

Thuillier, Manon Gwendoline Morgane (2024) *‘Yn ych iaith ych un’*: the afterlives of two early Anglo-Welsh poems. PhD thesis.

<https://theses.gla.ac.uk/84590/>

Copyright and moral rights for this work are retained by the author

A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge

This work cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the author

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the author

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given

Enlighten: Theses

<https://theses.gla.ac.uk/>
research-enlighten@glasgow.ac.uk

‘Yn ych iaith ych un’: the afterlives of two early Anglo-Welsh poems

Manon Gwendoline Morgane Thuillier
MA (Hons), MPhil

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

English Language and Linguistics
School of Critical Studies
University of Glasgow

January 2024



University
of Glasgow

Abstract

Building on two preliminary dissertations, *Chwedl o Rhydychen: A Study of the Welsh Hymn to the Virgin* (M.A., 2017) and *The Welsh Hymn to the Virgin: Contexts and Receptions* (M.Phil., 2019), this thesis is a study of the manuscripts and early printed editions of the earliest two Anglo-Welsh poems, both dating from the 15th century: Tudur Penllyn's 'Y Bardd a Saesnes,' and Ieuan ap Hywel Swrdwal's 'Hymn to the Virgin.' The two poems distinguish themselves through their language: both were written in Middle to Early Modern English, but their distinctive feature is their deployment of Welsh orthography.

Though the originals are lost, the textual witnesses of these poems survive in great number, with seven manuscripts for 'Y Bardd a Saesnes' and thirteen for the 'Hymn to the Virgin,' to which can be added three late 18th-and 19th-century printed editions of note. These witnesses are valuable for our understanding of the contexts in which they were transmitted. For that reason, a detailed survey and comparison of these witnesses and their specific features precedes a discussion of the form and significance of the afterlives of the texts, particularly in the context of antiquarianism of the Renaissance and early Romanticism.

The aim of this study is to demonstrate that the transmission, or absence thereof, of these texts, is not linked to any intrinsic qualities they may have, but to the way they answer concerns shared throughout the centuries by their copyists. More specifically, it is held that they reflect the tension between two cultures, the Welsh and the English, and the seeming irreconcilability between the traditionally oppressed and the oppressor: a view that was kept alive through the transmission of foundational myths of Wales.

Contents

Abstract	ii
List of tables	iv
List of figures	v
Acknowledgements	vi
Author's declaration	vii
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
Chapter 2: Survey of the sources	18
Introduction to the chapter	18
‘Y Bardd a Saesnes’ (‘The Bard and the Englishwoman’), c.1450	26
Presentation of the poem	26
The manuscripts	30
‘The Hymn to the Virgin,’ c. 1470	61
Presentation of the poem	61
The manuscripts	66
The printed editions of the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’	150
Chapter 3: The cultural impact of ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes’ and the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’	157
Chapter 4: Conclusion	190
Appendices	197
Bibliography	282

List of tables

Table 1	The titles of ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes,’ with translations	page 26
Table 2	The manuscripts of ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes’	page 30
Table 3	List of the variant readings for ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes’ between MS. Llanharan and Llanstephan MS. 134	page 44
Table 4	Line-by-line list of the variant readings for ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes’ between Llanstephan MS. 47 and Llanstephan MS. 134	page 53
Table 5	The manuscripts of the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’	page 66
Table 6	The ten most frequent words in the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ as found in Peniarth MS. 111	page 93
Table 7	Modifications brought to the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ by Dr. John Davies, Peniarth MS. 98b	page 100
Table 8	Comparison between α corrupt readings and MS. 13068B.	page 111
Table 9	Comparison between the α readings and the three Llywelyn Siôn manuscripts of the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’	page 117
Table 10	Comparison of the first stanza of the ‘Hymn’ in the three manuscripts ascribed to Llywelyn Siôn	page 121
Table 11	Comparison between the two versions of ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes’ and the three versions of the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ copied by Llywelyn Siôn	page 123
Table 12	Twelve variant lines between Llanstephan MS. 47 and Llanstephan MS. 54	page 130
Table 13	Translation choices in Cwrtmawr MS. 11	page 145
Table 14	Comparison of the English lines in all six MSS of ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes,’ as well as in <i>Canu Maswedd yr Oesoedd</i> (Johnson 1998)	page 212
Table 15	Parallel presentation of ‘The Hymn to the Virgin’ in Llanover MS. 13068B, MS. Llanharan, and Llanstephan MS. 47	page 265
Table 16	Parallel presentation of the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ in Peniarth MS. 111, Panton MS. 33, Cwrtmawr MS. 11 (A) and Cwrtmawr MS. 11 (B)	page 269

List of figures

- | | | |
|----------|---|---------|
| Figure 1 | Stemma codicum for the manuscripts of ‘Y Bardd a
Saesnes’ | page 22 |
| Figure 2 | Stemma codicum for the manuscripts of the ‘Hymn to the
Virgin’ | page 23 |

Acknowledgements

I wish to begin this section with a quote from Sir Terry Pratchett:

“There is a curse.

They say:

May You Live in Interesting Times.”

From battles with my mental health, through a global pandemic, to a wedding and a pregnancy: if anything, this thesis was undertaken, written, and completed in interesting times, and it is only fitting that my acknowledgements should reflect this.

Therefore, I would first like to thank my husband, Guillaume, for his angelic patience during these five years, however difficult it may have been for him to watch this thesis become a shroud of Penelope – taking shape and losing it, and taking it again, without him ever seeing the document itself. For his interest in my research, too, which to my surprise he used as an inspiration in his own writings, giving me faith in the fact that it was worth much more than I ever gave it credit for, even on my best days.

As they do not speak English, may the reader allow some French here: je voudrais remercier mes parents, qui, malgré leurs doutes, m’ont toujours soutenue dans cette longue et inquiétante entreprise, et sans l’assistance desquels je n’aurais pu en voir le bout. Merci de m’avoir encouragée à persister, et de m’avoir fait confiance de mes premiers choix d’orientation au dernier que cette thèse représente : je promets de ne pas le regretter.

Of course, no one is more deserving of thanks than my supervisor, Prof. Jeremy Smith, who, as promised several times since 2016, has kept on walking along with me – even when it meant adapting to the very slow pace of a pregnant woman. These eight years were a delight, and I believe no one could have had your patience to see me through this very long and complicated process, with always words of comfort even when I had nothing to present during our meetings. Many thanks as well to Prof. Thomas Clancy, who has pointed out to me many very valuable sources and possible directions in which this thesis could go, and lent me books that I have kept for much longer than I should have!

Family, friends, colleagues from Glasgow or met through social networks: thank you for keeping me sane, if just by reminding me I was more than a writing machine.

Lastly, I dedicate this thesis to my son, Taliesin: my research may have given you your name, but you gave me the final impetus I needed to bring it to completion. If it were not for you, I would still be scared of what awaits me beyond this degree.

Author's declaration

I declare that the thesis does not include work forming part of a thesis presented successfully for another degree.

I declare that the thesis represents my own work except where referenced to others.

I have discussed the submission of the thesis with my Supervisor.

I intend to submit the thesis with the approval of my Supervisor.

I undertake to submit the thesis by the earlier of i) the submission date recorded on my MyCampus record or ii) 3 months from the date stated below:

Signature:

Date: 10/07/2023

Chapter 1 – Introduction

Subject of the thesis

What is a text?

In our day and age of not only printing, but also digital editing, we might tend to think of a text as a single entity which may be reproduced identically a great number of times. Two new printed copies of a novel will in all regards be identical: though distinct editions may reveal different attitudes to the text, the latter should not intrinsically change. What could introduce a significant difference is the reader: will they write comments in the margins of the text, underline interesting sentences, fold the corner of a page to remember they want to get back to it later, or leave the book in such pristine condition one might wonder if it has even been read? There is a lot those could tell us about how the text was received, or not received. In the words of William Sherman in the preface to his *Used Books* (2008: xvi), ‘readers’ marks [...] can reveal both large-scale patterns of use and extraordinary encounters of individuals and their books.’ Though he speaks of printed books in this instance, this is also true of manuscripts, and can be extended to the copyists of the manuscripts under study – they are, after all, readers of one or several other manuscripts to produce their own copy.

Manuscript culture does not produce identical copies of a same text, but witnesses of one, with different spellings and punctuation, different interpretations when words and entire lines are changed, when the form of a poem on a page changes depending on how the copyist read it. Jeremy Smith’s *Transforming Early English* ‘argues that every aspect of a given physical manifestation of a text is a vector of meaning’ (2020: 9): an insight important for this thesis. My discussion is therefore intended as a contribution to the wider reimagining of philology, informed by developments in historical pragmatics, in which quite delicate details of textual form can be accounted for by reference to wider socio-cultural functions. Such details include features traditionally seen as linguistic (spellings in relation to presumed sounds, grammar, lexicon) and those often assigned to the domains of palaeography and bibliography. Moreover, it will be shown that, as texts under review moved through time and space, being reproduced both in manuscript and print, the changes in form they underwent reflected changes in those socio-cultural conditions in which they were set.

Two texts and their witnesses – the manuscripts and pre-1900 printed editions in which they can be found – are under review here: Tudur Penllyn's 'Y Bardd a Saesnes' and Ieuan ap Hywel Swrdwal's 'Hymn to the Virgin.' What the two texts have in common is that they were both composed by Welsh poets, transmitted by Welsh copyists and antiquarians within Welsh-language manuscripts and books, and used a Welsh spelling system, but were written in Middle or Early Modern English. It does not seem likely that this should be some mere coincidence, and that in the span of less than two decades two different authors would have similar ideas for no other reason than their own inspiration; there is, however, little that indicates whether the later poet knew of the former poem, and no note left to future generations to explain such an apparently peculiar choice of spelling system. Similarly, the copyists have not explained why they copied these poems: further than that, there is no obvious nor given reason for the 'Hymn to the Virgin,' the most well-known of these poems, to have attracted so much more attention than others.

In order to address the issues raised above, this thesis addresses the following research questions: why compose these poems, and why copy them? What do the manuscripts and the contexts in which they were copied teach us about the *zeitgeist* of their respective eras, what can they tell us of the way these poems were read and received? What about the printed books? More particularly, what does the existence of these poems mean for Anglo-Welsh literature – is this term even proper, does it apply to these poems? And do they have, still, any heritage-value today?

However, before going into more detail regarding these questions, some more context is needed.

Historical and cultural contexts

In 1400, the distress caused by the enduring Hundred Years' War (1337-1453), the plague and the looming memories of the Black Death only some fifty years prior, and the growing power of the English crown over Wales, led Owain Glyndŵr and his followers to revolt against king Henry IV. Glyndŵr laid waste to the towns and castles taken over by the English, seeking help from Scotland, Ireland (1401) and France (1403), planning for Welsh independence — though it would be difficult to call the revolt a straightforward patriotic uprising, due to the diversity of motivations among the rebels. Glyndŵr was ultimately defeated in 1409, and died in 1415: his memory, however, persisted.

OWEN GLENDOWER

I can speak English, lord, as well as you,
 For I was trained up in the English court,
 Where being but young I framéd to the harp
 Many an English ditty, lovely well,
 And gave the tongue a helpful ornament,
 A virtue that was never seen in you.

(W. Shakespeare, *Henry IV*, Part I, Act III, scene I | Wilson 2010: 55)

These are the words lent to Glyndŵr by William Shakespeare in his 1597 play *Henry IV*, as he has him meet with rebels to plan their division of England after the defeat, or so they hope, of Henry IV. These lines are prompted by Hotspur arguing with Glendower (the spelling chosen by Shakespeare to transcribe Glyndŵr into English) over a charge, asking him to ‘speak [his order] in Welsh’ in order not to understand him. What follows is a deriding of Welsh ‘mincing poetry [...] like the forced gait of a shuffling nag,’ ‘one of these same metre ballet-mongers.’ This probably is not an expression of Shakespeare’s own dislike for Welsh poetry, the Welsh as a people, or for the historical character of Glyndŵr himself, for he is depicted a few lines after his exit as ‘a worthy gentleman; / Exceedingly well-read, and profited / in strange concealments; valiant as a lion, / And wondrous affable, and as bountiful as mines of India’ (Wilson 2010: 56).

The dialogue between Glendower and Hotspur is reminiscent of the relations between England and Wales, not necessarily in 1400, but rather when the play was written: a partnership of defiance, unilaterally chosen at times, and exchanges that revolve around the bilingualism of one of the players and monolingualism of the other. Hotspur doubts Glendower’s English-speaking skills; they are however as good as his, and his native tongue, perhaps his native poetry, ‘[gives] the tongue a helpful ornament.’ While there are no more details given on the nature of this ‘ornament,’ or what Owen Glendower’s poetry was thus supposed to sound like according to the playwright, his lines also recall the words, supposedly not fictional this time, of another Welshman to a group of Englishmen: ‘[...] I shall compose a poem in English, in your own tongue; and if all the Englishmen in England compose such a poem or equal it, revile the Welsh’ (Garlick 1985: 9). These words are said to have been spoken by the Welsh poet Ieuan ap Hywel Swrdwal, then a student at the University of Oxford, when a group of English fellow students started dispraising Welsh language and poetry, pretending that there was ‘nor

metre nor alliteration in Welsh' (Garlick 1985: 7) and that 'it was not possible to make of a Welshman as good, as learned, and as wise and as good a poet as of an Englishman' (Garlick 1985: 9). The poem *Swrdwal* wrote survives to this day in thirteen manuscripts and six printed books; it was given various titles throughout its life, the one which it is best known under being 'The Hymn to the Virgin.' It is considered to be the first example of Anglo-Welsh literature, thus defined by Garlick (1972: 1-2):

In the literary context to which the term has now become limited, this contradiction — the compounded ascription of Englishness and Welshness — is apparent rather than real. It is a convenient shorthand for "writing in the English language by Welshmen": a linguistic distinction, implying no reflection upon the Welshness of the writers in question. It is in fact a terminological exactitude — the embodiment in a convenient epithet (since reference to Anglo-Welsh Literature implies that there exists something else to which the term Welsh Literature is properly reserved) of the bilingual nature of literary activity in Wales.

The linguistic situation of Wales, indeed, raises some questions: from the death of the last Welsh prince Llywelyn ap Gruffudd in 1282 and the Statute of Rhuddlan introducing English common law to Wales, it had been increasingly important for ambitious members of Welsh society to know the language of their ruling neighbour. These aspirant persons would naturally include poets, as they depended on their patrons: if the noblemen, and later the gentry, spoke English, so should the bards. Welsh literature seems a proper term to designate writings in Welsh; but the expression 'English literature,' when referring to works written by Welshmen, seems unsatisfying; after all, in the words of R.S. Thomas in his poem 'Border Blues', 'despite our speech we are not English.' The term does not convey the particularity of the above definition of Anglo-Welsh literature, as 'it is clear that much Anglo-Welsh writing articulates (in Yeats's phrase) "a separate world from that of England"' (Garlick 1972: 12-13). Indeed, the term Anglo-Welsh itself seems too imprecise to designate the poems under study here.

At the end of the fifteenth century, the two poems under study were composed by Welsh poets with different links to English society, both in the English language at least in part, with a Welsh spelling. While this might easily be explained away by pointing to the fact that all those involved in the creation or the transmission of these texts were bilingual, the question still lingers: why do these poems look the way they do – why this spelling system? In two preliminary studies to this work, *Chwedl o Rhydychen: A Study of the Welsh Hymn to the Virgin* (Thuillier 2017) and *The Welsh Hymn to the Virgin: Contexts and Reception* (Thuillier 2019),

I argued that the spelling of the ‘Hymn to the Virgin,’ one of the two poems included in this thesis, makes it only accessible to bilingual speakers of Welsh and English: one needs to at least be able to understand spoken English and written Welsh to decipher the text. This means that the only likely literary audience for these poems were necessarily readers of Welsh, and presumably Welsh speakers: they had the education to read and understand English, and knew Welsh as their native language: something which seems confirmed by the fact that all the manuscripts in which these poems are to be found originate from Wales. However, in an oral context, any listener who could understand English would be able to understand the poem.

It is no coincidence that these texts, even without taking their spelling into account, should originate during the early modern period. Since the end of the Middle Ages, English had gained back the place it had lost to French and Latin in literature: and though the Welsh had never ceased to write in their vernacular, with English gaining importance in Wales – and most importantly, English people gaining power in Wales – it is no wonder that Anglo-Welsh literature should emerge then and not prior to this. The author of the ‘Hymn to the Virgin,’ Ieuan ap Hywel Swrdwal is known to have lived in England, as a student at the University of Oxford. Later, the hand behind the oldest copy of the ‘Hymn to the Virgin,’ Sir John Prise, worked in London during part of his life for Thomas Cromwell, and happens to be the hand behind the divorce proceedings between King Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn (Pryce 2008: ODNB). Welsh scholars and poets were used to dealing with the English language; that they should be interested in poetry composed by fellow Welshmen in English is not surprising. However, it is just as interesting to note that after the end of the Middle Ages, we only have copies of these peculiarly spelt poems, and not new ones being composed. Welsh authors then seem to have chosen to write in either of their languages without taking liberties with the spelling: the standardisation of English likely plays a role in this, as the spelling became gradually less flexible, the possibility to play around with different sounds and letter-values might have seemed less attractive to these bilingual authors. However, the copying-process did not stop: it even became more specialised with time. While the first copies we have tend to include the poems in compilations of Welsh poetry, alongside other works from the same poets, the latest ones tend to be of antiquarian interest – with the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ occluding the other poems and surviving in a wider array of manuscripts and books than the others. It has been the object of several studies, while the others have been shared or mentioned only as oddities. Tudur Penllyn’s ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes,’ for instance, may only be found in an anthology

of erotic Welsh poetry aside from the anthology of the bard's works published by the University of Wales Press in 1953.

Research context

The implications of the 'Hymn to the Virgin' for the study of the history of the English language, and more particularly for that of the Great Vowel Shift, have already been addressed by E.J. Dobson both in his 1955 article bearing the name of the poem and his *English Pronunciation 1500-1700*. 'Y Bardd a Saesnes' was however not mentioned by Dobson, understandably: the 'Hymn' has the advantage of being more widely circulated, in English throughout, and is probably the best written of the two poems under study here. There is probably no more to be learned about the Great Vowel Shift from this poem, and this is not the subject of this thesis. It is, however, relevant to look back on what other work has been done previously on the 'Hymn.'

As early as 1880, the English scholars Alexander Ellis and Frederick James Furnivall published in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 'An English Hymn to the Virgin and a Welshman's copy of it soon after.' Ellis and Furnivall wrongly mistook the work for that of an English poet as they were studying both Peniarth MS. 98b (then Hengwrt MS. 479), an early seventeenth-century manuscript containing an anglicised spelling of the 'Hymn,' and Peniarth MS. 111 dating from the same period, which is in Welsh spelling and which they took for the 'Welshman's copy' of the poem. Their explanation of the spelling of the poem was accepted until Max Förster's 1926 article for *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* entitled 'Datierung und Charakter des kymrish-englischen Marien-Hymnus.' In this fundamental article, Förster settles the question of the date at which the 'Hymn' was composed, i.e. the late fifteenth century, as well as its origin: it is Welsh, 'Kymrish,' before it is English ('Englischen'). Along with this analysis comes the list of the manuscripts in which the poem is to be found.

Förster paved the way for probably the most important academic study of the poem to date, E.J. Dobson's 1955 article published in *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, and his subsequent book *English Pronunciation 1500-1700* (first edition, 1957; second edition, 1968). In his article, Dobson gives a detailed outline of the manuscripts and their affiliations, as well as transcripts and his own edition of the poem in what he deemed to be Swardwal's original spelling. The main interest of the 'Hymn,' for Dobson, is philological. The date of composition for the poem and the principal manuscripts it was copied in —

spanning three centuries from c.1470 (composition) / 1538 (date of the earliest manuscript of the ‘Hymn,’ Balliol MS. 353) to 1785 (Cwrtmawr MS. 11) — spans the period of a major change in the history of English sounds, viz. the Great Vowel Shift, the process whereby, between c. 1400 and c.1600, the long vowels of late Middle English underwent raising or, if close already, were diphthongised.

In contrast to English, Present-Day Welsh, with a few minor differences, still is pronounced as Middle Welsh was, meaning that the letter-values used in those poems, and in the ‘Hymn’ as far as Dobson is concerned, are reliable as witness for the raisings and diphthongisations of the GVS. In Dobson’s reconstructed edition of the ‘Hymn,’ we thus can find <w> for /u(:)/ in *swn*, ‘soon’ (cf. Middle English /o:/, Old English *sōna*); <ei> standing for the diphthong /ai/ in *Kreist*, for ‘Christ’ (Middle English /i:/, Old English *Crīst*); <i> used for /i(:)/ in *kwin*, ‘queen’ (Middle English /e:/, Old English *cwēn*); <ow> standing for /ou/ in *wythowt* ‘without’ (Middle English /u:/, Old English *wipūtan*) (Smith 1996: 89)¹.

The manuscripts sometimes give different readings which reflect sound changes as well, or, perhaps more interestingly, showcase misreadings due to the copyists being unable to understand one word or the other for its pronunciation had changed. More often, we can see unconscious anglicised spellings in otherwise Welsh-spelt copies of the ‘Hymn,’ due to the copyists’ knowledge of the English language which led them, for instance, to a diversity of spellings of the word ‘ffest’ / ‘feast’ where ‘ffist’ would be expected: for its first occurrence on the third line of the poem, for instance, we find it as *fest* (Balliol MS 353, /fest/ or /vest/) *fffeest* (Llanstephan MSS 47, 54, Panton MS 33, likely first intended as /fe:st/ and then /fi:st/ through the influence of English) *ffeast* (Peniarth MS 96, intended as /fi:st/ as in English, but would be pronounced roughly as */feast/ according to Welsh letter-values), and *ffest* (/fe:st/) in all other instances, barring the manuscripts with the fully anglicised spelling of the ‘Hymn.’ The influence of English spelling-pronunciation in this specific case appears as early as Peniarth MS. 96, i.e. the early 17th century: while they are present from the earliest manuscript of the ‘Hymn’ we have, Balliol MS. 353, this shows that those with an interest in the poem were very likely bilingual, even those who, unlike Sir John Prise (the hand behind the Balliol manuscript), never left Wales to work for the English crown in London.

¹ For a more recent outline of Welsh orthography – which emerged in its essentials in the late Middle Ages – see Willis 2009: 374-376.

