

THE ROBERT AP HUW MANUSCRIPT

AN EXPLORATION OF ITS POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

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VERSE

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I. METHODOLOGY

In introducing the subject of the poetry of the Gaelic-speaking *filid*, John Purser has written: -

Their poetry developed an arcane syllabic style, with complex systems of rhyme, assonance and alliteration, which has come in for ill-placed criticism in that the delivery of this poetry was musical. Since the music is either lost or has been substantially ignored, attention has focussed largely on poetic technique, and the overall artistic effect in the context of its function has yet to be fairly assessed.¹

Much the same could be said of the current position in respect of the medieval Welsh poetry. A reconstruction, however partial, of the musical aspects of this poetry can enable us to move towards an assessment and appreciation of it, and this has been one of my principal aims. The process of reconstructing is by definition an operation of synthesis, and because the methodology of synthesis is not as well established as that of analysis, I will begin here by describing in detail the kinds of methods and procedures I have used, and which I hold to be essential if reconstruction is to proceed substantially beyond speculation or artistic creativity.

My more immediate purpose has been to take advantage of the opportunity afforded by the texts and grammars of poetry to validate interpretation of the nature of the instrumental music. Both arts have suffered from the loss of the understanding of performance techniques, but of course this has been more devastating to the instrumental music which, as art, is far more incomplete just sitting on the page.

¹ Purser, John: *Scotland's Music*, (Edinburgh, 1992), p. 71.

Insofar as the modern *penillion* tradition, when it has been applied to the medieval texts, could be viewed as an attempt to recover these musical aspects, it will have been applied without informed use of the material on the original music. One attempt at reconstruction independent of the *penillion* tradition was made by J. Glyn Davies² in 1911 when he suggested a rhythmic model for the performance of the *cywydd deuair hirion*, but he too was not in a position to apply the material on the original music.

Having arrived at a reconstruction of the music text of the MS., and some understanding of the principles of composition and how these were implemented across a large corpus of the repertory, several aspects of the performance of the poetry can be addressed: -

- 1) identification of possible parts of the accompaniment repertory.
- 2) identification of possible parts of the vocal repertory that were accompanied.
- 3) identification of possible ways in which the two above would have been matched at the levels of the syllable, line, stanza and entire piece, i.e. as regards rhythm and metre.
- 4) identification of possible ways in which melodic matching may have been achieved.

Both the music and the poetry³ are extremely large corpora which are highly specific in their detail (although not highly variegated), and their metres are extremely complex and sophisticated. These factors

² This will be discussed in detail in Chapter III below.

³ By poetry here is meant the strict-metre poetry that was performed from the period of *gogynfeirdd* composition until the time that traditional performance with accompaniment, either of stringed instruments or the staff, lapsed. The date of this, following Caerwys 1567 has not been established. Poetry in the free metres and the poetry of the *cynfeirdd* will be discussed briefly in Chapter IX.

result in a great barrage of criteria which would need to be met in order to achieve a successful match between any parts of both. Hence the existence of the poetry texts provides the ideal opportunity for testing the viability of any proposition concerning the music, in two stages: -

1) If the music was like such in some aspect, then is there any way in which the poetry technically could have been performed which could be matched to this aspect? If not then there would be uncomfortable metrical overflows and residues appearing in either the music or the verse (either universally or in occasional instances). This stage can be broken down into a series of predictions about the poetry that are made by the model of the music, and it is a simple operation to test whether the poetry conforms to each of these.

2) Is a matching of such an aspect which is technically possible actually viable in terms of a) the poetry and b) the overall artistic impact of the music and poetry combined? It would be impossible to judge these if we had no access to the aesthetics of the culture, but of course we do have quite good access, including a rich assortment of descriptive material specifically on the music and poetry, and copious evidence of the great esteem in which they were held and the prestige that they could confer. In short we should expect the result to be really impressive in terms of the musical pinnacles of sophisticated cultures.

Realistically, I think that an incorrect proposition concerning the contours of the music would not pass these tests :- that any proposition that passes them will be the correct one. But as with all testing, the sequence in which procedures are performed is vitally important for the methodology to be effective, else circular tautologies result. Here the range of possible solutions to the music have been isolated without

reference to the need for some of it to accompany the poetry.⁴ 'Offering up' this model of the music to the poetry has to be a subsequent exercise, so that settings of the poetry are determined essentially by the contours of the music not the poetry, and at this stage the model of the music must not be modified. At this point settings of the combined music and poetry are tested as regards technical possibility. Then, only subsequently, it is valid to modify the settings of the poetry to incorporate non-essential characteristics they may have had, in order to approach the second stage of testing regarding overall aesthetic impact. Finally, only after this, is it valid to work in the opposite direction, back from the combined settings to modify any characteristics of the music which may contain some latitude in their interpretation (tempo is the main instance of this).

Here I will work through these stages, beginning with a discussion of repertory, a resumé of the basic scheme of the music as reconstructed, an examination of the basic technical possibility of matching, a long series of sections incorporating into the match all the metrical characteristics of the poetry, and examinations of possible modes of delivery, of the rôle of percussion and of the significance of verse lying outside this Welsh tradition.

Most of what follows concerns rhythm and metre, because it is in these areas that the validity of extrapolating from the instrumental music to the poetry (and in the reverse direction) is strongest. Central to this is the fundamental rhythmic scheme of the digital unit of music metre, which is derived from the analysis of the music text described in Part 5: RHYTHM of this work. The derivation itself was predicated on the basis of

⁴ I did not begin to study the poetry in relation to the music until a full year after I had finally finished the reconstruction of the music.

selection of the most compact scheme which can consistently be demonstrated to be possible in relation to virtually the entire music text.

II. REPERTORY

ACCOMPANIMENT REPERTORY

It is argued in Part 7: REPERTORY that each of the different forms of the instrumental music may have had a particular purpose to which it was put, and in some cases several different purposes. It may have been the case that the accompaniment repertory of vocalists was entirely separate from that of the professional instrumentalists, but this is improbable in view of the Statute literature reference to the situation where a *datgeiniad pen pastwn* could only perform with the permission of an instrumentalist, if there was one present. Presumably if permission was denied, the instrumentalist would provide stringed accompaniment for the vocalist who would dispense with the staff. So it would seem that instrumentalists had in their repertory accompaniment music which they would be able to provide for vocalists. This collaborative music may have been the same music that the vocalist used for self-accompaniment, or it, or part of it, may have been more complex of course.

So the possibilities are that part of the instrumental repertory was used as self-accompaniment and part used as collaborative accompaniment.

It is also possible that no examples of this part or these parts of the repertory are in the MS., and also that they were not even catalogued. But each form in the repertory that we are aware of needs careful examination. The details of each form in this respect are examined in the REPERTORY part, but I will summarize this here.

A case can be made out for each of the forms, excepting the *profiad*, as accompaniment, on the basis of internal evidence from the music text or external evidence (particularly the text of poems), and usually both. The weight of argument is heavily against the *caniad* form being so used. It is quite strong for the *gosteg*, very strong for the two short *cainc*

pieces, and extremely strong for the *cwlwm cytgerdd* form. It is unlikely that it would be practically possible to use the *gosteg* form for self-accompaniment, but possible that the *cainc* and *cwlwm cytgerdd* forms are capable of being so used.

In the absence of any definitive evidence in respect of the melodic aspect (if there was one) of the vocal delivery, a major advance would be required before it would be possible to fully reconstruct the accompanied performance of the poetry. What can be done is a partial reconstruction in respect of timing, by using this reconstruction of the music as the guide. This is possible without a definite identification of the pieces used as accompaniment because the short-range metrics and rhythms (i.e. the instrumental counterpart to the poetic line) of the music are fully reconstructed here and they are equally applicable to each of the candidates that are argued may have been used for accompaniment.

ACCOMPANIED VOCAL REPERTORY

Accompaniment took different forms. By instrument it could be either *telyn* or *crwth*, and presumably *timpan* also. Also it could be staff (*pen pastwn*) accompaniment. Self-accompaniment was no doubt the rule in the case of the staff, and took place also with the stringed instruments. It may have been that the stringed instruments were also used collaboratively. We do not know that any of the vocal repertory was ever performed professionally without some form of accompaniment.⁵ The *datgeiniaid* - the professional vocalists - are described in performance as either using the stringed instruments or the staff. The Statute

⁵ It would be probable that informal extempore composition in inns etc. would involve a short performance which was unaccompanied.

encourages them to work in the company of either a poet or a musician, and when this was the latter then stringed accompaniment would have been available if the vocalist did not play. When this company was a poet, collaborative stringed accompaniment may still have often been available, amongst the family or retinue of the host.

The combinations of these circumstances that are possible are numerous, and it is against this complex background that the vocal repertory needs to be considered. Two definite and unambiguous facts are provided by the literature: - the performance of the *cywydd* was self-accompanied on a stringed instrument, and the *cywydd* and *awdl* forms were accompanied by the staff.

Self-accompaniment of the *cywydd* is referred in a great number of accounts which describe the professional vocalist accompanying himself with pieces of string music called *prif geinciau*, as: -

Datgeiniad a ddyle wybod kanv telyn ai chwerio a gwybod 14 o brif
geinkeu ar danne a datgan kowydd gida hwy ... (BL Add 15038)

The titles of these *prif geinciau* are listed in Peniarth 62 p. 8; they include 'Eurai Gywydh', and are followed by a note on the office of *datgeiniad*: -

Arhain a dhyly datceiniat eu gybot a chanu gyda phob vn o nadhunt, a
bod yn deulueidh ag yn dhigrif, ag arwein hen gywydhae a geiriae
digrif.

An implication here is that the *teuluwr* may also have performed in this manner, and that he may have provided the exemplar. The *teuluwr* was at least semi-professional.

The 'Twenty Four Feats' apparently related to amateur practice. Number 17 is given as 'Canu cywydd gan dant' and number 18, enigmatically but

certainly by way of contrast, as 'Canu cywydd pedwar ac acenu'.

There are several references in poems to *cainc* and *cywydd* together: -

Gofyn a wnae gefn y nos
 Gan kowydd gan gaingk eos Guto'r Glyn
 ('Eos Weurvul' was the title of one of the *prif geinciau*.)

Nid oes erddigan gan gainc,
 Gwir yw, lle bo gwyr ieuainc,
 Ni bydd digrif ar ddifys
 Nac un acen ar ben bys
 Ond cywydd cethlydd coethlef,
 Ni myn neb gywydd namn ef. Iolo Goch

Mae'n salach cainc ar fainc fawr,
 Mae'n waeth cywydd mewn iaith cerddawr;
 Mewn llw o'r glêr mae'n llai'r glod
 Mynd Dafydd mewn y tyfod. Wiliam Cynwal

Cerddor llawengainc hirddydd,
 Canu er difyrru'r dydd,
 Croyw gywydd yn nydd a nos,
 Croywach no phynciau'r eos; Gruffydd Hiraethog

In the first and second of these references it is clear that *cainc* refers to instrumental music not to a poem or a stanza of a poem. It is probably significant that only the *cywydd* is mentioned in connection with self-accompaniment by the *cainc* form. Bethan Miles gives the sources and transcripts of references to *ceinciau*.⁶ The music texts of the *prif geinciau* are not expressly given in the MS., but the

⁶ Miles, Bethan: *Swyddogaeth a Celfyddyd y Crwth*, M.A. Thesis (Music) (University of Wales, Aberystwyth), 1983, Vol.2, pp. 610-616.

relationship of the two short *cainc* pieces that are in the MS. to them, and the possibility that they are one and the same as the main *ceinciau* contained within the *clymau cytgerdd* in the MS. are examined in detail in the part of this work on REPERTORY (Part 7). Certainly the *cwlwm cytgerdd* form was used in conjunction with vocal performance: -

Oes a ŵyr, cyff pensaer cerdd,
Acw atgan cwlwm cytgerdd? William Cynwal

Gwaith mon talaith mewn tant
Gwawd a gyrdd a gydgerddant Rhys Nanmor

In addition to these references to the *cywydd* being accompanied by the *cainc*, there are clear references to the *cywydd* being accompanied by stringed instruments, e.g.: -

Ni chân bardd yma i hardd hin
Gywydd gyda'i ddeg ewin, Dafydd ap Gwilym

Staff accompaniment is described in a number of references. Here is such a passage: -

Datceiniad Penn Pastwn, a elwir yr vn a bho yn datcanu heb bhedru
dhim canu Tant i hunan; a hwnnw a dhyly sefyll yn ghhenawl y
Neuadh, a churaw i phon, a chanu i Gywydh neu i Owdl gyda a'r
dyrnodieu. Ac o bydh Gwr wrth Gerdh Tant lhe y delo, ni dhyly y
Datceiniad hwnnw gynnyc na beidhaw cymryd arnaw ganu na
Chywydh nac Owdl, heb dheisybh cennad i'r Gwr wrth Gerdh Tant i
ganu. Ac hebhyd ebho a dhyly bod megys Gwas i'r Gwr wrth Gerdh
Tant, ac i Brydydh ym mhob lhe ac y delo. (Hafod 24 etc.)

In some versions 'gerdd dafawd' is substituted for 'gywydd neu i owdl'.

It is probably significant that *cywydd* and *awdl* are specified in these

passages, in strong contrast to *cywydd* alone in connection with self-accompaniment with stringed instruments. This does not imply that the *awdl* was not accompanied, only that it was not self-accompanied, or at least not by the *prif geinciau*. However, I am not aware of any hard evidence that it was accompanied by anything except the staff. The references in the Legal Codes to the *telyn* of the *brenin*, *pencerdd*, *bardd teulu*, *cerddor*, *gwrda*, *brëyr* and *uchelwr* might just refer to solo instrumental music, because the term 'penkert' was applied in the Anomalous Laws to the *pencerdd* who used 'pybeu' - mouth-blown pipes - and who was presumably not primarily a vocalist.

But if there was at this time, as it appears⁷, an established instrumental music, it would be remarkable if this was entirely separate from the performance of the verse, which in this context certainly would be the *awdl* and the *englyn*, not the *cywydd*. However, it seems probable that a separate, purely instrumental music was conceptualised in this triad: -

Tri rhyw gerdd arwest ddosbarthus y sydd; nid amgen, canu telyn,
canu crwth, a chanu arwest.

where *canu arwest*, in order to make sense of the triad, has to be taken to mean instrumental accompaniment, evidently a different thing from playing the *telyn* or *crwth*, and definitely not singing or declaiming because all three are string (*arwest*) crafts.

All that can be said with certainty is that the *awdl*, expressly, and the *englyn*, implied by the term 'gerdd dafawd', were commonly accompanied by the staff when delivered by professional vocalists (who were distinct

⁷ A very early reference to string music is in Llywarch ap Llewelyn's 'Mawl Llywelyn ab Iorwerth O Wynedd': -

Can folawd â thafawd a thant

from professional poets and amateur vocalists).

The composite *awdlau* - composed of many different verse measures - often mix 4-line and 6-line structures with a freedom which would have required considerable arrangement in rehearsal to achieve a reasonable fit with *cerdd dant* measures, so perhaps these *awdlau* were never performed with stringed accompaniment, or perhaps only the *gosteg* of *englynion* which often formed the first part of such a piece was so accompanied. In the composite *awdlau* in general there appears to have been freedom for the composer to select and interchange various metres not according to some overall metrical or musical scheme, but so that the development of the sense of the piece is best served, i.e. the pieces are divided into successive 'thoughts'.

This appearance is usually definitely not due to defective texts, and is highlighted by the contrast with the preceding heavily-structured *gosteg*, which in theory even consisted of a set number of *englynion* - 12, making 48 lines - a very convenient total for accommodating the musical measures. This chain of *englynion* was organised tightly into quatrains, which is perhaps an indication that it was accompanied by music from the mainstream (see the section below on Stanzaic Division in Chapter V).

The institutions involved in the origins of different forms of verse are of course crucial to the attempt to identify and understand the differences in performance practice that may have existed for these different forms. This is a very complex subject which I cannot deal with here, but I will make one important point. Professional vocalists were referred to not only by the term *datgeiniaid* but also by the term *clerwyr*. This is clear from the triad: -

Nerth Tantor, ei fys,
 Nerth Clerwr, tafod cymmen,
 Nerth Bardd, yn ei Awen

(This prime function has tended to become overshadowed in literature by the fact that the *clerwyr* also composed poetry.) The implication, then, is that any forms of poetry that may have originally been the composition of the *clerwyr* will be the forms most likely to be associated with the performance practice of the *clerwyr* (i.e. self-accompaniment using *prif geinciau*). This may be true of the free metres in general, and the *traethodl* in particular, and if these forms were indeed ancestors of the *cywydd*, it would explain the association of the *cywydd* with the *prif geinciau*. It is relevant here that Dafydd ap Gwilym, primarily an *uchelwr cywydd* poet, referred to himself as a *clerwr*.

It may also be significant that, as T Gwynn Jones observed: -'... it is notable that wherever found in the earlier poems, these stanzas [of the *awdl-gywydd* type], as well as those of the Unodl Cyrch type, exhibit a striking tendency towards rhythm compared with other metres.⁸

So it is clear that at least the *cywydd deuair hirion* (I would not want to include the *llosgyrnog* here) was performed using either stringed or staff accompaniment, and that *cerdd dafod* in general was accompanied by the staff, although we cannot rule out the possibility that all metres of *cerdd dafod* may on occasion have been accompanied by one stringed instrument or another.

In respect of rhythm, there is reason to expect that in performance all the different metres of *cerdd dafod* had many features in common with one another, and I propose that one basic rhythmic scheme should be capable of accommodating all the verse, notwithstanding the possibility that the

⁸ Jones, T. Gwyn: 'Bardism and Romance', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorian*, Session 1913-14 (London, 1914), pp. 267-268.

metres other than the *cywydd* were unaccompanied by stringed instruments because certainly they were accompanied by the staff which, as I have argued in the RHYTHM part, implies a measured rhythmic delivery. I set out here the arguments for a single rhythmic scheme having been applied to all the verse metres, although, in order to validate the reconstruction of the rhythmic scheme of the instrumental music, it is only necessary to demonstrate that the *cywydd deuair hirion* can be accommodated.

1) The interrelationships of the metres are complex and diverse but above all very numerous. Often the similarities are so great that only small distinctions exist - for example the *toddaid* and *toddaid hir* differ only by a difference of one syllable in the scansion. The ways in which the metres were combined and could substitute for one another in composite metres - for example the *gwawdodyn byr* could be terminated by either a *toddaid* or *cyhydedd hir* - adds to this impression of cohesiveness. This combining and interchangeability is part of the essence of solely the *awdl*, but it is significant that *englynion* were sometimes used in conjunction with the *awdl* metres within one poem, and that the *englyn* itself can be viewed as a combination of the *toddaid byr*, which was used in *awdlau*, and the *cywydd*. This is to say that all the main components of the metres were associated with one another, either directly by being used in combination within a poem, or indirectly by both being used in combination with a third component in separate poems. Reading the poetry analytically it is easy to lose sight of this overall homogeneity of the *cerdd dafod* idiom.

2) Now for the *cywydd* the two methods of accompaniment - stringed instrument and staff - were options to one another, and it is probable that the rhythmic aspect of vocal performance in the two methods was

similar or the same, although the melodic mode of vocal delivery may have been different. In particular it should be expected that for both the rhythm was measured. I have put the case for measured rhythm in both the independent instrumental music and the accompaniment music in the RHYTHM part, and nearly all of the evidence is historical or drawn from the music text, but I will expand here the section on internal evidence of the verse: -

a) The term 'llusg', used for a variety of ornament, implies a temporal exception to some rule that one could formulate as measured rhythm. It must be that the lingering (whatever it entailed) cut across some concept of normal timing, although this need not necessarily be measured rhythm. The device is examined below (pp. 69-71) in the section on cynganedd in Chapter V.

b) It must be significant that the idea of mensuration has been in currency amongst experts such as Sir John Morris-Jones - the chief proponent of the principle, throughout the century. No doubt an intuitive impression based on intimate acquaintance with the texts themselves will have contributed to this; that particular lines convey a sense of measured beats. For example it is possible to interpret some lines as onomatopoeic of horses' hooves.⁹

c) Syncopations of stress accent against syllable position and of consonance against stress accent were not only widespread but cultivated. There were circumstances where these were mandatory, and others where they were prohibited. Cross-rhyme, cross-alliteration and cross-linking between lines were widespread also, and these constitute

⁹ See Lloyd, D. Myrddin: 'The Poets of the Princes', *A Guide to Welsh Literature, Vol. 1*, ed. Jarman, A.O.H. & Hughes, Gwilym Rees, (Swansea, 1976), p. 170.

forms of syncopation against syllable position.

Now if these syncopations were applied in a haphazard, sporadic and accidental fashion they would be evidence of free rhythm - without measurement there would be no need to regulate them. But in fact their use was highly regulated, and this indicates that not only were they cultivated but that they were set against some background in such a way that they were very prominent as figures, therefore requiring careful regulation. Measured rhythm is the only background against which they can be set which achieves this; without measured rhythm they remain rather obscurely abstract. But if the texts of the poems are set to measured rhythm, these syncopations become so prominent and coherent that it becomes apparent that they must have been the life-blood of the artistry in what then becomes revealed as a truly subtle art.

If performance to a measured rhythm, emphasized by percussive accompaniment of one form or another, was indeed universal amongst the verse metres, it does not follow that each was based upon the same fundamental rhythmic scheme. Internal indicators of differences might be discovered, but with the exception of a particular distinction between the cywydd metres and the others which I shall be returning to, I have failed to uncover any, and I will largely treat the whole corpus as a whole.

III. RESUMÉ OF THE MUSIC AS RECONSTRUCTED

It will be convenient to use a spatial layout to illustrate settings of the poetry to the rhythmic scheme of the music. To introduce this kind of layout I will use a setting proposed by J Glyn Davies following the passage which I reproduce here: -

Adaptation to music implies rhythmic possibilities. In musical notation the *cywydd deuair hirion* bar, from accent to accent, may consist of a crotchet and two semiquavers for an accented syllable followed by two unaccented syllables; or a dotted crotchet and semiquaver, when followed by one unaccented syllable; or a crotchet and beat rest when two stressed syllables come together. In point of time they are all the same. By introducing a beat rest at the end of a 3 accent line, the number of beats can be brought up to eight for the couplet, and there are many such poems that can be thus recited or sung to the tap of a metronome, without any further manipulation. The only really awkward break in rhythm is caused by the 2 accent line...¹⁰

The note values here do not add up, and it is clear that by semiquaver was intended quaver, and by crotchet and beat rest was intended crotchet and crotchet rest, which then results in a line with a total length of eight crotchets. Implementing this scheme, and using it to illustrate the kind of layout I will use, the resulting setting can be represented spatially so that on the page a crotchet occupies 6 columns (a convenient number) and a quaver 3 columns. Not marking rests, the syllables of text can then be added in, which results in the following example of a setting he presented,¹¹ which I include for comparison: -

¹⁰ Davies, J. Glyn: *Welsh Metric*, Vol. 1, (London, 1911), p. 15.

¹¹ *ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

	I	o	-lud	-	og	E	-lid	-	ir	
A	bryn	yn	mhobdyff	-	ryndir					Ef
a	wyr		rif	-	o	ar	-	ian		Ef
a	wyl		gwer	-yl	y	gwan				Ef
a	gar		awdl		ag	ar	-	aith		Ef
a	wyr		syn	-	wyry	saith				
	Crwth		eil	-	waithcroyw	a	thel	-		
yn	Cyw	-	yddi	For	-	fydda	fyn			

In the header the stronger beats are marked by a vertical bar of double height for emphasis. The letters of the syllables are typed left-justified within the columns dedicated to crotchets and quavers, and where there is not enough space, as in '-waith' of 'eilwaith croyw' above then the typing of the following syllable is displaced to the right - this does not mean that 'croyw' is actually delivered late. This is the kind of layout that I shall use throughout, because it is so very convenient.

