain hwy no llif Noe hen;

There is weeping in Llaneilien,

Crying longer-lasting than the flood of old Noah;

When Tomas Conwy died, Tudur Aled suggests that it is the whole of the community which is affected by the loss (TA 91:5 – 6):

Llif Noe a fu'n llyfnu âr

Llanelwy'n llawn o alar.

The flood of Noah which harrowed the ploughed land

Of Llanelwy full of grief.

The sentiment is similar in *Marwnad Gruffudd Llwyd ap Dafydd Llwyd ap Dafydd ap Robyn o'r Ddol yn Edeirion* with the suggestion that, having been taken by God, such grief was caused in the land as to flood it (TA 97:1 – 3)

Duw a roes lif dros y wlad,

Marw gŵr oedd mawr i gariad;

Trist i hael y troes Duw hon,

God caused a flood over the land,

The death of a man who was loved much;

Sad that God caused this to a generous man,

In an anonymous *marwnad* for Gutun Owain, tribute is paid to him for his skill in poetic grammar and the metaphor Judgement Day along with the biblical reference to the Great Flood are used to convey the depth of the loss felt (GO 67:59 – 64):

Duw! gwae'r beirdd digeirdd di-au,

Dwyn adail holl dwnedau!

Diben ar bob llawenydd,

Dyddbrawd fu ddiwrnawd i ddydd;

Diliw ynn ôl yn dolef,

Duw aeth y'w gowaeth ac ef.

God! Woe the bards without dishonour not gone,

Taking the constructor of all poetic grammars!

An end to all happiness,

Judgement Day was the day of his fate;

A deluge is the consequence of our crying,

God took him to His kingdom.

The Judgement Day theme appears in the work of Lewys Daron. On the death of Gruffudd Carreg he claims (GLD 7:29 – 30):

Dwyn Gruffudd, Duw'n ei graffu,
Dydd Farn ar ei duedd fu.

*Taking Gruffudd, God seizing him,
Judgement Day was on his land.*

This sentiment is repeated in the *marwnad* for William Llwyd ap Morys of Rhiwedog (GLD 23:57 – 60):

Troi Wiliam tua'r elawr,
Tynnu'r Llwyd hwnnw i'r llawr.
Troes isod at ras Iesu,
Troi Dydd Farn trwy'i duedd fu.

*Casting William toward the bier,
Pulling that Llwyd into the ground.
He has gone to Jesus' grace,
Causing Judgement Day throughout his land.*

When William ap Gruffudd ap Robin died, Lewys Daron commented on his piety and love of God and Jesus before going on to claim that the grief felt by his wife was so deep that her crying caused a great flood (GLD 8:59 – 65):

Duw, ei fath ni 'dawai fo,
Duw sydd yn dewis iddo.
Duw wrth enwi diwrthwyneb,
Duw Iesu, ni ad oes i neb:
Dwfr Noe yn difriwio'n iaith,
Dwfr dilyw'n difa'r dalaith.
Doe'r lli a fu'n dryllio hon;

*God, he would not leave his kind,
God who is choosing him.
God, irresistible when he names,
God Jesus, does not allow anyone an indefinite age:
Noah's water injuring our people,
The water of the deluge destroying the region.
Yesterday the flow was tormenting her:*

The death of Siân Stradling, a member of the famous south Wales family was felt from Glamorgan (her home) to Gwynedd (the home of her husband) according to Lewys Daron. Her loss, he claimed, caused ‘torment and wailing’ amongst her family (GLD 10:3 – 10):

Duw, - gwae ni! – digio a wnaeth,
Duw sigodd dywysogaeth:
Dwyn ewig hael dan og-gŵyr,
Dâm Siân, Duw âi â’ m synnwyr.
F’aeth i’n byw, fyth, yn y bedd,
Forgannwg fawr a Gwynedd.
Rhannodd naw rhinwedd y Nef,
Rhyw Stradling; rhoes draw udlef.

*God, - alas for us – he was angered,
God weakened a principality:
Taking a generous doe under a bier with candles,
Dame Siân, God took my wisdom.
She went during our lifetime, forever, into the grave,
Great Morgannwg and Gwynedd.
She partook in the nine virtues of Heaven,
Stradling’s lineage; yonder it gave a tormented wail.*

He then goes on to comment that it was God who took Siân and so profuse were the tears shed that they caused flooding on the scale on that suffered by Noah (GLD 10:43 – 46):

Unrhyw fodd i’n rhyfeddu
Â darn o fôr dŵr Noe fu.
Trist, yn wir, y troes Duw’n iaith:
Troes dilyw trosti eilwaith.

*It was in the same manner to amaze us
As a part of the sea of Noah’s water.
Indeed, God made our country sad,
He caused a deluge across it again.*

While not mentioning Noah, the same poet uses the word ‘deluge’ to convey the floods of tears following the death of Owain ap Meurig of Bodeon (GLD 14:17 – 18):

Bu ddilyw’n boddi elaw
Ban aeth ym Môn bennaeth mawr.
*A deluge drowned a bier
When a great chieftain of Anglesey went.*

On the death of Owain ap Maredudd ap Tomas of Porthaml, Lewys Daron claimed that the whole of Anglesey mourned his passing (GLD 16:15 – 16):

Troes Duw gŵyn, trist i gannwr,
Trist yw Môn trosti am ŵr.
*God caused grief, sad for a singer,
Anglesey is sad all over because of the man.*

He then goes on to claim that such was the grief that the tears shed caused a flood such as that seen by Noah when he was placed in his ‘house of earth and a wall, oak and stones’ as his grave is described (GLD 16:57 – 60):

Llefain a droes llif Noe draw,
Llanidan, llu yn udaw.

Duw a rôl dŷ ar Owain:
Daear a mur, derw a main.

*Crying which caused Noah’s flood yonder,
Llanidan, a host wailing.*

*God who placed a house on Owain:
Earth and a wall, oak and stones.*

Although not mentioning biblical floods nor Noah, Lewys Daron uses the term deluge and refers to the death of Siôn ab Elis Eutun of Rhiwabon as having the effect of the coming of Judgement Day on the people. Siôn’s wife had died about two years prior to him (GLD:27n) and it is with a reference to her death that the *marwnad* opens (GLD 27:1 – 4):

Tyrfau wylo trwy Faelor,

Troes Duw i'ch mysg tristwch mawr:

Torres y tant, treisiwyd hi,

Tynnwyd enaid hon dani;

Thundery wailing through Maelor,

God caused great sadness amongst you:

He cut the harp string, she was taken by force,

Her soul was drawn under:

The poet then goes on to describe the 'deluge' which 'drowned' Siôn's bier, a deluge caused by the grieving of the mourners (GLD 27:11 – 12):

Bu ddilyw'n boddi elawr,

Bwrw sgwier llwyd, braisg i'r llawr.

A deluge drowned a bier,

Striking a strong, pious squire to the ground.

Later in the *marwnad* comes the reference to Judgement Day and the effect that Siôn's death had on the wider community (GLD 27:41 – 44):

Dwywlad oll, o daliwyd un,

Doe diwreiddiodd Duw drwyddun:

Dwyn gŵr, a Duw'n ei garu,

Dydd Farn ar ei duedd fu.

Two lands completely, if one was seized,

Uprooted throughout yesterday by God:

Taking a man, and God loves him,

Was Judgement Day upon his land.

Finally, in line 67 of the *marwnad*, the poet tells us how he himself 'grieved greatly.'

The themes of Judgement Day and the Deluge continued into the sixteenth century with poets such as Matthew Brwmffild, Lewys Morgannwg and Gruffudd Hiraethog. The *marwnad* for Hywel ap Dafydd ap Meurig Fychan of Nannau by the first of these poets shows how the poet himself mourned the loss of the subject (GMBR 10:41 – 46):

Doetha' gŵr, Duw aeth ag e',

Ac o'i fyned gwae finne,

Diben ar bob llawenydd,

Dydd Brawd oedd ddyfawd ei ddydd.

Dilyw yn ôl, gwn dolef,

Duw aeth i'w gywaeth ag ef.

*Wisest man, God took him,
And with his going woe myself,
The end of all enjoyment,
The coming of his day (i.e. death) was Judgement Day.
A deluge followed, I know grief,
God took him into his authority.*

In a *marwnad* composed by Siôn ap Hywel to commemorate Tomas Pennant, the abbot of Basingwerk, the poet claimed that the pain felt by Pennant's death would last until the Day of Judgement (GSH2:6):

Drwy gof hyd Dydd Brawd âi gŵyn.
Through memory until Judgement Day the lament would last.

When Hwmffre Cinast died, the poet Siôn Ceri referred to the floods of tears on a biblical scale shed to mourn his death, using a line identical to that of Lewys Daron quoted earlier (GSC 26:38):

Llefain a droes llif Noe draw.
Crying which caused floods of Noah yonder.

On a more personal note, the poet also expressed his own grief (GSC 26:54):

Duw – gwae finnau! – dug f'annwyl.
God – woe is me! – took my dearest.

Widely felt grief seems to be the message in Raff ap Robert's *marwnad* for Robert Salisbury of Y Rug (GRR 3:1 – 2):

Doe fu'r ail, dyfu wylaw,
Dyrnod a roes dŵr Noe draw.
*Yesterday was the same, grief came,
A blow which give rise to Noah's water yonder.*

It is the wife of Siôn Salisbury who weeps floods of tears in Raff ap Robert's *marwnad* for this subject (GRR 4:23 – 24):

Llefain o'i braw llif Noe brudd.
Lle annifyr Llanefydd.
Crying because of her shock wise Noah's flood.

An unpleasant place [is] Llanefydd.

The first line of the couplet refers to ‘her’ (‘i’) which in turn refers to Siôn’s companion, Catrin who is named in lines 15 and 16 of the *marwnad*.

Gruffudd Hiraethog’s *marwnad* for Robert ap Rheinallt of Branäs likened the floods of tears following Robert’s death to the flow of blood (GGH 64:1 – 2):

Dirwest wylaw, drist alaeth,
Dŵr Noe’n waed i’r ‘Deirnon aeth,
Fasting from wailing, sad lamentation,
Noah’s water like blood went to Edeirnon,

In the *marwnad* for Hywel Penri of Glan-lais, Lewys Morgannwg stated (GLMorg 60:14 – 15):

Llefain mal llif Noe am ŵr.
Llyna Ddydd Barn aeth arnoch
Crying like Noah’s flood for a man.
That is Judgement Day which came upon you

This particular poet seemed particularly fond of the metaphor of Judgement Day to the extent that it may have become rather clichéd. However, its use may still be seen to express the anguish and grief felt by those left after the death of a loved one. It was a theme quite common amongst the poets of the day, and is reminiscent of the thirteenth century poet Gruffudd ab yr Ynad Coch’s *marwnad* for Llywelyn ap Gruffudd following the latter’s death in 1282 (OBWV 36:63 – 70);

Poni welwch-chwi hynt y gwynt a’r glaw?
Poni welwch-chwi’r deri’n ymdaraw?
Poni welwch-chwi’r môr yn merwinaw – ’r tir?
Poni welwch-chwi’r gwir yn ymgweiriaw?
Poni welch-chwi’r haul yn hwylaw – ’r awyr?
Poni welwch-chwi’r sŷr wedi’r syrthiaw?
Poni chredwch-chwi I Dduw, ddyniadon ynfyd?
Poni welwch-chwi’r byd wedi r’bydiaw?

(Translation by Joseph P. Clancy (2003:173))

See you not the rush of the wind and the rain?
See you not the oaks thrashing each other?

*See you not the sea is lashing the shore?
See you not the Judgement portending?
See you not that the sun is hurtling through the sky?
See you not that the stars have fallen?
Do you not believe in God, foolish people?
See you not that the world is in peril?*

In this particular instance, it can be seen that the poet is not just mourning the death of a loved leader but also that this death has led to the loss of independence for Wales. The reference to Judgement Day by the poets in this study does not have the same portentous overtones for Wales as a nation as that of Gruffudd ab yr Ynad Coch, but is rather constrained to a more localised sense of loss.

After the death of Sir William Matthews of Radyr, Lewys Morgannwg claimed (GLMorg 4:1):

Dydd Brawd Cymru dlawd marw dyledawg,
Judgement Day for poor Wales [was] the death of the noble one,

In the same *marwnad*, the poet goes on to state (GLMorg 4:63 – 64):

Llif Noe ynn yw'r glyn a glannoedd – Meisgyn,
Llawn llyn f'anoddun dros fynyddoedd.
*Noah's flood is [across] the vale and banks – of Miskin,
My deep place is a full lake over mountains.*

suggesting perhaps that it is his tears alone that have caused the lake to flood over the mountains of Miskin. Later in the same poem, Lewys Morgannwg states (GLMorg 4:111 – 112):

Dydd Brawd, cwyn odlawd cenedloedd – drallawd,
Dydd Brawd dyn difrawd, tân a dyfroedd.
*Judgement Day, miserable lamentation of suffering nations,
A rash man's Judgement Day, fire and waters*

When Margaret Bawdrin died, he stated (GLMorg 7:52):

Bu awr drist; Dydd Brawd ar wŷr.
It was a sad hour; Judgement Day on men.

On the death of Siôn Gamais, Lewys Morgannwg says (GLMorg 10:43 – 44):

Dydd Brawd fu'r dynawd ar deyrnwaed – Lloegr,

Dwyn llygad Brytanwaed;

*Judgement Day was the heavy blow on the exalted lord – of England,
Taking the eye of Britain's kin;*

While the death of Arnold Butler was (GLMorg 12:11 – 12):

Diffodd gwaed hoff oedd gadarn,
Diweddu'i ben fal Dydd Barn.

*Extinguishing a favoured blood[line] which was robust,
Putting an end to its head like Judgement Day.*

He expressed similar sentiments on the death of Hywel Penry (GLMorg 60:15) and the stalwart of both Henry VII and Henry VIII, Sir Rhys ap Thomas (GLMorg 63:23 – 24). After the death of the weaver, Rhyddech Dai, comes the declaration that his threads would not 'perish until Judgement Day' (GLMorg 95:20).

Similarly, in his *Awdl farwnad Morys Sainsion* (GLMorg 18:3 – 4):

Ni ddaw arnom ddiwyrnawd
Ond heddiw'n brudd hyd Dydd Brawd.

*There will not come to us a day
But this sorrowful day until Judgement Day.*

Following the death of Sir William Herbert of Colebrook, he claims that the whole of Gwent suffered (GLMorg 34:34):

Diwedd bryd gwŷr, Dydd Brawd Gwent.

The end of the will of men, Gwent's Judgement Day.

The death of Sir William Fychan of Porthaml was likened to a second Judgement Day (GLMorg 52:4):

Diwyrnawd ail Dyddbrawd oedd.

It was a day second to Judgement Day.

When one of the three brothers, Wiliam, Siôn and Trahaearn Morgan died, the poet again likened the event to a second Judgement Day (GLMorg 62:11)

Diwedd un, ail Dydd y Farn,

The end of one, a second Judgement Day,

The heraldic symbol of Sir Rhys ap Tomas was the crow, a symbol which Lewys Morgannwg combined with the Judgement Day theme on his death (GLMorg 63:23 – 24):

Duw, arnynt o'r diwyrnawd
Diwedd y brain fal Dydd Brawd.
God, on them from that day
The end of the crows like Judgement Day.

On the death of Robert ap Rhys of Plasiolyn, it is the horns of Judgement Day which announce his passing (GLMorg 80:1 – 2):

Och Ddydd Farn gadarn â chyrn gwŷs – 'meirydd
Marw Mastr Robert ap Rhys!
Woe Judgement Day steadfast with profound horns – the spokesman
Of the death of Master Robert ap Rhys.

The noun *ymeirydd* is not listed in the GPC but the verb *ymeirio* is with the meaning to speak, to argue. The noun *geirydd* is listed giving the definition as spokesman, talker with the earliest recorded use of this word being at the beginning of the 16th century. This and the fact that Robert ap Rhys died in 1534, would seem to suggest that the definition spokesman is the most likely meaning here; it is also the meaning suggested by Cynfael Lake, the editor of the poet's work (GLMorg 80:1n).

DWB states that Iorwerth Fynglwyd was one of the greatest of the *cywyddwyr* of Glamorgan. His bardic teacher was Rhisiart ap Rhys, the father of Lewys Morgannwg and so the two poets would have known one another very well. When Iorwerth Fynglwyd died in 1527, Lewys Morgannwg's *marwnad* reflects the depth of the loss that must have been felt by the poets of the region. The area 'Tir Iarll' referred to in the following excerpt is in what today would be the area around Llangynwyd and Margam in Glamorganshire (GLMorg 94:23 – 26):

Ba ddyrnod bu ddoe arnom,
Beirdd Tir Iarll? Bu orddod drom:
Diwedd gwawd a oedd gadarn,
Diweddu beirdd fal Dydd Barn.
What blow with the fist was yesterday on us,
Bards of Tir Iarll? This was a heavy blow:

*An end to the verse which was firm,
Finishing the bards like Judgement Day.*

Lewys Morgannwg's bardic career spanned the reign of the English king, Henry VIII. When the monarch died in 1547, Lewys was considered to be the chief of all poets in Wales so it is perhaps, of no surprise that Lewys would compose his *marwnad*. As his patrons included the Herbert family, it is possible that it was commissioned by or on behalf of Henry Somerset, son of Sir Charles Somerset who had married Elizabeth Herbert and was created Chamberlain of the Household by Henry VIII. Alternatively, it could be that Lewys Morgannwg believed that, as chief poet, it was his duty to compose the *marwnad*. The death of a monarch would likely have had a profound effect on the people – whether for good or bad – and so it may be expected that the metaphor of Judgement Day would once again occur in this composition (GLMorg 99:19 – 20):

Bwrw Harri Wyth, briwo'r rhos,
Bore dig, Dyddbrawd agos.

*Striking Henry Eight, injuring a rose,
A morning of grief, Judgement Day nearby.*

As with the *marwnad* for Sir Rhys ap Tomas, the poet again uses heraldic symbolism to describe the man, this time the Tudor rose. Lewys Morgannwg returns to the theme of Judgement Day later on in the *marwnad* (GLMorg 99:45 – 48):

Crynu doe daear cyrn Duw weddïau,
Cyffro'r holl foroedd, cyffro'r holl furiau;
Cyffro blin ydoedd cyffro'r blanedau;
Clywch orddawd Ddydd Brawd, clywch ddiwedd brudiau.

*Yesterday the horns of God's prayers shook the earth,
The seas' commotion, the stirring of all the walls;
The stirring of the planets was a grievous commotion;
Hear the exultation of Judgement Day, hear the end of prophesies.*

The poems quoted above show that it was not just the patron whose death was mourned; several of the examples quoted above were to mourn the loss of a woman of high standing who may well have been seen as responsible for hospitality and providing a generous household (such as that for Siân Stradling by Lewys Daron) or for a loved one (for example *Marwnad Lleucu Llwyd* by Llywelyn Goch ap Meurig

Hen). In these instances, while the family and wider community may well have been involved in the grieving process, it would not have been the loss of leadership which was being mourned. For someone of standing in the community such as Siân Stradling, there may have been a sense of communal loss as it is likely that she would have played a part in the way that the lordship or manor was administered. However, in the case of someone that the poet loved as with the Lleucu Llwyd example, the mourning expressed is of a much more personal nature – it is a showing of grief by the poet himself.

The nature of the language used throughout these examples is similar regardless of to whom the poem is addressed. Individual poets may have had their particular motifs, such as the propensity by Lewys Morgannwg to refer to Judgement Day, but they are consistent in their use of these themes whether the *marwnad* was written for a nobleman, his wife or daughter, another poet or the poet's loved one. A common thread throughout these poems has been that of weeping, whether that be to a degree such to cause floods on a Biblical scale or reference to lamentation. Katherine Goodland states that

[t]he softening and melting effects of tears prepare the mourner for psychic occupation; the transformation and merging of consciousness with the spirit world. Similarly, sorrow and tears create fullness, invoking the presence of the dead (2005:17).

It may have been that it was through the profusion of tears that the grieving described by medieval Welsh poets hoped to connect with their deceased family and friends.

The personal nature of many of these poems also shows that while male mourning may have been considered to be unacceptable in some European cultures, most notably those of Scandinavia (Mills, 2013), this was certainly not the case in Welsh medieval culture. Although there are some women poets whose work has survived from this period, Welsh medieval poetry is dominated by men and in many of the poems quoted above, it is these men who are seen to be mourning and weeping at the loss of the patron, whether this is expressed as a personal mourning or as part of a wider loss mourned by the immediate society and family of the deceased.

5.4 The Child in Medieval Society

In his analysis of the representation of the child – or rather, the lack of the representation of the child – in medieval art, the French historian Philippe Ariès (1960) offers the somewhat remarkable conclusion that parents at this time had little if any emotional attachment to their children. He states that:

[n]o one thought of keeping a picture of a child if that child had either lived to grow to manhood or had died in infancy. In the first case, childhood was simply an unimportant phase of which there was no need to keep any record; in the second case, that of a dead child, it was thought that the little thing which had disappeared so soon in life was not worthy of remembrance: there were far too many children whose survival was problematical (1960:37).

Ariès goes on to claim that when a child died in medieval times, the event was given no more consideration than someone in the twentieth century would give to the death of a pet dog or cat, the body being ‘buried almost anywhere’ (1960:37). He states that tomb effigies for children themselves, rather than on the tomb of a parent, did not start to appear until the end of the sixteenth century, using this to back up his assertion that the death of a child in medieval times would not have been seen as a significant loss.

To many, if not most, parents living in the twenty first century, such statements seem outrageous. However, quoting William of Saint-Thierry (*De natura et dignitate amoris*) and Bonaventure (*Commentarium in Ioannem*), Caroline Walker Bynum concurred with the theory espoused by Ariès that the love for a child is something less than that of the love of a friend or spouse (in Berman 2005). She does not, however, go as far as Ariès in claiming that the parent would not have invested love in the child, but rather notes that, amongst the monks at least, there was a recognition of ‘the bond of child and mother as a symbol of the closeness, union or even incorporation of one self into another’ (1960:40).

During the medieval period, it was quite commonplace throughout Europe for babies of elite families to be sent to a wet nurse and indeed, for them to be brought up within this ‘foster’ family. There is much evidence to support the fact that this practice was also carried out in Wales (e.g. Lloyd 1939:310). It is argued by Ariès that it is likely that this custom would not have been conducive to the development of

a close relationship between parent and child and the death of such a child would have been unlikely to have produced the same intensity of grief that might be expected were the child to have lived at home. Ariès's view was further supported by Hertz, who, in his research into funerary practices in less developed, tribal societies, witnessed a shorter period of mourning for a child than for that of an adult. He claims that 'since society has not yet given anything of itself to the child, it is not affected by its disappearance and remains indifferent' (1960:84). In his analysis of the social reaction to death, Hertz maintains that the position of the deceased within society is of great importance; if the head or chief of a tribe should die, this has the effect of causing 'a deep disturbance in the social body, which has weighty consequences' (1960:49). It has the 'effect of suspending temporarily the moral and political laws which are normally kept in check' (1960:48). This furthers the argument put forward by Hertz that the death of a child, having little effect upon society in general, would mean that there would be no need to mourn its loss, although Hertz concedes that this does not necessarily preclude the parents from mourning.

Nevertheless, others have argued that a bond between parent and child could have been strongly forged even in the disconcerting circumstances of the high risk of early mortality. Christiane Klapisch-Zuber quotes two instances of such deaths in medieval Italy (in Le Goff 1997:303) which in a small way show the feelings of the parents for their dead children. In the first, the parents, noting the death of their child, are recorded to have said that they hoped that God 'has received him with his blessing and with my own.' The second example notes how the family suspected that the wet nurse had suffocated the baby and they request that 'God bless him and our other dead' which suggests that perhaps this was not the first infantile death that this family suffered. It is also suggestive that, despite Ariès's assertions, the loss of a child was felt deeply by the family at this time.

Further evidence of the strong attachment felt toward the child by the parents – especially the mother – can be found by analysis of some of the poems and wood carvings associated with the *Danse Macabre*. In her work on this subject, Sophie Oosterwijk (2009) quotes numerous examples of the loss which the mother must have felt on the death of a child. Chapter five of this work studies this subject in some detail and although the subject of the *Danse* is much wider than just

considering the loss of a child, the general feeling is that, particularly in the German versions of the poems, the sense of suffering by the mother is immense. Although it cannot be ascertained that it is a grieving parent who is responsible for the work produced, it surely must reflect the general feeling within society at that time. In England too there are particularly poignant commemorations of dead children. One in particular serves to emphasise just how deeply the death of an infant was felt by the parents. Sally Badham (2015) describes the window commissioned by Robert Duckett of Suffolk who died in 1534. The window was to include an image of one of his sons who had been stillborn. Badham states that while this image within a window is probably unique in England, 'the depiction of dead babies is not uncommon on tomb monuments' (2015:83). This seems to be contrary to what Ariès argues, as he states that there is little evidence of physical commemoration of those who died at a very early age such as tombs or memorial brasses. This, he suggests, provides further evidence of the lack of loss felt by parents during the medieval period when a young child died. Supporting Badham's assertion and contrary to Ariès's claims, Oosterwijk (2000) provides ample evidence of such memorials throughout Europe, not necessarily in the way of an individual tomb for a child but in carvings on the parents' tombs. These carvings depict figures in swaddling clothes, a depiction termed a chrysom, and the belief is that they depict a child who died in infancy before the parent. One such example in Wales is to be seen on the tombs of Thomas and John White in St Mary's Church, Tenby. Both of these tombs contain a panel which show three figures lying side by side and each wrapped in a sheet. These figures have been described as being representations of three children who died before both of the fathers (Oosterwijk 2000:57). However, as Oosterwijk points out, these carvings lack the usual banding which is seen on chrysom figures and as both Thomas and John White married twice, it may be that the recumbent figures represent the husbands with both of their wives.

In order to give deeper scrutiny to Ariès's claims, the age at which a child passed into adulthood in the medieval period needs to be considered; a problem which is quite difficult to ascertain. Phillipe Ariès would appear to be of the opinion that the term childhood was used during medieval times to denote a period in the development from birth into adulthood, the child itself was seen as a 'miniature adult' (Ariès 1960:32). In Welsh Law which probably dates in written form from some time in the twelfth century, a child of seven 'who goes under the priest's hand'

(Pryce 1993:60) may swear an oath before God. This would seem to imply that once a child had reached the age of seven and been confirmed into the Christian faith, then he bore some responsibilities of an adult. This is a view which seems to be reflected in other medieval literature for as Shahar has pointed out (1990:3) the dominant opinion amongst authors of the period was that a child should be treated 'with tenderness and not burdened with excessive demands' during this time. In fact, in the section of Welsh Laws which deals with inheritance, it is at the age of fourteen that the fate of the goods of a boy who dies is decided (Pryce 1993:114). Thus, for purposes of inheritance, in Wales at least, it is at this age that a boy moves into manhood. It was also at the age of fourteen that boys could marry, while girls were allowed to gain possession of their goods at age twelve which allowed them to marry at this younger age (Lloyd 1939:289).

Ariès further argues that the period of development termed childhood was of so little importance that it was not deemed worthy of recording what happened during it. Furthermore, when a child died, he asserts that medieval thinking was that the child had died so soon in life that it was not worth remembering; that all attention had to be placed on any surviving children (1969:36). The fact that mortality rates amongst the new born were high at this time is well recorded. Hollingworth (1957) noted that during the period 1330 to 1479, 36 per cent of boys and 29 per cent of girls born into ducal families in England died before reaching their fifth birthday. Though accepting that medieval attitudes toward children are 'open to evaluation', Jacques Le Goff concurs with Ariès that medieval parents did not value their children highly, but rather from the standpoint of what they were to become on reaching adulthood (1997:16 and 17). Quoting Lawrence Stone, Will Coster rejects the thesis that 'it was rash for parents to get too emotionally concerned with creatures whose expectancy of life was so very low' (in Gordon and Marshall 2000:267). Although he accepts that there is evidence of a depth of relationship between parents and their young children, he nevertheless asserts that it may have taken some time for a very deep bond to develop between a parent and child and thus there was not such a deep sense of loss at the death of very young children. He rather contradicts this assertion later on (*op cit* 286) in quoting medical research which has shown the depth of grief felt by modern parents at the death of a very young child. He equates this grief with the way that medieval parents arranged the baptism of their children as quickly as possible so as to ensure that should they die they would not be condemned to an

eternity in Limbo. He claims that medieval parents found some solace in this rapid baptism.

Shulamith Shahar (1990:1) insists that with regards to medieval parents and their very young children, 'Ariès and his disciples chose to ignore' that these parents devoted, and indeed were ready to devote, considerable time and effort to their offspring so as to ensure their survival. She bases this assertion on what she calls 'immutable and universal elements' which social conditioning would have instilled in the parents. She accepts that there was a high fatality rate amongst very young children in the Middle Ages because of the limited medical skills available at that time. Shahar (*op cit* 37) also points out that it was often the case that childless couples appealed to saints and vowed to go on pilgrimage if the wife was to become pregnant, claiming that there are a number of descriptions in medieval literature describing the joy of such parents when a child is actually born. This being the case, then surely it must also be the case that the children would be wanted and that the parents would invest emotionally as well as financially in their development into adulthood.

In analysing the emotional involvement displayed in poorer areas of the world in the twentieth century where childhood fatality rates still remain high – especially amongst the very young – Shahar (*op cit*) claims that medieval parents would have acted in a similar vein. This, of course, is a very difficult argument to prove; it is impossible for us in the twenty-first century to state with any degree of certainty exactly what the emotions of our medieval ancestors were. The best that we can hope to do is to analyse the literature of that period and interpret as best we can what we believe to be their reaction to the sudden death of one so young. Christian Klapisch-Zuber notes how, when his ten-year-old son died in 1406, Giovanni Morelli exclaimed that he 'could never have thought that God having divided me from my said son [and having him] pass from this life to another could have been for me and is such a grievous knife' (in Le Goff 1997:303).

Shahar (*op cit*) further argues that although there is some evidence that medieval society itself may not have had a high regard for children, as evidenced by the reservation expressed by some in the church to bringing children into the world, this does not prove *per se* that parents were not emotionally attached to their offspring.

In fact, it might even be concluded that it is the religious writings that have clouded the judgement of Ariès and his followers. In much religious prose from the Middle Ages, which was influenced by the teachings of Saint Augustine, asceticism and in particular chastity is seen as the ideal. While children may have been seen as a source of happiness, it is claimed that this joy is derived through the pleasures of the flesh and thus Satan himself. As Shahar has shown (*op cit*:10), some medieval authors depicted children as a source of sin, with parents neglecting their devotional duties such as alms-giving and the paying of tithes and even starving themselves in order to ensure the survival of their children. In fact, even Augustine recognised that after baptism, a child was now innocent. Despite what is a rather negative attitude toward children exhibited by them, even for these pious medieval authors, infanticide, even of a handicapped or illegitimate child, was considered a mortal sin. In her analysis of commemoration of children in Poland, Labno (2011) claims that there are cultural attitudes which should be taken into consideration when interpreting that which was written about the death of children in medieval times. In the first instance, inheritance law should be taken into account. Poland at this time allowed for an equal inheritance between all children, going one step further than contemporary Welsh Law by including girls in this inheritance. In countries such as England and France which had the law of primogeniture, the first-born son would have been seen as the most important child. If a younger sibling died this may not have been of such significance to the wider feudal society and therefore may not have caused as much attention within the community as the death of a first-born son. However, this does not mean that the family itself would not have grieved. As Labno goes on to argue, there could have been a cultural/societal pressure imposed on the family by the wider religious community to contain their grief as witnessed in some modern-day societies (*op cit*:137) and in early modern American and English Puritan communities (*op cit*:138). Labno goes further saying, even today family structures are influenced by society and even governments promote their own ideas of 'Family Values' (*op cit*:139); the situation could have been similar in previous times so that even though the family may have grieved at the loss of a child, society taboos may have prevented a public showing of this grief.

Labno's study is mainly a comparison between practices in Poland and those practised in England in the sixteenth century. She states that commemoration of a child after death in Poland was quite commonplace, but then goes on to make a

rather sweeping generalisation that ‘there was no such genre of child commemoration elsewhere in Europe at that time’ (*op cit*:148). She uses this generalisation to further conclude that ‘children were not so highly regarded *by the societies* (author’s italics) of other European countries’, though qualifying this assertion by accepting that it does not preclude personal mourning for the death of a child (*op cit*:148). As the evidence from Wales cited below shows, Labno’s argument may be unduly influenced by the small numbers of monumental memorials to children and has not considered the wider literary commemorations which occur such as the examples found in Welsh poetry of the late medieval period. For, as we have seen in the Welsh context, not all societies relied on a physical commemoration of their loved ones; there may be others such as we see in Wales which rely on literary commemoration. It is also likely that there are cultural differences here; attitudes in Poland were probably different from those in Wales as indeed national differences in attitudes still exist today. Having said that, Labno does recognise that it was often the case that adults planned and commissioned their monuments while still alive; children would not have been in a position to do this and thus this could, in some way, account for the smaller number of commemorative monuments to children (*op cit*:149).

Another problem with the claims put forward by Ariès and others is that it is to a certain extent based upon some possibly dubious anthropological parallels. There is a distinct scarcity of evidence recording the deep grief felt by parents at the loss of a child during the medieval period. However, there are some sources which contradict Ariès’s arguments. For example, in his biography of Giovanni Boccaccio, Edward Hutton notes the deep sense of loss that Boccaccio felt following the death of his daughter who was just five years old at the time. On meeting the young daughter of a friend, Boccaccio is reminded of his own loss, the memory of which brought tears to his eyes. Although there is some uncertainty as to whether a real patient or exemplar was being described, the medieval Italian physician Bartolomeo Montagnana describes the condition of a certain Johannes (or Giovanni) of Milan following the death of his daughter. The way in which he dressed and appeared in public made a marked change (quoted by Cohen-Hanegbi 2014:38). Naama Cohen-Hanegbi also claims that (*op cit* 40):

The grief and mourning of parents who had lost their children was an obvious concern in late medieval society. Miracle narratives and saints' inquests disclose how parents in despair over their dead children were ultimately consoled.

During the same period in Wales, there are a number of *marwnadau* written by poets of some considerable note following the loss of their own children or the children of their patrons. Dafydd Johnston (1993) has argued that the Black Death may have been a catalyst for this outpouring of grief. Although childhood mortality rates were very high in medieval times, when the plague struck, it was often the case that whole families would be wiped out in a stroke. Johnston argues that this would have led 'to a sense that family life itself was under threat, and with it the survival of the human race' (*op cit* 26). As Johnston further asserts, this is likely to have caused parents and the community at large to have felt the loss of a child more keenly although there is the counter-argument in the context of such wholesale loss of life the loss of one child may have been felt less keenly.

In his book *Galar y Beirdd / Poets' Grief* Dafydd Johnston examines the response of eight medieval Welsh poets to the death of one or more of their offspring. Of these eight poets, the *floruit* of five was the period between 1300 and 1550 and, although Dafydd Johnston discusses these poems in his book, it is felt appropriate that further consideration be given to them in the context of this particular research. Since *Galar y Beirdd / Poets' Grief* contains translations of the poets' works into English by Dafydd Johnston, these translations have been used in the analysis below. The poem by Gwilym ap Sefnyn is one of those which were sampled from the manuscripts at the National Library of Wales. The text for this was transcribed from the manuscripts P121 163; M148 347; M160 346; Ll118 146; P198 190 and M146 484 and used for comparison with that provided by Dafydd Johnston.

Despite the uncertainty expressed by Dafydd Johnston (2009), Barry Lewis argues that in all probability the poem *Haint y Nodau* was written by Llywelyn Fychan of Ceredigion (GMBen At 1n). GPC defines *haint* as 'any fatal infectious or contagious epidemic, pestilence, disease, (the) plague' and *nodau* is the plural on *nod* which GPC defines as '(usually in pl.) (bubonic) plague, bubo.' Thus, as the title suggests (The Pestilence of the Plague or Buboes), this poem is a description of the effects of

the Black Death on the author and his family. The first part of the poem is a complaint to God that He has caused this terrible disease to befall mankind. Llywelyn Fychan then goes on to list the children who died, expressing his grief for each of them in turn (Appendix 3 21:21 – 34). The ages of the children are not mentioned here, but it is quite likely that they were relatively young, especially the second of the sons named Ieuan who is referred to as ‘everyone’s favourite’. What is apparent from the tone of the poem is that Llywelyn Fychan loved his children deeply and that he was distraught at their loss. This along with the fact that he differentiates his children, describing their characteristics in turn would dispute Ariès’s assertions. As regards the fate of the souls of these children, in the final part of his poem, Llywelyn Fychan seems to lay the blame for their death on God and asks Him that He takes them into His care (Appendix 3.21:73 – 90). In the final lines of the poem, Llywelyn Fychan is asking that God recompense the loss of his children by bringing him peace of mind and aiding him in his understanding of that loss.

The case of the poet Gwilym ap Sefnyn was particularly sad, with ten of his children dying. As Dafydd Johnston (1993:68) has pointed out, this seems to have been a particularly popular *marwnad* as so many copies of it have survived, and it seems that there are variations between each copy of it. Gwilym ap Sefnyn starts the *marwnad* with an expression of how deep is his grief, comparing it to that which Adam must have felt on being expelled from Eden (Appendix 3.9:5 – 10). As with Llywelyn Fychan, Gwilym ap Sefnyn tells us a little about each of the children who have died (Appendix 3.9), giving descriptions of each individual, which again would counter the argument put forward by Ariès. In several copies of this poem, only one son named ‘William’ is recorded, though the copy used by Dafydd Johnston notes a William and a Gwilym. As Gwilym is the Welsh form for William, this could be the same person with the variations used to fit in with the requirements of *cynhangedd* (Ann Parry-Owen, pers.corr.) or it could be two separate sons. If the latter, then it seems unusual to have one son named after the English convention when all other children have Welsh names. It was not unusual for a child to be given the same name as a much older sibling or a sibling who had already died, so either could be the case and indeed all the manuscript versions refer to two Gruffydds. If indeed William and Gwilym are one and the same, there would be nine children named and it should be noted that although Dafydd Johnston entitles this poem *Marwnad i’w Ddeg Plentyn* (*op cit* 62) or *Elegy for His Ten Children* (*op cit* 63), most of the

manuscripts give the title as *Marwnad i'w Blant* (Elegy for his Children). Whether it is nine or ten children that he is lamenting in this poem, he names them all and from the brief description he gives, we can ascertain that there is an extensive age range from the sons who were soldiers (Hywel and Iorwerth Gethin) to the probably much younger Robin and Rhys.

The use of the metaphor of a withered tree which no longer is able to produce leaves gives an indication of how deep was the grief felt by Gwilym ap Sefnyn (Appendix 3.9: 39 – 48). Although he does not request intercession on behalf of his children in this poem, he ends it by asking that he be allowed to join them in their heavenly abode so that he may be spared the anguish of living without them (Appendix 3.9: 61 – 70).

Among the most poignant of laments for their children are the two composed by the poet Ieuan Gethin to his son, Siôn and his un-named daughter. It is uncertain what the ages of these children were at the time of their deaths. However, it seems that Siôn was a young boy or infant when he was stricken by the plague as the poet uses the word *mebyn* in this quotation which can mean infant (Appendix 3.13.1:9 – 12). Ieuan Gethin refers to him on two occasions using the diminutive '[g]was' which again suggests that he was still young. However, he also refers to the son as 'gŵr' or man (Appendix 3.13.1:31 – 32). He asserts that Siôn was an accomplished harpist and it was usual in medieval Wales for sons to follow in the footsteps of their poet and musician fathers and learn the craft from an early age. Thus, the use of 'gŵr' may be figurative here.

If the age of Ieuan Gethin's son at his death is uncertain, then that of his daughter is even more so, although the evidence would seem to point to her having reached the maturity of a young woman at the very least. When talking about her, Ieuan Gethin often uses the word 'dyn' which although in modern Welsh is only used to mean 'man', in medieval Welsh could mean 'woman' or 'maiden'. In line 8, he refers to her as 'dyn a gerid' (a maiden who was loved), line 24 'ddyn gwyn' (a pure maiden) and line 42 'ddyn melyn' (golden maiden). However, he also refers to her as 'rhiain' which could mean young maiden or a noble girl and 'geneth' which is certainly girl.

The grief that Ieuan Gethin feels at the loss of his children is very powerfully conveyed; he says that following Siôn's death, that his heart is like ice, his soul is in torment and that his eyes have been worn out by constant weeping (Appendix 3.13.1:19 – 28). His grief following the death of his daughter is, if anything, even more intensely expressed (Appendix 3.13.2:33 – 48). In both cases, he prayed and begged that the children be saved. He prayed to Jesus and Mary for Siôn (Appendix 3.13.1:35 – 42) and later in the same poem he claims to have prayed to Saint David. This may be interpreted as praying to Saint David on behalf of the soul of his son, although the claim that 'ni'm clywai saint' may also suggest that it was for him to be saved from death. However, there is no doubting the final couplet where he asks that his son be granted entry to heaven (Appendix 3.13.1:53 – 58), while for his daughter, he asked that she be restored to him stating that he would first go to Cynin and if that was unsuccessful, to the altar at St David's in order to restore her health (Appendix 3.13.2:77 – 86). Cynin was one of the early Welsh saints and founder of Llangynin near St Clears in Carmarthenshire. There is a holy well with medicinal properties associated with it at St Clears which may be linked to Cynin. The church at Llangynin is dedicated to Saint Cynin and his servants ('ei weision') (Ann Parry Owen, pers. corr.) So intense was Ieuan Gethin's grief that his wife seems to have complained about his mourning and had some advice for him, suggesting that he should drown himself rather than continue to mourn as he does (Appendix 3.13.2:61 – 68). In both cases, there is the suggestion that Ieuan Gethin has prayed for intercession on behalf of the souls of his children firstly for his son to Saint Cynin and then to Saints David and Andrew at St. David's, suggesting their superiority over Cynin (Appendix 3.13.1:53 – 58). On behalf of his daughter, the request is much less ambiguous – it is a request that she may have a place in heaven (Appendix 3.13.2:87 – 90):

Llywelyn ap Gutun's *marwnad* for his son Gruffudd is not as poignant as those studied so far, but nevertheless, the grief which he feels is apparent from his words (Appendix 3.19:53 – 58). He also states that the pain of his loss is so great that he can only weep (Appendix 3.19:33 – 37) and that it was God who was responsible for taking his son (Appendix 3.19:1 – 4).

In the case of Lewys Glyn Cothi, we have a better idea of the age of his son Siôn, when he died as the Llanstephan 7 manuscript states 'Marwnat John y glynn mab V

mlwydd. Lewis y Glyn ei dat ai kant' (*Marwnad* for John [Siôn] y glyn a five-year-old son. Lewis y Glyn his father composed it). The whole of the poem is an outpouring of the grief of the father, recalling his son's favourite playthings and the deep sense of loss which he feels (Appendix 3.15.2). For *cae Esyllt* in line 38 of the poem, GPC gives the meaning as treasured one, literally Isolde's chaplet where a chaplet is a kind of rosary, often strongly associated with Mary.