Since Dobson, two further more recent scholars have worked on the ‘Hymn to the Virgin.’ The first, already named above, was Raymond Garlick. Garlick is not so much interested in the philological value of the poem but rather its place in literary history. As mentioned before, the ‘Hymn’ in Garlick’s works holds the space of ancestor to all Anglo-Welsh literature: he names it, first, in his *Introduction to Anglo-Welsh Literature* (1972), before proposing a transcription and ‘literal version’ of it in English in his and Roland Mathias’s anthology *Anglo-Welsh Poetry 1480-1990* (1982), in which it is the first poem presented. His most important work on the ‘Hymn’ comes three years later in the form of *The Hymn to the Virgin attributed to Ieuan ap Hywel Swrdwal* (1985). In the introduction of this volume, he argues that the way the poem is composed is reminiscent, in the syntax, diction, rhymes, verse-forms, and the idea that poetry is a craft rather than a gift, of the 20th-century poet Dylan Thomas. This implies that the ‘Hymn’ could not only be the ancestor of Anglo-Welsh literature, but also its inspiration, or, at least, that it can be deemed as the source of this genre because Swrdwal’s preoccupations would be the same as that of later authors. Garlick and Dobson do share the interpretation that the spelling system used throughout is ‘to make possible a whole series of sound effects, some of them cast in the formal patterns of cynganedd’ (Garlick 1985: 5). Cynganedd is the system of internal rhymes and alliterations used in Welsh poetry since the sixth century, with its most intricate form being found in the Middle Ages, and still used by some contemporary poets (Stephens 1998: 139). While rhymes and alliterations are equally a feature of English-language poetry, the specificity of cynganedd resides in the fact that these patterns are set. Concerning the use of Welsh letter-values in regard to cynganedd in the ‘Hymn to the Virgin,’ Dobson writes:

It is clear that the main reason why the poem is spelt in accordance with Welsh letter-values is that it is written in accordance to Welsh rules of metre; in many cases the basis of the alliteration is made clear only by the Welsh spellings and is immediately obscured if these are anglicised. But as the alliteration is not intended for the eye alone, but for the ear, it follows that the spellings which made the alliteration visually apparent must have reflected the intended spoken forms of the words (Dobson 1955: 71).

Dobson here points to what has made the ‘Hymn’ of interest in phonologists, including himself: the combination of cynganedd and Welsh spellings makes clearer not the alliteration *per se* — because it is marked by sound and not by spelling; the fact that the English spelling would make it less apparent is not relevant as far as alliteration itself is concerned — but the pronunciation of said alliteration. As the pronunciation of English changed after the date of

composition of the poem, had it been spelt in English (even accounting for the flexibility of Middle English orthography), the Welsh letter-values and the knowledge of the use of cynghanedd in the poem make it possible for us to see the alliterations as they were intended. The emphasis is that it is only for us that this makes the pronunciation more evident, i.e. for contemporary scholars aware of the rules of cynghanedd, Welsh orthography, and of the phenomenon known as the Great Vowel Shift (hence GVS): the copyists of the poem were, as seen previously, sometimes confused regarding the intended pronunciation of several words due to it having changed during the GVS ('feast' being a good example).

M. W. Thomas's interpretation of the choice of spelling made by Ieuan ap Hywel Swrdwal in his article on Anglo-Welsh literature in *Celtic Culture: A Historical Encyclopedia* (ed. John T. Koch) brings another side to the question:

Ieuan ap Hywel Swrdwal used Welsh spelling and native strict metre forms as a defiant demonstration of his competence in English. Post-colonial *avant la lettre*, this cultural hybrid acts as a fitting prologue to the cultural drama of subsequent centuries, during which several major Welsh-language writers were to try their hand at English for a variety of reasons [...] which paved the way for the more convinced bilingualism and biculturalism of recent decades. (Thomas 2006: 61).

This thesis engages with the issues raised in such statements: not solely what the 'Hymn to the Virgin' can teach linguists about the English language and its evolution, nor its place within the literature of Wales (be that in English or Welsh), but its place within the bilingual culture of Wales, which also includes the other poem under study here. Using Welsh letter-values was a choice for all authors and subsequent copyists, rather than an accident. It has been suggested that, in Swrdwal's case, he might have written his poem in such a fashion because it was easier for him; this is highly unlikely. Swrdwal, and the poets that followed him, were all bilingual: if their biographers do not say it, it is at least obvious from their writing. This is especially true of the author of the 'Hymn,' as he was a student at the University of Oxford: surely English posed him no problem, either in speech or in writing. The spelling has thus nothing to do with facilitating the authors of these poems, and everything with the poet's choice of audience as well as poetic form: rather than a simple oddity, it is an expressive form. As formulated by Smith, 'a spoken or written text is at any given point a communicative event, the interface between speaking/writing and listening/reading [;] and unlike most form of speaking before the period of speech-recordings, writing has communicative functions over space and time, with all the constraints – and openness to change – those functions imply'

(2020: 12). In the case of those poems, how they were transmitted, and especially the persons who transmitted them, show that indeed the form, i.e. the spelling, of the poems served the function of enabling recognition. In the same way that people can recognise each other as belonging to the same group of speakers through an accent, so the spelling would have made the copyists of ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes’ and of the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ aware that they were peers of the authors of the poems and earlier copyists as they were reading the poems; features such as this specific spelling chosen for the poems ‘function as markers of differences and belonging, and [are] involved in the creation of identities at different levels of social organisation’² (Sebba 2009: 36). In the case of the ‘Hymn to the Virgin,’ while there it is not possible to ascertain the format in which the poem was meant to be shared by its author (i.e. written or spoken³), the prologues seem to point to the original audience was predominantly oral and composed of English speakers who had no Welsh: its form, however, indicates rather clearly that the subsequent reading audience had to be bilingual to a certain degree, i.e. able to at least understand spoken English and to read written Welsh. As I argued in *The Welsh Hymn to the Virgin: Contexts and Reception*, ‘as the Englishmen who triggered the composition of the ‘Hymn’ were insulting the learning of the Welsh, the use of the Welsh spelling system may have been there as an answer: can one really judge on the scholarship of a people whose language one cannot even decipher?’ It is possible to go further: the choice of this spelling system, more than a sign of defiance for the English and a way to stand against speakers of that language, may also work as a sign of recognition among Welshmen who speak English. They have more than their spellings in common, they have the identities of their authors and copyists, even some manuscripts that they share, and perhaps more importantly, a common context of composition, the Renaissance. At a time when vernaculars were to thrive once more even as ancient languages resurfaced in the consciousness of scholars and artists alike, what was the place left for Welsh? Both a vernacular threatened by English, with speakers worried that it may one day disappear (and this is to some extent still an issue in the present day), and perceived as an ancient language as well: its great poets were perhaps not as remote as Homer and Virgil, but Welsh poets of the Renaissance still read and copied and shared the poems of Aneurin and Taliesin, and they had an idea of the ancestry of their languages – down to the knowledge that it used to be spoken all over Britain a thousand years prior to that period. Even more worryingly, what was the place of bilingual speakers of both English and Welsh – were

² See discussion in chapter 3.

³ According to Dobson, the poem ‘is likely to have been written down immediately’ (1968: 3), which while it does not mean that the ‘Hymn’ never was shared orally, would show that its written form was of importance.

they less Welsh when they spoke English? Was there any trace left of their ‘Englishness’ when they used their native language? These questions were to stay for a long time, as even the editorial to the first number of *Wales* in 1894 by Sir O.M. Edwards gave an interesting perspective to this problem of identity: ‘there is a strong desire for a literature that will be English in language but Welsh in spirit. [...] Why should not the English literature of Wales have characteristics of its own – like Scotch (sic) literature and American literature?’ (Edwards 1894: iii-iv)

There seems to be a tension between bilingualism and a sense of belonging: what is one’s culture if it relates to two different languages, even more so when these seem to be in tension? Even after the Acts of Union, it must be remembered that the English crown and then government worked at undermining the use of Welsh (along with Gaelic and Scots) in public offices, including schools (Durkacz 1983: 3): how to navigate two languages when one of them is declared *lingua non grata*, though both are equally important in one’s usage? Swardwal was, for instance, a student at the University of Oxford. When it comes to the copyists, John Prise wrote the proceedings for the divorce of Anne Boleyn and Henry VIII as well as the arrangements for the king’s union with Jane Seymour (Pryce 2004: ODNB); John Davies of Mallwyd was a Church of England clergyman and Welsh scholar who ‘attempt[ed] to provide materials through which English-speaking clergymen could learn Welsh in order to communicate with their Welsh-speaking parishioners’ (Evans 2004: ODNB). For these four, and all those who will be mentioned later on⁴, both languages were an integral part of their life, and yet the manuscripts they left show a linguistic and cultural conflict they may have been trying to resolve through the poems they were writing and copying, sometimes transcribing into English spelling, and misreading as well. This tension of bilingualism still exists today, in Wales of course, but equally anywhere bilingual speakers can be found: the 21st century seems to be one where the questions of identity, what composes it, and who can claim which label for themselves, will keep being asked and tentatively answered – just as these two Anglo-Welsh, or Cymbro-English, poems and poets were probably trying to do in their own time, consciously or not.

Recently, researchers have turned their eyes to the importance of antiquarians in the transmission of what we now consider to be important literary works, and on ‘the vital role that early modern scholarly intermediaries played in shaping later readers’ understanding [of these

⁴ Including the prominent antiquarian William Salesbury, though not a known copyist of any of the two poems; see chapter 3.

works] [... and] in the construction and dissemination of broad narratives about the English past, but also in some of the earliest articulations of what we might term literary history' (Cook 2019: 2). Cook's focus, in the study cited (*The Poet and the Antiquaries*), is here on Chaucer and how his prominence in the English literary landscape is in no small part due to the work of collating, editing, and framing his *Works* for the six folios editions printed between 1532 and 1602 by antiquarians. She demonstrates that early modern readers would read Chaucer 'when they self-consciously reflected on the historical trajectory of English literature' (Cook 209: 9), with their interest being a result of the 'intertwining and reintertwining of national and literary concerns over a period of several decades' (Cook 2019: 16).

Such concerns and self-consciousness can also be found among the Welsh antiquarians whose manuscripts are under review in this thesis: all of them have an interest in the preservation of their Welsh heritage and language, and seem to have come to these two poems as examples of how to engage with English as Welshmen, and of how their native literature might evolve in contact with a language which is imposed to them. The difference between Chaucer's *Works* on the one hand and 'Y Bardd a Saesnes' and the 'Hymn to the Virgin' on the other, lies in the fact that the first printed editions of the latter two date from, at the earliest, the end of the 18th century, and were therefore not widespread among the community of practice formed by native Welsh antiquarians with English as a second language. It must be underlined, however, that the difference in treatment, i.e. the absence of both poems from print until later in their circulation, might have to do with the perceived importance of the texts: Welsh antiquaries focused on 're'translations of the Bible (such was the endeavour of William Salesbury and Dr John Davies), genealogies, and later on with individuals such as Evan Evans the collation, translation, and publication of antiquities which were to be representative of Welsh history and talent, and neither poems (nor poets) under review here had quite that aura. Nevertheless, we can see across and around the different manuscript copies of both poems the minds at work of men who would reclaim and repurpose ancient narratives in order to reforge a heritage and 're-conce[ive] history as a continuum in which generations do not simply replace one another in a forward march of improvement, but form links in a chain' (Hill 2021: 3). Welsh antiquarianism has the peculiarity of existing within a space where the menace of extinction, whether real or mythical, is constant: these notions are developed further in chapter 3 below, but stem from the aftermath of the English conquest of Wales and subsequent loss of manuscripts, whether ordered by King Edward I or destroyed by Welshmen themselves.

This thesis, therefore, examines antiquarians in a more intimate setting, as it is: in their commonplace books and their interest in poems which they preserved, but did not share beyond their immediate circles if they shared them at all. It is rather different from current studies of the antiquarian participation and creation of widespread editions of important texts in that these texts are of relative unimportance and had value for a specific community of discourse. Neither ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes’ nor the ‘Hymn to the Virgin,’ even with its prologues included, were the vessels for a widespread and global reflection on the state and evolution of Welsh culture among these antiquarian circles.

Why this corpus?

As mentioned above, these two poems were selected for the similarities they share: the most obvious one being their language, i.e. Late Middle or Early Modern English spelt using Welsh letter-values. Four other texts can be found sharing similar features: a group of English prayers for each day of the week using the same spelling system, in Llanstephan MS. 117, an encoded astrological manual in Peniarth MS. 359, both of which were not included here in favour of poetry. Three other poems are similarly not discussed in detail in this thesis, due to the comparatively small number of manuscripts in which they were transmitted. The oldest one is a drinking song by an anonymous author, found in the British Library Additional MS 14997 and then partially in Harley MS 3725, displaying a few artefacts hinting at a Welsh influence on the text and its spelling: the poem is however not long enough to ascertain that it is indeed intended as Welsh letter-values. The second one of these poems was given the title of ‘Sir Richard’s Confession’ by Garlick and Mathias (1982: 7), in which Richard Wiliam (fl. 1590-1630) confesses to a life spent worrying more about earthly possessions than in prayer; it is only reliably found in *Hen Gwndidau, Carolau, a Chywyddau* by Lemuel J. Hopkin James and T.C. Evans of Llangynwyd (1910), though the authors point to the poem being in Cardiff MS. 5.44 – a careful study of the only copy available at the National Library of Wales, in microfilm, did not allow the author of this thesis to find it. However, the third poem was unexpectedly found in said manuscript: a poem by the very colourful Tomos Prys telling of the misery of his adventures as a buccaneer after having fought against the Spanish Armada, surviving in half a dozen manuscripts: however, most if not all the copies of the poem would appear to be in Tomos Prys’ own hand, and therefore would not teach a lot about the reception and transmission of the poem. The audience would have been similar for those two texts and the poems, being of antiquarian interest, however the material seems to offer distinct challenges from those presented between Srdwal’s and Penllyn’s poems, and would seem to require a

different approach. Notably, these texts exist each in a limited number of manuscripts if not just one, which means that questions of later reception, the focus of this thesis, cannot be asked of this material.

A word on the time period

From the second half of the 20th century, these poems have found their way into several anthologies, translations, and scholarly works on (Anglo-)Welsh Literature. Though these textual witnesses are of interest in their own right, and probably would merit some further study into them, they are of academic more than antiquarian interest: for this reason, this thesis will not include printed witnesses that do not fall in this category, which makes the most recent of those the 1880 *Archaeologia Cambrensis* article on the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ by Alexander Ellis and F.J. Furnivall. It is not that scholarly works cannot be considered text witnesses themselves, and therefore studied in that regard: however, such study would go beyond the scope of this thesis.

After all, no book – and, by extension, none of the language it contains – produced nowadays exists out of its context; why, therefore, should it be true of those originating in the past? The desire for a purely theoretical study of language is a pitfall for the philologist; just as is forgetting that though they lived centuries prior to us, the authors and copyists of our documents were not any different from who we are. In the specific case of this thesis and the poems it interrogates (but that is true of any textual witness), the spoken word is also important as that is what motivates the spelling system which makes these texts noteworthy: it only makes sense to readers with an understanding of both English and Welsh, but only insofar as pronunciation is taken into account. It is tempting to oppose written and spoken language, and to argue that one is unlike the other, with the idea that spoken language would be more spontaneous than the written one: such comparisons have the inconvenience of erasing quite rapidly that this is the same language nonetheless, and that though *styles* may differ between what is to exist on a page for years to come and what would last only an instant (before, that is, the advent of recording), writers and speakers are the same individuals.⁵

As flagged at the outset, this thesis takes a pragmaphilological approach to these texts, as part of what Smith (2020: 238) calls ‘a reimagined philology.’ This approach takes into account, first, that the aim of textual study is not to find the ‘original’ or ‘ideal’ version of any

⁵ Or, at least, if not every speaker is a writer, especially at the time during which the poems were composed and copied, it is safe to assume that every writer was a speaker.

of the poems under study here, but rather to see each variant as both a text produced in a specific context and part of a continuum of texts, being copies of copies. Second, it reframes these poems in their wider contexts: far from being composed and copied in a vacuum, they exist(ed) within ‘dynamically shifting socio-cultural communities of practice and discourse communities, influenced by overlapping ideological engagements with [...] national identity’ (Smith 2020: 238). In this specific case, these texts are placed in communities of discourse which have at heart the preservation of their native Welsh heritage in a society where English is gradually gaining importance and even, towards the end of the period under study, where an Anglo-centric ‘British’ identity is emerging through the (re)claiming of ancient Celtic (including Welsh) history and culture, menacing these specific cultures with extinction through assimilation. Therefore, the careful analysis of the various witnesses’ linguistic and paratextual features is intended to highlight the manifestation of this community of practice in its less public writings, as none of the manuscripts seem to have been the object of printed editions by their authors.

The approach adopted here draws in addition on the concepts of *mouvance* (Zumthor 1972) and *variance* (Cerquiglini 1989), which, though they are applied specifically to medieval works by the two authors, may be fruitful to consider here as well – though all of the witnesses post-date the Middle Ages, and do not take as many liberties with them as anonymous authors have had when copying medieval literature.

Research questions

As acknowledged earlier, there have been some valuable academic studies of the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ alone. However, even those have been lacking a contextualisation for both its composition and even more so its copies. Apart from the work preceding this thesis, *The Welsh Hymn to the Virgin: contexts and reception* (2019), the poem and the manuscripts have always been treated as objects with no consideration for who and what produced them.

The current thesis is, therefore, the first comprehensive attempt to determine the different contexts of composition and transmission of the poems, taking into account the biographies of the authors, antiquarians, and scholars who have been involved with them, as well as the historical and cultural backgrounds for these individuals and the witnesses they produced. As the latter span several centuries, the contexts are bound to differ, and it will be

interesting to see how they do, and inquire into how this affects the understanding the intended audiences had of the texts, but also how this might change the ways in which we should read them.

Of course, reading these poems does not only involve contextualising them, but also interrogating their spelling system. Besides understanding how it functions, which has already been the object of several studies, the question that needs to be asked is *why* it was chosen. There have been several attempts at an answer, from the possibility that it would have been easier for the poets (which, given that they were all familiar with English, is highly unlikely) to making the alliterations more visible within the lines (which is not more or less the case than if the spelling had been less Welsh). These answers ignore that there were several individuals from different periods who chose to keep the spelling as it was, the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ having been anglicised several times, with the copyists doing this having for some both a version in English orthography and another one in the original: why would that be? Is there not a reason why the Welsh letter-values might have seemed important enough to justify their transmission? The variants in each manuscript do show, as will be evidenced later, that the spelling presents more difficulties for the copyists (and, most likely, for their readers as well) than it solves them: using English letter-values throughout would have been easier, therefore the choice of not transliterating or translating everything had to be deliberate, and one aim of this thesis is to uncover and explain the reason for this.

This leads to the final set of questions, as from the reasons why this spelling system should be significant stems the idea that this should be a way for these bilingual Welsh natives to recognise one another culturally, even as they write in English. This observation has wider implications for the poems, too, as the spelling system seems to have not been adopted and/or used beyond them for other English poems, but rather stayed restricted to these hundred lines originating in the 15th and 16th centuries. The texts have, however, been re-used and repurposed by their copyists and editors, and seem to have been read and understood in a variety of ways.

All of what has been described above should lead to answering the following, overarching questions, always keeping in mind that the spelling system is at the core of each of those: how were these poems written, and then transmitted; by who? Why were these poems composed and copied individually at these specific moments in time? And to what outcomes – what afterlife did these poems and their witnesses have?

Outline of the thesis

To answer these questions, this thesis is organised as follows: first, an overview of the primary sources, i.e. the poems, which includes short biographies of the authors when known; the manuscripts, with descriptions of their contents, notes on the copies of the poems, biographical information for their copyists, and when available readership history; and the selected printed editions, in the same manner. Following this overview is a discursive chapter discussing and comparing the cultural context for the afterlives of these two poems; succeeded eventually by a conclusion summarising the findings of this thesis.

Chapter 2: Survey of the sources

Introduction to the chapter

As stated above, no text exists outside of a context⁶; we can even go as far as affirming that any text exists within several contexts. The first, most obvious one, would be the manuscript or book: what other texts exist alongside the one(s) under study, where in the manuscript if this one seems to follow a certain order, what kind of book it is. In that same manuscript context, it is possible to be as precise as the page level: how the text is laid out, in prose or verse, how the lines are divided; what paratextual features accompany it, if any; the absence or presence of corrections made to the text, or misreadings that escaped the eye of the copyist; in a printed book, it might be the footnotes accompanying the text, or, in some lucky cases, in notes left by previous readers of the volume. A second type of context would be that of the composition of the text: who its author was, where and when he wrote, what his intentions for his work were if they are known; how the text was received by its first audience, if there even was one to begin with. Following this, in our case, would be the contexts of transmission of the text: in other words, the contexts of creation for its witnesses, which involves an entire set of other questions. Where and when were these copies made, and by who? More intriguingly, why, and why did the copyists choose these texts in particular (these are indeed two different questions), and why in that manner? Who was the audience for these witnesses – intended and actual? Who has owned them? How long were they in circulation, for what reasons? Answers to such questions have important cultural implications; as Nichols (1990: 8) wrote:

Recalling that almost all manuscripts postdate the life of the author by decades or even centuries, one recognizes the manuscript matrix as a place of radical contingencies: of chronology, of anachronism, of conflicting subjects, of representation. The multiple forms of representation on the manuscript page can often provoke rupture between perception and consciousness, so that what we actually perceive may differ markedly from what poet, artist, or artisan intended to express or from what the medieval audience intended to find. In other words, the manuscript space contains gaps through which the unconscious may be glimpsed.

⁶ The term ‘context’ can, after all, be interpreted as what goes ‘with the text;’ from the Latin prefix *con-* indicating simultaneity, and the verb *texo, texere*, ‘to weave,’ which gave the medieval Latin *textus* from which we obtained ‘text;’ *contextus* strictly speaking can be translated as ‘weaving,’ ‘texture,’ or ‘fabric,’ however the coincidence was too intriguing in the context of this thesis not to be noted.

That is to say, the meaning and meaningfulness of a text evolve with each witness, as different people and eras will find new interest in them – or forget them completely: for the sudden halt in the transmission of a text is significant as well, as it might mean that that text was either lost, or ceased to be relatable enough to be worth the ink and paper to share it.

This chapter, therefore, is one of both description and contextualisation of the poems under review here. Each poem will be treated in its own section for clarity of purpose, with a focus on its composition first – a presentation of the poem in itself, a short biography of the poet – before going into the manuscripts and books containing it. Each witness will receive a similar treatment as the text itself, with a copyist or editor biography (if known), manuscript description, and the analysis of distinct features for each version of the text

A word on the manuscript collections

Some of the manuscripts under study here come from the same collections, which happen to be of some importance: for the sake of convenience, here follows a short description of these collections.

A. The Llanstephan manuscripts

As evidenced by the table above, the majority of the witnesses for ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes’ come from the Llanstephan collection now kept in Aberystwyth at the National Library of Wales. It comprises several transcripts of medieval Welsh manuscripts, among which are the *Red Book of Hergest* and the *Black Book of Carmarthen*. Several of these transcripts are in the hand of the Rev. Samuel Williams (c.1660-1722), whose hand we see in Llanstephan MS.133 and possibly MS.134, and his son Moses (1685-1742). More on the Rev. Samuel Williams will follow below, though it can be noted already that he is not known to have received any formal education, though he was appointed deacon in Llandyfriog in 1691 (Bowen 1959: DWB), and is described by Evans (1903: v) as a ‘lover of Welsh lore, a copyist of manuscripts, and a translator of English theological books in the vernacular’ – which may explain his interest in a poem such as Tudur Penllyn’s. His son Moses is an interesting character as well: ‘fellow of the Royal Society, [...] when a student at Oxford, he fell under the influence of Edward Lhuyd, keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, the pioneer of comparative philology, a methodical enthusiast, and a scientific antiquarian’ (Evans 1903: v). Moses subsequently worked in the Bodleian Library, and published numerous Welsh translations of English works, as well as ‘An

Armoric Grammar and Vocabulary by Julian Manoir English'd out of French' for Lhuyd's 1707 *Archaeologia Britannica* (Bowen 1959: DWB). He also intended to publish an edition of John Davis of Mallwyd's dictionary and grammar⁷, though this project did not bear fruit. Like his father, he visited libraries to copy or collect manuscripts and printed books, and he greatly furthered the collection in Plas Llanstephan. In 1749, the collection was acquired by the Earl of Macclesfield and kept in Shirburn castle in Oxfordshire until the winter of 1899-1900, when it was purchased by Sir John Williams for the project of the National Library of Wales.