Now J Glyn Davies's setting is more-or-less technically possible, except that it does not take into account the fact that commonly in the *cywydd* more than two syllables which would not be stressed in speech intervene between stressed syllables. The setting would need to be modified to accommodate this by elevating some syllables of naturally light stress to the status of stressed syllables, and there is no great problem in this. This would need to be done too often in the *englyn* and the *awdl* for it to be technically possible to extend the setting beyond the *cywydd*, but then that was not his purpose.

In other respects the setting is far from satisfactory. In it the length of syllables in performance is dictated entirely by stress accent,

resulting in heavy distortion of natural syllable-length. For example the relatively short, stressed first syllable of 'arian' is stretched out to fill up the space available for it, whereas the relatively long, unstressed second syllable of 'eilwaith' is clipped short. This is the kind of heavy distortion which is accepted as normal in stressed lyrics where the pattern of stressed and unstressed syllables in the line remains more-or-less constant from line to line, and probably this model has been drawn from the example of such lyrics.

However, one does really need strong justification for making such an extrapolation across what is really a great distance, as in the strict Welsh metres the pattern of stressed and unstressed syllables changes from line to line, the number of stressed syllables also varies from line to line, syllable-count not stress-count is the basis of the scansion... etc. For these reasons the idea that the poetry should be set to the kind of scheme usually used for lyrics of regular stress has never gained much ground.

At this point it is worth reflecting on some of the main characteristics of the poetry in the context of the Welsh language. The language is orientated away from long vowels and towards the strength of its consonants, and although the structural features of the poetry revolve around rhyme this is in an unusually light way because of the syncopation of rhyme against stress. The ornament is very heavily focussed on consonants, going as it does far beyond alliteration. We have reason, then, to suppose that the idiom of vocal music in Wales may have been quite far removed from idioms that feature the melismatic treatment of vowels, and very little reason to suppose that it would have much in common with lyrical idioms of regularly-stressed syllable patterns.

The lack of consistent stress-patterns amongst the syllables is the feature that dominates such understanding as we have of the rhythm of the poetry. The significance of this cannot be glossed over because where the position of some stresses in the syllable-count is regulated by the metre, this is done not to create regularity from line to line, but to ensure irregularity; (as for example the rule that in the lines of the *cywydd* couplet the last stresses in each line must not be in the same position in the syllable count). The significance is that in this lack of consistent patterning the poetry is the same as prose, and quite distinct from lyrical verse metrics.

Quite simply here then, the internal evidence of the verse is that in a fundamental respect it resembles prose, and this is good reason to suppose that in other aspects of rhythm the same would hold - that syllable-duration and the timing of the delivery of syllables might well resemble those natural to speech in the language. To combine strong elements of speech timing with a musical setting is, of course, not an unusual synthesis to achieve - modern plainchant and the delivery of the syllabic Gaelic heroic ballads (*laoidh*) are examples. And there are many possible solutions to such an artistic 'problem'.

What would appear not to be available here, however, are those options that depend upon reducing the problem by using very light stress, which are available to languages of light stress accent. That Welsh was not one of these at the periods concerned is clear from the expressed use of stress as a metrical factor, and is implied by the use of ornamental consonance. Therefore the situation appears to require some means by which stress accent of some weight and some semblance of natural timing can be blended into a satisfactorily musical combination, and which also has to be capable of accommodating both stringed and percussive

accompaniment.

The formidability of this set of requirements is made all the greater by the improbability that the kind of idioms that have been used in the mainstreams of Indo-European culture for a similar purpose would be appropriate here because they rely heavily on the elongation of strong vowels to free up the rhythm. At this point one begins to appreciate that the problem of recovering the vocal idiom is not the difficulty of making the right selection from too wide a range of possible options, but actually conceiving of one in the first place. What has been needed is some breakthrough that relates directly to the insular development of the verse forms - Irish as well as Welsh - which exhibit this apparent paradox of strict syllable-count in strongly-stressed languages, so unlike the syllable-timed metrics of medieval Latin. So I will now return to the rhythmic scheme of the reconstruction of the instrumental music given in detail in Part 6 of this work: RHYTHM.

The scheme requires a different layout header from the model above, thus: -

d	1		b	c		d	2		b	c		d	3		b	c		d	4		b	c

This is one line, with the strongest beats marked 1 to 4 for reference, and the medial beats between these are marked b, c and d.

Instead of being almost fully 'saturated' with notes, as the above setting is almost saturated with syllables, this scheme is merely the framework of potential positions that notes can occupy, and in reality the number of notes varies from 4 to, when fully saturated, 16, and averages from 6 to 8 notes, mainly distributed in a number of stereotyped patterns.

The patterns are built up from all the options that are available between each pair of main beats, which can be represented thus: -

No. of notes	a	b	c	d
0				
1	a			
2	a	b		
2	a		c	
2	a			d
3	a	b	c	
3	a	b		d
3	a		c	d
4	a	b	c	d

These are then combined in particular ways to create half-lines. Some of the most frequent of the resulting half-phrases are: -

.. d / a b / d ..

.. d / a d / a d ..

.. d / a c / a c d ..

where '/' indicates the division before each main beat a.

In turn, these are used in combinations to build up whole lines, couplets, quatrains etc., and there are great differences in the frequency with which particular combinations are used, e.g. the options above which use medial beat d can only be used if the following main beat a is to be occupied.

It will be noted that the positioning of the notes normally varies from line-to-line, and the total number of notes also varies from line-to-line, but in a controlled, deliberate way to create complex patterns of contrast, not in a free way. In this tight regulation of variability the music is highly distinctive, and actually I think it might stand alone

amongst traditional, extended music were it not for *piobaireachd*.

IV. TECHNICAL MATCHING

No one-to-one fit of syllables to notes is anticipated, as it would need to be if there were some evidence that the vocal and accompaniment music were actually in unison in some respect. However, it is reasonable to expect that the upper part of the instrumental music and the vocal delivery would be imitative of one another, in the sense that they could be conceived of as substituting for one another if the upper part of the instrumental music was largely absent in the accompaniment (as is the case in the *clymau cytgerdd*), or if it were present, that there would be a rhythmic 'counterpoint' so that both were in the same rhythmic mode - speaking the same kind of language as it were, in a dialogue.

It then becomes possible to define the criteria that the vocal delivery needs to meet in order to be imitative: -

- 1) That the syllables were timed erratically within the line, from line to line
- 2) within the constraints of the available positions in the scheme
- 3) with particular patterns predominating
- 4) resulting in the same kinds of densities.
- 5) That no stressed syllable be placed on medial beats b or d.
- 6) That syllables can be meaningfully selected on the basis of strong stress in speech etc. to occupy at least 3 of the main beats 1 to 4, so that never more than 3 syllables intervene between them.
- 7) That 1) to 6) can be achieved in such a way that there is a strong relationship between the placing of the syllables and their natural length in speech,
- 8) without any instances of wrenched accent where the stress accent of a polysyllabic word is shifted or displaced.
- 9) That 1) to 8) can be achieved using divisions or concatenations of poetic lines as necessary which are meaningful in terms of the poetic

metres.

10) That the cut-off between the units derived in 9) is placed in the same area as the cut-off in the instrumental lines i.e. usually between the last medial beat c (at the latest) and the following beat 1 or medial beat d, or uncommonly between the last medial beat b (at the latest) and the following medial beat c.

11) That grammatical phrasing is not obscured by the positioning of the syllables or long vocal rests.

12) That there is opportunity to draw breath (sufficient for a projected public delivery) without disturbing the spacing of the beats, and that the position of this has a strong relationship to the phrasing.

13) That all the above could be arranged almost impromptu, orally, without extensive rehearsal and preparation.

These are the minimum requirements for a technical match, (not the requirements for an artistically satisfactory one from the point of view of the poetry, which is methodologically a separate issue). Most of them are self-explanatory or the need for them is immediately evident from the nature of the instrumental music. Behind each of them is a prediction that the poetry is so constructed and shaped that it is capable of being delivered in such a fashion.

It has to be stressed that these predictions are so numerous and specific that they almost define every parameter of verse metrics, and in so doing they constitute an excellent test by exclusion. For example all poetry with stress patterns amongst the syllables which are repeated from line to line, no matter how complex the patterns are, are immediately excluded by 1) above; for it is one of the main characteristics of the reconstructed instrumental music which define it as a genus that it does not sustain rhythmic patterns; it contrasts

them. In order for a poetry to be imitative of this music it must do the same.

To take another example, no. 10) above is a highly specific technical requirement concerning the relationship of line division to the overall shaping of a line, particularly in the positioning of stressed syllables early on in the syllable-count. Much of the alliterative Middle English poetry is ruled out on this count - it has too many syllables in the wrong places; (a point I will amplify later, in Chapter IX).

So the probability of a poetry which was not accompanied by this music being identified as conforming to these predictions is extremely low, and this is what makes this attempt to match such an excellent test of the reconstruction of the instrumental music.

One point which needs expanding, relating to 2) above, is that it may have been the case that in some instances of the figure *krafiad sengl* and some 3-note chords in the upper hand, a point midway between main beat 1 and the following medial beat b was used. I have not included this point in the header because these instances are generally infrequent. In the poetry I have met with an indication that the point was used to commence certain syllables, again infrequently - this will be discussed in the section on Syllable Count and Length (p. 33) - and it would need to be included as an integral part of the scheme in order to accommodate poetry from outside Wales. In the delivery of the Welsh poetry the point would often be marked by the internal division of syllables, e.g. *mw/yn*, *wr/th*.

Instead of discussing each of the criteria at this point, I will illustrate the way in which they can be satisfied by providing settings of three poems, in the Appendix, and I will discuss here two simple settings of lines. The full details of the meeting of the criteria will

emerge in the following chapter on Verse Metrics.

A simple setting would be required for the satirical *cywydd* line: -

Hwff haff bwff baff rwff raff Rys

which really demands that it be set evenly, thus: -

	Hwff			haff				bwff				baff				rwff				raff				Rys				

This line alone goes a long way to validating the existence of these particular isochronous beats - that they should be available, at least in the *cywydd*, because one would be really hard-pressed to find any grounds for setting this particular line in any other way. The setting fulfils all of the criteria.

A different kind of setting, almost as simple, is required by a line such as: -

Lleddf ddatbing, llwybr sawdring Sais.

because the syllable-lengths in speech would be uneven. This line is capable of many different settings, and amongst them is this one: -

	Lleddf			ddat	-bing,	llwybr		saw	-	dring	Sais					

The layout is a bit cramped here so I will expand it in order to make the setting clearer: -

	Lleddf			ddat	-	bing,	llwybr		saw	-	dring	Sais					...

The disyllabic words 'ddatbing' and 'sawdring' are comfortable with the first syllable twice the length of the second. In speech the syllables of 'ddatbing' would be about equal, with the first perhaps a little longer than the second, and with 'sawdring' - a borrowing (probably from

English) of 'psaltery', as 'salt'ry' - the first would definitely be longer than the second. If we represent the line phonetically and not according to the syllable scansion, and accentuate the divisions for demonstration by inserting a couple of epenthetic vowels in the two consonant combinations, the setting can be rewritten: -

									...																														
	L	l	e	d	d	-	(e)	f	d	d	a	t	-	b	i	n	g	,	l	l	w	y	-	b	(y)	r	s	a	w	-	d	r	i	n	g	S	a	i	s

so that the rhythm, over the part of the musical line that is occupied, is fully saturated. In practice, this full saturation is seldom maintained for such a large part of the line, but this is a good illustration of the simple framework of the rhythmic scheme, upon which the shifting rhythms of the lines are placed. A caesura could be introduced at the comma, and perhaps it should be, but if the line is to be delivered in a compact way, then again one would be hard-pressed to find reason to time it any other way, as these note-divisions are the ones that most closely approximate the natural rhythm of what, with the epenthetic vowels pronounced, is naturally a trochaic line. If the medial beats b and d were placed earlier or later in the scheme, the syllables placed on them would, in the main, be too long or too short in relation to the syllables that precede them, in terms of speech rhythm.

At this point it is necessary to study the example settings of whole poems given in the Appendix, which illustrate the full breadth of the range of the applied scheme that lies between these two simple extremes... .

[NOTE: PLEASE DO STUDY THE SETTINGS IN THE APPENDIX BEFORE READING BEYOND HERE. THANK YOU, P.G. 2010]

I think it is clear from the example settings of the three Welsh poems that the *cywydd*, *englyn* and *awdl* meet all the predictions, with three qualifications. In respect of 4) above, in the case of the *awdl* the density - the number of syllables per line - is slightly higher than the

general average in the instrumental music. In respect of 12) above, although not illustrated here, the 10-syllable lines of the *hir a toddaid* measure present difficulties in drawing breath if delivery is fast. In respect of 13) above, this *awdl*, as is commonly the case, does not present a standard stanzaic format which can be easily accommodated by the musical measures.

None of these qualifications prevent the satisfactory setting of poems of all types to the rhythmic scheme, which is to say that whereas the measures of the poetry are diverse and numerous, they have so much in common with one another, and the features that they have in common enable settings which are imitative of the rhythms of the instrumental music. There are several very important implications: -

1) The proposal that the strict-metre poetry and the instrumental music were imitative of one another in respect of rhythm is confirmed as a possibility. That this would have been the case can be inferred from the numerous references to them on an equal footing, which either refer to them individually, e.g.

Cerdd dafawd, ffraeth, hiraethlawn,

Cerdd dant, gogoniant a gawn;

or collectively as the two crafts/musics - *y ddwygerdd*, e.g.

Digus oedd dilio'n dwygerdd

A Duw'n mynnu canu cerdd.

The Statute treats them, in terms of institutions, as sisters.

2) If indeed they were imitative of one another, then it is highly probable that the basic rhythmic scheme of the reconstruction of the instrumental music is accurate in all its details, including the proposition that the note immediately preceding the beat was invariably shorter than that on the beat, and had the duration assigned to it. The

significance of this is confirmed by the apparent impossibility of matching any poetry other than the Welsh to the scheme (as will emerge in Chapter IX).

3) The relationship between the music text of the MS. and the music used to accompany the poetry is at least very close if there is no actual overlap.

4) It is technically possible that the *englyn* and the *awdl* as well as the *cywydd* were accompanied by stringed music in this idiom.

5) It is technically possible to deliver all three forms to a strongly marked measured rhythm, which would be appropriate for their delivery with the percussive accompaniment of the staff.

6) It is not necessary to posit that any of these forms were delivered unaccompanied, or in free rhythm.

7) It is highly improbable that the poetry was delivered in a melodic mode that had any resemblance, rhythmically, to the kinds of repeated airs that were used for carols etc. where the pattern of accented and unaccented vowels is repeated from line to line, or stanza to stanza.

At this point I will also comment that in the settings arrived at here, the apparent paradox of syllabic verse in a stress-accentual language is resolved - apparently the syllable-count does not control the temporal length of the line in performance, but the density of the line. The artistic significance of a means of formally regulating density is profound and it may be sufficient to account for its insular development, without needing to assume 'an essential misunderstanding of

classical Latin verse forms'¹².

¹² Sweetser, Eve E.: 'Line-Structure and *Rhan*-Structure: The Metrical Units of the *Gododdin* Corpus', *Early Welsh Poetry: Studies in the Book of Aneirin*, ed. Brynley F. Roberts (Aberystwyth, 1988), p. 144.

V. VERSE METRICS

In addition to fulfilling the criteria I have outlined and illustrated above - which devolve from the basic requirement that the rhythms of the verse in performance should imitate both those of the music and those of speech, in all kinds of details, so that compactness can be achieved without any overflows - the model can be used to accentuate many internal characteristics of the verse, without upsetting these two - to my mind - essential relationships. Taking it further like this is not essential from the point of view of the validation of the instrumental music, but it must be desirable since the classification of characteristics of the verse according to *cynganedd* and form etc. is strongly stressed in the bardic grammars etc., yet often it refers to really rather subtle and sometimes slightly vague distinctions, which would become much more meaningful if they were indeed accentuated in some way by the timings in performance.

So here I am proposing extra rules, which the model provided by the reconstruction of the instrumental music does not stand or fall on, but rather involves using the model to highlight the distinctions of the grammars. A long series of sections on each of the metrical characteristics of the verse is required.

SYLLABLE COUNT AND SYLLABLE LENGTH

The fact that strict syllable count was maintained does not mean that the poetry was not delivered in measured rhythm. However, the Grammars take account of natural syllable length, and because this is variable, syllable count could not be a basis for the timing of delivery. There are rare lines where the syllables are of equal natural length, such as the line discussed above: -

Hwff haff bwff baff rwff raff Rys

and here, if a strong relationship is to be maintained between performance and natural speech rhythms, it seems that the syllable-count would dictate the rhythm of the line in performance.

But almost invariably the lines contain syllables of very variable length in speech, and the breadth of options that the reconstruction of the instrumental music provides is sufficient to cover these to a degree which allows a delivery which is much closer to the natural rhythms of speech than is usually the case in vocal music which is measured. The scheme permits a very wide range of syllable-length indeed. The available options are: -

- 1) a whole main beat
- 2) 5/6 of a main beat
- 3) 2/3 of a main beat
- 4) 1/2 a main beat
- 5) 1/3 of a main beat
- 6) 1/6 of a main beat

These should be contrasted with the three options suggested for the *cywydd* by J. Glyn Davies: -

- 1) dotted crotchet
- 2) crotchet
- 3) quaver

where the relationship between dotted crotchet and quaver is such that most short, unaccented syllables in speech would be too long to be accommodated comfortably by the quaver - they would sound clipped.

Thus the model proposed here has the potential to approximate the syllable-lengths used in speech, and this can be realized if the syllables in particular lines are disposed in such a way that the appropriate options are in practice available for each syllable. Such a disposition really hinges on the task of selecting syllables which ought to qualify for placement on main beats. Much of the following examination will be concerned with this process of selection, which has to be much more complex than the 'hwff haff' example above where position in the syllable-count can be used as the basis of selection.

In all the following and appended examples of settings, I have tried to take as full account of natural syllable-length as possible, (and musical distortion of it in *cynganedd lusg*), but I expect often my settings could be improved in respect of this, and should be revised. But I would hope that revision would only be in respect of particulars not principle here, as I believe that in general the model constructed here is realistically viable in principle in respect of syllabic length. The apparent need in some lines to artificially prolong the length of some syllables, as a consequence of adopting *cynganedd* as an indicator of syllable placement, needs debate - I introduce this topic at the end of the section on Stress Accent (p. 46).

One area of anomaly needs to be addressed. The treatment in the verse of the 'epenthetic' or '*cadarnledd*' syllables, such as *cwbl*, *gwydr*, where monosyllabic words end in certain consonant combinations with *l*, *r* or *n* as the final consonant, exhibit three kinds of ambiguity: -

- 1) Such words usually scan as monosyllabic, but can also scan as

disyllabic, and this where there is no epenthetic vowel present.

2) The epenthetic vowel is infrequently present in some of these words, and in these instances the word scans as monosyllabic.

3) The proscription against the placement at the end of lines, of stressed syllables which form part of *cynganedd gytsain* structures and answer a word which ends in an unstressed syllable, was apparently waived in the case of these words alone. This is to say that it was possible to have lines of *anghytbwys ddyrchafedig* - see the d) option in the discussion of the 13 principal accents in the section below on Cynganedd Accent (p. 47ff) for the full context.

These points indicate that these words had a substantial phonetic division within them despite being usually monosyllabic in scansion. Point 3) indicates that the jarring of a stressed syllable terminating the line in these circumstances was mitigated by the syllable being compounded of two weighty phonetic components - i.e. it had some resemblance to a disyllabic word, in that the second component was unstressed and/or of high tone. Accordingly, I usually set these words as if they were disyllabic (and always so where they form endrhyme), interposing where necessary a '-' between the two consonants to emphasize their segregation.

Where these consonant combinations terminate words which scan as polysyllabic, if natural timing in speech is to be followed, then it is necessary that the penult is the same duration as the final. In order for this to be realised, the settings of particular lines dictate that the penult has to commence on a main beat and terminate at the point midway between the main beat and the following medial beat. For example: -



Here, although there is room for the underlined syllables to extend to the following medial beat b in both cases, this would extend these syllables beyond their natural length in relation to the preceding and following syllables. The setting of them above is the only one that can achieve the correct proportions, and it is probably significant that the instrumental music may have used these points between main beats and medial beat b with about an equally low frequency (as argued in Part 6 of this work: RHYTHM).

This marked departure from the general spectrum of rhythms has significance for the timing of endrhyme in the *cywydd*, which will be discussed in relation to Irish verse in particular in Chapter IX on Other Verse.

STRUCTURAL RHYME

All structural rhymed words can be arranged to fall on main beats (not medial beats). Structural *cynganedd gytsain* and alliteration in *lieu* of rhyme in the *paladr* of the *englyn* can also be so arranged.

If structural rhymed words are placed on main beats then there is a tendency for the structural rhymed words not to occupy adjacent beats. End-rhymed words will occupy beat 3 or 4, (in the *cywydd deuair fyrion* 2 and 4), and it could be a rule that in certain metres the number of beats is determined by the metre. It could be a rule that the second cross-rhymed word in the *englyn*, *toddaid*, *cywydd llosgyrnog*, *cyrch-a-chwta*, *tawddgyrch cadwynog* and *awdl-gywydd* measures occupies beat 2. In *rhupunt* measures, *cyhydedd hir* and *clogyrnach* the internal rhyme would be across even-numbered main beats.

In this way structural rhyme is used to create the broad rhythmic structure so that it is consistent both between and within measures. Further detail follows in the section on Individual Metres (p. 77ff).

At this point it should be noted that as a point of method it is important to detect any potential rules and to adopt them. We know that versification was in the main dominated by rules, and so was the composition of *cerdd dant*, and so it is really inconceivable that the means by which the two were married were not also dominated by rules. Every time it is possible to introduce a rule into performing, the preparation and rehearsal of performance are made easier, and we can well imagine the *datgeiniaid* would have availed themselves of every opportunity since they were faced with the task of memorizing and delivering large quantities of poetry.

CROSS-LINKING between lines by correspondence

Where correspondence between the beginnings of lines involves words containing stressed syllables, these syllables must be expected to occupy main beat 1. Often the consonant before the stressed vowel, and that after it also, are matched (by *cymeriad cytsain*), or the vowels of the words are matched (*cymeriad cyfochrog*), and also the entire words can be matched. In these cases it is clear that the *cymeriad* carries substantial weight to the beginning of the line, counter-balancing that of the endrhyme.

Where the correspondence does not involve a stressed word, which is more often the case in the later *cywydd* period of strict *cynganedd*, this part of the line carries less weight, and indeed it does not need to carry much where strict *cynganedd* distributes the weight throughout the line. In these cases I do not think the *cymeriad* warrants a main beat. This is often the case in the common *cymeriad llythrennol*, where the linking is by alliteration only.

Where there is correspondence between the first part of a line and the last part of the preceding line, a repeated word should be expected to occupy a main beat in each of the lines. In the first of the lines this would not be beat 1, and in the second it need not necessarily be.

Where words are matched in the first and last lines of a poem (*cyngogion*), the key words again should be expected to occupy main beats.

Further detail follows in the section on Individual Metres (p. 77ff).

TONAL ACCENT

The Grammars do not deal with tonal or pitch accent directly. References to *acen dyrchafedig* and *acen disgynedig* (rising and falling accents) may refer to strong and weak stress accents in the sense of swelling and fading intonation volume rather than pitch. If indeed tonal accent was significant in speech, it may be that it was not in delivery of the verse, and this has some significance for our attempt to understand the mode of delivery - a point I will return to later.

Indirectly, *cynganedd* accent and tonal accent were brought into set relationships broadly in two different ways: - by internal rhyme and correspondence of consonants.