All of the quotations above are those of poets who are mourning the death of their own child or children. Although the works of only a small number of poets who grieve the death of their own offspring has survived to this day, there is ample evidence from these poems that grief for the death of a young child was deeply felt in medieval Welsh society and there is no reason to suppose that this was in any way different in other countries. In fact, if anything the evidence would seem to suggest that the loss of one (or more) so young was deeply felt by the family; perhaps more deeply felt that the loss of someone whose life had more or less been fulfilled.

As regards how deeply others within the wider society were affected by the death of young children, several examples exist of *marwnadau* composed after the death of a patron's child i.e. by a poet who was not the father of the dead children. Study of these should help shed some light on the wider effect of such a death. One such example is *Cywydd Marwnad Saith o Blant i Ruffudd ap Rhys ap Gruffudd ap Madog Gloddaith a fuant feirw yr un wythnos* (*Marwnad* for the Seven Children of Gruffudd ap Rhys ap Gruffudd ap Madog Gloddaith who died in the same week) composed by Rhobin Ddu. In the *cywydd*, the poet claims that the whole community shares in the grief of the family (GRhDd 6:27 – 35):

Gwaeddodd y bobl ban guddiwyd
 Gwŷdd gwin a llin Robin Llwyd.
 Gwan yw'r Creuddyn ac unig,
 Gruffudd sy' brudd eisiau brig –
 'Gresyn ragorau Yswallt!
 Oedd gri hwn a'i ddagrau hallt.
 Gresyn yn drais, gryn dros gred,
 Gresynach oedd gri Sioned –
 Am ddwyn gemau o ddynion,
The people cried when

*The fair wise lineage of Robin Llwyd was buried.
Weak is the Creuddyn and lonely,
Gruffudd who is sad needs [his] young -
'Grief [for the] excellent of Yswallt'
Was his lament and his salty tears
More grievous was Sioned's cry
For the taking of the gems of men*

The word 'gwŷdd' is translated as 'trees, branches or twigs' by GPC, which also explains that it can be used figuratively for lineage or stock. Rhobin Ddu states that the people lamented when the children were buried; this could be taken to mean the wider society or the immediate family, though he goes on to mention the father, Gruffudd as well as Sioned who it must be assumed was the mother of the children. There is no call for prayers for the souls of the deceased children, but rather a statement or assumption that they are in heaven (GRhDd 6:45 – 46):

Y mab hynaf oedd Ddafydd
I nef ydd aeth ban fu'i ddydd
*The eldest son was Dafydd
To heaven he went when his day came*

And later in the *cywydd* (GRhDd 6:63 – 68):

Un lliw i'n gwlad, un llun glwys,
Un bryd ân' i Baradwys,
Un foddau, blodau o blant
Un feddwl yn Nef fyddant.
Un luniaeth, un oleuni
Un blaid Nef fo'n blodau ni.
*One colour to our land one beautiful picture
At the same time they will go to Paradise
The same pleasure, flowers of children
The same thought to Heaven they will be.
The same providence, one light
One Heavenly group may our flowers be.*

In his *Marwnad Ieuan ap Gwilym ap Llywelyn o'r Petun Gwyn*, there is a suggestion that Ieuan ap Hywel Swrdwal has composed the poem to a young member of his patron's family. In using the word *mab*, the poet is inferring that Ieuan ap Gwilym

was relatively young. GPC gives the definition of mab as ‘boy, son, infant, child, minor, youth’. He claims that Ieuan was taken by the Virgin Mary (GHS 29:23 – 26):

Och Fair wen o’r gylennig
Y calan, truan y trig,
Dwyn y gŵr doniog arab,
Enaid ym oedd yn oed mab.

*Woe blessed Mary of the gift
At New Year, sadly does he dwell,
Taking the gifted gentle man,
A soul [who] to me was a minor’s age.*

As explained in the Methodology section, when quoting from edited versions of the poems, the punctuation suggested by the editor has been used. However, changing the punctuation slightly in the final couplet as follows:

Dwyn y gŵr, doniog arab,
Enaid ym oedd, yn oed mab.

changes the meaning somewhat. Taking ‘doniog arab’ and ‘enaid ym oedd’ to be *sangiadau* describing ‘gŵr’ connects ‘Dwyn y gŵr’ with ‘yn oed mab’ to give the translation ‘Taking the man [who] was the age of a minor’.

Ieuan ap Hywel Swardwal goes on to say that Ieuan ap Gwilym had been laughing and playing which again suggests that he was a young man or boy (GHS 29:31 – 34):

A chwerthin Ieuan f’annwyl,
A chwarae’r oedd dechrau’r ŵyl,
A thrist y’m gwnaeth yr Ystwyll
A chwarae tost, och o’r twyll.

*And laughing was my dear Ieuan,
And he was playing at the start of the festival,
Yet sad was I made at Epiphany
And playing ill, oh the deceit.*

Ieuan, Swardwal claims, was taken ill at Epiphany, though he had been playing happily at the start of the ‘Gŵyl’ which we may interpret here as being Christmas time. The inference is that Ieuan was taken ill and died suddenly while still a young man or boy.

It seems that, after being claimed by God, Ieuan was taken for burial to Capel Hafard which is a chapel within the Priory of Saint John the Evangelist in Brecon (GHS 29:5 – 8):

Trist iawn, myn Pedr, yw edrych,
Torred pen y wlad wen wych,
Ar ôl dwyn, och o'r ail dydd,
Yng nghôr Hafart yng nghrefydd.
Dewiniodd Duw â'i enau
Dwyn yr ail i dynnu'r iau.

*Very sad, by Peter, is seeing,
The head of the excellent blessed land was cut,
After taking, woe the second day,
Into the holy ground of the chancel of Hafard.
God decreed with his mouth
To take the second to pull the yoke.*

However, the poet also makes reference to the fact that Gwenllian will be sad at the passing of Ieuan (GHS 29:37 – 38). Bartrum (1974) records four occurrences of the name Ieuan ap Gwilym ap Llywelyn and of these, one has a close relative called Gwenllian. In this instance, the Gwenllian noted is the wife of Ieuan. If it is this particular Ieuan ap Gwilym ap Llywelyn for whom Ieuan ap Hywel Swardwal composed this *marwnad*, he could not have been a young child. Having said that, there are no children recorded for Ieuan ap Gwilym ap Llywelyn and Gwenllian and therefore it could be that they married at a very young age and that Ieuan died while still very young.

Even if this final poem is disregarded because of the uncertainty surrounding the age of its subject, there still remains a corpus of evidence in Welsh poetry from the period between 1300 and 1550 to show that the death of a child was felt very deeply within Welsh society. The grief felt by the parents has been shown above to be immense, but beyond this, the evidence shows that the local society was also deeply touched when a child died. There are still some who remain swayed by Ariès in the belief that the loss of a child in medieval times was felt little more than that of the death of a pet in modern society. Laqueur states that in societies which have a high

mortality rate among the young, it would be difficult for adults to survive emotionally if ‘they had invested in each new life the passion that we do’ (2015:xii). He tempers this with the acceptance of the evidence which shows that parents in the past mourned their children intensely. This poetic evidence from Wales, together with the evidence of others from other countries of Europe affirms that children were cherished by their parents and by society at large in medieval society and that their loss was deeply felt by the immediate family and the wider society.

6 The Fate of the Soul

6.1 Purgatory

The evolution of the belief in the existence of a physical Purgatory has been outlined in Section 3 which outlines the historical context of this study. As far as references to Purgatory in the work of the Welsh poets of the period 1300 to 1550, they are not very common with only four such allusions having been found in the works of the poets that have been examined. The earliest of these is that by Rhys Goch Eryri in *Marwnad Gruffudd Llwyd ap Dafydd ab Einion Llygliw* (GRhGE 6:89 – 98):

Cedwid Mair, fy eurgrair fydd,
Ffriwdeg enaid ei phrydydd
Yn llaw hoff Dafydd Broffwyd,
Yn y lle rhoir Gruffudd Llwyd
I'w ddwyn dan adolwyn dwys,
Brydydd Mair, i baradwys:
Buan ydd êl, heb ohir,
Pardwn hardd heb burdan hir,
Yng nglân fraint engylion fro
Enaid Gruffudd Llwyd yno.

*May Mary, who will be my golden relic,
Of fair countenance, guard the soul of her poet
In the hand of the favoured Prophet David,
In the place where Gruffudd Llwyd will be placed
To be taken under solemn prayer,
Mary's poet, to paradise:
May he go there soon, without delay,
Through noble pardon without long purgatory,
To the cleansed privilege of the land of angels
The soul of Gruffudd Llwyd.*

The implication here is that, like the prophet David, Gruffudd Llwyd is a favoured poet of the Virgin Mary and that through prayer and the intercession of Mary, Gruffudd's time in Purgatory will be short and he will soon be amongst the angels in heaven.

A little earlier than Rhys Goch, the poet Sefnyn makes what can be interpreted as an indirect reference to Purgatory in *Marwnad Iorwerth ab y Cyriog*. Erwain Haf Rheinallt in the notes to the poem (GSRh 2n) explains that the ‘three forces’ mentioned refer to those who are good and go to heaven, those who are bad and go to hell and those who have to spend time purging their sins in Purgatory. Thus, we have an assertion that it is God who has taken Iorwerth ab y Cyriog to his grave but there is perhaps a suggestion of the ‘dose of misery’ that has to be spent in Purgatory (GSRh 2:11 – 14):

Dycnaf Duw Eurnaf, diwarnawd – dygn fu,
 Du doe gan drillu, dogn o drallawd,
 Dwyn eurwas difas defawd – ddiwecry
 I dŷ dirwely daear waelawd.

*Strictest God, glorious Lord – it was a harsh day,
 Cursed [was] yesterday because the three forces, a dose of
 misery,
 Taking an excellent substantial servant – of unshaken morality
 To the grave’s house [at the] bottom of the earth.*

Two poets who were composing poetry in the middle of the fifteenth century also made reference to Purgatory in their work. The first of these, Hywel Cilan suggests that without the patronage of Dafydd Llwyd, life for the community will be like a living Purgatory (GHC 5:15 – 22):

Purdan ydyw’r llan a llys
 Pioedd ar derfyn Powys.
 Nef fuant yn ei fywyd
 I bawb a geisiodd da byd.
 Bellach, ein rhent a ballodd
 A’n byd heb ddim wrth ein bodd.
 Pawb a êl draw, pobl Droia,
 A’n gwelant oll mewn glyn iâ.

*Purgatory is the church and court
 That belonged to him on the border of Powys.
 Heaven it was in their lives
 For all who aspired for worldly wealth.*

*By now, our benefice has ceased
And our world has nothing to delight us.
Everyone who goes yonder, the people of Troy,
Will see us all in a valley of ice.*

The reference which Dafydd Nanmor makes in his *marwnad* for Tomas ap Rhys is a little less direct and depends on the interpretation of the Welsh word *plaid*. Ifor Williams states that the word cannot be interpreted as the modern meaning of faction as Tomas had died and could not be held prisoner by any such faction (GDN 9:63n). This then leaves a different meaning which is a wattle or lath wall. As Mary will not allow him to be held prisoner within the wall, the wall referred to may then be interpreted as a figurative reference to Purgatory and it is through the intercession of Mary that his time in Purgatory will be reduced (GDN 9:63 – 66):

Ni ad Mair, ni chair yn garcharawr – plaid,
Na rhestio'r enaid, na [rhwystr] unawr.

Pâr di egori, er mwyn gwawr – porth gwyrrh,
Pedwar ban y pyrth, Pedr ben porthawr.

*Mary will not allow, [he] will not be held prisoner – [in the] walls [of
purgatory],
Neither the soul will not be arrested, nor hindrance now.*

*May you open, Peter the head gateman,
The four points of the gates for the dawn provided by the gateway of
miracles.*

6.2 Prayers for the Souls

Medieval people often made provision in their wills for prayers to be said for their immortal souls. This often extended to inscriptions being carved on their tombs in the hope that passers-by would take pity on them. It is known that such inscriptions were carved and still exist in Wales such as those on the tombs of William and Jenette Matthew in Llandaf; others are known to have been removed from Welsh tombs such as some of those in the Herbert chapel in St Mary's Priory, Abergavenny

(Lindley 2007). As regards the poetry, there are a number of instances where the poet notes that prayers have been said or seems to be offering a prayer to God for the sake of the soul of the deceased. Guto'r Glyn makes asks a plea to God that Siôn ap Madog Pilstwn of Hafod-y-wern be granted his place in heaven (GG.net 72:66 – 68):

Erchi i Dduw ddwy arch ydd wyf:

I Siôn nef ac Alswn wen,

A chynnydd i'r wreichionen.

I petition two things from God:

Heaven for Siôn and blessed Alison,

And success for the spark.

Although Guto'r Glyn is asking that God accept both Siôn and his wife Alison into heaven, it is not believed that Alison was dead at the time that the *marwnad* was written (GG.net 72n) but that rather Guto'r Glyn is looking to the future and requesting that Alison be allowed to join her husband in heaven. The 'spark' referred to at the end of the final line would be their son, Siôn.

It is again to God that Lewys Morgannwg addresses his request in his *marwnad* for Rhyddech Dai Wëydd (GLMorg 95:73 – 76):

O bu feius, - ba feiwn? –

Yma, Duw hael, maddau i hwn.

Hwdiwch enaid uwch hoywnef

A'i delyn ywch, deulu nef!

If he was guilty, - who will we blame? –

Here, generous God, forgive him.

Accept his soul above in the pleasant heaven

And his harp to you, family of heaven!

Huw Cae Llwyd asks that Siôn Harford be permitted a place in heaven 'tonight' in his *marwnad* for that subject, perhaps suggestive of by-passing Purgatory (GHCLI 22:55 – 56)

Doed ei fab i'w dai da fo,

Doed i hwn dŷ Duw heno.

Let his son come to his good house,

Let him come to God's house tonight.

This would seem to reflect what is a common theme in the Welsh poetry of this period: the concerns regarding Purgatory appear to be somewhat side-lined, the poet seemingly believing that direct access to heaven is obtainable. In fact, as stated above, Purgatory itself apparently receives scant direct reference by the poets although this does not necessarily mean that doctrines from Rome were not accepted by the Welsh. Indeed, DWB notes that Huw Cae Llwyd himself went on a pilgrimage to Rome in 1475 and wrote a *cywydd* in praise of what he had seen.

In a poem simply entitled *Marwnad*, the same poet asks that heaven be granted to the soul of the deceased (GHCLl 39:47 – 54)

Ni rôi Dduw gyfryw ddial
I briawd hwn heb roi tâl.
Am ein dolur mae'n daliad,
Ennill rhai teg yn lle'r Tad.
Erchi pan y cyfarchwyf
Y ddwy rodd i Dduw yr wyf:
Rhoi egin o'r rhywogaeth,
A rhoi nef i'r hwn a aeth.

*God would not give the same sort of vengeance
To this man's wife without giving payment.
For our pain it is a payment,
The gain of the fair ones in the Father's place.
I am asking when I beseech in prayer
To God for the two gifts:
Give offspring from the [noble] lineage,
And give heaven to he who has gone.*

Iolo Goch in his *Marwnad Llywelyn Goch ap Meurig Hen* makes a direct request to Saint Peter for the soul of the deceased (IGP 22:77 – 82):

Gweddïo Pedr, gwedd eorth,
Y bûm, canaf gerdd am borth,
Ar ddwyn Llywelyn, dyn da,
Urddolfeistr nef, i'r dalfa
Ym mysg, pobl hyddysg eu hynt,
Proffwydi nef, praff ydynt;

*I have been praying to Peter, eager manner,
 I will sing a song for support,
 to bring Llywelyn, good man,
 noble master of heaven, to the stronghold
 amongst, people of learned life,
 the prophets of heaven, they are strong;*

In the notes to this poem, Dafydd Johnston (GIG 22:77-9n) rejects the suggestion by Saunders Lewis that this a prayer to deliver Llywelyn Goch from Purgatory. The basis of Saunders Lewis's argument is that line 80 should end 'o'r dalfa' that is, from the custody [of Purgatory]. Dafydd Johnston asserts that none of the manuscripts in which this poem appears has the preposition *o* (from) but that some have *i* (to) and others have *yn* (in). GPC defines *dalfa* as 'prison, lock-up; arrest; imprisonment; custody; capture, hold, durance; attachment, seizure'. Saunders Lewis, it is likely, was thinking of prison as the most likely definition and thus saw this as a prayer for the deliverance of the soul from Purgatory while Dafydd Johnston is of the opinion that the request is for the soul to be placed in the custody of St. Peter. Whatever the semantics of the argument, this is clearly a prayer that the soul of Llywelyn Goch be accepted into heaven and as such may be seen as an entreaty to reduce the time that his soul must spend in Purgatory or it could equally refer to the fate of his soul on Judgement Day. Although, earlier in the poem, Iolo Goch also seems to be suggesting that Llywelyn Goch's soul is in heaven (IGP 22:15 – 16, 52 – 54):

I Baradwys i brydu
 Yr aeth i Fair, iôr uthr fu.

 Athro da, neur aeth â'r dysg
 I'r lle mae'r eang dangnef,
 Ac aed y gerdd gydag ef;
*To Paradise did he go
 to sing to Mary, he was a mighty lord.*

*good teacher, he took learning
 to the place where the wide peace is
 and let the poetry go with him;*

Gutun Owain makes a request in his *marwnad* for Phylip ap Madog of Halchdun that Phylip's soul be granted a place in heaven (GO 34:5 – 6, 47 – 46):

Nâd am Ffylip ap Madawc, -
Nef i'r hael! – a wnaŷ yrhawc.

.....

I ras a'i glod ar i ôl,
Ac iddo nef dragwyddol!

*A lament for Phillip ap Madog –
Heaven for the generous one! – which I now make.*

.....

*His grace and his praise after him,
And for him eternal heaven!*

Some of the references to prayers in the poetry can be rather oblique, almost concealed within the verse. Such an example is the suggestion that Lewys Daron is offering a prayer for the soul of Wiliam ap Gruffudd ap Robin in his *marwnad* for him (GLD 8:67 – 70):

Tŷ a rodded, tir iddaw,
Â'r ddôr drom, a'r ddaear draw.
Doe, 'r Iesu, bu drais heb wedd,
Dod i'r gŵr dy drugaredd!

*A house was given, land for him,
With the heavy door, and the earth yonder.
Yesterday, Jesus, there was violence without form,
Give to this man your mercy.*

Similar is the request made to Jesus by the same poet following the death of Siân Stradling (GLD10:39 – 40):

Rhoi Nef wen i'r hon a fu
A rhan oes i'r rhain, Iesu
*Give holy Heaven to she who was
And share a life to these, Jesus.*

Tudur Aled asks that God give heaven to Gruffudd Llwyd ap Dafydd Llwyd ap Dafydd ap Robyn, at the same time requesting that those left behind live a long life (TA 97:45 – 48):

Duw gwyn, o dug [e]i einioes,
O Fair deg, fyrred [e]i oes!
Duw rho nef i'r hynefydd,
A rhoi oes hir i'r rhai sydd.

*Blessed God, if he took his life,
O fair Mary, so short was his life!
God give heaven to the lord,
And long life to those remaining.*

There is a suggestion of a prayer for the soul of Wmffre Canast in Siôn Ceri's *marwnad* for him (GSC 26:11 – 12):

Da oedd y corff, dyddio caid,
Daioni Duw i'w enaid!

*Good was the body, it was dated,
The goodness of God to his soul!*

As well as recording their own requests that the soul of the deceased be granted a place in heaven, there are many poems in which the poet notes that prayers have been said by the family or wider community. In *Marwnad Dafydd ap Maredudd*, Lewys Glyn Cothi's use of the plural 'we' states that he along with un-named others request 'everlasting heaven' for the soul of Dafydd (GLGC 184:70 – 76):

A archo eirchiaid,
a gano gweiniaid
yma i'w enaid a ddymunem.

Ni ddymunwn, gwn, ar gynnydd – un oes,
ond cael nef tragywydd,
ond nef yn hendref i'r hydd,
ond tyfu o blant Dafydd.

*Whoever supplicants beseech,
whatever the weak sing*

here for his soul is that we would wish.

*We do not wish, I know, increasingly – one age,
but to have everlasting heaven,
but heaven to be a winter dwelling for the stag,
but that Dafydd's children grow.*

The term *hendref* here meaning a winter dwelling place, is a metaphor for the afterlife of the 'stag' (Dafydd). In the final line, the poet is perhaps praying, or at the very least wishing, that Dafydd's children live to adulthood.

Lewys Môn also uses the first person plural and clearly states that prayers have been said for Nest Fechan in his *marwnad* for her (GLM 24:93 – 98):

Duw Iesu'n rhannu rhinwedd a gwyrthiau
dod i wraig orau dy drugaredd.

Trugaredd i'w bedd bo iddi,
mawrdeb, gael wyneb goleuni,
a rhoi i Nef ein rhiaain ni
yn dragwyddawl drwy'n gweddi.

*God Jesus sharing virtue and miracles
give to this greatest woman your mercy.*

*Mercy for her grave may she,
greatness, gain the face of light,
and the giving of our lady to Heaven
eternally through our prayers.*

In Lewys Glyn Cothi's *Marwnad Hywel ap Dafydd*, there is the statement that Hywel's wife, Anne Perrot, has prayed for Hywel's soul and that as a result, he was granted a place in heaven. There is also mention of a 'rhol' (register) which is likely to be an allusion to the register of deeds undertaken during one's lifetime which were believed to be written on the forehead for God to read on the Day of Judgement (GLGC 85:1 – 8):

Yr hael gynt mewn rhol a gaid
a fynnodd nef i'w enaid;

Hywel ddiofn hil Ddafydd,
hwn a ddoeth cyn hyn i'w ddydd.
Mair a wŷr, och Dduw am ras,
marwed ŷm am wŷr Domas.
Un pader Annes Perod
a egyr nef i'w gŵr nod.

*The generous one in a register was had earlier
which stipulated heaven for his soul;
fearless Hywel of the lineage of Dafydd,
he who came before this to his death.
Mary knows, alas God for grace,
we are [spiritually] dead because of Thomas's grandson.
Anne Perrot's one pater noster
opens heaven for this famed man.*

Similarly, it is Nest, the daughter of Ieuan ap Llywelyn who prayed for his soul when he died according to Lewys Môn (GLM 25:51 – 56):

Gweddïau tost guddio'r tad
a rydd Nest ar Dduw'n wastad:
ni phaid awr â'i phaderau;
ac â'i phwys ar ei goffáu,
ef a wŷr hon, pan fo rhaid,
a pheunydd, goffáu'i enaid.

*Prayers because of the sad covering of the father
Nest always gives to God:
she does not stop for an hour with her rosary;
and with her trust for his commemoration,
she knows, when there is need,
and daily, how to commemorate his soul.*

Prayers were also said for the soul of Elisau ap Gruffudd ab Einion by Marged who, presumably, was his wife according to Tudur Aled (TA 89:35 – 42):

Marged, gweled gau'i elawr,
Ni bydd [e]i grudd heb ddeigr, awr:
Mae cŵyr a llaswyr i'w llaw,

Ag i Dduw mae'n gweddiaw,
A'r llaswyr, da gŵyr eu gweu,
Sy laswyr dros Eliseu;
A gwnaed hi, rhag eniad hwn,
I Dduw Iesu ddyfosiwn;

*Marged, let her see his bier closing,
Her cheek is not without a tear, for an hour;
There is a candle and rosary in her hand,
And to God she prays,
And the rosary beads, well does she know how to weave them,
Is a rosary for Elisau;
And may she, for this soul,
Make devotion to Christ the Lord;*

Lewys Morgannwg notes that numerous prayers were said for the soul of Marged Bawdrem, suggesting involvement of the wider community (GLMorg 7:43 – 44):

‘F âi em adref i’w medrawd;

Atweddi brudd hyd Dydd Brawd

A gem went home to her grave;

Numerous earnest prayers until Judgement Day

‘Atweddi’ is not in GPC but has been interpreted by the editor of this poet’s work as ‘numerous prayers’ (GLMorg 7:44n).

It was eternal prayers, possibly by others than the poet, which were offered following the death of Siôn ap Tomas ap Morgan (GLMorg 30:53 – 54):

A gweddi yn dragwyddol

Am a wnaeth yma'n ei ôl.

And eternal prayers

Here after him for that which he did.

In *Marwnad Hywel Amhadog ap Trahaearn*, Dafydd Epynt addresses his request to God when asking that the soul of Hywel Amhadog be granted its place in heaven. Though not stating directly that others prayed for Hywel’s soul, the poet mentions the ringing of bells which would have been common practice at the time to call on

everyone in the neighbourhood to pray for the soul of the deceased (GDEp 21:21 – 22):

Galw Duw, gwely o dywod,

A chanu clych a wna clod.

Calling God, a bed of sand,

And the ringing bells which will praise.

It seems that in some cases, the poet felt that a special request had to be made for the soul of someone who may have been in some way violent or sinful while alive. There is an *englyn* which has been incorrectly attributed to Gruffudd ap Dafydd ap Tudur in the past but is now believed to form part of a lost *marwnad* (GGDT At1n). In it is a likely request on behalf of a warrior that his soul may find peace in the afterlife which could be interpreted as a prayer that the soul of the patron be granted a place in heaven. The *englyn* starts by praising the swordsmanship of the patron, claiming that he has killed many in battle (i.e. the sword has been reddened by the blood of his enemies). It is in the final line that the request is made that the patron be granted a peaceful afterlife, i.e. that he may be granted a place in heaven (GGDT At1:1 – 4):

I'm naf a garaf, a fedr gwyriaw – glaif

Ac a saif heb syrthiaw,

Aergledd radd, eurgledd ruddaw,

Arglwydd, boed rhwydd y byd draw.

To my lord whom I love, who is able to turn aside a sword

And who stands steadfast without falling,

Dignity of a war sword, [who] reddens a sword with excellence,

O Lord God, let the next world come without hindrance.

A similar theme appears in the *marwnad* for Goronwy ap Tudur Hen of Trecastell by Bleddyn Ddu's in which the prowess of the subject as a warrior seems to elicit or reinforce the poet's request for his soul (GBDd 6:12 – 15):

Duw dawn allael diwan rhyhael Dewin rhiau,

Dofydd, i'th wledd ddwys anrhydedd, ddaswyn rhadau

Digard facwy, dwg Oronwy deg ei riniau,

Dâr Tre' Castell dewredd Cadell, diwraidd cadau.

God who can give grace, powerful and generous, Prophet of kings

*Lord, to your feast of great honour [with its] blessed pile of divine
grace
Take Goronwy, a youth without dishonour, fair his virtues,
Lord of Trecastell, of the bravery of Cadell, destroyer of armies.*

Lewys Môn asks that Siôn ab Elis Eutun be forgiven for any anger which he may have shown while alive (GLM 76:55 – 58):

Os gwrolaeth sy greulon,
fo weddai i saint faddau i Siôn.
Os bu orwyllt ais barwn,
yma, Dduw hael, maddau i hwn
*If heroism is cruel,
it would be appropriate for the saints to forgive Siôn.
If there was wrath [in] the baron's breast,
here, generous God, forgive him.*

The poem ends with the comment that Siôn lies in his grave and a request that his soul be granted entry into heaven (GLM 76:83 – 84):

Mae sgwier, edrycher draw,
yn ei fedd, a Nef iddaw.
*The squire is, look yonder,
in his grave, and Heaven for him.*

The *marwnad* by Sefnyn for fellow poet Iorwerth ab y Cyriog would appear to be a request for intercession on behalf of the deceased. In the opening lines of the poem, Sefnyn claims that Iorwerth deserves to go to heaven despite his sins (GSRh 2:1 – 2):

Mygrdduw hardd, mae bardd balchffawd – cyfanedd
Mywn bedd, modd buchedd maddau'i bechawd!
*Majestic, glorious God, there is an agreeable bard of excellent faith
In a grave, because of the manner of his life forgive his sins.*

Trentals are a special mass which are sung over a period of time to ease the journey of the soul to heaven. For Tomas ap Syr Siôn Morgan of Machen, Lewys Morgannwg states that many trentals were sung (GLMorg 31:55):

Llawer trent lle y'i rhoed draw;
Many trentals where he was placed yonder;

And it is the singing of trentals that the poet again mentions in his *marwnad* for Syr Wiliam Fychan (GLMorg 52:39 – 40):

Bu gwyno trist, bu g[â]n trent,
I bedeirmil bu derment.

*There was sad lament, there was a trental song,
For four thousand there was funeral money.*

GPC defines *terment* as ‘funeral, burial, interment; wake; money, ale etc. given at a funeral.’ As this was for four thousand (not likely a literal number), it would be expected that the definition here would likely be ‘wake or money, ale etc. given at a funeral.’ If Lewys Morgannwg meant the latter of these, then what we have here is likely the alms given to the poor in order to secure their prayers and reduce the time spent in Purgatory by the soul of the deceased. In fact, it is *Marwnad Gruffudd ab Ieuan o Gaerllion* by Hywel Swardwal which contains one of the few references in Welsh poetry from this period to the custom. In this case, the widow Annes ferch Siôn is noted as having given alms to the poor and arranging for the singing of trentals for the soul of the deceased (Appendix 3.11.1).

As well as the singing of trentals, the giving of alms at the funeral was also believed to aid the soul’s journey to heaven. There is the suggestion of alms giving or a funeral feast held in order to ensure that the soul of Syr Niclas ap Huw Elis, parson of Llaneilion in Anglesey, be allowed in to heaven in the *marwnad* to him (TA 86:81 – 82):

Gwledd fu cyn [e]i gladdu fo,
A dwy wledd a dâl iddo -
*There was a feast before he was buried,
And two feasts which pay for him –*

A feast was also held to aid the soul of fellow poet Guto’r Glyn according to Gutun Owain (GO 63:45 – 50):

Prydydd Arglwydd Ddafydd dda
Oedd aml i wleddoedd yma,
A’r wledd wrth ei ddiweddv
Mor rhydd â gwledd Ferwydd fv;

Kan, rhost a mêl kynar haid,
Rhoi gwinoedd rhag i enaid.

*Good Lord Dafydd's poet
Enjoyed frequent feasts here,
And the feast held when his body was laid out
Was as generous as Merwydd's feast;
White bread, roast and a beehive's timely honey,
Giving wine for his soul.*

The Dafydd referred to in these lines is probably Abbot Dafydd ab Ieuan who officiated at Guto'r Glyn's funeral in the abbey of Valle Crucis which is in Yale.

The sixteenth-century poet Mathau Brwmffild states that it is through the 'expense' of others that the soul of Rhys ap Hywel of Bodowyr would attain heaven (GMB 1:62 – 64):

Mae enaid Rhys mewn y trŵn.
Ni bu heb traul i bawb draw,
Naf, i'w ddydd. Nefoedd iddaw!
*Rhys's soul is in the firmament.
It was not without expense of everyone yonder,
Lord, to his day. Heaven for him!*

It is often the case that the poet, rather than mentioning prayers given by others or apparently praying himself on behalf of the soul of the deceased, makes a simple request that the soul be granted a place in heaven such as in *Marwnad Gwenllian ferch Rys* composed by Lewys Glyn Cothi (GLGC 44:49 – 56):

amod dyfod at Dafydd
a wnaeth bun wedi un dydd,
ac i'r nef ac i gôr Non
ac i radd y gweryddon.
Duw Tri a ddug Gwenllian
doe o'r llys at Bedr i'r llan.
Duw gwyn, os dug o'i ynys,
Duw, ar ei hôl adu Rhys.
*The lady made a promise to Dafydd
after one day,*

*and to heaven and to Non's choir
and to the class of virgins.
God Trinity who took Gwenllian
yesterday from the court to Peter to the church.
Blessed God, if he took him from his island,
God, after her leave Rhys behind.*

Trahaearn Brydydd Mawr seems to make a similar request that Hywel of Llandinogad be admitted to heaven (GGDT 11:33 – 34):

Bid iddaw anaw, ynad cyfraith,
Paradwys Tadwys, tud pob gwyniaith;
*May there be wealth, magistrate of law,
Of the Paradise of the Father, a land of every miraculous virtue;*

For Roger ap Llywelyn, it is a similar request that is made by yr Ustus Llwyd for his soul (GMBen 19:8):

Naf y byd, yn Nef y bo!
Lord of the world, let him be in heaven!

Rhys ap Gruffudd was a descendent of Ednyfed Fychan, seneschal of Llywelyn Fawr of Gwynedd and was one of the most important Welsh noblemen in the first half of the fourteenth century. In the *marwnad* for him composed by Iolo Goch, the poet requests that his soul went to heaven (IGP 7:57 – 58):

A'i enaid, ydoedd ener,
Aed ef i wenwlad nef Nêr.
*and his soul, he was a lord,
let that go to the Lord of heaven's fair country.*

Madog Dwygraig asks that God takes Gruffudd ap Madog ab Iorwerth of Llechwedd Ystrad into the kingdom of heaven in his *marwnad* for him (GMD 1:49 – 50, 77):

Cymer Di, Duw Tri trugaredd, - atad
Lyw Lechwedd Ystrad i'th wlad a'th wledd.
.....
Nef a'i rho Culwydd, ebrwydd obrwy,

*Take Thee, God the Three compassionate, to You
The lord of Llechwedd Ystrad to Your land and Your feast.
.....
May the Lord God give heaven to him, an unhindered prize,*

It was to Jesus that Rhys Goch Eryri made the request that the soul of Gwilym ap Gruffudd of y Penrhyn be granted a place in heaven (GRhGE 3:65 – 66):

Trosid Mab Mair, aur grair grym,
Naf Waladr, nef i Wilym.
*Let Mary's Son give heaven to Gwilym,
Powerful golden relic, Lord of Lord[s].*

In comparing Hywel ap Gruffudd, also known as Hywel y Fwyall (Hywel of the Axe) to Eiddin, one of the heroes of Welsh history, Rhisiertyn requests that he be granted a place in heaven (GSRh 1:92):

Canllaw nef iddaw, ail naf Eiddin.
The sustenance of heaven for him, a second lord Eiddin

In another *marwnad*, Guto'r Glyn asks that both Dafydd Llwyd ap Gruffudd of Abertanad and his wife, Catrin, be granted a place in heaven (GG.net 89:51 – 56):

Gŵr cyfion dan Graig Hofa
A gwraig a ddug y grog dda.
Amrafaelodd myrfoleath:
Marw hon ddoe, marw hwn oedd waeth.
Nef i'r gŵr a anafai'r gwin
A nef gytref i Gatrin.
*A righteous man and woman beneath Carreghwfa
bore the good cross.
Death set them apart:
this woman's death yesterday, this man's death was worse.
May the man who damaged the wine go to heaven
and may Catrin go to heaven in the same place.*

In his notes to the poem, Eurig Salisbury suggests that 'the man who damaged the wine' is likely to refer to Dafydd, the subject of the *marwnad*, who would open a bottle of wine to share with the poet. The poet claims that Catrin had died the day

before ‘Marw hon ddoe’ (GG.net 89:54) which probably means that she died shortly before her husband. Thus, it could be that they both died of the same cause which could possibly have been the Black Death.

In *Marwnad Meibion Tudur Fychan* by Iolo Goch there is a request that the souls of the two sons, Goronwy and Ednyfed, be allowed into heaven after their deaths (IGP 6: 95 – 98):

Aed i nef at Ednyfed
Ei frawd un giwdawd un ged;
Erbynied Duw, ar bwynt dwys,
Y brodyr i Baradwys.

*May he go to heaven to Ednyfed
his brother of the same family and the same generosity;
may God receive, at some solemn point,
the brothers into Paradise.*

Dafydd Johnston points out that ‘ar bwynt dwys’ could be interpreted as ‘in dire need’ (GIG 6n) i.e. in need of deliverance from the pain of Purgatory. This being the case, the line may also be interpreted as a request that God accept them into his keeping after their time already spent in Purgatory.

The *marwnad* for Tudur Aled by Morys Gethin, makes a similar statement (TA Marwnadau i Tudur Aled 6:69 – 72):

Dyfynnodd Crist ddiristref
Dudur yn awdur i nef;
Pared Crist, boen athrist, bur,
Yn Nuw Dad ne i Dudur!

*Christ summoned cheerfully
Tudur an author for heaven;
May Christ allow, woeful pain, pure,
In God the Father heaven for Tudur!*

On the death of Siôn ap Rhosier of Abergavenny, Hywel Swrdwal expressed the hope of all those who knew him that he would be granted a place in heaven (GHS 9:59 – 62):

Gobaith y ddwyiaith ddiell

Fod i Siôn fyd y sy well.
I'r lle sy uwch no'r holl sêr
Y pâr Iesu fab Rhosier!

*[The] hope of the two faultless peoples
That there is for Siôn a world which is better.
To the place which is higher than all the stars
May Jesus command Roger's son to go!*

Although 'iaith' is usually taken to mean language, GPC states that it can also refer to people or race. Siôn ap Rhosier was of mixed Welsh and English blood so it is likely here that 'ddwyiaith' refers to these two races.

Siôn Ceri requests in his *marwnad* for Ieuan Llwyd ap Dafydd of Bachaethlon that he go to heaven (GSC 4:63 – 64):

Eled gŵr o wlad Geri
I'r un trŵn aur lle mae'r Tri!
*Let a man go from the land of Ceri
To the same golden firmament where are the Trinity!*

He makes a similar request that Dafydd Llwyd ap Gruffudd ap Maredudd of Carno 'may go to heaven from his obedient houses' (Aed i nef o'i dai'n ufudd) (GSC 12:55).

As well as making reference to the giving of alms and the singing of trentals, Hywel Swrdwal is one of the few poets from this period who use the term 'eiriol' (intercession) on behalf of the soul of the deceased. In *Marwnad Robert Mathau o Fesigyn*, he mentions interceding on behalf of Robert's soul in order that it may go to Paradise without delay. This could be interpreted as a request that Robert's soul be spared having to purge his sins in Purgatory (GHS 10:51 – 60):

Cael o'r enaid calonwych,
Roberd, sir baradwys wych.
Eiriawl a wna' mawl o'm min
Dros Roberd ar Sierubin,
Dwyn gŵr a aeth dan ei grwys
Eb awr oed i baradwys
I'r lle gwyl wŷr oll a gwledd,
Nef iach a phren y fuchedd.

Cawson hud tradrud rhydrist,

Caffo gan groeso gan Grist.

The blessed hearted soul, Robert,

Will receive, the joy of excellent paradise.

I will intercede with praise from my lip

With Cherubim on behalf of Robert,

Taking the man who went under his crucifix

Without an hour's delay to paradise

To the place where he sees all men and a feast

Safe heaven and the tree of life.

We had enticement somewhat expensive and very sad,

May he receive a hundred welcomes from Christ.

Although the edited version of the final line has 'gan' it may also be 'gân' (song), so could be interpreted as 'may he receive a song of welcome from Christ'.

The wording in his *marwnad* for Gwilym Fychan ab Ieuan is slightly different in that he addresses his wish that the soul goes to heaven directly to the deceased (GHS 14:47 – 51):

Llawen fo Duw wrth d'enaïd,

Llawen fu'r wên pan fai raid,

Gwilym, fegys y gwelych

Golau nef i'th galon wych.

Let God be joyful with your soul,

Joyful was the smile when needs were.

Gwilym, such that you may see

The light of heaven for your excellent heart.

A common theme which appears in many of the poems by many of the poets of the period is to make a simple one or two sentence request, usually towards or at the end of the poem, that the deceased be allowed his or her place in heaven. Such simple requests may seem as if they are almost an afterthought; however, in the build-up to this, the dead person receives much praise from the poet, pointing out the grief that the death has caused and often making the case that the deceased is worthy of a place in heaven. This latter point goes against the conventional teaching of the church that we are all sinful and only the saints are worthy of a place in heaven by their own

efforts. Following the battle of Banbury in July 1469 where the Earl of Warwick's forces defeated those of William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, William and his brother Richard were captured and executed by Warwick. *Marwnad Wiliam Herbert* by Hywel Swardwal is more an outpouring of anti-English sentiment rather than a true elegy however, the poem ends with a request that William Herbert and all those who died in the battle be given a place in heaven (GHS 7:71 – 74):

Iawn o orchwyl ynn erchi
Roi gwledd nef i'n harglwydd ni,
A'r rhif a fu farw hefyd
I'r nef gydag ef i gyd.

*It is a correct undertaking for us to ask
For the giving of the feast of heaven to our lord (William Herbert),
And those that died also
To heaven with him all of them.*

In the work of Hywel Swardwal's son, Ieuan ap Hywel Swardwal, there is no mention of alms, trentals or intercession such as those used by his father. However, he uses similar phrases to those which many other poets use which are requesting heaven for the soul of the deceased. In *Marwnad Gruffudd Fychan Deuddwr o'r Collfryn*, he finishes the poem with a request that Saint Peter allow Gruffudd's soul to enter into heaven (GHS 28:66)

Bid i'r gŵr Bedr egoriad!
Let Peter give entry to the man!

There is the suggestion of a prayer to Jesus for the soul of the deceased in *Marwnad Owain ap Maredudd ap Tomos o Borthaml* by Syr Dafydd Trefor (GSDT 4:87 – 90):

Iesu freiniol sy frenin,
A'i gorff o fara a gwin,
A seilio hap i'r sawl hyn,
A ne' i Owain wineuwyn.
*Privileged Jesus who is king,
With his body of bread and wine,
And chance basing to these,
And heaven for light red Owain.*

In *Marwnad Tomas Salbri Hen*, Lewys Môn changes the format slightly and calls directly on God to open heaven for the deceased (GLM 54:67 – 68):

Un Duw, llonaid Llyweni,
egor y Nef i'n gŵr ni.

*One God, fullness of Lleweni,
open Heaven for our man.*

Here *egor* has been interpreted as the imperative of the verb *agor*, to open. This being the case, the final line could be seen as a request to God to allow Thomas Salisbury into heaven and thus an indirect request for intercession.

It is also to God that Tudur Aled turned when asking that Tudur Llwyd of Yale be granted a place in heaven (TA 79:109 – 110):

Dy ras, Duw dros y dial,
Dyro nef i deyrn Iâl!

*Your grace, God over revenge,
Grant heaven to the monarch of Yale!*

Gutun Owain simply makes the request that the soul of Alswyn ferch Hywel ap Goronwy be allowed to join that of her grandmother in heaven (GO 46:56):

Aed nef i ennaid ei nain!

Let her go to heaven to the soul of her grandmother!

The same poet also asks that the soul of Alis, the daughter of Huw Lewys be admitted to the nine grades of heaven (GO 52:51 – 52):

Nowradd nef, - ni wreiddia'n is –
Yno dêl enaid Alis!