B. The Panton manuscript collection

The Panton manuscripts, now at the National Library of Wales in Aberystwyth since 1914, were in large part papers and transcriptions by Evan Evans (also known as Ieuan Fardd / Ieuan Brydydd Hir) bestowed to his patron Paul Panton at his death in 1788. Panton left the manuscripts in his library at Plâs Gwyn (Anglesey) where they were freely available to antiquarians; this situation did not change with Paul Panton's death, when the manuscripts came into the possession of his son Paul Panton junior (1758-1822), at the death of whom they were handed down to his brother Jones Panton (1761-1837). The library of Plâs Gwyn closed its doors when Jones Panton bequeathed the collection in 1837 onto his youngest son William Barton Panton (d.1875) who removed them to Garreglwyd, where they were 'reputedly being stored in chests in a stable loft' (NLW Panton Manuscripts Finding Aid, 2022: 4). The collection then changed hands several times between 1875 and 1914, when the Ieuan Fardd manuscripts were acquired by the National Library of Wales; the rest of the Panton papers were purchased in 1919 (NLW Panton Manuscripts Finding Aid, 2022: 4).

Paul Panton the father (and his son after him) was a Welsh antiquarian: the Panton family boasted an old ancestry, tracing it back to Marchweithan, one of the founders of the fifteen tribes of Gwynedd⁸ (Foster Evans 2004 – ODNB). More reliably, from his mother's side he descended from John Jones of Gellilyfdy, whose name appears in the table above as the copyist of Peniarth MS. 111, and who was a highly respected manuscript creator and

⁷ *Antiquae linguae Britannicae et linguae Latinae, dictionarium duplex*, 1632. John Davis also happens to be the copyist of Peniarth MS. 98b containing an English-spelt version of the 'Hymn to the Virgin.'

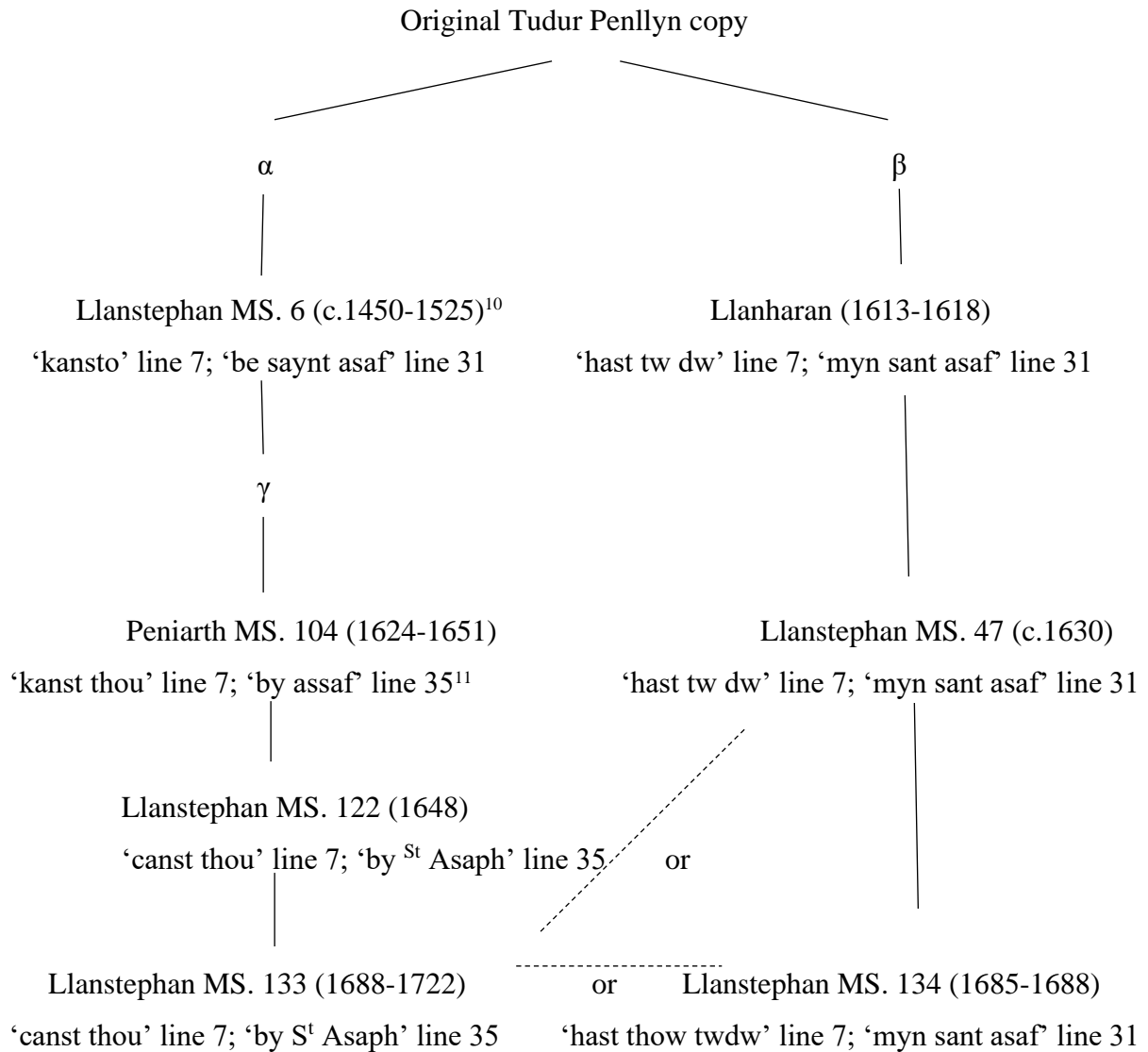
⁸ The fifteen tribes of Gwynedd and five royal tribes of Wales were genealogies compiled from the mid-15th century onwards linking noble or notable families of Wales to medieval (and sometimes semi-mythical) ancestors, by bards such as Gruffudd Hiraethog (d.1564) and his disciples William Llŷn (d.1580), William Cynwal (d.1587/8), and Simwnt Fychan (d.1606) – who happens to be mentioned in Additional MS. 14866 below the copy of the 'Hymn to the Virgin.' Another bard associated to a copy of the 'Hymn' and these genealogies is Lewis Dwinn (Peniarth MS. 96), a student of William Llŷn. It should be noted that these pedigrees become less reliable with time, their production being a matter of pride rather than history for the families involved (Siddons 2006: 801).

collector (Foster Evans 2004: ODNB). Panton was a friend to other antiquarians of his time such as Thomas Pennant (1726-1798) and Daines Barrington (1727/8-1800), a collaborator of the Morris brothers of Anglesey, themselves very prominent antiquarians – one of them being Richard Morris, who provided a few indexes for the manuscripts of ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes’ (see above). He also knew, obviously, Evan Evans, ‘the greatest Welsh scholar of his day’ (Foster Evans 2004: ODNB), whom he met in 1758 when the bard shared with him his copies of the poems of Taliesin. He travelled extensively throughout Wales, England, and Scotland, though his interests seem to have been primarily in the literature of Wales; his manuscript collection was invaluable even during his life, as his decision to keep his library open to scholars encouraged the likes of Owen Jones (Owain Myfyr), William Owen Pughe, and Edward Williams (better known as Iolo Morganwg) in their research, leading to the publication of the *Myvyrian Archaiology* from 1801 to 1807, which collated poetry of the Cynfeirdd and the Gogynfeirdd from the manuscripts at Plâs Gwyn – though the second and third volumes contained many forgeries by Iolo Morganwg (Stephens 1998: 396), as was not surprising from poets in the 18th century – one might think of Ossian ‘translated’ by James Macpherson, or Thomas Chatterton and the ‘medieval manuscripts’ he ‘transcribed’⁹ for publication. The socio-cultural context involved will be discussed in chapter 3 below.

C. Manuscript affiliations of ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes’

While establishing a *stemma codicum* is a delicate endeavour with such a small number of manuscripts as those containing Tudur Penllyn’s poem, a tendency arises with two groups of manuscripts emerging from the analysis of the different versions of the poem (see below in this chapter). Group α distinguishes itself most clearly with the use of *‘canst’ on line 7 of the poem, and line 31 or 35 reading ‘thewe shalt not pas be saynt asaf’ (Llanstephan MS. 6); group β uses ‘hast’ on line 7 and line 31 reads ‘thow shiawl not pass myn sant asaf’ (Llanharan). Within α we can distinguish a further group γ (due to the differences between Llanstephan MS. 6 and Peniarth MS. 104, there was likely an intermediary manuscript between the two copies), which would comprise the 38-lines versions of the poem. This gives a *stemma codicum* as follows:

⁹ These were actually forgeries.



The above figure tries to take into account the likelihood that Llanstephan MS. 133 also had as a model a manuscript from the β line, though it fits better into the α / γ group; this exemplar could have been a manuscript other than Llanstephan MSS. 47 and/or 122, though these two are good candidates as they were part of Williams' library.

¹⁰ There is also the possibility that Llanstephan MS. 6 should be the first copy of the original poem, and therefore α itself.

¹¹ With its repeated lines 16 and 24, it is possible that Peniarth MS. 104 should be γ .

D. Manuscript affiliations of ‘The Hymn to the Virgin’

The following stemma codicum is a reproduction from Dobson (1955: 81), to which was added Llanover MS. 13068B.

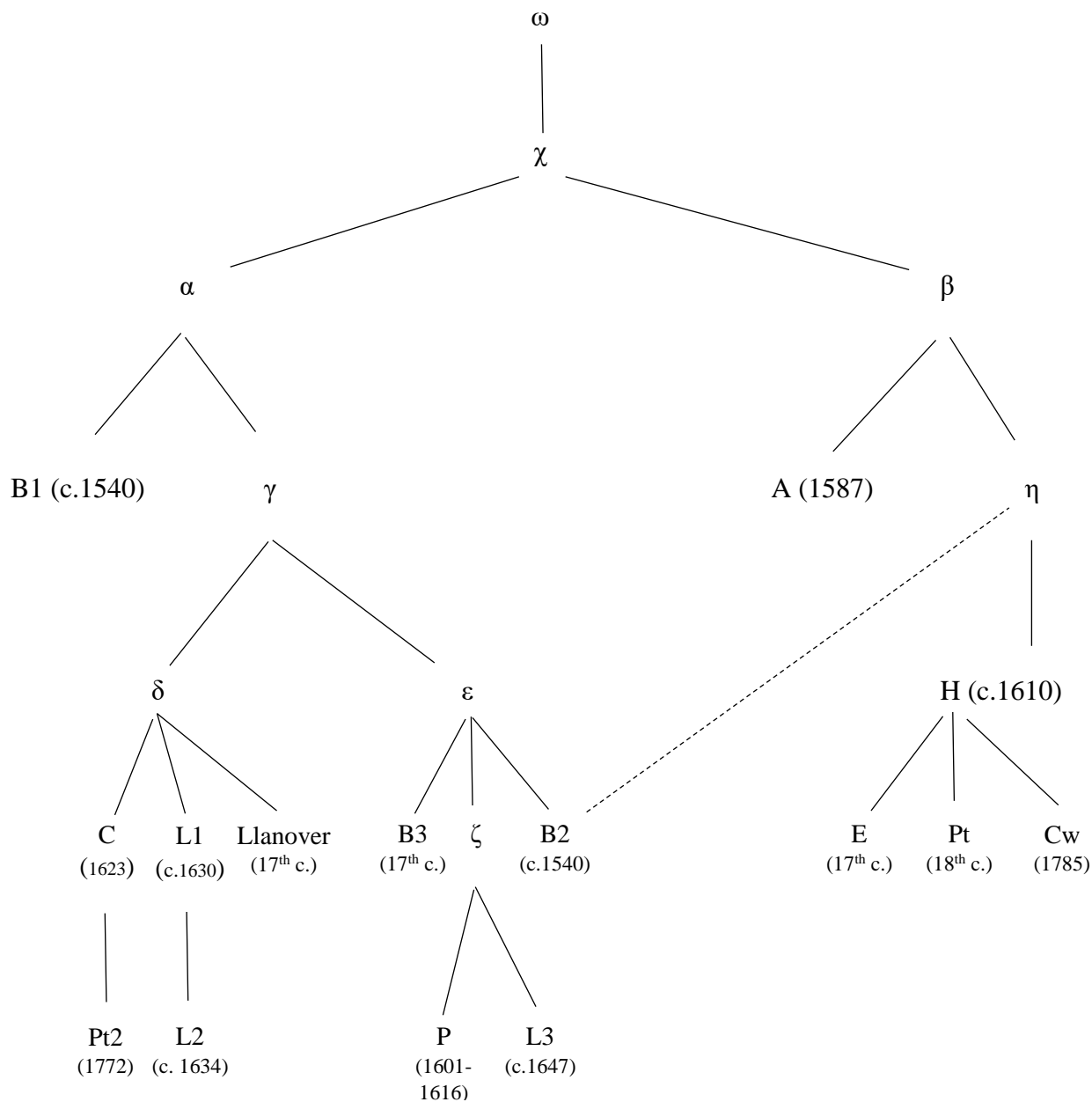


Figure 2: Stemma codicum for the manuscripts of the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’

Middle Welsh pronunciation

For the ease of reading some of the analyses which follow in this chapter, here is a summary of Late Middle Welsh phonology, excluding exceptions, from Simon Evans 1964: 1-23.

Vowels

<i>a</i> [a(:)]	<i>e</i> [e(:)] / [ɛ(:)]	<i>i</i> [i(:)]	<i>o</i> [o(:)] / [ɔ(:)]	<i>u</i> [i(:)]
<i>w</i> [u(:)]	<i>y</i> [i] / [ə]			

Diphthongs

<i>aw</i> [au]	<i>ew</i> [eu]	<i>iw</i> [iu]	<i>yw</i> [iu] / [əu]	
<i>ae</i> [ai]	<i>oe</i> [oi]	<i>wy</i> [ui] / [uə]	<i>ei</i> [ei]	<i>eu</i> [ey]

Consonants

<i>b</i> [b]	<i>c</i> [k]	<i>d</i> [d]	<i>dd</i> [ð]	<i>ff</i> [f]	<i>f</i> [v]
<i>g</i> [g]	<i>h</i> [h]	<i>l</i> [l]	<i>ll</i> [ɭ]	<i>m</i> [m]	<i>n</i> [n]
<i>p</i> [p]	<i>r</i> [r]	<i>s</i> [s]	<i>si</i> [ʃ]	<i>t</i> [t]	<i>th</i> [θ]

Choice of codicological features

This survey of the sources includes descriptions of some of the manuscripts' features, which are not meant to be comprehensive, but rather to give an impression of what each manuscript looks like. Therefore, while some features such as the dimensions of the manuscript and paper, number of pages, and binding description are often given, some other features may vary from manuscript to manuscript, as these are 'individual pieces of work [which] may reflect repetitive operations (such as copying), a great deal of the work [being] incremental, often individual and specialized' (Hanna 2017: 53), as opposed to printed books which are more streamlined and, contrarily to manuscripts, generally completed. This was partly influenced by the necessity to work without having access to the manuscripts¹², but rather to my transcriptions, notes, photographs, and digitalised editions when they exist: the conditions in

¹² As mentioned briefly on page vii, the global pandemic prevented me from accessing the manuscripts in the best conditions, or as often as would have been required.

which a text is transmitted are a good indicator of the importance given to it. These considerations, however, are not the main focus of this thesis.

The codicological details included here are: material (always paper), manuscript size, quality and colour of the ink, and number of pages/folios (depending on whether pagination or foliation was adopted in the manuscript). Describing these features helps readers to visualise the manuscript, and give some explanation of certain layout choices for the poems. I have also included, when known and relevant, manuscript ownership history, the presence of an index, and additional textual information such as other poems present in the manuscript whether in its main body or in the margins. The name of the copyist(s) is included when known: if there are two different hands for the bulk of the manuscript and the poems under review, this is also indicated.

‘Y Bardd a Saesnes’ (‘The Bard and the Englishwoman’), c.1450

Presentation of the poem

A. Introduction

The oldest of the poems under review here, ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes’ (‘The Bard and the Englishwoman’) is the work of Tudur Penllyn, a professional poet amongst the *Beirdd yr Uchelwyr*, and can be found under a variety of names, all in Welsh, and all referring to the bilingual nature of the *cywydd* (see Table 1 below). They indeed never fail to mention the *Saesnes*, the Englishwoman, sometimes along with the nationality of the poet (‘Kymrio’) or his own name, as in Llanstephan MSS. 122 and 133; in Cardiff Free Library MS. 5.44 (the *Llyfr Hir Llanharan*), the title focuses on the languages rather than the origins of the two protagonists. It is a *cywydd*¹³ in which each couplet represents a line of dialogue between the bard (a persona for Tudur Penllyn), who speaks in Welsh, and the Englishwoman, who speaks in English. The tone is humorous, with the bard trying to seduce, rather forcefully, the woman who does not understand what he says and yet perfectly grasps his intentions and answers accordingly. The characters are not developed beyond the concepts of seductor and seducee; the poem inscribes itself in a tradition of love poetry, and more specifically unrequited love poetry, for which the most famous and prolific writer would be Dafydd ap Gwylim.

Manuscript / Book	Title	Translation
Llanstephan MS. 6	Illegible – cut from MS	
Cardiff Free Library MS. 5.44	‘[c]ywydd hawl ag ateb o Gymraeg a Saesneg’	‘cywydd of a dialogue in Welsh and English’
Peniarth MS. 104	‘kowydd rhwng ?ngor /a/ Saesnes’	‘cywydd between ?a man and an Englishwoman’
Llanstephan MS. 47	No title	
Llanstephan MS. 122	‘Cyw[ydd] ymddiddan rhwng y Bardd a Saesnes’	‘Cywydd of a conversation between the poet and an Englishwoman’

¹³ ‘One of the major metrical forms of Welsh prosody [...] consisting of a rhyming couplet, each line of seven syllables, written in *cynganedd* with the accent falling alternately on the last and penultimate syllable’ (Stephens 1998: 141).

Llanstephan MS. 134 <i>Gwaith Tudur Penllyn ac Ieuan ap Tudur Penllyn</i> (Roberts 1959)	‘[c]ywydd o hawl ag ateb rhwng kymrio a saesnes’	‘cywydd of a dialogue between a Welshman and an Englishwoman’
Llanstephan MS. 133	‘Cywydd ymddiddan rhwng Tudur Penllyn a Saesnes ynghylch mynd arni’	‘Cywydd of a conversation between Tudur Penllyn and an Englishwoman about doing it’
<i>Gwaith Tudur Penllyn ac Ieuan ap Tudur Penllyn</i> (Roberts 1959)	‘Cywydd o hawl ac ateb rhwng Cymro a Saesnes’	‘Cywydd of a dialogue between a Welshman and an Englishwoman’
<i>Caru Maswedd yr Oesoedd Canol / Medieval Welsh Erotic Poetry</i> (Johnston 1991)	‘Ymddiddan rhwng Cymro a Saesnes’	‘Conversation between a Welshman and an Englishwoman’

Table 1: The titles of ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes,’ with translations.

The primary language of all manuscripts and books (with the exception of Johnston’s, which is bilingual) containing ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes’ is Welsh, and they all are anthologies of Welsh poetry. As can be inferred from the titles, the *cywydd* takes the form of a dialogue between the poet (named in the last line of the poem as ‘[T]udur’) and some Englishwoman he encountered – the event probably being fictitious, as the tone is rather humorous. It consists of alternating rhymed lines, two in Welsh and two in English; the lines in English are our principal point of interest here. Johnston (1991: 71), referring to the Englishwoman of the poem, writes that ‘although she understands no Welsh, she speaks in fluent *cynghanedd*,’ which indeed is the case, as the poem was composed following a traditional Welsh form even for the English lines.

B. Tudur Penllyn

Though a proficient poet, little is known of Tudur Penllyn. He was born c.1420 and died c.1485-1490, which makes him one of the *Beirdd yr Uchelwyr*¹⁴ (‘poets of the gentry’)—

¹⁴ After the death of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd in 1282, there were no more princes who could assume the role of patrons for the bards, thus ending the era of the *Beirdd y Tywysogion* (‘poets of the princes,’ also known as the *Gogynfeirdd*, ‘the fairly early poets’). The tradition of bardic patronage was however kept by the gentry, families who had risen to power through administration, from c.1330 to c.1630. Many of these poets came from

something he shares with the other poet under review in this thesis, Ieuan ap Hywel Swrdwal ('The Hymn to the Virgin'). He was born Tudur ap Ieuan ap Iorwerth Foel: Penllyn is likely a pen name he took from the *cantref*¹⁵ (centred on Llanderfel, Merioneth) where he is thought to have spent his childhood and old age, having spent his life in the parish of Llanuwchllyn where he is buried (Caerwen Williams 1959: DWB). Though a shepherd and wool trader, Tudur did travel to visit the nobility in North and South Wales as was custom for bards, his main patrons being Gryffudd Fychan of Gors-y-gedol, Rheinallt ap Gruffydd of Mold, and Dafydd Siencen, a supporter of Jasper Tudor and Henry of Richmond (who was to become Henry VII), both of whom conducted frequent raids on England (Caerwen Williams 1959: DWB). Hence, Tudur Penllyn wrote in a time of high friction between the Welsh and the English, and his being a satirist may explain the form and language chosen for 'Y Bardd a Saesnes.'

C. The poem

As mentioned above, the poem was composed at a time of tension between England and Wales; a situation that existed since 1282 and the death of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, the last Prince of Wales. Tensions were exacerbated both since Owain Glyndŵr's revolt (1400-1415), at the very end of which Tudur Penllyn was born, and the Wars of the Roses (1455-1487) between the House of York with that of Lancaster, the latter being supported by the House of Tudor originating from Wales, as indicated by their name.¹⁶ We know very little of the life and family of Tudur Penllyn, but from his patrons and the theme of the poem it may be understood that he had some hostility towards the English.

The poem draws on a traditional trope that finds its expression elsewhere in vernacular literature, e.g. in the Middle English 'De clerico et puella' lyric surviving in London, MS Harley 2253, a mid-fourteenth-century production from the Welsh Marches. In the current poem, the poet – in a way that seems offensive to a present-day reader – presents the relationship as one of cultural miscommunication and assertion of male dominance, in which the male Welsh speaker is empowered at the expense of the female English speaker. The poem presents a partly broken dialogue between Welsh and English speakers; the very bilingualism of the text makes it difficult to ignore the fact that the poet, who names himself, does perfectly

the same social classes as their patrons, and their poems, often sung along with a harp, were 'learned, technically accomplished, and grounded in Christianity' (Stephens 1998: 591).