Through regulating the relationships between syllables which rhyme internally in the line in some types, *cynganedd* accents certain syllables which may or not have tonal accent (in the sense of high pitch in speech). In *cynganedd sain*, two, sometimes three and even four syllables carrying tonal accent are linked together and to another later syllable which may or may not carry tonal accent. In *cynganedd lusg* one syllable with tonal accent, usually, is linked to a later one which does not have tonal accent. When a rhyming word is poly-syllabic there is a divergence of natural stress accent and tonal accent, and in placing syllables on main beats I follow stress accent. The details of this I will give in the section on *Cynganedd Types* (p. 54ff). It should be understood that all my remarks relate to after the time when stress accent established itself on the penult, whenever that was.

The relationship between tonal accent and *cynganedd* accent through correspondence of consonants was partly classified in the 13 principal accents (*phribh Accan*) that the *datgeiniad* needed to know and deliver along with the *ceinciau* played on strings. I follow the stress accent here

in allocating syllables to main beats, and these syllables may be either high or low tone in speech, controlled by the classification. I will outline this classification in the following section on Stress Accent.

STRESS ACCENT (natural stress in speech)

Without question, the number of these varies from line to line within a poem. Three and four are common, but any number from two to six is not exceptional. In this sense, then, the verse is not stress-based, which is perhaps surprising in view of the likelihood that the language was probably quite strongly stressed through much of the period involved, but also not very surprising in view of the fact that there was strict syllable-count. It does not follow from this that the poetry was delivered without stress or without measured rhythm, only that it was not controlled by natural stress.

In practice, most strongly-stressed syllables can be arranged to fall on main beats, and, where not, on medial beat c; (an example would be the penultimate syllable of words of 4 syllables which begin lines - see the example of *cyhydedd hir* on p. 90 in the section below on Individual Metres); but it is not necessary that every beat need be occupied by a strongly-stressed syllable, or indeed any syllable at all.

Thus in this model there is a close but not invariable correspondence between stress accents and beats. A beat has to be thought of as a separate category of accent - in fact a temporal accent, by which a syllable (if there is one) is accentuated by virtue of being delivered at a significant instant in time, rather than by virtue of stress.¹³ We do not know that a beat would imply that its syllable was necessarily stressed, and also there may have been stressed syllables which did not fall on a main beat - although in order not to conflict with the music they must not fall on medial beats b and d. Also note that since stress

¹³ This distinction between stress accent and beat accent is related to the important distinction that is drawn between lexical stress and phrasal or poetic stress; for example see Sweetser, *op. cit.* pp. 143-144.

accent, tonal accent, *cynganedd* accents and rhyme were definitely not synonymous we have no reason to suppose that temporal accent should necessarily coincide with any of these.

Cynganedd accents certain syllables in the line, (in most of the lines of the relevant poetry). It should be understood that there is only a loose relationship between *cynganedd* accent and the stress accent that is natural to speech. The relationship is closer than that between *cynganedd* accent and tonal accent, but it is clear that they are not synonymous. Indeed we have no reason to suppose that they would be, since *cynganedd* usually did not cover the whole length of the line until its late, strict stage, and often there were stressed words in the line which were accented by initial correspondence and end-rhyme, not by *cynganedd*, and also there were lines that contained no *cynganedd*.

In addition to naturally-stressed words that were not accented by *cynganedd*, there were also naturally-unstressed words which were accented by *cynganedd*. Examples of these were given by Sir John Morris-Jones.¹⁴ Although instances were most common in what I label additional *cynganedd* accents, they include unambiguous examples of the 13 principal accents. They are broadly of two types: -

- 1) Monosyllabic words, including prepositions and the definite article. It is interesting that the definite article, when it was post-vocalic, was occasionally expanded from 'r' to 'yr', indicating that it could carry some weight.
- 2) The ante-penult of polysyllabic words in which the penult is naturally stressed.

¹⁴ Morris-Jones, Sir John: *Cerdd Dafod*, (Oxford, 1925), pp. 266-271. This book contains much on beat accent, p. 131ff especially, as well as having been the standard text on Welsh metrics.

Examples are: -

/ /
 Gau oedd yr egwyddorion
 / /
 Y maes grymusa' o Gred

Both these are straightforward examples of *cynganedd groes*, with principal *cynganedd* accents on the syllables marked '/'. Now these accents must be accorded some temporal significance if *cynganedd* is to be used as a guide for the performance of the verse: - one is forced into deciding whether to use natural stress accent or *cynganedd* accent as the two diverge. Natural word-stress is catalogued in the Grammars, but only substantially in the context of *cynganedd*, the details of which are catalogued much more fully, giving the impression that *cynganedd* accent was metrically much more significant. If this is the correct impression, then of course it would not be surprising when we remember that most of the metrics probably evolved during a period of very light stress whilst it was re-established after shifting.

Cynganedd, as I shall demonstrate, can provide a great deal of symmetry in delivering the lines. Natural stress does not provide much opportunity for symmetry as there are between two and six of these to the line, in so far as they can be firmly established.

I think the evidence is all in favour of *cynganedd* (in conjunction with cues provided by *cymeriad* and end-rhyme). Analogy from stressed verse traditions, such as the Anglo-Saxon, cannot be valid here because this Welsh poetry is fundamentally different, primarily because it is syllabic.

So I have proceeded on the basis that where a *cynganedd* accent co-incides with a natural stress, as is usually the case, we should expect that a main beat should normally be available to carry the syllable.

Where the *cynganedd* accent is determined by rhyme, I have taken the natural stress pattern of the word to determine where the accent should fall within it. Where there is other ambiguity over where the *cynganedd* accent falls I have taken stress as a guide. Where a syllable carrying natural stress is not accented by *cynganedd* or *cymeriad*, and there is no main beat available for it, I have placed it on medial beat c, avoiding placing it on b or d.

Thus we have a situation where there appears that there may have been some distortion of normal speech accentuation and rhythm. As regards the former, we cannot be sure because I do not think it is possible except by inference from grammar and oratorical syntax to know whether in performance a syllable would have been stressed or not. It is important to be clear that the model I am proposing here makes no prediction about stress in vocal delivery. It would do if it was proposed that the mode of delivery was singing to a regularly-stressed tune, but I actually doubt that this was the case; I do expect that the vocalist was working in a mode which would allow him to stress or not stress syllables quite independently of main beats; (see the example of *cyhydedd hir* on p. 90 in the Individual Metres section below). Certainly in other respects various forms and degrees of syncopation were almost fundamental to the idiom. So it probably would be a mistake to assume that there was indeed occasional distortion of normal speech accentuation.

As regards distortion of normal speech rhythm, some of the instances of this will be oratorical, but it is clear that if *cynganedd* is to be adhered to as a major cue in allocating syllables to beats, then much of this distortion is musical. A clear example is provided in the following couplet:-

Ymryson am yr oesau,
Rhyw yng a ddaeth rhwng y ddau;

As will be seen later, the first line here, being an example of *cynganedd groes*, requires allocating syllables to four beats if indeed *croes* is to be interpreted as providing a full symmetry to a line of four beats. It contains only two natural stresses: '-rys-' and 'oes-' and these, being picked out by the principal *croes* accent, are comfortable on main beats. A third natural stress could be argued for either 'am' or 'yr', and either of these could quite comfortably be delivered at a point half-way in time between the two stressed syllables. But the syllable 'Ym-' is required to be placed on a main beat also, substantially before '-rys-'. There is no need for 'Ym-' to be stressed, but the timing here is a substantial distortion of the natural rhythm because this syllable is naturally not only an unstressed one but also a very short one. No case can be made from the rhetoric that this syllable should be prolonged. So here there may or may not have been forced stress, but definitely there would have been forced timing. If there was forced stress, it should be understood that this would have entailed no more than the addition of a stress, not wrenched accent in the sense of the displacement of a stress, as in these instances no natural stress is abandoned.¹⁵

An alternative interpretation here would be to interpret *croes* as providing a limited symmetry to the line, and place only the two principal *cynganedd* accents on main beats, leaving substantial pauses at some points in the musical line, but as I shall argue in the section below on *croes* (pp. 56-59) it is really necessary to afford the same treatment for the additional accents that precede the principal accents.

¹⁵ Where wrenched accents are detected in the settings presented here and in the Appendix, I think these will be found to be my errors rather than inevitable consequences of the principles I have attempted to implement.

Furthermore, there are types of *cynganedd* other than *croes*, which, if they are to be interpreted as supplying consistent temporal symmetry to whole lines, demand forced timing. The principal type here is *cynganedd sain drosgl* - see below - and it will be argued that *cynganedd lusg* is so named from intentional forced timing.

But otherwise, instances of forced timing are fairly infrequent, which makes one wonder if the lines that contained them were considered to be amongst the best.

We cannot reject this kind of setting of them on the basis that they lack precedent, for it is usual in musical performance for natural speech rhythms to be radically forced and stylized to a degree far beyond what is proposed here. It is important never to lose sight of the simple fact that we are dealing here with a musical idiom, at least in respect of rhythm.

CYNGHANEDD ACCENT

Cynghanedd accents certain syllables in the line, and these sometimes coincide with stress accent and sometimes not, as we have seen. I will treat separately the relationship of *cynghanedd* to stress accent for the principal accents, for additional accents elsewhere in the lines containing principal accents, and for accents in other types of *cynghanedd*.

a) PRINCIPAL ACCENTS

The system identifies in each line two points where *cynghanedd* accent and normal stress accent usually coincide, and classifies the points according to two criteria - the type of *cynghanedd* used and whether the final syllable of each of the two words these points fall on is stressed or not. In practice if the final syllable is not stressed then it is the penultimate syllable of the word that the *cynghanedd* accents.

The system was not fully comprehensive in two respects. It did not embrace all forms of *cynghanedd*; notably medial correspondence (*cynghanedd fraidd gyffwrdd*), and penult internal rhyme (*cynghanedd lusg*). Secondly, it did not take account of other important details of the lines which contain the types of *cynghanedd* which it did cover. For, in addition to the two points in a line detailed by the principal accents, *cynghanedd* accents other points which were not detailed in this system and we have no classification of them in terms of stress accent. From the description of the 13 as the principal accents no doubt these other points were considered less important, and apparently there was no necessity for them to coincide with normal stress accents, although in practice they often did so.

What is clear from the principal accents is that there were two points, at least, in the line where the relationship between *cynghanedd* accent

and stress accent was important in performance. The first of these points lay in a word, near the centre of the line, which preceded a main *gorffwysfa* (literally a resting-place). This term implies a *caesura* at this point, and indeed often a longer gap can be arranged in settings at the end of this word than at the end of others, before the commencement of the next word. And indeed if *cynganedd* accent is to be preferred over stress accent as a guide for allocating syllables to main beats, then it is usually necessary that a long gap occurs here in lines where the two types of accent diverge. It may well be that this apparent musical distortion of the timing was deliberate rather than accidental, so often does it involve a central *gorffwysfa*; there is something cultivated about such a line as: -

A qâr qân a'r qwr a'i qwnêl.

Nevertheless a vocal rest in this position would usually contradict the patterning of both *cynghanedd* and stress accents, so I expect the term merely denoted the timing of the syllable delivery and particularly a conceptual break. Elsewhere in the line the term *gorffwysfa* was used in the sense of the separation of syllables, and I expect the purpose of this concept was to prevent the slurring of consonants which would obscure one of the more subtle syncopations that *cynghanedd* apparently involved, (where alliteration was extended to include the consonant that precedes the stressed vowel even when this consonant is contained in an earlier word). This interpretation of the significance of 'gorffwysfa' gains some support from the stress that was laid on clarity of diction in the Grammars. So on this interpretation, particular care must be taken so that any consonants in this word that follow its stressed vowel are not carried forward to the beginning of the following word.

Clearly this first point in the line is very important and should

warrant the placement of the syllable bearing the *cynganedd* accent on a main beat.

The second point is at or towards the end of the line, either on the final or penult syllable and always in the word that carries the end-rhyme. Clearly the syllable bearing the *cynganedd* accent here should also occupy a main beat.

The principal accents relate to four forms of *cynganedd*: - *cynganedd groes*, *cynganedd groes o gyswllt*, *cynganedd draws* and *cynganedd sain*. The classification of the two points in the line where the stressed syllable is contained in a word which ends in either a stressed or unstressed syllable gives rise to several possible combinations which for the sake of brevity I will label as 'a' to 'd' rather than use their names; thus: -

1st point	2nd point	term
a) stressed	stressed	gytbwys acennog
b) unstressed	unstressed	gytbwys ddiacen
c) stressed	unstressed	anghytbwys ddisgynedig
d) unstressed	stressed	anghytbwys ddyrchafedig

where stressed and unstressed relate to the last syllable of the word in which a point falls, not to the syllable itself.

The 13 principal accents are: -

<i>croes</i>	a	b	c	
<i>cyswllt</i>	a	b	c	
<i>traws</i>	a	b	c	
<i>sain</i>	a	b	c	d

I will deal with each of these in the section on *Cynganedd Types* (pp. 54ff).

The second of the two points identified by the 13 principal accents always lies in the word which carries the end-rhyme of the line, so here

there is a very strong coincidence of factors which must demand here that this syllable should be placed on a main beat.

It would seem that the first of the two points should also occupy a main beat, because of the coincidence of *cynganedd* and stress accents.

b) ADDITIONAL ACCENTS elsewhere in lines containing principal accents.

Similarly it would be perverse if the other points where *cynganedd* accent and stress accent coincide were not placed on main beats, even though we have no extant systemisation of them, and I have proceeded on the basis that such points were also placed on main beats.

The minimum requirement for the two points of principal accent (given that both are stressed, and that the second is in the word which carries the end-rhyme), is that the second should answer the first in that the vowels of these syllables should be preceded by the same consonant (or one of its specified equivalents). Taking this as a criterion for one of the ways in which *cynganedd* accents syllables, it can be said that there are often points in a line which are accented by *cynganedd* other than the two principal accents. Where these are both stressed, it follows that probably these syllables should occupy main beats also; for example: -

1	2	3	4
O	lleddid	un	na lladd dau

where main beats 2 and 4 are occupied by the two principal points, and the stressed syllables on 1 and 3 also answer each other in the same way. In this case the need to give some emphasis to these additional points is affirmed by the fact that the consonant following as well as that preceding their stressed vowels is the same; i.e. it could be said that the *cynganedd* accent is stronger on this pair than it is on the principal accents. For this reason I prefer not to classify the accents

other than the principal ones in general as secondary or subsidiary, but as additional.

Another way in which *cynganedd* can be taken to accent stressed syllables is where two words containing stressed syllables are linked by alliteration or its near-equivalent; as

1	2	3	4
Torred	mesur	troed	musig

where main beats 2 and 4 are occupied by the two principal points, and the words on 1 and 3 both begin with the same consonant. The need to emphasize this pair is less strong than in the preceding example, but it seems desirable to place them on main beats.

As the strength of the *cynganedd* accent decreases through a multitude of different kinds of instance, so the need to insist on placing the points on main beats must decline. Often the presence of a *cynganedd* accent cannot be really clear, because relevant points can lack focus as the *cynganedd* tends to disperse more often over more than one syllable or word so that it becomes difficult to say whether there is a convergence of *cynganedd* and stress accent. But where there is some correspondence in the placing of consonants around stressed syllables the issue does need to be addressed. To codify all the permissible permutations, which would really be sub-divisions of the 13 principal accents, would be a cumbersome task; perhaps this is why the codification we have stops at 13.

Where the essential criterion used to define the two principal points in the line - the vowels are preceded by the same consonant or equivalents - exists elsewhere in the line but the syllables appear not to be both stressed, I think it is not necessary to place them on main beats. In the line: -

/ / / /

Aeth y gerdd a'i thai gwyrddion

the 'y' is not apparently stressed and there seems no cause to place it on a main beat. When faced with a relatively clear disparity such as this where the alliteration element of a *cynganedd* structure begins or immediately precedes an unstressed syllable, I am inclined to give precedence to a neighbouring stressed syllable when allocating syllables to main beats. The subtlety of the placing of the repeated phonemes amongst the syllables does preclude the possibility of evolving any definite rules in respect of many types of instances of additional points, for it was only in respect of the principal points that much of this subtlety became proscribed with the onset of the strict *cynganedd* period.

Apart from this kind of exception, it is reasonable to use the 13 accents, with their subdivisions in respect of the other points in the line, to identify the syllables which would occupy main beats, and often further, to identify the number of main beats occupied by a particular line. This is appropriate in poems where the *cynganedd* is structural in the sense that every line must contain some form of it, say from about 1400 on, although this was a gradual process.

c) ACCENTS IN OTHER TYPES OF *CYNGHANEDD* in general.

In earlier poetry it may well be a mistake to insist on the kind of approach outlined above in lines which contain *cynganedd*, because it is clear from its evolution that *cynganedd* was originally not essentially structural, but was conceived of as a relatively casual ornament to give cohesion to the bulk of the line between the more mandatory initial correspondence and end-rhyme. I note that it was common in the *gogynfeirdd* poetry to ignore stress accent in the sequence of repeated consonants (*crych a llyfn*), and here I expect the stress accent would

have attracted the beat. Also alliteration was not confined to stressed syllables. Therefore, in these circumstances it may not be appropriate to deduce that a coincidence of *cynganedd* and stress accent necessitates placing a syllable on a main beat.

It is probably significant that *cynganedd sain*, which I think retained a plastic quality through the later period in contrast to the other forms of mandatory *cynganedd*, was more of a legacy of the *gogynfeirdd* period than the other forms. This last point was also partly true of *cynganedd lusc*, and here it may be significant that this form was not included in the principal accents, but dealt with separately.

CYNGHANEDD TYPES

I think that symmetry or balance was a relevant aesthetic, (the arguments for this are put in Part 1 of this work: METHODOLOGY), and that *cynganedd* should be interpreted as a means of implementing and manipulating that aesthetic within the line. It is important to distinguish the two forms of symmetry that *cynganedd* can provide: -

- a) an internal symmetry presumed to be integral to a *cynganedd* structure;
- b) ways of providing symmetry to the line: -
 - 1) where the structure spans only part of the line, and acts as a counter-weight to initial correspondence and endrhyme;
 - 2) where the structure spans the whole line so that the internal symmetry of the structure becomes also the symmetry of the whole line.

Internal symmetry of *cynganedd* structures must be presumed to be an important factor in timing, because the structures are so shaped that they strongly suggest it, and because it is significant that in the later period *crych a llyfn* was prohibited in respect of the principal accents. But in *awdlau*, and particularly earlier ones, there are instances where in practice the symmetry cannot be implemented; usually these are in instances of *sain* (see below).

As a means of providing symmetry to the line, *cynganedd* (considered in isolation) is less effective in the earlier poetry because its purpose was to balance the weight of initial correspondence and end-rhyme, so in the earlier poetry *cynganedd* must always be considered in this broader context, which does not lend itself to the generalisations which will be formulated here in respect of the later period. In particular, it will be argued that some *awdl* structures may have dictated the use of 3-beat lines

which would have sometimes required that the *cynganedd* structures be timed asymmetrically.

The case for subordinating the principle of internal *cynganedd* symmetry in certain *awdl* structures will be introduced in the section on Individual Metres (p. 77ff). In this section here on Cynganedd Types my remarks and illustrations will be mainly confined to the later *cywydd* period of strict *cynganedd*, and most of the examples will be drawn from the *cywydd deuair hirion* metre.

In this later poetry of strict *cynganedd*, the ornament was apparently used to give cohesion to entire lines through symmetry and balance, (with the possible exception of some instances of *sain*), so it is appropriate to use the typology of *cynganedd* to determine in some detail what *cynganedd* implies about the timing of the delivery of the many different types of line. Here there is no need, in placing the beats, not to follow the broad symmetry implied by *croes* into dividing the line into 2 balanced parts each occupying 2 main beats, and most often by *traws* into 3 parts - the first and last occupying beats 1 and 3, separated by the bridge occupying beat 2. In fact it is possible to use *cynganedd* to evolve a great number of detailed rules about the possible timing of the delivery of particular lines.

I will outline these rules, and their exceptions, in relation to each of the main forms of *cynganedd*, considering each of the 13 principal accents and their relatives separately. These rules will be most applicable to the strict *cynganedd* period, and especially to the *cywydd* forms. I will not attempt to give examples of the entire range of available timings including the sub-divisions of the 13 principal accents, because the permutations here are very large indeed; but I will give examples of sub-divisions which involve different numbers of main

beats to the line. Many examples of different timings within each of the principal accents can be found in the appended examples of the settings of a *cywydd*, a chain of *englynion* and an *awdl*.

A CYNGHANEDD GROES

The two points where the principal accents occur in lines of all three types are always separated by at least one intervening syllable, and amongst them lies a syllable which carries a *cynganedd* accent in the sense that it begins or is immediately preceded by consonants which 'alliterate' with an earlier part of the line, and often this syllable is a stressed one. Also, more than two syllables in the *cywydd* can intervene between the points of the two principal accents. For these reasons it appears that such a syllable picked out by both the *cynganedd* and stress accent would be placed on a main beat; thus the two principal points would not occupy adjacent main beats but would be separated from one another by a main beat carrying this syllable. Thus we would have: -

| | |
Drwg i neb a drigo'n ôl

Here we have an example of a line of *croes a*) with the two principal points occupying a main beat and 'drigo' occupying the intervening main beat. Incidentally, note that this setting includes the common feature of apparent syncopation of alliteration that results from the matching of two syllables where one contains alliterating consonants whilst the other does not but is preceded by a syllable which ends in those consonants, as 'neb' against 'drigo'n ôl', which are the matched principal points in this line of *croes a*. To lag the 'n' here so that it sounded on the last beat would be to introduce an element of artificiality to the timing, divorcing it from natural speech stress because of a rigid interpretation of the significance of *cynganedd*. It

may well be that a tendency to slur in this way lead to the emphasis placed on clarity of diction in the Grammars and to the use of the concept of *gorffwysfa* at the end of syllables.

In this case where an intervening syllable alliterates with a preceding one, which itself usually carries accentual stress also, it appears that, for similar reasons, this stressed syllable too would occupy a main beat, creating a symmetrical line of four main beats: -

| | | |
Drwg i neb a drigo'n ôl

This four-square pattern suits all types of *croes* line, and there can be no ambiguity in identifying the two points of each of the three principal accents of *croes*, occupying beats 2 and 4 in this scheme, because the rules of composition are laid down. They do not cover the identification of the syllables on beats 1 and 3, but here, as is usual, the repeated consonants d-r-g make them clear. However, because the rules do not detail the relationship between the syllables on beats 1 and 3 in terms of stress as they do for syllables on beats 2 and 4, I do not insist that all lines have to follow this simple pattern for beats 1 and 3. For example the following line is quite comfortable with the usual treatment, but it could be felt that the rhetoric might demand that 'Eos' should be more strongly accented than 'tŵr', which could be achieved by setting it thus: -

| | | |
Torres braich tŵr Eos brig

as an alternative. Such a choice would be between a syllable stressed by the *cynganedd* and a syllable carrying heavier accentual stress; and it would have to be the heavier accentual stress which would result in the more natural delivery if it were placed on a main beat; not the

cynghanedd syllable.

This is the case even where it results in the syncopation of the alliteration against the alliterating consonants earlier in the line. This syncopation, which appears to be widespread, is stronger but no different in quality from the common syncopation of alliteration referred to above, which can become quite substantial as the 'alliterating' consonant was allowed to be drawn from the word two words before the word containing the stressed vowel. I expect that here the intervening word would occupy the minimum amount of time, as 'o' in the following setting: -

Ei	bwys			o	aur		er		byw					Siôn					

Another form of syncopation, which may or may not involve the principal points, is *cytseiniaid dwbl*, where, quite commonly in *croes* and *traws*, part of the replicated consonant sequence is duplicated asymmetrically, as: -

	Dor			a	-llor	-au,		dewr		air		llur	-ig						

where the 'r' of 'dor' is replicated twice, in both 'dewr' and 'air'.