*Nine grades of heaven, - it will not root lower –
May Alice's soul come there!*

It is possible that Gruffudd Hiraethog is looking to God to intercede on behalf of the soul of Ifan ap Rhys of Bryndafydd (GGH 77:91 – 92):

A Duw, mor ddiniwed oedd,
Arwain Ifan i'r nefoedd.

*And God, he was so innocent,
Lead Ifan to heaven.*

The meaning of the couplet is a request that God leads Ifan to heaven because he is an innocent and thus may be a plea for intercession on behalf of his soul.

In his request that there be honour for the soul of Maredudd ap Dafydd of Carwedfynydd in heaven, this may be interpreted as a request for Maredudd's soul be allowed to go there (GGH 73:75 – 76):

Bo'n y nef, buan ei naid,

Burwyd enw, barch i'w enaid.

Let there be in heaven, soon his destiny,

Magnificent and pure in name, honour for his soul.

In his *marwnad* for Rosier Rodn of y Talwrn, it is a request which he makes that Jesus and God care for Rhosier's soul (GGH 67:87 – 88):

A chadwed, a nodded Nêr,

Yr Iesu enaid Rosier.

And may Jesus keep, and the Lord shelter,

The soul of Roger.

Although the request is not made to any named divinity, it is presumably to God that Siôn ap Hywel is asking that Sir Hywel ab y Dai's soul be granted entry to heaven in his *marwnad* for him (GSH 3:96):

..... yn nef y bo'i enaid.

..... *in heaven let his soul be.*

There is no doubt that it is to God that the same poet addresses his request in *Marwnad Siôn ap Dafydd ab Ithel Fychan, Broneirian* (GSH 10:81 – 82):

Duw Iôn a fu dan ei fedd,

Dod i'r gŵr dy drugaredd.

Lord God [he] who was under his grave,

Give to the man your compassion.

There is a suggestion of a request to God in Lewys Morgannwg's *marwnad* for Henry, Earl of Worcester (GLMorg 46:69 – 70):

Aed â'i nod! Duw'n ei adel!

Eurlliw ddug o iarll ydd êl!

*May he take his renown! May God let him!
May he become from an earl to a golden hued duke!*

In *Marwnad Owain ap Meurig o Fodeon ym Môn*, the poet refers to him as a stag when asking God to accept his soul (TA 92:75 – 76):

Duw, i'r nef fry, deyrn frig,
Derbyn hydd dewr, bonheddig!
*God, to heaven on high, monarch on high,
Accept a brave, courtly stag!*

In the case of Maredudd ab Ieuan ap Robert of Dolwyddelan, it is to Saint Peter that Lewys Daron directs his request (GLD 21:87 – 88):

Parth a'r nef, porthor, ei naid,
Poed ar ran Pedr ei enaid!
*Towards heaven, gatekeeper, his destiny,
Let his soul be at Peter's side!*

Lewys Daron also uses the final line of this couplet of this poem in *Marwnad Owain ap Meurig, Bodeon* (GLD14:72).

It is also to God that Siôn Ceri addresses his request for the soul of Sir Rhys ap Tomas in his *marwnad* for him (GSC 50:72):

Ceidwad tair ynys: cadwed Duw'r ened!
The keeper of three islands [i.e.Rhys]: God keep his soul!

It is perhaps a prayer for the soul of Siôn ab Elis Eutun that Huw ap Dafydd ap Llywelyn ap Madog offers in the final couplet of his *marwnad* for him (GHD 5:67 – 68):

Diwedd d'oes, da oeddud, wŵr,
Da bo'r enaid i'w Brynwr.
*The end of your life, you were good, man
Let the soul be good for his Saviour.*

In the case of the three brothers Wiliam, Siôn a Thrahaearn Morgan, Lewys Morgannwg asks that they may be taken to join with their ancestors who are with God (GLMorg 62:59 – 60, 120):

Tri, 'r un Duw, at yr hen daid,
I'r trŵn êl â'r tri enaid!
.....
..... nef i'r tyrwyr!

*Three, the same God, to the old ancestors,
May he take three souls to the firmament
.....
..... heaven for the three men!*

This final phrase used by Lewys Morgannwg exemplifies a very common feature in the *marwnadau* of the period which at first glance may appear to be almost a throw-away statement. It is a statement which could be interpreted as a request for the soul of the deceased to be allowed to enter heaven or perhaps that the soul of the deceased will go to heaven. One such example is that by Ieuan ap Tudur Penllyn in *Marwnad Dafydd Llwyd o Abertanad a Rheinallt ap Gruffudd ap Bleddyn o'r Wyddgrug* (GTP 50:81 – 82):

Mae Duw hael, amod yw hyn,
Yn ei faddau, nef uddun.
*Generous God, this is a condition,
Forgives him, heaven for them.*

In the same vein is the final line of *Marwnad Wiliam Egwad* by Iorwerth Fynglwyd (GIF 30:65 – 66):

Nid gwell mawl – nid canmawl cam –
Na'i wiw fawl: nef i Wiliam.
*No better praise – not false praise –
Than his worthy praise: heaven for William.*

Lewys Glyn Cothi also used this formulaic message in several of his poems. In *Marwnad Rhys ap Maredudd*, he ends the poem with 'nef i Rys' (heaven for Rhys) (GLGC 71:58). Similarly, at the end of *Marwnad Wiliam, Abad Margam*, the poet states 'Nef i'r gŵr' (Heaven for the man) (GLGC 108:59) and again in *Marwnad Einion ap Gruffudd* 'Nef i Einion' (Heaven for Einion) (GLGC 232:60). The same phrase is used by Lewys Môn when he asks that the mother-in-law of Gruffudd

Felyn be granted a place in heaven in his *marwnad* to him (GLM 26:50) and also by Gutun Owain in his *Cywydd Marwnad Siôn Trefor Hen* (GO 36:58), and again in *Marwnad Alswn Fechan* (GO 45:52). Tudur Aled also uses the same format in *Marwnad Siôn ap Maredudd ab Ieuan Llwyd* with his request ‘A nef i hwn, fô a hi!’ (And to heaven with him, let it be!) (TA 81:94), while for Gruffudd ap Rhys ap Gruffudd ap Madog Gloddaith, he uses the simple phrase ‘nef i’w enaid’ (heaven for his soul) (TA 85:16). A similar plea is made by Lewys Daron on behalf of *Owain ap Maredudd ap Tomas, Porthaml* (GLD 16:66). It is a theme which seemed to be popular throughout the period; similar phrases were used by the sixteenth-century poet, Lewys Morgannwg, such as in *Marwnad Rhys ap Siôn, Glyn-nedd* (GLMorg 21: 1 and 2 and 79 and 80), in *Marwnad Wiliam Siôn, Caerllion* (GLMorg 39:26) and in *Marwnad yr Arglwyddes Siân* (GLMorg 88:54). It is used again by another sixteenth century poet, Siôn ap Hywel in his *Marwnad Thomas Pennant, abad Dinas Basing* (GSH 2:30). It may be that here, with the subject being a cleric, the poet may have assumed that he had lead a sufficiently righteous life for his soul to gain the kingdom of heaven. It is a phrase also used by Gruffudd Hiraethog for fellow poet Siôn Brwynog (GGH 63:80), with the same poet using a slight variation in his *marwnad* for Siôn Llwyd of Bodidris (GGH 72:95 – 96):

Brig nef i’w enaid hefyd;

Bo’n barch, fal y bu’n y byd.

The excellence of heaven for his soul too;

Let there be honour as there was in the world.

Gruffudd Hiraethog uses another variation in his *marwnad* for Ifan ap Siôn of Y Bennardd when he states ‘nef a ryglyddodd’ (it is heaven which he deserved) (GGH 83:60).

The exact meaning of these phrases is rather ambiguous. In using it, are the poets requesting that the soul of the deceased be granted entry to heaven or are they stating that the individual was so virtuous when alive that their place in heaven is guaranteed? Similarly, we cannot tell how the audience would interpret this phrase. It is possible that it may have been purposely worded in this way in order to offer them some hope that a loved one’s soul had been granted entry to heaven while still allowing the poet to express his own uncertainty. The phrase appears again in the *marwnad* for Raff ap Robert composed by Siôn ap Tudur. DWB states that Siôn ap Tudur was born before 1530 and died in April 1602. He would therefore have lived

throughout the problems of the reformation and counter-reformation. As Raff ap Robert died sometime after 1582 during the reign of Elizabeth I, by the time that this *marwnad* was written, the doctrine of Purgatory was no longer accepted by the Church of England and thus not in Wales. In using ‘Nef i Raff’ (GRR At i:48), it is interesting to note that Siôn Tudur used a phrase that is identical to many other pre-reformation quotations from other *marwnadau* which may be interpreted as a request for intercession on behalf of the soul of the deceased. Thus it seems that traditional beliefs and practices survived in Wales alongside acceptance of the reformed church and loyalty to the Tudor state. On the other hand, such phrases could just signify a confidence in the fate of the soul.

In the same *marwnad*, the poet also claims that Raff ap Robert was a pious man and will be taken to heaven by God (GRR At i:59 – 62):

Duw a roes einioes uniawn,

Duw dug ŵr odidog iawn,

Ac i’r nef y’i dyrchefir

Ger llaw Tad, gŵr llwyd hir.

God who gave precise lifetime,

God took a very fine man,

And to heaven he will be lifted

By the hand of God, a tall pious man.

The fact that an individual had led a pious life and therefore deserves a place in heaven is a theme which occurs in several of the poems from the late medieval period. In Maredudd ap Rhys’s *Cywydd yn erbyn cybydd-dra’r byd* (Complaint against the miserliness of the world), the poet states that avarice will not bring succour to the soul after death but that rather, the giving of charity is what must be performed (Appendix 3.23.1). The general belief at the time was that only the most holy, i.e. a saint, would ascend immediately to heaven on his or her death; all others would have to purge their sins and answer for them on the Day of Judgement. Although there is some considerable evidence that prayers were said or called for on behalf of the deceased, it seems that many were considered to be sufficiently virtuous to warrant immediate entry to heaven especially the clergy. The fifteenth-century poet Gutun Owain claimed that Abbot Siôn of Llanegwystl deserved his place in heaven (GO 23:57 – 58):

Graddav nef a'i gweryddon,
Gwledd Dduw, sydd i'r arglwydd Siôn.

*The grades of heaven and its virgins,
God's banquet, are for the lord Siôn.*

Thomas Pennant, Abbot of Dinas Basing was also deemed sufficiently righteous to be granted heaven by Siôn Ceri (GSC 47:37 – 42):

Bu yn y byd ben abadoedd,
Beuno hwnt ail, Bennant, oedd.
Urddo'u cyrff, a rhwydd y caid,
Ardduniant i'r ddau enaid!
Eled fyth i'w wlad, efô,
At Duw, Bennant, a Beuno!

*He was the head of abbots whilst on earth,
A second Beuno yonder, was Pennant.
The veneration of their bodies, easily was this had,
Dignity for the two souls!
May he, Pennant, go forever
To his land, to God and to Beuno!*

According to Guto'r Glyn, the good deeds performed by Abbot Rhys ap Dafydd of Ystrad Fflur which will assure his soul's place in heaven (GG.net 9:77 – 82):

Dyn a ro da yn ei raid,
Duw a ran da i'r enaid.
O rhennir yn yr hoywnef
I Rys o aur a roes ef,
Mawr o dâl am aur o'i du
A gaiff Rhys o goffr Iesu.

*To the man who gives wealth in his need
God will dispense wealth to the soul.
If all the gold which Rhys gave
is dispensed to him in heaven,
Rhys will have great payment
for his gold from Jesus's coffer.*

Dafydd ap Gwilym ap Gwallter had been vicar of Llanarthne in Carmarthenshire (GLGC 26n) and consequently, it seems, Lewys Glyn Cothi was confident that his soul had been taken straight to heaven (GLGC 26:59 – 62):

Duw aeth â'i gorff at ei daid,
a thrannoeth aeth â'r enaid
a'i ddwyn at Ddewi a Non
a'i roi 'ngolau'r angylion.

*God took his body to his ancestors
and the following day He took his soul
and carried it to Dewi and Non
and placed it in the light of the angels.*

It is likely that the saints Dewi and Non are mentioned here because of Dewi's association with Llanarthne, he being the patron saint of that place, and Non being Dewi's mother.

However, it was not just the clergy who were deemed sufficiently righteous to be granted immediate entry to heaven according to some of the poets of the period. One reason for this may be that suggested by the fifteenth-century poet Ieuan ap Rhydderch. In a poem in praise of the Mass which R. Iestyn Daniel suggests could have been intended as a kind of explanatory sermon (GIRh 7n), the poet suggests that if someone dies suddenly during the Mass, his soul will go to heaven immediately. This is probably based on the belief that through hearing the Mass, all sins would be absolved (Enid Roberts 1991:32). As such, the individual would be in a state of grace with no sins to be accounted for and thus able to go straight to heaven (GIRh 7:39 – 42):

O bydd marw, chwedl garw i gyd,
O'i sefyll yn ddisyfyd,
Oddyno 'dd â ei enaid
I'r nef cyn oeri ar naid.

*If he dies, bitter the tale,
Suddenly where he stands,
His soul will go from there at once
To heaven before going cold.*

Daniel also gives examples of prose work with which Ieuan ap Rhydderch would have been familiar in Llyfr yr Ancr (GIRh 7n), in which are the five blessings of

hearing the Mass and the seven blessings of being present at the mass (Idris Foster 1949:204).

In many other instances, there is no such suggestion that the deceased had died during the Mass yet the poet still makes what is an unconventional assumption or assertion that the good works carried out during the lifetime of lay people will also ensure a place for the soul in heaven. *Marwnad yr Arglwyddes Blaens* by Lewys Morgannwg includes the verb ‘mae’ (is), suggesting that the subject is bound for heaven rather than asking that she be admitted there (GLMorg 35:53 – 54):

Oes hir, eleirch Syr Wiliam!

Yn fyw maent. Mae nef i’w mam.

Long life, Sir William’s swans!

Alive are they. Heaven is for their mother.

Blaens or Blanche Herbert was the wife of Sir William Herbert. He had died before his wife (GLMorg 35n) but their children, the ‘swans’ were still alive. It may be that the poet was so sure of the fate of the soul of the deceased because of the good works which she did in her lifetime as earlier on in the poem he says (GLMorg 35:31 – 36):

I dlawd gwan didlwad giniaw,

I’r dall hen rhôï fwyd â’i llaw.

Â’i llaw draw llywïai druain,

Lle da, rhoes dillad i’r rhain.

Diwarth y rhoes da wrth raid;

Dêl hyn yn dâl i’w henaïd!

To the weak poor abundant dinner,

To the old blind she gave food with her own hand.

With that hand she would direct wretches,

A good place, she gave clothes to these.

Nobly she gave good as it was needed;

May this come to pay for her soul!

Lewys Morgannwg was composing poetry around the middle of the sixteenth century. However, the fourteenth-century poet Gronw Gyriog used a similar format in his *marwnad* for Gwenhwyfar, the wife of Hywel ap Tudur ap Gruffudd of Goeden, claiming that because of her obedience, generosity and sense of fairness that God will reward her in heaven (GGG 2:17 – 20):

Ei hufydd-dod, ceudod cof,
I hardd Wenhwyfar araf,
A'i hawl decbwyll, didwyll dwf,
A'i haelder a dâl Nêr nef.

*Her obedience, memory's focus [about her]
To the beautiful and gentle Gwenhwyfar,
And her fair sense and right, righteous her growth
And her generosity which God in heaven will reward.*

Guto'r Glyn makes a similar statement about Robert Trefor ab Edward of Bryncunallt, claiming firstly that his soul is in heaven before going on to specify some of the good deeds performed (Appendix 3.8.4). Rhisieryd also implies that it is because of his pious life that the soul of Hwlcyn ap Hywel of Prysaeiddfed should be granted a place in heaven (GSRh 8:61 – 62, 73 – 74):

Meddwl, perffaith ymaddef,
Myned ar neued i'r nef,

.....

O'r diwedd, frenhinwledd fry,
Nef dirion, Naf a'i dyry!

*Be it that you think, [through] faultless confession,
To go longingly to heaven,*

.....

*In the end, a royal feast on high,
The pleasant heaven, the Lord will it give to you!*

In *Marwnad Gweurful ferch Madog o Abertanad*, Guto'r Glyn states that such was the generosity of Gwerful when she was alive, she must surely be granted a place in heaven. The final couplet of the poem could be interpreted as a prayer for the soul of Gwerful, that her time in Purgatory be reduced because of her generosity. There is also the reference to Saint Michael here, weighing the good deeds against the bad, with the claim that Gwerful has led a life of virtue (Appendix 3.8.2).

There is a similar suggestion by Gruffudd Hiraethog that the good deeds completed by Robert ap Rhys of Llechweddhafod have paved the way for his soul to be granted a place in heaven (GGH 76:87 – 88):

Da iawn y rhoes da i'n rhaid;

Duw lân a dâl i'w enaid.

In this couplet, the editor, D. J. Bowen has placed a semi-colon at the end of the first line. However, changing the punctuation around so that Holy God has commas either side and gets treated as a *sangiad* can change the meaning entirely. The manner in which it was edited suggests that the relative pronoun *a* refers to God and should be translated as who. Changing the punctuation would mean that it should relate to the 'good atonement' and therefore be translated as which. Thus, re-writing the couplet gives:

Da iawn y rhoes da, i'n rhaid,

Duw lân, a dâl i'w enaid.

Good atonement that he gave well, as we must,

Holy God, which pays for his soul.

Where both *i'n rhaid* and *Duw lân* are *sangiadau*.

In *Marwnad Hywel ap Madog ap Hywel*, Lewys Môn states (GLM 45:61 – 64):

Traul na chost trwy law ni chêl:

telid Duw, nid tlawd Hywel.

Ond da, 'r gŵr, hwnt o'r gweryd,

trefnu'i bwrs tra fu'n y byd?

Expense and cost is not hidden by hand:

may God recompense him, Hywel was not poor.

Did the man not, beyond from the soil,

set in good order his purse while he was on earth?

This could be interpreted as meaning that Hywel had made arrangements before his death for money to be paid to the Church in order that prayers be said for his soul while purging his sins in Purgatory. It may also be that Hywel ap Madog ap Hywel had led a charitable life while alive and thus his soul was deserving of its place in heaven.

Lewys Môn makes a similar suggestion in *Marwnad Marged ferch Siancyn* (GLM 70:55 – 60):

Duw gwnaeth aur digon i'th ôl,

dibrinned oedd dy brennol;

ac aur o'th gist, gorau'th gaid,

a droist yno dros d'enaïd.
Troed Nef – nid rhaid ynn ofal –
tragywydd yt, wreigdda o Iâl.

*God made enough gold after you,
not lacking was your coffer;
and gold from your chest, the best that you had,
you give there for your soul.
May he give Heaven – no need for us to take care –
everlasting to you, good lady of Yale.*

Here, the phrase 'nid rhaid ynn ofal' (no need for us to take care) is perhaps suggestive that again, Marged ferch Siancyn lead such a charitable life that her soul is not in need of prayers.

Gutun Owain makes a similar suggestion in *Marwnad Annes Trefor o Bentre Cynwrig*, perhaps suggesting also that her patronage of the poets has bought prayers from them (GO 35:17 – 18, 49 – 54):

Vy rent, i'r nef yr ai hynn,
Y vendith vav i vndynn.
.....
'Mae nef i Annes Trevawr,
- a daed vv – am gardod vawr.
Aur nevol yw'r iawn ovynn
O chaiff a roes o'i choffr ynn.
Lles yr aeth kynal llys rydd,
Lle Annes yw'r Llawenydd.

*My rent, to heaven she went,
My blessings to the same person.
.....
Heaven it is for Annes Trefor,
– she was good – for great charity.
Heavenly gold is the just request
If she receives as much as she gave us from her coffers.
Beneficence went [through her] maintaining a free court,
The place for Annes is Bliss.*

In *Marwnad Rhys Llwyd* Lewys Môn states that the good works which Rhys did while alive will ensure that his soul will go to heaven (GLM 53:15 – 18):

Estynnodd Eglwys Deiniol
a'i chaer a'i mur a'i chôr moel:
diogan fyth, da gwnâi fo
dros ei enaid, Rys, yno.

*He augmented [St] Deiniol's Church
and its fortress and its wall and its bare choir:
ever irreproachable, he did good
for his soul, Rhys, there.*

In the same poem, he goes on to say (GLM 53:73 – 78)

Perthyn ofyn pyrth nefoedd,
Pedr a'i gŵyr, padreuog oedd.
Gwnaed Deiniol gnot o henaint,
gadu i Rys oes gyda'r saint.
Gwynnu'i enaid gan Nawnef,
glain aur yn goleuo Nef.

*It is right to request heaven's gates,
Peter knows him, he was the patriarch.
Let Deiniol make a custom of old age,
allowing a lifetime for Rhys with the saints.
Cleansing his soul on account of Heaven,
a golden bead lightning Heaven.*

The likely meaning of this is that Peter is understood to be the guardian at the Gates of heaven but that through Deiniol, possibly in Purgatory, Rhys's soul is cleansed and he thus becomes a shining light in heaven.

In *Awdl farwnad Tomos ap Morgan Gwyn o Gil-y-cwm*, Mathau Brwmffild says that while many believe that their souls are destined to go to heaven, they are foolhardy to think this. However, that of Tomos ap Morgan Gwyn is sure of a place in paradise (GMB 16:83 – 86)

Gweled nifer gwlad y nefoedd
I'w cartrefoedd, cariad rhyfyg,
Anian truan yn ein tiroedd,
A'i rodd ydoedd, ŵr urddedig.

*Seeing the host of the land of heaven
In their homes, foolhardy love,
Pitiful nature in our lands,
And it was his gift, the honoured man.*

It seems that Gruffudd Hiraethog believed that it was the good deeds done by Ifan ap Siôn of y Bennardd that ensured a place in heaven for his soul (GGH 83:77 – 80):

Däed y rhoes dra fu'i oes fo,
Dad haelion, Duw a'i talo.
Nef i'r enaid frau wyneb,
O daw nef am roi da i neb.

*He gave so generously during his life,
Father of the generous, may God pay him.
Heaven for the soul of the generous face,
If heaven does indeed come to anyone.*

Ieuan Gethin suffered the deaths of a son and a daughter, both of which deeply affected him (see the section on The Child and Medieval Society). When he himself died, Iorwerth Fynglwyd composed a *marwnad* for him which claims that he was accepted in heaven, perhaps because of his sanctity (GIF 29:44 – 45, 61 – 62):

Yn unair aeth i nawnef,
I fyny'n wir o fewn nef;
.....
Sent i Dduw, sant oedd Ieuan:
Saint nef gydag ef a gân.

*In one word he went to nine heavens,
Up truly into heaven;
.....
Scent for God, a saint was Ieuan:
The saints of heaven sing with him.*

It has been suggested that *sent* is from the English scent which could allude to the incense used during the funeral service (GIF 29: 61n) or perhaps the oil of extreme unction with which the body would have been anointed as part of the last rites. The poet is perhaps further suggesting that Ieuan was a saintly person and as such would

have ascended straight to heaven and the heavenly choir without the need to spend time purging his sins in Purgatory.

There is some uncertainty regarding who was the composer of the satirical *cywydd I'w Bwrs* (To his Purse) with many of the manuscripts claiming it to be the work of Siôn Cent. The *cywydd* has also been attributed to Siôn Phylip and Siôn Dafydd Rhys in some manuscripts, however, it is generally accepted now to be the work of Syr Phylip Emlyn (GSPhE At I n), a poet-priest about whom there is very little information other than is likely *floruit* was the second half of the fifteenth century (GSPhE 11 – 12). The *cywydd* ends with the certainty that through buying indulgences from the clerics, the poet will gain his place in heaven (GSPhE At i:169 – 174):

Caf gariad ym mharadwys,
Caf Dduw yn nerth, caf ne'n ddwys;
Nwyf i'm henw, nef i'm henaid,
Ac arch gan babau a gaid,
A bodd, pob rhyfel, gelyn:
Fy mhwrs, gramersi am hyn!

*I shall have love in paradise,
I shall have God as my supporter, I shall have intense heaven;
Joy for my name, heaven for my soul,
And indulgence from clerics was had,
And reconciliation by [my] enemy [on occasion of] every war:
My purse, mercy is granted for this!*

Whoever was the author of the *cywydd*, it seems to be satirising the belief that pardon from sin can be bought through the purchase of indulgences. This may be a side-ways swipe at the overselling of indulgences or the folly of those who bought them in the belief that they would absolve their sins completely. It may even be a rare example of Lollard influence on theological belief amongst the Welsh clergy.

Gruffudd Hiraethog who died in 1564 was granted his poetic licence in 1545 or 1546 and was thus composing poetry during the troubled period of the Reformation. In *Marwnad Cadwaladr ap Robert o'r Rhiwlas* there is a statement that Cadwaladr went to heaven as a result of a request (GGH 8:119 – 124):

I'r nef yr aeth ef wrth ofyn – Duw mawr,

Ac yno bob gwae ni bawb ynn.

Agori iddo heb gau'r oeddyn'
Adenydd eurbyrth Duw'n ei dderbyn,
A'i fawrbarch fawrhad, gyferbyn – â'r Tad
Y mae'i wladychiad, mal y dichyn.

*He went to heaven as a result of asking – great God,
And there every misery to us one and all.*

*Opening for him without shutting were they
The wings of the golden gates of heaven God accepting him,
And his great respect [and] exaltation, opposite – the Father
Is his reign, as is perchance.*

The first line of this quotation seems to imply that prayers were said for the soul of Cadwaladr. In lines 13 and 14 of the same poem, the death of Cadwaldr is dated as being sometime during 1554 which was during the reign of Mary when prayers for the dead were once more acceptable.

There are also a number of allusions in the poetry stating that the soul of the deceased is already in heaven, perhaps suggesting that Purgatory has been by-passed which may be because of the (unstated) piety of the individual when alive.

Casnodyn is one of the earlier poets from the late medieval period, composing poetry in the first half of the fourteenth century. In his *marwnad* for Madog Fychan from Tir Iarll, he firstly requests that Madog be granted a place in heaven (GC 2:69 – 70):

Llew glew gloywLan gan Gynwyd,
Llafur naf Awdur nef aed,
*Brave lion of lustrous and radiant Llangynwyd
Let the lord of the battle go to the Creator in heaven,*

However, Casnodyn goes on to states that Madog deserves his place in heaven with Abraham before making the assertion that Madog is in heaven (GC 2:161 – 162, 178):

Heddwlad senedd y saint, hael ddiwael fael faint,
Hy dyly fry fraint gyd â'r Fraham
.....
Ef nef dref dreiddiaw, rhoddlaw rhwyddlam.

In the peaceful banquet of the assembly of the saint, a measure of the excellent worthy blessing,

Confident that he is worthy above in great privilege with Abraham.

.....

He reaches heaven's home, he with generous hand and expedient his fate

Mab Clochyddyn seems to initially be asking that God grant heaven for the soul of Gwenhwyfar the wife of Hywel ap Tudur ap Gruffudd of Coeden (GGG 6:73 – 74):

Llywiawdr, amherawdr môr a groydd,

Llywied ail Elen i lewenydd

Manager and Lord of sea and moraines,

Let Him lead a second Helen to joy

It is possible here that the poet is comparing the beauty of Gwenhwyfar to that of Helen of Troy or to Saint Helen, mother of Constantine and finder of the True Cross, and asking God that He admit her to heaven. However, later in the poem, he asserts that Gwenhwyfar is already in heaven (GGG 6:100):

Yn rhwy gariad yn Naf wenwlad yn nef winwledd

[She is] in consummate love, in the blissful land of [the] Lord, in

[the] excellent banquet of heaven.

In the *marwnad* for Goronwy ap Tudur, Llywelyn Goch ap Meurig Hen simply states that God has taken the deceased to heaven (GLIG 5:53):

Cymyrth Duw i'w byrth, berthedd – gogoniant,

God took him to his gates, magnificence of glory

In his *marwnad* for fellow poet, Llywelyn ab y Moel, Rhys Goch claims that he will be joining other poets in heaven who have died before him, namely Dafydd ap Gwilym, Madog Benfras and Gruffudd Gryg. It is another poet, Gruffudd Llwyd who will lead Llywelyn ab y Moel's soul to heaven (GRhGE 10:49 – 52):

Gruffudd a'i dwg, diwg dwys,

Brydydd merch, i baradwys,

Ac yno 'n ddioganair

Ymysg archangylion Mair

Gruffudd takes him, genial and solemn,

*Poet of girls, to paradise,
And there free from reproach
Among the archangels of Mary*

Guto'r Glyn's *marwnad* for Llywelyn ab y Moel also claims that the poet's soul has gone to heaven (GG.net 82:65 – 70):

Ei gorff ef aeth i'r crefydd,
Ancr i Fair yn y côr fydd,
Yr enaid i oreunef,
A chywydd newydd i nef.
Fy Nuw a fu'n ei wahodd
Yr ŵyl, a nef yw ei rodd!

*His body went to the order,
an anchorite of Mary will he be in the sanctuary,
his soul to best heaven,
and a new cywydd thereto.
My God invited him
during the feast, and heaven is his gift!*

The order referred to in line 65 is the Cistercian monastery at Strata Marcella. According to R.I. Daniel, there was a close link between the subject of the *marwnad*, Llywelyn ab y Moel and the monastery. He further quotes Eurig Salisbury that Llywelyn may actually have spent the final years of his life as a corrodiairy (i.e. one who receives care and shelter) at the monastery (GG.net 82n). It may also be that Llywelyn had been received into the Order prior to his death or quite simply that he was buried in the habit.

The rather long-winded titled *Owdwl Farnad Merch a Wnaed i Ferch Rys Wyn o Fon ac a Elwir Gorchest y Beirdd am mai dyma'r Gynta a Wnaed ar y Mesur Hwnw Erioed*, Dafydd ab Edmwnd just states that the daughter of Rhys Wyn of Anglesey went to heaven (DE 40:3, 48):

J dy dduw aed wedd ewyn

.....

J dduw ddaeth

To your God may the countenance of purity go

.....

To God she went

It is to the ninth grade of heaven that Rhys ap Maredudd, Lord of Tywyn will go according to the *marwnad* by Dafydd Nanmor (DN 7:29 – 32):

A'r nef wrth roi llef, a'i ffyrth ar lled,
A naw o raddau'n hon a rodded.
A'r Un Tri [ag] Un gogoned, - o'i gôr
A rydd nai Ifor i'r radd nawfed.

*And heaven while giving entreaty, its doors open wide,
And nine grades were placed there.
And the One and Three [with] One glory, - from His choir
Will place Ifor's nephew in the ninth grade.*

Although the genealogy of Rhys ap Maredudd is given (DN 7n), there is no mention of an Ifor. However, Ifor's nephew is here interpreted as Rhys himself. The reference to the nine grades here is a reference to the commonly held belief that there were nine grades of heaven grouped in three groups of three.

In *Marwnad Dafydd Nanmor ac Eraill*, Hywel Rheinallt claims that Dafydd and three others have gone to heaven, though there is the suggestion of some assistance by Saint Peter (DN 50:17 – 18, 45 – 46, and 53 – 54):

Myned adref i'r nefoedd
At i frawd Glyn Teifi'r oedd.
.....
Penreithiau'n llawenhau llu,
Pedwor trysor tir Iesu.
.....
Pedwar mawr i hap ydyn',
Pedr fo help y pedwar hyn.

*He was going home to heaven
To his brother, to Glyn Teifi.
.....
Princes bringing joy to the multitude,
The four treasures of Jesus' land.
.....*

*Four great [men] of fortune are they,
Peter be help for these four.*

There is a little ambiguity in *Marwnad Dafydd ap Dafydd* by Gwilym ab Ieuan Hen as to whether the poet is claiming that Dafydd's soul is free and in heaven or whether it has been freed from Purgatory and is now in heaven (GDID 18:58 – 59):

Ei weled, o Dduw, a'i wlad a'i ddydd
Yn y trŵn a'i enaid rhydd;
*Seeing him, oh God, and his land and his day
In the firmament with his free soul;*

For Guto'r Glyn, there is no ambiguity on the death of Hywel ab Owain of Llanbrynmair; his soul went to heaven (GG.net 40:45 – 48):

I'r nef yr aeth un o'i fro,
Od aeth enaid doeth yno.
Llyna gorff llawen a gaid,
Llywenydd oll i'w enaid!
*A man has gone from his locality to heaven,
if ever a wise soul went there.
His was a most joyful body,
may his soul experience complete joy!*

Similarly, the soul of Gruffudd Fychan ap Gruffudd of Corsygedol went to heaven (GG.net 52:55 – 56):

Esgudwalch Corsygedol
Aeth i nef
*The swift hawk of Corsygedol
has gone to heaven*

Although it was for Dafydd ab Ieuan ap Hywel of Llwydiarth that Hywel Cilan composed his *marwnad*, Dafydd's wife Angharad had also died in the same month (GHC 20n). The poet claims that both their souls were granted a place in heaven (GHC 20:65 – 66):

Mae heddiw, mi a'i addef,
Rhyngthyn' yn un yn y nef.

*They are today, I affirm this,
Together as one in heaven.*

Iolo Goch made the same claim for two poets who died before him; in the first, a *marwnad* for Dafydd ap Gwilym he states (IGP 21:37 – 38):

Athro grym glewlym gloywylef
A thëyrn oedd, aeth i nef.
*a strong, bold, sharp, clear-voiced teacher
and lord was he, he went to heaven.*

The second example is the *marwnad* for Llywelyn Goch ap Meurig Hen which has been discussed above.

In a poem dedicated to God, Ieuan Brydydd Hir states that the road to heaven is through God (GIBH 7:7 – 10):

I'r nef ato Ef, y Tad
A'r Mab (drwy fawr ymwybod
Iôr oesbraff glân) a'r Ysbryd
Yr awn;
*To heaven to Him, the Father
And the Son (through the great consciousness
Of the Lord of great age and purity) and the Spirit
We shall go;*

He makes a similar statement in *Y creu a'r achub* (The creation and the saving) GIBH 8:61 – 62):

A deuwn i'r plas; gweddiwn am ras
A deuwn i'w glas wedi gloes angau.
*And we shall come to the palace; let us pray for grace
And we come to his holy family after the anguish of death.*

However, this will only be achieved through confession – ‘Ein gyffes fu'r lles I gael nef’ (Our confession was the benefit ... To be allowed into heaven) (GIBH 7:21 and 22).

Marwnad Ieuan y töwr by Ieuan Gethin is a parody of the *marwnad* genre which may well have been composed for the entertainment of the subject and/or his family and friends. Although the work is satirical and the lines contained in it would not be

expected to be included in a true *marwnad*, it still conveys the message that the ‘deceased’ went to heaven (GIGe 5:55 – 58):

Aeth Ieuan, ddilan ddolef,
Â’i dobren o’r nen i’r nef.
Nid wylwn ond o alaeth,
I dŷ Duw i doi ydd aeth!

*Ieuan went, terrible outcry,
With his roofing tool from the roof to heaven.
We do not weep but of longing,
To God’s house to roof he went!*

In the satire of Guto’r Glyn composed by Llywelyn ap Gutun, the poet claims that Guto died because of his inability to swim and that his soul has gone to heaven (GLIG 11:3 – 4):

Boddi wnaeth ar draeth heb drai,
Mae ’n y nef am na nofiai!

*He drowned on a beach without ebb-tide,
He is in heaven because he could not swim!*

In his *marwnad* for Dafydd ab Edmwnd, Lewys Môn suggests that he and another poet are both in heaven (GLM 89:51 – 52):

dwy aeth i Nef, doethion ŷn:
Duw a wyllo’r gerdd delyn.

*two went to Heaven, they are wise men:
May God watch over the craft of the harp.*

This couplet refers to the fact that two of the winners in the Eisteddfod at Carmarthen c.1541 have now died (GLM 89n) and that God watches over them. Cynfrig Bencerdd won the Silver Harp competition, so the final line could be a reference to him.

Gutun Owain also claimed that Dafydd ab Edmwnd’s soul went to heaven, or at the very least that his soul was destined to go to heaven (GO 62:51 – 52):

Trvgaredd y winwledd wenn,
Tŷ Duw a gaiff tad awen!

Compassion of the holy wine-feast,

God's house will have the father of the muse!

The fate of the soul of Meredudd ap Tudur ap Hywel was to become an earl in the kingdom of heaven according to Tudur Penllyn (GTP 19:57 – 62):

Da fu dynged Meredudd
A dawn a gras Duw'n y grudd –
Ystiwart tra fu gartref,
Yn iarll er pan aeth i nef;
Yntau arglwydd ein teirgwlad
Yn llys Duw mae'n well ei stad.

*Good was Meredudd's fate
And a reward and the grace of God in the cheek –
A steward while he was at home,
An earl since he went to heaven;
He a lord over our three lands
In God's court he is in better circumstances.*

It may have been because she had recently returned from a pilgrimage to St. David's (GTP 20:2) that Mallt, the daughter of Hywel Selau went immediately to heaven following her death (GTP 20:19 – 23):

Mae yn drwm ac yma'n drist
Roi'r diweirgorff mewn derwgist,
A'r enaid cryf oedd rent Crist.

I Grist ag anrheg yr aeth
O deilwng ysbrydoliaeth,

*It is heavy and here is sad
Placing the pure body in an oaken chest,
And the strong soul was Christ's rent.*

*She took a present to Christ
Of worthy inspiration,*

Ieuan ap Tudur Penllyn contrasts the fate of the body with that of the soul in his *Marwnad Wmffre Fychan a Laddasid*, but again, it is to heaven that the soul goes (GTP 49:47 – 48):

Mae'n y ddaear a garwn,
A'i enaid rhydd yn y trwn;
*He is in the earth [he] whom we loved,
And his soul is free in the firmament;*

It was the saints and the Virgin Mary who took the soul of Siôn Dafydd ap Gruffudd Fychan to heaven according to Lewys Glyn Cothi (GLGC 30:63 – 64):

Rhoi nef fal rhoi i nefolion
y mae'r saint a Mair i Siôn.
*The saints and Mary give heaven
to Siôn as if to heavenly people.*

In his *marwnad* for Gwenllian, the daughter of Rhys, it is uncertain what exactly Lewys Glyn Cothi means when claiming that Gwenllian went from her celibacy to Mary as she was married to Dafydd ap Tomos and mother to Rhys ap Dafydd. Perhaps it is the fact that her husband died before her and that she remained faithful to his memory is what the poet is suggesting here or it may be that she may have taken the vows of the order of widowhood following the death of her husband, as suggested by Dafydd Johnston (GLGC 44:49n). Whatever the facts were, the poet believed that she went to heaven (GLGC 44:3 – 6):

Gwenllian, o'i lleianaeth,
ferch Rys, at Fair ucho'r aeth.
Ei bedd sy'n Llanybyddair,
bedd fal y byddai i Fair.
*Gwenllian, from her celibacy,
daughter of Rhys, to Mary on high she went.
Her grave is in Llanybydder,
a grave such as would be for Mary.*

Lewys Glyn Cothi seems to have been so certain of the fate of the soul of Rhys Llwyd ap Dafydd that he makes several references to its having gone to heaven (GLGC 48:1 – 4, 31 – 33, 40 – 42):

Nef oll yw hendref Rhys Llwyd – a'i adail
wedy'r awr y claddwyd;
aeth yntau i wleddau Duw lwyd,
a ninnau a wenwynwyd.

.....

Rhys yn nhŷ'r Iesu
sydd yn goresu,
a ninnau ddeulu yn un ddolef.

.....

Dug lle'dd aeth ei daid
yno ei enaid,
un Duw a'i yngnaid, i'r wen dangnef.

*The whole of heaven is Rhys Llwyd's ancestral home – and his edifice
after the hour that he was buried;
he went to blessed God's feasts,
and we were poisoned.*

.....

*Rhys in Jesus' house
endures,
and we a family in one lamentation.*

.....

*The one God and his magistrates took his soul there
to where his ancestors went,
to blessed heaven.*

In claiming that Mabli the daughter of Gwilym is in heaven, Lewys Glyn Cothi adds that that will also be the fate of his own soul (GLGC 59:9 – 12):

Ydd wyd yn y nef, lle ydd af – innau
at fy hynaif Addaf;
fry'dd aethost at Fair ddoethaf,
i dŷ Duw hefyd ydd af.

*You are in heaven, where I myself will go
to my ancestor Adam;
on high you went to wisest Mary,
to God's house also I shall go.*

The poet claims that Hywel ap Dafydd is an angel in heaven in his *marwnad* for him (GLGC 85:61 – 64):

Hywel sy'n angel o nef
a gŵr yn y goreunef;
yno y saif yn y sŷr,
oed yr aur i'w dri eryr.

*Hywel is an angel from heaven
and a man in the best heaven;
there he stands amidst the stars,
the age of gold for his three eagles.*

The three eagles referred to in the final line would be a reference to the three sons which he left and are mentioned earlier on in the poem (GLGC 85:43 – 50).

Wiliam ap Lleision is one of the gems of heaven asserts Lewys Glyn Cothi (GLGC 109:5 – 8):

Gwelais Wiliam ap Lleision
a'i gywir frud ger ei fron,
a heddiw, mi a'i haddef,
y mae'n un o emau nef.

*I saw Wiliam ap Lleision
and his true prophecy by his breast,
and today, I assert this,
he is one of the gems of heaven.*

In the case of Rhys ap Maredudd, Lord of Tywyn, Lewys Glyn Cothi makes the simple statement that he has gone to God in heaven (GLGC 71:7 – 8):

Arglwydd, ddiwydrwydd adref,
Tywyn a aeth at Duw nef,

*The Lord of Tywyn, fidelity at home,
went to God of heaven,*

He makes similar assertions in the cases of Lleucu the daughter of Ieuan ap Siancyn (GLGC 75:1 – 2), Tomas Fychan ap Tomas (GLGC 77:7 – 8), Morgan ap Dafydd Gam (GLGC 134:55 – 56), Rhys ap Dafydd (GLGC 176:51 – 52), Hywel Goch ap Rhys ap Dafydd (GLGC 179:60), Rhys and Owain, two sons of Philyb ap Rhys

(GLGC 189:4 and 54), Dafydd Llwyd ap Dafydd (GLGC 202:43 – 44) and Sioned Bwlclai (GLGC 229:21).

Lewys Môn also claimed that the soul of Sioned Bwlclai had gone to heaven (GLM 3:73 – 76):

Nef Naw[f]jed, Sioned y sydd
ynn heno yn heini dragywydd,
a'i llun yn y llawenydd,
a chan Fair ferch Anna fydd.

*The ninth heaven, Sioned is
there for us tonight eternally lively,
and her body in the bliss [of heaven],
and with Mary daughter of Anna will she be.*

In the case of Tudur Llwyd, it was to Jesus that he went (GLM 68:85 – 86):

I b' le 'dd âi heb le i ddial?
At Iesu gwyn, tywysog Iâl.