¹⁵ From Middle Welsh 'cant' (hundred) + 'tref' (village, settlement), the cantref was an administrative and territorial division in medieval Wales; composed in theory of a hundred villages, they were statelets within larger units (called *gwledydd* 'countries, nations, realms').

¹⁶ 'Tudor' being an anglicisation of 'Tudur'

understand what the Englishwoman is telling him, and purposefully makes fun of her by implying she might be a whore – ‘Na fydd chwimwth i’ m gwthiaw, / cai arian llydan o’ m llaw’ translated by Johnston (1991: 71) as ‘Don’t be so swift to push me away, / you’ll get plenty of money from my hand’ – or relating that encounter by having her overreact to his advances. A poem about misunderstandings needed not involve such a dynamic: having English represented as an angry woman bullied for her ignorance of the Welsh language might be a realisation of sexism mingled with a fantasy of being able to overpower the English; or, at the very least, it is a way of degrading them, their language, and their inability to understand Welsh.

At any rate, regardless of the particulars of the situation, this poem is about miscommunication; and in the way it is composed, it shows that the poet, both the author and his poetic persona, have Welsh and English. It is the case for Penllyn, as he could not have written it otherwise, but less so for Tudur – his answers to the Englishwoman do not always seem to acknowledge hers, but they do not tell of any difficulty to understand her, he simply ignores her distress. Therefore, this is quite clearly a text highlighting the perception, and probably the reality, of English natives who would not be able to understand Welsh, on account of ‘not [being] Welsh’ in this case; this is an idea that will come back in the prologues to the ‘Hymn to the Virgin,’ but that is here deployed within the poem itself.

The manuscripts

A. Introduction

‘Y Bardd a Saesnes’ survives in seven manuscripts dating from the mid-15th to the 18th centuries, all of which are kept at the National Library of Wales in Aberystwyth. They are all compilations of Welsh poetry by various authors, including Llanstephan MS. 6 which, though primarily dedicated to the poetry of Dafydd ap Gwilym, contains works from other bards as well. For ease of reference, below is a table listing all seven manuscripts in chronological order including the pages/folios on which ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes’ can be found.

Manuscript	Date	Compiler	Contents	Comments
Llanstephan MS.6 (pp.166-7)	c.1450-1525	Huw Cae Llwyd	Poetry by Dafydd ap Gwilym	used by Benjamin Simon (JGE 1898: 428)
Cardiff Free Library MS. 5.44, <i>Llyfr Hir Llanharan</i> (ff.82v-83r)	1613-1618	Llywelyn Siôn	Poetry by various authors	Also contains the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ (f.5v-6r)
Peniarth MS. 104 (p.71)	1624-1651	Unknown	Poetry by various authors	Also contains ‘Kowydd i ddangos yr heldring o fu i ŵr pann oedd ar y mor’ (p.41-43). several names appear: Thomas Roberts, Eliis Lloyd and Elizabeth Owen,

				Cadwaladr Vaughan, David Williams, Gruffudd Roberts, John Owen of Penrhos.
Llanstephan MS. 47 (ff.231r- v)	c.1630	Same hand as Llanstephan MS.134 below ¹⁷	Poetry by various authors	Also contains the 'Hymn to the Virgin' (pp.36-8) Alphabetical index made by Richard Morris for William Jones in London, 1747 (pp.565-580)
Llanstephan MS. 122 (p.58)	c.1648		Poetry by various authors	Alphabetical index made by Richard Morris for William Jones in London, 1746 (pp.633-646)
Llanstephan MS. 134 (ff.298r-298v)	c.1685x1688	Same hand as Llanstephan MS. 47 above ³	Collection of 566 <i>cywyddau</i> by various authors, organised by	The NLW website lists Richard Morris, Samuel Williams, 'and another' as the

¹⁷ The copyist may have been Llywelyn Siôn, but this appears to have been a mistake by Gwenogvryn Evans, as he himself point out in his entry for Llanstephan MS. 134.

			subjects into books.	creators of this MS.
Llanstephan MS. 133 (f.184r)	1688x1722	Rev. Samuel Williams	‘an Important Corpus of Welsh Poetry made by the Rev. Samuel Williams’ (JGE 1898: 664)	This is the same Samuel Williams as the one mentioned above for MS. 134.

Table 2: The manuscripts of ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes’

B. Manuscript analyses

Llanstephan MS. 6

a. Manuscript description

The earliest manuscript to contain ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes,’ Llanstephan MS.6, is described by Evans (1903: 428) as a book of ‘poetry by David ap Gwylim, and authors who lived mostly in the second half of the XVth century.’ It is written on paper, 5¾ x 3½ inches; 266 pages long, though the numbering is off: it seems there are two different systems used, and ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes’ is for instance on pages 166-167 which were previously numbered 97-98. The manuscript is worn at the corners and the folios have been cut and/or torn in different places. However, the use of red ink throughout the manuscript to write the names of the poets, majuscules, and for decoration and drawings must be noted: it was not an inexpensive or worthless piece of work. Evans (1903: 428) dates it to 1525 at the earliest thanks to a *cywydd* in the hand of Huw Cae Llwyd found on p.247 of the manuscript. However, he also notes that ‘the style of the writing points to an earlier period, and the orthographical habit of writing, for example, *kaid* to rhyme with *eneid* (p.73, &c.), belongs to the second half, if not the last quarter, of the XVth century’ (Evans 1903: 428) – which would make the manuscript contemporary with the composition of the poem, or at least a very close copy of another manuscript from that period. However, the hand on p.247 and that in which Tudur Penllyn’s poem is copied seem to be the same, i.e. that of Huw Cae Llwyd: he is thought to have been born c.1431, with his poems dating from 1457 and 1504, the date at which he is thought to have died. He was buried in the cemetery at Llanuwchllyn where he rests alongside Tudur Penllyn, the two men hailing from the same region of Merioneth (Harries 1959: DWB). Therefore, there is a high probability that the manuscript should actually date from the late 15th century rather than after its author’s death, making it possibly one of the very first copies of the poem and not simply the earliest. The geographical and occupational (both were courtly poets) proximity of the copyist and poet is to be noted as well: though little is known of both men’s lives, they might have known each other, and Huw Cae Llwyd could have produced his version of ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes’ from the original version by the author.

This manuscript of ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes’ has suffered some damage. The bottom left corner of page 166 is missing, causing a loss of nine lines (18 to 26), and the top of the page seems to have been cut, possibly when the manuscript was rebound: as a result, the title given

to the poem is illegible with the exception of the word *kywydd*¹⁸. The title was also given at the top of page 167 in red ink, where we can still read the words ‘kywydd yffan gwa[...] with the rest of the words having been lost. The missing lines on page 166 are due to a diagonal cut; line 18 only has its first letter, <m>, missing, whereas line 26 lost all but the last four, <yne>. The rest of the poem is in very good condition, written in black ink and secretary hand throughout, with the exceptions of the red ink on top of page 167 mentioned above and of the name of the poet at the end of the poem, ‘Tydyr Penllyn ai kant’ (‘Tudur Penllyn sang it’), which seems to aim at emulating a gothic script.

b. Huw Cae Llwyd

Little is known about Huw Cae Llwyd beyond the fact that he was a courtly poet; one of his *cywyddau* (‘Cywydd y Wennol’) tells us that he was born c.1431 in Llandderfel, Meirionnydd (Harries 1959: DWB), therefore making him a contemporary and perhaps a neighbour of Tudur Penllyn, who took his pen-name from the same cantref. Huw Cae Llwyd spent his career singing the praises of wealthy families, among which the names of the Vaughans and the Herberts stand out; forty-four poems of his, composed between 1457 and 1504, survive, including a *cywydd* describing his pilgrimage to Rome in 1475. As noted above, he is thought to be buried in Llanuwchllyn alongside other poets, among which would be Tudur Penllyn (Harries 1959: DWB). His Yorkist patrons having fallen into some hardship after the Battle of Banbury in 1469, Huw Cae Llwyd is found praising Sir Rhys ap Thomas, an agent of Henry VII.

He does not seem to have been known particularly as a copyist or a collector of manuscripts; Llanstephan MS. 6 might have been a collection of poems for his personal use.

c. Poem analysis

It must be noted, before going into more detail, that when compared to other poems such as the ‘Hymn to the Virgin,’ and other copies of ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes,’ the Welsh spelling system is rather inconspicuous: it is present, in particular with the use of <ff> for /f/ and <y> for both /i/ and /ə/, but the similarity to Middle English is quite obvious. This does not necessarily mean that either the original was in English spelling, or that this one is an attempt at anglicisation; rather, it is highly probable that this is a witness for a spelling of Middle

¹⁸ For ‘cywydd.’

English that took advantage of the flexibility of the language's orthography to incorporate some Welsh features into it.

The idea that this might be a copy from the original is not a preposterous one simply by looking at the spelling of the poem: one has to notice, especially when comparing the copy in Llanstephan MS. 6 with later manuscripts, that it has distinct features from Middle English. The first one is the presence of final <e>s in each line spoken by the Englishwoman with the exception of line 16; 'hwre' for 'whore' may be counted as well. It does not seem that these were pronounced, however; several of them occur before a vowel (line 8, 'I leafe alone;' line 27, 'bytherwde ele;' line 28 'plucke oute'), a <h> /h/ (line 3, 'mane hebr,' with the particularity that 'hebr' here is Welsh; line 4 'truthe harde;' line 24 'sore hile'), a <w> /w/ (line 4, 'harde wailsman;' line 11, 'thowe wailsmon'), or at the end of a line (line 7, 'doe;' line 8, 'wosorowe;' line 11, 'wailsmon;' line 19, 'paramoure;' line 24 'hile'); those occurring before a consonant would slightly disarrange the rhythm of the lines. This final <e> may be, as in Late Middle and Early Modern English, an otiose feature.

There is some blending of Welsh and English orthography which means that determining how the text was pronounced is problematic. The consonants cause few issues, such as in the occurrences lines 12 ('ffor byde the lete mi alone') and 15 ('J holde the made byrladi') of 'the' to be understood as the second person singular objective case 'thee;' strictly Welsh should have <th> as /θ/, with <dd> for /ð/, but this consonant cluster is not deployed in the English lines of this version of the poem. When it comes to the vowels, as stated above, <y> in Welsh can stand for either /i/ or /ə/, but given that this copy is not using strict Welsh letter values, there could be a doubt regarding that one: however, it is quite obvious that in this case it never stands for a diphthong as in English /aɪ/. Line 7, 'kyste the dyfyl whate kansto doe' (with 'the' standing here for 'the' and not 'thee') shows both uses of <y> in Welsh letter-values, with the one in 'kyste' being pronounced /i/ and the second one in 'dyfyl' being closer to /ə/. From these, both the use of <e> and <y>, we can infer that in words such as 'byrladi' (line 15; for 'by our lady') or 'bytherwde' (line 27; for 'by the rood'), by comparison with the <e> on line 31 '*be saynt asaf*,' the <y> is meant to be pronounced /i/, as these all stand for the word 'by:' therefore, the diphthongisation of /i/ into /aɪ/ had not taken place yet, allowing us to read line 32 'knyffe' as /kni:f/ (possibly without a final /ə/). Another linked point is raised by lines 31-32:

thewe shalt not pas be saynt asaf
ffor the lif J have a knyffe knave

The words ‘be’ and ‘knyffe’ we have just discussed; the presence of <ff> for /f/ in ‘ffor’ does remind us that this witness presents Welsh features in its English lines. The rhyme, however, should attract the attention: the use of <v> in ‘knave’ owes more to English orthography than to the Welsh one; however, the words ‘asaf¹⁹’ and ‘knave’ are set to rhyme, which leads to think that in this case, <f> is used as /v/..

This manuscript seems to be reliably datable to the late Middle Ages and mid-to-late 15th century rather than to the mid-16th century; the author’s name in gothic letters might be a further clue in that regard. It is difficult to determine whether this could really be a copy of the original, knowing that it is probably a contemporary.

¹⁹ Saint Asaph, as his name is now spelt, was a Welsh saint who lived in the 6th century and about whose life little is known; he is, however, first mentioned in Jocelyn of Furness’ *Vita S. Kentigerni* as a disciple of Saint Kentigern, perhaps better known as Saint Mungo, the founder of the Diocese of Glasgow.

Cardiff Free Library MS. 5.44., also known as the *Llyfr Hir Llanharan*

a. Manuscript description

Cardiff Free Library MS. 5.44, which will be called Llanharan from this point for clarity, seems to be lost in manuscript form: for this thesis it was accessed in microfilm format at the National Library of Wales, and the codicological information is retrieved from John Gwenogvryn Evans' *Reports on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language* (1898-1910); however, no one seems to know where the manuscript is kept nowadays²⁰. The microfilm dates from 1980-1984, and is in negative, with the ink showing white on greyscale paper. This is not the ideal way to view a manuscript: however, it goes to demonstrate the high quality of the copyist Llywelyn Siôn's handwriting that, despite these conditions, the manuscript is easily and very pleasantly legible. It is a long book in 'ledger' format²¹, as indicated by its Welsh name, of which the dimensions are nowhere to be found. The 'Hymn to the Virgin' can also be found earlier in the same manuscript (ff.5v-6r), in the same hand as that of 'Y Bardd a Saesnes,' which would likely be that of Llywelyn Siôn: there is a second hand at work in this manuscript, on a few added leaves and on a contents list, but this is not the one found in the copies of the poems. The lines, in a very careful and small secretary hand, take the full width of the narrow page; the manuscript is a collection of *awdlau* and *cywyddau* from a variety of poets and periods.

'Y Bardd a Saesnes' can be found on folios 82v-83r of the manuscript. Written in the same hand next to the first three lines is 'llyma gywydd hawl ag ateb o Gymraeg a Saesneg', 'here a cywydd of a dialogue in Welsh and English,' which functions as a title though it is not laid out in the same manner as in Llanstephan MS. 6. The end colophon reads 'Tydŵr Penllyn ai kant,' with a variant spelling of the author's name which lines up with the spelling given in the last line of the poem, 'o Dydŵr aŷ nid ydwyd' – Dydŵr showing initial lenition²² after the preposition 'o.'

²⁰ Having asked both in 2018 and 2020 several of the persons working in the reading rooms of the National Library of Wales. They could find all the manuscripts, except this one; the only record appearing in their research for the *Llyfr Hir Llanharan* is the microfilm.

²¹ It is also the case of Llanstephan MS. 134

²² A lenition is a consonantal change such as $t > d$ as is the case here, or $p > b$, $c > g$, $b > f$ etc., after certain articles, verbs, or in this case after certain prepositions (see Simon Evans 1964: 14-21)

b. Llywelyn Siôn

Also known as Llywelyn of Llangewyd, Llywelyn Siôn was born c. 1540 in Laleston, near Bridgend, and died in 1615; he is known as a Welsh poet, having composed in both the fixed and free metres of Welsh verse, though only fourteen of his poems have come to us. He also is recognised as a proficient and important scribe of manuscripts, having ‘undergone a formal instruction in the art of copying’ (Williams 2004: ODNB), as well as a Catholic and a recusant – one who refused to attend Anglican services, despite the 1558 Recusancy Acts – which led him to be ‘summoned before the courts at least six times between 1587 and 1593’ (Williams 2004: ODNB). It is while imprisoned that he copied a number of the manuscripts which survive in his hand. He transcribed several for the gentry of Glamorgan, who gave him access to many libraries; out of thirteen extant manuscripts, seven are anthologies of poetry compiling *cywyddau*²³ and *awdlau*²⁴, one is dedicated to *cwndidau*²⁵, four are written in prose, and one contains genealogies (Phillips 1959: DWB); the *Llyfr Hir Llanharan* belongs to the first category, and has been copied as one of ‘his most important works’ according to Phillips (DWB, an era lasting from 1600 to 1613, his golden age being dated by the same author to 1595-1600, and his ‘busiest period’ from 1585 to 1595. The Welsh antiquarian Iolo Morganwg (1747-1826) had claimed that Llywelyn Siôn also was the author of *Cyfrinach Beirdd Ynys Prydain* (‘The Secrets of the Bards of the Isle of Britain’), though the author was none than Morganwg himself – similarly, the *Barddas*, another forgery of Morganwg, had also been attributed to Siôn when it was published (Thomas 1885-1900: Dictionary of National Biography).

c. Poem analysis

Compared to Llanstephan MS. 6 above, Llanharan deploys a mostly Welsh spelling system for the English text. In addition to the <ff> for /f/ and <f> for /v/ which are used throughout the poem, spellings to note are <hw> for /hw/ (lines 3 and 7, *hwat* ‘what’, possibly representing a pronunciation very reminiscent of both Old English and Scots), <w> for /u/ (line 7, *tw dw* ‘to do’; line 8 *sorw* ‘sorrow’; line 16 *ffwrdd* ‘forth’ and *dw* ‘do’; line 19 *tw* ‘to’ and *parmwr* ‘paramoure’; line 20 *hwr* ‘whore’; line 27 *thrwd* ‘the rood’ and

²³ *Cywydd*: series of seven-syllables lines in rhyming couplets, with the rhyme either staying the same throughout the poem or varying from one couplet to the next; one of the lines must end on a stressed syllable, and the other on an unstressed syllable.

²⁴ *Awdl* = short poem, using a single end-rhyme throughout. Its definition has, however, changed since the nineteenth century, and an *awdl* nowadays designates a long poem, without a single-end rhyme.

²⁵ *Cwndid* = short religious song or carol

blwdy ‘bloody’ line 28 *plwk* ‘pluck’) as well as for the approximant /w/ (all the occurrences of *welsh* or *welshmon*; line 8 *wyth* ‘with’; line 16 *wyl* ‘wil’; line 24(*by*) *war* ‘beware’). There is an interesting use made of the vowels <y> : as mentioned before, it can stand for both the sounds /ɪ/ and /ə/ in Welsh, whereas <i> would be /ɪ/ and /i(:)/; here, the copyist uses <y> for /ɪ/ and /ə/, as expected, but also <ÿ> for /i:/: *mÿ* ‘me’ line 12; *thÿ* ‘thee’ lines 15 and 16; *tÿs* ‘t’is’ line 19; *bÿ* ‘be’ lines 19, 20, 24, are examples where one would expect /i:/, with the addition of *thÿ* on line 19 which stands for English ‘thy,’ where one would expect a diphthong /aɪ/. In other places <y> is also used where one would expect a diphthong (line 15 *byr ladi* ‘by our lady’, line 23 *thy towtil* ‘thy tooting’, line 27 *by thrwd* ‘by the rood’, line 28 *thyn yi* ‘thine eye’, line 32 *thy liyf* ‘thy life’), but it is possible that they were not yet present in the copyist variety by that point: the first three examples of this list can be read /ə/ without it being detrimental to the meaning of the text, and the last two further that possibility as they are immediately followed by digraphs that aim at indicating diphthongs. The diphthong in question might be closer to /əɪ/²⁶ and /ɪə/ than to /aɪ/, given the choice of vowels made by the copyist to represent it: but the fact that there should be a digraph is enough to know that they felt the necessity to indicate two slightly different vowel sounds. The <y> for /aɪ/ also seems to appear in unstressed words, while <iy> or <yi> (as in line 28 *yi* ‘eye’ or line 32 *liyf* ‘life’) is deployed in words carrying stress.

Other noteworthy choices include <th> for both /θ/ and /ð/ as in English, when Welsh would have a distinction between <th> /θ/ and <dd> /ð/, with one exception in Llanharan for *fwrdd* in line 16, which stands for English ‘forth’ with <th> pronounced /θ/, and therefore does raise the question of the interchangeability of the two digraphs. *Ffwrdd* would strictly be pronounced */furð/ if mapped onto contemporary Welsh pronunciation, but it is likely that Llywelyn Siôn intended it as */furθ/, as other instances in the text which would require a /ð/ were not graced with a <dd>. It might be that, as <th> stands for two sounds in English, the copyist took the decision to give the same value to <dd>, though it is curious that this should make only one appearance in the poem. It seems however that on the same line 36 *for thÿ* almost was *fforddi*, as one <d> has been crossed out on the page immediately after having been written, so *ffwrdd* might not be absolutely intentional but rather a slip. A more likely explanation is contextual, given that *j* ‘I’ follows, which might cause a presumed /θ/ to be

²⁶ This is confirmed by the lines 27-28 rhyme, ‘*blwdi* / *yi*,’ which does not leave any other option than a /i/ rhyme.

realised as voiced before the /i/ for the first person singular pronoun, accounting for the use of <dd> instead of <th>.

Peniarth MS. 104

a. Manuscript description

Written ‘after 1624’ (p.24) and ‘before 1651 (p.254)’ (Evans 1898: 644), Peniarth MS. 104 is a collection of Welsh poetry by a variety of authors from several centuries. Dafydd ap Gwilym’s poetry (fl. 1340-1370), which was already present in Llanstephan MS. 6, can be found alongside Tomos Prys’ ‘Cowydd y ddangos yr hillng...’ in this volume, which visibly was the work of a careful antiquarian preoccupied with producing an extensive record of Welsh poetry. The copyist is not known: several names do appear in the book, which Evans (1898: 644) lists as follows: ‘Thomas Roberts (p.79); Ellis lloyde et Elizabeth Owen uxor eius 1651 (pp. 14, 79, and 254); Kad: Vaughan, 1651 (p.14); Hugh Hughes of Tre’r Druid, 1697 (pp. 95-101); David Williams, 1706 (pp. 57, 83, 123); William Kerver his book 1706 (pp. 61, 135); John Lewis, 1735 (pp. 91, 101, 107); Gr: Roberts Chirurgicus (p.131); John Owen of Penrhos (p. 165),’ to which can be added the name of Hugh Lewis appearing on page 71, the one on which ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes’ is to be found. The MS is bound in morocco and written on paper 11¼ x 7¼ inches, 254 pages long with the folios numbered from 9 to 139; some leaves are missing throughout, and Evans (1898: 644) notes the text throughout as being imperfect. This is reflected in ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes’ as well: the poem is legible but shows some different readings, which will be discussed below, as well as some evidence of lapses of attention. The handwriting is not very careful in this manuscript either, with several corrections brought to the text as well as a few places in which it is difficult to determine what the copyist intended to write: this mostly concerns letters written above others, though the reason for these changes is not as obvious as in other copies.

b. Readers and owners of the manuscript

The copyist for Peniarth MS. 104 is not known; however, as mentioned above, there is quite an extensive list of persons who had the manuscript in their hands. In those given by John Gwenogvryn Evans, quoted above, one immediately attracts attention: “Kad: Vaughan.” Vaughan is not a surprising name to see here, as Robert Vaughan’s library was the primary source for the Peniarth manuscript collection, which was formerly known as ‘Hengwrt’ after the name of Vaughan’s mansion. He was an important Welsh antiquarian: among his collection were to be found the Black Book of Carmarthen, White Book of Rhydderch, Book of Taliesin, and Hengwrt Chaucer, to name but a few, and he is known to have transcribed poems himself, and translated an important version of the *Brut y Tywysogion* (“Chronicle of the Princes”) in

Peniarth MS. 20. There is no doubt that ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes’ presented some interest to Vaughan: while there is no possible way to ascertain that he did read the poem, its presence in his collections is not surprising, even if it were to be an accident. It places Tudur Penllyn’s poem within a wider context of manuscript collecting and poetic culture: his poem is not an oddity among other works that would be “true Welsh literature,” but indeed part of it – it is not set in a separate manuscript within the collection, and indeed not set in a specific category within the manuscript.

c. c. Poem analysis

The version of ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes’ found in Peniarth 104 is the earliest to be comprised of 38 lines rather than 34: two additional lines in Welsh and two in English. The two new lines in English can be found on lines 23-24, which read as follows:

J bid beshro thy bodye
ffor the n^{ow} Jle doe not ffor thee

Line 24 appears twice, since it can also be found in line 16, as ‘ffor the n^{ow} Jle doe not ffor thee’; it is present in all manuscripts, which would indicate that the variant on line 24 probably is an eye-skip. Line 23, ‘J bid beshro thy bodye,’ seems to be an amalgam of what is in the Llanharan manuscript line 12, ‘ffor bid thi let mý a lon’ (‘J bid thee let me alone’ in Peniarth 104) and line 27, ‘by thrwd jl mak thy blwdy,’ which disappeared from Peniarth 104: in its place, we have on line 27 ‘Jle drawe blod of thy body,’ which can be found on the same line in Llanstephan MS. 122 and on line 31 in Llanstephan MS. 133 – not in any other manuscript, preceding or following this one. This already establishes a filiation between Peniarth 104 and Llanstephan MSS 122 and 133: if they all show the same added lines, they may be presumed to have been affiliated. The ‘Jle drawe blod of thy body’ line itself might be a re-writing of line 15 again: however, it might also be that the copyist of Peniarth 104 chose to add these four lines to the poem: the Welsh part of the dialogue does not seem to show the same confusion.