Here are given examples of the three principal accents of *croes*, set to the scheme: -

a)																			
	Wed	-	i'r		farn		ar	awd	-	ur		fu							
b)																			
	Tor	-	red		ys	-	gol		tŷ'r		des	-	gant						
c)																			
	Tel	-	yn		aur		tel	-	yn	-	or	-	ion						

setting it is necessary that the principal accent of the first part and the additional accent of the third part be separated by no more than two syllables (in the *cywydd*; three syllables elsewhere); and this appears to be the case. Hence it is possible that setting this kind of line of *traws* to four main beats would have been a rule.

This kind of line appears to be in the minority. The more common weighting for lines of *traws* is that the middle part contains a stressed syllable and significantly that there is no additional accent across the first and last parts. An example is

Eu barn ym mhorth nef ni bydd

The obvious choice for this kind of line is a 3-beat setting, which preserves the symmetry of the gap of one main beat between the principal accents that was established for *croes*, but accommodates the pivoting of these around the middle section which here is more than a brief interpolation.

If a 3-beat setting of this kind of line is to be maintained as a rule, it would have the consequence, rarely, of necessitating exceptions to the general rule that the first beat of a line be preceded by no more than one syllable.

So in total, three kinds of setting are proposed here for lines of *traws*. Here are examples of each for each of the three kinds of principal accent of *traws*, where appropriate.

Traws a)

3-beat lines predominate, although 4-beat lines are common. Lines that require using beat c are rare.

[illegible]

Traws b)

I have not come across any examples of 4-beat lines, so perhaps it could have been a rule that they were 3-beat. Instances requiring medial beat c are rare.

Bys - edd Llef Gŵr neuBas - ant Odd-
 i ym - a a gad - o'i dda - masg

Traws c)

4-beat lines are quite rare, as are instances requiring medial beat c.

'i dad - l ech - doe'n dwe - dyd

A chwlm gerbron u -che - lwr

Blin yw, meg - is blaen aw - en

Yn

Although formally proscribed in general, *anghyrbwys ddyrchafedig* lines - the d) option - do exist where the last word ends in a combination of consonants of which the last is 'r' or 'l', for *croes*, *croes o gyswllt* and *traws*, requiring lines of 4, 4 and 3 beats respectively; I have not come across an example of *traws* that requires a 4-beat line.

D CYNGHANEDD SAIN LEFN

To the weights provided by the two principal accents in a line, this form adds the weight of a word which is answered by rhyme in the first of the words that carries a principal accent; and because it is usual that this word contains a stressed syllable, it is clear that *sain* should be interpreted as symmetrical in the sense that the linking by rhyme and the linking of the principal accents balance one another, pivoting around the word containing both the rhyme and a principal accent. These overlap in time during the delivery of this word - the principal accent precedes the rhyme. So this word is definitely central to the form, and if indeed the other two parts of the form are to be considered as symmetrical 'wings' on either side of it, it follows that the three stressed syllables involved must be isochronous.

Thus we should expect that it could have been a rule that these three syllables accented by *sain* were isochronous, so that a *sain* structure has an integral symmetry. But bearing in mind that *sain* very much had its origin as a self-contained structure within the line, the concept that types of *cynganedd* in themselves provided symmetry to the whole of a line, which has served well for the types discussed above, would not be appropriate for *sain*.

The concept that principal accents are placed consistently on alternate main beats, either 2 and 4 or 1 and 3, is the main feature of the setting of the types of *cynganedd* above which is inappropriate for *sain*. Because *sain* does not have to span the whole line it can be compacted into short units. With this flexibility it is possible to implement the proposed rule that its three stressed syllables were isochronous. Thus it is possible to treat *sain* as being symmetrical

within itself whilst it can lie asymmetrically within the line.

The possibilities for individual instances of *sain* then become: -

- 1) occupying three main beats (of either a 3 or 4 beat line)
- 2) two adjacent main beats and medial beat c, (where there is no more than one syllable intervening between the stressed syllables of the *sain* structure, and such a syllable must not be stressed)
- 3) (very rarely) one main beat and the two medial beats c before and after this main beat.

In practice, in the *cywydd* especially, it is option 1) that predominates, usually in a 3-beat line, and this particularly in b).

Here are settings of examples of the four different principal accents used by *sain*: -

- | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------|-------|------|------|--------|-----|-----|-----|---|------|
| | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| a) | | | | | | | | | |
| My-fyr | - | dawd | rhwn | gbawd | a | bys | | | |
| b) | | | | | | | | | |
| Cef | - | ais, | pan | son | - | ia | is | y | - na |
| c) | | | | | | | | | |
| We | - | di | cys | - | gu, | tru | tre | - | myn |
| d) | | | | | | | | | |
| A | phrof | - | iad | neugan | - | iad | gŵr | | |

Note that in the setting of the example of c) above that the symmetry of the line that can be deduced from the other types of *cynganedd* is lacking. Such a line could be set symmetrically by resorting to using the preceding medial beat c, and perhaps it should be; but I am content to do without symmetry in the case of *sain* because its apparent asymmetry in the line will probably be a legacy from its early use before *cynganedd* was obligatory. In this earlier period, *sain* was used in complex ways. Here follow some settings of early examples.

word 'yw' merits this.

In the *cywydd* there are occasional instances of *sain* where the symmetry of the *sain* structure cannot be maintained without overturning the proposed rule that not more than two syllables intervene between main beats, so here it is necessary to place the words accented by *sain* onto beats 1, 3 and 4: -

1	2	3	4
Bronnydd a briq manwydd Mai			

any one particular structure should have priority: -

UwchTei	-	fi	'n	d'of	-ni,	di-ofn	-	og	--	Dda	-	fydd,	Of-		
nogfydd		llwd	-n	hydd	rhag	llew		dan	-	hedd	-og				

where the *sain*: fydd - hydd - danheddog, the *sain gadwynog*: fydd - llwdn - hydd - llew and the *traws*: llwdn hydd - rhag - llew danheddog overlies one another and setting any one of them as internally symmetrical would involve force.

On similar principles to *sain gadwynog*, there are many ways in which the main types of *cynganedd* were COMBINED in the line. They often require the compression of one of the structures onto two main beats as in the above examples, but they usually tend logically to require a 4-beat symmetry. Amongst these combined structures, *sain dros gl* needs particular discussion.

H CYNGHANEDD SAIN DROS GL

This type can be interpreted as bringing a 4-beat symmetry to the line which would be similar to the symmetry of *sain gadwynog* above. Four beats are required by a *cywydd* line such as: -

1	2	3	4
Mamaeth	tywysogaeth	twyll	

where the syllable 'ty-' has to occupy a main beat else three syllables would intervene between two beats. This setting has the symmetry of *gadwynog* with the rhyme following beats 1 and 3 and the alliteration on beats 2 and 4. The more usual *dros gl* line has not four syllables to the middle word but three, and in order to maintain a 4-beat symmetry the first of these syllables would need to occupy beat 2, thereby 'splitting' a word by placing adjacent syllables onto main beats, which may partly account for the term 'dros gl' - clumsy, awkward. For example:



The alternative would be to treat the line as *sain lefn*, occupying three beats.

I CYNGHANEDD FRAIDD GYFFWRDD

Here the consonants correspond before and after the stressed vowel of two medial syllables. This and *sain lefn* were the main forms that *cynganedd* took in the *gogynfeirdd* period. Most commonly these two syllables would be comfortable if they were placed on main beats 2 and 3, giving a symmetry to a 4-beat line: -



As such it would have been a comfortable device to bring weight to the centre of the line to fill in between the weights of the cymeriad at the beginning and the rhyme at the end of the line. However, it was quite common for one of the syllables, usually the second, to be naturally unstressed, and also for the syllables to appear un-centrally in the line. For these reasons I think it would be a mistake to insist on the structure being treated in the above way.

Of all the types of *cynganedd* used in the *gogynfeirdd* poetry, I think that *sain*, being a three-word structure, does require that three points be evenly-spaced. The other main types - *braidd gyffwrdd*, *croes*, *traws* and *llusg* - all pick out only two main points, and until the later *cywydd* period of strict *cynganedd*, they were not commonly used in such a way that it is clear that they had a strong integral symmetry. However, I do expect that it was a general rule that the two main points they emphasize were placed on main beats.

J CYNGHANEDD LUSG

This type of *cynganedd* contains in its title one of the rare directions we have which is temporal: *llusgo* meaning to drag, to linger, to trail or to drawl. Logically, this could refer either to the suspension of the commencement of a syllable or syllables, or to the sustainment of a syllable. It is generally understood to describe the sustainment of the second rhymed syllable, in order to bring out the rhyme. Because this syllable is always stressed and because the *llusg* structure can commonly span the four main beats, it does not seem that the opportunity is there in this proposed model to delay the commencement, so I adopt the latter interpretation. Here then, probably, is an indication that, in addition to all the other ways of accentuation, syllabic length in delivery was used in conjunction with stress and rhyme to accentuate syllables.

In order to be meaningful, the term must describe a sustain which prolongs the syllable beyond the length it would have if the *llusg* structure were not present, at least in the case of some if not all syllables. Here are two settings of a line of *llusg*, first as I would set it if the *lusg* were not present, and second sustaining the relevant syllable by the minimum increment that the proposed model permits: -

	Tim	-	pan		daw	-	el		a	the	-	lyn				
	Tim	-	pan		daw	-	el		a	the	-	lyn				

Thus a short syllable: 'thel-' has been prolonged to the length that a longer syllable (such as 'Tim-' above) would naturally take. I think this is satisfactory in bringing out the rhyme without being so exaggerated that it becomes clumsy. A typical example of the effect would be this setting of these lines by Lewis Glyn Cothi: -

STANZAIC DIVISION

The metre of the music is treated in some detail in Part 5 of this work, outside of this part on VERSE, but I will outline the main points that relate to verse here.

The great majority of the repertory of instrumental music in the MS. is here understood to comprise metres which consist of multiples of four lines (as a line is represented here). Amongst the measures (in so far as it is possible to reconstruct their details - a difficult task because of the discrepancies that exist between different sources) lengths of even numbers of digital units (i.e. *cyweirdant/tyniad*) prevail. The frequency of measure lengths, at the upper end is:-

No. of digits	No. of instances
16	17
8	10
14	4
10	4
20	4
24	3

Over half the measures were comprised of either 16 or 8 digits. In practice so widely were some of these used that they account for over three-quarters of pieces where their measures are catalogued. Measures comprised of multiples of 4 digits occur in almost every piece where measures are catalogued. In some sources some of the measures were subdivided into units of mainly 4 digits, by punctuation. It appears then, from the sources that detail the measures and their use, that the idiom was very strongly dominated by 4-digit units, and this is confirmed by the shaping of the actual texts of the pieces in the MS.

The standard 'line' presented here of 4 main beats and 3 medial beats

between each is derived from analysis of the music texts, and is essentially comprised of 1 digit in length, although arguably it could be taken to equate with 2 digits in some pieces, but these do not include those pieces which are considered most likely to have been of the type used to accompany vocal performance.

The model constructed here for the timing of vocal performance uses this musical 'line' of 1 digit to carry the short verse line of 7 to 10 syllables. From this it follows that the length of measures can be used to provide insight into stanzaic division in the poetry and into which poetic metres are capable of, and appropriate for, being carried by the mainstream of the musical idiom. Some metres will approach it more nearly than others, and a brief review of the main points to be made follows.

Metres that can be resolved into 4 short lines will fit the mainstream of the musical idiom, in a completely compact way when they are contained in poems comprising multiples of 8 lines. Otherwise there is a residue of 2 lines. If it is felt that such a residue should not exist, metres other than the 16 or 8 digit ones would be appropriate.

Metres that can be resolved into 2 short lines will also fit the main-stream when they are contained in poems comprising multiples of 8 lines, but in other cases the residue may not be so easily disposed of.

So, the *gosteg* of *englynion* - a chain of quatrains - is ideally suited to this model, whereas a *cywydd* poem will also be suited if it contains a line total which is a multiple of 8; other line totals would require less common measures if there is to be no residue. It must be significant that the chain of *englynion* forming the first part of a composite *awdl*, above all other metrical forms, is heavily organized

into stanzas, and that these are quatrains. This form is most comfortable in the mainstream of the musical idiom, and this should be of significance in the attempt to determine if the form was accompanied by stringed instruments.

Although the *cywydd deuair hirion* was accompanied in this way, the form is less comfortable in the centre of the mainstream of the musical idiom. It would be useful to compare an analysis of a large number of *cywydd* poems using all available indicators of stanza division - *cymeriad*, end-rhyme, rhetoric and phrasing to determine which measure-lengths would be required with which frequencies to accommodate coherently the poems. (It would be important here to remember that it was common practice to concatenate different measures within a piece). The expectation here would be that it would be common for these indicators to occur at the end of line 8 or 16 and thereafter at line numbers which co-incided with increments of multiples of 8, and less commonly 4, and infrequently at other numbers. I have not investigated this.

Looking now at the fringes of the metres of the musical and poetic idioms, it should be stressed that the system of measures was in total very wide-ranging numerically. For example we have in the MS. two instances of the use of *korfinfaen*, 14 digits long sub-divided $7 + 7$; further sub-divided $4 + 3 + 4 + 3$. In another piece which is catalogued, this was prefixed by an 8 digit measure, thereby forming a section which would be sub-divided $4 + 4 + 4 + 3 + 4 + 3 = 22$. So here we have a section which is regular but does not have a simple symmetry to it.

Thus, if care was taken to match stanzas/ verse measures to accompaniment measures, there would have been considerable latitude in the patterning of points of correspondence in terms of stanzas of

various different lengths, without having any residue. In the absence of any express testimony, only an analysis of stanza division in the poetry could provide a picture of whether the performers and composers did take care to match in this way, and to what extent this would have been confined to the mainstream of musical practice with the measures. But certainly the existence of a standard set of named measures in common currency would be very convenient in managing performance.

However, it is clear that a lot of selection and arrangement would be required to provide a neat match of musical measures for composite *awdlau*. For this reason I doubt that the whole of such poems was accompanied by the instrumental music, unless the performers were unconcerned with achieving an exact match. A comparatively simple example of the problem is provided by 'Moliant Tomas Mostyn o Loddaithe' by Gruffudd Hiraethog. The first 52 lines of the poem comprise 4-line structures, and these could be accompanied by measures which are divided into 4-digit structures, for example two measures of the 16-digit *korffiniwr* followed by one measure of the 20-digit *brath yn ysgol*, totalling $16 + 16 + 20 = 52$. But the remaining 52 lines of the poem comprise 6-line structures (*hir-a-toddaid*) which cannot be accompanied by measures divided into 6-digit structures without a residue of either six lines or six digits. The possibilities here are: -

- 1) A residue was tolerated. There are many satisfactory ways by which this could be arranged - a very simple and feasible explanation would be that the *toddaid* at the end of each 6-line structure was unaccompanied, and the preceding 4-line *cymmar* was accompanied.
- 2) The 6-line structures were treated the same as the 4-line ones, i.e. $16 + 16 + 20 = 52$ again.
- 3) The second half of the poem, and perhaps the whole of it, was not designed for stringed accompaniment.

Despite the great breadth of the system of measures, it does seem that it did not provide copiously for sustaining sub-divisions of 3 digits. Two well-attested measures of 12 digits (*koraldan* and *hattur bach*) and two poorly attested measures of 15 digits (*kynedlynn* and *treisiol*) could have been used for this purpose. (Other possible candidates are rather inadequately attested). This small group of measures appears to have been little used. Thus any 3-line poetic metres that were used consecutively would have been outside of the mainstream of the music.

The *englyn penfyr*, *englyn milwr* and *cywydd llosgyrnog* are 3-line metres. It must be significant that the first two were described as being of or from '*y hen ganiad*', apparently in the sense of having become obsolete in composition (not performance) by the last quarter of the fourteenth century. In turn, this implies that the dominance of measures totalling multiples of 4 not 3 digits may not ante-date the point when these 3-line metres became obsolete in composition.

In being a 3-line, not 2-line structure, the *cywydd llosgyrnog* is unique amongst the group of four strict *cywydd* metres. This may account for the distinction made in the 'Twenty-four Feats' between *canu cywydd gan dant* and *canu cywydd pedwar ac acenu*: - the four here probably refers to the four types of *cywydd*, not four *cywyddau*.¹⁶ On this interpretation it must be that stringed self-accompaniment was expected with the *cywydd (deuair hirion)* and not with the other types of *cywydd*. This would become explicable if it was not expected that self-accompaniment would include 3-line structures - the *llosgyrnog*.

¹⁶ 'Acenu' is evidently used as a contrast to 'gan dant', and therefore suggests the use of the staff or some other accentual aid, or perhaps that that the vocal delivery was accented more strongly when it was unaccompanied by stringed instruments.

INDIVIDUAL METRES

In order to match the individual metres to the standard musical line presented here it is necessary to treat each metre separately as they tend to have very different line lengths. Where the line is short - as in the *cywydd deuair fyrion* - two of these lines would comfortably be carried by the standard musical line. Where the line is long indicators exist whereby the line can be sub-divided into shorter lines, each of which are of appropriate length for being carried by the standard musical line. In this way lines of between 7 and 10 syllables per musical line can be derived.

I think it is important to divide the metres into two types - those which were used at some length alone and were capable of being used in an accumulative way, and those which were used primarily to provide some form of end-stop or contrast or cadence to the run of the main body of a poem. Such a division has its problems, for example sometimes *cyhydedd hir* was used in an accumulative way, but it is a very useful distinction in practice.

a) ACCUMULATIVE METRES

These comprise the metres with a set and constant syllable count throughout: -

7 syllables - *cywydd* lines etc.

8 " - *cyhydedd fer* lines etc.

9 " - *cyhydedd naw ban* lines etc.

10 " - the 10 syllable lines of the *hir a thoddaid* metre.

I would not be happy fixing a set number of beats for any of these types of line. I except here some accumulative metres where the shaping of the lines appears to dictate that four beats be used invariably for

pairs of their short lines; - a) *cywydd deuair fyrion*, b) *rhupunt hir* and c) *tawddgyrch cadwynog*.

In the other accumulative metres I think it is clear that individual lines could span either 3 or 4 beats comfortably, and I make no insistence that all 4 beats of the musical line be occupied. On the contrary, there are a number of reasons for supposing that they could occupy 3 beats of a line, apart from the internal evidence: -

- 1) It appears that the music often may not have had chords or notes occupying beat 4.
- 2) Opportunity for drawing breath is required, and this would have necessitated a vocal rest on a beat somewhere if delivery was fast, as I imagine often it was, particularly with the *cywydd*. Because the evidence is that performance was basically measured, I would not think that *rubato* would be sufficient to provide the necessary pause for breath.
- 3) Allowing the individual line on internal evidence to determine the number of beats provides a fairly random alternation between 3 and 4 beats, at least in the case of the *cywydd* line, which is very satisfactory from the point of view of contrast, and often suits the syntax of the phrasing of the verse.

Although it is possible that the vocal rest in a 3-beat line could occur on any beat, the needs to keep both the verse compact and the symmetry referred to above (pp. 54-5) intact, rather dictate that it must be beat 4 that is unoccupied. This is not conclusive but I have proceeded on this basis.

In this class of line then, I allow the internal evidence of the individual line to dictate whether the last beat of the musical line is occupied or not by a word. The last occupied beat of the musical line

carries the last stressed syllable of the line. In the 7-syllable forms it appears that there was no patterning in the distribution of 3- and 4-beat lines. In the other forms with more than 7 syllables there is heavy patterning which suggests that it may have been a rule that the first line in a couplet of short lines was 4-beat. In the second line 4-beat lines predominate.

The first beat of the line must carry generally the most strongly stressed of the first 2 syllables, not generally an unstressed syllable, and the identification of this syllable will usually be confirmed by *cymeriad* or *cynganedd*. (2 syllables before the first beat appears to have been exceptional.) The 1 or 2 medial syllables to be placed on the 2nd and sometimes 3rd beats of a line are selected on the cues of the *cynganedd*, internal rhyme where appropriate in the *awdl-gywydd* etc., and the dictates of the density of the line in terms of syllable spacing.

This last point derives from the fact that the basic scheme of the musical line is so compact that it permits stressed syllables to occupy only certain points in the line; therefore there is a limit to the number of syllables that can be carried between syllables which occupy beats; the limit is 3. Often when syllables have been assigned to the first and last beats of a line this limitation can be used to determine those which can be assigned to the remaining beats. A contradiction between this assignment and that resulting from other cues would mean the basic scheme would have to be expanded, which does not seem to be necessary. So, often the assignment of even medial stressed syllables is confirmed by a combination of factors.

It is almost certainly significant that in the *cywydd* metres this limit of 3 (to the number of syllables that can be carried between syllables

which occupy beats) seems not to be reached. This means that it is possible to adopt as a rule for the *cywydd* line a maximum of 2 syllables, and this I have done. The result is that the *cywydd* differs markedly in performance from the other lines, which often reach to 3 syllables. Although it occupies the same scheme as the others, it lopes along in a distinctly sparser rhythm, allowing it to be delivered very much faster before clarity of diction would be lost.

Similarly, this creates a highly distinctive contrast between the *paladr* and the *esgyll* of the *englyn unodl union* and the *englyn unodl crwca*. I re-iterate that although it is tempting in our highly literate culture to view syllable-count as determining the length of the line, in this context the syllable-count usually determines the density of the line in performance, and also that whereas this is a matter of degree between the lines ranging from 8 to 10 syllables, it is really a qualitative difference between the 7-syllable line and the others.

Where the number of syllables lying between syllables occupying main beats is less than 3, which is always the case in the *cywydd* line but is also frequent in the 8 and 9 syllable lines, there is some degree of latitude in their placing. The constraint that stressed syllables must not occupy medial beats 2 and 4 cuts down the options, and after this factor, syllable length in speech can be accommodated, and finally considerations of echoing and contrasting neighbouring weak syllables can be resorted to. I have tried to take account of all these factors, but here it is definitely not possible to be precise about the positioning of many of the syllables, and perhaps there was no standard solution - perhaps the poems were open to interpretation on different occasions, and perhaps timing may often have been a matter of taste. Also I think it is possible that laments would have made more use of medial beat c, which provides more shade than d, or if not, that they

would have d starting early, not clipped in a sprightly fashion.

b) CADENCE METRES

Into this category I group the remaining metres, which were more closely structured in terms of varying syllable count and cross-rhyme. I think it is probable that here the number of beats in a line was often a structural feature, - that this was the prime result of the varying number of syllables in consecutive lines, not the density of the line. I detail here the possible rules relating to beats for each metre.

TODDAID BYR AND PALADR

In all except the *toddaid* and *paladr* metres it appears that the separation of one line from another is maintained to some degree by the grammar of the phrasing, and often in this model by a pause substantial enough to draw in breath, and of course by the fixed number of syllables to the line. In the *paladr* and *toddaid* metres it is clear from, *inter alia*, the terms *gair cyrch* (linking phrase) and *gair toddaid* (melting phrase) that this separation is dissolved in some respect or respects.

For the *toddaid byr* and the *paladr* of the *englyn*, it is possible to assign the first line of 10 syllables to a musical line of 4 beats, and the second line of 6 syllables to the following musical line, but in so doing there is no doubt that a degree of compression sometimes, and expansion usually, is required, which threatens the symmetry of *cynganedd* structures present in the lines. The difficulty is eased by setting the last word of the first line onto main beat 1 of the second musical line, and this appears to be satisfactory in relation to timing in all respects.

