

Leeds Studies in English

Article:

Andrew Breeze, 'Celtic Etymologies for Middle English Hurl
'Rush, Thrust' and Fisk 'Hasten', *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s.
24, (1993), 123-32

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Celtic Etymologies for Middle English *Hurl* 'Rush, Thrust' and *Fisk* 'Hasten'

Andrew Breeze

ME *hurl* 'rush, thrust': Welsh *hwrdd* 'push, thrust'

The etymology of Middle English *hurl* 'rush, throw, fling, thrust' is a problem. Standard accounts describe it as '?onomatopoeic; cf. Low German *hurreln* "to sling, toss, push" ', 'uncertain', 'probably imitative', or '?imitative; cf. Low German *hurreln*'.¹ The earliest form recorded by *OED* is in *Ancrene Wisse*, though the noun here may actually be from *hurtle* < Old French *hurter* 'strike'. The reference is to the frailty of chastity, like a precious phial being carried through crowds, which 'you might, at a slight encounter, lose altogether', *wið alutel hurlunge 3e mahten al leosen*.²

But when we reach the fourteenth century *hurl* is a standard expression in alliterative poetry, as at *The Parlement of the Thre Ages* line 57, describing the confusion after shooting a stag in the wood, 'As alle had hurlede one ane hepe þat in the holte longede'.³ *Hurl* is used various times in *Cleanness*, on the fate of a tramp approaching high table (line 44), 'Hurled [pushed] to þe halle dore and harde þeroute schowued'; on the fall of Satan and his angels (223), 'Hurled into helle-hole as þe hyue swarme3'; on the waters of the Flood cascading into people's houses (376), 'Hurled into vch hous, hent þat þer dowelled'; on Noah's ark (413), 'Þe arc houen wat3 on hy3e with hurlande gote3 [surging currents]'; on the threats against Lot of a mob in Sodom (874), 'Þat a3ly hurled [rang] in his ere3 her harlote3 speche'; and on a surprise attack by an army (1204), 'And harde hurles þur3 þe oste er enmies hit wyste'.⁴

In *Patience* we find *hurl* used of the collapse of a ship's tiller and stern in a gale (149), 'Den hurled on a hepe þe helme and þe sterne'; and the tumbling of Jonah on his way down to the whale's belly (271), 'Ay hele ouer hed hourlande aboute';

where he complains of the boiling sea-surge about his ears (319), 'De pure poplande hourle playes on my heued'.⁵ *Hurl* also figures in the Passion lyric 'My trewest tresowre sa trayturly was taken', of the school of Rolle, 'And lathly for my lufe hurld with thair handes!'⁶ It makes an appearance in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* at II 297 (in the *Man of Law's Tale*), on the tremendous motion of the outermost sphere of heaven, which each day moves, 'And hurlest al from est til occident'.⁷ *OED* notes the use of *hurl* in *Cursor Mundi* (Northern); a poem on *Nego* in the Hiberno-English manuscript, Harley 913; *William of Palerne* (Gloucestershire); the Wycliffite Bible; *The Destruction of Troy* (Lancashire); *The Wars of Alexander* (North-West Midlands); the York Cycle; Malory; the Digby Plays (Midlands); Douglas's *Æneid*; Dunbar; and James VI of Scotland. But the instance at line 187 of *The Awntyrs off Arthure* (a Cumberland poem?) is an error in some manuscripts for *harled* 'dragged', a quite separate verb.⁸

It is clear from the above that *hurl* was predominantly a Northern and Scottish form. This dialectal bias is consistent with the borrowing by English of the form *hwrdd* 'push, thrust' from Cumbric, a sister-language of Welsh spoken in Cumbria and Strathclyde up to the twelfth century. How does the semantic range of the Celtic word compare with that of the English one?