The spelling used throughout Peniarth MS 104 is similar to that of Llanstephan MS 6 in that though it does show some Welsh features such as the <ff> for /f/ and on four occasions, on lines 7, 19-20, and 28, a <w> for /u/ (‘what kanst thou *dwe*’; ‘it is harme to be a paramwr / hould i should be kald a hwr’; ‘anon and *pwl* out thine ey’). It otherwise clearly is written in English with little use of Welsh spelling for the lines spoken by the Englishwoman. The two lines quoted above already give a good indication of this: ‘J’ stands for PDE ‘I’ and was

probably already meant to be read /aɪ/; ‘thy’ thus must be read similarly with a diphthong, rather than as ‘the,’ which is a form that can be found in some versions of ‘The Hymn to the Virgin’ but never in ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes.’ The rhyme is the most obvious clue to the use of the English spelling system here: with ‘bodye’ set to rhyme with ‘thee,’ the pronunciation of the latter word is /ði:/, which with Welsh letter-values would have been ‘ddi,’ with <dd> for /ð/, <th> being pronounced exclusively /θ/, and <i> for /i:/ rather than a doubled vowel, which is rare in Welsh and would indicate that both vowels are meant to be pronounced separately. The rhyme also indicates that <ee> is indeed meant to be a long /i/ rather than a long /e/ as Middle English spelling conventions would have had.

The last line to discuss in that version of ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes,’ which once again links it to Llanstephan MS 122, is line 11:

J am not milsh thou welshman

The line in Llanstephan 6 reads ‘J am not wel;’ in Llanharan, ‘j am not welsh.’ The misreading ‘milsh’ is notable here: it is easily possible to misread a <w> for a <m> and a <e> for a <i>, and given the context of the poem, ‘milsh’ is not such an outlandish word to find. Now a rare word, ‘milch’ as a variant of ‘melch’ is attested from c.1350 in the OED as an adjective meaning ‘mellow, soft, tender’ as well as ‘loose’ when applied to soil: could the copyist not have read the line as the Englishwoman expressing that she cannot understand the bard, but as another way to reject him and express her disinterest through a metaphor? It is implied that the bard gestures at her and advances towards her, given some of her reactions – ‘Jle [...] pwl out thine ey,’ ‘syr ho war my sore hile,’ or ‘for thy liffe /i/ have /a/ kniffe knave’ are quite obvious menaces –, therefore the preceding lines in Welsh, ‘gad ir llaw dan godi yr llên / dy glowed fyn deg awen’²⁷ might have led to either a misreading or a rewriting; the latter would add more sexual or bawdy humour to the poem, and especially in the Englishwoman’s lines which are not as explicit as that of the Welsh poet.

²⁷ ‘Let my hand lift up your skirt / and feel you, fair merry girl’ (Johnston 1991: 71)

Llanstephan MS. 47

a. Manuscript description

The second manuscript from the Llanstephan collection under review here, MS. 47 also is a compilation of poetry by various authors, which happens to include another poem discussed in this thesis, viz. ‘The Hymn to the Virgin.’ The manuscript is written on paper (8 x 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ inches), 580 pages long, and in overall good condition. Evans (1903: 516) dates it to c.1630, albeit with some uncertainty. He also suggests that the hand found in this manuscript is the same as that of Llanstephan MS. 134 (discussed below) and the Book of Llywarch Reynolds. Evans did mention that the copyist for MS. 47 might be Llywelyn Siôn, but he changed his mind in his entry for Llanstephan MS. 134; this does not resolve the issue of the copyist’s identity, however, since in his ‘Hymn of the Virgin’ article, Dobson (1955: 75) affirms Llanstephan MS.47 to be ‘undoubtedly in the same hand as [Cardiff Free Library MS. 5.44], and therefore written by Llywelyn Siôn,’ adding that the hand of MS. Llywarch Reynolds is ‘known to be Llywelyn Siôn’ without further explanation. Though Llanharan and Llanstephan MS. 47 do seem to be related, it is doubtful that both would be the work of Siôn for the simple reason that if MS. 47 dates to c. 1630, he would have been dead for at least a decade at that point. It is, however, not impossible to imagine the hand of a student, follower, or admirer of Siôn, who would have written in imitation of his hand; which would explain the similarities and confusion regarding the identity of the copyist, as well as the close relationships between those manuscripts.

b. Poem analysis

The first obvious link²⁸ between Llanharan and Llanstephan MS. 47 is the choice of spelling: where Llanstephan MS. 6 and Peniarth MS. 104 had more English features, Llanstephan 47 is presented in a Welsh spelling system, like Llanharan. The temptation to see both manuscripts as the work of the same copyist comes from the fact that not only do the hands look very similar, but on top of that, the later manuscript is a very careful copy of the earlier, with a few notable modifications:

Line	Llanharan	Llanstephan	Notes
		47	

²⁸ Or, perhaps, second obvious link if one considers that both Llanharan and Llanstephan MS. 47 have the ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes’ and the ‘Hymn to the Virgin.’

Line 4; line 11; Line 23; Line 31	a-wes Welshman welsh welshmon byshrow shiawl	a welsman wels welsmon bisrow siawl	In these five instances, the earlier <sh> spelling for a presumed /ʃ/ has been replaced with <s>; the last example, ‘siawl,’ makes it clear that it also is meant to stand for /ʃ/, though in this case, it is the digraph <si> that seems to represent the sound, as in any other combination <s> is /s/.
Line 7	defl	difl	The change from /ɛ/ to /i:/ may be noted, in that Llanharan had the expected Welsh spelling pronunciation for ‘devil,’ while Llanstephan 47’s variant appears like a hypercorrection, or as a confusion between the pronunciations of ‘devil’ /devəl/ and ‘evil’ /i:vəl/. It might reflect the copyist’s pronunciation of both words as well, with ‘devil’ being pronounced /di:vəl/ as in Middle English..
Line 8; Line 15, 16, 17, 19, 23, 32	wyth thỳ	with thi	The first instance of a <y> replaced with a <i> on line 8 with ‘wyth’ / ‘with’ might be a correction to avoid the confusion with the Welsh diphthong <wy> /ɔi/ when the intended pronunciation is /wi/, which can indeed correspond to the spelling <wi>. All the ‘thỳ’ (for ‘thee’) being systematically replaced by ‘thi’ seem to have been motivated by the fact that Welsh would not use a grave accent (which are here reproduced from the manuscript) to indicate vowel length (but could use a circumflex), especially when <y> tends to indicate a short /i/ and <i> a long /i:/.
Line 12	thi	the	Change influenced by the English spelling ‘thee.’

Line 12	mȳ	me	Given what is found for ‘thȳ’ and ‘thi,’ one might have expected ‘mȳ’ to be replaced by ‘mi’ rather than ‘me,’ which reflects the written form in Early Modern English.
Line 20	kold	kowld	The change in MS 47 is hard to interpret; the addition of <w> may be to do with the common deployment of <w> in Welsh.
Line 27	thrwđ	ddrwg	<p>Two changes are happening here: the first one, from <th> to <dd>, seems to be reflecting the consonant /ð/ which was strictly speaking absent from Llanharan, as Welsh <th> tends to reflect the pronunciation /θ/. This is the only instance in which <th> is changed to <dd>, probably to represent the voicing of an unstressed closed-class word, in this case ‘the.’</p> <p>The second change, going from <rwđ> (for the English ‘rood’) to <rwg>, is slightly more difficult to understand: there is no apparent reason for which /d/ could be confused with /g/, and no word that seems to correspond to a /ru(:)g/ pronunciation; it might be a simple misspelling.</p>
Line 28	a non	a nonn	The added <n> does not seem to indicate a change in the pronunciation.
Line 28	thyn yi	thi n ei	Both variants are meant to read ‘thine eye;’ in Llanharan, the pronunciation called for with the spelling used would be /θənəi/, /θɪnəi/, /θəni:/ or /θɪni:/ while Llanstephan 47 has /θɪnəi/; the copyist of Llanstephan 47 changed ‘ <u>th</u> rwđ’ to ‘ <u>dd</u> rwg,’ but not the already discussed above ‘thȳ’ to ‘ddi’ or this one ‘thyn’ to, for instance, ‘ddein.’
Line 31	pass	pas	The second <s> is not necessary in order to get the /pas/ pronunciation in Welsh, and this might be the

			reason why the copyist of Llanstephan 47 chose to remove it.
Line 32	liyf	liff	The Llanharan variant attempted to represent a diphthong, with /li:ɪf/ or possibly /lɪəf/ (perhaps a ‘lyif’ spelling would have been more expected here). Llanstephan 47 instead removes the digraph and corrects the single <f> which would be expected to stand for /v/ with <ff> for /f/.

Table 3: List of the variant readings for ‘Y Bardd y Saesnes’ between MS. Llanharan and Llanstephan MS. 47

Such variants and corrections could indeed be the work of a single copyist who attempts to improve his version of the poem, or of a follower of Llywelyn Siôn with the same goal. Nevertheless, apart from the words in the table above, the two copies are substantively identical: therefore, whether they share the same hand or not is not the most crucial point, as they in any case are closely related. Both demonstrate an intention from their author to provide a distinctively Welsh spelling to their copies of ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes,’ which is not the case for all manuscripts: therefore, two groups emerge already in the case of this poem, one, which will be named α , which keeps a majority of English letter-values or at least does not attempt at providing Welsh spellings; the other group being named β , corresponding to Llanharan, Llanstephan MS. 47, and (as will be made evident below) Llanstephan MS. 134.

Llanstephan MS. 122

a. Manuscript description

Llanstephan MS. 122 is a compilation of 244 *cywyddau* (the thirteenth being copied twice) on half-bound paper, 10¾ x 7⅞ inches; 631 pages long according to a note on f.iiiir, and 632 pages long, this one being blank, to which must be added pages 633-646 (according to Evans 1898: 609). The note on f.iiiir is part of an alphabetical index which was most likely added for ‘William Jones in London 1746’ (p.633) by Richard Morris, whose hand will also be seen in another index of his in Llanstephan MS. 134, while his brothers are involved with other manuscripts which will be discussed later. The copyist of Llanstephan MS. 122 is otherwise unknown; it dates from c.1648, but there are no indications as to who produced it. There is, however, some clue regarding its origin, as this is one of the only two manuscripts along with Peniarth MS. 104 (see above) which present the curious variant reading for line 11 ‘I am not milke you Welshmon’ (Llanstephan MS. 122, p.58), meaning that this one probably is a copy of the other, or that they were produced in close contact to one another.

b. Richard Morris

The copyist of Llanstephan MS. 122 may be unknown, but the identity of the person who provided it with an index is significant for the context of reception of the manuscripts under study. The second son of Morris ap Rhisiart (or Morris Prichard), a farmer and cooper, Richard Morris (1703-1779) was a clerk and ‘promoter of the Welsh language’ (Wiliam 2004: ODNB). This latter description does not capture the extent to which he and his two brothers, Lewis Morris (1701-1765) and William Morris (1705-1763), were instrumental in the ‘promotion’ of the Welsh language, as the three were the founders of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion in September 1751, of which Richard was the president until his death in 1779 (Morgan 2001). Richard’s interest in Welsh culture and poetry seems rooted in his youth, as he is said to have started compiling a book of Welsh folk poetry he heard in his family and general entourage at age thirteen, a work which occupied him for over a year; and as he became his father’s assistant carpenter, he got access to a large source of poetry and music (Wiliam 2004: ODNB). He moved to London in 1722, which he would not leave; there, he worked at different jobs, from labourer to clerk, *via* teacher of navigation; during that period of his life, he also composed poetry, until 1740 when he decided to dedicate his efforts to supporting other Welsh poets and scholars instead (Wiliam 2004: ODNB). In 1748 he secured a position as clerk in the Navy Office, from which he would retire in 1775; and, as mentioned above, it is in the

meantime that he and his brothers founded the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion in 1751, having as well edited a Welsh *Bible* and *Book of Common Prayer* in 1746 and 1752, alongside other works (Wiliam 2004: ODNB). His contribution to the Welsh revival of the eighteenth century is evident, if only just for his antiquarian work for the Honourable Society; having his name in Llanstephan MS. 122, and all the more so that it is because he added an index to it, is invaluable.

c. Poem analysis

As mentioned previously, Llanstephan MS. 122 shares a few features with Peniarth MS. 104, as well as Llanstephan MS. 133: their versions of ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes’ contain thirty-eight rather than thirty-four lines, with the same lines being added, though not in the same places; their spelling is closer to the English standard than what could be witnessed in Llanharan and Llanstephan MS. 47 above; lastly, Llanstephan 122 and Peniarth 104 have the ‘milsh / milke’ variant in line 11. Here are the two full lines for each manuscript:

J am not milsh thou welshman (Peniarth 104)

I am not milke you Welshmon (Llanstephan 122)

In the section regarding the Peniarth version of the poem, it was suggested that ‘milsh,’ or ‘milch,’ could be understood as ‘melch’ meaning ‘loose, friable,’ changing the meaning of the line from the Englishwoman stating that she does not understand the Welsh bard to her explaining that she is not able to provide what he requires, as she is not a loose woman. This seems to be the case here, with a slightly different meaning to the word ‘milke,’ as it does exist in adjectival form as meaning ‘milk-white’ (now obsolete). It does however make less sense than in the Peniarth version, as while the earlier one could have hinted at some kind of fantasy, here the potential joke is absent. It could have been understood as ‘milken,’ with the figurative meaning of ‘soft, mild, gentle’ (OED), but the absence of the final <n> forbids that interpretation. Another possibility would be that this Llanstephan MS. 122’s ‘milke’ should be read as a noun rather than an adjective, with either the sense of ‘able to give milk’ that was present in ‘milsh’²⁹ or perhaps referring to the Englishwoman not being naive regarding the bard’s intention (which would mean that ‘milke’ is used in the sense of ‘period of infancy,’ which would be a metaphor here); another alternative being that it should be understood as a figurative for ‘pleasant,’ in which case the woman would be seen turning down the poet by

²⁹ The OED attests the usage of ‘milch’ as meaning ‘bred or kept to provide milk’ from c.1300.

stating to him that he does not want to get acquainted with her, despite what he seems to be thinking. No matter the intended interpretation of this line, it makes for an obvious link between the Peniarth MS 104 and Llanstephan MS 122 versions of Tudur Penllyn's poem.

The spelling system chosen in that version of the poem is, as stated above, closer to the emerging English standard than to a fully Welsh-based orthography. There are some Welsh features nonetheless; in line 7, the 'cisse' seems to owe more to the possibility for Welsh to express the sound /k/ with a <c> even before a <i> than to English, where by this date <k> is usual; two circumflex accents on line 31 ('hô wâre') seem to derive from the Welsh origin of the manuscript as well, and are absent from Peniarth 104. Otherwise, the copyist of Llanstephan MS 122, if he did take Peniarth MS 104 as his exemplar, chose to remove every <ff> to prefer a simple <f> (particularly visible on line 36 of the poem), and remove the <w> for <u> and replace them with <o> or <oo> (line 7 'dwe' becomes 'doe,' while line 19 'paramwr' and line 20 'hwr' become 'Paramoore' and 'whoore'). There is also the noteworthy change for the saint's name on line 35, going from 'saynt asaf' in Llanstephan MS 6 to simply 'assaf' in Peniarth MS 104 to now ^{St30} Asaph' and its Greek-inspired or influenced <ph>, which is the English orthography for his name. Lastly, it should be noted that diphthongs are not indicated with two vowels as they would be in Welsh, but rather use the English spelling as well: see the many instances of 'thy,' 'thyne' on line 28, while English-type spellings are used for words containing the reflexes of Middle English long vowels ('Paramoore,' 'whoore,' 'thee,' 'knee').

The additional lines are not exactly the same as those in Peniarth 104, and not in the same order: in Llanstephan MS 122, the two lines are to be found on lines 15 and 16, 'I bid beshrow thy body / fane then I will not doe for thee' when the Peniarth manuscript had them in lines 23-24, with Llanstephan's line 15, 'J holde the made byrladi' displaced to line 23 'I houlde thee mad by 'r ladie.' This is where a further new line appears: in Peniarth 104 lines 16 and 24 were repeated, which was avoided in Llanstephan 122 with the addition of line 24 'thou knafe withdraw thon thy knee.' This line 24 was also the work of someone who knew the Welsh rules of versification, as it appears to be a *cynganedd draws* ('partial cross-harmony'), possibly an attempt at *cynganedd groes* ('cross-harmony'), with the presumed alliterative pattern being /ð/ - /(k)n/ - /ð/ | /ð/ - /ð/ - /(k)n/ ('**th**ou **kn**afe **wi**thdraw **th**on **th**y **kn**ee'). This would not make a perfect *cynganedd groes* as the consonants are not repeated in the same order on both sides of the line's caesura, even though they all appear in the same number (which

³⁰ 'St' is added in superscript in the manuscript.

does not have to be the case in *cynganedd draws*). This indicates that the unknown copyist was either a poet or an antiquarian familiar with poets.

Llanstephan MS. 134

a. Manuscript description

Also known as *Y Llyfr hir o'r Mwythig* ('The Long Book of Mwythig'), Llanstephan MS. 134, of 574 pages, is a long collection of 563 *cywyddau*, according to a note on f.iiir; a different hand tells us that there actually are 564 poems in the manuscript, n°113 being repeated twice. Like the *Llyfr hir Llanharan*, this volume is a ledger format, i.e. its most distinctive feature are its dimensions: 15¼ x 5¾ inches. The poems are arranged into books according to the subject, and comes with an index of authors arranged in alphabetical order on ff.vr-xiiv – the title page as well as the index being in Richard Morris' hand, as Llanstephan MS. 122 above. Evans (1898: 695) notes that the manuscript is in want of a beginning and an end, and that it was rebound in 1975. It is supposedly in the same hand as Llanstephan MS.47 above, meaning that as discussed in the section on that manuscript, the copyist has been suspected to be Llywelyn Siôn, which according to the date of composition (c.1685x1688) is unlikely. It is still written in a secretary hand however, and Llanstephan MS. 134 shares enough features with the previous two suspected to be in Siôn's hand to make it safe to assume that they were in contact with one another, not least because the Llanstephan MSS are in the same collection, owned in the late 17th-early 18th century by the Rev. Samuel Williams, already mentioned above, and who is listed as one of the creators of MS. 134 on the National Library of Wales' website³¹.

b. Samuel Williams

Born c.1660, the reverend Samuel Williams is known to have lived in Llandyfriog, South Cardiganshire, where he was appointed curate in 1691 and then priest in 1696, with his wife Margaret and only son Moses. He is thought to have died at the latest in 1722, as the living of Llandyfriog was then given to one Theophilus Evans (Bowen 1959: DWB). He was a collector of manuscripts, the Llanstephan collection owing to his work and in even greater part even to that of his son: Samuel Williams was an experienced copyist by 1696, and his hand can be found in several of the Llanstephan manuscripts (in part or in whole), including Llanstephan MSS. 133 and 134. Though he did write some poetry, albeit not in classical form, he is better known for his works of translation: he published two of those, *Amser a Diwedd Amser* in 1707 from John Fox's *Time and the End of Time*, and in 1710 *Undebyn Orchymmynedig i Ymarfer* originally written in English by Dr. D. Philips; the rest of his translations are still in manuscript

³¹ <<https://archives.library.wales/index.php/y-llyfr-hir-or-mwythig>> [last accessed 15/01/2024]

form (Bowen 1959: DWB). He also had the intention to publish the contents of Llanstephan MSS. 145 and 146, which were collections by himself of poems by several authors, but this project never came to fruition. These two lines of work show how the reverend may have found a particular interest in Tudur Penllyn's poem, and this is even more evident in Llanstephan MS. 133 below: as a translator from English to Welsh with an interest in poetry, this text playing with both languages must have been at least intriguing to him: and as it is likely that, even if he did not have a hand in the version of the poem in this manuscript, he still had access to it and potentially knew of it.

c. Poem analysis

With its distinctive Welsh features, Llanstephan MS. 134 evidently belongs to the α group of manuscripts: it is thirty-four lines long, with no added lines, and shares many similarities with Llanstephan MS. 47 (and therefore Llanharan). The latter seems to have been the material from which the version in MS. 134 was copied; several modifications were introduced to the text, which are as follows:

Line	Ll.47	Ll.134	Notes
4	welsman	Welsman	Capitalisation
7	difl	deifl	The change from <i> to <ei> is a further variant spelling for 'devil', not recorded in OED ³² .
	hwat	what	Anglicised spelling.
	tw dw	thow twdw	The copyist of MS 134 has inserted thow 'thou' (governing preceding hast in the text), and omitted a space in twdw 'to do'.
8	sorw	for w	The long <s> in Llanstephan MS. 47 was confused with an <f>; the space between 'for' and 'w' probably was introduced because 'for' was perceived as a preposition, but nothing was added to 'w' in order to keep the rhyme with 'twdw' on line 7 above.
11	wels	welsh in health	Though Llanstephan MS. 134 first had 'welsh,' correctly reading the 'wels' in Ll.47, it seems that the copyist

³² See <https://www.oed.com/dictionary/devil_n?tab=forms#6858917> [last accessed 14/01/2024].