*Where did he go without a place for revenge?
To blessed Jesus, prince of Yale.*

As with Lewys Glyn Cothi, Lewys Môn made one-line statements in several of his *marwnadau* which claimed that the soul of the deceased was in heaven such as those for Huw Lewys (GLM 4:68), Rhys ap Cynfig (GLM 13:15), Siân Stradling (GLM 40:70), Angharad ferch Dafydd (GLM 44:15), Syr Morys (GLM 78:62). Tudur Aled also uses the type of phrase which suggests that the deceased is in heaven. For example, in his *marwnad* for Morgan ap Siôn ap Hywel Holand of Eglwys Fach he says (TA 71:24):

At i wraig, ag at Duw'r aeth;
To his wife and to God he went;

Suggesting that Morgan's wife had died before him.

In *Cywydd Marwnad Rhys ap Llywelyn ap Hwlcyn o Fod Ychen, Sir Fôn*, the poet claims that the soul of Rhys, who had been a generous patron ('our wealth') is now in heaven and that the body is in 'Cybi's soil'. This refers to the burial place of Rhys which would likely be Caergybi (Holyhead) (TA 75:29 – 30):

Mae 'n y nef [ei]n mwnai ni,
Mae'r rhodd cwbl ym mhridd Cybi!
*He's in heaven our wealth,
All of the grace [of God] is in Cybi's soil!*

When it comes to Tomas Salbri Hen, Tudur Aled simply states that he is in heaven (TA 78:76):

..... i nef ydd aeth!
..... *to heaven he went!*

It is a similar message in the *marwnad* for Ieuan ap Tudur ap Gruffudd Llwyd ap Heilyn Frych Llanefydd (TA 93:3 – 4):

Eyr Llan, a roi'r lluniaeth,
Nefydd, i nefoedd a aeth;
*The eagle of Llanefydd, who gives the governance,
Went to heaven;*

Eyr or eagle here is used as a metaphor for hero so Tudur Aled is stating that the hero of Llanefydd, i.e. Ieuan ap Tudur, has gone to heaven. 'Lluniaeth' can also mean 'sustenance' and could refer to the fact that that poets depended on their patrons for such.

Later in the same poem, there is a suggestion by the poet that Ieuan ap Tudur was buried near to an image of the Virgin Mary, perhaps in the hope that this would speed his journey to heaven or more likely that Mary would be at hand when he rises from the grave for the Last Judgement (TA 93:89 – 94):

Lle arch cyrff Llywarch y caid,
Llan Nefydd, lle'i hynafiaid,
Llawr [e]i fedd wrth allor Fair,
A'i arch ef ar [e]i chyfair;
[E]i enaid êl yn [e]i dwylaw
I nawfed radd y nef draw!
*Where the coffin of the stock of Llywarch was;
Llanefydd, where [are] his ancestors,
The floor of his grave by Mary's shrine,
And his coffin beside her;*

*May his soul go into her hands
To the ninth grade of heaven yonder!*

The wording in *Marwnad Siôn ap Maredudd ab Ieuan Llwyd* is, perhaps, a little more convoluted. However, the implication once more is that Siôn went to heaven (TA 81:3 – 4):

Lletywr aeth i'r lle trig,
Llys Bedr, yn llaw Was Badrig.
*A boarder went to the place where he dwells,
Peter's court, in the hand of the Patrick's Servant.*

Although referred to as a young man and as 'Master', we cannot be sure how old Robert Pilstwn was when he died. Nevertheless, Tudur Aled was certain that he went to heaven (TA 83:75 – 76, 81 – 82):

I galyndu, glaned oedd,
Yr ai'n ifanc i'r nefoedd;
.....
Gweilch Duw, yn [e]i gylch y dôn,
I'w roi 'ngwely'r engylion!
*To follow God, so pure was he,
He went as a young man to heaven.*
.....
*God's falcons, around him do they come,
To place him in the angels' bed!*

It was the Virgin Mary who took Siôn Wyn ab Ieuan ap Rhys to heaven according to Tudur Aled (TA 87:93 – 96):

I nef ydd ai, 'n ufudd iawn,
Mair a'i enaid mor uniawn,
A'i ddwyn, hawdd uddun heddyw
Ar ddwy law Fair a'r Ddelw Fyw!
*To heaven, very obediently,
Did Mary take his soul so directly,
And bring him, to them with ease today
To Mary's two hands and the Image of the Cross!*

In the case of Dafydd ap Hywel ap Gruffudd ab Ednyfed, Tudur Aled claims that his soul will grow in heaven (TA 90:75 – 76):

Un faint yn y nef a fydd,

Yno y tyf enaid Dafydd!

*The same size in heaven which will be,
There will grow Dafydd's soul!*

The work of Gutun Owain contains several references which state that the deceased went to heaven. In the *marwnad* for Tudur ap Ieuan Llwyd, it is the simple statement ‘. . . i nef yr aeth’ (to heaven he went) (GO 39:57). Similarly, Alswn Fechan, went to the court of the one God (GO 45:25 – 26):

I’r nef aeth Mair vn ovec,

I lys vn Duw, Alswn dec.

*To heaven went the one of Mary's intention,
To the court of [the] one God, fair Alison.*

The same poet claims that the soul of Siôn Edwart of Chirk is holding his court in heaven (GO 56:53 – 54):

Heddiw, i lys, o’i haddef,

A’i nevadd, yw nowradd nef.

*Today, his court, from his abode,
And his hall, is the nine grades of heaven.*

In *Marwnad Robert ap Maredudd, Glynllifon*, Lewys Daron asserts that God owns the soul of Robert ap Maredudd (GLD 5:84):

. Duw biau’r enaid.

. *God owns the soul.*

Similarly, in the case of Gruffudd Carreg, Lewys Daron states (GLD 7:67 – 68):

Y Gŵr sy’n Nef ar Groes Naid

A’i prynodd piau’r enaid.

*The Man who is in Heaven on the Cross of Fate
And who bought him owns his soul.*

That is, Christ who paid for the souls of mankind on the cross owns the soul of Gruffudd Carreg.

In his *marwnad* for Siân Stradling, Lewys Daron claims that her soul went to Jesus in heaven (GLD 10:63 – 64):

Marchog aurdorchog, d'erchwyn
Eurwisg aeth i'r Iesu gwyn.

*Golden collared knight, your graveside
Golden dress went to blessed Jesus.*

The *marwnad* by Lewys Daron for Ieuan ap Dafydd Gweptra is a little ambiguous in that it may be asking that the soul of Ieuan ap Dafydd be granted joy or that it is in joyful bliss (GLD 26:67 – 68):

Llu'n ei gylch llawen a gaid;
Llawenydd oll i'w enaid!

*A host was surrounding him;
Total joy for his soul!*

There is no ambiguity as to the fate of the souls of Morgan ab Owain and his wife Sisli according to Dafydd Epynt; they joined each other in heaven (GDEp 20:53 – 54):

Da oeddyn' cyn dioddef,
Deuddyn, un oed, dda 'n y nef.

*They were both well before suffering,
Both, at the same time, are well in heaven.*

When Rhisiart ap Hywel died, Huw ap Dafydd ap Llywelyn ap Madog claimed that God only accepted the souls of the worthy and that Rhisiart was now with God (GHD 6:65 – 66, 70)

Duw dug hydd godidog hael,
Nid dwyn enaid dyn anael.

.....

Nifer oes nef i Risiart!

*God took an excellent, generous stag,
The soul of an unworthy man is not taken.*

.....

A number of ages of heaven to Richard!

The same poet in *Marwnad Syr Rhoser Salbri, Lleweni* firstly states that his wife prayed for his soul but later claims that God has taken his soul to heaven (GHD 12:35 – 36, 91 – 92):

Ac yno’dd oedd gan ei ddwyn

Ar ei gweddi wraig addwyn:

.....

Dan ei bwys Duw’n ei basiwn,

Digon teg, dug enaid hwn.

And there was because he was taken

At her prayers [his] virtuous wife:

.....

Under his authority God in his passion,

Fair enough, took this soul.

In several of the *marwnadau* composed by Lewys Morgannwg, he often claims that the soul of the deceased has gone to heaven but also uses the phrase ‘heaven for the man’ or similar, which has been discussed above. For example, his *marwnad* for Watgyn Lochr (GLMorg 13:42 – 43, 50):

Duw sy iawn dewis ei wŵr

Gŵr a ddug ef i’r nefoedd,

.....

..... Nef i’r gŵr.

God who’s just chooses his man

He took a man heaven

.....

..... *Heaven for the man*

There is a similar message in *Awdl Marwnad Ieuan ap Dafydd* (GLMorg 14:80 – 82, 90):

Â mawredd i’r llawr ym mhridd a’r llaid;

I’r ysbryd bywyd lle bai – duwiolaeth

Ar farn a aeth i’r nef ar naid.

.....

..... Nef i'r enaid.

*With majesty to the floor in dirt and the mud;
To the spirit of life where [be] fault – piety
And judgement which went to the heaven at once.*

.....

..... *Heaven for the soul.*

In the case of Morys Sainsion, Lewys Morgannwg simply states that he was taken to heaven (GLMorg 18:31):

Dwyn i nef y dyn o'n iaith,

Taking to heaven the man from our nation,

In *Marwnad Syr Siôn Rhaglan, y Carn Llwyd*, the poet states (GLMorg 24:21 – 22):

Ŵyr Syr Rhoser – oes rasol? –

Fychan âi i nef. Och ni'n ôl!

The grandson of Sir Roger – is there a gracious one? –

Fychan went to heaven. Woe to us [left] behind!

Sir William Fychan was also granted a place in heaven on his death according to the poet, although he also mentions 'eternal prayers' which could be interpreted as being for Sir William's soul (GLMorg 52:73 – 74):

Aeth i nef, hiraeth yn ôl,

Neidr, a gweddi'n dragwyddol.

He went to heaven, heartbreak left behind,

A serpent, and eternal prayers

Similarly, for Syr Rhys ap Tomas (GLMorg 63:77 – 78):

Y frân henwych frenhinol

Aeth i nef.

The old excellent regal crow

Went to heaven.

While Siôn ap Tomas ap Phylib was welcomed in to heaven by Jesus (GLMorg 71:69 – 70):

Siôn, ei enaid sy'n nawnef,

Iesu Dad groesawed ef.

Siôn, his soul which is in ninth heaven,

May Jesus the Father welcome him.

Several poets composed *marwnadau* following the death of Tudur Aled. Gruffudd ab Ieuan ap Llywelyn Fychan is quite clear that his soul went to heaven, repeating the statement several times though then asking that he be admitted to heaven (TA Marwnadau i Tudur Aled 1:36, 53, 86):

Petai'n fyw poet i nef aeth;

.....

Awen frau, i nef yr aeth,

.....

I wlad nef eled, yn iach!

If the poet who went to heaven were alive;

.....

Flowing muse, to heaven he went,

.....

Let him go to heaven's land, farewell!

Siôn ap Hywel claimed that he had been such a virtuous man when alive that his soul would have gone straight to heaven (GSH 11:91 – 93, 98):

Tad nawnef, tŷ dyn annwyl,

Tudur aeth at dad yr wyl,

Âg enaid heb neb gwynnach,

.....

Aled wyn aeth i wlad nef.

Father of the nine heavens, the house of a beloved man,

Tudur went to the father of the holy day,

With a soul which none has whiter,

.....

Blessed Aled went to the kingdom of heaven.

In his *marwnad* for Tudur Aled, Lewys Morgannwg claimed that an archangel came and took his soul to heaven (GLMorg 93:75 – 78):

Archangel aeth o'i wely
Â'r enaid hwn i'r un tŷ:
Tŷ wir Grist, doctor i Gred,
Tŷ da'r wyl, Tudur Aled.

*An archangel took from his bed
This soul to the one house:
The house of the true Christ, doctor of Religion,
The good house during the feast, Tudur Aled.*

Lewys Daron claimed that Tudur Aled went to join his patron Sir Rhys ap Thomas in heaven in his *marwnad* for the poet (GLD 25:81 – 90):

Duw'n unawr dwyn ei enaid
At Syr Rhys eto sy rhaid.
Cael prydydd i grefydd gras
Caerfyrddin, cryf ei urddas.
Coed am walch, caead, a mur,
Carte' i brydydd Cwrt Brodyr.

Ni welai Dduw'n ôl ei ddydd
Fath un brawd fyth yn brydydd.
E rydd Duw i radd Dewi
Yn barod Nef i'n brawd ni.

*God now takes his soul
To Sir Rhys again as must be.
Bringing the poet to the monastic life of grace
At Carmarthen, strong his dignity.
Wood about a falcon, a cover and a wall,
Home for the poet is the friar's Court.*

*God would not see after his day
Such a brother as a poet.
God gives him to Dewi's degree
Already in Heaven for our brother.*

Sir Rhys ap Thomas was buried in the Friary at Carmarthen as indeed was Tudur Aled himself.

Raff ap Robert, it seems, was not quite so sure of the fate of Tudur Aled's soul and appears to be calling on his son, Siôn, whom he prefixes 'Syr' denoting that he was a cleric, to pray for Tudur Aled's soul (GRR 6:47 – 50):

Aeron o gorff yr un gŵr –
Un i Dduw yn weddiwr;
Dyna roi un da'n ei raid
Syr Siôn, rhag siars ei enaid;

*Fruit of the body of the same man –
One for God a suppliant;
Give one benefit in his need
Sir Siôn, for the sake of his soul;*

He then goes on to call on God to guard Tudur Aled's soul (GRR 6: 79 – 80):

Cadwed y pen Ceidwad pur,
Duw [ei]n tad, enaid Tudur.

*May the pure and chief Redeemer,
God our father, guard the soul of Tudur.*

Another poet, Lewys Môn, also appears to have been granted immediate access to heaven according to Dafydd Alaw (GLM 98:49 – 50):

I neuadd Duw, yno'dd aeth
i naddu awenyddiaeth.

*To God's hall, there he went
to fashion poetic inspiration.*

Gruffudd Hiraethog similarly claims that the soul of poet Siôn Brwynog went immediately to heaven, being accepted there by Saint Beuno (GGH 63:83 – 86):

Bardd i nef bwriodd ei naid,
Brwynog, Duw biau'r enaid;
A Beuno a'i derbyniodd
Ar ei ŵyl i gael ei rodd.

*A poet to heaven he cast his destiny,
Brwynog, God owns his soul;
And Beuno who received it
On his feast to have his gift.*

Ifor Hael was the patron of the fourteenth-century poet, Dafydd ap Gwilym and was renowned for his generosity. On the death of one of his descendants, Siôn ap Tomas ap Morgan, Lewys Morgannwg claims that his soul was granted a place in heaven (GLMorg 30:72):

I nef rhoed nai Ifor Hael!

To heaven was given the nephew (descendant) of Ifor Hael

Lewys Morgannwg used an identical phrase in the *marwnad* for another of Ifor Hael's descendants, Harri Morgan (GLMorg 33:52).

In noting how the death of Robert Fychan ap Gruffudd of Talhenbont was sadly received, Gruffudd Hiraethog's message in the final line can be seen as a little ambiguous. In his use of the future tense of the verb, it may be that the poet is stating that Robert Fychan's soul will be granted immediate entry to heaven or that it will come to him some time in the future, that is after the time spent in Purgatory (GGH 66:81 – 86):

Ac i'r llew aeth i'r gôr llan
Ei enw fyth i nef weithian.
Oer oedd a dig roddi dewr
Yn y pridd, wyneb rhyddewr.
Sywaeth i'w fedd yr aeth fo,
Siwrnai fydd sir nef iddo.

And for the lion who went to the church's choir

His name now forever in heaven.

It was cold and bitter bestowing a brave man

In the earth, a face too brave.

Unfortunately he went to his grave,

It will be a journey to the kingdom of heaven for him.

Gruffudd Hiraethog is similarly forthright in his belief of what has happened to the soul of Marged, wife of Robert ap Morys (GGH 68:7 – 10):

Diau y gwnaeth Duw, gwae ni,
Dwyn Margred, ynom oergri;
I dai'r nawfed o'r nefoedd
Ei Duw a'i dug, dâed oedd.

*It is certain that God, alas,
Did take Margred, in us dejection;
To the houses of the ninth of the heavens
Her God took her, she was so good.*

Despite these poems being written at the time of the reformation, Gruffudd Hiraethog has no problem mention that Margred used to pray ‘To God and Cedwyn and Doewen and blessed Mary’, (GGH 68:57 – 58) Cedwen and Doewen being native saints. He also states that Margred was seldom seen without her rosary (GGH 68: 59 – 60), before going on to say that she was so good that Jesus will make payment for her in what could be interpreted as intercession by Jesus on behalf of her soul (GGH 68:63 – 64):

A’r Iesu, Farnwr oesoedd,
Gwna iddi dâl gan ddäed oedd;
*And the Jesus, Judge of ages,
Will make payment for her because she was so good;*

Gruffudd Hiraethog is similarly certain of the fate of the soul of Gruffudd ap Robert Fychan (GGH 69:11 – 14):

Gwae ni od aeth, gweiniaid ym,
Gruffudd, y gŵr a hoffym,
Fab Robert, eglurbert glod,
Fychan, i wen nef uchod.
*Alas for us if he went, we are weak,
Gruffudd, the man of whom we were fond,
Robert’s son, unequivocally fine reputation,
Fychan, to blessed heaven above.*

Later in the *marwnad*, the poet asserts that Gruffudd will spend an eternity alongside Jesus (GGH 69:91 – 92):

A’r hen ysgwier hynod,
Oes fyth garbron Iesu i fod.
*And the old remarkable squire,
An eternity alongside Jesus to be.*

The same certainty is apparent in *Marwnad y Barwn Lewys ab Owain o'r Llwyn* (GGH 71:75 – 78):

Er llawened fu'r llynedd
I'w gaerog lys, gorau gwledd,
Man llawenydd mae'n llenwi,
Mewn bro nef mae'n Barwn ni.

*Though so joyous was last year
In his fortified court, the best feast,
It is a joyful place which he fills,
In the kingdom of heaven is our Baron.*

Again, in *Marwnad Cadwaladr ap Siôn Wyn Gruffudd o Iâl* it is apparent that the poet believes that Cadwaladr ap Siôn Gruffudd's soul is in heaven (GGH 75:71 – 72):

Ac enaid aeth, gwynned oedd,
Gawen ieuanc, i nefoedd.

*And [his] soul went, so pure was it,
Young Gawain, to heaven.*

It was Jesus whom Gruffudd Hiraethog claims was responsible for taking Siôn Wyn ap Dafydd of Mers to heaven (GGH 78:76 – 78):

Ac felly, gwae'i gyfeillion,
Iesu aeth i nef â Siôn.

*And thus, alas for his friends,
Jesus took Siôn to heaven.*

It is a theme which occurs consistently in the work of this poet, with example occurring in *Marwnad Robert Fychan ap Tudur o Ferain* (GGH 79:79 – 80), *Marwnad Morys ab Ieuan o'r Wern* (GGH 80:67 – 70), *Marwnad Siôn Wyn ap Maredudd o Wedir* (GGH 81:99 – 102), *Marwnad Siôn ap Rhys o Fodychen* (GGH 82:73 – 76), *Marwnad Siôn Wyn ap Robert o Langynhafal* (GGH 70:71 – 72) and *Marwnad Siôn Trefor o'r Plas-teg* (GGH 88:87 – 88).

There are several poems which are contemplatory in nature in which the poet is asking for deliverance of his own soul to heaven upon his death. In his

confessionary *awdl* Madog Dwygraig appears to be asking for intercession by Saints Michael and Peter, stating that it is they who free the souls and take them to heaven (GMD 7:33 – 35):

Mihangel, echanged gaethder
Ein gallu i'n gollwng uchelder
O pheidiwn, a Phedr a'n cymer,
*Michael, let him free the slavery
Of our [worldly] abilities to absolve us to the majesty
If we desist, and Peter who takes us.*

As Edwards explains (GMD 7n), following the Fourth Lateran Council, annual confession and penance became compulsory for all, and this poem is in the genre of confessional or penitential poetry. Saint Michael traditionally weighs the souls of the deceased in order to ascertain whether they are worthy of entry into the kingdom of heaven. Madog is asking Saint Michael that he be delivered from slavery, which could be interpreted as the slavery of his sinful earthly body or it could be from that his soul be released from slavery in Purgatory. He continues by asking that Saint Peter, the keeper of the keys to Heaven, allow his soul passage.

In his *Awdl i Iesu*, Bleddyn Ddu prays to Jesus for deliverance of his soul (GBDD 2:39 – 42):

Archwn, addefwn a ddwywawd – Pader,
I Nêr, cyfander y cyfundawd,
Ein Heurben, Perchen parch briawd – rhag llaw,
Ein herbyn ataw ddydd braw a Brawd. Amen.
*We supplicate, we confess that which the Lord's Prayer noted,
By the Lord, entirety of unity,
Our exquisite Leader, the Owner [of his] proper respect from now on,
To accept us to Him on the day of fear and Judgement. Amen*

Dafydd y Coed also requests that God consider the fate of his soul in two of his poems. In the first example, which is a prayer to the Trinity, he asks that he be given deliverance from hell (GDC 4:18):

Na ad fi yn drist mywn ufferngist hael Grist Greadwr.
*Leave me not in sadness in the enclosure of hell, fair Christ the
Creator.*

The second example is a prayer to God in which he again requests that he be delivered from the horrors of hell (GDC 5:25 – 28):

Dyro ym, f' Arglwydd, rhag arwydd gau,
Cynnar yngyrth loes, cyn yr angau,
Cyffes a chymun, gyfun gofau,
A'th nawdd rhag uffern, billwern byllau.

*Grant me, my Lord, against false sign,
Wondrous and premature pain, before death,
Confession and communion, harmonious thoughts,
And Your defence from hell, the pools of the fortress of quagmire.*

Composed in the form of a prayer, the poem dedicated to the rood in Chester by Ieuan Brydydd Hir asks God for deliverance for his own soul (GIBH 10:65 to 68):

Y dydd y dël fy elor
I lywio'r corff i lawr y côr,
Dwg at Saint, er Dy fraint fry,
Duw, fy enaid i fyny.

*The day that my bier may come
To guide the body to the choir floor,
Take my soul up to Saints,
Through Your privilege on high, God.*

There is a similar request in the poem which the same poet composed to old-age. Here, Ieuan Brydydd Hir complains about the illness he is suffering in his old age and contemplates his mortality. The poem finishes with an entreaty to God to take his soul to heaven on his death (GIBH 13:65 to 70):

F' Annwyl, er a fo ennyd
Ym yn boen yma'n y byd,
Dwg, Iôr, i le digerydd
F' enaid wrth fy rhaid yn rhydd
I'th lân nef, i'th oleuni,
I'th wlad, Duw, i'th weled Di.

*My Dear One, although there be an instant
That I am in pain here in the world,
Take, Lord, to a place without sin*

*My free soul by necessity
To your sacred heaven, to your light
To your kingdom, to see You.*

Siôn Ceri also prays for his own soul in his poem dedicated to the rood in Brecon (GSC 54:59 – 60):

Fy niwedd fyd, fy nawdd fo,
Fynd atad f'enaid eto.
*My world's end, may it be my sanctuary,
My soul to return to you.*

Poems about the Passion of Christ were quite a common theme in the Middle Ages. One of the few female poets from the period was Gwerful Mechain and her poem to the Passion of Christ suggests that by praying to God before death, an individual may receive the gift of absolution from Purgatory (GGM 1:73 – 74):

Cael ennill fo'n calennig
Pardwn Duw rhag Purdan dig:
*May win it as a [new year] present
The pardon of God from wrathful Purgatory:*

This seems to be what Swanson calls a “devotional” pardon’ (2007:224) or indulgence offering remission from sin through prayer. These devotional pardons, just as with their monetary counterparts, relied on intention for their efficacy; as Swanson notes ‘those wishing to benefit from them needed to approach them as totally unambiguously devotional’ (*op cit* 226). It was believed that such devotional pardons could offer thousands of years of remission for the soul if a specific prayer or group of prayers was recited (*op cit* 227), such prayers being recited for one’s own future benefit or for the benefit of the soul of someone already deceased.

6.3 Intercession and the Saints

According to Emile Mâle, the cult of saints ‘sheds over all the centuries of the Middle Ages its poetic enchantment’ (quoted in Duffy 1992:156). While Mâle may have been describing the situation as he perceived it in mainland Europe, it would also appear that this description may equally be applied to Wales. The late medieval

period in Wales has been described by some (e.g. E. Roberts, 2003) as the ‘Second Age of Saints’. She bases this assertion on the growth of a ‘type of nationalism, of awareness and self-pride that we were a separate nation’ (*op cit* 21) which resulted from the desire to see a Welshman as king. Although the Lives of the saints were written during the Norman period and while this may have been for political ends, the fact remains that the native saints were popularised and remained popular into the later Middle Ages. Indeed, as Barry Lewis has pointed (2015:14), there seems to have been ‘a burst of hagiographical activity in north-east Wales’ during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, although this was not confined to Lives of the native saints. All things considered, this might lead to the expectation that it would be to these, the native saints, that requests would be made for intercession and that this would be reflected in the work of the poets of this later period.

If the situation in England is considered, Duffy (1992:178) maintains that the English laity looked to the saints as powerful helpers in time of need; especially this being the case for relief from the tortures of Purgatory. For example, he describes an East Anglian Book of Hours from the end of the fifteenth century which contains verses to the likes of Giles, Christopher, Blaise, Denis and George, Margaret, Barbara and Katherine – all considered to have special powers to aid. Although some of these saints were believed to possess specialist healing powers – Katherine and Barbara for instance with childbirth – as with any saint, they were also expected to be of help to the soul suffering in Purgatory, but perhaps the most important were considered to be Saint John the Baptist, Saint John the Evangelist, Saint Peter and Saint Michael. The first two of these were considered to be intercessors at Judgement. It was Saint Peter, claimed by the pope to be the original Holy Pope of Rome, who was believed to be keeper of the keys to the kingdom of heaven. Saint Michael, according to popular belief, was responsible for weighing the good deeds against the bad deeds in deciding whether the soul was worthy of entry to the heavenly kingdom (Duffy 1992:325). In the Welsh poetry of the late Middle Ages, reference to the saints, though quite commonplace, is not perhaps as substantial as might be expected. There are some references to the international saints, but these are quite few in number.

6.3.1 The Native Saints⁷

Where native saints are mentioned in poetry of the *Beirdd yr Uchelwyr*, this is found to fall into two categories or *genres*. Firstly, there are those poems which are in praise of one or more of the native saints. These tend to follow a standard format of praising the specific saint or saints and his / her / their deeds, with some making reference to the powers of the saint to intercede on behalf of the soul. The other *genre* is the *marwnadau*. In this group of poems there are those which mention one or more native saints but do not request intercession and there are those which call directly on a saint for intercession on behalf of a patron's soul.

In the first group, there are a number of examples such as that to Dewi by Ieuan ap Rhydderch which also mentions Non, Padrig, Padarn and Teilo. Although this poem is in praise of Dewi, it ends with the lines (GIRh 8:125 – 130):

Dewi a bair, gywair ged,
I werin Cymru wared.
Dewi Ddyfrwr yw'n diwyd,
Dafydd ben sant bedydd byd.
O'r nef y doeth ffyrfgoeth ffydd,
I'r nef yr aeth yn ufydd.

*Dewi causes, [through] perfect gift,
Deliverance to the Welsh people.
Dewi Dyfrwr is our champion,
Dafydd the main saint of the world of Religion.
From heaven he came, bold and excellent his faith,
To heaven he went humbly.*

'I werin Cymru wared' is the important line here as there is a suggestion that the souls of the Welsh people may be saved through the implied intercession of Dewi.

In *Gwaith Rhys Brydydd a Rhisiart ap Rhys*, the editor of the work, Eurys Rowlands assigns the title *I Sant Dewi a Syr Rhys ap Tomas* to one of the *cywyddau*, a *cywydd* which Eurig Salisbury refers to as *Moliant Dewi a marwnad Gwilym*. The actual title

⁷ This section is based on the paper presented at the Cult of Saints Conference in Carmarthen in September 2014. I am very grateful to the Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies for having given me the opportunity to present the paper.

is of little importance here, however, in this *cywydd* the poet Rhisiart ap Rhys gives credit to Dewi for ensuring that Gwilym's soul has gone to heaven (GRhB 9:47 – 48):

Dinefwr waed y nef fry,

Dewi enaid a dynny.

Dinefwr's blood the heaven on high,

Dewi, you will take a soul.

That is, it is Dewi who will take Dinefwr's blood (Gwilym) on high to heaven.

Other poems include, for example, those dedicated to Cadog (Rhisiart ap Rhys), Illtud (Lewys Morgannwg), Tyrnog (Siôn ap Hywel), Llwchaearn (Siôn Ceri), Gwenfrewy (Siôn ap Hywel, Ieuan Brydydd Hir and Tudur Aled), Doged (Ieuan Llwyd Brydydd), Curig (Hywel Swrdwal and Rhisiart ap Rhys), Cynog (Dafydd Epynt) and Dwynwen (Syr Dafydd Trefor).

Next to be considered are those *marwnadau* which makes mention of saints without requesting intercession. Beuno appears on a number of occasions with a request that the deceased be restored to life. This, of course, is a reference to the miracle that Beuno performed in restoring Winifred back to life after her untimely and violent death. Examples include *Marwnad Tomos Pennant* (Siôn Ceri), *Marwnad Syr Bened* (Guto'r Glyn), *Marwnad Elisau ap Gruffudd ab Einion* and *Marwnad Wiliam ap Morys o Riwaedog* (both by Tudur Aled) and famously, *Marwnad Wiliam Herbert* by Hywel Swrdwal. The latter is more an outpour of anti-English sentiment following the execution of William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and his brother Richard after the battle of Banbury in 1469. It is an example of the type of lament which Katherine Goodland identifies as that which seeks revenge following the murder of the one being grieved for (2005:20). In the *marwnad*, Hywel asks that the brothers be restored by Beuno (GHS 7:59 – 62):

Och na chefais, trais fu'r tro,

Wrth ddau ben wrthiau Beuno

Yn y modd, ni cheisiwn mwy,

Y gwnâi fry â Gwenfrewy.

Woe that I did not have, this was a violent act,

Beuno's miracle for two heads

In the manner, I will not ask more,

That he made aloft with Winifred.

Other references to native saints include a comparison with Dwynwen and the subject of *Marwnad Sioned ferch Robert* by Siôn ap Hywel, a comparison of Gwenfrewy and Dwynwen in Ieuan Brydydd Hir's *Moliant Ffynnon Gwenfrewy* – mention is also made of Beuno in this poem. In *Gweddio ar y saint oherwydd y cryd* by Ieuan ap Llywelyn Fychan, he pleads to Dewi, Elian, Cynbryd, Asaf, Bwrog, Dyfnog, Marchell and Gwenfrewy to relieve him of his suffering. However, it is to God that he turns at the end of the poem when he asks that he be admitted to heaven on Judgement Day. Lewys Glyn Cothi in *Marwnad Mabli ferch Wilym* claims that the subject of the poem is already in heaven, a place to which he will go himself someday, and that she is in the care of a number of saints, amongst them some of the native saints (Appendix 3.15.3).

The instances of poems where a native saint is asked to intercede on behalf of the soul of the deceased are quite small in number, with just a few direct requests having been identified. Gwilym Ddu of Arfon calls directly on the Carawn or Caron, patron saint of Ceredigion for intercession on behalf of Trahaearn Brydydd Mawr in his *marwnad* to him (GGDT 8:33 – 36):

Trindawd, tros folawd, fal y'i gwnawn – i'th fraint,
Trwy eirioledd saint ceraint Carawn,
Tro raid ei enaid i uniawn – gynnwys
Trefred baradwys ffraethlwys ffrwythlawn.

*[O] Trinity, in exchange for eulogy, like [the one] that is made to
Your honour,*

*Through the intercession of the saints of the Caron's kinsfolk,
Direct the need of his soul to a just welcome*

[In the] habitation of spirited, beautiful, fruitful paradise.

Though this does not directly ask Caron to intercede as such, it is one of the few poems from the period which actually uses the word 'intercession.'

The second example where a poet directly asks a saint, or rather native saints, for intercession is *Marwnad Morus ab Ieuan ap Hywel o Langedwyn* by Tudur Aled. Tudur Aled begins by calling on Cedwyn and then turning to Doewen or Dogfan (TA 80:79 – 82):

Dy ras, Gedwyn, dros gadarn,
Dy weddi fawr, dydd y farn:
Doewan, er lladd dano'r llu,
Dwg [e]i enaid i'w gannu;

*[By] your grace, Gedwyn, for one powerful,
Your great prayer, on judgement day;
Doewan (St. Dogfan), though he (Morys) killed many,
Take his soul to be cleansed;*

Ieuan ap Hywel Swrdwal makes a direct request to Tyfaelog to intercede on behalf of Ieuan ap Gwilym ap Llywelyn's soul in his *marwnad* to what is likely a young man or boy (GHS 29:53 – 60):

Tyfaelog, rhaid dy foli,
Aeth Duw â dyn i'th dŷ di.
Bydd lawen, blaenbren y blaid,
Wrth hyn, gwna nerth i'w enaid.
Os dugost dadlau drostaw,
Ei ditl ef, a dod dy law,
Pâr dâl, ymofal am ŵr,
Pâr ei enaid i'r Prynwr!

*Tyfaelog, it is necessary to praise you,
God took a man to your house.
Be joyful, the head of the multitude,
By this, give strength to his soul.
If you argue in defence on his behalf,
His title, and place your hand,
Make payment for the care of the man
Cause his soul [to go] to the Saviour!*

In an indirect request to intercede, in his poem *I Gynog Sant*, Dafydd Epynt asks that Cynog be at his side on Judgement Day (GDEp 3:59 – 60):

Cynog a fo'n y canawl
Â'i arf, o daw, rhof a diawl.

*May Cynog be in the middle
With his weapon, if he comes, between me and the Devil.*

There is the suggestion that Cadog is involved in events following the death of the subject in *Marwnad Gruffudd ap Ieuan o Gaerllion* by Hywel Swrdwal (GHS 8:59 – 64):

Rhoed iddo, Efô a fedd,
Duw ragorol drugaredd,
Gân i'w delw, gwna ei dylyn,
Gytŷ â'i gorff, Gatwg wyn:
Ef âi'i enaid i fyny
Â'r enaid hwn i'r un tŷ.

*May the excellent God,
He who reigns, give him compassion,
A song to her image, he will make her be followed,
Belonging to the same house as his body, virtuous Cadog:
His soul would go upwards
And this soul to the same house.*

The same poet, in *Marwnad Morus ap Siôn o Dregynon* asks both Dewi and God to accept Morus's soul into heaven.

Iorwerth Fynglwyd wrote a poem in honour of Saint Brigit, requesting that she care for his soul (GIF 43:75 – 76):

Ffyrnig cŵn uffern y'u caid, -
Da Ffraid fwyn, diffryd f' enaid.

*They were found to be ferocious dogs of hell, -
Good and gentle Brigit, protect/deliver my soul.*

It is probably because of this that Lewys Morgannwg refers to her as the angel of God, taking Iorwerth to heaven in *Marwnad Iorwerth Fynglwyd* (GLMorg 94:72 – 76):

Os da fardd yn llys Duw fydd;
San Ffred, os hwn ei phrydydd,
I'r nef at yr henafiaeth
Angel Duw â'r Mynglwyd aeth.

*If there will be a good poet he will be in God's court;
Saint Brigit, if this man is her poet,
To heaven to the ancients*

The angel of God took the Mynglwyd.

Another example identified is that of Syr Dafydd Trefor where, in his *cywydd* to Dwynwen, he suggests that Dwynwen may be called upon to intercede on behalf of the soul on Judgement Day (Appendix 3.25.1).

Lewys Glyn Cothi appears to ask for intercession from Cybi for Sioned Bwlclai in his *marwnad* for her (GLGC 229:61 – 64):

Ar Gybi'dd wy'n gweddiaw
es ennyd dros Sioned draw,
ac ar Dduw ac ar Ddewi
arail Huw ar ei hôl hi.

*I am praying to Cybi
since some time for Sioned yonder,
and to God and to Dewi
to care for Huw after her.*

Sioned was married to Huw Lewys ap Llywelyn ap Hwlcyn of Prysaeddfed near Bodedern in Anglesey so it is likely that Cybi would have been seen as the patron saint of the area.

There is also a suggestion by the same poet that Tysul may have interceded on behalf of Tomas Fychan ap Tomas (GLGC 77:53 – 56):

a'r gŵr yn y nef yn drugarog,
a'r beirdd od ydiw'n brudd dawedog,
a Dusul a'i ceidw dywysog – ein bro,
a'r fro'n ei gwyno a phlwyf Gwenog.

*and the man in heaven [is] merciful,
and the poets assuredly are earnestly sad,
and Tysul who keeps him a prince – [of] our land,
and the land laments him and the parish of Gwenog.*

The second couplet should be read as:

And it is Tysul, a prince of or over our land who keeps him (Tomas Fychan),
and the people of the parish of Gwenog and all the land lament his (Tomas
Fychan's) passing.

The parish of Gwenog refers to Llanwenog, the parish in which Tomas Fychan lived, which is not far from Llandysul in Cardiganshire.

In *Marwnad Dafydd Mathew o Radyr*, Huw Cae Llwyd asserts that Dafydd Mathew's mother prays (successfully) to Non for the soul of her departed son (Appendix 3.10.1). There is a suggestion in *Marwnad Rhys Llwyd* by Lewis Môn that it is Deiniol who has interceded on behalf of the subject of the poem (GLM 53:73 – 78):

Perthyn ofyn pyrth nefoedd,
 Pedr a'i gŵyr, padreuog oedd.
 Gwnaed Deiniol gnot o henaint,
 gadu i Rys oes gyda'r saint.
 Gwynnu'i enaid gan Nawnef,
 glain aur yn goleuo Nef.

*It is right to request heaven's gates,
 Peter knows him, he was the patriarch.
 Let Deiniol make a custom of old age,
 allowing a lifetime for Rhys with the saints.
 Cleansing his soul on account of Heaven,
 a golden bead lightning Heaven.*

The likely meaning of this is that Peter is understood to be the guardian at the Gates of heaven but that it is through Deiniol, and while his soul is in Purgatory, that Rhys becomes cleansed and he thus becomes a shining light in heaven.

6.3.2 Requests to the Virgin Mary

During this period, the Cult of Mary became popular and its popularity is evident in Wales by the existence of shrines dedicated to her such as that at Pen-rhys. Mary held a special place in the hearts of the medieval Christians. Being the mother of Jesus, it was generally felt that she would have direct access to God in order to intercede on behalf of the souls of the dead. Sally Badham describes several examples of images showing Mary praying on behalf of a benefactor who paid to have the images painted or constructed in glass (e.g. 2015:86). In medieval Welsh literature, there are a number of poems where a poet turns to Mary for intercession at the time of their own death or that of a patron. For example, Casnodyn requests that Mary intercedes on his behalf in his *Englynion i Fair* (GC 9:18):

Bid grair ym Fair rhag Ei fâr;

Mary defend me from His wrath;

And again, (GC10:5 – 6):

Dydd Barn, cadarn ortho, wrth

Dduw dy Dad,

[On] Judgement Day, it is you who stoutly defends me nearby

God your Father,

Dafydd Epynt expresses his faith in the Virgin Mary that she will deliver him from eternal damnation in the flames of hell (GDEp 2:50):

Mair, n'ad ti 'y mwrw 'n y tân!

Mary, do not let me be thrown into the fire!

In his *Cywydd i Fair*, Maredudd ap Rhys sees Mary as the saviour of his soul (GMR 18:47 – 48):

Dwg fyth, a chadwedig fo,

F'enaid i gael nef yno.

Take forever, and may it be saved,

My soul to be allowed in heaven there.

There is also a hint of the Cult of Mary later in the same poem (GMR 18.59 – 60):

Dy laswyr bid elusen

Wrth raid i'm henaid; Amen.

Let your rosary be charity

For the necessity of my soul; Amen.

'Llaswyr' is described in GPC as the Rosary of Our Lady, i.e. Mary.

Gwilym Tew composed two *Awdlau i Fair*, one of which refers to the image at Penrhys, and sees Mary as the saviour and intercessor for all souls (GGT 1:21 – 22):

Mair rhag blinder a'n gweryd,

Mair a gâr y meirw i gyd;

Mary who will deliver us from adversity,

Mary who loves all the dead;

And in the same poem (GGT 1:48 – 50):

Y Forwyn hen, frenhinol

A wŷr eriol yr awron

Ar i Iesu, ein croyw Iesu, Cyrie eleison.

*The ancient, royal Maiden
Who knows [how] to intercede, right now,
With Jesus, our sweet Jesus, Kyrie eleison.*

‘Kyrie eleison’ are the opening words of the Mass and means ‘Lord have mercy’.

In his second *awdl*, once more Gwilym Tew regards Mary as the one who will intercede on behalf of the souls of mankind (GGT 2:9 – 10):

Hiledd brenhinedd o had – y nawradd
Yn eiriol dros bob gwlad;
*Races of kings from seed – [of] the nine grades (of angels)
Interceding on behalf of every land*

And again (GGT, 2:49 – 50):

Ym Mhen-rhys, eiriol mewn rhos irwydd,
Y dianafir pob dyn ufydd;
*In Pen-rhys, intercession in a heathland of young trees,
Every faithful man is made blemish free (i.e. without sin);*

And again, later on in the *awdl* (GGT 2:69 – 72):

Yn hen, od â fy enaid, yn hydd,
Ef allai farw fy llefarydd;
Ar Iesu rasol, ar Fair f’ eiriol,
Fyned yn ei rôl f’ enaid yn rhydd.
*Should my soul become old, a stag,
Perhaps my utterance may die;
On merciful Jesus, on Mary my intercessor,
May my soul go free in his roll.*

This final line is a request that Gwilym Tew’s soul be entered into the roll of transgressors on Judgement Day through the intercession of Mary,

Ieuan ap Rhydderch also believed that Mary would intercede on behalf of the souls of everyone. Despite his references to many native saints in the poem, examination of *Gweddiau Ieuan ap Rhydderch* shows that all his prayers are directed to the Virgin Mary wherein he repeats the request that Mary prays for him (GIRh Atiii). In his poem dedicated to Mary, Ieuan ap Rhydderch is more direct in his belief in her powers of intercession (GIRh 9:85 – 91):

Mair forwynaid, Mair addfwynaid,

Mair gyflwynaid, mawr gyflawnau.
Er d'arweddiant anrhydeddiant,
Er dy feddiant, aur dy foddau,
Arch i'th Dduwner ddwyn holl nifer,
Pan y'u rhifer (poen i'w rhwyfau),
I le tradwys lle mae'r Tadwys,
I baradwys o bur oedau,

*Chaste Mary, gentle Mary,
Mary full of grace, full of perfection.
Because of your behaviour they honour (you),
Because of your authority, gold your appearance,
Ask your Great Lord to take all,
When they are counted (painful their excesses),
To the place rather solemn where is the Father,
To paradise of pure assignations,*

Ieuan ap Hywel Swardwal wrote a rather strange *Awdl i Fair*, written in Middle English but using Welsh orthography where he calls on Mary to 'save our souls' after death (GHS 33:21 – 28):

Help ws, prae ffor ws, preffering – owr sowl;
Asoel ws at our ending.
Mak ddat awl wi ffawl tw ffing
Iwr Swns lwf, owr syns lefing.