Hwrdd is a noun defined as 'violent push, impulse, blow, stroke; rush, onslaught, assault, onset, shock, clash, impact; fit, attack, paroxysm (of illness, rage, laughter, weeping), spasm, short sharp spell (of work, wind)'. We also have the verb *hyrddio* 'to drive or push forward violently or headlong, shove, thrust, impel, throw forcefully, hurl, fling; butt, ram, charge, barge, batter, beat, pound, attack, assault; incite, instigate, egg on; inculcate (doctrine), urge strongly, impose, beat (something) into someone's head, impress upon, implant in the mind'.⁹

Hwrdd is attested in the thirteenth-century translation of the *Miracles* of St Edmund of Abingdon (c. 1180-1240), the Archbishop of Canterbury who gives his name to St Edmund Hall, Oxford. The text refers to *duvyr dwuyn cadarn e hwrdd en redec* 'deep water, powerful the rush in running'.¹⁰ In the fourteenth-century Book of Taliesin, a curious mythological poem 'The Chair of Ceridwen' (a hideous old witch) declares *Bu gwrdd yhwrd yg kadeu* 'Mighty was his blow in battles'.¹¹ The twelfth-century Arthurian tale of Gereint son of Erbin refers to a knight bested in combat: *achann hwrdd y gwr ar march ny thygyawd y riuedi arueu* 'and what with the onrush of man and horse, all his armour availed not'.¹² In a praise-poem to the royal warrior and poet Hywel ap Owain Gwynedd (d. 1170), Cynddelw (fl. 1155-1200) refers to *hwrt aflwfyfyr mal hirdwfyfyr hoewal* 'a brave blow like the far-reaching

water of a swift current'.¹³ In a copy of the Welsh laws of c. 1300 we read of three onsets (*hwrdd*) which are not to be compensated: a man's attack (*hwrdd*) with a weapon on his enemy when he has thrice failed to receive legal redress for a murdered relative; a wife's attack (*hwrdd*) with her hands on her husband's concubine when they meet; and a man's thrust (*hwrdd*) on being married to a false virgin, whom he can turn out for her falsehood.¹⁴ The Welsh version of the *Elucidarius*, copied in 1346, calls a priest who preaches well but lives an evil life, 'a bell sounding sweet to others and beating itself with frequent strokes (*hyrdeu*)'.¹⁵ In an anxious poem to the wave of the sea, written after a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, Gruffydd Gryg (fl. 1340-80) says *Rhoes hwrdd i'm llong, rhoes flong floedd* 'It gave a thrust to my ship, it gave a surly shout'.¹⁶ A late fifteenth-century text on Antichrist and Doomsday also mentions water, describing *hyrdeu y tonneu ar y gweilgioed* 'the crashing of waves on the floods'.¹⁷

When we turn from the noun *hwrdd* to the verb *hyrddio*, we find a simple instance in the twelfth-century tale of Peredur. When he arrives at a castle in a wilderness, 'With the butt of his spear he struck (*hyrdu*) on the gate'.¹⁸ In a poem on the Woodcock, Dafydd ap Gwilym (fl. 1330-60) speaks of the Welsh winter as foe of love, *Hirddu cas yn hyrddio coed* 'A long black enemy lashing the wood'; in another poem, on a moonlight night, he notes how the moon *Hyrddia lanw, hardd oleuni* 'sways tides, lovely brightness'.¹⁹ In a mocking poem in which he pretends his fellow-bard Guto'r Glyn was drowned at sea, Llywelyn ap Gutun (fl. 1450-70) declares 'The wave come from the water / Would not leave the fords he strolled / But on the one side held him / Gripped fast, and gave him a shove (*a'i hyrddu hwrdd*)'.²⁰ Finally, two lives of saints show varied uses of the verb. In a life of St Martin copied in 1488, the saint, confronting a maniac, thrust (*hyrddodd*) his fingers between the madman's teeth and told him to bite, which he could no more than if he had 'red-hot iron in his mouth'. In contrast, a life of St Collen (patron of Llangollen) copied in 1536 speaks of his mother's dream of a dove tearing out her heart, bearing it away to heaven, and returning to press (*hyrddv*) the heart back with a sweet smell in its place.²¹

Besides the above forms, we have the stream-names *Hyrdd* (near Llansannan, to the west of Denbigh) and *Hwrdd* (near Llanbryn-mair, between Machynlleth and Newtown). The names of both these fast-moving hill-streams have been compared in sense with that of the Gloucestershire *Rendbrook* (<Old English *hrindan* 'to push, thrust'), all three meaning 'the thruster, the torrent'.²²