	welsmon	welshman	<p>immediately thought better of it and corrected it to ‘in health’ within the same line, reading ‘wels’ as ‘well’ – a misreading similar to the one in line 8 above.</p> <p>The <h> was added to ‘welsman’ even when comparing to Llanstephan MS. 134’s line 4; it does however keep the <a> which Llanstephan MS. 47 had in line 4, but changed for an <o> in this line. The <sh> appears to be an instance of anglicised spelling.</p>
12	bid	byd	The change here might not be motivated by phonology, but by spelling.
	the	thy	The switch from <e> to <y> makes it clear that, at least according to the copyist, the words should be read /ði/ and
	me	my	/mi/ rather than /ðə/ and /mə/.
15	byr ladi	byrladi	As with twdwl ‘to do’ (line 7), the copyist does not here deploy word-division in line with present-day English expectations.
16	ffwrdd	ffordd	Anglicised orthography.
	wyl	wil	This is the only instance of a <i> preferred to a <y> that was present in Ll.47.
19	bŷ	by	Diacritic removed, though Ll.134 uses the same later in the text.
	thi	they	The spelling <ey> would seem to imply in this instance – only sporadically reflected in this copyist’s text -- a diphthongal pronunciation. Another example appears in line 23.
20	siawl	shiawl	Though the digraph <si> would represent a /ʃ/ sound with Middle Welsh letter-values (cf. the pronunciation of Llywelyn Siôn), it seems that the copyist wanted to make evident that the sound should be /f/ by using the digraph <sh> that is more common in English than it is in Welsh.

	bȳ	by	See line 19 above for a similar example.
23	bisrow	bishrow	Similarly to the ‘siawl / shiawl’ example above, the copyist used <sh> to represent /ʃ/; with the difference that Ll.47 would have strictly read */bisro/.
	thi	they	See line 19 above for a similar example.
	towtil	towtȳl	The shift from <i> to <ȳ> might indicate, especially because of the diacritic, that the vowel is meant to be stressed; this is inferred from the rhyme on the following line. It is curious that diacritics should be introduced mid-poem when they were removed before that point; the hand does not seem to have changed.
24	mȳ	my	As in lines 19 and 20 above, the diacritic above <ȳ> was removed in the copy.
	hil	hȳl	See line 23 above; the diacritic might be indicative here of a stressed vowel affected by the Great Vowel Shift, though it does not seem to be systematic in the manuscript.
27	bȳ	by	See lines 19, 20, 24 above.
	thi	thȳ	See lines 23-24 above. The spelling makes it clear, at least, that ‘thȳ’ is not meant to be read as English ‘thy’ but as ‘thee.’
	blwdi	blwdy	Similar to ‘bid’ / ‘byd’ on line 12, the change might have been more motivated by aesthetic concerns in the spelling, probably as part of a process of anglicisation (whether conscious or not).
28	a nonn	a non	One of the <n> was removed, probably because it was not deemed necessary with regards to the pronunciation.
	jł	j wyl	Development of ‘jł’ (for ‘I’ll’) into ‘j wyl’ (‘I will’). Whereas Ll.47 had ‘jł’ on both lines 27 and 28, Ll.134 kept only the

	plwk owt	plwk	first occurrence on line 27 and modified the second one; it was not to add a syllable to the line, as the following modification shows that one was removed. 'owt' removed from the line; as mentioned above, not to solve a syllable number issue, as one was added just before with the development of 'jl' into 'j wyl' – except if 'owt' was left aside to account for the syllable added with 'wyl.'
	thi n	thyn	For the vowel change, see instances of <i> to <y> above; the <n> is added to the lexeme, as the word is meant to stand for English 'thine'.
	ei	ej	The shift from <i> to <j> for 'eye' does not necessarily change pronunciation drastically; <j> could be used for <i> (as in 'I'), this is probably due to the interchangeable quality of the two letters.
31	siawl	shiawlt	See line 20 above.
32	thi	they	See line 19 above.

Table 4: Line-by-line list of the variant readings for 'Y Bardd a Saesnes' between Llanstephan MS. 47 and Llanstephan MS. 134

The modifications brought to the poem in Llanstephan MS. 134 thus seem to be in part to reflect the copyist's perception of the pronunciation of English, and in part for changing usage affected by English orthography. Examples of the latter include a phrase such as 'in health' (with Welsh letter-values one would have expected 'in helth'), a word like 'what' (rather than 'hwat'), or the two different spellings 'Welsman' and 'welshman' in the poem, alongside the digraph <sh> for /ʃ/ when it was not necessary, show that this 'Welshed English' cannot absolutely escape Anglicisation.

Llanstephan MS. 133

a. Manuscript description

The most recent of the manuscripts of ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes,’ Llanstephan MS. 133 is a general compendium of poetry in the hand of the Rev. Samuel Williams, who owned the Llanstephan collection (see above). Iago ap Dewi’s hand can also be found in the volume on ff.196-243. Tudur Penllyn’s poem is found on ff.184r, certainly in Williams’ hand. The manuscript is very well preserved, 384 folios written on paper with a further 50 added by Richard Morris containing an index of authors (as he did for Llanstephan MSS. 122 and 134), and with a beautiful wood binding (14 x 9 inches). The manuscript also includes an alphabetical index of the poems’ first lines, on ff. iv-viii. It is related to the other Llanstephan MSS, as they were all part of Samuel Williams’ library; this one seems to have been a collection of poems copied from a diversity of sources, some from other volumes in his library and others from elsewhere. The text of ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes’ in Llanstephan MS. 133 is part of the group α of witnesses, as it reads ‘*can’ (here, ‘canst’) on line 7 and, perhaps more noticeably, comprises 38 lines. Llanstephan MS. 122 may have been the source used by Williams for his version of the poem, as they share similarities and a manuscript collection. However, there are between the two witnesses too many differences, which suggests that there is another witness between these two which would either have served as the actual exemplar, or as a second version alongside Llanstephan MS. 122 which would have served for this version.

b. Poem analysis

This version of ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes’ is the most anglicised of all: there is no Welsh spelling for the lines in English throughout the version in Llanstephan MS. 122, though the Welsh lines were not translated by the Rev. Samuel Williams. This makes sense: the Welsh bard speaks in Welsh and the Englishwoman now answers in standard English. Regarding audiences, the implications for Welsh speakers change slightly, as they now would have to understand written and not simply spoken English to read the poem in full, which given the milieux in which manuscripts were in circulation was not too high an expectation by the end of the 17th century; regarding potential English readers, if they ever were to encounter this specific manuscript, they would rather ironically be in the same situation as the Englishwoman – they understand what she says, but can only guess what the bard is asking her to induce such a response.

As mentioned above, Llanstephan MSS. 122 and 133 are probably related, if not directly, at least through one other manuscript which is now unknown. MS. 133 also presents similarities with β manuscripts, which might point to the Rev. Williams attempting here a version of the poem that would be as close to the original as possible, using other copies he had of it; simply on the basis of his own collection, this would then imply that Llanstephan MSS. 6, 47, and 134 were also involved in the making of the version in MS. 133. Several lines show signs of cross-reference with a manuscript other than Llanstephan MS. 122, starting with line 4 ‘Of truth thou Welshman I tro,’ which has both the ‘truth’ (usually found *‘for truth’) part of the line and the second person singular pronoun ‘thou,’ found only in Llanstephan MS. 122 with ‘thou art a welshmon I tro.’ The misreading present in Peniarth MS. 104 and Llanstephan MS. 122 on line 11, with ‘milsh’ and ‘milke,’ was corrected here with the line now reading ‘I know no Welsh thou Welshmon,’ which introduces a new start to the line as well.

The copyist does this again on line 12, ‘Sorrow to thee let me a lone’ when all other manuscripts read either *‘forbid’ (all with 34 lines) or ‘I bid’ (the 38 lines poems) and again on line 15, ‘Behold thy mate by our Lady’ which in other versions read *‘I hold thee mad by our lady’ or ‘I bid beshrow thy body’ in Llanstephan MS. 122 (thou see above – the line ‘I houlde thee mad by ’r ladie’ is simply misplaced and on line 23) – the result in Llanstephan MS. 133 is certainly comical to the modern reader, but it is difficult to see from the manuscripts we have what may have prompted the change, as all read very clearly ‘mad’ (‘made’ in Llanstephan MS. 6, which could have been in the hands of Williams when he copied the poem, but certainly not alone for the poem in MS. 6 is 34 lines long) for that line, and not ‘mate.’

Line 16 also changes, with Llanstephan MS. 133 having ‘Hence thou I am not for thee’ when other manuscripts have a variation on *‘forth I will do none for thee’ (with the exceptions of Peniarth MS. 104, ‘ffor the n^{ow} Ile doe not ffor thee;’ and Llanstephan MS. 122, ‘fane then I will not doe for thee’). Again for lines 19-20, which go from *‘t’is harm to be thy paramour / could I should be called a whore’ to ‘Tis harm to be a harmer / For God I should be call’d a whore’ – these two lines changing and the way in which they were modified does bear questioning, as even with an unknown manuscript serving as the model, the difference is too important to be caused by a misreading; as far as line 19 is concerned, changing ‘paramour’ for ‘harmer’ seems to find reason in *cynghanedd*, as the line now has a /t/ - /h/ [caesura] /t/ - /b/ - /h/ alliteration pattern, which would make it a *cynghanedd draws*. Though the original line did have the internal rhyme in /arm/ on the second and then penultimate syllable of the line, it seemed not to be answering any strict metrical rule: this could explain the change, though the

rest of the poem was not modified according to these rules either, which is the case for line 20 which actually breaks in Llanstephan MS. 133 the alliterative pattern that was present in the other versions of the poem.

Line 23 is simply left blank with the exception of the last word, ‘untill,’ which is not in any other version of the poem that are reviewed here: this could indicate that Williams had trouble reading whatever manuscript he had for his copy, or, and this would be the explanation I favour, that he did not understand the line and/or did not find any satisfactory replacement to it. ‘Owt owt bishrow they towtyl’ (Llanstephan MS. 122) translates to ‘Out, out, beshrew thy tooting’ – it is difficult to find what was intended as ‘twtil’³³ (Llanstephan MS. 6) and its variants, but the most likely explanation given the pronunciation and the context of the poem would be from ‘to toot,’ as in ‘to peer, to gaze, to look inquisitively, to pry.’ Nevertheless, Williams seems to have chosen to rid his copy of the poem of the word altogether, and probably left the line blank waiting for a better one to replace it with; it should also be noted that it is placed on the same line as in manuscripts that contain a 34 lines long poem, and not on line 31 as in Peniarth MS. 104 or Llanstephan MS. 122, showing once more that Williams had access to several versions of the poem for this version.

Line 24 sees ‘sore’ replaced with ‘Sorry,’ which is likely to be a misreading, and shows the same feature in terms of line order as line 23 above, i.e. it does not share its placement with the other two 38 lines long poems. Following this are, as it happens, two lines that were added in these manuscripts only, ‘Abide beshrew thy body / O thou knave draw hence thy knee,’ which did not follow each other in any of the other two manuscripts with additional lines. Line 27 ‘Abide beshrew thy body’ corresponds to line 15 in Llanstephan MS. 122, ‘I bid beshrow thy body,’ and line 23 in Peniarth MS. 104, ‘J bid beshro thy bodye’ (where it can be noticed, then, that Llanstephan MS. 133 got rid of the first person singular pronoun in favour of the verb ‘abide,’ to be understood as an imperative; the Englishwoman is not pleading anymore, she is demanding of the Welsh bard that he should get away from her); line 28 ‘O thou knave draw hence thy knee’ was only to be found in Llanstephan MS. 122 on line 24 (‘thou knafe withdraw thon thy knee’), as Peniarth MS. 104 instead had lines 16 and 24 repeated. The change here is interesting when it comes to the progression of the poem: the 34 lines versions have an escalation from ‘beware my sore heel’ to ‘I will pluck out thine eye,’ Llanstephan MS. 122 has ‘withdraw thy knee’ before ‘I will pluck out thine eye’ which itself precedes ‘beware my sore

³³ Johnston (1998: 73) translates it as ‘shouting,’ therefore from ‘to tootle.’

heel' – the order of which makes little sense, as the Englishwoman seems to calm down by the end of the poem, with her menaces getting lesser until the last one 'for thy life I have a knife' –, Llanstephan MS. 133 gives a poem that goes from an oral exchange to a physical assault, and the victim's menaces become an escalation: first the attention drawn to a potential kick should the man not go away, then the demand that he removes his knee (from between her legs), to the promise of blood on line 31 ('I'll draw blood of thy body,' the same line as in Llanstephan MS. 122) and of a missing eye on line 32 ('I'll put out thine eye,' which changes the verb slightly with other manuscripts having 'pluck out' and Peniarth MS. 104 and Llanstephan MS. 122 having 'pull out'), ending with death on line 35-36. These two lines are slightly different from the other versions, again, with MS. 133 reading 'Thou shouldst pass by S^t Asaph / Thy life had I a knife knave,' and therefore the Englishwoman does not have a knife in that version, while the others have either 'thow shiawlt not pas myn sant asaf / ffor they liff j haf a kniff knaf' (Llanstephan MS. 134) or 'thou shalt not passe by S^t Asaph / for thy life I have a knife knave,' where she does have a weapon and promises the bard he will not 'pass' (between her thighs) where in Llanstephan MS. 133 she guarantees he will 'pass' (away).

The rhyming pattern of this version of the poem is worth mentioning, especially when considering these last two lines in English, with 'Asaph' apparently being made to rhyme with 'knave.' It is likely that Williams only copied the poem without trying to reconstruct rhymes that were no longer possible by the end of the 17th century: lines 31-32, very noticeably, end in 'body / eye,' for instance, and evidence from earlier manuscripts show that 'eye' was definitely a diphthong by that point, with 'body' not ending with one. However, there is evidence in EModE of a regional pronunciation of 'eye' as [i:], referred to by Dobson as 'an obvious Northernism' (1968: 666).

‘Hymn to the Virgin’ c.1470³⁴

Presentation of the poem

A. Introduction

By far the better-known poem of the two under review, the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ has been invaluable to the study of the Great Vowel Shift, being the opening evidence in E. J. Dobson’s *English Pronunciation 1500-1700*: the spelling system used throughout the ‘Hymn,’ as well as the number of manuscript witnesses for the poem and the time period which they span, made it a perfect candidate for this purpose. As with ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes,’ the manuscripts all originate in Wales or from Welsh copyists. The poem started to attract the attention of English antiquarians by the end of the 19th century with Furnivall, seconded by Ellis, publishing ‘Early English Hymn to the Virgin, and a Welshman’s Phonetic Copy of it soon after’ in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* volume XI in 1880, a journal dedicated to Welsh antiquities. All other printed editions are also in Welsh journals or books, from the first printed version of the ‘Hymn’ in the *Cambrian Register* (1796) to Tony Conran’s ‘Ieuan ap Hywel Swardwal’s “The Hymn to the Virgin”’ article in the very first 1995 issue of *Welsh Writing in English*.

A. Ieuan ap Hywel Swardwal

Ieuan ap Hywel Swardwal (fl. 1430-1480) was the son of Hywel Swardwal (fl. 1430-1460) and brother of the lesser-known Dafydd ap Hywel Swardwal (Caerwyn Williams 2004: ODNB), both also poets, although only one poem by the last of these survives. Ieuan was allegedly a student at the University of Oxford at the time he composed his ‘Hymn to the Virgin:’ the only evidence for this lies in the prologues found in some of the manuscripts (and, later, printed editions) of the poem which give some context for its composition. The two prologues and variant readings can be found in the appendix; the longer version of the prologue, found in MSS. Peniarth 111, Panton 33, and Cwrtmawr 11, provides a narrative for the exact moment the idea for this poem was born. Though it does not give the name of the persons involved, including the poet, it gives an idea of how the poet of the ‘Hymn’ was perceived:

It happened once in Oxford that the Englishmen were scoffing at the Welsh and dispraising them greatly because of their lack of scholarship, for they said that [...] it was not possible to make of a Welshman a scholar as good, as learned, as wise and as good a poet as of an Englishman

³⁴ Some descriptive elements have been drawn from my 2018 MPhil thesis, *The Welsh Hymn to the Virgin: Contexts and reception*, though these early elements have been checked and revised interpretations have been offered throughout.

[...].

Then an excellent Welshman arose and stood on his feet and spoke as follows: ‘I am only a poor scholar as regards my scholarship and am not to be compared with many learned and distinguished scholars from Wales, whose steps I am not competent to follow. But nevertheless it would be weakness in me if a poor unaccomplished Welshman could not compete with the most learned Englishman in poetic composition and in many other points. But our best scholars are not so frivolous and worthless as to apply their minds and thought to disputing and quarrelling with the bragging English. But I shall give you an answer to this question in the following way: let the most learned Englishman compose a poem [...] in any language he chooses, which I know; if I do not compose as good a one as he does, let him calumniate the Welsh and spare them not. I shall compose a poem in English, in your own tongue; and if all the Englishmen in England compose such a poem or equal it, revile the Welsh. If you cannot compose it, leave the Welsh the privilege which God has given them. And recognise yourselves that you cannot compete with the Welsh.’ And for that reason he composed this English ode in *Cynghanedd groes*, which an Englishman cannot compose. (Garlick 1985: 9)

From this account, we learn that the poet of the ‘Hymn’ was a Welsh scholar in Oxford, albeit a ‘poor,’ ‘frivolous,’ and ‘worthless’ one; and that despite his poor scholarship he considered himself more capable of producing a good poem than any Englishman, even the ‘most learned’ one. This passage is also the only evidence we have for Ieuan ap Hywel Swrddwal ever having attended Oxford; it is otherwise said that he lived in Machynlleth, Montgomeryshire (Thomas 1885-1900: DNB), with the name Swrddwal, derived from *Sourdeval* being found among medieval lords of Brecon, and suggesting a Norman ancestry (Caerwyn Williams 2004: ODNB); the family has also been associated with Cydewain (Powys) and Newton.

Both Ieuan and his father were regarded as proficient writers, though comparatively few of their poems survive: both, for instance, are said to have written ‘a history of the three principalities from the time of Cadwaladr to that of King Henry VI’ (Thomas 1885-1900: DNB), but these did not survive. The Swrdwals were supporters of the Herbert family, and when the first earl of Pembroke William Herbert was executed by the Lancastrians after the Battle of Edgecote Moor in 1469, Hywel Swrddwal wrote an elegy for him (‘*Marwnad Wiliam Herbert*’) where one can read, in the poem otherwise written entirely in Welsh, the following line: ‘*Hwrsŵns o Hors a Heinsiust.*’ ‘Hors’ and ‘Heinsiust’ are Welsh renditions of the names Horsa and Hengist, mythical chieftains of the first Anglo-Saxon settlers in Britain in the 5th century, and ‘hwrsŵns’ is not a Welsh word: it is meant to be pronounced */hursunz/ and the

line translates thus: '[those / the] whoresons of Horsa and Hengist.' This is reminiscent of what can be found in the prologue above, 'I shall compose a poem in English, in your own tongue,' words supposedly said by Ieuan: and, with 'Marwnad Wiliam Herbert'³⁵ dating from 1469, and the 'Hymn to the Virgin' from c.1470, it is likely that father and son might have exchanged on the possibilities offered with that spelling of English.

Though some biographers mention a 'premature death' for the poet (Caerwyn Williams 2004: ODNB), Ieuan ap Hywel Srdwal is thought to have died around 1480, possibly at Oxford. The first poems attributed to him start c.1430, which would indicate that he was already rather old at the time. However, if we are to consider that he was at the time of the composition of the 'Hymn' a young man at the University of Oxford, it is possible that some of the poems attributed to him might actually be his father's. Several poets wrote elegies to him, namely Hywel ap Dafydd ap Ieuan ap Rhys, Llywelyn Goch y Dant, and Gruffydd ap Dafydd Fychan (Caerwyn Williams 2004: ODNB). He was a century later described by Rhys Cain as 'master of arts and chief of song,' (Caerwyn Williams 2004: ODNB) contradicting in the best way the prologue which would have him describe himself as a poor scholar and a mediocre poet.

A. The poem

Like 'Y Bardd a Saesnes,' the 'Hymn to the Virgin' was written in the context of the Wars of the Roses, with the Srdwal, as mentioned above, being supporters of the House of York by association with their patrons in the Herbert family. However, this context is not reflected in the poem at all, and its subject does not involve, at first sight, the rivalry between the English and the Welsh, even if its prologues³⁶ do.

The 'Hymn to the Virgin' is an *awdl* (ode) in *cynghanedd* comprising 13 stanzas, counting in total 96 lines: originally exactly a hundred, but two couplets have been lost, leaving two stanzas incomplete and their meaning 'very uncertain' (Conran 1995: 6). In content, this is also quite a simple poem: the poet asks Christ for a place in heaven through the Virgin's assistance, drawing on her traditional role of mediatrix between humankind and God and her Son. The three figures of the poem are described as having various roles: Mary is depicted as a guiding mother who will open the way to heaven to the poet (and to mankind, it is to be understood). Christ is 'king,' 'saviour,' 'lock and key,' the redeemer on the day of judgement,

³⁵ 'Elegy for Wiliam Herbert'

³⁶ Two versions of the prologue exist: a short one, only in MS. Additional 14866, and a long one, to be found in Peniarth MS. 111, Panton MS. 33, and Cwrtmawr MS. 11.

who is addressed directly only after the opening stanzas praising the Virgin, her role of mediatrix having thus been fulfilled. God, lastly, is less present in the poem, but is described as a good and true craftsman: a medieval image for certain, but also reminiscent of the way Welsh bards were perceived both before and after Ieuan ap Hywel Swrdwal. Stephens provides this description of the poem:

With its images of branch and tree, blossom and fruit, king and queen, it has the naïve charm of many medieval lyrics on the same theme, while its vigour and tight structure derive wholly from its unique prosody. (Stephens 1998: 341)

This description is contradicted by Conran who rectifies it as ‘an address to Our Blessed Lady, [...] as a member of the Christian community everywhere,’ adding that ‘naïve charm is just what this sophisticated poem does not have’ (Conran 1995: 6). His description of the ‘Hymn’ cannot not be included in this work:

When one first puzzles over Ieuan’s poem, coming to it from all this warmth and splendour of fantasy, both in English and Latin, one’s first reaction is (I think) disappointment. It seems rather a cold fish, in this company! Far from having the “naïve charm” of the lyrics – talk about damning with faint praise! – the syntax seems unnecessarily strained and difficult to make out, and the imagery lacks the popular touch that is so attractive in the English carols. (Conran 1995: 8)

To which words of praise he adds, a few lines below, that ‘This is no imitation of a Welsh poem in English – it *is* a Welsh poem in English,’ and that Ieuan ap Hywel Swrdwal ‘is no Dante Alighieri [...] but he is a trained and adequate member of the Welsh bardic order’ (Conran 1995: 9). A last description of the ‘Hymn’ comes from the ‘Anglo-Welsh Literature’ entry of *Celtic Culture: A Historical Encyclopedia*:

Ieuan ap Hywel Swrdwal used Welsh spelling and native strict metre forms as a defiant demonstration of his competence in English. Post-colonial *avant la lettre*, this cultural hybrid acts as a fitting prologue to the cultural drama of subsequent centuries, during which several major Welsh-language writers were to try their hand at English for a variety of reasons [...] which paved the way for the more convinced bilingualism and biculturalism of recent decades (Thomas 2006: 61).