Thus we arrive at the usual position that the first strongly accented

word after the endrhyme occupies beat 1 of the following line, and that the number of syllables that can intervene between the endrhyme and the syllable on beat 1 has the usual maximum of two. So there is nothing unusual in this in terms of this musical model. But what is distinctive here is that the number of syllables in each of the two musical lines is unfixed - it can be 7 and 9, or 8 and 8 or 9 and 7, depending on the number of words in the *gair cyrch* or *gair toddaid*. So here there would be some latitude or freedom in the density of the musical lines.

This is an important point because it might be sufficiently significant to account for the existence of related terms which suggest the 'linking' of lines - *gair cyrch*, *gair toddaid*, *triban cyrch* and *cynghogion*. Also I speculate that in origin the structure may have been designed to accommodate grammatical phrases where the rhyme falls shortly before the end of the phrase, (too shortly to warrant the remainder of the phrase occupying an entire musical line), although I am aware that the structure was often not used unambiguously in this way. Such an origin would also help to account for the 'linking' terms, in the sense that the two musical lines are linked by the phrase of the first overflowing into the second.

Following the arrangement that the *cynganedd* requires - dividing the poetic line in this way between the two musical lines, it follows that the first musical line may have 3 or 4 of its main beats occupied. In the later period of strict *cynganedd* where *sain* was commonly used across the pre-rhyme portion of the first line, this portion would normally need to occupy 3 main beats. In the earlier period more compact forms such as *sain bengoll* and *braidd gyffwrdd* were common, and the pre-rhyme portion would normally need to occupy 4 main beats. Evidently there was a tendency throughout for the number of beats here to be consistent throughout a poem.

The lines are so shaped that it could have been a rule that the second line consistently occupies 3 beats. The last word of the *cyrch*, matched by rhyme, *cytsain* or alliteration to a word near the beginning of the second line of poetry would occupy beat 1. The stressed syllable of the second matched word could not, by rule, occupy beat 2 as sometimes the matched pair are separated by too many syllables. But it could have been a rule that the second matched word had its stressed syllable placed on beat 3 since, as it happens, there is always room to accommodate the poetic line across beats 3 and 4. Beat 2 would usually become a rest. I adopt this rule, thereby placing the matched pair on alternate beats as is the rule for *croes* and *traws* to create the fundamental consistency implied by the late proscription against the adjacency of *braidd gyffwrdd* (= almost touching - i.e. adjacent words on adjacent beats). Thus the second poetic line, with its 6 syllables delivered compactly, retains its written segregation from the first, and is particularly suitable for *sangiad*, interjection or aside.

The end-rhyme is between the words on beats 3 or 4 of the first line and that on beat 4 of the following line. It would need to be the rule that three syllables could intervene between the syllables on main beats, unlike the 7-syllable lines of the *cywydd* forms and the *esgyll* where the maximum of two is proposed as the rule. Thus in the *englyn* forms which alternate the *paladr* containing a *gair cyrch* with the *esgyll*, there would be a rather fundamental difference in the rhythmic treatment of the syllables, creating a distinctive class of types of *englyn* based on alternating *awdl*-type rhythms with *cywydd*-type rhythms.

An example of a series of *englynion* from the early period is provided in the Appendix. Here is an example of a setting of a typical late *englyn*: -

	Mae	-	lor		gerdd				Ben	-	cerdd		bync	-	iau,
ur-dded	-ig								A'rddid	-	wydd		fe-sur	-	au;
	Mwyn				gan	-	iad		tyn	-	iad		tan	-	nau,
	Mwyn		a		gwyh		y		mae'n		i		gwau.		

When, as here, the pre-*cyrch* portion of the first line and both lines of the *esgyll* each require 4 beats, this means of setting the post-rhyme portion results in a stable endrhyme throughout on beat 4. This was often not the case in late *englynion*, but it was usual in earlier ones.

The *toddaid byr* as an *awdl* measure appears to have its origin in the *paladr* of the *englyn*, and I propose the same treatment.

TODDAID

Here the line is divided, by constant syllable-count, into two parts, of 10 and 9 syllables, and an almost even density for both musical lines would exist without dropping the last word of the *gair toddaid* down to the second one. The same explanation that was advanced above for the 'linking' terms of the *toddaid byr* and the *paladr* could not be used here if it is not dropped down, yet the problem of shared terminology for apparently very different metres does need to be addressed. The converse explanation of origin presents itself - that the grammatical phrase of the first part was too short to occupy all 4 main beats of its musical line (and this in a context of high syllable-count where 4 beats would be normal), so the beginning of the phrase of the following line was 'brought up' as it were, to form the post-rhyme portion of the first part. I think that early evidence for this explanation is lacking, so perhaps the best explanation that can be offered here is that possibly the post-rhyme portion was thought of as a 'linking' in the sense that

by virtue of being post-rhyme it was linked to the second part, albeit not grammatically, although it is possible that the 'melting' describes the subversion of the main endrhyme.

Further support for these interpretations where the *paladr/toddaid byr* and the *toddaid* are treated differently on the basis of syllable-count is found in differences in the weighting of the second poetic line. The word in it which answers the post-rhyme portion is placed later on in the second line of the *toddaid* than in that of the *paladr/toddaid byr*, the rhyme being normally syllable 5 of the verse line. This is a fundamental difference which results in this word of the *toddaid* being comfortable in being placed on beat 2, and of course this is consistent with the setting for the *paladr/toddaid byr* adopted above (where matching words are placed on alternate, not adjacent main beats) and for the other metres that contain a cross-rhyming or consonating word (e.g. see *cyhydedd hir* p. 89 below). Indeed it could have been a rule that in all metres structural rhyme was always on alternate main beats.

It is important, I think, to stress that, despite the similarity in terminology, the *toddaid* and the *toddaid byr* are very different structures. The answering is by rhyme alone in the *toddaid* but normally by *cynghanedd gytsain* in the *toddaid byr* (alliteration or rhyme rarely), although in the early origins of the *toddaid byr* in the *triban cyrch englyn* metre the answering was often by rhyme. The *toddaid* appears to have had its origins elsewhere, in *awdl* contexts similar to the *rhupunt* and the *cyhydedd naw ban*, and its matching is restricted to rhyme from the outset.

Whatever their origins, and however they were conceived, the differences in syllable-count between the *paladr/toddaid byr* and the *toddaid* structures are sufficiently large to almost dictate that they be set in

these different ways: lines of *toddaid* are quite uncomfortable with the *gair toddaid* occupying the beginning of the second musical line. Certainly both as interpreted here have flexibility in common: the *paladr/toddaid byr* brings flexibility to syllable-count, and the *toddaid* brings flexibility to endrhyme position. Perhaps it is this flexibility, albeit it in different parameters, which accounts for the sharing of the term '*toddaid*' by two apparently very different structures - *toddaid* and *toddaid byr*.

Summarising this interpretation, I consider that both the *paladr/toddaid byr* and the *toddaid* are long lines which are divided a) metrically at the point following the post-rhyme portion into two parts which have fixed syllable-count, b) grammatically at varying points but commonly in both structures at the point following the post-rhyme portion, and c) musically at the point where an even syllable-count is approached - before the post-rhyme portion in the *paladr* and *toddaid byr* and after it in the *toddaid*.

The endrhyme in the *toddaid* on this interpretation would be between the words on beat 3 of the first musical line and on either beat 3 or 4 of the following line, beat 4 being the most common. It would seem to have been a rule that all 4 beats of the first musical line be occupied. Here is a fairly standard example, which employs *sain* in both parts of the line: -

Oercal -	on dan	fron	o	fraw	--	a -llwyn-in	
Am fren -in	dder -	win	ddôr,	A -ber	-	ffraw.	

Both *sain* and *traws* - essentially 3-beat structures - were commonly used in the pre-rhyme portion, which has the result that the rhyme can usually comfortably occupy beat 3. Quite commonly, if the symmetry of

TODDAID HIR

The syllable-count dictates that this structure is interpreted in the same way as the *toddaid*, except that it could well have been a rule that the second line had all 4 main beats occupied, never only 3, thereby creating a greater distinction between *toddaid hir* and *toddaid* than mere density of syllables in the second part of the line. Such an arrangement would be associated with the tendency more marked in the *toddaid hir* to have not one but two cross-rhyming words in the second line, the first occupying main beat 1 and the second occupying main beat 2.

This can usually be implemented without conflicting with the symmetry of *cynghanedd*, but there are occasional exceptions: -

	L	l	a	w	n	-	i	a	i	t	h		b	e	r	-	f	f	a	i	t	h	l	l	e		b	y	c	h		--		y	n	f	o	d	-	l	a	w	n	,
	L	l	i	d	-	l	a	w	n	,	l	l	e	w		c	r	e	u	l	-	a	w	n	,		l	l	e		y		c	w	e	r	-	y	l	-	y	c	h	.

Here the *cynghanedd* of the second line would be most symmetrical if it were possible to set it to 3 beats, but the last phrase requires to be spread over 2 beats not 1.

CYHYDEDD HIR

Here again the structural internal rhymes must be expected to occupy main beats. It could have been the rule that the cross-rhyme is between the words occupying beats 2 and 4 of the first musical line and beat 2 of the second. It might also have been a rule that both lines have 4 beats occupied, with the final rhyme in the word on beat 4 of the second line. Certainly all instances of the first line require 4 beats, and most instances of the second line require 4 beats also, although, as with the *toddaid*, it is not certain that this was necessarily so. It is interesting that in the *gwawdodyn* form the *cyhydedd hir* and the *toddaid*

Were interchangeable as components, so it would be odd if they were shaped very differently from one another.

Here is a setting of some lines of *cyhydedd hir*: -

Yn	llwyr		deg	-	wchnef		yn		llawr		bachell	-	dref						
y	lle	y	byd		dol	-	ef		bob		ny	-	dol	-	ic				
A	llu				o	-	ger	-	eint		a	-	llyn		tramed	-	weint		
	a	-	llewych	-u	breint				bro		hil		Meu	-	ric				
A	llaw	-er			kerd	-	awr		a	-	llaw	-	en	-	gryth	-	awr		
	a	-	llewen	-	yd	mawr		ywch		llawr				llith-ric					
A	llef		gan		dan	-	neu		a		llif			gwirod	-	eu			
a	-llau	-ar			gerd	-eu			gor	-	dyf	-	ned	-	ic	¹⁷			

Here all the even-numbered musical lines are comfortable on 4 beats, although the first of them might arguably be spread across only 3.

Incidentally, the natural stresses in this example are interesting, as it contains several 4-syllable words: 'gordyfnedic' where the natural stress is placed on a main beat but the *cynganedd* accent is on the first syllable, and 'allewychu' and 'allewenydd' where the intensive prefix 'a-' has been used rather than the conjunction 'a', apparently to allow these words to occupy main beat 1 without involving wrenched accent or displacing the accenting of the *cymeriad*. The result is that the stressed penult of both words has to occupy medial beat c, not a main beat. Yet in performance it may have been that the penults were stressed more strongly than the first syllables (as they are in speech);

¹⁷ This passage, by Dafydd Bach ap Madawg Wladaidd (Sypyn Cyfeiliog), is of great interest because it speaks of "great joy on the slippery floor", which must be an early reference to dancing, or at least playing rowdy games, accompanied by the *crwth*. The implications for rhythm are discussed in Part 6 of this work.

so these could have been examples where syllables placed on main beats were not the most strongly stressed in the line. I reiterate that stress accents and beats do not have to be synonymous, nor do they have to coincide with one another (see p. 41 above). The need to place these quite lightly-stressed syllables on main beats does not imply that in performance they would have borne accentual stress.

CLOGYRNACH

Here I suspect that the length of the vocal lines (whether 3- or 4-beat) was not the distinctive characteristic of the metre. The sections comprise 8, 8, 5, 5, 3 and 3 syllables metrically, and musically I read the metre as 8, 8, 10 and 6. But however one divides it musically, there will be profound differences in the syllable-count between the musical lines, significantly greater than the differences which for other metres I have taken as indicators of different vocal line-lengths. This leads me to interpret the differences in syllable-count here as indication that this metre was distinguished by varying density of syllables in performance.

If the vocal line-length is to be kept constant (to allow the varying density to be the prime feature without being obscured), this has to be held at 4 beats because of the length of the 8 and 10 syllable lines. The first two sections after the pair of 8-syllable lines, of 5 syllables each, occupy the third musical line, with the rhyming words on beats 2 and 4. The last two sections, of 3 syllables, occupy the fourth musical line, with the word on beat 2 rhyming with those on beats 2 and 4 of the third line, and the final rhyming word of the stanza occupying beat 4. Thus it would be set: -

Rhupunt byr, with a 12-syllable line would require a 6-beat line for the delivery to be continuous, and interestingly enough some rare parts of the MS. can most easily be resolved into 6-beat lines, particularly the whole of the short piece 'Y Ddigon y Droell', which from its patterning can be further sub-divided 2 + 4. It is comparatively very short, comprising just 7 'lines', (divided 2 + 2 + 3), which may be significant as this may be referred to in the line: -

Saith erddigan dan y dail

- seven *erddiganau* under the leaves (of vellum/parchement/paper). The implication is that if this form was used to accompany poetry in *rhupunt byr*, this poetry would have been organised in stanzas of 7 lines. The possibilities regarding the functions of the *erddigan* form are examined in Part 7 of this work, on REPERTORY, and certainly accompaniment is amongst them.

Rhupunt hwyaf, with a long line of 20 syllables, would require a 10-beat line, and I have not detected any part of the music text of the MS. which can most easily be resolved as 10-beat. But on the precedent of 6-beat lines we must expect that 10-beat ones did exist in the repertory.

HOMOGENEITY WITHIN A POEM

Cywydd poems, in using one metre throughout, lack the metrical variety so exploited by *awdl* poems, which change metre every few lines. This is such a strong contrast that one has to ask how it could come about that such complexity be superseded by such regularity. Of course there are many reasons, not the least of which is the built-in variation in stress between the ends of *cywydd* lines. But this study is revealing a greater rhythmic factor.

As we have seen, the use of 3-beat *cynganedd* structures in the *cywydd*

dictates that the length of each line of a *cywydd* be variable, stretching across either three or four main beats according to the *cynganedd*. This variability in line-length creates great rhythmic interest, and provides sufficient variety to avoid this metre, which was used so accumulatively, becoming tedious.

The *awdl* poems clearly did not need to rely on contrasting line-length, as contrasting metre - essentially involving changing the positions of internal rhyme - was the main means of ensuring variety. The presence of 3-beat *awdl* lines should be put into this perspective; if they were necessary, they were not strongly so. There may well be many *awdlau* and early *englynion* which did not employ them at all, especially if integral symmetry of *sain* should not be adopted as an important cue. And whereas the interpretation of *cynganedd llusg* adopted here - a subtle lingering - has to be appropriate for the *cywydd* (a longer lingering to beat 4 would disturb the stress patterning of the line-ends), perhaps in *awdlau* the *llusg* was prolonged enough to carry the last syllable onto beat 4. For without these two indications, there is seldom much evidence that 3-beat lines were used in *awdlau*, and at the least in many poems all the lines may have been 4-beat.

The later *cywydd* period, from about 1500, predominantly uses 4-beat structures, especially *cynganedd groes*, so that much of the rhythmic contrast of the earlier period, with high usage of *sain* and *llusg*, was lost. Possibly this is a reflection of a shift in emphasis away from *cerdd dafod* as an oral medium towards being a literary medium, as certainly composition became more intricate and challenging whilst performance appears to have become easier and less interesting.

VI. EVALUATION

Having demonstrated that it is technically viable to set the poetry to the rhythmic scheme, in terms of the thirteen points outlined, with the three small qualifications, in the chapter on Technical Matching (pp. 24-5), I proceeded to incorporate the main metrical features of the poetry. This was done in order to accentuate them, as was argued is necessary both to account for their existence and to achieve an artistically sophisticated result.

It is encouraging that the rhythmic scheme is capable of this, as the intricacy of the metrics is such that the accentuation of them is a demanding task. Yet this was achieved without great difficulty, which is reflected in the ease with which the settings can be delivered, resulting in a compact delivery with an evenness not far removed from that of speech, and a smoothness which excels that of speech in spite of the percussiveness of the consonants. An important consequence of the full application of measured rhythm is that memorization is enhanced.

Equally it is encouraging that the translation of aurally abstract metrics into readily detectable rhythmic features results in manifestly meaningful art: - meaningful in terms of the contrast between a ground of regular repetitions and figures of apparently contrived variation of repetition - in addition to the less sophisticated contrast between repetitions and the introduction of new material. The main contrived asymmetries are the syncopations, particularly of the *cynganedd*, the variations in the density of syllables in the line, and the variations in the line length.

The exploration of the aesthetics of the resulting art as an aural craft is a rather separate exercise from the attempt to discover the rhythmic significance of each metrical feature. I have been concerned primarily

to take some account of the complexity of the metrical features in order to produce methods for settings which yield a result which qualifies as sophisticated art, and this in turn in order to validate the reconstruction of the instrumental music. In doing so, I hope at least to have introduced the subject of the rhythmic significance of the metrical features. Much more can be done, particularly where there is a potential dilemma in assigning priority to *cymeriad*, *cynganedd* and *prifodl*.

As an example, I will take the extract by Gruffudd ap Maredudd quoted by Eurys Rowlands¹⁸ as a complex example of *sain* -

- 1 kyt vryt vrwydyr glwyf rwyf ruon dewred
- 2 kiwdawt ffawt ffynnyant varant vawred
- 3 kiriet ket kadyrblas gwanas gwned
- 4 kor dor yor eurwyrd kyrd kynnadled
- 5 kar dar dewrvryt gryt greidyawl dewred
- 6 koryf toryf lloryf lliaws o draws drossed

Lines 1 & 5 contain what could be termed *sain ddwbl bengoll*. In line 1 the two *sain* structures do not join in a central pivotal word. In lines 4 & 6 the first structure consists of *sain deirodl*. Despite these complications, the whole passage can be set so that the internal symmetry argued to be appropriate for *sain* can be implemented throughout. But, in so doing, the sustained *cymeriad llythrennol*: 'k' cannot be maintained consistently on main beat a - it has to be placed on the preceding medial beat c for line 6 and it would help if the same was done for line 1. The alternatives then are to sacrifice the internal symmetry of at least one *sain* structure, or create a syncopation for one

¹⁸ In 'Cynganedd, Metre, Prosody', *A Guide to Welsh Literature, Vol. 2*, p. 215.

or two of the *cymeriad* words. Neither option is totally unsatisfactory, so an overflow of the rhythmic scheme is not threatened, but I suspect in this sort of case either the *cymeriad* or the *sain* had consistent priority. Arguments for both can be made, and I favour not syncopating the *cymeriad*, but it is an example of a complex issue which needs to be examined in depth.

It is necessary to set what has been arrived at here into the context of other proposed and potential models of rhythmic delivery. Usually the problem has been approached from the direction of the internal evidence of the verse, without taking account of the historical and textual evidence concerning accompaniment. An exception which may have some bearing on Welsh practice was the use of Bunting's 'Lamentation of Deirdre for the Sons of Usneach' by John Purser for a setting of the verse text from the Glen Massan MS.¹⁹ Sir John Morris-Jones extended the isochronous beats proposal of J. Glyn Davies in respect of the *cywydd* (quoted in full above) to the whole corpus, including final-stress settings for the early poetry. James Travis proposed the same for early Irish poetry also, with some reference to his perception of the rhythm of the MS.²⁰ Terence McCaughey (cited below, p. 43) had no doubt of the same in respect of the high medieval Irish poetry.

¹⁹ Purser, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-74. Adhering as it does to the rhythm of Bunting's text, the setting cuts across all the verse metrics, has no strong relationship to speech timing and includes wrenched accent. It may be that the accuracy and precision of Bunting's source or transcription has to be questioned, or more likely, as John Purser points out (p. 73) in respect of another piece, the transcription is an 'average' which relates to no stanza exactly, and needs further arrangement.

²⁰ Travis, James: *Early Celtic Versecraft* (Shannon, 1973), p. 15ff. His claim (p. 16) to decipherment of the tablature has not withstood the scrutiny of subsequent contributors. Concerning his work *Miscellanea Musica Celtica*, (New York, 1968), it has to be added that his assertions concerning the rhythms of the MS. text (pp. 4-7) are unsupported.

These explorations were only part-mensural in that they did not extend to the syllables intervening between those placed on these isochronous beats. The most detailed examination of these was by Travis, who appears to have come down in favour of a flexible treatment of them. The flexible model he proposed, although designed for early Celtic verse in general, could not apply to high medieval Welsh verse because it centres on the treatment of words containing stresses in adjacent syllables, which do not occur in Welsh.

It is interesting to speculate what contributors would have come up with had they felt the need for full mensuration, working from just the internal evidence of the verse in combination with natural speech rhythm. The aim would probably have to be to discover the most compact scheme possible without the serious distortion of syllable-length encountered in J. Glyn Davies's model. As it appears from the point of view of the verse, it is probably not essential to arrive at a single model for all verse forms, so I suspect that one model could be derived for the *cywydd* and *esgyll*, and another, less compact, for all the other measures. I think that the latter would need to be the same as the scheme used here, as it does not seem that a more compacted one could be derived without unacceptable distortion or wrenched accent.

There is of course no limit in theory to the number of models which are less compact. The least extended of these would probably be one which extended the line to 5 beats - such an extension would loosely approximate the 'prose'-style modern delivery, which commonly employs a long pause to segregate lines.

So without taking into account any reconstruction of the accompaniment music, it can be seen that there is a range of possibilities. Marged

Haycock²¹ stated quite rightly that 'it would certainly be unwise to take it for granted' that musical accompaniment of the early poetry was isochronous, and if there was reason to suppose that it was not, then the problem of performance would really be quite insoluble.

Fortunately the position with the instrumental music is very different from this. There is an absolute need to derive a single rhythmic scheme²², there is conclusively weighty evidence that this was fully mensural, and further there is strong evidence that the joint performance was basically synchronised around isochronous beats. It appears that this cuts the options for accompanied vocal performance down to the sole scheme used here, and that this would be one of the main contenders (for the *awdl* and *paladr* at least) even if the textual evidence of the MS. was disregarded. This is the value of the exercise in rhythmic matching described here in respect of the poetry.

It necessitates a change of perspective in the study of the poetry, and each aspect of the study may benefit from an adjustment to a more focussed, precise approach to its rhythm in performance.

Having, then, established the viability of the scheme as a strong possibility for the performance of the verse, it is then sound to use the established match as an opportunity to extrapolate back to the instrumental music, to verify or modify various aspects of the reconstruction of it: -

²¹ Haycock, Marged: 'Metrical Models for the Poems in the Book of Taliesin', *Early Welsh Poetry: Studies in the Book of Aneirin*, ed. Roberts, Brinley F., (Aberystwyth, 1988), p. 162.

²² This was established in the METHODOLOGY Part of this work. The main difference between the instrumental music and the verse here is that whereas the instrumental corpus is bound together both within and between pieces by duplicated material, the verse compositions are bound together only by duplicated formulae for composing material - i.e. the metrics.

1) Tempo. A top limit is placed on tempo for the performance of the verse, by what is practically possible to articulate clearly and by the necessity to draw breath. The first point will be significant for particularly an amusing narrative *cywydd* such as 'Trafferth mewn Tafarn', and the limit would be about 115-120 main beats per minute. Presumably an elegiac *awdl* would need to be delivered very much slower than this for the sake of contrast. If it is to be imitative, the range of the instrumental music would be the same, and this would tend then to be often very much slower than the tempo that it is possible to play the instrumental music at, and because the note-density of the line is slightly less in general than the syllable-density, it may well be that much of the instrumental music is rather empty or light on notes per minute.