It will be seen from the examples quoted that Welsh *hwrdd/hyrddio* agrees

closely with the semantic range of English *hurl*, and singularly so as regards the surge of water. On this aspect the Welsh stream-names are a remarkable comment. This circumstance fits neatly with a derivation of English *hurl* from *hwrdd*, since it has been noted that *hurl* is regularly used of water in rapid motion (as in *Cleanness*), while *hourle* at *Patience* 319 is a noun actually meaning 'swell of the sea'.²³ It has been suggested that Welsh *hwrdd* derives from an Indo-European root **ser-* 'flow, move swiftly and wildly', so that an association with water should cause no surprise.²⁴

If it is objected that the termination of *hwrdd* cannot be reconciled with that of *hurl*, we can reply that Welsh *dd* is known to be unstable. The best known example is *Eifionydd/Eiddionydd* (the region around Cricieth in north-west Wales), but *plwyff/plwydd* 'parish' is another. Final *f* is itself unstable, giving such doublets as *cwrff/cwrw* 'beer'. The full range seems exemplified by the variants *twrdd*, *twrf* and *twrw* 'noise'.²⁵ If *hwrdd* were borrowed by English as **hwrw*, the *l* of *hurl* would be explained as a parasitic development within English.

If these arguments are correct, we can reject those desperate etymologies which regard English *hurl* as 'onomatopoeic' or 'imitative'; we can account for the consistent association of English *hurl* with the movement of water; and we can explain why *hurl* appears centuries before *hurreln* and the other Germanic forms with which it is often doubtfully compared. It would be revealed as another previously unrecognized Celtic loanword in medieval and modern English.

ME fisk 'hasten': Welsh ffysg 'haste, speed'

Fisk is a rare word in two famous poems: in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* 1704, where a fox is pursued by hounds,

Runnen forth in a rabel in his ryzt fare,
And he fyskez hem byfore; þay founden hym sone;

and *Piers Plowman* C IX 153, in condemnation of the able-bodied beggar,
And what freke on this folde fiscuth aboute
With a bagge at his bak a begyneld wyse [in a beggar's
fashion].²⁶

Both instances have prompted discussion. Gollancz remarks of the first that if *he* means one of the hounds, derivation of *fyskez* from Swedish dialectal *fjäska* 'scamper about fussily' would suit his quest for the fox's scent; but if *he* means the fox, then the *OED* derivation of *fyskez* from a frequentative of Old English *fysan* or *fysian* is likelier. In his glossary Gollancz translates *fyskez* as 'hastens'.²⁷ Tolkien, Gordon and Davis take *he* as meaning the fox, though noting if *he* meant the hound, this would make good sense. They gloss *fyskez* as 'scampers', citing (with hesitation) an Old Norse etymology in **fjaska*.²⁸ Andrew and Waldron also gloss *fyskez* as 'scampers', apparently referring to a hound.²⁹

Fiscuth in *Piers Plowman* C IX (formerly X) is translated by Skeat as 'wanders, roams'. He cites *fisk* from *Promptorium Parvulorum* (an East Anglian text of c. 1440), where it translates *vagor* 'I wander, roam'; the writings of the Elizabethan Londoners, Thomas Tusser and John Whitgift; and modern Shropshire dialect. He also quotes from the Swedish dictionary of J. Serenius, '*Fieska*, to *fisk* the tail about; to *fisk* up and down', and from the Tauchnitz Swedish dictionary, '*Fjeska*, v.n. to fidge, to fidget'.³⁰ Skeat's translation 'wanders' is repeated in recent editions of the C-text.³¹

OED says of the etymology of *fisk*, 'Possibly a frequentative (formed with *k* suffix as in *walk*, *talk*, *lurk*) of Old English *fysan* "to hurry", or of *fesian*, *fysian* FEEZE verb. Cf. the synonymous Swedish *fjäska*, a frequentative of *fjäsa* "to bustle, make a fuss" '. It defines *fisk* as 'to move briskly, scamper about, frisk, whisk'. The last attestation of English *fisk* (excepting a deliberate archaism in *Puck of Pook's Hill*) dates from 1700. *OED*'s definition of *fisk* means something brisker than the 'wander, roam' proposed by Langland's editors. The forms *discursor*, *discursatrix*, *vagulus*, *vagator* given by *Promptorium Parvulorum* for 'fisker' are significant here, as the first two can mean 'one who runs about' as well as 'wanderer'. We can also compare Hugh Latimer's 'Than he is busi . . . then he fyskes a brode'. *OED*'s etymology for *fisk* is accepted by G. W. S. Friedrichsen, but including its qualifier 'possibly'.³²