‘Naïve’, a disappointing ‘cold fish’, ‘post-colonial *avant la lettre*’: later reactions to the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ appear to be polarised and varied, though everyone agrees on the poem’s

role and place as the first example of Anglo-Welsh literature.³⁷ The poem is all of that: simple in its subject, as the Virgin, already an important figure in Christianity, is even more so prominent in Welsh culture in the Middle Ages, with ‘far more churches and holy wells dedicated to the Virgin Mary in Wales than any other saint; Glanmor Williams notes that at least 143 churches and chapels honoured her name, and France Jones lists 76 holy wells associated with Mary, remarking that many of these were located in areas of strong Norman influence’ (Cartwright 2008: 9), the latter element corresponding to the *Swordwals*’ situation. The choice for the subject of the poem is even more so simple, in that not only is the Virgin important in Wales, and the topic of many medieval poems in both English and Welsh (and, of course, Latin), but the figure has the traditional role of a mediatrix. However, considering that the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ was allegedly composed as an attempt to cross the bridge between English and Welsh cultures and languages, here she complements the form of the poem: the language of the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ is a mediation between English and Welsh, the two languages spoken by the poet, therefore it is expected that the contents should reflect it. Conran best describes the *awdl* as ‘comparable to a Prelude and a Fugue in the music of Bach’ (Conran 1995: 10), though the author seems ultimately disappointed by the ‘fugue’ of the ‘Hymn to the Virgin,’ concluding his article on his opinion that the choice of measure and language for that poem is ‘unfortunate’ (Conran 1995: 21). Arguably, critiquing the literary value of the poem is misguided: the accompanying prologue may be confusing the reader in that they come to expect high literature rather than an experiment in bilingual poetry.

³⁷ With the possible exceptions of Tudur Penllyn’s ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes,’ which is not fully in English; and John Clanvowe’s (c.1341-1391) ‘The Cuckoo and the Nightingale,’ which was previously attributed to his friend Chaucer by F.S. Ellis (Lambdin 2013: 104-105). As the latter is written in English spelling, was mistakenly attributed to an English author, and does not have any feature that set it apart as being particularly Welsh, it is not very surprising that it should have been overlooked as the first example of Anglo-Welsh literature: and, both lacking the spelling under study in this thesis, and not having been received as an Anglo-Welsh poem until very recently, it has not been included in the present work.

The manuscripts

A. Introduction

‘The Hymn to the Virgin’ survives in thirteen different manuscripts dating from the mid-16th to the late 18th centuries, one of which (Balliol College MS. 353) has three at least partial versions of the poem. As mentioned above, they all originated in Wales, and most of them are kept in Aberystwyth, with the exceptions of Balliol College MS. 353 being now in Oxford, and British Library Additional MS. 14866 in London. There is no manuscript collection taking precedent over the others in this case: the ‘Hymn’ is found in three Llanstephan manuscripts, three Peniarth, two Panton, one Cwrtmawr, one Cardiff Free Library (the Llanharan MS), the two mentioned above, as well as one Llanhove which is a new addition to the research on the poem. Here follows a list of the manuscripts, in chronological order:

Manuscript	Date	Compiler	Contents	Comments
Balliol College MS. 353	c. 1540 early 17th century	Sir John Prise Unknown	Commonplace book in Welsh, Latin, and English	There are three versions of the ‘Hymn’ in this manuscript, all incomplete; two are in the hand of Prise, and the other by an unknown hand at a later date. This latter one as well as the second copy by Prise are in anglicised spelling. The first two words of the poem (‘Almighty Lady’) also

				appear at the top of the manuscript's last folio.
British Library Additional MS. 14866	1587	David Jones		Short prologue
Peniarth MS. 96	1601-1616	Lewis Dwnn	The poetical works of Lewis Dwnn	It contains poems by Lewis Dwnn, alongside those of other Welsh poets
Peniarth MS. 111	1607-1610	John Jones of Gelilyfdi		Long prologue
Peniarth MS. 98b	1601-1644	Dr. John Davies		Anglicised spelling
NLW MS. 13068B	c.1600-1826	Llywelyn Siôn	Collection of Welsh poems in strict and free metres	Only ff.18r-21r are (allegedly) in the hand of Llywelyn Siôn
Cardiff Free Library MS 5.44 / Llanharan	1613	Llywelyn Siôn	Poetry by various authors	Also contains 'Y Bardd a Saesnes'
Llanstephan MS. 47	c.1630	Maybe Llywelyn Siôn	Poetry by various authors	Also contains 'Y Bardd a Saesnes'
Llanstephan MS. 53	1647	Siâms (James) Dwnn		
Llanstephan MS. 54	1631-1680	Unknown		
Panton MS. 33	Before 1772	Evan Evans		Long prologue
Panton MS. 42	1772	Evan Evans		Anglicised spelling
Cwrtmawr MS. 11	1785	David Ellis		Long prologue Text in Welsh spelling and

				anglicised spelling / translation below
--	--	--	--	---

Table 5: Manuscripts of the 'Hymn to the Virgin'

C. Manuscript analyses

Balliol College MS. 353

a. Manuscript description

The earliest version of the 'Hymn to the Virgin' comes to us in the form of Sir John Prise's commonplace book, which essentially is a Welsh and Latin miscellany: the first part of the manuscript is dedicated to Welsh verse and therefore entitled 'Kywyddeu Kymraec' (folio 2r), followed by an incomplete alphabetical commonplace book (folios 48 to 164) and a vocabulary and index (ff. 166-175), as well as eulogies addressed to Sir John Prise by Lewys Morgannwg, Thomas Vaughan, and Griffith Hiraethog. It was copied between c.1540-1550, with folio 6r being dated 13 February 1538; it contains 175 folios bound in purple calf binding in the 19th century, 11.5 x 8.25 in. The major part of the manuscript is in Sir John Prise's hand, with some additions by later hands. Mynors (1963: 349) indicates that the paper is watermarked with a glove bearing the initials 'P.B.' on the cuff and a small crown. The crown could be an indication of the paper quality rather than its provenance: several paper makers seemed to use it as such, as the crown is a widespread symbol in watermarks that does not seem to hail from a specific region (Briquet 1923: 549). Given Sir John Prise's functions at the court of Henry VIII, and then for Thomas Cromwell, it is not surprising that he could have had access to such paper, and this might explain how the manuscript, forgetting the 19th century rebinding mistakes, is in such good state despite having suffered some humidity damage. The bottom edges of the pages are starting to get eroded and there are some water stains on the pages; however, these marks are very light and the text is still legible in its entirety.

The 'Hymn to the Virgin' makes several appearances in the manuscript due to the misbinding of folio 87 at the start of the book, the first four lines of the poem, in English spelling, are among the first words of the manuscript, upon opening it on folio 1r, with lines 43 to 84 copied using Welsh letter-values on f.1v; it appears again on f.63r, with the first ten lines as well as lines 19-20 in both Welsh and English. What would have followed folio 87 is a page left blank on f. 88r, as is the first half of f. 88v with the last eight lines of the 'Hymn' taking up the bottom of the page. In a later hand, belonging to the early seventeenth century according to Dobson (1955: 75), folio 136r gives the first four lines again, after an entry in Latin entitled 'Somnus;' it is not laid out in lines but rather in prose form, and the spelling is anglicised. The final appearance of the 'Hymn' is, almost fittingly, on the very last page of the manuscript: indeed, at the very top of f.175v one can read 'Almighty lady' in neither of the above two hands. As the page is filled with names, poetry lines, doodles and even numbers 1

to 11 (immediately followed by 21), the two words might be simple pen-trials, though it is perhaps significant that this particular poem was chosen as a model. Though this manuscript is the one with the least complete version of the poem, it seems to be one of those whose copyist engaged the most with it, or at least intended to: and though it is not excluded that Sir John Prise had another, more complete, copy of the poem in a manuscript either lost or still unknown, it is obvious that he was interested in it enough to intend to provide both a Welsh-spelt version and an English transcription / translation of it.

b. Sir John Prise

Sir John Prise, also known under his Welsh name Sir Siôn ap Rhys (1501/2-1555) was born in Brecon to Rhys ap Gwilym ap Llywelyn of Brecon and his wife Gwenllian, daughter of Hywel ap Madog (Pryce 2008: ODNB) and as such of the same family as the poet Hywel ap Dafydd ap Ieuan ap Rhys Llwyd; and, though he was an administrator and a scholar, he remained close to the Welsh bardic tradition. He graduated B.C.L. at Oxford on 29 February 1523 or 1524, and by 1530 he was in the service of Thomas Cromwell (Jones 1959: DWB). This led him to be in the service of King Henry VIII, thus being a servitor at the king's wedding with Anne Boleyn in 1533 and drawing the documents for this divorce and the one with Anne of Cleves afterwards; he also was appointed registrar-general in ecclesiastical causes in 1534 and was as such partly in charge of the dissolution of monasteries. He was prominent in several public affairs, recording for instance interrogations of traitors (one of them being Thomas More) and participants in Hallam's rebellion of 1537 in the Tower of London. His good graces with Thomas Cromwell led him to marry the latter's niece Joan Williamson (who, at just eighteen, was fourteen years younger than Prise) at his own house in Islington, on 11 October 1534. The first four of their children bore names to honour their father's connections. This situation came to an end after Cromwell's execution in July 1540, though Prise was not disgraced; he simply turned his focus on Wales (Pryce 2008: ODNB).

In 1540, therefore, he was made secretary for life of the affairs of the Crown in Wales and the Marches, a position which he indeed held until his death. He was placed in several commissions in the Marches, and was sheriff of Brecknockshire in 1543 and of Herefordshire in 1554; he also became a member of Parliament for Brecknockshire in 1547, Hereford in 1553, and then for Ludlow in 1554 (Jones 1959: DWB). For his good services, he received a knighthood on Shrove Tuesday, 22 February 1547, two days after Edward VI's coronation. He

died at St Guthlac's Priory in Hereford on 15 October 1555, and is buried in Hereford Cathedral (Pryce 2008: ODNB).

Even before going back to Wales, Sir John Prise was interested in Welsh poetry, as mentioned above, but also literature and history. His books and manuscripts were divided between the antiquarian Thomas Vaughan of Glamorgan, Hereford cathedral, and his son Richard; they now are found for the most part in the National Library of Wales, with a few at the British Library after having been part of the British Museum collections, and one – the volume under consideration here – at Balliol College, Oxford (Jones 1959: DWB). A last notable achievement of his, and no doubt most interesting to book historians, is the publication of the very first book printed in the Welsh language in 1546 in London, known under the title *Yny lhyvyr hwnn*, the only known copy of it being now held at the National Library of Wales. The book is a collection of religious texts in Welsh, including translations by Prise of the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Ten Commandments in Welsh.

c. Poem analysis

i. folio 63r

The first obvious observation to make on this, or perhaps these, partial version(s) of the 'Hymn to the Virgin,' is the fact that Sir John Prise would have attempted to have both Welsh and English spellings in his manuscript, the English acting as a translation of the Welsh, one with the Welsh line immediately following its English counterpart on folio 63r, and the other as evidenced by folio 88 with the two facing each other (which is now lost to the modern reader, due to folio 87 having been misplaced at the start of the manuscript); the blank spaces left on the pages show that Prise had probably planned this, and for one reason or another never managed to bring this plan to completion. Folio 63r probably was his first attempt at copying the poem: this is the version with the first ten lines of the poem immediately followed by lines 19-20, either because Prise chose to stop there or because in that instance already he did not go back to his version; folio 63v is left blank, and the following folio, misnumbered 65, is equally empty with the exception of a few lines in Latin. The poem on folio 63r is preceded with a note in the margin indicating '<?> the inglish / <aft>er the welsh,' with the unknown word before 'the inglish,' lost in the binding, having been interpreted by Dobson (1955: 74) as being 'after' as well, with only the <er> being legible; however the <er> is legible only for the subsequent line, while this one seems to end with a letter with a long ascender curving to the right which resembles Prise's <f> or <s>. I therefore suggest that the margin note might actually indicate,

as Dobson notes from the errors in the copy (Dobson 1955: 74), that the English above was written after the Welsh. Comparing the two gives a rather precise idea of what Sir John Prise perceived as English spelling, and what he perceived as Welsh. Line 5 in both spellings has some philological interest:

I wynne this with blysse thy blessing of god
ei wynn ddys wydd blyss thei blessing of god

The very first word, ‘I / ei,’ as well as the second person singular possessive pronoun ‘thy / thei’ are some of the indications that the Great Vowel Shift already was well underway when Prise produced this manuscript, as evidenced by the diphthong made obvious by the Welsh spelling <ei>. On ‘thei,’ the spelling <th> can be noted as well: indeed, ‘thy’ in Early Modern English would be pronounced /ðai/, or /ðei/, but the <th> consonant cluster in Welsh would demand a /θ/ pronunciation. A mistake is possible, but the rest of the line does show Prise choosing to translate the English ‘this’ and ‘with,’ both including a /ð/, with ‘ddys’ and ‘wydd,’ using the Welsh <dd> for the pronunciation /ð/, as is expected in that language. It could be an indication of how Prise perceived the sound in ‘thy / thei’ as perhaps less voiced than the one in ‘this / ddys’ and ‘with / wydd,’ with a potential influence of the diphthong or stress on that perception – the vowel in the other two words being a short one, as indicated in the Welsh spelling by the use of <y>. Obviously, <y> for /ɪ/ is not restricted to Welsh, as Prise uses it in his English translation: this does not apply to words ending in <ing> (with the exception of ‘wenyng’ on line 7, ‘wynyng’ in the Welsh line, which Dobson (1955: 74) ascribes to a mistake due to copying the Welsh). The presence of the final <e> in ‘wynne’ and ‘blysse’ in the English text but not in the parallel ‘Welsh-spelling’ line, might be noted: by this time final -e was commonly deployed in English as an otiose feature, but was not so used in Welsh. This can be verified in lines 8-9 and 11-12 as well (letters in italics mine):

syns quene and thy soonne is king
syns quyn and thei swnn ys king
Owr old forfather owr finding owr pure
owr old fforffaddyr owr ffyding owr pywr
[...]
who wedde such with a rich ring
hwo wéd sits wyd a ryts ring

as god made this gaye wedding
 as god maed ~~th~~ ddýs gae wedding.

On line 12, I italicised the <e> in ‘made’ as Sir Prise seems to have perceived it as superfluous as the one in ‘gaye’ on the same line, spelling the words in Welsh as ‘maed’ and ‘gae:’ the two <e> indicate that the vowel preceding is a diphthong: <ae> in Welsh would be enough to indicate the sound /ae/ which stands for either /aɪ/ or /eɪ/, with the possibility that in Sir Prise’s time and/or system the diphthong actually was /ae/. The four lines above also show the use of <w> for /u/: ‘swnn’ for ‘soonne,’ ‘son,’ both the Welsh and English spelling pointing to a /u/ vowel; ‘pywr’ for ‘pure,’ the <yw> indicating very clearly that the vowel is diphthongised, which is not evident from the English (and note, again, the final <e> absent from the Welsh spelling). They also show the use of <ff> for /f/, where English has as expected <f>, and perhaps one solution to transcribe the /tʃ/ sound in Welsh with <ts> in ‘sits’ for ‘such,’ with the vowel being closer to a /ɪ/ than to the Present Day English /ʌ/. However, note on line 9 the ‘ffyding / finding’ misreading, with ‘ffyding’ being expected to stand for ‘feeding,’ the use of <y> /ɪ/ having confused the copyist into reading a short vowel rather than a long one, resulting in him interpreting the word as ‘finding.’ Similarly, note on line 12 both the crossed out <th>, showing the temptation for Prise to use the consonant cluster for /ð/ before he corrected it to <dd> in Welsh letter-values, as well as the same <dd> still present in ‘wedding’ even though it should have been a simple <d> for /d/, and thus ‘weding.’ Following this version of the poem are two lines in Welsh in a different hand which Dobson describes as ‘scribblings’ (1955:74), as they are indeed difficult to decipher.

ii. folios 1r, 1v, 88v

The poem as found on folios 1r-v (which used to be 87r-87v) and 88v is still in Sir John Prise’s hand, and likely is a later version compared to that on folio 63r – though probably not by a lot. It does not seem to be a copy of what is found on f.63r: a comparison of the first four lines in both versions (including both English and Welsh spellings for folio 63r) makes it apparent.

f. 1r

O mýchtí Ladí owr leding to have
 at hevyn our abeyding
 ynto thy fest everlesting

wy sett a branche us to bring

f. 63r

Almightie Ladie leding to hav

hevȳn at our ending

Into thy feste everlesting

I sett us to bring

Almíghti ladi ledíng to haf

hevyn att owr ending. als. at hevyn o<ur> abeyding

yn tw ddei ffest evyrlesting

• ws tw bring

The first word is already a clue: while ‘O mychtí’ (and variants) are found in what Dobson (1955: 81) classifies as α manuscripts, ‘Almightie’ belongs to the β group: Sir John Prise had access to two different manuscripts for these two copies, and though it is not known which ones they were, it does at least indicate that he had access to different sources. The first line also adds the word ‘owr’ on f. 1r, with the spelling being surprising as this manuscript proposes an anglicised spelling of the poem, and ‘owr’ is typical of the copies with Welsh letter-values: therefore the manuscript-ancestor of the β -group might have been spelt in Welsh, and ‘owr’ probably is a slip. It is all the more so likely that there is no Welsh version of the first four lines for the poem on folios 1r, which means that Prise must have been translating / transcribing into English as he was copying. Line 2 gives an opportunity to go back to folio 63r rapidly, as the Welsh line gives an alternative reading after the one corresponding to the line in English on the same page, which happens to be the same as the line on folio 1r: it is probable that Prise, as he was producing the version on folio 1r, decided to add this to his version on folio 63r, which however does not explain why line 4 on the same folio did not get the same treatment. After line 4, the rest of folio 1r is left blank; above the lines however, it is possible to read at the top of the page in very faded ink ‘The same writen aft[e]r thenglish ort.’

Folio 1v is without a doubt in Welsh spelling: the first person singular pronoun is consistently written <ei> for /ai/ or /ei/, as is the diphthong in general, with other features noted on folio 63r (such as <ff> for /f/ and <w> for /u/) being present in that version as well: it does, however, deploy a wider set of letter values. The most intriguing is the different spellings for /ð/, as this version presents both <dd> and <ð>. The latter is unexpected, given its disappearance in English after the early Middle English period, but it has on occasions been used by Welsh authors including in the 16th century; William Salesbury, for instance, would write in his *Testament Newydd* (a translation of the New Testament into Welsh) in 1567 ‘Yn y dechrae ydd oeð y Gair, a’r Gair oeð y gyd a Duw, a’r Gair hwnw oeð Duw’ (‘In the beginning

was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God') using both spellings mapping onto the /ð/ sound. The same sound also finds itself spelt with a <þ> on line 62 of the poem (corresponding to line 20 on f. 1v), 'ddy Jues háð sold þát Jesus hight,' which is perhaps even more unexpected than the use of <ð>: <þ> in both Old and Middle English could stand indifferently for both /θ/ and /ð/, but it was not part of the Welsh alphabet, and does not seem to have been borrowed either. By this date thorn was restricted to some common words and abbreviations, such as 'þe' in Caxton's printing press. In Early Modern English the shape of the letter is closer to a <y> than to <þ>, and it is with that <y> shape that Prise uses it: it is not possible to know whether this usage was present in the manuscript he was using as an exemplar or if this spelling is due to his work at the English court. The same line shows the use of <J>, which does not exist in Welsh, it seems for /dʒ/: a sound that is not found in Welsh either. Other copyists will deploy other letters, some using 'J' as the first person singular pronoun; here Prise chooses to use the English letter-value as an exception, which might point to the possibility that his exemplar used <j> and, going further back, that the original might as well have done so: that Ieuan ap Hywel Swrdwal chooses to spell his poem in Welsh does not mean that he would have refused to borrow from the English, especially in such an instance where there was no equivalent Welsh spelling available to map onto the relevant English sound.

Other signs of flexibility in the spelling of folio 1v lie in Prise's use of both <w> and <u> for /u/: the first line on the page, 'Ei tel tu iow, as sŵm du siow,' is a good example, showing both 'tu' and 'du' for the English 'to' and 'do' as well as 'sŵm' for 'some,' 'siow' stands for 'show' and the <w> here therefore has the value of an approximant /w/ (which is also a use of the letter in Welsh). This is used throughout the copy, with another example in the line quoted in the paragraph above 'ddy Jues háð sold þát Jesus hight,' there seems to be a pattern in the distribution of <u> and <w>, with the former being found (in folio 1v and 88v) in 'tu' ('to'), 'du' ('do'), 'gúd' ('good'), 'vs' ('us'), 'yntu' ('into'), 'wuld' ('would,' the <w> here being an approximant), 'Jues' ('Jews') 'Jesus,' 'Luck' and 'upright,' that is in short vowels and unaccented words (the diacritic in 'gúd,' when compared to other acute accents found in the text, does not seem to indicate length), with the exception of 'Jues' which seems to denote a diphthong */uə/. On the other hand, <w> for /u/ is found in words such as 'sŵm' ('some'), 'lwks' ('looks'), 'dwth' ('doth / does'), 'dŵn' ('done'), 'wld' ('would,' again), 'rwd' ('rood') and 'nwn' ('noon'), as well as in 'yws' ('use'), 'trywth' ('truth,' with here seems to call for a */triuθ/ pronunciation), 'rywl' ('rule'), and 'iwng' ('young'), i.e. for a /ju/ syllable. The general rule is that <u> seems to map onto words which have <o> for /u/ in Present Day English,

whereas <w> corresponds to <o> for /o/ or <oo> for /u/, denoting perhaps a difference in quality for those vowels. There is no trace of this in folio 63r: ‘to’ and ‘into’ are not absent from the first lines of the text, and where folio 1v has ‘gúd,’ folio 63r gives ‘gwd:’ this might either come from the fact that Prise used different exemplars, which could have presented different spelling systems (though they followed the same logic), or it might be a choice on his part after further reflection.