The drawing of breath becomes a constraint on tempo in the denser lines of poetry, especially in the *hir a toddaid* metre, which was not uncommonly used in an accumulative way. Here a slow delivery enables breath to be drawn at one or two places per line; a fast delivery precludes this. It is important here to note that the delivery must have been well-projected to be clear, and it may have been loud also to compete with the instruments. The 'piercing loud' mentioned in the extract quoted below from Maurice Kyffin may not have been entirely a rhetorical exhortation, perhaps this was standard for eulogy. So unless there were frequent brief instrumental interludes, the *hir a toddaid* would need to be delivered either very slowly or at a moderate tempo in a rather staccato fashion. In turn this has broad implications for the tempo of the instrumental music.

2) The timing of long and short beats. The natural length of syllables in speech and the function of particular poems must dictate the precise

relationship between the length of syllables placed on main beats and the syllables placed immediately before them, i.e. the musical interpretation of verse. The match does give some confirmation of the interpretation of the instrumental music that the note immediately before the beat was shorter than that on it.

3) Percussiveness. The percussiveness of the consonances, the possibility of staccato delivery and absence of sustained prolongations of vowels all point to emphatic articulation in the expression of the instrumental music. This does not necessarily imply a heavy attack, as the use of brays (at least for accompaniment), the nails and *tagiadau* etc. are adequate in combination with a moderate attack. The importance of percussive aspects will be explored in the following chapter.

4) The length of metrical units. The success of the match of the short verse line to the standard digital unit is a strong indicator that the interpretation of the length of the latter is correct. It would be very odd indeed if these basic units could only be matched with one twice or half the length of the other. However, if the *clymau cytgerdd* were indeed used as accompaniment, there appears to be substantial overprovision of the accompaniment, for a full *cwlwm cytgerdd* piece is much longer than any extant poem in the total of its units. There are several viable explanations: -

- a) The number of *englynion* in the extant *gostegion* is usually substantially less than the theoretical total of 12. Perhaps the number of *ceinciau* in the MS. - 24 - is a theoretical maximum that was seldom played. The interpretation of the 13 or 14 basic *ceinciau* amongst the 24 as the 13 or 14 *prif geinciau* supports this proposition.
- b) There may have been instrumental interludes.

c) It may have been that a poem was repeated. This is suggested by the use of *cyngogion* to bind together the first and last lines of a poem. It is noteworthy that in *dán díreach* a similar effect was produced by the compulsory use of *dunadh*. In connection with this, texts which append the opening words would be highly significant.

Conversely the two short *cainc* pieces in the MS. are much shorter than any poems except short or single *englynion*, and if these pieces were used as accompaniment then it must have been that they were repeated, as there is no indication that they were developed.

5) Phrasing. The success of the match also extends to the length of phrasing. Because the phrasing patterns of the poetry are known, it is possible to test whether the interpreted phrasings of the reconstruction of the instrumental music are of the same order of length, and indeed this is the case. Following on from this it is possible to use the characteristic patterns of syntax and rhetoric in the poetry as a basis for the expressive treatment of the reconstructed music text. This is a very valuable opportunity, to be used in conjunction with the evidence on the specific function of pieces and on the general artistic ethos.

Only after such a complex synthesis has been achieved, by the performing community, in conjunction with each of the probable options concerning modes of vocal delivery, would it be possible to appreciate and evaluate the overall artistic effect of both crafts and of both in combination.

VII. MODES OF VOCAL DELIVERY

As we have seen in Chapter II on Repertory, the *cywydd* at least was accompanied by stringed music. J. Glyn Davies pointed out uses of the word 'cywyddoliaeth' in musical contexts,²³ and these imply singing, so it may have been that the *cywydd* forms, in contrast to the *englyn* and *awdl*, were sung. Descriptions of verse performance in Wales and Ireland, written in English, use 'song' etc. but also 'pronounce': -

My song, and my voyce, and my harpe doth agree Andrew Borde (1547)

Penceirddiaid, play on Auncient Harp, and Crowde:

Atceiniad, sing her prayes pearcing lowd. Maurice Kyffin²⁴

He brings with him also his Harper, who please all the while
that the raker sings the ryme.²⁵

The Bards having first had the Composition from him, got it well
by Heart, and now pronounc'd it orderly, keeping even Pace with
a Harp, ...²⁶

Unless it be these, there are no clear indicators of whether vocal performance was pitched or unpitched or both. The precise meaning of the verbs *canu* and more commonly *datganu* / *atganu* which were used to denote vocal performance is unknown. The latter verb is formed from the intensive prefix *dat-* / *at-* and *canu*, and it is tempting to think its

²³ *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.

²⁴ The Blessedness of Brytaine (London, 1587).

²⁵ Thomas Smyth: *Information for Ireland*; see Hore, 'Irish Bardism in 1561', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, 6 (1858), pp. 165-167.

²⁶ Clanricarde Memoirs (1722); quoted in Breathnach, Breandan: *Folk Music and Dances of Ireland* (Dublin, 1971), p. 20; and see Hore, *op. cit.*. I draw attention again to the significance of this passage - that in this context the presentation must have been co-ordinated by full mensuration.

formation may loosely parallel that of *tvisöngur* (twinsong) in Old Norse and *discantus* in Latin (see 'descant' discussed below), perhaps in the sense of polyphony, although this would not be appropriate in the case of solo delivery with staff accompaniment. There is no element of twinning intrinsic to *dat-* however, and it was 'cerdd' rather than 'canu' that was treated in this way in Welsh, to form 'y ddwygerdd' - which describes the two crafts *tafod* and *tant* - and also very interestingly 'dwyran cerddoriaeth' - two-part music: -

Cân blaenswng a phricswng ffraeth,
Cywir ddwyran cerddoriaeth. Huw Ceiriog

A common modern use of '*datganu*' is 'to declare', and this may be relevant because it may parallel 'declare' in its formation - the prefix *de-* being used here in the intensive sense of 'completely', coupled with the Latin *clarus*, hence 'completely clear'. I note that the Grammars stressed that *datganiad* must be clear (*eglur*). So perhaps it was used, in some contexts, to denote a declarative style of vocal delivery, or a declamatory one, which enabled a clarity of diction to be achieved beyond what could be achieved in *caniad* - possibly a more musical delivery where articulation is partly obscured. The exact parallel of 'declare' was '*datglario*' however.

Certainly '*datganu*' was used as a contrasting term to '*canu*', which had a wider application than '*datganu*', and which, then as now, was used to describe the act of vocal delivery as well as playing a musical instrument, and apparently also both simultaneously. In one triad it appears the two terms were used in contrast to one another: -

Tair prifgerdd dafawd yssydd: prydv, dadkanv, a chanv gan dant.

A related triad is: -

Teir prifgerd tauawt ysyd: prydu, a dachanu, a chanu gan delyn.

From the context of these triads it is probable that three quite discrete categories or aspects of *cerdd dafod* are being itemized: composition, performance without stringed accompaniment, and performance with stringed accompaniment. Most properly then, as here, the terms '*datganu*' and '*canu*' could be used for different circumstances. Because here the absence (by default) and the presence of stringed accompaniment are expressed, it cannot be to denote these differing circumstances that the different terms are used, so the only possible explanation of their use here must be that the mode of vocal delivery in each differed. Perhaps *datganu* was more musical in order to compensate for the lack of stringed accompaniment, or perhaps *canu* was more musical in order to accommodate stringed accompaniment. The latter is perhaps more likely because other triads may be equated with these in such a way that *cerddoriaeth* can be connected to *canu gan dant*, as: -

Tri pheth a beir kanmawl kerdawr, nyt amgen: dychymycvawr ystyr, ac odidawc kerdwryaeth, ac eglur datkanyat.

where the *prydu* aspect of *cerdd dafod* must have imaginative meaning, the *datganu* aspect must have clarity, and perhaps the *canu gan dant* aspect must have excellent musicality or musicianship, although this may refer to the quality of the accompaniment rather than the quality of the vocal performance.

As a contrasting term, *datganu* may parallel pairs of contrasting terms in other languages, such as *discantus* and *organum* in Latin, *kvedha* and *syngja* in Old Norse, and perhaps *carp* and *sing* in Middle English. (*Carp* is from Old Norse *karpa*, to brag, and was used sometimes to denote vocal performance with harp accompaniment.) The distinction between *kvedha* and *syngja* is significant musically in modern Iceland, *kvedha* being a much more specific term, for a traditional manner of singing in a particular style with particular melodic characteristics.

The arguments for and against the use of pitched and unpitched deliveries lie outside the scope of this work, and the advances made here have very little direct bearing on the potential debate. Because they do have strong implications for the form which unpitched and pitched delivery would have taken if each existed, I will outline here the possibilities, in the European context.

The construction here of a possible model for the rhythmic aspects of vocal delivery would supply most information that would be required for the reconstruction of unpitched declamation, if such a form of delivery was used. It does not entirely resolve the issue of stress accents because, as discussed above in the sections on stress accent (p. 41) and *cyhydedd hir* (p. 89), stress may on occasion have been independent of main beats. However, this does not present a great impediment to the reconstruction of performance.

If delivery included a mode or modes that were melodically pitched, then various constraints on the forms that they could have taken are imposed 1) by the specific rhythmic scheme presented here, 2) by the harmonic and melodic nature of the instrumental idiom in general, and 3) by the actual music texts insofar as some of these may have been identified as part of the corpus of accompaniment music. These constraints could be used in two ways - as a test of identification of actual vocal music texts, and as a guide to identifying or reconstructing the vocal idiom. I will outline the constraints.

As has been discussed before, it is highly improbable that the poetry was delivered in a melodic mode that had any resemblance, rhythmically, to the kinds of repeated airs that were used for carols etc. where the pattern of accented and unaccented vowels is repeated from line to line, or stanza to stanza. This is because such melodies do not lend

themselves to the shifting in position of syllables from line to line. It is interesting that for the same reason it is probably possible to exclude one of the rather recitative styles of delivering syllabic poetry in Scottish Gaelic, where a light but regular pattern of alternating stressed with unstressed syllables is established, partly through forced and wrenched stress accent.

It is also improbable that melodies that feature sustained vowels with musical ornament - melismata, tremolo etc. - would have been used, as vowel assonance is not the strongest feature of the verse and these ornaments (as argued in Part 4 on TECHNIQUE) were apparently not a strong feature in the instrumental music. Into this category fall some traditions of singing syllabic poetry - Icelandic *kvedha*, and some Scottish Gaelic bardic singing (e.g. that of Calum Ruadh Nicholson). One note per syllable is suggested by the equality in the densities of syllable and note distribution in the lines of poetry and music.

Also improbable are the most recitative styles of Irish and Scottish Gaelic singing of old verse, both syllabic and non-syllabic, which are unmeasured in the sense that the stressed vowels are not isochronous but move about fairly freely in the line. The possibility that this may not always have been so, and the implication that *dán* was delivered with isochronous stressed syllables is examined in an important and highly relevant paper by T. McCaughey (cited below).

As discussed before, no strong melodic unison between particular accompaniment texts and vocal delivery is anticipated, in view of the apparent rhythmic counterpoint and because of the nature of the instrumental music, which, to put it very briefly, cultivated melodic variation. Tony Conran (cited below, p. 322) argued strongly from internal evidence of the verse that the mode of delivery may have been

melodic descant which was quite independent of the accompaniment, in counterpoint and perhaps extemporized. The suggestion gains some support from analogy with the rhythmic counterpoint proposed here and the extensive melodic variation techniques displayed by the music text of the MS.²⁷

He also points out that 'descant' is referred to in poetry which may be relevant. Instances are: -

Mwyn cyffro mal teimlo tant,
Mynnu disgyn mewn desgant. Gruffudd Hiraethog

Torred ysgol tŷ'r desgant,
Torred dysg fal torri tant. Dafydd ab Edmwnd

Dysg abl cof pob disgybl cerdd,
Descant ar baradwysgerdd. Gruffudd Hiraethog

Ile i gysgv lle i ddysgv
holl glymav o ddesgant²⁸

Descant holl baradwys-gerdd Huw Arwystl

The probability of a connection with these uses of the term and English discant or descant is strengthened by instances in poems and expositions (e.g. Peniarth 147, pp. 195-197)²⁹, mainly in the context of *telyn* and *crwth* playing, where the terms *chwartrebl*, *trebl*, *mên* and *byrdwn*

²⁷ See Greenhill, Peter: 'Melodic Formulae in the Robert ap Huw MS'. - paper presented at the Symposium on the Robert ap Huw MS, Bangor, 5-7 July, 1995.

²⁸ See Parry-Williams, T.H.: *Canu Rhydd Cynnar* (1932), p. 397.

²⁹ And see: - Rees, Stephen P.: 'Welsh Vernacular Music Theory': paper presented at the Inaugural Conference of the Centre for Advanced Welsh Music Studies, (Bangor, 14.9.1994).

(sometimes *bas*) are employed. It is not clear whether all these borrowed terms are used to refer to the instrumental music alone or in combination with *cerdd dafod*, or as accompaniment to descanted plainsong³⁰ or even, in some cases, whether a purely vocal secular music is being referred to (e.g. the Huw Ceiriog passage quoted above implies that pricksong could be in two parts). It is also unclear whether they are literal descriptions or whether they are used to draw unspecific analogies - it may have been that vocal descanting extended no further than plainsong.

However, all the features of English vocal descant could have a potential bearing on the delivery of *cerdd dafod*; and some of these do seem to be rather apt: - 1) it was a method of improvisation, 2) it was measured, 3) thirds predominated. Features such as these could have been borrowed from English descant, or there may have been a vocal counterpart or antecedent in Wales to English descant, related to the polyphonic vocal music that Giraldus Cambrensis described. Apparently unaware of the existence of these borrowed terms in the literature on *cerdd dant*, James Travis discussed the possibility of connections between the traditions of Wales and England.³¹ It is worth noting that folk traditions of secular vocal polyphony have emerged as having been widespread through Europe, in mountainous regions.

There may, then, be a case for using the principles of English descant as a model for a reconstruction of the vocal line of *cerdd dafod*, treating the instrumental accompaniment as a sort of *cantus firmus*.

³⁰ Although there is some evidence to suggest that the music of the organ was similar to *cerdd dant*, mention of the instrument in the context of part-music does call Church music to mind: - mein y kan brif organ brudd

 men a threbl mwyn y thrabludd ? Madog Benfras

³¹ Travis, James: *Miscellanea Musica Celtica*, (New York, 1968), pp. 48-63.

Any pitched delivery with instrumental accompaniment would need to be harmonically structured according to the rules of the measure system. I re-iterate that the musical lines of the length used here comprise one digit each, and that if the measure system was implemented in a short form in addition to this, then a musical line could comprise two digits of equal length also. Making use of the predominating distinction between *cyweirdannau* and *tyniadau*, albeit one amongst many, the sequence of a tone, it will have been that vocal melodies displayed the double-tonic strongly and abundantly. Any extant idiom of melody without it will never have been used for the poetry with instrumental accompaniment; all the pieces that are contenders for accompaniment display it. This single feature is the critical test of the appropriateness of any vocal melodic idiom.

It is clearly imperative that all prospective material is analysed in this respect before substantial advances are attempted in reconstructing melodic vocal performance. I hazard that it is very significant that the double-tonic is present in the delivery of *laoidh* (lays) in Scottish material (see John Purser, cited below, p. 72) albeit not widespread, for a number of reasons.

It is present in the right proportions, with the shift occurring at the end of lines, or couplets, not within lines. ('Manus', quoted by Purser, can be interpreted as 0011 - *tytyr bach* - the shift occurring at the end of couplets.) The *laoidh* have been traditionally delivered in the recitative manner which is associated with ambiguities in stress that result from the attempt to musically accommodate shifting natural stress in syllabic poetry. They are also associated with the performance of *dán* and thereby indirectly with instrumental accompaniment, if not directly. Some *laoidh* have been delivered with curiously formulaic melodic motifs

including, commonly, drones of up to a whole line on one reciting note and also sustained alternations of adjacent syllables on two notes. There are many parallels here with the melodic style of the instrumental music, particularly in respect of sparseness, which need to be investigated.

Professor Gwyn Thomas (cited below) has drawn attention to what must have been a need - that the words were not overwhelmed by the music. If we are envisaging a situation where there is a pitched vocal delivery of heavily ornate verse to stringed accompaniment, which is not heterophonic (unlike the custom for narrative verse across Europe and Asia) but with full and close vertical harmony, and that the two were in rhythmic counterpoint to one another and not in melodic unison, then one has to wonder - what degree of fluidity in vocal melody could be accommodated before the words are eclipsed by the music? The prominence of the verse ornamentation has to be an important factor here - it is subtle and it was highly cultivated. One would expect that it would be vulnerable to being swamped, but my experience is that it is generally quite resistant to the addition of melodic fluidity, because of the strength of the consonants. What does soon become obscured is the syncopation element of the *cynghanedd*.

Because of this, for my own part I am content at this stage with a delivery with the minimum of melodic variation i.e. an intoning on two notes a tone apart, one each for *cyweirdant* and *tyniad* respectively and alternating in the measures. This has the obvious advantage that it enables melodic delivery without needing to make speculative assumptions about what kind of melodic devices may have been used, drawing instead from the accompaniment music. It is less satisfactory, artistically, with staff accompaniment alone, for the balance of probability is that the absence of stringed accompaniment would have encouraged melodic

development, unless the delivery was unpitched and highly declamatory.

In the Gaelic areas, if the *laoidh* recitative delivery was related to or descended from that of *dán*, it must be expected that the loss of harp and *timpan* accompaniment would have been compensated for vocally. It may be that even the most fluid melodic styles of delivery recorded owe their development to such compensation. Certainly it is important to emphasize that all transcriptions and recordings of the recitative styles are of unaccompanied performance.

Here is a select bibliography relating to vocal performance, most of which relates to the Gaelic recitative styles, which arguably are best evidenced in material other than *laoidh*.

Breathnach, Padraig A.: 'A Musical Link between Dán and Amhrán', *Ceól* IV (4), pp. 102-109.

Bruford, Alan: 'Song and Recitation in Early Ireland', *Celtica* (1990), pp. 61-67.

Collinson, Francis: *The Traditional and National Music of Scotland*, (London, 1966), pp. 35-52, 59-63.

Conran, Anthony: *The Penguin Book of Welsh Verse*, (Harmondsworth, 1967), pp. 321-322.

Davies, J. Glyn: *Welsh Metric*, vol.i, (London, 1911), pp. 3-4, 15-17.

de Noraidh, Liam: *Ceól ón Mumhain*, (Dublin, 1965).

Gwynn, E. G.: 'The Burning of Finn's House', *Ériu* 1 (1904), pp. 34-37.

McCaughey, Terence P.: 'The Performing of Dán', *Ériu* 35 (1984), pp. 39-57.

Ó Madagáin, Breandán: 'Irish Vocal Music of Lament and Syllabic Verse',
The Celtic Consciousness, ed. Robert O'Driscoll, (Toronto, 1981), pp. 311-332.

Purser, John: *Scotland's Music*, (Edinburgh, 1992), pp. 71-74.

Shields, Hugh: *Narrative Singing in Ireland*, (Dublin, 1992), pp. 8-24.

Thomas, Gwyn: *The Caerwys Eisteddfodau*, (Cardiff, 1968), pp. 65-67.

To sum up, there appear to be four avenues that need to be explored and which are available in practice: -

- 1) Unpitched rhetorical declamation.
- 2) A pitched delivery on two reciting notes, one *cyweirdant* and the other *tyniad*.
- 3) A repeated melodic stemma. Examples could be drawn from the *laoidh* and *duan* corpus where the stemma exhibits the double-tonic, in the hope that the Welsh corpus would have been so large that there may have been areas of overlap.
- 4) Descanting, modelled on the contemporary English tradition of extemporisation.

All except the declamatory option would need to be structured using the measures, or the commonest of them, as harmonic grounds (which would be implicit in the case of staff accompaniment).

The Norse metrical terms: *málahátt*, *ljóðahátt*, *kviðahátt* imply different metres were used for different deliveries, and if the *awdl* was unpitched and the *cywydd* pitched, then perhaps the *englyn* mixed the two, the *esgyll* using 'wings' in the sense of melodic flight.

VIII. PERCUSSION

Attention has been drawn to the widespread use of various forms of syncopation, and how, if these take place in performance against a background of measured rhythm and an orderly structuring of verse metres, they become meaningful and even the most subtle of them become readily detectable aurally, instead of languishing as rather abstract literary niceties.

The unique combination arrived at here of a naturally flowing delivery with sophisticated syncopation, especially in the complex timing of the chiming phonemes, is of the standard we expect of percussionists rather than vocalists, and I tend to think of the art of the *datgeiniad* or *clerwr* as essentially the use of the tongue as a percussive instrument. Our facility with speech-delivery is such that little rehearsal of an individual poem is necessary by someone familiar with the idiom before these rhythmically-sophisticated performances can be realised. It seems that the metrics were evolved to capitalise on this natural speech facility.

We know that verse composition took place (in Scotland and Ireland at least)³² in conditions which amounted to deliberate sensory deprivation over long periods, and that the output of the poet could be enormous. Probably the size of the repertory of the vocalist was enormous too. The pressure must have been on to compose and memorize large quantities at speed, and these goals are facilitated tremendously if the idiom makes full use of both the verbal and rhythmic capacities that we have at our disposal. The rhythmic scheme provided by the interpretation of the

³² For a review of the evidence for these practices, see Williams, J. E. Caerwyn: *The Irish Literary Tradition*, (Cardiff, 1992), pp. 161-163.

instrumental music facilitates memorization and recall as well as delivery, and thereby composition also, so easily do the lines trip off the tongue.

These conditions can help account for the development of such a rhythmically sophisticated art, in which the capacity of speech-facility for sophisticated sound-patterns in musical contexts is so fully exploited. I reiterate that we should expect that the art in performance would be really impressive in terms of sophisticated cultures. This is certainly the case with the harmony of the instrumental music, and with the poetry it appears that at least the percussive aspect qualifies.

On the subject of percussion, the scheme illustrated here, although derived from my understanding of *cerdd dant*, would also be applicable to vocal performance accompanied by beating of the *pen pastwn* - the staff. It is of course possible that this was more common in public performance than stringed accompaniment. I would expect that in rehearsal and composition the time might also be beaten, perhaps by just a finger. I think it is likely, then, that measured and marked time was an integral part of *cerdd dafod*, not merely an adjunct to it for public performance with a stringed instrument.

It is worth noting that the staff would probably have had sufficient mass to preclude beating out irregular beats. It is physically possible to beat out the 4 main beats of a line with a staff, even with very fast delivery. It might be a mistake to jump to the conclusion that it was these beats that it marked. Certainly the weight of the staff gripped in the fist does not lend itself easily to broken rhythm, but it has to be considered that it might have marked the off-beats i.e. medial beats c. There is no doubt that such sophistication would be in keeping with the syncopation of the *cynganedd* against the stress accents, of the stress

accents against the tonal accents or rhymes, and of the cross-linkings and cross-rhymes against syllable position; and such a delivery would have the advantage of not obscuring the beginnings of the words on main beats (clarity of diction was important), but smoothing out the volume profile of the line (which is the effect of much percussive accompaniment, especially hand-clapping, in many Indo-European musical cultures).

Against this is the probable need (for reasons of harmony) for the stringed instruments to have stressed the main beats, and so if the staff was treated as a substitute for these then it too would have stressed the main beats.

On hard earth the staff sounds out a low, dull tone which is as much felt as heard. (Current excavations of the *llys* at Rhosyr in Môn are revealing the floor of the hall to have been of clay, at least in its later phase, and it was stone-built and slate-roofed.) It is interesting that one of the terms used for the staff was 'ffon', which is obsolete for spear.

The poetic texts provide some information on the percussive aspects of performance. Gruffudd Hiraethog uses the term 'clicia dau' - clicks - in a musical context: -

Cadwai ergyd cadeirgerdd,
Cadw cof am glicia dau cerdd.