Given this reservation, another etymology for *fisk* may be offered from Welsh, where *ffysg* and its compounds occur as follows: *ffysg* 'haste, speed, dispatch, bustle, fuss, impetuosity, passion, rush, attack; hasty, quick, swift, rapid, abrupt, sudden, lively, passionate'; *ffysgiad* 'swift attacker, router, assailant; hastener, hustler, stubborn man'; and *ffysgio* 'to attack, assail, scatter, disperse, put to flight'. Interesting in the light of English *fisk* is *fysky*, *fesky* 'to hurry, rush', the Cornish cognate of the Welsh verb.³³

These Brittonic forms, from Celtic **spid-sc-*, from a root **speud-* 'hasten' seen in Greek *speudo* 'I hasten', are attested at an early date. Aneirin's *Gododdin* (c. 600?) says of the heroes Cynri and Cynon and Cynrain, *chwerw fysgynt esgar* 'they routed the enemy bitterly'; of the *Gododdin* men that they were *gwerin fraeth fysgyolin* 'a swift spirited army'; of Gwrhafal, that he hewed down corpses *cledyual dywal fysgyolin* 'with a bold swift swordstroke'; and of Urfai son of Golistan in the van of battle, *Guaut i fis[c]iolin / amdifin gododin* 'it was usual for him to defend *Gododdin* on a spirited horse'.³⁴

In a dialogue recently dated to the later ninth century, surviving in the Black Book of Carmarthen of c. 1250, a warrior urges a wounded man to battle: *Tec nos y ffisscau escar* 'the night is fine to attack the enemy'.³⁵ In the same manuscript a verse of ninth- or tenth-century date commemorates a son of Brwyn of Brycheiniog, Meilyr Malwynawg, *ffiscad fuir fodiauc* 'router in terror successful'.³⁶

Praising Llywelyn the Great (d. 1240), the bard Llywarch ap Llywelyn (fl. 1173-1220) refers to his defiance of England, with *Fwyr fysc aerderuysc ar deruyn lleon* 'swift assault, raging war on the borders'.³⁷ In contrast, a poem on the Nativity by Madog ap Gwallter (c. 1250), apparently a Franciscan linked with the Hereford Friars Minor, describes the Wise Men arriving at the stable in Bethlehem, *Disgyn yn ffysc, seren a'e dysc, wir y dysgeu* 'Alighting in haste, as the star taught them, truthful its teaching'.³⁸

Finally, Dafydd ap Gwilym (fl. 1330-60) praises his patron Ifor Hael of Gwernyclepa (now overlooking the western outskirts of Newport) in traditional style: *Hawdd ffysg Deifr unddysg, â'r dew fronddor* 'Easily with his sturdy breastplate does he rout the puny Saxon'; while elsewhere he compares love to a hare, *Crair hy bron, a ffy ar ffysg* 'a bold-breasted treasure, that flees in haste'.³⁹ In short, *ffysg* and its compounds occur consistently in Welsh poetry (but much less so in prose, where they seem unknown in the *Mabinogion* romances) from the earliest times until the fourteenth century, after which they become hard words, noted by glossators.⁴⁰

Does this identify the origin of English *fisk*? We may point out here that standard authorities do not feel the orthodox Germanic etymology of *fisk* to be quite satisfactory; that Welsh *ffysg*, applied to the hare, and *ffysgiolin* 'swift horse', accord in a very satisfactory way with the *fyskez* applied to fox or hound in *Sir Gawain*; that the Brittonic senses 'hasten, hurry' are somewhat closer to the English ones than are Swedish 'bustle, make a fuss, scamper about fussily'; that Welsh *ffysg* exists, but Old English frequentative **fyscan*, **fyscian* or **fescian* are not

known to have existed; and that a Brittonic origin would suit the early use of *fisk* in Northern and Western texts like *Sir Gawain* and *Piers Plowman*, and its late use in Shropshire dialect.

If it is objected that the senses 'attack, assail, scatter, disperse, put to flight' of the Welsh verb do not accord exactly with those of the English one 'to move briskly, frisk, whisk', we can reply that the loan may have been an early borrowing by English (before these later senses developed), perhaps from Cumbric, a sister-tongue of Welsh, spoken in Cumbria and Strathclyde up to the twelfth century, but now known from little more than place-names; or that the English verb was adopted from the simplex *ffysg*.