As wi ma eddy dae off deing – resef
Owr safiowr yn howsling;
As hi mae tak ws waking
Tw hym yn hys michti wing.

*Help us, pray for us, raise – our souls;
Forgive us at our ending.
Make that we all receive
Your Son's love, leaving our sins.*

*As we are able, our dying day – receive
Our Saviour in communion;*

*As he may take us as we wake
To Him in his mighty wing.⁸*

Although Llawdden does not call directly on Mary to intercede on his behalf, in his *Cywydd i Fair*, he calls on Jesus/God to accept his soul into heaven for the sake of his (Jesus') Mother (GLI, 2:59 – 64):

Er Duw Iesu, aur dwysog,
Ac er grym geiriau y Grog,
Clyw fy modd am y clwyf mau,
Mair wry, am ofer eiriau;
Dwg fi, Duw, er dy deg fam,
Syberw, i fynwes Abram.

*For God Jesus' sake, golden prince,
And for the sake of forceful words of the Rood,
Hear my willingness for the malady [which is] mine,
Virgin Mary, for vain words;
Take me, noble God, for the sake of your fair mother,
To Abraham's bosom.*

Rhisiart ap Rhys calls on Mary to take him to heaven (GRhB 5:51 – 52):

Am anwylyd mae 'nolef,
Am dy nerth i'm dwyn i nef.

*My lament is for me dear one,
For your strength taking me to heaven.*

In the same poem, the poet is more direct in his request to Mary (GRhB 5:61 – 64):

Mair o nef, morwyn ufudd,
Mae'r ofn yr hawl, myn fi'n rhydd.
Tro f'enaïd o'm terfynad
I'r lle wyt ti gerllaw'r Tad.

*Mary of heaven, obedient maiden,
Fearing the trial, wish me free.
Cause my soul from my death
To where are you beside the Father.*

⁸ The rewording into modern English here is my interpretation using Dylan Foster Evans's transcription into modern Welsh as an aid.

In *Marwnad Elsbeth Mathau o Radur*, it is because of the offerings made to the shrine of Mary at Pen-rhys that Rhisiard ap Rhys asserts that Elsbeth Mathau has gone to heaven (GRhB 29:51 – 56):

Pen-rhys o'i llys a'i llaswyr,
Pwys dau gant mewn pyst o gwyr.
Diffirwyth oedd weled offrwm
Diethr ei haur da a thrwm.
Ei mawr fraint gyda Mair fry,
Y mae'i henaid am hynny.

*Pen-rhys because of her court and her psalter,
Weighing two hundred in posts of wax
In vain was it seeing any offering
Except her good and heavy gold.
Her great privilege with Mary on high,
Is her soul because of that.*

Rhisiart ap Rhys's son, Lewys Morgannwg also wrote two *cywyddau* in praise of image of Mary at Pen-rhys. In the first of these, he suggests that Mary will care for his soul (Appendix 3.17.1). Line 62 of the poem refers to a certain 'Sir Edward'. This would be Sir Edward Stradling of St Donat's to whom Lewys Morgannwg composed at least two poems. Since Sir Edward Stradling died in May 1535, this *cywydd* to the image of Mary at Pen-rhys must have been composed before that date. As with the first *moliant*, the second gives a description of the miracles which the image at Pen-rhys is able to perform. However, this second *cywydd* is more direct in its attribution to Mary of the power of intercession (Appendix 3.17.2). Gruffudd Fychan ap Gruffudd ab Ednyfed writes an impassioned plea in his *Awdl i Grist a Mair* that his soul be accepted into heaven and be delivered the horrors of hell (GSRh 12) but although the *awdl* is partly addressed to Mary, he does not actually call directly for her to intercede on behalf of his soul.

The loss of the poet Dafydd ab Edmwnd was deeply felt by his contemporaries, with Tudur Aled, Lewys Môn and Gutun Owain all composing *marwnadau* to him. Tudur Aled calls on Mary in his *marwnad* to ensure that Dafydd ab Edmwnd is received in heaven (TA 70:77 – 80):

Anfoned, o nef, annerch, -
Gwahodd Mair am gywydd merch;
Gwneled Fair, a'i gwenwlad fydd,
Roi paradwys i'r prydydd.

*A salutation, from heaven, was sent, -
Mary's invitation for a maiden's poem;
Let it be Mary, and her fair land which will be,
Who gives paradise to the poet.*

He suggests that it is Mary who saves the soul of Morgan ap Siôn ap Hywel Holand by showing him mercy (TA 71:101 – 102):

Mair yn borth, ym mron y bedd,
Aeth â'r gŵr i'w thrugaredd!

*Mary the gateway, in the breast of the grave,
Took the man to her mercy!*

In his *marwnad* to Morus ab Ieuan ap Hywel, Tudur Aled firstly calls on native saints Gedwyn and Doewan (possibly Dogfan) to intercede on behalf of Morus's soul before calling on the higher authority of Mary. In this *cywydd*, the poet also mentions that the sins of the individual may be seen on the brow and that Saint Michael weighs the good deeds against the bad in order to assess the acceptability of the soul to enter the kingdom of heaven (Appendix 3.26.1):

The *marwnad* to Siôn Wyn ab Ieuan ap Rhys by Tudur Aled suggests that Mary took the soul of the deceased to heaven (TA 87:93 – 96):

I nef ydd ai, 'n ufudd iawn,
Mair a'i enaid mor uniawn,
A'i ddwyn, hawdd uddun heddyw
Ar ddwy law Fair a'r Ddelw Fyw!

*To heaven, very obediently,
Did Mary take his soul so directly,
And bring him, to them with ease today
To Mary's two hands and the Image of the Cross!*

It would appear that Ieuan ap Tudur ap Gruffudd Llwyd was buried near to an image of Mary so that she may deliver him to heaven (TA 93:89 – 94):

Lle arch cyrff Llywarch y caid,
Llan Nefydd, lle'i hynafiaid,
Llawr [e]ji fedd wrth allor Fair,
A'i arch ef ar [e]ji chyfair;
[E]ji enaid êl yn [e]ji dwylaw
I nawfed radd y nef draw!

*Where the coffin of the stock of Llywarch was;
Llannefydd, the place of his ancestors,
The floor of his grave by Mary's shrine,
And his coffin beside her;
May his soul go in her hands
To the ninth grade of heaven yonder!*

Wiliam ap Morys was considered to be so pure by Tudur Aled as to justify a request that his soul be taken to heaven by Mary (TA 94:91 – 92):

Mab, na chorff mwy byw, ni chaid, ,
Mor lân – Mair êl a'i enaid!
*[Neither] son, nor body so alive, was had
So pure – may Mary take his soul!*

The poems attributed to Siôn Cent tend to be rather dark in their character. In his *cywydd* to God and Mary, he calls on both of them to ensure his place in heaven, claiming that he will die penitent (GSCent 17:51 – 56):

Na wylled neb o waelod naint
Wedi farw o edifeiriaint,
Wylaf, galwaf ar Geli,
A Mair wen, cyn fy marw i,
I gael lle golau llawen,
Wrth raid i'm enaid. Amen.

*Let no-one cry in penitence from the bottom of ravines,
After his death,
I cry, I call on God,
And blessed Mary, before my death,*

*To have a joyful light place,
Necessary for my soul. Amen.*

The main work of the poet, of course, was to produce poetry for his patron; thus we would expect to see entreaties to Mary to save the souls of these and members of their families as in Dafydd Nanmor's *Marwnad Tomas ap Rhys o'r Tywyn* (GDN 9:63 – 66):

Ni ad Mair, ni chair yn garcharawr – plaid,
Na rhestio'r enaid, na [rhwystr] unawr.

Pâr di egori, er mwyn gwawr – porth gwyrrh,
Pedwar ban y pyrth, Pedr ben porthawr.

*Mary will not leave, [he] will not be held prisoner – [in the] walls [of
purgatory],*

The soul will not be arrested, nor hindrance now.

Cause to open, for Mary (God?)⁹ – the wonderful gate,

The four points of the gates, Peter head gateman.

As has been discussed earlier, Ifor Williams maintains that the word *plaid* must be interpreted as a wattle or lath wall, giving the meaning that Mary will not allow him to be held prisoner within the wall, that wall being a figurative reference to purgatory.

Although not directed at Mary, Gruffudd ap Maredudd invokes her in his request that Hywel ap Goronwy be granted his place in heaven in *Marwnad Hywel ap Goronwy, archddiacon Môn* (GGM i 1:61 – 68):

Er gwyarGrog lain a'r gwayw irgrau
A raid brynodd ynn rad â breinau,
A'th diwarthaf daith, a'th hoyw wyrthau, - Grair,
O ragor pwyll Mair, Iôr yr eigiau,
Dwg heb lysiant, Dduw deg ei blasau,
Ŵyr i Dewdwr Mawr, aur eidudiau,
Yn iawn rhydid nef, anian rhadau – llwyr,

⁹ My thanks to Ann Parry Owen for pointing out that 'gwawr' can also mean the Virgin Mary. GPC also states that it could mean God or Christ.

O glod a synnwyr gwlad y seiniau!

For the sake of the blade of the bloody Cross and the Spear with fresh blood

Which bought us grace with privileges which were needed,

And your faultless journey, and your marvellous miracles, O dear One,

Through the transcendence of Mary's wisdom, O Lord of the forces,

Take without renouncing, O God fair his habitation,

The descendant of Tewedwr Mawr, exquisite his lands,

To the just freedom of heaven, complete blessed nature,

Through praise and wisdom the land of the saints!

The same poet also calls on Mary 'and all the martyrs' to intercede on behalf of Gwenhwyfar of Pentraeth (GGM iii 5:157 – 160):

Mawr Dduw dwyfol Mair i'th eiriol a'r merthyri,
Er Dy gystud a'th hir gythrudd a'th ddu gethri,
Arailbryd Nyf, eurair gleddyf, Iôr arglwyddi,
Dwg hon i'th wlad eton o'th rad: wyt Un a Thri

Great divine God, may Mary and the martyrs intercede with you,

Because of Your suffering and Your long pain and the steel nails,

Defend [the one of] Nyf's beauty, polished sword Your word, Lord of lords,

Take her to Your land through Your grace: You are One and Three.

Gruffudd Hiraethog who is one of the later of the *cywyddwyr* of the period also recognises that Mary cares for the souls of the dead (GGH 70: 57 – 58):

A Gwry Fair, gorau Forwyn,

A seinio nef i Siôn Wyn.

And the Virgin Mary, best Maiden,

Who proclaims heaven for Siôn Wyn

Although not calling directly on Mary to intercede on behalf of Edward ap Dafydd of Bryncunallt, Guto'r Glyn obviously expects her to intercede as is shown in these lines (GG.net 104:59 – 66):

Dofydd a gâr ei dafod,
Dydd y Farn da oedd ei fod,
A chynnal yn ychwaneg
Hwnderwd Duw, hen Edwart deg.
Mae ar far, a Mair Forwyn
Gydag ef i gadw'i gwyn,
A brawdwr rhag bwrw Edwart
Fo Duw nef: aed yn Ei wart!

*The Lord cherishes Edward's tongue,
It would be good on Judgement Day,
And he would hold in addition
God's hundred court, old and fair Edward.
He is now before the bench, with the Virgin Mary
At his side to uphold his plaint,
And may God of heaven be the judge
So that Edward may not be cast down: may he go into His custody!*

Iorwerth Fynglwyd asks for the grace Mary on behalf of Richard Herbert of Ewias which could be interpreted as a request for Her to intercede on his behalf (GIF 11:55 – 56):

Mair o nef, lle mae'r un wart,
Moes di ras i'r Mastr Rhisiart.
*Mary of heaven, where is the one ward,
Give grace to Master Richard*

There is a suggestion in the *marwnad* to Siân Stradling that Lewys Daron believes that Mary has interceded on behalf of the poem's subject (GLD 10:87 – 91):

Felly Siân, f'ewylllys oedd,
O'r un afael, i'r Nefoedd;
A Mair, yn ôl fy marn i,
A wnâi fedd yn Nef iddi.
*Thus Siân, my will was,
Of the same grip, to Heaven;
And Mary, in my opinion,
Who made a grave in Heaven for her.*

According Lewys Glyn Cothi, it is Mary and the saints who ensure that Siôn Dafydd ap Gruffudd Fychan be granted his place in heaven (GLGC 30:63 – 64):

Rhoi nef fal rhoi i nefolion
y mae'r saint a Mair i Siôn.

*Giving heaven as is given to the sanctified
do the saints and Mary to Siôn.*

The message being conveyed in this couplet is that Mary and the saints will give a place in heaven to Siôn as would be usual to anyone as saintly as Siôn had been.

In his *marwnad* to Siôn ab Elis Eutun, Lewys Daron is much confident in the intercession of Mary on behalf of the subject's soul (GLD 27:67 – 72):

Mair a'i dug, mawr y digiais,
Mae'r iâ o fewn muriau f'ais;
Maen rhiwbi mewn Rhiwabon,
Mair y sy help mawr i Siôn.
Mair, cyrraedd ym mrig gweryd,
Maddau ei gam-wedd i gyd.

*Mary who took him, greatly I grieved,
There is ice within the walls of my ribs:
A ruby stone in Rhiwabon,
Mary who is a great help to Siôn.
Mary, arriving at the top of deliverance,
Forgive all his sins.*

Lewys Glyn Cothi prays directly to Mary on behalf of the soul of Robert Dwli, Bishop of St. David's (GLGC 93:49 – 52):

Mwnai a rannai wrth raid – i bob un
a mwy o'i ddwyfin i amddifaid;
archwn am hynny, eirchiaid – holl Gymru,
i wenFair rannu nef i'r enaid.

*Money he used to share according to the needs of each one
and more from his two lips for orphans;
we pray for that, supplicants – all of Wales,
to blessed Mary to share heaven with his soul.*

There is perhaps the suggestion by Lewys Glyn Cothi that Mary has interceded on behalf of Richard ap Thomas and indeed for the father, Thomas (GLGC 128:55 – 60):

Os rhoes Domas a Rhisiart,
un Duw gwyn a'u dug i'w wart.
Mab a thad cymeradwy,
Mair a'i thad a'i cymyrth hwy,
a cheidwad yn ei chadair
i'r gŵr a'i fab fo'r Gwry Fair.

*If Thomas and Richard gave,
one blessed God took them to his protection.
Father and son worthy of acceptance,
Mary and her father have taken them,
And let the Virgin Mary be a protector in her chair
to the man and his son.*

Similarly, there is a suggestion that Lewys Morgannwg called on Mary to intercede on behalf of his friend, Iorwerth Fynglwyd (GLMorg 94:9 – 12):

Maen ar fedd, anrhydeddwn
Mynglwyd doeth: mae 'ngwaelod hwn.
Gwely sy i fardd, gelwais Fair,
Gardd a geidw'r gerdd gadair.

*A stone on a grave, we honour
Wise Mwynglwyd: he is at the bottom of this.
A bed which is for a poet, I called Mary,
A garden keeps the chaired poem.*

Rhys Goch Eryri asserts that, like the prophet David, Gruffudd Llwyd is a favoured poet of the Virgin Mary and that through prayer and the suffrage of Mary, Gruffudd's time in purgatory will be short and he will soon be amongst the angels in heaven (GRhGE 6:89 – 98):

Cedwid Mair, fy eurgrair fydd,
Ffriwdeg enaid ei phrydydd.
Yn llaw hoff Dafydd Broffwyd,

Yn y lle rhoir Gruffudd Llwyd
I'w ddwyn dan adolwyn dwys,
Brydydd Mair, i baradwys:
Buan ydd êl, heb ohir,
Pardwn hardd heb burdan hir,
Yng nglân fraint engylion fro
Enaid Gruffudd Llwyd yno.

*Mary, who will be my golden relic,
Keep the fair countenanced soul of her poet.
In the hand of the favoured Prophet David,
In that place Gruffudd Llwyd will be placed
To take him under solemn prayer,
Mary's poet, to paradise:
Soon may he go, without delay,
Noble pardon without long purgatory,
In [to] the cleansed privilege of the land of the angels
The soul of Gruffudd Llwyd there.*

When Hywel ap Gruffudd or Hywel y Fwyall died in c1381, the poet Rhisiertyn called on both Mary and Jesus to ensure that he would be received in heaven (GSRh 6:109 – 112):

Crist, un Mab Mair, rhadau nerthair, rhaid yn wrthyd
Cynnwys Hywel, Eurnaf uchel, ar nef iechyd!
Iachäed Mair, crair croywradd,
Enaid gwalch bwrddfalch, beirddfodd!

*Christ, Mary's only Child, with a powerful pledge for blessings, we
must ask
You to welcome Hywel, most excellent sublime Lord, to the salvation
of heaven!
Let it be that Mary, treasure so shining, save
The soul of a hero of such excellent feast, [a] joy to poets!*

There are also the examples of a poet calling on Mary to have pity on the family left behind such as in Dafydd Nanmor's *Marwnad Tomas ap Rhys o'r Tywyn* (GDN 9:33 – 36):

Margred, os poened yn oes Pab – i Dduw
Am ddwyn un o'i deufab,
Gettid Mair, ddi-wair arab,
I hon, Amen, i hun mab.

*If Marged were made to suffer in the age of a Pope, for God
For taking one of her two sons,
May Mary, gentle chaste, spare
For her, her remaining son, Amen.*

6.4 The Day of Judgement

Philippe Ariès (1981) states that the early Christians believed that after death, they rested and awaited the return of Christ. He claims that their 'image of the end of time was that of the glorified Christ as he rose to heaven on the day of Ascension' (*op cit* 97). This claim is based on the evidence of imagery in funerary art from the Romanesque period, which is the period from the tenth until the twelfth century. Although images of the Last Judgement were produced during this period, Ariès claims that they were not in the style that would inspire fear but rather as an 'awakening of the just, who emerge from their sleep to ascend into the light' (*op cit* 97).

Despite the assertion by Ariès that the images of Judgement Day were not originally intended to inspire fear in the minds of the people, towards the end of the twelfth century and for several centuries later, imagery representing the Day of Judgement became more and more fearful. The resurrection of the bodies is still portrayed, but now new iconography appears whereby the just and the damned are separated, with the just ascending to heaven and the damned descending into the fiery pits of hell. It is, perhaps, the final destination of the soul after death that caused the greatest consternation to the medieval mind. Le Goff (1981) charts the development of the Christian fate of the soul in the afterlife back to a Jewish philosophy which says that after death, the soul either goes directly to eternal reward if the deceased was worthy in life, directly to eternal punishment if the deceased deserved such a fate or a sort of intermediate abode. For Christian philosophy, this became heavenly reward for the saintly, the torment of hell for the evil and the intermediate abode eventually

developed into what became the place to purge sins that had not been absolved before death, known as Purgatory.

Jean-Claude Schmitt (1998) claims that it was with the coming of the Franciscan and Dominican orders at the beginning of the thirteenth century that precipitated sermons which gave a new authority to the Day of Judgement and the fate of the soul after death. The Franciscan Order believed that they should save the souls of the poor and consequently lived and moved amongst the lower strata of society while the Dominicans were initially established to seek out and challenge heresy through academic argument. As such, neither Order was confined to a cloistered monastery nor to the territory of a specific parish and thus could, and did, roam at will preaching across the land. With their particular purpose being the individual salvation of all Christians, their focus was on death and the individual's judgement at the moment of death. From this, it seems a natural step that they would have commented and preached on the fate of the soul in the hereafter and in order to convince their congregations to repent, they would have included descriptions of the potential torment that sinners would face.

Scenes depicting Judgement Day were quite commonplace in continental Europe. Carved tympana in the cathedrals at Bamberg in Germany and Autun, Rheims and Rouen in France show rows of souls being escorted by angels and devils to be united with their resurrected bodies after their final judgement (Oosterwijk, 2009). In England, plays written at this time depict the fate of the soul on Judgement Day. One such play described by Oosterwijk (*op cit*) is the Chester Last Judgement play in which among the saved and lost souls are those of a pope, an emperor, a king, a queen and a justice – a group which is reminiscent of the *Danse Macabre*. There are numerous references to Judgement Day in Welsh poetry of the period. The metaphorical allusions which reflected the depth of the loss felt on the death of a loved one or patron are analysed in the chapter dealing with grief and mourning. Here, it is the direct reference to the fate of the soul with the macabre overtones often associated with Judgement Day which is considered. It is also in these references to Judgement Day that some of the inconsistencies in late medieval thinking between the ideas of Purgatory and Judgement Day become apparent. On the one hand, was the belief that by purging one's sins while the soul spent time in Purgatory, the soul could be assured its place in heaven while on the other hand was the belief that the

soul could still be consigned to hell at the Final Judgement. It's a contradiction which is never really resolved and an issue which is apparent in the works of the poets of this period.

One of the earlier poets of the period whose work is considered to be more like that of the previous generation of poets, Casnodyn turns to the Virgin Mary in the hope that she will ensure that he attains his place in heaven on Judgement Day (GC 10:5 – 6):

Dydd Barn, cadarn ortho, wrth
Dduw dy Dad,
*[On] Judgement Day, it is you who stoutly defends me from
God your Father,*

It is often in poems composed in praise of God, Jesus or the Virgin Mary that sentiments regarding salvation on the Day of Judgement are to be found. In a poem dedicated to God, Iorwerth ab y Cyriog states (GGG 5:29 – 32):

Yn y Farn gadarn gydgymanfa,
Yn y Frawd barawd buredigfa,
Yn y fro y bo pob traha – yn gorffen,
Yn y fên, fy Rhên, mae rhaid noddfa!
*In the assembly of steadfast Judgement,
In the ready purification of Doom,
In the land where all tyranny shall vanish,
In [that] place, Lord, sanctuary is needed!*

However, the poet is confident in the fate of his soul as he later acknowledges God as (GGG 40:37):

Fy Arglwydd cyflwydd a'm cyflea,
My victorious Lord will prepare a place for me,

Later asserting that he has no doubt but that his soul will go to heaven (GGG 40:41)

A'm rhydd fy Nofydd nef orffwysfa,
My Lord will give a resting place in heaven to me,

It is also to God that Gruffudd Llwyd turned when he contemplated the fate of the souls of the deceased on Judgement Day. In his *cywydd* to God which is in the form of a prayer the poet finishes by referring to the belief that on the Day of Judgement,

the righteous will be sorted from the sinful by the fact that their worldly actions will be written for all to see on their foreheads. The righteous will be then be admitted to heaven, with the implication that the sinful will end up in hell (Appendix 3.7).

For Madog Dwygraig, it is reconciliation that is his hope in his poem of confession (GMD 8:40):

Cyffwyf gerennydd cyn brwydrddydd Brawd.

Let it be that I receive reconciliation before the troubled Day of Judgement.

In his second confession, which may or may not have been written on his death bed (GMD 8n), the only mention of the fate of the soul is that it be reconciled before Judgement Day.

Despite the fact that Madog's poem *Dychan i'r gwëydd* is a satire to an artisan, he starts in what is quite a common manner (GMD 10n) with a religious introduction where he praises Christ and His justice on Judgement Day (GMD 10:1 – 4):

Crist Arglwydd didrist, edryd – gyfiawnder,

Traws a galander tros gleindyd;

Crair, Llywiawdr, Cofiawdr a'n cyfyd – ddyddbrawd,

Ciwdawd iawnfrawd, cedodd unfryd.

Blissful Lord Christ, declare justice,

A firm example for sanctity;

Beloved, Master, Rememberer, who will raise us on Judgement Day,

Just his judgement on the multitude, unanimous his favour.

Dafydd Epynt composed poems in praise of Christ and the Virgin Mary. In addressing Christ, he asserts that he will be joining Him on Judgement Day (GDEp 1:53 – 54):

Ar D'ôl, ir yw Dy weli,

Yn Nydd y Farn ydd af i.

Back to You, fresh is Thy wound,

On Judgement Day will I go.

In the poem to Mary, he gives a clear indication of the fear that people at that time felt about Judgement Day with the poet declaring his fear of the sounding of the

trumpet on that fateful day, though he goes on to proclaim that, in the end, he expects salvation (GDEp 2:39 – 42):

Ofn y corn, wyf yn crynu,
Â drwy ddŵr a daear ddu,
Yr holl fyd, ennyd unawr,
O farw â'n fyw 'n y Farn fawr.

*In fear of the trumpet, I tremble,
That goes through water and black earth,
The whole world, an instant hour,
From death will return to life on Judgement Day.*

A few lines later he expresses his faith in the Virgin Mary that she will deliver him from eternal damnation in the flames of hell (GDEp 2:50):

Mair, n'ad ti 'y mwrw 'n y tân!

Mary, do not let me be thrown to the flames!

It is of course at Judgement Day that all sins have to be atoned and Guto'r Glyn asserts that 'the Lord cherishes Edward's tongue' for it will do him good on Judgement Day (Dofydd a gâr ei dafod, Dydd y Farn da oedd i fod) in the *marwnad* for Edward ap Dafydd o Fryncuallt (GG.net 104:59 – 60). While not mentioning Judgement Day directly, Dafydd ab Edmwnd claims that at that time, payment has to be made and that the soul of Dafydd ap Ieuan will be that payment (DE 41: 8 – 9):

Diwedd terfyn yw'r dydd tal
Ai rent yw'r enaid tau?

*The final end is the day of payment
Is payment your soul?*

Lewys Môn is much more forthright in his assessment of what is to come on Judgement Day in his *marwnad* for Ieuan ap Llywelyn, though he is also confident that Ieuan ap Llywelyn will pass the test and be at God's side after being judged (GLM 25:77 – 86):

Dydd Barn, pan fo diwedd byd,
dan gof, pob dyn a gyfyd:
a wnelo gam, yn elw gwir,
yn ei dâl yno'i dielir.
Pan deimler – penyd amlwg –

iso draw dros da a drwg,
gwyn ei fyd – oen gwyn yw fo –
fychaned ei faich yno.
Trefnu mae'r Iesu ei ran
o'r tu de i'r Tad, Ieuan.

*Judgement Day, when is the end of the world,
under memory, every man shall ascend:
[he] who did wrong, in true profit,
on his forehead there it will be paid.
When it is felt – obvious penance –
later on for good and bad,
lucky is he – a blessed lamb is he –
so little his burden there.
Jesus prepares his part
on the right side of the Father, [will be] Ieuan.*

Perhaps the most productive of poets of the *genre* of the fate of the soul on Judgement Day during this period was Siôn Cent. In many of his poems, Siôn Cent chastises his contemporaries for wasting their time praising their patrons, men of high birth, when they should have been using their poetic skills in praise of God and the church. The poems attributed to Siôn Cent tend to satirise the nobility and show them to be no different from anyone else in death; often his poems are rather sombre and dark, with many making reference to the devil and hell. In *Y Llyfr*, there is an image of the devil taking the souls of sinners down to hell to torment them cruelly (Appendix 3.24.1:77 – 102). Similarly, in his *cywydd* to God in which he prays for salvation from the horrors of a hell which he so vividly describes (Appendix 3.24.2:27 – 62). In the *cywydd Twyll y Byd*, Siôn Cent contemplates the fate of men after their deaths (Appendix 3.24.3: 59 – 62), after which he then goes on to consider the fate of the body after death (Appendix 3.24.3:83 – 90). This is followed by a description of hell with the entreaty that Christ will save the souls of men from that fate (Appendix 3.24.3:101 – 112). There are also a number of poems which have been attributed to Siôn Cent in the manuscripts but which modern scholars refute as being his work. The modern belief is that they are written in an identical or similar style to that which he used, probably contemporary to his life, but by other un-named poets. Amongst these poems is the *cywydd Myfyrdod ar Weddi'r Arglwyd* which

gives an image of heaven in sharp contrast to the horrific visions of hell (Appendix 3.24.4).

Although it is in Siôn Cent's work and the poems written in his style that many of the most gruesome images are described, other poets of the period were equally capable of including *macabre* images in their work. In a supplication to Jesus to save his soul from hell's torment, Bleddyn Ddu begs (GBDd 3:35):

Arleidrad, n'ad noeth i'r tân pân poenboeth,
*Lord, do not leave [one] naked [to go] to the hot painful fire
cauldron,*

D. Myrddin Lloyd compares the work of Casnodyn to the work of the later *Gogynfeirdd*, noting that the work of some of these poets such as Gruffudd ab yr Ynad Coch dwell 'at length on the horrors of death, the grave, judgement and hell' (Jarman *et al*, 1997:27). He makes the further point that there is a link between these works and the poems of Casnodyn, specifically his *Awdl i'r Drindod*. In this a prayer to the Trinity, Casnodyn is asking for deliverance from the horrors of hell. While the language does not convey so fearful a picture as other poems, it does at least conform to the idea of hell being a place of torture (GC 7:9 – 11, 13):

Differ fi, fy Nêr, rhag nych – uffern gnwd,
A'r tân brwnstan brwd, rhwd rhydwynnach,
A'r pydew llenrew, llawnrych – cylestrig,
.....
A'r pryfed caled colioc-chwrych – syrniog,
*Defend me, my God, from the languor of the hosts of hell,
And the hot fires of brimstone, a blight quite painful its wound,
And the pit covered with ice, a furrow full and burnished,
.....
And the numerous, pitiless, insects of prickly hedges,*

He also asks that he be admitted into heaven upon his death (GC 7:70 – 73):

Trindod dibechod, Duw ni bechawdd,
Treiddwyf i nef yn addef Ei nawdd,
Trist fydd, tragwydd trwy gawdd, - a'i collo,
Tristyd fryd frawdrow, frwydr gyfannawdd.
[O] impeccable Trinity, God who did not sin

*Let me into heaven into the home of His compassion,
Sad, in eternal misery, will be [he] that loses out,
A situation of terror and sad thought, a perpetual battle.*

In his *Awdl Gyffes*, Gruffudd ap Maredudd ap Dafydd considers the fate of his soul after death and compares the horrors of eternal damnation with what he hopes will be his fate, paradise in heaven (Appendix 3.4). At the beginning of the poem, in line two, Gruffudd refers to *cyn diwrnod cyni* which means ‘before the day of adversity/distress’. This is probably interpreted (GGMD ii 15:2n), in the context of the poem as taken to mean before the death of the poet. Thus, this poem is about the poet making his confession before he dies so that he may be absolved of his sins and enter the kingdom of heaven. The confession takes some 23 lines to make, up until line 30, and between lines 31 and 46 he asks God to deliver him from an elaborate description of the horrors of hell. This contrasts with the paradise into which he hopes to be received in lines 64 to 74.

In similar vein is *Awdl i Grist a Mair* by Gruffudd Fychan ap Gruffudd ab Ednyfed. This poem is two hundred and eighty-eight lines long with the majority of it reading like a brief history of Genesis followed by a brief history of the life of Christ. It is in the final part that Gruffudd considers the fate of his own body and soul when he dies. A number of requests are made for his soul to be saved and Gruffudd also describes his vision of the horrors of hell, asking that he be saved from it (Appendix 3.5:221 – 224, 237 – 240). Lines 249 to 252 of the poem are written almost in the form of the last will and testament of the poet, where he commits his soul to heaven and his body to sacred ground (Appendix 3.5:249 – 252). It is at the end of this lengthy poem that Gruffudd describes what can be seen is a contemporaneous view of the horrors of hell, a place from which he is beseeching deliverance (Appendix 3.5:265 – 276).

It is Guto'r Glyn's only true religious poem *Myfyrdod diwedd oes* (Meditation at the end of life) in which the poet reflects on his life as death approaches, which sums up beliefs of the period regarding the fate of the soul after death. In the poem, Guto'r Glyn tells how one is expected to lead a good life and repent any sins committed in order to achieve a place in paradise (Appendix 3.8.3). He considers what the fate of his soul may be, visualising the passion of Christ and asking that He come to his aid on Judgement Day (Appendix 3.8.3:34 – 37), noting that he hears the call of the

trumpet as the Day of Judgement approaches and reflects the belief that all that he did throughout his life be visible for God to read on his forehead (Appendix 3.8.3:63 – 66). Later in the same poem it is on God that he calls for support (Appendix 3.8.3:71 – 74).

The Day of Judgement is also mentioned by Iolo Goch in *Cywydd y Llafurwyr*, where there is the suggestion that the common labourer has much less to fear at Judgement Day than the rich and noble for the labourer (IGP 28:17 – 20):

Ni rydd farn eithr ar arawdd,

Ni char yn ei gyfar gawdd

Ni ddeily ryfel, ni ddilyn,

Ni threisia am ei dda ddyn;

he does not pass judgement except on ploughbeam

he does not like anger amongst his fellow labourers

he does not wage war, he does not persecute,

he does not rob a man of his goods by force;

Glanmor Williams describes this poem as illustrating the attitude of the age. He states that it shows

[t]he sanctity of productive labour, the merits of poor in contrast to the vices of the rich, the charity of the lowly as opposed to the inhumanity of the powerful, the Last Judgement as the day of vengeance for the poor, had long been proclaimed from the medieval pulpit. It was these sermons that were the ultimate source of inspiration for Iolo.... (1976:188).

In the context of this study, it exemplifies the understanding that appears to come from many of the poems that there is an expectation that the journey of the just and the meek to heaven will be shorter. The cynic might also say that in the context of de-population brought about as a result of the plague and the Peasants Revolt of 1381 that this is an example of religion being used to control the masses.

In a slightly different slant, the *cywydd Gweledigaeth Pawl yn Uffern* by Llywelyn ap Gwilym Lygliw provides a contemporaneous view of what hell was thought to be. The poet also gives some advice on how to avoid ending up in this dreadful place when one has been called to account for one's life on the Day of Judgement (Appendix 3.20). The fear of Judgement Day is still apparent in the work of the

sixteenth century poet Mathau Brwmffild. In a poem praising the two parishes of Llanymawddwy and Mallwyd in Mawddwy, he states (GMB 15:21 – 24):

Gwŷr, gwragedd, hwylwedd heulwen,
Meibion, morynion, Mair wen,
Ac i'w plant ffyniant a ffawd,
Oed diweddbraw', hyd Dyddbrawd.

*Men, women, sun filled fun times,
Sons, maidens, virtuous Mary,
And to their children prosperity and fortune,
At the assignation with the final test, until Judgement Day.*

From the tenth century onwards, there had been accounts of spirits returning to haunt the living. Peter the Venerable, one-time abbot of Cluny claimed that these spirits came back with God's permission in order to elicit suffrages from the living. According to the English writer William of Newburgh, the cadavers of the dead left their graves in order to terrorise the living before returning once more to their tombs (Schmitt 1998). Although there are no such appearances recorded in Welsh poetry of the late medieval period, Iolo Goch's *Ymddiddan Rhwng yr Enaid a'r Corff* is of interest as it suggests a separate identity for the soul from the body. In this *cywydd*, the soul relates a journey it has undertaken as an itinerant bard around Wales while the body was too drunk to participate (IGP 14). Of particular interest in this poem is the use of the word *ellyll* in line 28 which in modern Welsh is understood to mean goblin, elf, ghoul or sprite. Dafydd Johnston (1998) explains that its meaning here is soul-less body or as Eurig Salisbury has suggested (2009), the first medieval literary allusion in Welsh to what today is called a zombie. The idea of a separate identity for the soul from the body also appears in a religious play in Welsh – *Llyma Ymddiddan yr Enaid a'r Corff (Dialogue of the Soul and the Body)*. Based on the evidence of the manuscripts in which this play appears, Gwenan Jones (1939) dates the play as having been written at the beginning of the sixteenth century in north east Wales which is over a hundred years after the death of Iolo Goch who, coincidentally, also came from north east Wales.

Maredudd ap Rhys in his *Cywydd i'r Byd* considers the fate of the soul after death and the choice that is to come between heaven and hell. This *cywydd* also makes reference to the purging of sins before Jesus will accept the soul into heaven

(Appendix 3.23.2). Another worldly *cywydd*, *Yn erbyn caru'r byd* (GSDT 15) has been attributed to a number of poets with the strongest contenders for authorship being Syr Dafydd Trefor and Maredudd ap Rhys (GSDT 15n). It is very much a morality *cywydd* which warns of the dangers of trusting in worldly temptations – namely the flesh (13), the devil (15) and the world itself (17). If the warning is not heeded then '[n]i ad un enaid i ne'' (not one soul will be accepted in heaven). This could be a reference to Romans viii 8: 'Those who are in the realm of the flesh cannot please God.'

The *cywydd* warns that '[m]or ful y daw marfolaeth' ([s]o sincere comes death) (110) that people should consider their end in good time. The body will spend a long time in the grave '... ef a drig yma' (134) before going to the Mount of Olives '[m]yned a wnawn i'r Mynydd' (137) where judgement will be steadfast '[m]or gadarn yw'r farn a fydd' (142). He who is being judged will have his deeds throughout his life remembered and this will result in his having to pay for his sins '[a]'i weithred wrth yr edef, [c]oelia'n wir, a'i calyn ef.' (1135 and 36). There is perhaps the suggestion here of the good deeds being weighed against the bad in the scales of the Archangel Michael for the *cywydd* goes on to say (139) '[y] dyn a'i weithred i'w dâl.' This could be interpreted as the man having to pay for his deeds (i.e. at Judgement Day) or 'dâl' can also be translated as 'forehead' since it was believed that the deeds a man performed while alive were written on his forehead. The *cywydd* finishes by urging everyone to turn to God for redemption so that they may gain entry to heaven and the feast that awaits the faithful there.

There is a similar theme to the next *cywydd*, *I ddangos fyrred oes dyn* (GSDT 16) where again Sir Dafydd Trefor warns against the temptations of the body, the devil and the world to those who wish for heaven for their soul '[a] fynno nef i'r enaid' (157). This time, he offers salvation through the three healers (Tri meddyg safedig sydd), namely charity (165), fasting (166) and love (167). The *cywydd* ends with a warning of the Day of Judgement and mentions those who will go to God (179) '[l]lu eiddo Duw llaw ddeau dôn'' the forces of God's possession who come to his right hand and those who will go to hell (180) '[l]u du' the force of darkness. However, there is no mention of the third force, those who must spend time in Purgatory. This *cywydd* is also very interesting in that it follows a format that is similar to poetry from other European countries in the Middle Ages – the *ubi sunt ...?* which means

‘Where are they now?’ The first part of the *cywydd* lists famous characters from the classical and biblical periods as well as some from traditional Welsh literature, asking what has become of them and showing that death comes even to the great. Similar work was produced in Italian by Giovanni Boccaccio (which was translated from a French version into English by John Lydgate) in English by Geoffrey Chaucer and in French by François Villon (Ifans 2005).

6.5 Conclusion

The concern for the fate of the soul after death at the Day of Judgement during the late Middle Ages in Wales is evident from the poetry that was composed at that time. While there is similarly some evidence of the saying of prayers for the deceased including some references to the saying of masses or trentals, concerns about Purgatory are less obvious. The one exception to this is that by Gwerful Mechain who was composing poetry in the second half of the fifteenth century. Her poem to the Passion of Christ which is the format of a prayer is one of the very few where a direct reference to a request to be saved the horrors of Purgatory.

There are many ambiguous lines in the poetry studied which could suggest that the poet is requesting that the soul of the subject of the *marwnad* be granted a place in heaven. These could be interpreted as a form of prayer for intercession on behalf of the soul of the deceased that it be granted a swift passage through Purgatory. On the other hand, as stated above, the manner in which these lines were composed could also be read as a statement that the deceased was such a virtuous individual when alive that either it is certain that the soul will be granted a place in heaven or that the soul is indeed already in heaven. In fact, there are a number of examples where the poet clearly states that the soul is in heaven, so this latter interpretation is not without foundation based on the evidence of the poetry studied.

7 Conclusion

Great emphasis was placed on the tradition of praying for and commemorating the dead in medieval Europe: some believed that to fail to do so left the living open to visitations from deceased friends and relatives. Jean-Claude Schmitt (1998) has argued that ghostly apparitions were not the norm in the relationships between the living and the dead in medieval Europe. Rather, the dead were said to visit the living because the family left behind had not completed their responsibilities to their dead relatives by paying for suffrages and intercession on their behalf. In effect, they had broken an un-written contract which they were expected to honour under the customs of the time. The dead were returning to remind the living of their obligations to ease the suffering of the soul because the deceased had not completed all penance for sins committed while living. This obligation would have been carried on from one generation to the next, promulgated by the Church which has been suggested had a cynical financial interest in ensuring that the custom continued. It has also been suggested (e.g. Duffy 1992) that the whole *raison d'être* for the proliferation of effigy tombs during this period was to ensure that the torments of the dead were not forgotten by the living. These tombs, and especially the cadaver tombs, were said to serve the purpose of eliciting prayers for the soul of the deceased and by being permanent constructions, this would perpetuate such prayers down the generations.

Although, as has been stated, the quantity and quality of medieval tombs in Wales was not as extensive as was seen in other parts of Europe, this study has shown that Wales was very much a part of the wider western European Catholic tradition. It has, though, been shown that in Wales, commemoration was achieved through the medium of the poetry rather through material substance. Indeed, the poetic tradition in Wales was enshrined in Welsh Law and one of the duties of the court poet was to ensure that the royal lineage and that of the nobility was remembered. This was an important part of Welsh culture as under Welsh Law, there was no rule of primogeniture; all sons inherited a more or less equal sum of the father's riches, including those born outside legitimate marriage. Since the poetry commemorated the forefathers of the upper stratum of society, it may have been the case that a visual commemoration was not seen as so important in the eyes of the Welsh nobility and royalty. It may be that it is for this reason that so few grandiose tombs were constructed in Wales; it may rather have been left up to the poets to ensure that the

deceased were remembered and that prayers were offered for the salvation of their souls. It was the poets who ensured the immortality of their patrons.

There are many accounts of the work of Lollards in pre-Reformation England (e.g. Mamerick 2002), a sentiment which does not appear to have been duplicated to any great degree in Wales. As Glanmor Williams points out, despite the articulate denunciation of ‘the insatiable covetousness and worldliness of the clergy’, there were not many voices raised in Wales to support this view (1976: 203). Indeed, as far as the poetry which has survived from this period is concerned, Lollardy appears to have been non-existent in Wales. From the evidence of Welsh poetry, the veneration of icons such as rood screens and statues appears to be widespread. A number of poets composed poems reflecting on specific rood screens such as that to the rood in Chester by Ieuan Brydydd Hir or that to an un-named rood by Lewys Glyn Cothi and there is evidence of interest in the shrine of the Virgin Mary as evidenced by the poems of Lewys Morgannwg and others as well as poems composed to other such statues, to various saints and to the Trinity. Of course, the testimony of the poetry cannot be relied on as the only evidence to this assertion. *Gramadegiaid y Penceirdd* specifically states that the duty of the poet is to praise God and religion above all else and it could be argued that the poets were performing this duty rather than reflecting the ideals and beliefs of the time.