Cadw y llais, cyda'i wellhau,
Ceudod yn llawn clicia dau;
Plethia dau'n plethu ydynt,
Pithagras un gerddflas gynt.

The first instance is in relation to *cerdd dafod* (Marwnad Siôn Brwynog), and the second less specific. It seems impossible that it is merely a

felt pulse that is being described here - the clicking must have been articulated in some way. If this was vocal, as perhaps the first quote implies, then presumably it would be the percussive aspect of the articulation of the consonants, especially the plosive ones, that was being referred to. If it was instrumental, as seems probable in the case of the second quote because of the reference to *plethiadau*, it may be the percussive aspects of the articulation of the stringed instruments that was being described. But considering both quotes together, it has to be considered that there may have been some form of percussive accompaniment other than the staff - 'clicking' is not a good description of the sound of the staff. It is more appropriate for clicking the fingers or slapping the knee, and perhaps these were used in lieu of the staff.

It will be significant that William Llŷn (himself a disciple of Gruffudd Hiraethog), amongst others, used the word in the sense of the ticking of a clock.³³ The inference is that in the musical aspect of *cerdd dafod* / *cerdd dant* there was measured rhythm in the sense of isochronous beats. Some confirmation of this can be drawn from the use of the word 'clap' in connection with *cerdd dafod*, where the 'clapping' of the tongue is used to associate the poetry with the mill: -

Cliciedau yn cloi ceudawd,

Clo pren gwern, clap breuan gwawd Llywelyn ap y Moel

It must have been that the regularity of the ticks, clicks and claps of machinery put people in mind of the delivery of the poetry, and of the instrumental music too, for Huw Ceiriog uses the term 'ticiadau' in a musical context, which does relate to the *telyn* and must describe the percussive articulation of the *plethiadau*: -

³³ In 'Englynion i Gloc Siôn Trefor'.

Ni chanodd, iawnrhodd anrheg,
 Dicedyn ar delyn deg,
 Nwyf pencerdd, mewn dwysgerdd dant
 Nas ceni yn ais ceunant.

A'r eos mewn gwyddglos gwych,
 Rwyddgras iawnbwnc ireiddgrych,
 Plethiadau, ticiadau teg,
 Pur ddwyfol, peraidd ofeg.

As a charm against the formidable Welsh rain, it may have been that a '*clap awdl*' would have been so named from the accompaniment of hand-clapping, which of course is more effective in driving cattle than just the clapping of the tongue: -

Gwna a fynnych hyd y gwlych glaw,
 Glap awdl, a'i gael ai peidiaw; Tudur Penllyn

At the very least, it is clear that the performance of the poetry had an important percussive dimension. It may have been that this stood in place of the melodic dimension that we are accustomed to associate with the performance of lyrics, either in part or wholly. In view of this it would surely be unwise to insist on an elaborate melodic delivery.

IX. OTHER VERSE

CANU RHYDD

If indeed this poetry without strict *cynganedd* was largely composed by the *clerwyr*, who as performers are more closely associated with instrumental accompaniment than are the *prydyddion*, then there would be reason to suppose that it too would have been accompanied, and perhaps more often than the strict-metre poetry. So there are grounds for expectation that the *canu rhydd* would also be imitative of the instrumental music, and this perhaps more closely than the strict-metre poetry. And indeed the *canu rhydd* can be carried by the same rhythmic scheme, and the same principles can be used for setting this poetry, except that *cynganedd* is less available and natural stress patterns are more available as indicators.

The variability of syllable-count necessarily results in a closer imitation, because the instrumental music is not governed by the number of notes in the line - i.e. it is not 'syllabic'. The number of notes in a line often falls into repeating and sustained patterns, rather like the number of syllables in composite *awdlau*, but we have no evidence that this was systemised or codified in any literal imitation of the *awdl* measures. The note variability is most closely reminiscent of the syllable variability in much of the *canu rhydd*.

The variability in the timing of the notes, from line-to-line in the music, is very close indeed in both corpora of poetry. On average, the resemblance is closest in the *canu rhydd* where there is a slight tendency to sustain patterns from line-to-line. However, those poems in free metre that sustain patterns throughout, i.e. that appear to be truly stress-accentual, are entirely uncharacteristic of the instrumental music. This does not mean that they were accompanied by a

different kind of music, such as that used for carols, as Padraig Breathnach (cited above) has argued strongly that in seventeenth century Ireland, *amhran* verses could not have been sung to the kind of airs known today.

Settings in the free metres would follow the example of the above settings for their counterparts amongst the strict measures.

HENGERDD

Many of the above points concerning the *canu rhydd* also apply to the *hengerdd*, especially the variability in syllable-count. Again, matching is possible because syllables can comfortably be selected to fall on main beats without more than three unstressed syllables intervening. This is true working not only on the basis of penult stress accent, which would presumably be true of late medieval performance, and arguably may be true of the composition of much of the corpus,³⁴ but also on the basis of final accent (either stress or tonal), which may have applied to original composition of the whole corpus.³⁵

Adopting the concept that many of the strict measures were evolved from antecedents in the *hengerdd* corpus, settings of these poems would follow the example of their counterparts amongst the strict measures, and for this purpose I use the classification of the *hengerdd* measures propounded by T. Gwyn Jones³⁶. The existence of 3-line stanzas in profusion, and 6-beat lines less commonly, has been discussed above in Chapter V on Verse Metrics. The quasi- or proto-*rhupunt* poems need to

³⁴ As for example the Gododdin - see Sweetser, *op. cit.*, pp. 139-154.

³⁵ See Haycock, Marged: *op. cit.*, pp. 155-177; and Morris-Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 131-142.

³⁶ *op. cit.*, pp. 265-268.

be carefully analysed in terms of the number of beats per line³⁷, as really authentic examples of 4- and 6-beat lines mixed together in the same poem would be strong evidence against stringed accompaniment - the instrumental music as interpreted here does not appear to really mix them. The great difficulty here is that stanzaic division and line division are often not clearly defined, and of course this in itself suggests that stringed accompaniment, particularly by collaboration, may not have been widespread.

Tony Conran (cited in the bibliography above, pp. 318-319) observes that from the twelfth century if not before, a change towards a regularity of 4-line structures took place, which he associates with the possibility of Irish influence on the musical aspect of performance and composition. This point alone is sufficient to establish the possibility that presentation before this period may have been very different from that which followed. For reasons such as this I think it would be a mistake to assume that, because it is possible for this scheme to carry most of the work of the *cynfeirdd*, performance in the early medieval period was similar to that of later periods.

VERSE OUTSIDE WALES

I hold that the essence of *cynganedd gytsain* in performance is the percussiveness of consonance amongst the consonants that surround stressed vowels. In those languages where, unlike Welsh, stress patterns tend to fall on the first syllable of words, a similar, albeit simpler, relationship between consonance and stressed vowels can be established by alliteration. Again the effect will be percussive where the delivery

³⁷ Using the same kinds of methods as used here for the high medieval verse, especially in respect of internal rhyme and final rhyme in *rhupunt* measures.

is measured, and particularly so if any music remotely like *cerdd dant*, or the staff, were used as accompaniment. It may well have been the case that Welsh verse was one of a whole family of verse traditions which all shared this percussive effect in performance. Heavy alliteration, not necessarily structural, would be the main indicator here, and the absence of *cynganedd gytsain* would not be a really significant factor - without it syncopation of the percussive effect of consonance cannot be as subtle but it can still exist (by the placement of alliteration off main beats occasionally). So here I propose to examine the context in which, as a performing art, *cerdd dafod* occurred, by evaluating the extent to which this rhythmic scheme could be capable of carrying heavily alliterative verse, irrespective of whether it was syllabic or not.

In Irish syllabic verse, the same density and spacing patterns of the syllables obtains, and again lines of appropriate length can be derived, but the scheme has to be modified if natural speech rhythm is to be closely approximated, in order to accommodate the timing of polysyllabic words. An extra syllable position needs to be inserted at, or shortly before, the point mid-way between each main beat and the following medial beat b, as in this setting for an example of *casbhairdne*, where it would be structural at the end of each line for trisyllabic words: -

	Comh	-tha			ó	Thráigh				Lí		ad			leanamhain,									
is	í		an		táin					do	thoghabhair;													
	Fos	- dar			h'each	ar				ar-adhain														
	d'Fhosdadh				creach					re	comhadhaibh.													

There are opportunities for instances of notes being timed this way in the music text, but they are not common, and there is no necessity for

However, in the Welsh poetry such circumstances are infrequent. Trisyllabic words with the stress on the first syllable are of course so common in Irish that the Irish poetry is fundamentally different in its natural rhythms, as reflected here in the modification to the scheme. An example of a poem in *deibhidhe* - the most popular of the metres - is included in the Appendix.

Another important exception to the similarities between Irish and Welsh metres concerns syllable density in the line. The first line of stanzas in *deibhidhe ghairid* and *rannaigheacht ghairid* metres was shortened from 7 to 3 syllables, and there is no parallel to this in the Welsh metres. Here presumably main beats 3 and 4 were vocal rests. Other examples of shortened lines exist which suggest that beats 1 and 2 of some lines might have been vocal rests (in *snéadh bhairdne*). This is probably an important indicator that instrumental accompaniment, which would no doubt have served to sustain these relatively substantial vocal rests, was more integral to the Irish verse.

Syllabic Old Norse poetry can set using the same modifications as for the Irish, but as a whole the corpus is further removed again from the Welsh idiom because of the tendency to use less syllables in the line (for example *dróttkvætt* - the most used of the skaldic metres - uses only six with the last unstressed). This might be indication of a musical line of three main beats, but the ornaments used strongly imply that polysyllabic words were often delivered over more than one beat, and because of this the poems are most comfortable on the same modified 4-beat scheme as the Irish poems, with a similar tendency for poetic lines to occupy three and four beats alternately.

The typical 4-stress Anglo-Saxon line, which was accompanied, is

c	d	1	b	c	d	2	b	c	d	3	b	c	d	4	b
A!		dam	-	sell	full	dere,	with	your	derf-fe				word	-ys,	
What		lure	is	of	my	lyfe	and	I	lyffe				here:	I	
hope	ye	found		me	to	fere	and	my	faith				breike;		
And	if	des	-	tiny	me	dem-ys,	hit	is	dere				welcum,	Or	
it	were	k-now-en	in		my	con - try	and		cos - tis				a -bout,		
That	I	faint	-	ly	shuld	fle and	the		fight				leve,	A-	
mong	k	-night	-	es	a	-ccounted			cow - ard				forev - er;		
Me	were	lev - er	here		lefe	and	my	life					tyne	Than	
as	a	lur -	ker		to	lyve	in	ylke	a	lond			af - ter.		
I	wole	put		me	to	per - ell	and	my	payn -e				thole,		
Do	my	dev - er	if		I	dar,	and	for	no	deth -e			wonde.	For	
ych - e	wise		man		of	wit,			that	wil -fully			het - is		
An - y	dede		for		to	do,	and		dern -ly				a -vow - es,		
Shuld	chose		hym		by	chaunce	to		chaunge	out			of	lyve,	
Ere	he	fayne		an - y	faintes	and	be	fals					hal - dyn		

It can be argued that a 5-beat musical line is suitable here, but I doubt it because:-

- 1) A caesura which is sufficient for drawing breath has become established before main beat 4, and although it appears here to compensate almost as much for the erosion of a central caesura as for the line-break, elsewhere often it does not.
- 2) Poems exist where lines shaped like those above are interspersed amongst more numerous lines where there is a strong line-break.

In relation to point 1) the caesura before main beat 4 does appear as a feature, uncommonly, in the Welsh verse, mainly in the fuller 9- and 10-syllable lines. This is illustrated, if the internal symmetry of *sain* is to be maintained, in this example from the Gododdin (A-Text 31), which

can be set for performance with penult stress thus: -

gwyr	a	grys	-	syass-ant				bu	-	ant.....	gyt	-neithoed-yl				
vyrr	-yon			medwon	uch			med		hid	-	leit.			
gos	-	gord		vynydd	-	awcenw	-	awcen		reit.					
gwerth	eu			g-wled	o	ved		vu		eu	heneit.				

The gaps marked '...' are available for drawing breath, and this seems to be a deliberate intention - for example in the third line, where the *sain* forces an accent on the preposition 'en-'.

Pauses in this position result in an accentuation of the final word of the line, and the fact that in Welsh poetry such pauses never became as established as they did in Middle English probably reflects the lack of any need to add extra weight to the end-words - with endrhyme they are already strongly weighted.

In the Appendix I provide a setting of 'Annot and John' from the Harley Lyrics which illustrates these points. The poem is interesting in that it may have originated in the Marches and it sustains endrhyme and cross-links on change of rhyme (towards the end of stanzas). It appears to have some relationship to the *awdl*.³⁹

Some idea of the relative stateliness of the Welsh rhythms can be gained by comparing 'Annot and John' with this setting of an *englyn* in English (with Welsh orthography) by Ieuan ap Hywel Swrdwal (c.1470): -

³⁹ I am grateful to Tony Conran for drawing the poem to my attention on these counts.

	Kwin				od		off		owrGod,		owr		geid	-	ing
	mw	-	dyr,						maed	-yn	not	-	withstanding,		
hwowed				syts		wyth	a	ryts					ring		
as God				wod		ddys		gwd					wed	-	ing.

The lines have *sain*, *cytsain bengoll*, *sain* and *croes* respectively, set in a standard way according to the principles adopted here. Apart from 'ddys' (this) in the last line, it lacks the syncopations that *cynganedd* usually involves.

For the purpose of broadening the understanding of *cerdd dafod* in performance, I do not think it would be useful to apply these various rhythmic models to contemporary poetry which was not heavily alliterative, such as troubadour verse for example.⁴⁰

However, insight into how this heavily alliterative verse, capable of measured rhythm with a strongly percussive result, was viewed from without as a distinctive idiom, can be gleaned from Chaucer's use of it for battle-scenes only⁴¹ - it clearly was seen by him as a martial form of poetry, and this is in keeping with our understanding of the context of the origins of the Welsh poetry.

In connection with this it is notable that some Old French *chansons de geste*, including La Chanson de Roland, employ alliteration frequently enough to be considered in relation to the martial percussiveness of

⁴⁰ I note that these models do appear to offer technically possible alternatives to the rhythmic modes ultimately derived from the classical quantitative model which are applied to the verse of the Continental minstrels, who were composing in languages with accentual-stress.

⁴¹ The Knight's Tale 2599-2614; The Legend of Good Women (Cleopatra) 634-649. These passages are very amenable to being set to the modified scheme.

rhythmic settings.

The connection between heavy alliteration and the rhythmic settings proposed for these different verse traditions is such that a re-assessment of affiliations between them may be required; one which places stronger emphasis on alliteration than former examinations have done.⁴² Certainly it is essential to take as full account as possible of the aural impact of structural and ornamental metrical features in reconstructed performance. In so far as it has not been possible to reconstruct the performance of many of these traditions, the MS. offers the potential to make significant advances. I hope that here some of that potential has been realised.

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⁴² See Travis, *op. cit.*, p. 118ff for an overview centred on Welsh and Irish verse.

APPENDIX

Example settings of six poems: -

- 1) CYWYDD: 'Marwnad Siôn Eos' - Dafydd ab Edmwnd
- 2) ENGLYNION: 'Englynion Marwnad i Lywelyn ap Gruffudd' - Bleddyn Fardd
- 3) AWDL: 'Marwnad Llywelyn ap Gruffudd' - Gruffudd ab yr Ynad Coch
- 4) DÁN DÍREACH in deibhidhe metre: 'Torchoir Ceól Cloinne Cathoil' - Tadhg Olltach Ó an Chainte (c. 1639).⁴³
- 5) SKALDIC POEM in dróttkvætt metre: 'Thórólfr' - Egill Skallagrimsson.
- 6) SECULAR LYRIC: 'Annot and John' - Anon (Harley MS. 2253)

These examples of settings are provided to demonstrate first and foremost that the Welsh verse, alone, is capable of being carried by the rhythmic scheme of the instrumental music (as reconstructed) in a way which is imitative of that music. Secondly the settings are designed to demonstrate the ways in which metrical features of the poetry such as structural rhyme and *cynganedd* can be meaningfully ordered.

In order for the rhythms to be demonstrated, the lines should be read in rhythm rather than just inspected. For this to be accurate it is probably necessary to at least subvocalize the lines rather than read them silently, and I recommend that all the beats of the full rhythmic framework of the schemes be tapped out at first to establish accuracy. Although for the elegies given here a relatively slow tempo may be appropriate,⁴⁴ I recommend a fast delivery to clearly demonstrate the

⁴³ Text and commentary are given in Sean Ua Suilleabhain and Sean Donnelly: 'Music Has Ended': The Death of a Harper', *Celtica* 22 (1991), p. 165ff.

⁴⁴ In particular, the extraordinarily harrowing 'Marwnad Llywelyn ap Gruffudd' extends repetition, mainly through *cymeriadau* and the endrhyme, to such an extent that it appears to demand a very slow delivery in order to enhance the feeling of the interminability of the disaster.

mensural aspects - if delivered slowly it becomes more difficult to maintain these. About 110 main beats per minute for the cywydd is effective, and something of the order of operatic recitative throughout. It takes some practise to get up to these speeds, and pitching the delivery helps. I recommend that the lines are intoned, for the sake of simplicity in demonstration, on two notes a tone apart alternating in simple patterns such as a couplet of musical lines (irrespective of the poetic line division) on the higher, then a couplet on the lower etc. This is the interpretation here of the main application of *tytyr bach* - 0 0 1 1 - although in reality, if the delivery was sometimes pitched, it would have used more complex measures (as indeed would be required by Annot and John with 10-line stanzas); also they may have been used in a short application (2 digits per line), and of course the delivery may well not have been confined to just two notes.

It has not been my intention in the settings to make any statement about syllabic scansion - I have placed the consonants around the vowels as has been convenient. However, in the awdl there are a number of normal syncopations of syllable-division etc. which may well have been significant in performance: -

- 1) *ddaly Aberffraw* scans as 4 syllables: the *y* of *ddaly* is consonantal not vocalic in origin, and I have set this as *yAb* - 1 syllable.
- 2) *llary* scans as 1 syllable, for the same reason.
- 3) *wedi ymdreiddiaw* scans as 4 syllables, probably *-i* and *y* were merged.
- 4) *gwedi ei adaw* scans as 4 syllables, probably *-i* and *ei* were merged.
- 5) *poni welwch* scans as 3 syllables, probably *-i* and *w* formed a diphthong or *-i* was elided.
- 6) *le y* scans as 1 syllable, probably *-e* and *y* were merged or formed a diphthong.

It is probably highly significant that for some of these potential anomalies the inference from the syllable-count is confirmed by the constraints of the rhythmic scheme, as is usually found to be the case. This is to say that the constraints are so tight that they are almost invariably upset by any textual or interpretive anomaly in scansion.

Finally I would like to remind the reader that in the following settings the allocation of syllables to main beats is not based on any attempt to simply classify syllables as stressed and unstressed in performance - for all we know stress accents may have been very light and smooth in performance. The accentual significance of syllables placed here on main beats is essentially temporal, and the settings are presented to illustrate the fine detail of timing all syllables, not the degree of stress that they might have carried.

MARWNAD SIÔN EOS

[illegible]

Y Swydd, pam na roit dan sêl
 I'thE - os gyf - raith Hyw - el?.
 A'rhwn wed - i cael o'r rhain,
 Wrthlawn - der, cyf - raith Lun - dain,
 Ni myn - nent am ei ein - ioes
 Noe - thi crair na thor -ri croes.
 Y gŵr oedd dad y gerdd dant,
 Yn oes - wr nis bar - nas - ant
 Deu - ddeg yn un od oedd -yn', Duw
 deg, ar fyw - yd y dyn.
 Aeth y gerdd a'ithai gwyrdd - ion
 A'ida'n sied wed - i dwyn Siôn,
 A llef o nef yn ei ôl,
 A'i ddisgybl yn ddiys - gol.
 Lly - na ddysg! I'rllan ydd aeth;
 Lle ni chair llun -iwch hir - aeth.
 Wed - i Siôn nidoes synn - wyr
 Da'n y gerdd, na dyn a'i gŵyr.
 Tor - res braich tŵr E - os brig,
 Tor - red mes - ur troed mus - ig;
 Tor - red ys - gol tŷ'r des - gant,
 Tor - red dysg fal tor - ri tant.
 Oes mwy rhwng Eu - as a Môn
 O'rdysg ab-l i'r dis - gybl -ion?

Rhein-allt nisgŵyr ei hun - an,
 Rhan gŵr er hyn - ny a gân.
 Ef aeth ei gy - maryn fud,
 Yn dor - twll del - yn Deir - tud.
 Ti sydd yn tew - i â sôn,
 Tel - yn aur tel - yn - or - ion.
 Bu'ndwyn dan bob ew - in dant,
 Bys - edd Llef Gŵr neuBas - ant;
 Myfyr - dawd rhwngbawd a bys,
 Mên a threb-l mwyn â thri -bys.
 Oes dyn wed - i'rE - os deg
 Yn gys - tal a gân gos - teg,
 A phrof - iad neugan - iad gŵr
 A chwlm gerbron u -chel -wr? Pwy
 'r aw - ran mewn puror - iaeth Pe
 na bai, a wnâi a wnaeth?
 Nidoes nac ang - el na dyn
 Nadŵyl pan gan - o del - yn. Och
 hen - o rhag ei chan -u
 Wed - i'r farn ar aw - dur fu!
 Eu barn ym mhorth nef ni bydd,
 Wŷr y Waun, ar aw - en - ydd.
 A far - no, ef a fer - nir
 O'rbyd hwn i'r byw - yd hir,

A	'	run				drugar	-	edd				a		ro					
A		rydd		Duw		farn	-	wr				idd	-	o.					
Os		iawn				farn		a				fu				ar	-	no,	
Yr		un				farn						arnyn'		a		fo.			
Ef-ô				a		gaiff		ei				fyw	-	yd,					
	Ond			o'u		barn						ne-wid	-	io		byd.			
	Oes			'y		nyn						y	sy		yn	nos,			
	Oes			yn		Nuw		i				Siôn				E	-	os.	

ENGLYNI ON MARWNAD I LYWELYN AP GRUFFUDD

[illegible]

Oedd					rhaidd	ys-tyr -	iaidddar	- fod					cyff -ro -						
mawr						Am		ym-herawdr					Cym - ro.						
Oes					der - fynbyd			drym - fryd					dro?						
Oes					dir - iaidd			nad ys - tyr - io?											
Ys-tyr - ied,O					Dduw,			ddam - wain					ddych-ryn -						
cun								Can nadbyw					Llywel - yn.						
A - thrist					hir - aeth			gaeth					gol - yn:						
Eith -r o					Dduw,			ar-uthr					i ddyn.						
Dyn -					iadd -on,			de - on,					di-gof - aint -						
einllyw					A'n g-wna			llwyr					go-feil -iaint,						
Gwalch					aer - falch			ar - fod					Ger - aint,						
Gwawr					gor - sedd		frenhin -edd						fraint. Llywiaw						
-drbraint y					saint,			syn - ied					wr - thaw						
-- Dduw						Gan		ei ddwyn hyd					at - aw,						
Llu					ob - aith			faith					fy-ddin -aw,						
Llyw					Ab - er,llew			ffrwyth -ner					Ffraw.						