If these arguments are accepted, we can identify a previously unrecognized Celtic borrowing in Middle and Early Modern English. We can also clarify our reading of *Sir Gawain* and *Piers Plowman*. If the basic meaning of *fisk* is 'hasten' from Brittonic, and not 'bustle, make a fuss' from Norse, this would (in the light of Sir Israel Gollancz's comment) strengthen taking *fyskez* as referring to the fox, and not to a hound eagerly seeking a scent. It would also suggest a dynamism in Langland's *fiscuth*, for which a translation 'gads about' (apt for the healthy, idle beggar it refers to) may be preferred to 'roams'.

NOTES

¹ *The Parlement of the Thre Ages*, ed. M. Y. Offord, EETS os 246 (London, 1959), p. 83; *Patience*, ed. J. J. Anderson (Manchester, 1969), p. 91; *Cleanness*, ed. J. J. Anderson (Manchester, 1977), p. 140; *A Chaucer Glossary*, ed. Norman Davis (Oxford, 1979), p. 78.

² *The Ancrene Riwe*, tr. Mary Salu (London, 1955), p. 73; *Ancrene Wisse*, ed. J. R. R. Tolkien, EETS os 249 (London, 1962), p. 86.

³ Offord, p. 2; cf. J. P. Oakden, *Alliterative Poetry in Middle English*, 2 vols (Manchester, 1930-35), II, 288.

⁴ Anderson, *Cleanness*, pp. 13, 18, 22, 23, 35, 44.

⁵ Anderson, *Patience*, pp. 36, 40, 42.

⁶ *Yorkshire Writers*, ed. Carl Horstmann (London, 1895-96), i, p. 72; *English Writings of Richard Rolle*, ed. Hope Allen (Oxford, 1931), p. 133; *Religious Lyrics of the XIVth Century*, ed. Carleton Brown, second edition (Oxford, 1952), p. 94; *Medieval English Lyrics*, ed. Theodore Silverstein (London, 1971), p. 65; *A Selection of Religious Lyrics*, ed. Douglas Gray (Oxford, 1975), p. 16.

⁷ *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. L. D. Benson (Oxford, 1988), p. 91.

⁸ *The Awntyrs off Arthure*, ed. Ralph Hanna (Manchester, 1974), p. 112.

⁹ *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* (Caerdydd, 1950-), 1933, 1980, and cf. *Canu Aneirin*, ed. Ifor Williams (Caerdydd, 1938), pp. 23, 213, and K. H. Jackson, *The Gododdin: the Oldest Scottish Poem* (Edinburgh, 1969), p. 136.

¹⁰ J. E. C. Williams, 'Gvyrthyeu Seint Edmund Archescop Keint', *The National Library of Wales Journal*, v (1947-48), 58-67, at 62.

¹¹ *The Book of Taliesin*, ed. J. G. Evans (Llanbedrog, 1910), p. 35.

¹² *The White Book Mabinogion*, ed. J. G. Evans (Pwllheli, 1907), col. 421; *The Mabinogion*, tr. Gwyn Jones and Thomas Jones (London, 1949), p. 254.

¹³ *Llawysgrif Hendregadredd*, ed. John Morris-Jones and T. H. Parry-Williams (Caerdydd, 1933), p. 102.

¹⁴ *Llyfr Blegywryd*, ed. S. J. Williams and Enoch Powell (Caerdydd, 1942), pp. 116-17; *The Laws of Hywel Dda*, tr. G. M. Richards (Liverpool, 1954), p. 108.

¹⁵ *Drych yr Oesoedd Canol*, ed. Nesta Lloyd and Morfydd Owen (Caerdydd, 1986), p. 82.

¹⁶ *Dafydd ap Gwilym a'i Gyfoeswyr*, ed. Ifor Williams and Thomas Roberts, second edition (Caerdydd, 1935), p. 138.

¹⁷ Thomas Jones, 'Yr Anghrist a Dydd y Farn', *The Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, xiii (1948-50), 174-84, at 179.

¹⁸ Evans, *White Book Mabinogion*, col. 615; Jones and Jones, p. 194.