Perhaps one of the biggest contradictions in the Catholic Church at this time was that between Purgatory and Judgement Day. On the one hand, there was the belief that the souls of the very good went directly to heaven on the death of the individual while those of the very bad went straight to hell. For those who had spent their lives on earth being not so good or not entirely bad, their souls had to purge the wrongdoings of their bodily existence before being allowed into heaven. However, the belief in a Day of Judgement stated that all the dead would be resurrected on the final day and would have to appear before a celestial court which would then balance the good deeds undertaken whilst alive against the bad deeds. Where the good deeds outweighed the bad, the individual would be allowed to enter the kingdom of heaven. If the bad deeds prevailed, it was eternal damnation in hell. As far as the Welsh poetry from this period is concerned, it can be seen that both contradictions are represented, though the direct references to Purgatory in the works are very few.

Perhaps the most enlightening of these is in the *moliant* for Dafydd ab Owain, abbot of Maenen in Aberconwy by Ieuan Llwyd Brydydd (GILIB 8:59 – 60):

Parch arlwydd, perwch erlyn

Pardwn aur rhag purdan ynn.

Honoured lord, you induce the prosecution

Of a golden pardon from purgatory for us.

Here, the poet acknowledges the existence of Purgatory and the desire to be pardoned from having to spend time there. He also acknowledges that this pardon may be granted through the auspices of the Church.

A second example is in a satirical *cywydd* by Ieuan Brydydd Hir. In it, he insists that his friend, Tudur Penllyn, keeps a promise made and marries an ‘old witch.’ In these lines, Ieuan implies that by not honouring such a promise (which may or may not have actually been made), the fate of his friend’s soul after death will be to burn in the fires of Purgatory, a fate which would not wish on his friend (GIBH 1:21 – 24):

Purdan a bair, lle cair cas,

Pryder am dor priodas.

Minnau, o’ m bodd, ni mynnwn

Yn y tân fod enaid hwn!

Purgatory causes, where are the hateful companions,

Anxiety for the broken marriage.

Myself, for my liking, I would not demand

That this soul be in the fire!

As regards the Day of Judgement, references to this are numerous in many of the poems by many of the poets throughout the period studied. So many are the references to Judgement Day, it may be concluded that it was perhaps this rather than Purgatory which was forefront in the minds of the Welsh at this time, at least if we can assume that the poetry reflects the general feelings of the populace at large. Thus, where there are references to prayers for the soul of the deceased or requests to saints intercede or to God to allow the soul of the deceased into heaven, it could be that the poet was referring to at the time of Judgement and not to hasten the soul’s journey through Purgatory. This argument is further reinforced if the examples of requests to the Virgin Mary are considered. Traditionally, Mary is seen at Judgement Day weighing the scales in favour of the deceased by placing her rosary in the scale

representing the good deeds. Thus, even here, requests to Mary could be interpreted as for intercession on Judgement Day rather than assisting the soul's journey through Purgatory. Nevertheless, there are still inconsistencies apparent in the poems from this period with some poets seemingly anticipating the deceased going to heaven while in other instances reference is made to the day when all will be judged.

Much has been written about the sometimes quite complex inscriptions asking for prayer for the souls of the deceased which had been carved on tombs throughout Europe, including those in England. In acknowledging that such inscriptions are rare in Wales, it should perhaps be remembered that we are not comparing like with like. Welsh *marwnadau* mainly consist of praising the deceased; emphasis is firmly placed on the virtues of the individual with often almost a passing reference to the fate of the soul. Indeed, it seems to be that there is almost an expectation or confidence in the fate of the soul: it will go to heaven. While this may suggest a more optimistic approach to the fate of the soul in Wales, it must also be considered that it is due to the very nature of late medieval Welsh poetry. The role of the poet in this society was to praise the patron, very much in a manner that may be said to anticipate the 'Renaissance cult of fame.'

As far as the macabre is concerned, those material examples which still remain in Wales cannot be considered as gruesome as some of those in England and especially not as grisly as those in other parts of Europe. Nevertheless, there remain a small number of cadaver effigies in Wales. There is also a small number of macabre poems which were composed during the period studied with that by Dafydd Ddu Hiraddug probably as gruesome a description as any material example anywhere in Europe. However, despite this again reinforcing that Wales was definitely embedded within the western Catholic tradition, the examples from Wales are relatively small in number, perhaps showing that this particular tradition was not considered so important here.

In analysing the role of the poet in commemorating the dead in the late medieval period in Wales, this study has shown how valuable the poetry is not just for its undoubted literary value but also as a source of historical data. Some of the poems describe the symptoms of the Plague which was suffered by the people during the period in considerable detail. Such descriptions help give us a better understanding

of what exactly they were suffering, confirming by these descriptions that it was indeed the bubonic form that ravaged Europe. There are hints to what were the burial customs at the time, with several poems giving a precise location as to where exactly a patron had been buried. At times, this is at odds with what has come to be believed today thus the poems help us settle some uncertainties. The valuable historical source contained within the poetry has been recognised by the work being undertaken by the University of Wales Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies and there remains much still to be discovered which can enlighten us not just on the history of Wales itself but also on the part played by Wales and Welsh men and women in the development of what was to become Great Britain.

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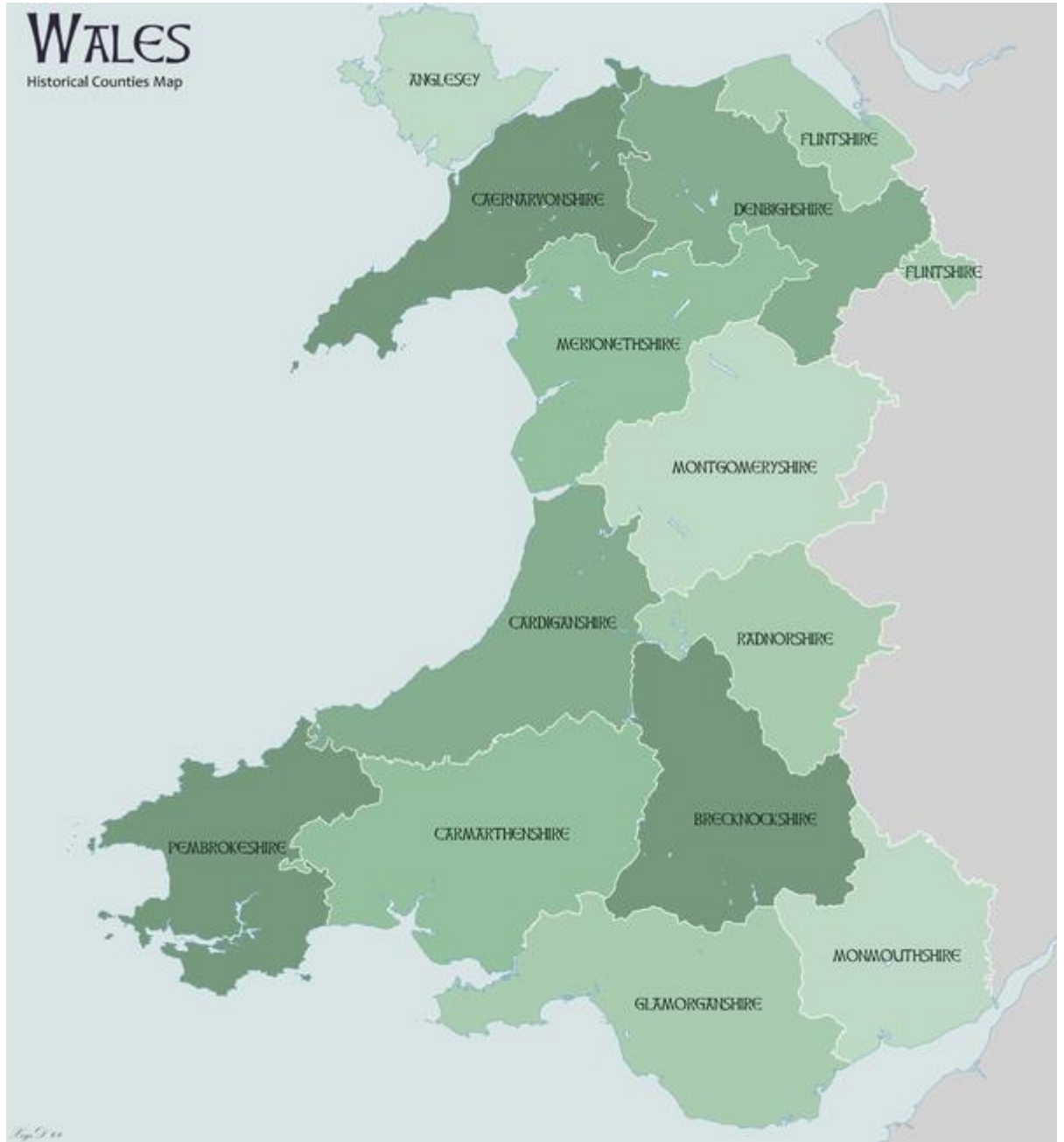
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Glossary of Terms

Awdl	A long poem composed in strict metre (<i>cynganedd</i>) in which the final word of each couplet rhymes
Calennig	A small gift which is given on New Year's Day
Cynghanedd	A precise system of composing poetry in which there is a correspondence of sounds such as alliteration within the lines and between lines
Cywydd	A series of seven-syllable lines of poetry written in <i>cynganedd</i> and in which there are rhyming couplets. Alternate lines of each couplet must end with a stressed / unstressed syllable
Marwnad	Elegiac poetry
Moliant	Praise poetry

Appendices

Appendix 1 Counties of Wales - pre-1974



https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Historic_counties_of_Wales

Appendix 2: The Poets Whose Work was Studied listed Chronologically

Gruffudd Unbais (*fl.* ?1277/82 – ?beginning C14)
Llywelyn Foelrhon (*fl.* 1295 – 1322/3)
Casnodyn (*fl.* . first half C14)
Llywelyn Brydydd Hoddnant (*fl.* beginning C14)
Gruffudd ap Dafydd ap Tudur (*fl.* c1300)
Trahaearn Brydydd Mawr (*fl.* beginning C14)
Iorwerth Beli (*fl.* 1309 – 27)
Gwilym Ddu o Arfon (*fl.* 1316 – 18)
Hillyn (*fl.* first half C14)
Mab Clochyddyn (*fl.* first half C14)
Llywelyn Ddu ab y Pastard (*fl.* first half C14)
Gronw Gyriog (*fl.* 1317 – after 1328)
Iolo Goch (*fl.* c1320 – c1398)
Dafydd Ddu o Hiraddug (*fl.* before c1330, ob. by 1371)
Einion Offeiriad (*ob.* 1349)
Bleddyn Ddu (*fl.* 1331 – c1385)
Madog Benfras (*fl.* 1339)
Bleddyn Llwyd (*fl.* ?)
Gronw Ddu (*fl.* mid C14)
Dafydd Bach ap Madog Wladaidd (Sypyn Cyfeiliog) (*fl.* mid C14.– c1385)
Gruffudd ap Tudur Goch (*fl.* mid C14)
Gruffudd Fychan ap Gruffudd ab Ednyfed (*fl.* mid C14)
Gruffudd Gryg (*fl.* mid C14)
Hywel ab Einion Lygliw (*fl.* mid C14)
Iorwerth ab y Cyriog (*fl.* mid C14)
Llywarch Bentwrch (*fl.* mid C14)
Llywelyn Fychan ap Llywelyn Foelrhon (*fl.* mid C14)
Dafydd ap Gwilym (*fl.* C14)
Gruffudd ap Llywelyn Lwyd (*fl.* C14)
Hywel Ystorm (*fl.* C14)
Prydydd Breuan (*fl.* C14)
Rhys ap Tudur (*fl.* ?C14)
Rhys ap Dafydd ab Einion (*fl.* C14)

Tudur ap Gwyn Hagr (*fl.* C14)
Tudur Ddall (*fl.* C14)
Y Mab Cryg (*fl.* C14)
Gruffudd ap Maredudd ap Dafydd (*fl.* 1346 – 82)
Llywelyn Goch ap Meurig Hen (*fl.* c1350 – c1390)
Gruffudd (?Llwyd ap Llywelyn Gaplan) (*fl.* 1356 or 1380)
Rhys Goch Eryri (*fl.* c1365 – c1440)
Siôn Cent (*fl.* ?1367 – ?1430)
Rhisierdyn (*fl.* 1381)
Gruffudd ap Rhys Gwynionydd (*fl.* 1385x7)
Conyn Coch (*fl.* second half C14)
Dafydd y Coed (*fl.* second half C14)
Iocyn Ddu ab Ithel Grach (*fl.* second half C14)
Ithel Ddu (*fl.* second half C14)
Llywelyn Fychan (*fl.* second half C14)
Madog Dwygraig (*fl.* second half C14)
Sefnyn (*fl.* second half C14)
Yr Ustus Llwyd (*fl.* second half C14)
Ieuan Waed Da (*fl.* second half C14)
Ieuan Llwyd ab y Gargam (*fl.* end C14)
Meurig ab Iorwerth (*fl.* end C14)
Gruffudd Llwyd (*fl.* 1380s – beginning C15)
Y Poesned (*fl.* 1385x7)
Ieuan ap Rhydderch (*fl.* c1390 – c1470)
Llywelyn ab y Moel (*fl.* c1395/1400 – 1440)
Llawdden (*fl.* c1400 – c1475/80)
Llywelyn ap Gwilym Lygliw (*fl.* C14 or C15)
Rhys ap Dafydd Llwyd ap Llywelyn Lygliw (*fl.* C14 or C15)
Dafydd ap Hywel Swardwal (*fl.* C15)
Syr Lewys Meudwy (*fl.* C15)
Syr Phylib Emlyn (*fl.* C15)
Owain Waed Da (*fl.* first half C15)
Y Proll (*fl.* first half C15)
Ieuan Gethin (*fl.* mid C15.)
Hywel Swardwal (*fl.* c1430 – c1475)

Guto'r Glyn (*fl.* c1430 – 1490)
Huw Cae Llwyd (*fl.* 1431 – 1504)
Hywel Cilan (*fl.* c1435 – 1470)
Ieuan ap Hywel Swrdwal (*fl.* c1440 –? c1470)
Gwilym ab Ieuan Hen (*fl.* c1440 – 1480)
Gwilym ap Sefnyn (*fl.* c1440)
Lewys Glyn Cothi (*fl.* 1447 – 1486)
Dafydd ab Edmwnd (*fl.* 1450 – 1490)
Dafydd Epynt (*fl.* c1456/60 – c1510/15)
Tudur Penllyn (*fl.* c1456 - 1480)
Dafydd Nanmor (*fl.* c1460)
Deio ap Ieuan Du (*fl.* c1460 – 1480)
Gutun Owain (*fl.* c1460 – c1498)
Syr Dafydd Trefor (*fl.* c1460 – c1528)
Ieuan Dyfi (*fl.* ?1461 – 1500)
Ieuan ap Tudur Penllyn (*fl.* c1465 – 1500)
Ieuan Deulwyn (*fl.* c1466 – 1488)
Dafydd Gorlech (*fl.* c1466/70 – c1490)
Iorwerth Fynglwyd (*fl.* c1470 – c1527)
Ieuan ap Huw Cae Llwyd (*fl.* 1475 – 1500)
Mastr Harri ap Hywel (*fl.* 1480s – 1500s)
Tudur Aled (*fl.* 1480 – 1526)
Lewys Môn (*fl.* c1485 – c1527)
Lewys Daron (*fl.* c1495 – 1530)
Gwerful Mechain (*fl.* second half C15)
Ieuan Brydydd Hir (*fl.* second half C15)
Ieuan Llwyd Brydydd (*fl.* second half C15)
Lewys Aled (*fl.* second half C15)
Llywelyn ap Gutun (*fl.* second half C15)
Maredudd ap Rhys (*fl.* second half C15)
Ieuan ap Madog ap Dafydd (*fl.* c1500)
Siôn ap Hywel (*fl.* c1500 – 1530s)
Ieuan ap Llywelyn Fychan (*fl.* first quarter C16)
Huw ap Dafydd ap Llywelyn ap Madog (*fl.* 1520s – 1530s)
Lewys Morgannwg (*fl.* first half C16)

Siôn Ceri (*fl.* second quarter C16)

Mathau Brwmffild (*fl.* second quarter C16)

Raff ap Robert (*fl.* 1525 – 1570)

Gruffudd Hiraethog (*fl.* c1545 – 1564)

Y Nant

Appendix 3 Selected Quotations

Appendix 3.1 – Dafydd ab Edmwnd

Cywydd Marwnad Dafydd ap Ieuan o Lwydiarth yn Mon

(DE 41:1 – 12):

Doe y ddoedd (adoedd?) nid cennad o ddyn
Duw Dafydd yn dy ddyfyn
Or hvundy lle bv /r/ hendad
I dy duw lle /r/ oedd dy dad
I ddwyn rhent i dduw yn rhodd
O bur enaid a brynodd
Dyledwr i fab duw loywdal
Diwedd terfyn yw'r dydd tal
Ai rent yw /r/ enaid tav
Ai ringill yw /r/ angav
Da teilwng gwedi talv
Dy ddyled i dduw ai lu

*Yesterday it was not a messenger of man
God of David summoning you
From the grave where was the ancestor
To the house of God where was your father
To pay rent to God as a gift
Of a pure soul which he bought
A debtor to the son of God with the radiant forehead
The final end is the day of payment
And the payment is your soul
And his tax-collector is death
Good [and] worthy after paying
Your debt to God and His host*

Appendix 3.2 – Dafydd Ddu Hiraddug

Awdl sanctaidd am ddiwedd dyn a'i gorff

(GEO 2:17 – 52):

Eurfab y brenin a Iarlles Erbin

A fagwyd ar win flin flynyddedd
Neu'r fun lun laesra fal y bu Efa,
Fal dyma fal 'dd â yn y diwedd:
Mewn pwll y'i dodir, mewn pridd y'i cuddir,
A byth ni welir, ddyhir ddyhedd,
Y corff afrifed i bryfed mewn budr gaered
Yn fwyd i bryfed heb ged gydwedd,
Llyffaint braint brydnod, a chynron diglod
A phryfed hynod nod, a nadredd,
Yn sach drewedig, yn sur doddedig,
Yn swydd annelwig (dig dygn agwedd):
Y pen a weled yn hoff ei dynged
Yn benglog briddled ar bruddlawr bedd:
A'r pryd gweddeiddliw a oedd wedduswiw,
Cyd boed teg heddiw, hyddysg falchedd,
'E fydd annelwig dan bridd a cherrig
Heb na chroen na chig, dremyg drymwedd;
Y llygaid glwysion yn dyllau crynion,
Yn llawn o gynrhon, myn gwirionedd;
Y genau gweddus a fu chwaraeus,
A fu ryfygus, yn oer ei agwedd,
Yn dwll mingamddu, yn ambell ei gary,
Yn dyllgorn digddu, ddygn ddifroedd;
A'r dannedd gwynion fal hen ebillion
Yn esgyrn llwydion budron bydredd;
Yr hirion freichiau a'r heirdd esgeiriau
Yn ffustiau gïau; gohagr bydredd!
Nid estyn erddaw na thraed na dwylaw
Can gorfu arnaw braw breuoledd.
Ni flasa'r genau, ni chlyw y clustiau,
Ni wyl llygaid brau mewn cau cadfedd.
Ni ddysg ffysg ffyniant na gwyr â gwarant
Nac aur nac ariant na meddiant medd.
Yna y diflan y lwyswedd eirian
I mewn pwll truan anghyfannedd.

*Privileged son of the king and Lady Erbin
Raised on wine for wearisome years
Or the maiden in long furs as was Eve,
This is how she will end up:
Placed in a pit, covered with dirt,
Never again seen, woeful disquiet,
The corpse that was full of excess in a dirty closed place
As food for insects without worthy blessing,
Incredible formed toads, and base maggots
And reptiles of extreme appearance, and snakes
In a fetid sack, rotten and sour,
In an invisible activity (distressing is the miserable condition):
The head was seen in its favoured fortune
An earthen skull at the bottom of a sad grave;
And the colourful form was seemly and fitting,
Though it be fair today and of well-known vanity,
It will be formless beneath earth and rock
With neither skin nor flesh, woeful and contemptible complexion;
The beautiful eyes now rounded holes
Full of maggots, in truth;
The comely mouth, which was so playful,
And was haughty, sad its form
A sardonic black hole, unlikely to be loved,
Black sorrowful nape, pathetic loneliness:
And the white teeth like old pegs
Dirty grey putrid bones
The long arms and the beautiful legs
Are sticks with gristle: offensive and putrid!
Neither wrist nor feet nor hands are outstretched
For enforced on him is terror of mortality.
The mouth does not taste not the ears hear,
The putrid eyes do not see in the cavity of the mighty grave.
It does not profit from rushed successful experience nor men of
authority
Nor gold nor silver nor ownership of mead.*

*There disappears the graceful and beautiful appearance
In a pitiful uninhabitable pit.*

Appendix 3.3 – Dafydd Nanmor

I Dduw a'r Blaned Satwrnws

(GDN 37:63 – 70):

Anaddfwyn na bae noddfa,
Gweithred y blaned yw y bla.
Pan na ffaid, ry danbaid radd,
Yn ehudlem a'n hadladd?
Medd rhai a wŷr o'r dwyrain,
O ddysgyblion canon cain,
Dybryd o henfryd yw hwn,
Dialedd Duw a welwn.
Angel a glew afel gledd
Yw'r dolur a'r dialedd.
Gwnaeth yr angel, rhyfel rhwyf,
A'i afalgledd ofalglwyf.
Nid rhyfedd, freuoledd fri,
Am a wnaeth ym noethni,
Anwiredd gair a meddwl,
A gweithred, cyhydded cŵl,
Teilwng yw bod dialedd
Ernom, hyd pan haeddom hedd.
Nad oes bwys gwŷr eglwysig
Yn fwy ar Dduw, mae'n fawr ddig.
[Llesgedd] garedd heb gariad
O gwrs diawl y gwŷr o sdâd.
Am hyn i mae'n drymwae drom
Dyrnod, a bâr Duw arnom.
Beth oni ffeidiwn cyn bedd?
Barn Duw a'n bwrw'n y diwedd.
Dyfal o ddial a ddaw
Cyn dyddbrawd, cwyn diweddbraw.
Drydanaeth, marwolaethau,

A gyfyd i gyd nid gau.
Rhagflaena, synia heb sôn,
Rhyfeloedd, rhyw ofalon.
Oerfel yn awel newyn
A ddaw er doluriau dyn.
Disgyn ball dwysg yn y byd,
Dwys ofn angau dysyfyd.
Gweddi uthr a gwedd athrist,
Gweithred hydr gred hyd ar Grist.
Dyna bwyll daioni a'n gweryd.
Gofynnwn, gweddiwn Dduw,
Drindod Undod a'r Unduw.
A ni a'i cawn, enwog hedd,
Drwy gŵr i fawr drigaredd.

*It is unpleasant that it were not a refuge,
The plague is the result of the action of the planet.
Why does it not cease, too fiery a degree,
To slaughter us ardently and fiercely?
Some who know from the east say,
Disciples of fair clergy,
That this is a vile oppression,
That we see the vengeance of God.
An angel with a sword of resolute grip
Is the anguish and the vengeance.
The angel made, a chieftain of war,
With his gripped sword [causing] great sickness.
Is it not strange, great fragility,
For what it did here expose me,
Deceitful word and thought,
And action, accused cowl,
Is it appropriate that there is vengeance
On us, until we deserve peace.
There is no burden [on] men of the church
More on God, it is a great indignation.
[Weakness] sin without love*

*From the devil's pursuit the men of the estate.
For this there is a heavy blow
Of intense grief, God caused on us.
What if we do not cease (with our sin) before the grave?
The judgement of God will strike us in the end.
Tedious vengeance will come
Before Judgement Day, grief of the final fear.
Peril, death
Will all rise upon us, this is not a lie.
It will precede it will surprise without warning,
Wars, some anxieties.
A chill in the breeze of famine
Will come to afflict man[kind].
A great plague will fall upon the world,
An intense fear of abrupt death.
Fearful prays and sorrowful countenance,
Valiant action [of] trust in Christ.
That is the sensible kindness that will save us,
Faithful men and our grave
We petition, we pray God,
To the Trinity, Unity and the One God.
And we will receive the renowned peace,
Through the man whose mercy is great.*

Appendix 3.4 – Gruffudd ap Maredudd ap Dafydd

Awdl Gyffes

(GGMD ii 15:31 – 46, 55 – 77):

Gwâr gynnwys glwys glyw, Gwawr mawr marw a byw,
Gwiriondad rad ryw, Llyw llaweredd,
Dy rad a geisiaf, Dy nerth a archaf,
Dy nawdd a alwaf, Naf nefolwledd,
Rhag cwyn diaflig, rhag cŵn gwenwynig,
Rhag cynnygn dremyg, ddig ddigasedd,
Rhag drwg mwg mignwern drwy waith gaith gethern,
Drewiant cern uffern, affaith dygnedd,

Rhag trais tragwyddol tân trwch cylestrol,
Tanol uffernol ffyrnig dachwedd,
Rhag tan llyd sybwll, tinllwyth fflam gynnwll,
Tinllwch, trwch trwydwll, trydar losgedd,
Rhag llaith llwyth Cäin, llys uffern werin,
Llin Addaf fyddin, gorddin gyrddedd,
Rhag poen athrugar poeth ferw dân llachar,
Pwyll byddar daear, duoer fignedd.

.....

Gwna, Dofydd, faddau fy holl bechodau
A'm dwyn i'th ddehau, olau wyledd,
Mal y maddeuwylf a wnaethpwyd wrthyf
I'm hollgnawd o glwyf, glew ddi-clonedd,
O drais, o golled, o gawdd, o goddedd,
O bob gwarthäed, giried garedd.
I'th ddeau, Ddewin, y bwyf gynefin
Cyn rhwym daerin, erwin orwedd,
Lle mae llu difrad ar llawr llathr gwenwlad,
Lle mae goleuad rhad anrhydedd,
Lle mae digrifwch a phob rhyw degwch,
Lle mae dadolwch, deilwng rysedd,
Lle mae cywirdeb, lle mae diweirdeb,
Lle mae dibechod neb, lle da buchedd,
Lle mae gorffowys uchlaw paradwys,
Lle mae mirain lwys, lle mae mawredd,
Lle mae nefolion, lliaws urddolion,
Lle mae engylion gwirion gwaredd,
Lle mae egluder, lle mae dwywolder,
Lle mae Nêr nifer nefol orsedd.
Arf Cred, ced cadair, Arglwydd pob cynghrair,
Erglyw fi, Fab Mair, borthor berthedd,
Can wyf pechadur corfforol natur,

*[One who offers] benign [and] beautiful welcome [to] the brave,
great Lord of the living,*

Father without fault [who has] a graceful nature, Leader of forces,

*I supplicate to Your grace, I ask for Your strength,
I call for Your sanctuary, Lord [of the] heavenly host,
Against devilish grievance, against ferocious dogs,
Against mockery of enemies, wrathful repugnance,
Against the evil of the reeking bog by [the] labours of the captive
rabble
Hell's stinking mouth, condition of anguish,
Against eternal violence of the heinous radiant fire,
Fierce hellish fiery carnage,
Against the fiery bog, the rabble of the buttock [of the] flame [filled]
hole
Filthy arse, havoc inflicted malice, burning [full of] emotion
Against the death of Cain's tribe, folk of hell's court,
The army of Adam's descendants, savage tyranny,
Against the merciless pain [of the] dazzling fire bubbling hot,
Deaf pool [of the] earth, black and cold bogs.*

.....

*Lord, absolve all my sins
And place me at Your right hand, resplendent good nature,
Where the untreasonable host be on the dazzling floor [of the] blessed
land,
Where there is light of honour and grace,
Where there is rejoicing and all sort of fairness,
Where there is atonement, worthy glory,
Where there is faithfulness, where there is chastity,
Where everyone is sinless, where life is virtuous,
Where there is rest above paradise,
Where there is a delightful, habitable land, where there is splendour,
Where there are heavenly inhabitants, a multitude of the dignified,
Where there are blameless angels [full of] compassion,
Where there is radiance, where there is divineness,
Where is the Lord of the forces of the heavenly throne,
Defender of Christendom, [who offers] benefaction [of your] throne,
Lord of every covenant,*

*Listen to me, Son of Mary, [who has] a suspensory word [full of]
magnificence,
As I am a sinner by bodily nature*

Appendix 3.5 – Gruffudd Fychan ap Gruffudd ab Ednyfed

Awdl i Grist a Mair

(GSRh 12:221 – 224, 237 – 240):

Naf o iawnllin nef wenllys,
Nêr nef Nen, Perchen parchus,
Y ddwylaw ni'th addoles,
Na ddyli pan wyaf ddulas.

.....

Rhag unsom cythraul, rhag ansawdd – cethern,
Rhag uffern wern warthgawdd,
Duw nen o'r pren a'n prynawdd:
Dyn wyf yn erchi Dy nawdd.

*Lord of the true holy line of heaven,
Head who is Lord of heaven, Landlord of great honour,
The two hands which worshipped you,
Do not persecute them when I am in the grave.*

.....

*Against the devil's deception, against hell's setting,
Against the marshes of hell and its pain of shame,
God of heaven who bought us off the wood,
A man am I asking for your sanctuary.*

(GSRh 12:249 – 252):

Cymynnaf fy enaid (nid cam ennyd – ym)
I deml Grist a'i lendid,
A'r lludw gorff lle daw i gyd
I'r lludw arall lle deiryd.

*I commit my soul (not an instant step for me)
To Christ's temple and its purity,
And the body to earth where it comes among
The other earth where it belongs.*

(GSRh 12:265 – 276):

Rhag tân llosgedig ddig ymddygiad,
Rhag dirmyg iawn blyg, rhag iäen blad,
Rhag drewiant coddiant, cuddiad – pum synnwyr,
Rhag ceubwll lledwyr, boenllwyr benllad,
Pwyllwn, ystyriwn ein oes duriad,
Pallu o'n camwedd a'n rheuedd rhad:
Pob peth, pob difeth dyfiad – a dderfydd
Eithr carennydd ein dedwydd Dad.
Priddyn fydd pob dyn dan ei ddillad,
O'r pridd Duw a'i gwnaeth, hudoliaeth had,
Priddfedd ei gydweidd, geidwad – daearnawd,
Peryglus Ddydd Brawd ei nawd a'i nâd.

*Against the bitter activity of red-hot fire,
Against the insult of true humiliation, against a zone of ice,
Against wrathful stench, obscurity of the five senses,
Against the open perverted pool, the extreme of intense pain,
We would exert ourselves, we contemplate our age of stubbornness
Our sins and our cheap riches will decay:
Everything, every delicate growth will decay
Except the friendship of our blessed Father.
Earth's soil is every man beneath his clothes,
From soil God made him, magical seed,
A grave of earth will be his companion, bodyguard of flesh of the
earth,
Perilous on Judgement Day will be his nature and his paradise.*

Appendix 3.6 – Gruffudd Hiraethog

Marwnad Elis ap Cadwaladr o'r Rhiwlas

(GGH 65:1 – 14):

Duw Iesu yn cyrchu cyrch,
Drwy dy gennad, drud gynnyrch.
Beth a wnaeth gwaedoliaeth dyn,
Un duw irbarch, yn d'erbyn?
Dial nod a welwn ni,

Duw sy arwydd dy sorri.
Serfyll yw cwmpas oerfyd,
Sywaeth, Dduw fry; beth sy i'th fryd?
Llawr dinistr llwyr ddaioni,
Lladd ar unwaith ein iaith ni.
Lleddaist, gwanheaist ein hap,
Erllynedd fu'r holl anap.
Pa ail anap eleni
Ar ôl lladd ein adladd ni?

*God Jesus seeking out an attack,
Through your emissary, expensive [is the] effect.
What has the family of a man done,
Vigorous, respected one God, against you?
It is a vengeful end which we see, (it is the vengeance of the plague
which we see)
God, which is a sign of your displeasure.
Fragility is about a cold world,
Alas, God on high; what is your intent?
A destroyed land of complete graciousness,
Killing at once our people.
You killed, you weakened our fortune,
Last year was the whole misfortune.
A second misfortune this year
After killing our aftermath?*

Appendix 3.7 – Gruffudd Llwyd

I Dduw

(GGLI 18:83 – 100):

Pan ddêl, ar ein rhyfelu,
Corn Dyddbrawd a'r giwdawd gu
I'n dwyn, fel yn oed unawr,
Y dydd i'r un mynydd mawr,
Ac yno, wiw ogoned,
Y byddi, Grist, budd i Gred,
Yn dangos o'r tablglos tau

I luoedd Dy welïau,
Yn derbyn llu gwyn, i'n gŵydd,
I'th ddeheulaw, iaith hylwydd,
A'r rhai difedydd ar hynt
I't asau am wnaethesynt;
Deall, gorthrwm yw'r dial,
Y dyn a'i farn yn ei dâl.
Gwae ni haeddawdd Dy nawdd, Nêr,
Gwiw fendith, trwy gyfiawnder;
Gwyn ei fyd cywir gwiriawn!
Gwae gorff a fo geuog iawn!

*When comes, despite our warfare,
The horn of Judgement Day and its cherished forces
To take us, as if it were an hour's time,
[That] day to the one great mountain,
And there, worthy glory,
Will You be, Christ, blessing of Christianity,
Revealing from your judicial court
To the hosts Your wounds,
Receiving the blessed hosts, in our presence,
To Your left hand because of that which they did;
[Such] an experience, very harsh is the penalty,
[For] the man with his judgement on his forehead.
Woe those who do not deserve Your merit, Lord,
Wonderful blessing, through justice;
Blessed is he [the one] faithful, sinless!
Woe [the] body which is very guilty!*

Appendix 3.8 – Guto'r Glyn

3.8.1 Marwnad Dafydd Llwyd ap Gruffudd o Abertanad

(GG.net 89:13 – 16):

Dŵr diliw dan draed elawr,
Dŵr Sodma a Gomora mawr;
Dŵr wylaw daear eilwaith
Dwyn hwn, blodeuyn ein hiaith.

*A deluge water under the feet of a bier,
Sodom and Gomorrah's great water;
there is water from weeping on the earth again
because this man was taken, our nation's blossom.*

(GG.net 89:23 – 36):

Mae Alun am a wylais,
Mae Hafren, o'm pen i'm pais.
Trostaw wylaw a welwn,
Tywallt môr hallt yw marw hwn.
Drem Hywel pan drymhaawdd
Diferu bu, dwfr a'i bawdd;
Drem Ruffudd a'r grudd yn grin,
Drem Alis, a dry melin.
Llif Noe yw llefain ei wŷr,
Llifeiriaint llu o oferwyr;
Llif mwy nog Efyrynwy fawr
Yw llif wylaw holl Faelawr.
Ai dyrnawd dyddbrawd yw'r daith,
Ai diliw'n dyfod eilwaith?

*The rivers Alun and Severn flow
from my head to my shirt because of what I have wept.
I saw people weeping over him,
this man's death is the pouring of a salty sea.
Hywel's visage dripped
when he was saddened, water drowns him;
Gruffudd's visage with the cheek withered
and Alice's visage turn a watermill.
His men's laments are Noah's flood,
the flow of a host of poets;
the flood of the weeping of all Maelor
is a greater flood than the great river Efyrynwy.
Is the journey the strike of Judgement Day,
is it a deluge that returns for a second time?*

3.8.2 *Marwnad Gweurful ferch Madog o Abertanad*

(GG.net 88:43 – 56):

O gorweddodd gwawr eiddun
Yng nghôr Mihangel, 'y nghun,
Mihangel â'r gwayw melyn
A bwysa drwg a da dyn.
Pan bwyser ei haelder hi
Pawb a rydd pybyr weddi.
Ni roe'r saint ar oriau'r Sul
Ar ysgôr a roes Gweurul.
Mae'r lloer gyda Mair a'i llu
Am a roes ym mro Iesu.
Y bedd lle mae'i hannedd hi
A lanwyd o haelioni.
O thelir pwyth i haelion
Taler ei haelder i hon.

*If a desirable lady rested
in my lord Michael's chancel,
Michael with the yellow Spear
weighs the wickedness and goodness of a woman.
When her generosity is weighed
everyone will give an ardent prayer.
Even the saints during the hours of Sunday
would not score in giving as Gweurful did.
The fair maiden is with Mary and her host
in Jesus's land because of what she gave.
he grave where her home is
was filled with generosity.
If generous people are to be recompensed
may this lady's generosity be recompensed.*

3.8.3 *Myfyrdod Diwedd Oes*

(GG.net 118):

Mae un cun yma i'n cynnal,
Yn moli saint ym mhlas Iâl,
Oen i Ferned, yn farnwr,

A thrwy'r gerdd athro yw'r gŵr.
O gwna Dafydd gywydd gwiw,
Ef a'i rhydd i Fair heddiw.
Gwae awyddus gywyddol,
Gwae ni wnaeth gân yn ei ôl.
Moli bûm ymylau byd,
Malu sôn melys ennyd,
A chablu er yn chweblwydd –
Erchis ym eiriach y swydd.
'Taw', heb hwn, 'ateb henaint,
Tro fal Sawl trwy foli saint!
Erchi ym, a'i orchymyn,
Foliannu Duw o flaen dyn
A rhoi'r gerdd, rhywyr yw'r gwaith,
I Frenin nef ar unwaith.

Rhannaf rhag byrhau f' einioes,
(Rhy fyr i'r hwyaf ei oes),
Rhannu a degymu'n gall
Rhan i Dduw o'r hen ddeall.
Rhannodd nef o'i rodd ynn fry,
Rhown dâl i'r hwn a'i dyly:
Tad a Mab ac Ysbryd hir,
(A Duw oll y'u deellir)
Duw nef a Dau yn Ei ôl,
Duw Ei hun diwahanol.
Da fu'r anrheg o'r Chwegair,
Dyfu Mab Duw o fru Mair.
Duw a wnaeth o'r gwyndraeth gynt
Deuddyn, a rhoi'r byd uddynt:
Daear, gwyllt, gwâr, gwellt a gwŷdd,
Dŵr dwfn o'r pedwar defnydd.
Duw a roes draw drwy'i ais drom
Ar wayw dur Ei waed erom;
Rhown ninnau galonnau glân

I hwn oll o hyn allan.
Llyna Grist yn llyn o grau,
Llun Duw yn llawn adwyau
A ddaw ddiweddbraw Ddyddbrawd
I'n cywain oll yn ein cnawd.
Tri chledd i'm taro â chlwyf,
Trwm ddolur tra meddylwyf;
Troes Duw Dad (tristyd a wn)
Tri meddwl trwm a wyddwn:
Marw fyddaf i'm arfeddyd,
Ni wn ba awr yn y byd;
Ac ni wn (a gynanaf
Eb oludd yw) i ble 'dd af.
Mau Dduw gwyn, meddig enaid,
Mawr wyrthfawr ym wrth fy rhaid,
Gorfod fy mhechod a'm haint,
Gad farw ag edifeiriaint!
Ar y Creawdr y criaf,
Wyllo'r nos lawer a wna
O draserch Duw a'r Iesu
Ac ofn fyth, mor gyfion fu:
Ofn y Grog o fewn Ei grys
A'r iawnfarn ar yr enfys;
Ofn eryr nef a'i nawradd,
Ofn y loes a fu'n Ei ladd.
Mae corn y Frawd i'm cern fry
A'm geilw yma o'm gwely;
Am a wneuthum y noethir
Fy nhâl â'r ysgrifen hir.

Wrth y Mab a'i wyrthiau maith
Ym mrig aberth mae'r gobraith.
Y Drindod a warendy
Arnaf ar arch o'r nef fry:
F'un Ceidwad, fy Nuw cadarn,

Fy nawdd fo yn Nydd y Farn.

Fy noddfa, fy niweddfyd,

Fo nef a'i gartref i gyd!

There is one chief who gives us sustenance here,

giving praise to saints in Yale's palace,

St Bernard's lamb, a judge,

and through song the man is a teacher.

If Dafydd composes a fine cywydd,

he will give it to Mary today.

Woe to the greedy poet,

*woe to him who did not compose a song in the same manner as him
[i.e. Dafydd].*

I have praised the margins of the earth,

I have declaimed sweet sound for a brief while,

I have blasphemed since I was six years old –

he asked me to give up that office.

'Be quiet', he said, 'respond to old age,

change your ways like Saul by praising the saints!'

He asked of me, and commanded it,

to glorify God before man

and to present my song, the work is tardy,

henceforth to the King of heaven.

I will share lest my life be curtailed,

(too short is life even for the most long-lived),

share and wisely pay as tithe

a portion of the old knowledge.

He shared heaven above with us through His grace,

let us give payment to Him who deserves it:

Father and Son and wise Spirit,

(all comprehended as God)

God of heaven and Two the same as Him,

God Himself undivided.

Blessed was the gift through the Six Words,

the Son of God came from Mary's womb.

*God once created two people
from the blessed earth and gave them the world:
earth, animals wild and tame, grass and trees,
deep water from the four elements.
God gave yonder, through His side which causes sorrow,
His blood for us on a steel lance;
let us give completely unto Him
our pure hearts from now onwards.
There is Christ drenched in a pool of blood,
an image of God full of gashes
will come in the final judgement on Doomsday
to gather us all together in our flesh.
There are three blades which strike me with their wound,
great pain as I meditate;
God the Father has presented me (I am acquainted with sadness)
with three heavy thoughts which I should know:
that I will die, that is my destiny,
I know not at all at what hour;
and I know not (what I say
is without hindrance) where I will go.
My blessed God, physician of the soul,
abundant His great virtues for me according to my need,
conqueror of my sin and sickness,
allow me to die in repentance!
I call upon the Creator,
I often weep in the night
because of intense love towards God and Jesus
and continuous fear, He was so righteous:
fear of the Rood within its veil
and the true judgement upon the rainbow;
fear of heaven's eagle and His nine orders of angels,
fear of the wound which caused His death.
In my head the Judgement's trumpet sounds
which will call me up from my bed here;*

*my forehead will be exposed with the lengthy inscription
regarding what I have done.*

*My hope is in the Son and His great miracles
at the apex of His sacrifice.*

*The Trinity will listen
to me on a command from heaven above:*

*my one guardian, my steadfast God,
may he be my support on Doomsday.*

*May heaven and all its abodes
be my sanctuary, the end of my life!*

3.8.4 Marwnad Robert Trefor ab Edward o Fryncunallt

(GG.net 105:45 – 46, 61 – 78):

Gŵr yw gyda Sain Greal
A'i le 'n nef a'i wely 'n Iâl.
.....
Maer a meistr i'r fwrdeistref,
Mae'n un swydd dan Arglwydd nef.
Rysyfwr ydyw'r gŵr gwiw
A swyddog Iesu heddiw:
Y Gwener y bu gynnal
Ydd aeth ef i Dduw â thâl
Ar y modd yr âi, meddynt,
I'r dug o Iorc â'r da gynt:
Talu fal y bu 'n y byd,
A rhifo llawer hefyd,
Nid talu arian dan dwng,
Talu gweithredoedd teilwng;
Talu enaid hael yna,
Nid tlawd ef yn talu da.
Ef a dâl ei fwyd a'i win
Wrth brynu nefwerth Brenin:
Taledig fu i'r tlodion,
Teulu nef a'i tâl i'n iôn.