MARWNAD LLYWELYN AP GRUFFUDD

Oercal - on dan fron o fraw a -llwyn-in
 Am fren -in, dder - win ddôr, A -ber - ffraw.
 Aur dilyf-n a del - id o'i law,
 Aur dal - aith oedddeil-wng idd - aw.
 Eur - gyrrn eurdë - yrrn,ni'm daw llewen - ydd,
 Llewel - yn, nidrhydd i'm rhwydd wis - gaw.
 Gwae fi am arg - lwydd, gwalch di - warad - wydd,
 Gwae fi o'raf - lwydd ei drangwy - ddaw.
 Gwae fi o'rgoll - ed, gwae fi o'rdyng -ed,
 Gwae fi o'rclyw -ed fod clwyf ar - naw.
 Gwer - syll Cadwalad-r, gwaes-af llif darad-r,
 Gwas rhudd ei balad-r, bal - awg eur - llaw.
 Gwasgar -awdd al - af, gwis - gawdd bobgae - af
 Gwis - goedd am-dan - af i am-dan - aw.
 Bu-ches - lawn arg - lwydd (ni'nllwydd ein llaw!)
 Buch -edd dragyw - ydd a drig idd - aw.
 Ys mau llid wrthSais am fynhrei - siaw,
 Ys mau rhag ang - au ang - en gwy - naw,
 Ys mau gan ddeun-ydd ddi - en - iw - aw
 Duw a'm e -dew - is heb - ddaw.
 Ys mau ei gan - mawl hebdawl, heb daw,
 Ys mau fyth bell -ach ei faith bwyll-aw,
 Ys mau i'm dyn - oedl am-dan - aw af - ar,
 Can ys mau al - ar, ys mau wy - law.

Arg - lwydd	a goll -ais,	gall -af	hir - fraw,
Arg - lwydd	të-yrn - blas	a las o	law;
Arg - lwydd	cy - wirgwir,	gwaran -daw	ar - naf,
Uch - ed	y cwyn -af:	och o'r	cwyr - naw!
Arg - lwydd	llwydd cyn	lladd y	deu - naw,
Arg - lwydd	llary, neud	llawr y - sy	daw,
Arg - lwydd	glew falllew	yn llyw -iaw	el - fydd
Arg - lwydd	a -flon - yddei	a -flun -iaw.	

Arg - lwydd	canhad	-	lwydd	cyna	-	daw	Em	-	raisNi
ly-fa - sai	Sais	ei	o -glei	-	siaw.				
Arg - lwydd	neudmaen	-	do	y -man	-	daw	Cym	-	ry,
O'rllin a	ddy - ly		ddal	-	yA	-	ber	-	ffraw.
Arg - lwydd	Grist,	mor	wyfdrist				dros	-	daw,
Arg - lwydd	gwir,		gwar -ed			i	ganth-aw.		0
gleddyf -awd	trwm		tram	-	gwydd		arn	-	aw,0
gleddyf -au	hir	yn	ei dir	-	iaw,				

0	glwyf		am		fy	rhwyf		y	-	sy'n	rhwyf		-	aw,					
0	glyw	-ed			lludd	-ed				llyw		Bod		-	fae		-	aw,	
	Cwb	-	l	o		was		a	las		o	law			es-ger		-	aintCwb-	
1	fraint				ei	hyn	-	aintoedd		o	-hon		-	aw.					
	Cann	-	wyll		tē	-yrn	-	edd,		ca-darn		-	llew		Gwy	-	nedd,		
	Cad	-	air		an-rhyd		-edd,			rhaid		oedd		wrth-aw.					
0	laith		Pry	-	dainfaith,					cwyn		-	llaith		can		-	llaw,	
0	ladd		llew		Nan	-	coel,			llu	-	rig			Nan		-	caw,	

Llaw -er deig -r hylithr yn hwyl -iaw ar rudd,
 Llaw -er yst - lysrhudd a rhwyg ar - naw.
 Llaw -er gwaed am draed wed - iymdreidd - iaw,
 Llaw -er gweddw â gwaedd i am-da - naw,
 Llaw -er medd - wl trwm yn tramwy -aw,
 Llaw -er mab hebdad gwed -ieiad - aw,
 Llaw -er hen - drefraith gwed -i llwyb-r godd -aith
 A llaw -er diff -aithdrwy an - rhaith draw;
 Llaw -er llef druan fal ban fu Gam - lan,
 Llaw -er deig-rdrosran gwed -i'r grein - iaw.
 O leas gwa -nas, gwa - nar eur - llaw,
 O laith Llywe - lyncof dyn ni'm daw.
 Oerfe - lawg ca - london fron o fraw,
 Rhew -yddfal crin -wyddy - sy'ncrin -aw.
 Pon-iwel-wchchwi hynt y gwynta'r glaw?
 Pon-iwel-wchchwi'r der - i'n ym-dar - aw?
 Pon-iwel-wchchwi'r môr yn merwin - aw'r tir?
 Pon-iwel-wchchwi'r gwir yn ym-gweir - iaw?
 Pon-iwel-wchchwi'r haul yn hwyl - iaw'r aw - yr?
 Pon-iwel-wchchwi'r sŷr wed - i'rsyrth - iaw?
 Pon-ichredwchchwi i Dduw, ddyniadd-on yn - fyd?
 Pon-iwel-wchchwi'r byd wed - i'rbyd - iaw?
 Ochhyd at ti, Dduw, na ddaw môr drosdir!
 Pa beth y'n ged - ir i o -hir - iaw?

Nid oesle y cyrch-er rhag car - char braw,
 Nid oesle y trig - ier, - och o'r trig - iaw! -
 Nid oesna chying-or na chlo nac ag - or,
 Un - fforddi es - gorbrwyn gyn - gor braw.
 Pob teu - lu, teil -wngoedd idd - aw;
 Pob ced - wyr, ced - wynt o -dan - aw;
 Pob deng -yn a dyng -ynto'i law;
 Pob g wled-ig, pob g wlad oedd eidd -aw.

Pob can - tref, pobtref ŷnt yn treidd - iaw,
 Pob tyl - wyth, pobllwyth y - sy'nllith - raw,
 Pobgwan, pobcad - arn cad - wed o'ilaw,
 Pobmab yn ei grud y -sy'nu - daw.
 Bych -an lles oeddim, am fy nhwyll-aw,Gad-
 aelpen ar - nafheb ben ar - naw.
 Pen pan las, ni bu gas gym - raw,
 Pen pan las, oedd les - ach peid - iaw.

Pen mil - wr, penmol - iant rhagllaw,
 Pen drag -on, pendraig oedd ar - naw.
 Pen Llewel - yn deg, dygn o fraw
 i'rbyd Bod pawlhae -arntwy -ddaw.
 Pen f'arg - lwydd,poendyg -ngwydd a'mdaw,
 Pen f'en - aid hebfan - ag ar - naw,
 Pen a fu berch - en ar barch naw
 can -wlad A naw can -wledd idd - aw.Pen

[illegible]

TORCHOIR CEÓL CLOINNE CATHOIL

	Tor	- choir	ceól	Cloin-ne	Cath -oil,
rugor	- ra	éag		an-a -choin,	
	teidhm	bhus	gomh	síor -uidhe	so,
	dol	da	síodh-uisge	sean -ma.	
Múis	- ig	- theach		dor - cha	domh -oin,
Con	-	chu - bhurMac	Conghalaigh,		
a gcúis		gháir-e, a	ng-níomh		doil -igh,
re síol		nDáir-e	dealuighidh.		
	Ceól	na gcur -adh	ó Chuan		Dor,
mairg,a	Dhé	bhí, dár	bean -adh,		
méar		beóigh - linn	iúl - mhur	aith -neach	
ciúngh - lan		ceóil - bhin	cuartuigtheach.		
Dús - gadh		leóin,	los - gadh		an - áidh,
	ceól	codoil crú	Donnabháin,		
a éag		rob	ghníomhradh		ghoi -mhe,
béad		ríogh - bhan	is ríogh-raidhe.		
Sliocht		Dáir -e	Cearb nár	ceil -eadh,	
uath -a		trá ní	tuigfidhear		
labh -		ra	faoil - te	na bhfoghur;	
damh - na	a	gcain - te	Conchubhur.		
Ní		shaoi - lid	fil - idhnáid	fáidh,	
ní mheas-oid		mná náid	mac - áimh.		
céim		soir -bhis	'na dhiaidh	d'fhagháil,	
liaigh		doir -bhis	ó nDonnabháin.		

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
Graif - neadh muis -ig-theach meoir bhrais,
uaig - neach 'nadhiaidh dá dhíoghrais,
tea - gar coim - seach robchaoin cuir,
toir - seach dá thaoibh a dtorch - uir.

THÓRÓLFR

Gekk	sás	óð - isk	ekk - i,
jarls - manns	ban - i,	snarl - a,	
threk -	lund -að-r	fell	Thund - ar
Thórólfr	í gný	stór - um.	

Jörð	grær,	enn	vér	verð -um,
Vín - u	nær	of	mín - um --	
hel - nauð	es		that --	hyl - ja
harm,	á - gæ-tum		barm - a.	

Valk	-	öst	-	um	hlóðk	vest	-	an	
vang	fyr	merk	-	is	-	tang	-	ir,	
ótt		vas			él	thats	sótt	-	ak
Að	-	ils	blá	-	um	Nað	-	ri;	
hað	-	i	ungr		við	Eng	-	la	
Ál-eifr		thrum-u			stál	-	a;		
helt,		né			hraf	-nar	sult	-	u,
Hringr	á	váp	-	na	thing-i.				

ANNO AND JOHN

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Ich-

ot a burde in a bour as - e ber - yl so bryht,
 as - e saph -yr in sel - uer sem - ly on syht,
 as - e ias - pe thegen - til thatlem -ethwith lyht,
 as - e ger - netin golde ant rub - y wel ryht;
 as'on - y -cle he'son y -hol - denon hyht,
 as - e di - a -maund thedere in day whenhe's dyht;
 he's cor - al y -cud withcay -serant knyht;
 as'em - er-aude a -more - wen thismay hau - ethmyht.
 Themyht of themar - garite hau - eththis maimer - e.
 fforchar-bo-cle ich'ir - e ches bi chyn ant by cher - e.

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Hire rode is as - e rose that red is on rys;
 withlil -ye whit -e ler - es los - sumhe is;
 theprim -er-ole he pas - seth, theper - uenke of pris,
 withal - is-aun - drethare - to, ach - e ant a -nys.
 Coynte as - e col - um-bine suchhire cunde ys,
 glad vn - dergore in gro ant in grys;
 he'sblosme 'pon ble - o, briht-estvn - derbis,
 withcel -y -doyne antsauge,asethou thiself sys.
 thatsyt vp-on thatsem -ly to blis he's broht;
 he'ssol - se - cle, to sauue ys forsoht.

He's pap - ei-ai in pyn that bet - ethme my bale; to
 trewe tor - tlein a tour y tel - le the mi tale; he's
 thrus-tlethryu - en in thro thatsin -geth in sale, the
 wild -e lau - er-oc antwolc ant thewode - wale;
 he'sfau -conin friht, der - nestin dale, ant
 with eu - er -uch a gome glad -est in gale.
 ffromWeye he's wis - istin - to Wyr - hale;
 hirenome is in a note of thenyhte - gale. In
 An - note is hirenome; nemp -nethhit non?
 Whose ryht red - eth roun -e to Io-hon.

 Muge he's antmon - drake thourhmiht of themone,
 trewe tri - a -cle y -told withton -ges in trone;
 suchli - coris mailech -e fromLyne to Lone;
 such su - cremon sech -eth thatsan -ethmen sone;
 blithe y -bless'dofCrist,thatbaythethme mi bone when
 der- ne de - dis in day derne are done.
 As - e grom -yl in greue grene is thegrone,
 as - e qui - bibeant co - myn cud is in crone,
 cudco - myn in court, can - el in cof - re,
 withgyn - gyure antsede - wale antthe gy-lof - re.

He'smed -i -cine of miht, mer - cie of mede,
rek - enead - e Reg - nas re - soun to rede, trewe
as - e Te - geu in tour, as - e Wyr - wein in wede,
bal - dorethen Byrne thatoft thebor bede;
as'Wyl - ca-down he'swys, doh - ty of dede,
ffey -rorethen Floy - res fol - kes to fede,
Cud as - e Cra - doc in court carf thebrede,
hen - dore thenHil -de, thathav -ethme to hede.
He hav - ed me to hede, thishen -dy a -non,
gen - tilas - e Ion - as, heoioy - eth withIon.

NOTES ON THE POEMS

Marwnad Siôn Eos

1 croes	41 croes o gyswllt
2 traws	42 croes
3 traws	43 croes
4 croes	44 croes
5 traws	45 croes
6 croes	46 traws
7 traws	47 traws
8 croes	48 croes
9 croes o gyswllt	49 traws
10 traws	50 croes
11 croes o gyswllt	51 traws
12 croes	52 traws
13 traws	53 sain gadwynog
14 traws	54 croes
15 croes	55 traws
16 seingroes gadwynog	56 traws
17 croes o gyswllt	57 sain
18 traws	58 croes
19 loose sain	59 traws
20 traws	60 traws
21 croes	61 sain
22 croes	62 traws
23 traws	63 traws
24 croes	64 sain
25 traws	65 traws
26 traws	66 traws
27 traws	67 traws
28 traws	68 croes
29 croes	69 traws
30 sain gadwynog	70 croes
31 croes	71 croes
32 traws	72 seingroes gadwynog
33 traws	73 traws
34 traws	74 traws
35 croes	75 llusg
36 traws	76 croes
37 sain	77 traws
38 croes	78 croes
39 croes	79 seingroes
40 croes	80 croes

Englynion Marwnad i Lywelyn ap Gruffudd

- 1a cyngogion: Ffraw; sain lefn: Ffraw - braw - bryd
 1b crych a llyfn: orchwyl - Erchwyniawg
 1c cymeriad cyfochrog: Un; braidd gyffwrdd: Mair - mawr
 1d cymeriad cyfochrog: Duw; sain o gyswllt: Nef - -l ef - las;
 2a cross-link: Llas; braidd gyffwrdd: Bendigeidfran - gydfryd
 2b cytsain (bengoll): chymri - chymraw
 2c cymeriad: Llas; double alliteration: Llas - Llywelyn - llafn
 2d cymeriad: Llas; sain dros gl: Arthur - benadur - byd

- 3a cross-link: byd; sain lefn: byd - tristyd - treisdwyn
 3b crych a llyfn: llew - Llywelyn
 3c cymeriad llythrennol: Nawdd; llusg: Deheubarth - gwarthrudd
 3d cymeriad llythrennol: Naf; sain gadwynog: llu - faint - fu - fudd.
 4a cross-link: Budd; sain lefn: aerwalch - ceinfalch - cyn; llusg: cyn - estynnu
 4b cytsain: llew - llafnau 4c cymeriad: Mawr; alliteration: rhi - rhiallu
 4d cymeriad: Mawr; braidd gyffwrdd: gynnal - Morganwg
 5a cross-link: fu; sain gadwynog: fu - llawr - llu -lluoddd
 5b cytsain: llaw - Llwyrr
 5c cymeriad cytsain: Rhwysg; sain lefn: Arthur - mur - moroedd
 5d cymeriad cytsain: Rhuddgoch; sain lefn: gatgun - iddun' - oedd
 6a cross-link: Oedd, sain lefn: rhaid - ystyriaid - ddarfod
 6b cytsain: mawr - ymherawdr
 6c cymeriad: Oes; sain lefn: byd - drymfryd -dro
 6d cymeriad: Oes; traws: -s diriaid - ystyrio
 7a cross-link: Ystyried; double alliteration: Dduw - ddamwain - ddychryn
 7b cytsain: cun - Can
 7c cymeriad cytsain: Athrist; sain lefn: hiraeth - gaeth - golyn
 7d cymeriad cytsain: Eithr; sain gadwynog: Eithr - Dduw - aruthr - ddyn
 8a cross-link by alliteration: Dyniaddon; sain drosgl: Dyniaddon - deon - digofaint
 8b cytsain: llyw - llwyrr
 8c cymeriad llythrennol: Gwalch; sain lefn: Gwalch - aerfalch - arfod
 8d cymeriad llythrennol: Gwawr; sain wreiddgroes drosgl: Gwawr - gorsedd - frenhinedd - fraint
 9a cross-link: braint; sain lefn: braint - saint - synied
 9b cytsain: Dduw - ddwyn
 9c cymeriad cytsain: Llu; sain drosgl: obaith - faith - fyddinaw
 9d cymeriad cytsain: Llyw; sain lefn: Aber - ffrwythner - Ffraw; cyngogion: Ffraw

Marwnad Llywelyn ap Gruffudd

Note that most of the lines set here to three main beats include cynganedd lusg, which might suggest that the lingerings are longer than set here, that they should extend to main beat 4, and perhaps that every line should extend to main beat 4.

- 1 sain lefn: calon - fron - fraw
 2 cross-rhyme: allwynin - dderwin; sain deirodl: allwynin - frenin - dderwin - ddôr
 3 braidd gyffwrdd: dilyfn - delid
 4 braidd gyffwrdd: dalaith - deilwng
 5 sain: Eurgyrn - eurdëyrn - daw
 6 cross-rhyme: llewenydd - rhydd; braidd gyffwrdd: rhydd - rhwydd
 7 alliteration: Gwae - gwalch; internal rhyme: arglwydd - diwaradwydd
 8 cross-rhyme: diwaradwydd - aflwydd; trawslusg: Gwae - aflwydd - dramgwyddaw

- 9 internal rhyme: golled - dynged
 10 cross-rhyme: dynged - clywed; braidd gyffwrdd: clywed - clwyf
 11 traws: Gwersyll / gwaesaf ll-; internal rhyme: Cadwaladr - daradr
 12 cross-rhyme: daradr - baladr; loose braidd gyffwrdd: baladr - balawg
 13 internal rhyme: Gwasgarawdd - gwisgawdd; internal rhyme: alaf - gaeaf
 14 cross-rhyme: gaeaf - amdanaf; loose croes: amdanaf / i amdanaw
 15 sain: arglwydd - llwydd - llaw
 16 internal cross-rhyme: arglwydd - dragywydd; crych a llyfn: dragywydd - drig 17 llusg wyrddro: Sais - fynhreisaiw
 18 sain: mau - angau - angen
 19 crych a llyfn: ddeunydd - ddieniaw
 20 cytsain: Duw - edewis
 21 sain: ganmawl - dawl - daw
 22 croes: fyth bellach / ei faith bwyllaw
 23 croes: i'm dynoedl / amdanaw
 24 cross-rhyme: afar - alar; croes: ys mau alar / ys mau wylaw
 25 braidd gyffwrdd: gollais - gallaf
 26 sain: tēyrnblas - las - law
 27 sain dros gl: cywir - gwir - gwarandaw
 28 cross-rhyme: arnaf - cwynaf; loose croes: Uch- y cwynaf / och o'r cwynaw
 29 sain: Arglwydd - llwydd - lladd
 30 braidd gyffwrdd: llary - llawr
 31 sain: glew - llew - llywiau
 32 cross-rhyme: elfydd - aflonydd; sain: Arglwydd - aflonydd - afluniaw
 33 sain: Arglwydd - canhadlwydd - cyn adaw
 34 cross-rhyme: Emraais - Sais; llusg deirodl wyrddro: lyfasai - Sais - ogleisaiw
 35 braidd gyffwrdd: maendo - ymandaw
 36 cross-rhyme: Cymry - ddyly; braidd gyffwrdd: ddyly - ddaly
 37 sain: Grist - drist - drosdaw
 38 braidd gyffwrdd: gwir - gwared
 39 braidd gyffwrdd: trwm - tramgwydd
 40 llusg: hir - diriaw
 41 llusg deirodl: glwyf - rhwyf - rhwyfaw
 42 sain: glywed - lludded - llyw
 43 sain: was - las - law
 44 cross-rhyme: esgeraint - hynaint; sain deirodl: esgeraint - fraint - hynaint - ohonaw
 45 alliteration: Cannwyll - cadarnllew; internal rhyme: tēyrnedd - Gwynedd
 46 cross-rhyme: Gwynedd - anrhydedd; braidd gyffwrdd: anrhydedd - rhaid
 47 sain deirodl: laith - faith - cwynllaith - canllaw
 48 loose croes: lle- Nancoel / llu- Nancaw
 49 braidd gyffwrdd: hylithr - hwyliaw
 50 cross-rhyme: rudd - rhudd; braidd gyffwrdd: rhudd - rhwyg
 51 sain: gwaed - draed - ymdreiddiaw
 52 braidd gyffwrdd: gwedd - gwaedd
 53 crych a llyfn: trwm - tramwyaw
 54 llusg: dad - adaw
 55 alliteration: Llawer - llwybr; internal rhyme: fraith - goddaith
 56 cross-rhyme: goddaith - diffaith; sain gadwynog: diffaith - drwy - anrhaith - draw

 57 alliteration: Llawer - llef; sain gadwynog: druan - fal - ban - fu;

internal rhyme: druan - ban - Gamlan
 58 cross-rhyme: Gamlan - ran; alliteration: gwedi - greiniaw
 59 sain: leas - gwanas - gwanar
 60 sain: Llywelyn - dyn - daw
 61 sain: calon - fron - fraw
 62 loose sain: Rhewydd - crinwydd - crinaw
 63 sain: hynt - gwynt - glaw
 64 braidd gyffwrdd: deri - ymdaraw
 65 crych a llyfn: môr - merwinaw
 66 cross-rhyme: tir - gwir; llusg wyrddro: gwir - ymgweiriaw
 67 braidd gyffwrdd: haul - hwyliaw; llusg: hwyliaw - awyr
 68 cross-rhyme: awyr - syr; llusg: syr - syrthiaw
 69 alliteration: Dduw - ddyniaddon
 70 llusg: byd - bydiaw
 71 braidd gyffwrdd: Dduw - ddaw
 72 cross-rhyme: dir - gedir; llusg: gedir - ohiriaw
 73 braidd gyffwrdd: cyrcher - carchar
 74 loose traws: trigier - trigiaiw
 75 alliteration: Nid - na; internal rhyme: chyingor - agor
 76 cross-rhyme: agor - esgor; sain gadwynog: esgor - brwyn - gyngor - braw
 77 braidd gyffwrdd: teulu - teilwng
 78 loose braidd gyffwrdd: cedwyr - cedwynt
 79 braidd gyffwrdd: dengyn - dyngynt
 80 braidd gyffwrdd: gwledig - gwlad
 81 sain: cantref - tref - treiddiaw
 82 sain: tylwyth - llwyth - llithraw
 83 loose braidd gyffwrdd: cadarn - cadwed
 84 llusg: grud - udaw
 85 braidd gyffwrdd: im - am
 86 seingroes gadwynog: pen - arnaf / heb - ben - arnaf
 87 sain: las - gas - gymraw
 88 braidd gyffwrdd: las - lesach
 89 croes: Pen milwr / pen moliant
 90 croes: Pen dragon / pen draig
 91 braidd gyffwrdd: deg - dygn
 92 cytsain: byd - Bod
 93 alliteration: Pen - poen; sain: arglwydd - dygngwydd - daw
 94 braidd gyffwrdd: f'enaidd - fanag
 95 sain: Pen - berchen - barch
 96 cytsain: canwlad - canwledd
 97 sain: tēyrn - hēyrn - heaid
 98 sain: tēyrnwalch - balch - bwlch
 99 sain: tēyrnaidd - flaid - flaengar
 100 loose sain: Tēyrnaf - Nef - nawdd
 101 internal rhyme: Gwyndēyrn - gorthyryn; internal rhyme:
 gwendorf - gorf
 102 cytsain: gorf - Gorfynt; sain: Gorfynt - hynt - hyd; loose llusg: hyd -
 Lydaw
 103 braidd gyffwrdd: freiniawl - frenin
 104 sain: nef - addef - iddaw

Torchoir Ceól Cloinne Cathoil

Alliterating words occupy adjacent main beats except:-

- 2b 'Conchubhur' is drawn out to avoid it being separated from
 'Conghalaigh' by 'Mac' on a main beat

8c lacks alliteration; 'ríghmheóir' is drawn out in order that
'alliterating' syllables (mheóir - mhire) occupy adjacent main beats

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