Celtic Etymologies for Middle English Hurl and Fisk

- ¹⁹ *Gwaith Dafydd ap Gwilym*, ed. Thomas Parry (Caerdydd, 1952), pp. 162, 191; J. P. Clancy, *Medieval Welsh Lyrics* (London, 1965), p. 77.
- ²⁰ *The Oxford Book of Welsh Verse*, ed. Thomas Parry (Oxford, 1962), p. 119; Clancy, p. 204.
- ²¹ *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg*, i, ed. T. H. Parry-Williams (Caerdydd, 1954), pp. 6, 37.
- ²² Eilert Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (Oxford, 1936), p. 366; R. J. Thomas, *Enwau Afonydd a Nentydd Cymru* (Caerdydd, 1938), p. 72.
- ²³ Anderson, *Patience*, p. 63.
- ²⁴ *Geiriadur*, 1933; D. E. Evans, 'Celt. *sord-/*surd-', *The Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, xxv (1971-73), 290-92.
- ²⁵ *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*, ed. Ifor Williams (Caerdydd, 1930), p. 285; *Chwedlau Odo*, ed. Ifor Williams, second edition (Caerdydd, 1957), p. 35. But the forms *godwrdd/godwrff* quoted in the latter are unrelated, with *godwrdd* deriving from a separate form *dwrdd*, according to *Geiriadur*, 1424.
- ²⁶ *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, ed. J. R. R. Tolkien and E. V. Gordon, second edition (Oxford, 1967), p. 47; William Langland, *Piers Plowman*, ed. D. A. Pearsall (London, 1978), p. 168. *MED* s.v. *fisken* also cites the word from Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes* 2442: 'Silence of tunge is wardein of good fame; / And after reпреef fisseth, clappeth, fouleth'. I thank John Edwards of Oxford for this reference.
- ²⁷ *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, ed. Israel Gollancz, EETS os 210 (London, 1940), p. 120.
- ²⁸ Tolkien and Gordon, pp. 119, 181.
- ²⁹ *The Poems of the Pearl Manuscript*, ed. M. R. Andrew and R. A. Waldron (London, 1978), p. 320.
- ³⁰ *Piers the Plowman*, ed. W. W. Skeat, 2 vols (Oxford, 1886), II, 123-24.
- ³¹ *Piers Plowman*, ed. Elizabeth Salter and D. A. Pearsall (London, 1967), 106; *Piers Plowman*, ed. Pearsall, p. 395.
- ³² *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, third edition (Oxford, 1973), p. 758.
- ³³ *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* (Caerdydd, 1950-), p. 1336.
- ³⁴ *Canu Aneirin*, ed. Ifor Williams (Caerdydd, 1938), pp. 8, 17, 35, 48, and see his *The Poems of Taliesin* (Dublin, 1968), p. 159; K. H. Jackson, *The Gododdin: the Oldest Scottish Poem* (Edinburgh, 1969), pp. 123, 138, 144, 108.
- ³⁵ *Canu Llywarch Hen*, ed. Ifor Williams (Caerdydd, 1935), p. 28; *Early Welsh Gnomical Poems*, ed. K. H. Jackson, second edition (Cardiff, 1961), p. 20; *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin*, ed. A. O. H. Jarman (Caerdydd, 1982), p. 64; *Early Welsh Saga Poetry*, ed. Jenny Rowland (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 389, 502.
- ³⁶ Thomas Jones, 'The Black Book of Carmarthen "Stanzas of the Graves"', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, liii (1967), 97-137, at 122, 123; Jarman, p. 38.
- ³⁷ *Llawysgrif Hendregadredd*, ed. John Morris-Jones and T. H. Parry-Williams (Caerdydd, 1933),

p. 297; J. P. Clancy, *The Earliest Welsh Poetry* (London, 1970), p. 156.

³⁸ *Hen Gerddi Crefyddol*, ed. Henry Lewis (Caerdydd, 1931), p. 106; Clancy, p. 165.

³⁹ *Gwaith Dafydd ap Gwilym*, ed. Thomas Parry (Caerdydd, 1952), pp. 14, 124.

⁴⁰ John Lloyd-Jones, *Geirfa Barddoniaeth Gynnar Gymraeg* (Caerdydd, 1931-63), p. 517; *Geiriadur*, p. 1336.