*He is a man in the company of the Holy Grail
with his place in heaven and his resting place in Yale.*

.....

*A mayor and master in the borough,
it is the same office under the Lord of heaven.
The fine man is today a receiver
and officer to Jesus:
on the Friday when there was congregation
he went to God with payment
in the same way that he used to go formerly, so they say,
to the duke of York with goods:
paying as he paid on earth,
and also counting many,
not paying money as tax,
but paying meritorious deeds;
paying there his generous soul,
he was not poor in paying his goods.
He pays for his food and wine
by being worthy of the price of God's heaven:
he was generous to the poor,
the family of heaven will recompense our lord.*

Appendix 3.9 – Gwilym ap Sefnyn

Marwnad i'w ddeg plentyn

(GyB Marwnad i'w Ddeg Plentyn:5 – 34):

a fu ddyn drymach ei fyd
(Adda fu iddo'i fywyd)
yn oeri calon erwyr
na mi - Duw Geli a'i gŵyr -
am a wnaeth marwolaethau
i'm hoes am yr holl blant mau?
Nid oedd well gŵr, milwr mawr,
na Hywel, fy neheuawr;
marchog teg wrth fynegi,
mab oedd fwy lawer na mi.
Difeth oedd Iorwerth Gethin,
a drud y cyfeiriai'r drin,

a hoyw ysgolhaig huawdl,
a deunydd prydydd pêr awdl.
Llawen oeddwn, gwn ganlllys,
wrth feithrin Rhobin a Rhys.
F'anrhaith oedd Wiliam, rym rydd,
oreuffawd, a'r ddau Ruffudd
glana' dyn – gwae galon ei dad! –
oedd Wiliam yn y ddwywlad.
Bu – och fi nad byw iach fai! –
Sioned, hi a'm cusanai,
f'enaïd coeth, fynudiaïu cain,
f'anwylferch oedd fun aelfain.
Glân oedd ddarpar Angharad
a theg – gwae galon i thad!
Fy hyfryd bobl fy hoywfraïsg
fy nghanafon gwynion gwaïsg

*was there ever anyone in a sorrier state
(Adam's life was to him)
with a cold and twisted heart,
than I am – the Lord God knows it –
because of what pestilences did
with all my children in my lifetime?
There was no better man, great warrior,
than Hywel, my dextrous hero;
famed as a fine horseman,
the lad was much bigger than me.
Iorwerth Gethin was without fault,
and boldly did he go to battle,
and he was a bright eloquent scholar,
and had the makings of a melodious poet.
I took delight, I who know a hundred courts,
in nursing Robin and Rhys.
Gwilym was my treasure, easy strength,
most fortunate, and the two Gruffydds
William – woe his father's heart! –*

*was the handsomest of all in the two lands.
There was – oh if only she were alive and well! –
Sioned, she used to kiss me,
my pure dear with courteous manners,
the slender-browed girl was my beloved daughter.
Angharad's attire was fair
and lovely – woe her father's heart!
My merry people, sprightly and strong,
my precious noble cubs.*

(GyB Marwnad i'w Ddeg Plentyn: 39 – 48):

Aeth y farwolaeth friwloer
â ffrwyth y galon don, dioer.
Aeth yn deg ag a fegais
erioed draw – oeraf fu'r trais.
Aeth â'm dillynion, ton teg,
rhwydodd fi ar fy rhedeg.
Euthum innau pan aethant
yn grinbren a nen y nant,
heb obaith dail, heb wybod
o ba le y doeth, noeth yw'r nod.

*The pestilence of the full moon has taken
the fruit of my broken heart, indeed.
It took away everything that I ever reared there,
the violence was most savage.
It took my darlings, lovely skin,
it ensnared me as I ran
When they departed I went
like a withered tree at a stream's source,
without hope of leaves, without knowing
where it came from, it is a bleak sign*

(GyB Marwnad i'w Ddeg Plentyn: 61 – 70):

Iesu dad canmoladwy,
os hyn nis cair, Mab Mair, mwy,
adolwyn wedy wylaw
a wnafl, drud ydd archaf draw,

cyn crynu, a rhynnu'r had
y llaw a llwygaw llygad,
yn ebrwydd cyn tramgwyddo
y traed a'm dug i bob tro,
– o Dduw hael na ddeuai hyn! –
o natur fy nwyn atyn'.

*Jesus glorious father,
Son of Mary, if that can no longer be,
I beseech after weeping,
vehemently do I beg,
before my hand begins to shake,
my seed decay and my eyesight darken,
quickly before the feet which have always
carried me should stumble,
– oh if only the Lord God would grant this! –
from this world to take me to them.*

Appendix 3.10 – Huw Cae Llwyd

3.10.1 Marwnad Dafydd Mathew o Radyr

(HCLl 8:1 – 16):

Rhoddion Crist nid trist aent trosto, - Ddafydd,
Ifor Tomos Matho;
Rhoes ern ym Mhen-rhys arno,
Rhod ei fam a ryddha fo.

Rhodd Iesu aur fry ar fryd – a meddwl,
Am iddo ddwyn penyd.
Gwedi i fam Crist gael tristyd
Hi a gâi'n llawenhau i gyd.

Awn i gyd, rhwyg bryd, rhag bron – y wir Grog,
Gwŷr, gwragedd, a meibion
'E rôl Gurig aur goron
Er cael hydd y wraig hael hon.

Gweddi hon ar Non fed frig nef – a ddêl
Am dwyn Dafydd adref;
Mae, Dduw, 'n iach am ei ddwyn ef,
Oes, gyweddon os goddef.

*Christ's gifts did not go sad over him – Dafydd
Ifor Thomas Matthew;
She placed a pledge in Pen-rhys on him,
It is his mother's gift which will free him*

*Jesus' gift of gold on high intending – and thinking,
For him to take a penance.
After Christ's mother had sadness
She would allow joyfulness to all.*

*We shall all go, a timely wound, into the presence – the true Cross
Men, women and sons
He gives Curig a golden crown
In order to have the stag of this generous woman.*

*She prays to Non as far as the upper reaches of heaven – who comes
To take Dafydd home;
God, it is farewell for taking him
Yes, companions if [it is the] intention.*

3.10.2 Marwnad Siôn Hafard

(HCLl 22:9 – 28):

Duw a wnâi'n dost dwyn un dyn
Da'n cynnal deunaw kannyn.
Bwrw llywydd, a bair llewyg,
Bochwryd wen, bu chwarae dig.
Mawr gwae'i fam a'i wraig efô,
Marw Siôn, a'm haros heno.
Dwyn i'w plaid anap o lwyr,
Dwyn Sioned wen o'i synnwyr.
Nid heb y cyntaf trafael,

Mwy nag un y mae'n ei gael.
Dwyn gŵr gynt, blin yw hynt hon,
Dwyn gŵr eilwaith, Duw'n greulon.
Dwyn Thomas ni thybiaswn,
Wedi'i dad, cad na ddig hwn.
Dwyn Siencyn wyn anianol,
Duw gad rai, dig wyd, ar ôl.
Rhyfedd, medd rhai o'i ofyn,
Y try Duw anturiau dyn.
Ei roi'n arglwydd un flwyddyn,
Eithr y llall yn eitha'r llyn.

*God made us sad taking one man
[Who was] good caring for eighteen hundred men.
Striking the leader, causing anguish,
Of blessed Bochrwyd, it was a sorrowful game.
Great is the grief of his mother and his wife,
The death of Siôn and my waiting tonight.
Giving them total misery,
Causing blessed Sioned to leave her senses.
Not without the first worry,
More than one she has.
Taking a husband earlier, dire is her fate,
Taking a husband twice, God is cruel.
Taking Thomas we would not suppose,
After his father, a battle not this sorrow.
Taking blessed true-born Siencyn,
God leave some behind, you are wrathful.
Strange, say some of its asking,
That God turns the fortunes of man.
He makes a lord one year,
Save that the other in the most remote lake.*

3.10.3 Marwnad Syr Wiliam a Syr Rhisiart Herbert

(HCLl 5:69 – 86):

Awn ag aur llawer yno i Gaerlleon,
Er irgrog wynfab o'r gaer gau anfon.

Aent wŷr eglwysig o'n tyrau gleision,
Aent glych i leisiaw, aent gweilch o loeson,
Aed yr arglwydd, rhwydd yw rhoddion – pob sant,
Erglyw a wnaethant, i Raglan weithion.

Er ethrod Wiliam o ruthr hudolion,
Un aruthr ydyw a wna'r ethrodion.
Aeth ei ras – bredych o warth ysbrydion,
Aeth o ing eilwaith o waith angylion.
Er ceisio'i dwyllo o'r deillion – Herbart,
Ni thwyllai feistr art ŵr Edwart o Rôn.

O dug Duw Gwilim, digiwyd ei galon,
Erglyw Dduw storia arglwyddes dirion.
Ef a rydd Edwart o fawr ddiwydion
Ei ferch neu gares fraich wen y goron.
Un mab Mair a bair cyn y bôn' – yn nepell
Ein llew yn wythwell yn lle a wnaethon'.

*We go with much gold to Caerleon,
On account of the treacherous sending of the beloved son of the fort to
the freshly made gallows.
Many men of the church from our blue towers go,
May bells peal, may falcons return from pain,
May the lord, (generous are the gifts of every saint,
They listened), go to Raglan henceforth.*

*On account of the slandering of William by a sorcerer's assault,
A merciless one is he who makes the slanders.
His grace went – treachery of scandalous spirits,
He went from anguish twice from angels' work.
Despite the blind ones trying to deceive – Herbert,
A master of the garter would not deceive a follower of Edward of
Rhone.*

If God took William, his heart grew weary,

*God listens to the story of the gentle lady.
Edward will give through great diligences
The white arm of the crown to his daughter or beloved.
[The] one son of Mary will ensure before they be – far off
Our lion is eight times better in the place which they made.*

Appendix 3.11 – Hywel Swardwal

3.11.1 Marwnad Gruffudd ab Ieuan o Gaerllion

(GHS 8:33 – 47, 53 – 54):

Teýrnes yn atwrnai
Gyda Duw a geidw ei dai,
Arglwyddes Annes ferch Siôn
Yn rhoi gwin i'r rhai gweinion.
Arfer hon ar a fod rhaid
Erchi annerch ei enaid.
Llawer trental a dalodd
Â'i llaw a rhoi llawer rhodd;
Llawer dergys, gwýs a gaid,
Ar gân oedd rhag ei enaid;
Llawer cardod i dlodion
A'u talu hwynt o law hon;
Llawer ceiniog i offeren
A llawer pader o'r pen
Rhoi'n rhodd, wýr Henri addwyn,
O wŕ â fyth er ei fwyn.

.....

Ond â'i gwaith eniad ei gŵr
A bair Annes i'w brynwr.

*A queen acting as an attorney
Along with God keeps his houses,
Lady Annes daughter of Siôn
Gives wine to the weak.
Her custom for those in need*

*Was to command the greeting of his soul.
She paid many trentals
With her hand and gave many gifts;
Many dirges, summons were received,
On song were provided for his soul;
Many alms to the poor
And they were paid from her hand;
Many pennies for masses
And many a paternoster from the head
Given as gift, great grand-daughter of noble Henry
.....*

*But with her work Annes prepares her husband's soul
For his redeemer.*

3.11.2 Marwnad Gwilym Fychan ap Ieuan

(GHS 14:1 – 12):

Am ddialedd rhyfeddaf
Ar bobl o'r Bibl a gaf.
Cyntaf am fwyta'r afal
Yr aeth y byd wrth y bâl.
Diliw fu'r ail dialedd:
Darfu'r byd a dŵr fu'r bedd.
Gomorra, Sodma, Dduw sant,
O'i ddesyf a soddasant:
Gwedy soddi'n pump dinas
Gwraig Lot aeth yn garreg las!
Dialled hefyd, Wilym,
Fu'ch dwyn er afiechyd ym;

*For strangest vengeance
On the Bible's people I will have.
The first instance for eating an apple
The world went by the spade.
Deluge was the second vengeance:
The world died and water was the grave.
Gomorra, Sodom, Saintly God,*

*By his hand were they submerged:
After submerging our five cities
Lot's wife became a blue stone!
Vengeance also, Gwilym,
Was your taking through illness for me;*

Appendix 3.12 – Ieuan ap Rhydderch

Ymddiddan a'r Enaid

(GIRh 6:21 – 56):

‘Aros yr wyf mewn oerin
Yn ddrwg fy sud mewn crud crin;
Ai rhaid yt, wŕ, cyflwr cu,
A wna fawl fy nyfalu?
Bûm ifanc, ddiranc ddedfryd,
A balch ym mhob lle'n y byd;
Mi a fûm, hynod glod glau,
Filwr taith, fal 'r wyd tithau,
Â llwyn o wallt, cwnsallt cu,
Gweinyddwr serch gwineuddu,
A llygaid cain buain bas
Amlwg, a golwg gwiwlas.
Gwelais y caid, gwiwlwys cain,
Yr haf gusanu rhiain,
A rhodio mewn anrhydedd
A gweled merched a medd.
O'r diwedd gorfu ym dewi,
Mawr fu 'y most, marw fûm i.
Treulio fy ngwallt fal alltud
Dan y ddaear fyddar fud.
Darfu fy nghnawd, wawd oerwas,
Pregeth wyf i'r plwyf a'r plas;
Darfu fy nhrwyn a'm wyneb,
Mud iawn wy', ni'm edwyn neb.
Nid oes na llygad na dau,

Eithr yn ball aeth yn byllau,
Nac elgeth ond un gulgamp,
Domlyd briddlyd ludlyd lamp.

Nid oes lle rwy'n chwary'n chwyrn
Ond hynod wasgod esgyrn.
Taith o ddig, tithau a ddaw
I'r ddaear i'th orddwyaw,
A Duw a ro, diau raid
Yno'th ddwyn, ne' i'th enaid;
Duw a ro trugaredd heddiw
I feirw'r byd, ludlyw liw.'

*'I am waiting in a cold place
Poor my condition in a withered crib;
Must you, sir, in your good state,
Who praises my conjecture?
I was young, this is untiring judgement
And proud everywhere in the world;
I was, through incredible fast fame
A roving soldier, just like yourself,
With a bush of hair, favoured covering,
A dark-haired servant love,
With deep, delicate, swooning eyes
So obvious, with worthy blue gaze.
I saw that it was possible [and I] so handsome,
To kiss ladies in the summer,
And stroll with honour
And see girls and mead.
In the end, I had had to quieten
Great was my boast, I died.
My hair wore away like an exile
Under the deaf and dumb earth.
My flesh decayed, the cold servant of praise poetry,
I am an example to parish and mansion;
My nose and face have decayed,*

*I am dumb, no-one knows me.
I have neither one eye nor two,
They are defective and holes,
Nor jaw but one narrow its feat,
A vivid man now full of dust, earth and muck.*

*There is nowhere for lively playing
Except an incredible hiding place for bones.
On a bitter journey, you will come
To the earth to smother you,
And may God give, sure the need
To take you there, heaven for your soul;
May God give pity today
To the dead of the world, those the colour of dust.'*

Appendix 3.13 – Ieuan Gethin

3.13.1 Marwnad i'w Fab

(GyB Marwnad i'w Fab:9 – 12):

Minnau od yw, am nad iach,
fy mebyn oedd fy mwbach
am weled, mi a wylwn,
y ddufrech ar ddwyfraich hwn.

*As for me, because he was not well,
my little boy was my bogeyman
when I saw, how I wept,
the black pox on his arms.*

(GyB Marwnad i'w Fab:19 – 28):

Y mae hiraeth i'm hoeri,
y mae'n boen am fy mab i.
Y mae clwy, mi a'i clywa',
mae'r galon wirion ar iâ,
mae'r corff heb nemor o'r cof,
mae'r enaid yn marw ynof,
a'm golygon, gyson gawdd,
o dra wylo a dreulawdd.

Nid oedd, was meinwar arab,
Enaid i mi ond fy mab.

*Grief is chilling me,
it is pain for my son.
There is a wound, I can feel it,
my innocent heart is on ice,
the body has almost lost its mind,
the soul is dying within me,
and my eyesight, constant torment,
has been worn out by excessive weeping.
I had no soul but my son,
merry, slim and tender lad.*

(GyB Marwnad i'w Fab:31 – 32):

Gŵr oedd Siôn a garodd saint,
ac urddol ar gywirddaint.
*Siôn was a man who loved the saints,
and a master on the tuning strings*

(GyB Marwnad i'w Fab:35 – 42):

Gweddi roes i ar y saint
a'r gloyw Iesu gloywsaint.
Gelwais ar Fair, air arab,
ni'm clyw Mair, ni'm clywai'i mab.
Addewais ar weddion
ei bwys o aur er byw Siôn.
Ar Dduw er a weddiais
ni chawn Siôn mwy na chan Sais.
*I said a prayer to the saints
and bright Jesus and the mighty saints.
I called on Mary, wise word,
Mary does not hear me, her son did not hear me.
In my prayers I promised
his weight in gold for Siôn's life.
Despite all my prayers to God
I could not get Siôn anymore than from an Englishman.*

(GyB Marwnad i'w Fab:53 – 58):

Gwiw Dduw saint, gweddïais i
er ei ddianc ar Ddewi.
Gelwais a thorrais galon,
ni'm clywai saint, ni'm clyw Siôn.
Diriad na weryd eiriol,
aed i nef, gwae'i dad 'n ei ôl.

*True God of saints, I prayed
to David for his release.
I cried out and broke my heart,
The saints did not hear me, Siôn does not hear me.
Wretched is he whom intercession will not save,
let him go to heaven, woe his father after him.*

3.13.2 Marwnad i'w Ferch

(GyB Marwnad i'w Ferch:33 – 48):

Truan mae galar hon yn tröi,
tra hidlon ddagrau yw'r mau, i mi,
tri gwaeth no brath saeth yn soddi – dan fron,
treiglodd ym galon don amdani.

Golesg y'm darfu, myn Crist Geli,
gwylan a gollais glân o gelli,
galar anhalar, anheuli – geinwen,
am wen fawrwen a'm pair i ferwi.

Och am riain fain fanadl ddigri,
och am ddyn melyn ym i'w moli,
och Fair wych ddiwair, och Ddewi – f'arglwydd,
ymgelu tramgwydd, am gael trengi!

Iechyd nid oes ym onid ochi
a goddef tristwch mawr a gweiddi,
o aflwydd afrwydd oeri – fy nghalon
am na welaf hon, liw ton Tywi.

My grief for her turns wretchedly within me,

*my tears flow in streams,
three times worse than the stab of an arrow sticking into my breast,
my heart has been shattered because of her.*

*I am in a feeble condition, by the Lord Christ,
I lost a lovely seagull from a grove;
grievous sorrow, fine bright sunlight,
for a bright beauty makes me seethe.*

*Oh for a gay slender maiden with hair the colour of broom!
Oh for a yellow girl for me to celebrate!
Oh pure noble Mary, oh David my lord,
sinful escape, if only I could die!*

*I have no health but wailing
and suffering great sadness and crying out,
my heart has grown cold from harsh misfortune
because I no longer see her, colour of a wave on the Tywi.*

(GyB Marwnad i'w Ferch:61 – 68):

*'Brwnt, Ieuan druan, yr ymdrewi,
blin swydd â'th ddrygddawn, blaen saeth rhagddi,
brath Hafren, â'th ben, i'th boeni – na thrig,
nid rhaid yt feddig ond dy foddi.*

*'Drwg fydd ar les bardd mewn gardd gorddi,
a gwayw i galon, ddugoeg weli;
gwaeth yd o'th gyllaeth golli – d'anwylyd,
gwell yd ado'r byd na bod hebddi.*

*'You are behaving basely, wretched Ieuan,
miserable accursed condition, pierced by an arrow on her account,
thrust like the Severn, and your head hurting, don't linger,
you need no doctor but drowning yourself.*

*'It is bad for a poet to spend his time brooding in a garden
with a pang in his heart, bad black wound;
the loss of your darling is worse for you in your distraught state,
it would be better for you to leave the world than be without her.*

(GyB Marwnad i'w Ferch:77 – 86):

Mi af at Gynin, fy rhin a'm rhi,
gyda'i weision ef i gydoesi.
Os Cynin ni phair, gwiw Fair, gwae fi,
uwch hedydden falch iechyd iddi,
didyb y'i dygaf i'w doddi – deirawr
ar ganol allawr ddwywawr Ddewi

ac yno y parant, enwant ynni,
o'u dyundeb hwynt enaid yndi,
croes teg, fel y gwnaeth Crist i – am Lasar
o'r fudr dew ddaear i gyfodi.

*I will go to Cynin, my virtue and my lord,
to live together with his servants.
If Cynin will not restore her health
woe is me by noble Mary, above the proud skylark,
I will take her confidently to put her for three hours
in the middle of the altar of the two lords at St David's,

and their combined strength will restore there
the soul in her, they will summon the life force,
fair cross, as Christ did make Lazarus
rise up from the foul thick earth.*

(GyB Marwnad i'w Ferch:87 – 90):

Oni weryd ym, mae'n lym loesi,
hwy nid â f'einioes no hyn amdani:
ceisiau, byw rhag llaw'n llymsi – nis gallaf,
calon ni feddaf, cael nef iddi.

If that does not deliver me, the pain is severe,

*my life will not last longer than this because of her:
to try – I cannot live an empty life anymore,
I have no heart – to secure a place in heaven for her.*

Appendix 3.14 – Iolo Goch

Marwnad Ithel ap Robert

(IGP 15:1 – 6):

Eres y torres y terra
Yr awr hon, planhigion pla,
Ac eres y mag orofn
Arni bellen ddefni ddofn.
Mae achreth oergreth ergryd
Yr acses, crynwres y cryd.

*Prodigiously did plants of the plague
Break the surface of the earth this hour,
And prodigiously does it rear terror
Upon the earth, ball soaked in drips;
There is a shivering, a cold trembling of fear,
Of the access, hot fit of fever.*

(IGP 15:131 – 146):

Llyma oedd da iddo ef,
Addoli i Grist heb ddolef,
Rhoi gorffwysfa, da daroedd,
I'w enaid ef, oen Duw oedd,
Gydad Eli, sengi sant,
Ac Enog mewn gogoniant;
Ni ddeuant, y ddeusant ddwys,
Brodyr ynt, o Baradwys
Oni ddêl, hoedl ddeau law,
Dyddbrawd yn y diweddbrawd;
Yno y gwelwn ein gwaladr,
Gwae a gwynt, cadarnbwynt cadr;
Ni bydd ar ben Mynydd maith
Olifer, porffor perffaith,

Iôn archdiagon degach
Nag fydd Ithel uchel ach.

*This is what would be good for him,
Worshiping Christ without moaning,
Giving a resting place, well would it happen,
To his soul, he was God's lamb,
With Elias, holy tread,
And Enoch in glory;
They will not come, the two sombre saints,
They are brothers (friars), from Paradise
Until the time of the right hand
The Judgement Day comes in the final testing;
Then will we see our prince,
Woe and wind, strong firm condition,
There will not be on top of the high Mount
Of Olives, perfect hero
A fairer lord archdeacon
Than will be Ithel of noble lineage.*

Appendix 3.15 – Lewys Glyn Cothi

3.15.1 Marwnad Gwladus ferch Syr Dafydd Gam

(GLGC 110:33 – 64):

Ysgrîn ar gysegr o Went
sy dŷ arglwyddes dwyWent.
Pond teg peintiad y gadair?
Pinagls fal pen eglwys Fair,
main beril nawmil yn wyn,
marmor a mwy o ermyn.
Bedd i'r holl fonedd yw fo,
oll a grwndwal Lloegr yndo.
Mae'n gorwedd mewn y gweryd
draw'n y bedd draean y byd.
Yn seren ar ben y bedd
y rhoed i gadw'r anrhydedd
maes glas fal cledd Pandrusus

a llew lir â'r lliw o lus.
O gylch y tŵr yn glych teg
Duw a oedd, ef a'r deuddeg;
englynion gwynion o'i gylch
a drig bob dri o'i ogylch.
Organau oll hyd frig nef
ag arainllais, gôr unllef;
mil o dyrs amliw o dân,
mil eraill aml o arian;
mwy no mil o feudwyaid
dan gŵyr bob deunaw a gaid;
yn nesaf mae deunawsaint
yn bwrw naw sens gerbron saint.
Main beril cylch Syr Wiliam
oedd fedd gwyn merch Dafydd Gam.
Dau a wnaeth i'r deau nawdd,
Duw Iesu a'u dewisawdd,
ac o'u rhyw'n benaig yrhawg
y dewiswn dywysawg.

*A tomb on a consecrated one of Gwent
is the house of the ladyship of two Gwents.
Is it not a fair portrait of the chair?
Pinnacles like the top of St Mary's church,
nine thousand white beryl stones,
marble and more ermine.
A grave for all nobility it is,
the whole and foundation of England in it.
She lies in the soil
yonder in the grave dowager of the world.
A star on top of the grave
was placed to keep the honour
a green field like Pendrasus's sword
and a black lion with the colour of bilberries.
Around the tower a fair circle
was God, he and the twelve;*

*saintly angels around him
dwell each three encompassing him.
Organs the whole length of heaven on high
and silver voices, a choir in one voice;
a thousand torches various colours of fire,
another thousand often of silver;
more than a thousand anchorites
under wax was had every eighteen;
next there are eighteen saints
striking incense near the saints.
Beryl stone around Sir William
was the sacred grave of Dafydd Gam's daughter.
Two who made patronage for the south,
God Jesus chose them,
and from their family of noblemen evermore
we will choose a prince.*

3.15.2 Marwnad Siôn y Glyn

(GyB Marwnad Siôn y Glyn):

Un mab oedd degan i mi;
Dwynwen! Gwae'i dad o'i eni!
Gwae a edid, o gudab,
i boeni mwy heb un mab.
Fy nwy ais, farw fy nisyn,
y sy'n glaf am Siôn y Glyn.
Udo fyth yr ydwyf i
am benaig mabinogi.

Afal pêr ac aderyn
a garai'r gwas, a gro gwyn;
bwa o flaen y ddraenen,
cleddau digon brau o bren;
ofni'r bib, ofni'r bwbach,
ymbil â'i fam am bêl fach;
canu i bawb acen o'i ben,
canu 'wô' er cneuen;

gwneuthur moethau, gwenieithio,
sorri wrthyf i wnâi fo,
a chymod er ysglodyn
ac er dis a garai'r dyn.

Och nad Siôn, fab gwirion gwâr,
sy'n ail oes i Sain Lasar.
Beuno a droes iddo saith
nefolion yn fyw eilwaith;
gwae eilwaith, fy ngwir galon,
nad oes wyth rhwng enaid Siôn.
O Fair, gwae fi o'i orwedd!
a gwae fy ais gau ei fedd!
Yngo y siaf angau Siôn
yn ddeufrath yn y ddwyfron.
fy mab, fy muarth baban,
fy mron, fy nghalon, fy nghân,
fy mryd cyn fy marw ydoedd,
fy mardd doeth, dy mreuddwyd oedd;
fy nhegan oedd, fy nghannwyll,
fy enaid teg, fy un twyll,
fy nghyw yn dysgu fy nghân,
fy nghae Eysyllt, fy nghusan,
fy nerth – gwae fi yn ei ôl! –
fy ehedydd, fy hudol,
fy serch, fy mwa, fy saeth,
f'ymbiliwr, fy mabolaeth.

Siôn y sy'n danfon i'w dad
awch o hiraeth a chariad.
Yn iach wên ar fy ngenau,
yn iach chwerthin o'r min mau,
yn iach mwy ddiddanwch mwyn,
ac yn iach i gnau echwyn,
ac yn iach bellach i'r bêl,

ac yn iach ganu'n uchel,
ac yn iach, fy nhgâr arab,
iso'n fy myw, Siôn fy mab.

*One son was a treasure to me;
Dwynwen! Woe to his father that he was born!
Woe to him who was left, out of affection,
to grieve evermore with no son.
Because my little die is dead,
my breast is sick for Siôn y Glyn.
I am forever wailing
for the lord of boyhood tales.*

*The lad loved a sweet apple
and a bird and white pebbles;
a bow made of a thorn branch,
a pretty flimsy wooden sword;
afraid of the pipe, afraid of the bogeyman,
he would plead with his mother for a little ball;
singing a note to everyone from his mouth,
singing 'oo-o' for a nut;
he would fondle and flatter,
he would get cross with me,
and make up for a bit of wood
and for dice that he loved.*

*Oh that Siôn, pure gentle boy,
were another Saint Lazarus.
Beuno brought back to life again
seven who had gone to heaven;
alas once again, my true heart,
that Siôn's soul is not the eighth.
Oh Mary, alas that he lies dead!
and alas for my breast that his grave is closed!
Siôn's death is implanted there*

*like a stab wound in my chest.
My son, my baby's playpen,
my bosom, my heart, my song,
he was my whole mind in my lifetime,
my wise poet, he was my dream;
he was my treasure, my candle,
my fair soul, my one deceit,
my chick learning my song,
my Isolde's garland, my kiss,
my strength – woe is me after him! –
my skylark, my enchanter,
my love, my bow, my arrow,
my beseecher, my youthfulness.*

*Siôn is sending to his father
a pang of longing and love.
Farewell the smile on my lips,
farewell laughter from my mouth,
farewell sweet amusement anymore,
and farewell to games with nuts,
and farewell now to the ball,
and farewell to loud singing,
and farewell my cheery friend,
down below while I live, Siôn my son.*

3.15.3 Marwnad Mabli ferch Wilym

(GLGC 59:9 – 20):

Ydd wyd yn y nef, lle ydd af – innau
at fy hynaif Addaf;
fry'dd aethost at Fair ddoethaf,
i dŷ Dduw hefyd ydd af.

Ef aeth ynn hiraeth Noe hen – am y tir,
drymed dŵr ffurfafen;
y dŵr a aeth hyd yr ên
ym mrig wyth ym mro Gathen.

Cathen, Ann, Elien, Non, Eli, - Enog
i gadw'ch enaid Mabli;
ceidw San Ffraid eich enaid chwi,
ac o'r diwedd gair Dewi.

*You are in heaven, where I myself will go
to my ancestor Adam;
on high you went to wisest Mary,
to God's house also I shall go.*

*The yearning of old Noah is on us – about the land,
so heavy is the water of the firmament;
the water went as far as the chin
at the height of indignation in Cathen's land.*

*May Cathen, Ann, Elien, Non, Eli – Enoch
keep your soul Mabli;
Saint Brigit will keep your soul,
and in the end Dewi's word.*

3.15.4 Marwnad Nest o Cao

(GLGC 39:29 – 36):

Duw Llun wedi llawenydd,
diwedd dig ydoedd y dydd.
Duw mawrth y cafad amwynt,
Duw Mercher heb hanner pwynt.
Duw Iau yn wan, doe yn iach,
Duw Gwener hefyd gwannach.
A drin fawr dduw Sadwrn fu,
a Duwsul i dŷ Iesu.

*Monday after cheerfulness,
it was a woeful end to the day.
Tuesday was had ailment,
Wednesday without half health.
Thursday weak, yesterday healthy,*

*Friday also weaker.
And tribulation was Saturday,
and Sunday to Jesus' house.*

(GLGC 39:43 – 52):

Mae pedwar mewn daear deg,
a Chynwyl yno chwaneg.
Dau a dau fal min a dab,
Dafydd a Nest a'u deufab.
Mae yn y nef, myn y nos,
eu hwyrion yn eu haros,
ac hwynt lle mae'r radd ddi-gêl,
a'u meibion lle mae Abel,
a phawb a eirch a phob un
yn ei feddwl nef uddun'.

*There are four in a fair earth,
and Cynwyl there also.
Two and two like a mouth which is daubed,
Dafydd and Nest and their two sons.
In heaven, by the night,
their grandsons await them,
and themselves where there is no hiding,
and their sons where is Abel,
and each and everyone prays
in his mind that they are given heaven.*

3.15.5 Marwnad Hywel Goch ap Rhys ap Dafydd

(GLGC 179:19 – 32):

Hywel oedd bren uchel iawn
o'r gwinwydd rhywiawg uniawn;
pren defnydd lle 'fferennwn,
Duw yw'r saer a dorres hwn.
Torres derwen Melienydd,
a phellach gwannach yw'r gwýdd.
Torres tant, ar feddiant fu
yn y canol yn canu.
Torres bwa'r da a'r dawn

yn ei annel yn uniawn.
Syrthiodd gwalch difalch oedd deg
gan hud, ac e'n ehedeg.
Diwreiddiodd pren yn nen allt,
myn yr haul, mwya'n Rhiwlallt.

*Hywel was very high wood
from the dignified upright woodbine.
wood of substance where I would say mass,
God is the carpenter who cut this.
Cut the oak tree of Maelienydd,
and now weaker is the stock.
Cut the string, who was in the centre
singing with authority.
Cut the bow of the good and the talented
in his unswerving snare.
An unproud falcon was fair fell
by magic, in full flight.
The wood at the hill's summit was uprooted,
by the sun! the greatest in Rhiwlallt.*

(GLGC 179:39 – 42):

Pren oedd Rhys drwy'r ynys ynn,
ac yr oedd ar saith gwreiddyn;
Iesu â'i fwyall noswaith
a dorres un da o'r saith.

*Rhys was a tree for us throughout the island,
and he was on seven roots;
Jesus with his axe one evening
cut one good one from amongst the seven.*

Marwnad Siôn Grae

(GLM 83:73 – 86):

Oerllam êl ar y llw mau
i'r iangwr elwir 'Angau':
pob pennaeth, sywaeth, o'i swydd
a lusg yn ôl ei ysgwydd:
Diriad ydyw'r aderyn;
dwyn sy fyw i'r dawns a fyn:
lladd Iarll hir, llaw deau'r llu;
llin brenin oll yn braenu:
lladd Efrog y marchogion;
lle'dd oedd â'i saeth lladdodd Siôn:
lladd eryr holl ddaearen,
lladd pawb o'r lluoedd o'u pen:
lladd y tywysog brigog brau
llaw Dduw yngod, lladd Angau.

*Let a cold attack go on my oath
to the knave who is called 'Death':
every chieftain, unfortunately, from his office
does he drag by his shoulder:
A conqueror is the bird;
taking who is alive to the dance as he wants:
killing a tall nobleman, the right hand of the force;
a whole king's lineage putrefying:
killing Efrog of the knights;
where he was with his arrow he killed Siôn:
killing the eagle of the whole land,
killing everyone from the throngs from their head:
killing the prosperous and generous prince
the hand of God nearby, Death kills.*

Appendix 3.17 – Lewys Morgannwg

3.17.1 Moliant Mair o Ben-rhys

(GLMorg 102:47 – 62):

Mawr yw 'maich, Mair, am iechyd, -
Mwy no baich mwya'n y byd.
Dyn a ddaliwyd dan ddolur
Fu'n dwyn poen wyf yn dân pur.
Mawr yw 'mhoen, Mair, i'm hynys,
Mawr bawn rydd, Mair o Ben-rhys.
Y bardd iach, obrudd iechyd,
A gano i Fair, gwyn ei fyd.
Ni wŷyr un er ei rinwedd
Ar ba awr yr â i'r bedd.

Af â cherdd i ofwy'ch urddas
A chwyr ywch lle archa' ras.
Mair, i'th ras, mwy wyrth yrhawg,
Mi a erchais un marchawg.
Oes hir a gras, Syr Gei'r wart,
Iesu rhoed i Syr Edwart.

*Great is my burden, Mary, for health, -
More than the greatest burden in the world.
Man who was caught in pain
I am in pain in pure fire.
Great is my pain, Mary, to my realm,
Great would I be free, Mary of Pen-rhys,
The healthy poet, sensible health,
Who sings to Mary, lucky is he.
No-one knows despite his virtue
At what hour he will go to the grave.*

*I take a poem to visit your dignity
And wax to your place where I ask for grace.
Mary, for your grace, a greater miracle for ever more,
I one knight ascended.*

*Long life and grace, Sir Guy the guardian,
Jesus gave to sir Edward.*

3.17.2 Moliant Mair o Ben-rhys

(GLMorg 103:67 – 82):

Af i eiriol, wyf arab,
Fry â mawl i Fair a'i Mab.
I'm llaw iawn yn cau mae llun cwyr,
I'm llaw asau mae llaswyr.
'Y mhwyll oedd a'm holl weddi
Ymhell i Fair a'm llef i:
Ofni ddêl wedy'r elwyf,
Ofni dros f'enaïd yr wyf;
Ofni gweled f'un gelyn
Ym mhen tafl am enaid dyn;
Ofn dybryd fyned obry,
Ofn y frawd gan fy Nuw fry.
Mi archaf i'w bum archoll,
Mair, arched air eirchiaïd oll,
Mair, am unair i'm enaid,
Mair, wrthfawr air wrth fy rhaid.

*I go to entreaty, I am joyful,
On high with praise for Mary and her Son.
In my closed right hand there is a wax image,
In my left hand is a psalter.
My deliberation was all my praying
Greatly for Mary and my entreaty:
Fearing what may come after I may go,
Fearing for my soul am I;
Fearing seeing my one enemy
In the top of the scales for the soul of a man;
Fearing a monstrous going down below,
Fearing the judgement by my God on high.
I pray to His five wounds,
Mary, a word was begged by all supplicants,
Mary, for one word for my soul,*

Mary, a valuable word as I need.

Appendix 3.18 - Llawdden

Marwnad Elen Gethin o Linwent

(GLI 21:7 – 20):

Gwynfyd gwraig oedd ganfod gras,
Gael Teml gwely Tomos.
Gwen a'i dug ei gnawd ef
O boen brwydr Banbri adref.
Ac yntau'n eglwys Gintun,
O achos gwawr ni chwsg hun.
Hoff fu hon, hi a'i phennaeth,
Gael nef o'r gwely a wnaeth.
Mur mawr gwyn, marmor yw'r gwaith,
Fel clog Mwrog a Mariaith.
Llun gŵr mewn llan a'i gariad
Lle mae'r pridd gerllaw'r Mab Rhad.
Llen faen a mantel wen fydd
Wedy'r gau yn dragywydd.

*It was the wife's prosperity to discover grace,
Having a Temple as Thomas's bed (grave).
The fair one took his flesh (body)
Home from the pain of Banbury.
And he in Kington's church,
Because of the lady he is not sleeping.
Favoured was she and her lord,
He achieved heaven from the bed (grave).
A great white wall, marble is the work,
Like the cloak of Mwrog and Mariaith.
A picture of a man in a church with his wife
Where the soil is near the Blessed Son.
A curtain of stone and a white mantle
Will be closed for eternity.*

Appendix 3.19 – Llywelyn ap Gutun

Marwnad Gruffudd

(GyB Marwnad Gruffudd:1 – 4):

Duw'n afrwydd ar y flwyddyn,
mor galed fu'r dynged ynn.

Diwynodd doe o anab

Duw fi'n fy myw, dwyn fy mab.

*God has treated the year harshly,
so hard fate has been for us.*

*God marred me through misfortune yesterday
for my whole life by taking my son.*

(GyB Marwnad Gruffudd1:33 – 37):

dolur ni ad ond wylo

o'i flaen fyth a'i flino fo,

a dialedd od wylwn,

y Gŵr a'i gwnaeth aeth â hwn.

*pain will not let me do anything but weep
before Him continuously and pester Him,
and even if I weep a great deal,
He who made him took him away.*

(GyB Marwnad Gruffudd:53 – 58):

Pob enaid, o'm direidi,

a fynn Duw ond f'enaid i.

Boed yfory, bid ferros,

fo Dydd Farn a diwedd f'oes.

Onid hir y mae'n tariaw?

Anffawd i Ddyddbrawd na ddaw!

*God wants every soul
Except my soul, because of my wickedness.
May the Judgement Day and the end of my life
be tomorrow, let it be a short life.
Is it not a long time coming?
A curse on Doomsday for being so slow!*

Gweledigaeth Pawl yn Uffern

(GGLI 2:35 – 92):

Na ddyged neb gamddegwm,
Nac ewch, or cewch, dir i'r cwm
Lle y gwelas Pawl Ddiawl ryw ddydd,
Oer o boen, ac eiry beunydd,
A mil o eneidiau mân,
Ochi anferth a chwynfan
O fewn gwynt, ofnog ei wedd,
Ac eiry heb gael trugaredd
A Diawl cornfudr, dwl, carnfol
A welai Bawl yn wlyb oll
Yn dwyn, a'i gorn yn ei dâl,
Eneidiau'r bobl anwadal
A'u bwrw'n faich fal brain fil
Â'i gigwain hagr ei gwegil:
Rhai i'r pair yn gludweirioedd
A rhai i'r iâ, rhywyr oedd;
Rhai a droed i'r rhod rydwym
Ac eraill wedy eu gyrru
Â bwyall dân i bwll du.
Ynghrog pob gradd onaddun
A bach drwy dafod pob un:
Rhai yn griddfan rhag annwyd
A rhai dan blwm tawdd mewn rhwyd
A chythraul ar ei chwethroed
Â bêr cam mwy no bar coed.
Pob rhyw ddyn a 'sgymuner
I boen y gyrrir â bêr
A'i braich yn dân hyd ei bron
A wnaed am dygnu anudon.
A gymer gamddegymawl
Â i'r gerwyn dân ar gyrn Diawl
Ac enaid mewn coffr gwynias

Â golwg ryn heb gael gras
Wrth bilerau gau i gyd
A gwynt garw o gant gwryd.
Gwae chwi, diogi digael,
Glythineb, godineb gwael,
Balchedd, llid, fordd y bylchant,
Cenfign chwerwen a chwant:
Llyma'r pynciau, myn Ieuan,
Och dagr tost, a'ch dwg i'r tân!
I'ch iaith gwrandewch y weithian
Ar lais Ysgrythur lân
I ogelyd iâ golas
A'r lle brwnt a'r llu heb ras:
Nedwch i'ch eneidiau i'ch ôl
A meirw mewn pechod marwol;
Dewch â'ch llef hyd y nefoedd,
Gweddiwch, eich heddwch oedd;
Ewch i'r wachelffordd uchel
O'r pwll lle mae mwya' apêl
Ar y Mab serchog D'rogan
A'ch tynnawdd o'r tawdd a'r tân.
A ddoetpwyd mewn proffwydi
Ystyriwch a choeliwch chwi:
O'ch delir chwi, gwedy gwaith,
Ar ôl, ni'ch prynir eilwaith.

Do not anyone take false tithe,

Do not go, if you are able, for sure to the pit (i.e. hell)

Where Paul saw the Devil one day,

Cold with pain, and snow every day,

And a thousand of the lowliest souls,

Ugly moaning and lamentation

Within the wind, uneasy it is appearance,

And snow without having pity

*And the Devil squalid his horn, nonsensical, and his cloven
hoof*

*Which Paul saw, all wet
Taking off, and with his horn in his forehead,
The souls of fickle people
And throwing them as a burden like a thousand crows
With his skewer ugly its scruff;
Some in piles to the cauldron
And some to the ice, it was too late [to repent];
Some were turned [holding] the freezing wheel
And some bound amongst snakes
And others were herded
With a fiery axe to the bitter pit.
There is a group of them hanged
And a hook through the tongue of each:
Some sighing because of the cold
And some in a trap of melted lead
And a demon on his six feet
With a skewer a step bigger than wooden stake.
Every type of person who is excommunicated
Is hunted with a skewer to torment
And her arm aflame to her breast
Which was done because [she] swore false witness on oath.
Those who take tithes unjustly
Go to the cauldron of fire on the Devil's horns
And a soul in a chest white hot
With a chilly graceless look
All by deceitful columns
And a severe wind from every direction.
Woe you, the lazy fruitless
Gluttony, deplorable fornication,
Pride, anger, the manner in which they do damage,
Jealousy full of bitterness and avarice:
These are the causes, John insists,
O woeful tears, which take you off to the fire!
In your language listen now
To the words of the holy Scripture*

*To avoid the freezing cold ice
And the abhorrent place and the graceless hordes:
Do not leave your soul behind
To die in a deadly sin;
Bring your cry to heaven,
Pray, it was your atonement;
Go on the high by-pass
From the pool where is the most insistent appeal
To the loving Son of the Prophecy
Who took you from the wet and the fire.
Who was foretold by the prophets
Meditate [on him] and believe:
If it is paid back for you, after labouring,
You cannot buy the second time.*

Appendix 3.21 – Llywelyn Fychan

Haint y Nodau

(GyB Haint y Nodau):

Duw erglyw, da fy Arglwyd,
deddfol Dad a Mab Rhad rhwydd
ac Ysbryd, ffawd lendyd ffydd,
glân nefol, fal glain ufydd;
un Duw i bob enaid wyd
o’th radau, a Thri ydwyd:
Perigl (nid ym heb hiraeth) ein bod, cyfadnabod caeth
dy fâr, yn edifeiriaw,
a’th lid, mae’r holl fyd i’th law.
Gweled arwyddion golau
ydd ym, yn dangos bob ddau:
dyfod i’n plith fal deuwg,
marwolaeth, drudaniaeth drwg.
Haint brigladd, hynt beryglus
(haeddasom roi arnom rus),
rith diwraidd rhwth diareb,
rhoi nod ni wna rhan â neb.

Nid oes drigarudd, gwedd gwiw,
gan y nod, gwenwyn ydiw.

Y nod a ddug eneidiau
y dillynion mwynion mau.
Trist y'm gwnaeth, drwy arfaeth trais,
ac unig, neur fawr gwynais.
Dwyn Ieuan wiwlan ei wedd
ymlaen y lleill naw mlynedd;
ac weithian fu'r twrn gwaethaf,
oera' swydd yn aros haf,
dihir fy nghof a'm gofeg:
dwyn Morfudd, dwyn Dafydd deg,
dwyn Ieuan, llon degan llu,
dwyn â didawddgwyn Dyddgu,
a'm gadaw, frad oerfraw fryd,
yn freiddfyw mewn afrwyddfyd.

Anodd oedd gael, beth gwael bach,
grugyn anhrugarogach.
Gwae fi, siom drygioni sail,
o'r swllt mewn cyswllt cesail.
Gwyth llid yw, gwaetha' lle dêl,
glain a bair ochain uchel.
gwyniau ddylyn, gwnâi ddolef,
gwas nid gwiw ymbil ag ef,
ceseilwrn, dygn gogwrn dig,
cnap gwyn anap gwenwynig,
pwmel cleddyf rhyfel clau,
pwyth baich adwyth bechodau.
Llwyr y gwnâi alar a llid,
llun afal llawn o ofid,
chwerw ben wynwyn gwrthwyneb,
chwarren bach ni eiriach neb
Mawr ei ferw fal marforyn,

modfedd a bair diwedd dyn,
Dihirwch byd, ludlyd liw,
daw i lid, diwyl ydiw.
Drygddarpar galar heb gêl,
duon ofidion fedel,
hagr frech anhygar ei frys,
on'd tebyg i had dubys?
Llitgno briwion morlo brau,
llu timestl fal lletemau,
torfoedd o ragflaen terfyn,
trymglwy a'u tardd, anardd ynn.,
Cafod bys lle cyfyd bâr,
cennad angau du cynnar,
creifion o bilion bulwg,
cadgamlan, darogan drwg,
du bla, nid er da y dôn',
dimeiau, gemau gwymon,
gwerin prudd, ufudd ofeg,
grawn tost eu bod ar groen teg,
Gwaith trist, pawb, myn Crist a'm cred,
galar oedd ym eu gweled.

Gwiw Dduw nef, clyw ein gweddi
hyd atad, ein iawndad ni,
Po amlaf, trymaf tremyg,
y dêl ynn alar a dig,
rheitiaf er hyn fydd ynny
gennyd gael, Frenin hael hy,
mawr drugarog berthog borth:
maddau'n camau a'n cymorth.
Llaesa, 'r hwn a'm lleasawdd,
oddi arnom, gwyddom gawdd,
dy lid, grair, o'th ryddid grym
a'th fâr, da o adar ydym.
Dwg fy niddan deganau

glân teg i'r goleuni tau.
Doeth y lluniaist bob da,
dod ym, fy Nuw Dad yma,
bwyll rasawl, obeithiawl bwyth,
ym yn nhâl am fy nhylywyth.

*Hear me o God, good is my lord,
just father and generous holy Son
and blessed Spirit, purity of faith,
holy and heavenly like a meek jewel,
you are one God to every soul
by your blessings, and you are three.
It is a danger that our lives
are never free of grief, inescapable awareness:
your wrath upon us causing us to repent
and your anger, the whole world is in your hand.
We can see clear signs
showing it in pairs,
that a pestilence of terrible ferocity
has come into our midst like a great rage.
A disease cropping shoots on its menacing course,
we deserve to be fettered,
an eradicating phantom infamous for its greed,
the infliction of a plague gives no quarter.
The plague has no mercy,
fine aspect, it is poison.*

*The plague took the lives
of my gentle darlings.
Its woeful violence made me sad,
and lonely, I lamented greatly.
Handsome Ieuan was taken
nine years before the others;
and now the worst turn of all has happened,
grimmiest job awaiting summer,
the memory and thought of it is painful:*

*Morfudd was taken, fair Dafydd was taken,
Ieuan, everyone's cheery favourite, was taken,
with an unceasing lament Dyddgu was taken,
and I was left, feeling betrayed and stunned,
barely alive in a harsh world.*

*It would be hard to find, despicable little thing,
a more pitiless tumour.*

*Woe is me, stuff of evil treachery,
from the shilling under the armpit.*

*It is a most evil vein of inflammation where it strikes,
a bead which causes loud lamentation;
accompaniment of agony, it would provoke an outcry,
a lad with whom there is no use pleading;*

*a swelling under the armpit, grievous sore lump,
white knob, poisonous misfortune,
pommel of a sword of swift strife,
punishment for an evil burden of sins.*

*It caused grief and fury everywhere,
shape of an apple full of pain,
bitter head of an odious onion,
a little boil which spares no one.*

*Smouldering like a red-hot coal,
a tiny thing which brings about man's end.*

*Misery of the world, ashen grey colour,
it becomes inflamed, it is incessant.*

*Evil provision of grief quite openly,
a reaping of black pangs,*

ugly pox, dreadful is its haste,

is it not similar to seeds of black peas?

*Inflamed burning of brittle coal fragments,
tempestuous host like studs;*

crowds from the brink of death,

a heavy sickness produces them, terrible to us.

A shower of peas giving rise to affliction,

*messenger of swift black death;
parings from the petals of a corn-poppy,
murderous rabble, evil omen;
black plague, they do not come with any good intent,
halfpennies, seaweed scales;
a grim throng, humble speech,
berries, it is painful that they should be on fair skin.
A sad business for all, by Christ and my faith,
the sight of them was grief to me.*

*True God of heaven, hear my prayer
to you, our rightful Father;
The more often, heaviest injury,
grief and woe come to us,
all the more for that will we need
from you, generous steadfast King,
great merciful fair support,
forgive us our misdeed. and help us.
Withdraw, you who struck me down,
from us, we have suffered affliction,
your wrath, talisman in your strong freedom
and your anger, we are good birds.
Take my sweet treasures,
pure and fair to your light.
Wisely did you create every good thing,
give me here God my Father,
gracious sense, recompense of hope,
my payment for my family.*

Appendix 3.22 – Llywelyn Goch ap Meurig Hen
Marwnad Lleucu Llwyd

(GLIG 12):

Llyma haf llwm i hoywfardd,
A llyma fyd llwm i fardd.
E'm hysbeiliawdd, gawdd gyfoed,

Am fy newis mis ermoed.
Nid oes yng Ngwynedd heddiw
Na lloer, na llewych, na lliw,
Er pan rodded, trwydded trwch,
Dan lawr dygn dyn loer degwch.

Y ferch wen o'r dderw brennol,
Arfaeth ddig yw'r fau i'th ôl.
Cain ei llun, kannwyll Wynedd,
Cyd bych o fewn caead bedd,
F'enaïd, cyfod i fyny,
Agor y ddaearddor ddu,
Gwrthod wely tywod hir,
A gwrtheb f'wyneb, feinir.
Mae yman, hoedran hydraul,
Uwch dy fedd, huanwedd haul,
Ŵr llwm ei wyneb hebod,
Llywelyn Goch, gloch dy glod.
Udfardd yn rhodio adfyd
Ydwyf, gweinidog nwyf gwyd.
Myfi, fun, mwyfwy fonedd,
Echdoe a fûm uwch dy fedd
Yn gollwng deigr lletbeigraff
Ar hyd fy wyneb yn rhaff.
Tithau, harddlun y fun fud,
O'r tewbwll ni'm atebud.

Tawedog, ddwysog ddiserch,
Ti addawsud, y fud ferch,
Fwyn dy sud, fando sidan,
F'aros, y ddyn loywdlos lân,
Oni ddelwn, gwn y gwir,
Ardwy hydr, o'r deheudir.
Ni chiglef, sythlef saethlud,
Air ond y gwir, feinir fud,

Iawndwf rhianedd Indeg,
Onid hyn, o'th enau teg.
Trais mawr, ni'm diddawr o dŷ,
Torraist amod, trist ymy.
Tydi sydd, mau gywydd gau,
Ar y gwir, rywiog eiriau,
Minnau sydd, ieithrydd athrist,
Ar gelwydd tragywydd trist.
Celwyddog wyf, cul weddi,
Celwyddlais a soniais i.

Mi af o Wynedd heddiw,
Ni'm dawr pa fan, loywgan liw.
Fy nyn wyrennig ddigawn,
Duw'n fach, petud iach nid awn.
Pa le caf, ni'm doraf, dioer,
Dy weled, wendw' wiwloer,
Ar Fynydd, sathr Ofydd serch,
Olifer, yr oleuferch?
Llwyr y dihiriaist fy lle,
Lleucu, deg waneg wiwne.

Riain loywgain oleugaen,
Rhy gysgadur ger mur maen,
Cyfod i orffen cyfedd
I edrych a fynnych fedd,
At dy fardd, ni chwardd ychwaith
Erod dalm, euraid dalaith.
Dyred, ffion ei deurudd,
I fyny o'r pridd-dŷ prudd.
Anial yw ôl camoleg,
Nid rhaid twyll, fy neutroed teg,
Yn bhwman rhag annwyd
Ynghylch dy dŷ, Lleucu Llwyd.

A genais, lugorn Gwynedd,
O eiriau gwawd, eiry ei gwedd,
Llef drïoch, llaw fodrwyaur,
Lleucu, moliant fu yt, f'aur;
Â'r genau hwn, gwn ganmawl,
A ganwyf, tra fwyf, o fawl,
F'enaïd, hoen geirw afonydd,
Fy nghariad, dy farwnad fydd.

Cymhennaidd groyw loyw Leucu,
Cymyn f'anwylddyn fun fu:
Ei henaïd, grair gwlad Feiriawn,
I Dduw Dad, addewid iawn;
A'i meingorff, eiliw mangant,
Meinir i gysegrdir sant;
Dyn pellgwyn, doniau peillgalch,
A da byd i'r gŵr du balch;
A'r hiraeth, cywyddiaeth cawdd,
I minnau a gymynnawdd.

Lleddf ddeddf ddeuddawn ogyfuwch,
Lleucu dlos, lliw cawod luwch,
Pridd a main, glain galarchwerw,
A gudd ei deurudd, a derw.
Gwae fi drymed y gweryd
A'r pridd ar feistres y pryd!
Gwae fi fod arch i'th warchae,
A thŷ main rhof a thi mae,
A chôr eglwys a chreiglen
A phwys o bridd a phais bren.
Gwae fi'r ferch wen o Bennal,
Breuddwyd oer, briddo dy dâl!
Clo durdderw, galarchwerw gael,
A daear, deg ei dwyael,
A thromgadr ddôr, a thrymgae,

A llawr maes rhof a'r lliw mae,
A chlyd fur, a chlo dur du,
A chlicied; yn iach, Leucu!

(Translation by Dafydd Johnston in Loomis and Johnston 1992:112 - 114):

*Grim this summer for a gay bard,
and grim is the world for a bard.
A single month – consort of grief –
has robbed me of my treasure.
Today there remains in Gwynedd
no moon, nor brightness, nor colour,
since the moon's beauty, harsh welcome,
was put under a hard ground.*

*White girl in the oak coffin,
grievous is my fate after you.
Fair countenance, Gwynedd's candle,
although you're shut in the grave,
my darling, rise to your feet,
open the black earthen door,
leave the long bed of sand,
and give me an answer, girl.
There is here, abundant grief,
above your grave, sun's brightness,
a sad-faced man without you,
Llywelyn Goch, bell of your praise.
I'm a mourning bard roaming
a desert, sinful passion's slave.
I stood, noblest of maidens,
yesterday above your grave
shedding tears in torrents
like a rope over my cheeks.
And you, fair speechless maiden,
gave no answer from the deep pit.*

*Silent sombre loveless one,
you promised, oh speechless girl,
sweet your form clad in silk,
to wait for me, lovely maid,
until I came, this is the truth,
strong guarantee, from the south.
I never heard, unwavering voice,
an untrue word, speechless beauty,
shapely Indeg of maidens,
except this, from your fair lips.
Harsh blow, I care not where I dwell,
you broke faith, causing me grief.
It is you – my cywydd is false –
Who is in the right, fitting words,
and I, mournful eloquence,
am ever sadly in the wrong.
I am a liar, barren prayer,
I spoke with a lying voice.*

*I will go from Gwynedd today,
I care not where, brilliant colour;
if you, my lively sweetheart,
were alive, by God, I wouldn't go.
Whereabouts – I care not where –
shall I see you, lovely moon,
on the Mount of Olives, bright girl,
where Ovidian love will be spurned?
You have abandoned my place,
Lleucu, colour of a fair wave,
refined brightly-clothed maiden,
sleeping too long within stone walls.*

*Rise up to finish carousing,
to see if you want some mead,*

*to join your bard who laughs not
at all for you, golden chaplet.
Come, you of foxglove cheeks,
up from the sombre house of earth.
Desolate are my footprints,
no need to conceal them anymore,
pacing to and fro to keep warm
around your house, Lleucu Llwyd.
All the poems, Gwynedd's lantern,
that I ever sang, hue of snow,
woeful cry, golden-ringed hand,
were in your praise, my dear Lleucu.
All the songs I sing with these lips,
I'm skilled in praise, all my life,
my soul, hue of river foam,
my darling, will be your lament.*

*Clear shining dainty Lleucu,
this was my dearest girl's will:
her soul, treasure of Meirion's land,
to God the Father, good promise;
and her long slender body,
like fine white flour, to holy ground;
girl mourned afar, flour-white favours,
worldly goods to the proud dark man,
and yearning for her, song of grief,
to me she did bequeath.*

*Most virtuous gentle manner,
fair Lleucu, hue of driven snow,
earth and stones, gem of bitter grief,
conceal her two cheeks, and oak.
Alas the weight of the earth
and soil on beauty's mistress!
Oh that you are shut in a coffin,*

*and there's a stone roof between us,
and a chancel and sheet of rock
and weight of earth and wooden coat.
Alas white girl from Pennal,
harsh nightmare that your brow is buried!
A lock of hard oak, bitter grief,
and earth – fair were her eyebrows –
and a stout door with heavy bar,
and the earth's floor is between us,
and thick wall and hard black lock
and a latch; farewell, Lleucu!*

Appendix 3.23 – Maredudd ap Rhys

3.23.1 Cywydd yn erbyn cybydd-dra'r byd

(GMRh 19):

Yma'r ŷs yn ymryson,
Anras sydd yn yr oes hon;
Mynnu 'mareedl mewn mawrdda,
(Maddau, Duw, er meddu da),
Ac arfer llawer o'r llail
Ydyw arwain da eraill.
Ymladd â llafnau amlwg
Am y da a'i dwg.
Bai ysydd, ni bu wiw sôn,
Bod barcutanod tynion,
Bron na pherth, na bryn na phant,
Na da'r byd nid arbedant.
Trech a gais y fantais fer
Na'r hwn a'i ceidw o'r hanner.

Dialedd unwedd ennyd
Aeth ar gybyddiaeth y byd.
A grawn cybydd, gar union,
A ŷs glwth safnrwth dan sôn,
Drwy wg a hawl, drwg yw hyn;

Gwaeth yw cybyddiaeth bawddyn
A mawr ei bechod, merydd,
Murnio'i dda ym mron ei ddydd;
Ac ni fydd, pan fo rhaid,
Yr ewinedd i'r enaid.

Gwae a garo, gwag oerair,
Y da'n fwy na Duw neu Fair;
Iawnach i gybydd enwir
Garu Duw nag erw o dir,
A tharo, yng ngwaith arian,
Yn rhaid i'r enaid ei ran
I brynu nef drwy lefair:
Gan dlwad, er cardawd, y'i cair;
Prynai ddyn, prin oedd ei ddydd,
Â'i dda nef iddo'n ufydd.

Beth a dâl, ond dialedd,
Da'r byd wrth fyned i'r bedd?
Dyn a aned yn annoeth:
Nid â i nef ond yn noeth.
Symleth y byd sy amlwg
Ysywaeth, fal am draeth drwg:
Dyn od âi, diannod oedd,
Drwy y llanw i dre'r llynnoedd,
Gorau i bawb garu o'u bodd
Y trai i fyned trwodd.
Dyn main glân, fel edn mewn glud,
A êl yn llawn o olud,
Hir yw ei daith, hwyr y daw
I'r nef ar hyder nofiaw.
Anodd gan berchen canmuw
Rannu o'i dda'r un i Dduw.
Cybydd ni rydd, yn ei raid,
Frwynen, er nef i'r enaid.

Ei famaeth, a'i nef benna'
Fydd i ddyn cybydd ei dda.

D'led cywaeth i dlawd cywir,
A'i dreftad ef yw nef yn wir.
A nef yr wy'n ei ofyn,
Fy Naf a roddo nef ynn.

*Here am I disputing
There is wickedness in this age;
Desiring to assert myself in great wealth,
(Forgive, God, the possession of wealth),
And a custom of many of the rest
Is to steal the wealth of others.
The one who stole it fights
With conspicuous blades for the wealth.
There is blame, there was no worthy mention,
That there are rigid kites.
Neither hill-side nor bush, not hill nor hollow
Nor the wealth of the world do they save.
Superior is he who seeks the short advantage
Than he who keeps the half.*

*Uniform vengeance in an instant
Was wreaked on the miserliness of the world.
That which a miser hoards, loves direct,
Does a garrulous, glutton devour whilst talking,
He claims it with anger, this is evil;
Worse is a wretch's miserliness
And great his sin, foolish person,
Concealing his good in the heart of his day;
And, when it is necessary, the worthless remnants
Will not be available for the soul.*

*Woe he who loves, an empty cold word,
His wealth more than God or Mary;*

*It is more just for the wicked miser
To love God than an acre of land,
And to strike, in money's work,
His deal in necessity for the soul
To buy heaven through spoken word:
It is received from the poor through charity;
A man would buy, limited were his days,
Heaven for him obediently with his wealth.*

*What use, apart from vengeance,
Is worldly wealth as one goes to the grave?
A man who was born foolish:
He would only go to heaven naked.
It is the simplicity of the world which is obvious
However, as for evil treatise:
If a man should go, it would be without delay,
Through the tide to the town of the lakes,
It would be best for everyone to love willingly
The ebb to go through.
A slender pure man, like a bird stuck in bird-lime,
Goes with all his wealth,
Long is his journey, late will he come
To heaven swimming in confidence.
It is difficult for the owner of a hundred cows
To share one of his stock with God.
A miser does not give, in his need,
Even a straw, in order to gain heaven for his soul.
His wealth will be his mother, and his ultimate heaven,
For the miserly man.
A debt of riches for the correct poor,
And his patrimony is heaven indeed.
And heaven is what I ask for,
May my Lord give us heaven.*

3.23.2 *Cywydd i'r Byd*

(GMRh 15:43 – 60)

Yr enaid ni wŷyr yna
Pa ffordd o ddwyffordd ydd â:
Ai lle bo'r farn a'r llwybr fry,
Ai'r llwybr arall obry.
Od â i nef rhaid yw'n wir,
Ffinio dros y corff enwir,
A thalu'r ffin catholig
Yn y tân o'r enaid dig.
Crist ni dderbyn o'r crastan
Enaid i'w law ond yn lân.
Yr un cnawd Ddydd Brawd a ddaw
Yn duded enaid iddaw;
Clyd i'r corff, clodfawr y'i caid,
O phrynodd ffafr i'r enaid.
Pob cardawd i dlawd o'i law
A roddes, a roir iddaw;
Yn nef y rhoir, pan fo rhaid,
Yn aur yno i'r enaid.

The soul does not know there

Which way of two ways that it will go:

To the place [where] is judgement and the road on high?

The other road below?

If it goes to heaven it must be true,

Adjoins over the heinous/faithful¹⁰ corpse,

And paying the catholic fine

In the fire of the woeful soul.

Christ does not accept from the purging flames

A soul to his hand but [that it is] clean.

The same flesh on Judgement Day will come

Is the soul's clothing for it;

Snug is the corpse, renown it had,

¹⁰ GPC gives the two definitions here for *enwir* and either would fit so a possible intentional play on words.

*By buying a favour for the soul.
All charity for the poor from his hand
He gave, is given to him [in return];
In heaven is given, when it must,
Gold there for the soul.*

Appendix 3.24 – Siôn Cent

3.24.1 Y Llyfr

(GSCent 5:77 – 102):

A chythrel ar i chwethroed,
A bêr cam mwy na bar coed,
Yn dwyn a'i gorn hynny dal
Eneidiau'r bobl anwadal;
A'i bwrw'n faith o'i barn fil,
Ar gigwen hagr i'w gwegil;
Rhai i'r pair glud a fwriodd,
A rhai i'r îa rhy oer oedd;
Rhai'n rhedeg mewn rhôd rhydwym,
A rhai, mysg nadredd yn rhwym;
A rhai'n gruddfan rhag anwyd,
A rhai dan dawdd plwm mewn rhwyd;
Ag ereill wedi gyrru,
A bwyall diawl, i bwll du;
Ag enaid mewn coffr gwynias
A golwg rynn, heb gael grâs;

*The devil on their heel
And a lance a step more than woods' pain,
Taking with his horn that payment
[Of] souls of fickle people;
And striking them protractedly with their animal mind
On an ugly spit to the scruff of their necks;
Some were cast to the glutinous cauldron,
And some to the ice which was too cold;
Some running in too hot a circle,*

*And some, bound midst snakes;
And some lamenting from emotion,
And some under molten lead in a net;
And others were driven,
By the devil's axe to a black pool;
And a soul in a white-hot coffer
With a terrible look, not having grace;*

3.24.2 I Dduw

(GSCent 21:27 – 62):

Er mwyn dy un Mab a'i aberth
Byw Dduw nef, bydd i ni'n nerth;
O'i gadw naws gwna ysger,
Rhag uffern chwerw-wag offer;
Lle mae llys anwedduslan,
Diawliaid, cythreuliaid a than;
Satan goch, mae'n rhaid gochel,
Llwydd waith ni chynnyrch lle dêl,
Y llwdn a gais golledu,
Crybachog, crafangog fu;
Wynebwr brwnt anniben,
Corniog, danheddog hen;
Pryf anhawddgar dig, aruth'
Ag a gais i fantais fyth;
I ddwyn llawer o werin
I'r ffwrn lle telir y ffin;
Lle mae gwlad ddrwg i hagwedd,
Heb barch, heb gariad, heb hedd;
Ond ochain a dadsain dig,
Ar i gwarr awr ag orig;
E bwyntiodd Duw, nefoedd Naf,
Dan amod i hon ynnaf;
Erbyn y del arw boen du,
Siol diawl, i'r sawl a'i dylu:
Rhai mewn îa ag eira gwyn,
A Duw Ne' yn dwyn newyn;

A rhai mewn pydew drewllyd,
O flaen barn yn flin y byd;
Rhai eilwaith mewn diffaeth don,
Arw flin hwyl, ar flaen hoelion,
A rhai fydd chwerw a suddan’’
Gwâl dig, mewn gwely o dân;
Rhai ’n y pair anhap o wres,
A ffwrlwm brwd a fflam o bres.

*For the sake of your one Son and his sacrifice,
Living God of heaven, [let there] be strength for us;
By caring for him a little he will make a separation,
From acrid, empty hell’s weapons;
Where there is a completely outrageous court,
Devils, demons and fire;
Red Satan, one must be aware,
He [i.e.Saten] will not produce work wherever he comes,
The beast who tries to bereave,
Wizened, clawed he was;
A dirty shabby opponent,
Horned, tusked, old;
Loathsome wondrous wrathful insect,
And who always tries to [gain] advantage;
To take many of the people
To the furnace where the fine is paid;
Where there is a land of evil condition,
Without respect, without love, without peace;
But bewailing and wrathful echo,
On its nape an hour is an interval;
God appointed me, Lord of heaven,
Under this condition;
By the time that bitter black pain comes,
The devil’s turd, to those who are indebted to it:
Some in ice and white snow,
And God of Heaven delivering famine;
And some in a fetid pit,*

*Before evil judgement of the world;
Some twice in stubborn skin,
Evil bitter humour, on the front of spikes;
And some who will be bitter and immersed;
Wrathful lair, in a bed of fire;
Some in the cauldron of misery of heat,
And the sweltering desolate furnace and flame of copper.*

3.24.3 Twyll y Byd

(GSCent 27: 59 – 62) (Translation from Clancy, J. P. 2003:292)

Yna ni bydd i'r enaid,
Na phlas nag urddas na phlaid,
Na gwiw addurn na gau-dduw,
Na dim ond a wnaeth er Duw.
*There the soul will not possess,
Mansion or rank or faction,
Or fine ornament, or idol,
Only what it did for God.*

GSCent 27:83 – 90):

Y corff a fu mewn porffor,
A mewn cist ym min y côr,
A'r enaid, ni wyr yna,
Pŵl o ddysg, pa le ydd a;
Am y trosedd a wneddyw,
A'r camwedd tra foedd fyw.
Rhy hwyr a fydd 'n y dydd du,
Od wyf ŵr, edifaru.
*The body that once wore purple,
Will go into a chest next to the choir,
And the soul will not know then,
Dim witted, where it will go;
For the wrongs and the heresy,
Committed in his lifetime.
It's too late on the dark day,
As I'm a man, for repenting.*

(GSCent 27:101 – 112):

A'r enaid mewn dilif difost,
O'r tân a'r îâ, oerfel tost, -
Lle gorfydd, celfydd nis cêl,
Cydfod anorfod oerfel,
Tyllau, ffyrnau uffernawl,
Peiriau, dreigiau, delwau diawl;
Gweled pob pryf, cryf yw Crist,
Cornog, ysgythrog, athrist,
Yn llaw pob bydredd yn llawn,
Cigweinau cogau Anawn.
Cedwyd Crist, lle trist bob tro,
Yn dynion rhag mynd yno.

*And the soul shuttled shamefully,
Between ice and fire, freezes, -
Where he is compelled, no shelter,
To be in a sure compact with cold,
Pools and infernal ovens,
Cauldrons, dragons, fiendish forms;
See each beast, Christ is mighty,
Horned and tusked and glowering,
The hand of every devil,
Holds a crooked cooking fork.
May Christ, the whole place is wretched,
Keep people from going there.*

3.24.4 Apocryffa Siôn Cent

Myfyrdod ar Weddi'r Arglwyd

(ASC 4:77 – 102):

A wnelo drwg, anial draith,
A gaiff uffern, gyff affaith;
A wnêl da, anial dewis,
A gaiff nef heb goffau'n is
Llei mae dawn llawn llawenydd
A phawb yn dduwiol eu ffydd;
Llei cair wellwell y cariad
A rhywl deg gyda'r hael Dad.

Yno mae cael, hael hylith,
Lle ni ddawn na glaw na gwllith,
Nac iâ nac eira nac ôd,
Na thymestl fyth i ymod,
Na dicter, ofer afiaith,
Na thrais o dwyll, na thrist waith
Ond pob llawnder, pêr parawd,
Mewn ffydd, mewn cariad, mewn ffawd.
Pob cân, pob chwarae, pob cerdd,
Pob mawl wisg, pob melysgerdd,
Pob rhyw fath, pob rhai a fydd
Yn llawn o bob llawenydd.
Syched, niwed na newyn
Ni ad Duw i enaid dyn:
Pawb yn ei rif yn ifanc
Heb drai, heb ddiwedd, heb dranc.
Yno y trigant, lwyddiant lu,
Oes oesoedd, yn llys Iesu.

*He who does wrong, grievous [in] order,
Will have hell, affected kinsfolk;
He who does good, fine choice,
Will have heaven without lower commemoration
Where there is accomplishment full of joy
And everyone godly their faith;
Where the very best of love will be had
And fair rule with the generous Father.
There is had, generous fertility,
A place where comes not rain nor dew,
Nor ice, nor snow nor falling hail,
Nor tempest ever to agitate,
Nor anger, exuberance in vain,
Nor violence of deception, nor sad occasion
But every fullness, sweet prepare,
In faith, in love in fortune.
Every song, every game, every poem,*

*Every praised attire, every sweet poem,
Every some sort, everyone who will be
Full of every joy.
God will not allow thirst, harm nor famine
For the soul of man:
Everybody will be counted young
Without warning, without end, without death.
There will they abide, the success of all,
For ever and ever, in Jesus' court.*

Appendix 3.25 – Syr Dafydd Trefor

3.25.1 I Ddwynwen

(GSDT 13:51 – 62):

Wrth edrych yn entrych ne'
I roi nod i'r eneidie,
Mae'n dda galw'n ddwy golon:
Iesu a'r ferch o sir Fôn.
Awn i Llanddwyn at Ddwynwen
Â chwyr gerllaw Niwbwrch wen,
Awn ati a'n gweddi'n gu,
Awn â thus i nith Iesu,
Awn i ennill yn union
Nef o law merch lana' 'm Môn,
Awn ati ar ein glinie,
Awn dan nawdd Ddwynwen i ne'.

*While looking into the heights of heaven
To give the sign to the soul,
It is good to call on two supporters:
Jesus and the girl from Anglesey.
Let us go to Llanddwyn, to Ddwynwen
With wax, near to fair Newborough,
Let us go to her with our fond prayer,
Let us go with frankincense for Jesus' niece,
Let us go to win justly
Heaven from the hand of the fairest girl in Anglesey,*

Let us go to her on our knees,

May we go under the patronage of Dwynwen to heaven.

3.25.2 Marwnad Owain ap Maredudd ap Tomos o Borthaml

(GSDT 4:1 to 36):

Ai ti, Angau, wyt yngod,
Carrau a gên, gŵr y god,
A'i sgrwd tyn o'r ysgrîn tau,
Gawell esgyrn a gïau?
Chwynnaist a lleddaist bob llu,
Chwannog wyf i'th ddychanu.
Tarewaist wŷr traw o'u stad,
Truan yw dy bortread;
Llawer a roist mewn llewyg,
Llwm yw dy gwrrwm o gig.
Dilawen, foelcen, ei fant,
Difriaidd yw dy freuant.
Fy ngolwg ar fy ngelyn
Yn ledio i'r Dawns, leidr dyn:
Ledio'r Pab yn ddi'rabedd
A'i fwrw fo'n frau 'n ei fedd:
Dwyn 'r emprwr o dŵr ei dad,
Tynnu'r ymherodr tanad,
Ac ni pherchi gwedi gwin
Na barwniaid na brenin;
Y newyddian yn weddol
O'i grud a dynnud yn d'ôl;
Ti ei â'r balch tua'r bedd
I'r un rhod o'r anrhydedd.
Dyfynnaist hyd y fynwent
Bawb o'i radd, o'i bybyr rent:
Ni wn ba awr fawr yw'r fau
Y dyfynni di finnau.
Ym mhob cyfrith y rhithi,
Nid oes gallel d'ochel di;
Sefaist lle ni chroesawyd,

Swyddog anhrugarog wyd;
Treisiaist ferch am ei herchwyn
Do, ddwywaith, teirgwaith hyd hyn.

Myned Owain Amrhedudd
Ar d'ôl, gwae ei wraig o'r dydd:

*Is it you, Death, who is nearby,
Hocks for cheeks, the bogeyman,
And your taut skeleton from your shrine,
A crate of bones and gristle?
You weeded and struck down every throng,
Mindful am I to satirize you.
You struck down men from their estate,
Wretched is your portrait;
You put many in a swoon,
Bleak is your stoop of flesh.
Joyless, bald headed, his mouth,
Malignant is your neck.
My sight upon my enemy
Leading to the Dance, the thief of man:
Leading the Pope mercilessly
And striking him frail into his grave:
Taking the emperor from his father's tower
Pulling the fiery emperor beneath you,
And you do not respect after wine
Neither barons nor a king;
You constantly remove the newly born
From his crib to follow you;
You take the pompous towards the grave
To the same fate from honour.
You summoned to the cemetery
Every one from his grade, from his zealous benefice:
I do not know when will be my big hour
That you summon myself.*

*You disguise yourself in every shape,
It is not possible to evade you;
You stood where you were not welcome,
You are a pitiless official;
You ravished a girl at her bedside
Yes, twice, thrice before now.*

*Owain ap Maredudd has gone
After you, his wife woes the day;*

Appendix 3.26 – Tudur Aled

3.26.1 *Marwnad Morys ab Ieuan ap Hywel o Langedwyn*

(TA 80:81 – 96):

Dy ras, Gedwyn, dros gadarn,
Dy weddi fawr, dydd y farn:
Doewan, er lladd dano'r llu,
Dwg [e]i enaid i'w gannu;
E wnâ'r Iesu yn rhisial
A roed o inc ar [e]i dâl;
Mihangel, pan êl i'w naid,
Bes rhoen i bwyso'r enaid,
Ni allo dim, o'r naill du,
Dal pwys pwys, gyda help Iesu;
Mae ar bwys Mair, a'i basiwn,
Maddeu holl gamweddau hwn;
Mam [e]i thad, mamaeth ydych,
Mair, saf gyda Morys wych,
Par â bys pur [e]i bwys,
Poed, ar bwys paderau, y bo!

*By your grace, Gedwyn, for one powerful,
Your great prayer, on judgement day;
Doewan (St. Dogfan?), though he (Morys) killed many,
Take his soul to cleanse;
Jesus will make in crystal
That which was put in ink on his brow;*

*Michael, when goes his fate,
 If they were to place him (Michael) to weigh the soul (Morys),
 May nothing, from the other side,
 Hold great weight, with the help of Jesus;
 It is the weight of Mary, and His passion,
 To forgive all these wrongdoings;
 Mother of her father [i.e. mother of Jesus = God, Mary's father], you
 are a foster-mother [or simply mother]
 Mary, stand with fine Morys,
 Cause him to be weighed with a pure finger,
 May he be [placed] according to the weight of prayers!*

3.26.2 Marwnad Ieuan ap Dafydd ab Ithel Fychan o Degeingl a'i Wraig

(TA 77:89 – 100):

Dwyn Lewys, doe'n oleuad,
 Duw, oedd dost, cyn dydd [e]i dad;
 Dwyn llew a blodeuyn llu,
 Dwyn [e]i chwaer, Duw'n [e]i charu;
 Herwydd [e]i daed hardd [e]i dwyn,
 Hon i Fair, a hi'n forwyn;
 O! Dduw, irad oedd orwedd
 Ieuan a'i fab yn [e]i fedd!
 Y wraig unfodd arganfu,
 A'r ferch, oedd iau, o'r frech ddu!
 Tynnodd o'r tŷ ohonun,
 Tad nef y tŷaid yn un;

*Taking Lewys, yesterday a luminary,
 God, he was ill, before the death of his father;
 Taking a lion and the flower of a host,
 Taking his sister, God loves her;
 Being so good and beautiful taking her,
 She to Mary, and she a maiden;
 Oh! God, grievous was the lying of
 Ieuan and his son in his grave!
 The wife in the same manner discovered,
 The daughter also, who was youngest, suffering of the black pox!*

*The Father of heaven took them all,
As one, the family, from their house.*

3.26.3 Marwnad Robert ap Siôn ab Ithel o Degeingl

(TA 72:61 – 72):

Aeth rhyw wisg i'th oresgyn
O'r frech ddu, ar fraich oedd wyn;
Nid âi Grist, o dygai rodd,
Heb yr enaid a brynodd;
Echwyn fu ef i chwi'n faith,
I Dduw, talu 'dd wyt eilwaith,
Dwy ran i gyd, yr oen gwâr,
Rhan Dduw a rhan y ddaear;
Anghydfod â'r feddrod fu
A wnâi i frenin nef rannu;
Duw gwyn, nid ai ag anael,
Doe, dug corff odidog hael.

*Some clothing went to invade you
Of the black pox, on an arm which was white;
Christ would not leave, if taking a gift,
Without the soul which he had bought;
He was on loan to you for a long time,
To God, you pay twice,
Two parts in total, gentle lamb,
God's part and the part for the earth;
There was disagreement with the tomb
Which the God of heaven shared;
Holy God, who takes not the miserly,
Yesterday, carried off a bounteous, generous body.*

(TA 72:75 – 76):

Duw drechaf, od edrychir,
Dug angel holl Degeingl hir;
*Almighty God, if one were to look,
Took the angel of the whole of Tegeingl;*

Appendix 3.27 – Tudur ap Gwyn Hagr

Cwyn oherwydd y pla

(GDC 18:1 – 12):

Neu'r aeth, neud hiraethog bun,
Fy mynwent, dirent derwen,
Ys gwers, ys gwae ei pherson,
Yn wandir teg, yn wyndwn.
No'm plwyf (dicllon wyf, decllwyth yd – ni'm try,
Nid hawdd treulo'n hyfryd),
Nid echwng clod, neud iechyd,
Nid iachach plwyf bach o'r byd.
Rhaid yw ym bellach, ban ballwyf,- ildio,
Yr eildydd y profwyf,
Dwyn y fall fal y gallwyf
I ymgnith ymhlith 'y mhwyf.

*My graveyard, sad is a girl,
Without income is the coffin,
For some time, wretched is the parson,
Formerly a tender and beautiful earth, has turned a wild land.
Nor my parish (I am distressed, I do not get ten loads of corn,
It is not easy to spend time consoling),
Its praise was not limited, it was healthy,
There was not a healthier small parish in the world.
I must further, as I need, - yield,
[It being] the second day that I offer it,
Suffer the plague as I am able
To scrape a living amongst my parishioners.*

Appendix 3.28 – Y Mab Clochyddyn

Marwnad Gwenhwyfar wraig Hywel ap Tudur ap Gruffudd o Goeden

(GGG 6:1 – 20, 65 – 68)

Anfudd marwgudd, neud mawrgur,
Enid unrhyf Wenhwyfar:
Anrhaith eilwaith a elwir
Yn nhroednoeth wyngoeth wingor.

Gwasgwyd côr o fynor faen,
Gwasgarai wyrdd, cyrdd a'i cwyn,
Gwagawd gwawd gwindraul, haul hoen,
Gwisg ryoer uwch gwaisg riain.

Rhiain gain gynneddf, ddeddf ddoeth,
Rhyhoiw falchloyw o feilchlwyth;
Rhwol enwir o hiraeth
Rhoi meinwar mywn rhwym maenwaith.

Gwaith an hyfryd bryd a bron,
Gwythlawn dymyp am dwf gwymp gwyn,
Gradd feinfaes greddfawl laes lan,
Grudd gwar a gro llawr ei llen.

Llen a gudd deurudd dwyre
Llun haelaf geir llanw heli,
Llogawd gyfundawd faendy,
Lle ceidw saint eu braint a'u bro.

.....

Llun a roed dan llen, orffen eurffydd,
Yn llewychgor saint creifiaint crefydd,
Llary enaid llathraid geir llethrydd – morfrig,
Llawr Tyno Helig, trig tragwydd.

*A loss is concealing dead, it is a great sorrow,
Gwenhwyfar of Enid's beauty:
A loved one once more will be called for
In the excellent sacred wine chancel of the barefoot [brothers].*

*A circle of marble stone was pressed [upon her]
She shared green clothes, it is poets who mourn her,
Patron of poetry copious her wine, [she of] the sun's serenity,
A very cold dress is over a beautiful woman.*

*A woman of great customs, wise her manner,
[One of] beauty and very radiant cheer from a family of excellent
ones;
Evil regime of longing
Is placing a slender, meek girl in a prison of stone work.*

*A disagreeable task for [the] mind and [the] heart,
Bitter ending for the growth [of one] gorgeous [and] blessed,
Dignified graveyard [of the] robust [and] becoming church,
A lady's cheek and earth's gravel being a cloak for her.*

*A cloak which covers an uplifting countenance
A most bounteous form near the sea's tide,
A lodging of stone the monastery's communion,
Where the saints care for their privilege and their vale.*

.....

*Her countenance was placed under a sheet, end of her perfect faith,
In the radiant chancel [of the] saint [who brought her] forgiveness of
the religious life,
A worthy shiny soul near the slopes above the waves of the sea,
The soil of Tyno Helig, everlasting resting place.*