In the copies by Prise, therefore, there is evidence of partial anglicisation of the Welsh spelling of the poem: there are a few instances of <th> being used for /ð/, with evidence on line 5 of folio 1v and line 12 on folio 63r that these were not intentional, as these lines show two instances of <th> at the start of words being crossed out in favour of a <ð> and a <dd>, respectively. The use of some <v> for /v/, though not absent from Welsh orthography altogether, could also stem from the same source, with folio 63r showing ‘hevyn’ in both English and Welsh when one would have expected it in English only. Nevertheless, had it not been for the gaps left in the poem and the fact that Sir John Prise never followed through with his project to provide both a Welsh copy and an English translation of the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ (except if he did so in another manuscript that is lost or unknown), this probably could have been among the most qualitative and authoritative sources for Swardwal.

iii. folio 136r

The last version of the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ in Balliol MS. 353 also is the shortest. It follows a short entry in Latin entitled ‘Somnus’ in the hand of Sir John Prise, though the copyist for that later version of the ‘Hymn’ is estimated by Dobson (1955: 75) to date from the early 17th century. It therefore does not postdate Prise by long, which makes its spelling all the more remarkable. These are just the first four lines of the poem, fully anglicised, though they are not copied from either of the two versions of the poem discussed above: they are not laid out in lines, but as prose, as found below:

Almighty Lady our ledinge to have att heven our abydinge,
unto thy feast everlastinge, thou sett a branche,
us to bringe,

The line changes are prompted by the right-hand margin and the end of the page rather than by the copyist’s decision; it must also be noted that it also is an incomplete copy seemingly

not by choice but by accident, as indicated by the comma on the last line; it would be odd to leave this mark in the text if the idea was to copy only the first four lines and not the rest, though this also is a possibility. The punctuation was likely added by the copyist, given that according to Dobson (1955: 81) the version on folio 136r hails from the same exemplar manuscript ϵ as the version on folio 63r³⁸, which does not have any punctuation. The spelling of these few lines on folio 136r exemplifies widespread use of final <e>, in (e.g.) ‘branche’ and ‘bringe’ and the present participle forms ‘leadinge,’ ‘abydinge,’ ‘everlastinge,’ ‘everlast’.

iv. Summary on Balliol MS. 353

As stated before, the fact that this manuscript should provide several versions of the ‘Hymn to the Virgin,’ though they are all partial, shows a great amount of variation in the hand of just one copyist. Whether that is due to the exemplar Sir John Prise was using or personal experiments of his on spelling cannot be determined without said exemplars, but there is proof that he did go back on his copy at least in one instance, so there was some reflection on his part on that point. That we also should have evidence that Prise had intended to provide both the Welsh and the English for his copies of the Hymn, either on the same page or facing each other, shows that already for this first surviving manuscript of the poem the element of bilingualism was invaluable, and perhaps what made the primary interest of the poem in his eye. However, there is also something to say of the fact that these copies should be partial: it is evident from his biography that Sir John Prise was a busy man, which might explain the state in which he left his copies of the poem. The version on folio 136r suffers from its incompleteness as well, giving little clue as to who its copyist was and why they made such choices. Finally, the words ‘Almighty lady’ at the top of folio 175v, written in a different hand from the preceding two, do not give more explanation regarding their presence there: but as it is the last page, therefore easily accessible, and as it was already covered in scribbles, there is a non-negligible possibility that these were added by a later reader of the poem, who would have marked the manuscript in this way to confirm the presence of a ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ within its pages.

³⁸ The difference between line 2 of f. 63r and the second half of the first line on f. 136r, the first one reading ‘heaven at our ending’ and the second one ‘at heaven our abiding’ might come from an inversion with line 22 of the poem on the part of Sir Prise, as this one reads ‘absolve us at our ending.’

British Library Additional MS. 14866

a. Manuscript description

The other manuscript of the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ kept outside of Wales, British Library Additional MS. 14866 is also known as both *The Book of David Johns, vicar of Llanvair Dyffryn Klwyd* (Evans 1910: 1022) and *A Welch Poetical Book with Divers sorts of Poetry in it; All by different hands* and, as its first title makes explicit, was the work of David Johns. It is dated 12th June 1587 (‘y 12 dydd o fehevin 1587’) on f. 7r-v³⁹, where Johns dedicated the book to his friend John Williams. The 314 folios of the manuscript are written on paper, 11¼ x 7 inches, and bound in calf skin. The poems date from the 14th to the 16th century, and are arranged by Johns in five books centred around different themes: Sacred Subjects pp.11-69 (in which the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ can be found), In praise of the Great pp.70-189, In praise of the Fair pp.190-316, Petitions and Thanks pp. 317-425, and finally the World, Death, and ‘such things’ pp. 426-542.

The poem itself is written in a careful and skilled secretary hand, even though it comes with several missing lines and misreadings, which are all acknowledged by Jones in annotations around the poem, in Latin and English, showing that he was aware of the failings of his copy. Even so, he chose not to attempt a correction; instead of line 75, for instance, Johns wrote: ‘here laketh a vers for it was not in my copi.’

This exemplar was in the hand, or at least was in the possession of, Simwnt Fychan (Simon Vaughan, d.1606), as indicated by a note next to the end colophon: ‘Kymerwch fi yn esgusodol er nad yw yr owdyl hon yma yn gwbl ac yn iawn ni fedrais i weled ond hyn, mewn hen gopi gida S. vychan’ (‘My excuses that this copy is neither complete nor correct, I could only see this in an old copy with S. Vychan’). Fychan was ‘one of the last great practitioners of the traditional bardic skills in Wales’ (Harries, 2004: ODNB), and was buried in Llanfair Dyffryn, where he is thought to have lived as well. As well as his poems, Fychan is known for an extensive bardic grammar entitled *Pum Llyfr Kerddwriaeth* (‘Five Books on Prosody’) which still survives in his hand in Oxford, Jesus College MS. 15, a manuscript that also includes a copy of William Salesbury’s treatise on rhetoric, annotated by Salesbury himself. It would therefore not be surprising that the copy of the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ was owned by Fychan, though the statement that this was an ‘old’ copy makes it probable that it was not in his hand.

³⁹ And not February, as wrongly translated by Dobson.

It nevertheless shows, once again, that the ‘Hymn’ was of interest to both antiquarians (such as David Johns) and renowned poets such as Fychan, and it already is apparent that though Tudur Penllyn’s poem was not ignored by contemporaries and later poets, Ieuan ap Hywel Swrdwal’s seemed to have more cultural traction.

a. David Johns

David Johns (fl. 1569-1598) was the son of John ap Hugh ap Howel and, according to another note of apology on page 251 of Additional MS. 14866, native of the Dyfi valley in Merioneth: in that note he excuses himself for copying many works of the poet Ieuan Dyfi in his manuscript, explaining that ‘am i fod ef yn wr om gwlad i’ – ‘because he is a man of my country’ (Roberts 2004: ODNB). Nothing is known of his education, though he is known to descend from a family of patrons of poets, his (?great-)grandfather Hywel ap Siencyn of Ynysmaengwyn being the subject of an elegy by Tudur Aled, after Hywel died of the plague. He became a deacon on 1 November 1569, and priest on Christmas Day 1570 (Hughes 1959: DWB); on 22 September 1573 he was appointed vicar of Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd which was previously held by his uncle Arthur ap Huw between 1563 and 1570 (Roberts 2004: ODNB); it is likely there that he produced MS. 14866.

He was, as mentioned above, friends with numerous scholars and antiquarians of his time, helped by the chance that the valley of Clwyd and its region hosted many manuscript collectors, poets, and literary antiquaries in the 15th and 16th centuries when Johns lived, and indeed for the following centuries as well. This is probably how he came to collect all the poems in Additional MS. 14866, as well as how in that same manuscript he could add in a note a description of the poet Dafydd ap Gwilym made to him by an old woman in 1572 ‘who had seen another converse with the poet’ (Roberts 2004: ODNB). Regarding his own production, he left behind him this manuscript as well as Peniarth MS. 59 and Mostyn MS. 110, Additional MSS. 14896 and 9817. he is also known for a few translations from Latin to Welsh, including St Bernard’s *Cur mundus militat?* in cywydd metre and a prose version of a prayer by St Augustine; similarly, he translated into Latin ‘Sapphic verse’ the pseudo-Taliesin’s poem ‘Ef a wnaeth Panthon Ar lawr Ebron’ (Roberts 2004: ODNB). There is no trace of works regarding specifically Welsh-English interactions or translations, but it is nevertheless interesting that translation would have been within David Johns’s interests.

It is not known how John Williams, possibly David Johns's successor as the vicar of Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd as he was presented to the vicarage in either 1598 or 1603 though no reason for the vacancy is given (Roberts 2004: ODNB), reacted to the gift of the manuscript. We know, however, from an inscription on f. 1r that the owner of the manuscript in 1744 was the Reverend Edward Morgan of Towyn Meirionydd, and that it was from him that the manuscript was borrowed in the same year by Lewis Morris of Penbryn, who has already been mentioned above in the section on 'Y Bardd a Saesnes,' as he left a note as well as his opinion on the manuscript on the first folio. He gained ownership of the same manuscript in 1755 from the Reverend Morgan's executor and, as we know, he was well connected to several Welsh scholars and antiquarians, among whom Paul Panton (see above) and William Vaughan, meaning he either had access to other manuscripts of the 'Hymn,' or might have lent this copy to his acquaintances. Unfortunately, he does not seem to have left any thoughts about the 'Hymn,' and there is no certainty as to whether he read it.

a. Poem analysis

The first noticeable feature of the 'Hymn to the Virgin' in Additional MS. 14866 is the presence of a prologue giving some context for the poem: it is the earliest manuscript containing one, and this one happens to be unique as it is the only occurrence of the short prologue (or Prologue A); indeed, Peniarth MS. 111, Panton MS. 33, and Cwrtmawr MS. 11 all have the same prologue, which is the longer one (Prologue B). Prologue A summarises in a few sentences the alleged origin of the 'Hymn to the Virgin,' i.e. the poet at Oxford defending the honour of Welsh poetry against the mockeries of English students; however, what is most noteworthy in this prologue is its last sentence:

Ond am fy mod i'n scrivennu'r llyfr hwn oll ag orthographi kymbraeg e gaiff hyn o saesneg ganlyn yn llwybr ni: darllenwch hi val kymbraeg.

But since I am writing this book entirely in Welsh orthography this much of English can follow our manner: read it as Welsh.

(Translation Garlick 1985: 7)

Of course, the 'read it as Welsh' can be understood as advice to the reader, and directly linked to the spelling system used throughout the poem: in order to read the 'Hymn to the Virgin,' one has to read as though they were reading Welsh, because the English letter-values

would not function there. However, *The Book of David Johns* only contains poems in Welsh; there are some marginalia in Latin, fewer even in English, as mentioned above, but as far as poems are concerned the ‘Hymn’ is the only one in English. The last words of Prologue A may then be an indication of how to perceive the poem rather than guidelines: the fact that it is written in English is enough English for the manuscript David Johns is composing, therefore the reader should remember that the poem is the work of a Welshman, and written in *cynghanedd*, and using the form of the *awdl* – in short, it is not an English poem, it is a Welsh poem which happens to be written in English (using ‘orthographi kymbraeg’ nevertheless). This also seems to stem from a Johns’s perfectionist tendencies: these are evidenced by the many annotations around the poem, some of them rendered unfortunately illegible when the manuscript was rebound. Most of them are indications of failings in the copy, either due to what was present or absent from the exemplar (as the ‘here laketh a vers for it was not in my copi’ on line 75, or the very amusing gloss next to line 54 ‘Corruptus est hic versus ut nonnulli alii propter inscitiam scriptorum’⁴⁰) or misunderstandings (‘ffing for ffeind’ next to the very first line on page 46, probably as a way to leave both what he had found in his exemplar and what he thought the word was meant to be), which Johns seemed to be aware of and unhappy with. Obviously, then, including an English poem in a Welsh poetry anthology would potentially appear as a mistake: Johns indicates and tries to explain these throughout the manuscript, it is therefore not surprising that the ‘Hymn’ would be introduced with a prologue to justify its presence in that book.

When Johns could actually bring a correction within the body of the poem, he would either do it immediately. That is the case in line 20, a <t> crossed out in favour of ‘ddus’ (‘this’), or line 42 the start of the word ‘knig’ (for ‘knight’) crossed out and corrected in superscript to ‘kneight’ with Welsh letter-values⁴¹: throughout the text, it is possible to find letters or group of letters added in a hand that may be presumed later, as the ink is slightly different. These corrections always seem to aim at making the spelling more ‘correctly’ Welsh: sometimes because the spelling was involuntarily English, such as ‘to’ on line 13 being corrected to ‘tw,’ or line 27 ‘he’ replaced with ‘hi;’ at other times because though the spelling originally used was using Welsh letter-values, it was seemingly deemed insufficient by the copyist. Thus, ‘ddys’ on line 5 becomes ‘ddus,’ as <u> can call for a pronunciation in /ɪ/, even though the first

⁴⁰ ‘This line is corrupt, as well as a number of others, because of the ignorance of the scribes.’

⁴¹ It might be more correct to speak here of ‘Welsh-like’ letter-values, as the consonant cluster <ght> would not stand for /t/ in Welsh.

spelling was already enough – it might have been to avoid having the reader read it as /ðəs/, as <y> can stand for both /ə/ and /ɪ/. He also changes ‘sich’ and ‘rich’ both on line 19 to ‘sits’ and ‘rits:’ <ch> corresponds in Welsh to a /χ/ pronunciation, rather than the /tʃ/ that an English speaker and reader would expect; however, <ts> might evoke that last sound more easily, though the consonant cluster per se would be pronounced /ts/ in Welsh, the proximity of the <i> invites the palatalisation from the part of the reader. However, the desire for phonetic accuracy seems to have led to some confusion and thus pushed Johns to seemingly anglicise his version, with ‘wold’ both on lines 46 and 50 being corrected in superscript to ‘world:’ ‘wold’ might have been in Simwnt Fychan’s copy, and seems to point to the absence of the sound /ʁ/ in ‘world,’ which would be what Welsh pronunciation makes of it, meaning that already by 1587 the <r> in English had become an approximant /ɹ/, which finds no equivalent in Welsh. However, ‘wold’ could also represent a pronunciation of ‘would’ with an open /ɒ/ or /ɔ/; or, without taking the pronunciation into account, could be perceived as too close to the modal anyway, and therefore unclear, which makes an exception to the Welsh spelling in favour of the English ‘world’ in the text preferable. In a similar fashion, he shows some hesitation over whether he should use <g> or <j> for /dʒ/ on lines 57-58, having originally written the two lines ‘dde gews has sowld / ddat Jesus height //⁴² o Jesuw Creist ddat werst a crown’ before adding in superscript, but without crossing out his first version (a <J> over the first <g>, and two <g> over both <J> of ‘Jesus / Jesuw’). The implication probably is that either it should be read with only <g>, i.e. ‘dde gews has sowld / ddat gesus height // o gesuw Creist ddat werst a crown,’ or only <J> therefore defaulting to the English letter-value in this case, i.e. ‘dde Jews has sowld [...],’ as this is a difficult point for each copyist of the poem, since /dʒ/ does not exist in Welsh.

Another post-scriptum correction concerns the punctuation of the text. It can be seen throughout the poem, with a difference in ink between page 45 and pages 46-47: the latter have the punctuation in the same ink as the text, but page 45 shows the punctuation in red-brown ink, which faded from black, though it appears to be in the same hand. This difference in colour points to the likelihood that Johns added punctuation from page 46 onwards, and once he was done with copying the poem, came back to page 45 to add the signs he had at first not put on the page. These include virgulas </> before the final two syllables of the first verse of the first five *englynion*, setting those apart as they alliterate with the second line of each *englyn* rather

⁴² <>//> indicating a line break, to avoid confusion with </>

than the first (it is particularly visible on lines 9-10: ‘Owr fforffadders ffadder, owr ffiding / owr po<p> // on ywr paps had swcking’); they later appear at the caesura in the stanzas on pages 46-47, though not on all lines until the last stanza – before that it alternates with other punctuation marks, either commas <,> or colons <:>. In two instances, both on line 41, the text has both a virgula and a comma, in that order: ‘a boe wyth bo /, hys lŵcks ys lo /,’ while on line 52 in the manuscript it is a period and a comma (‘as owld ei sae ., ei was in ffae /’). These seem to be part of experiments on the punctuation by David Johns, as other lines with a similar rhythm have colons in the same placement before (all of lines 31-37), and virgulas after line 52: the exceptions are for lines where the ‘4 syllable – caesura – 4 syllables’ pattern is either not present, such as the last line of the penultimate paragraph reading ‘went all wi. wntw thi leight,’ the ‘then’ present in other manuscripts being missing here; or harder to notice, such as line 56 ‘and iwng and owld wyth hymn they howld’ which, because of its diphthongs, might have made the number of syllables harder to hear and determine. Throughout the whole poem, there is only one semi-colon <;> to be found, at the end of the first line of the last stanza, ‘owr kŵk owr king / owr cok owr cae ;’ which seems to mark the vocative function of that first line: though the stanza continues with more marks of address (‘mei god, ei prae / mei geid up-reight’), this one, through the anaphora of the first person plural possessive pronoun ‘our,’ stands out in the poem and announces its end, which could justify specific punctuation for it.

Corrections aside, David Johns is extremely regular when it comes to spelling. The definite article ‘the,’ for instance, appears eleven times in the poem: ten of these occurrences see it spelt ‘dde,’ one of them being corrected on the same line from ‘the’ (line 26), and the remaining one on line 62 in the manuscript (‘tw thank tw thi / at the rŵd tri’) probably can be explained by the presence of ‘thank’ in the first part of the line, meaning that according to the rules of *cynganedd* /θ/ should be found in the same place in both parts of the line, i.e. as the second consonant sound; ‘the’ pronounced /θə/ might be considered poetic licence. A similar treatment is given to the first person plural pronoun subject, written ‘wi’ nine times including when where it was first written ‘we,’ and once ‘we’ but in a line which was added afterwards between two others, and written rather fast as well, as the spelling is more influenced by English than throughout the rest of the poem (‘a pretti thing / we prae to thest, that good behest / that god be height’). The same pronoun in the objective case is always spelt ‘ws,’ while ‘us’ is reserved for the third person singular ‘is,’ appearing five times in that form, and also found written ‘is’ five times and ‘ys’ three times. There is also evidence that Johns is consistent in grapheme to phoneme representation, as for instance the letter <u> is used for the sound /ɪ/

nineteen times out of twenty occurrences, with the sole exception being ‘up-reight’ on line 65. The form ‘up-reight’ is one of the many words ending in <-eight> /aɪt/ or /eɪt/ constituting the main rhyme of the *cywyddau* (i.e. the second half) of the poem, seven stanzas numbered by Johns 1 to 7. The few occurrences of such words in the *awdlau* (first seven stanzas of the poem) are spelt <-eicht>, with ‘breicht’ on line 13 and including ‘meichti’ (‘mighty’) on lines 1 and 28. The <ch> consonant cluster would correspond to /x/ in Welsh, therefore reflecting the same sound in these words in Middle English, which has now become silent and spelt <gh>. This is the spelling found in the *cywyddau* and therefore in the main rhyme: with the exception of the first *cywydd*, where one can find ‘meicht’ on line 29 and both ‘height’ and ‘ffleight’ (for ‘flight’) corrected to ‘heicht’ and ‘ffleicht’ with a <c> added in superscript, all other occurrences are spelt <-eight>. It is a surprising overlook on the part of Johns: if he corrected the mistake twice, and had at first used <ch> rather than <gh>, there must have been a reason. The most likely explanation is that the <-eicht> spelling was used in his exemplar by Simwnt Fychan, but that by 1587 /x/ was recessive in English⁴³ and therefore read as silent by Johns; after a time he might have started writing with less regard for his exemplar and therefore spelt the words with <gh> out of habit, and did not deem it necessary to correct them. He could have done without either <ch> or <gh>, however: if he kept the digraphs in his text, this might point to a glottal fricative still being present in his system, explaining the need to express it in the spelling.

Of course, this <gh> digraph also finds its explanation in Johns’s familiarity with English, as a bilingual speaker: there are several indications that he was fluent in English and that the Welsh letter-values, though it was his native language, were at times demanding more effort and reflection than standard English spelling. Thus line 47 of the witness reads ‘a pretti thing we prae to thest, that good behest/that god be height,’ which is a later addition between two lines, though in the same ink as the rest of the text. Line 47 appears to have been written more hastily than the rest, and the anglicised spelling is both what indicates the haste and its consequence: when having to add in the line, Johns did not try to copy it *literatim* from his exemplar and did not take the time to use Welsh letter-values, showing that the English spelling came more naturally to him.

⁴³ There is some evidence that it persisted in Early Modern English up to the middle of the 16th century (Smith 2005: 130), but this might be an indication that it died out earlier in Wales. It remains of course fairly common in Scots.

Peniarth MS. 96

a. Manuscript description

Also known as ‘The Poetical Works of Lewis Dwnn and others’ (Evans 1899: 592), Peniarth MS. 96 is a manuscript of 690 pages bound in white vellum and written on 8x6 inches paper between 1565 and 1616. It is allegedly in the hand of Lewys Dwnn, containing, as indicated by the title, a majority of his poems as well as some texts by other bards, possibly ones which inspired him or that he simply enjoyed, among them the ‘Hymn to the Virgin.’ Evans notes that it is difficult to determine exactly how much of the manuscript is in Lewys Dwnn’s hand, but that the writing on some pages (he names in particular pages 433-445) ‘is so shaky as to be clearly that of one who is infirm and old’ (Evans 1899: 592). However, it is likely that the entire volume is in Dwnn’s hand, and that the manuscript was copied gradually over many years; over such a long time span, Dwnn’s handwriting would have had time to change several times, making the identification of the hand(s) difficult. Evans also indicates that some of the *cywyddau* by and in the hand of Dwnn want the second half of the lines, which he also links to the author’s old age and possible degradation of the original manuscript(s) in which he had written his poems, making it impossible for him to remember and/or decipher what he had written. Peniarth MS. 96 might have been an attempt at assembling all his poems and inspirations in one place, probably for his own use; the handwriting is difficult to read and seems hasty, with little care given to presentation, and the book probably was not meant to be used by anyone but himself. The lines are uneven in the case of the ‘Hymn to the Virgin,’ but that also applies to other poems in this manuscript, the stanzas are separated by hand-drawn lines rather than by a space. The tracing of the letters is nevertheless very regular and reminiscent of a secretary hand, though it really has the appearance of handwriting meant for one’s own use. The table found on pages 16-18 in the manuscript equally appears to have been for the copyist’s exclusive use and clarity rather than a help for a potential reader⁴⁴. This, thus, makes Peniarth MS. 96 both similar to Sir John Prise’s commonplace book (Balliol 353) and to David Johns’s anthology of Welsh poetry, in that it was meant for the copyist’s personal use only, but was also dedicated to poetry first and foremost. It also is the first manuscript containing the ‘Hymn’ which is the work of someone who is a poet themselves (both Sir John Prise and Johns having attempted some poetry, but never been very productive or recognised

⁴⁴ It can be noted however that Peniarth MS. 96 did have readers, one of them being Dr. John Davies (c.1570-1644) whose name (but not his title) appears on pages 76 and 446, a friend of Dwnn who had dedicated *cywyddau* to him, who is the copyist of Peniarth MS. 98b under study in this thesis as well.

for their poetic talents), which might bring a difference in perception of the text on the part of Lewys Dwinn.

b. Lewys Dwinn

Born around 1545⁴⁵ Lewys ap Rhys ab Owain, Lewys (sometimes spelt Lewis) Dwinn took his surname from his mother Katherine ferch Rhys Goch Dwinn of Llanllwchaearn – allegedly a descendant of David Dwinn of Kidwelly who according to Lewys Dwinn, would have moved to Powys after killing the mayor of Kidwelly (Siddons 2004: ODNB). There is uncertainty regarding his place of birth, though it is thought to be Betws Cedewain in Montgomeryshire; we do know, however, that he had a traditional bardic training, having been taught by Owain Gwynedd, Hywel ap Syr Mathew, and William Llŷn; he inherited the latter two's genealogical books, and therefore it seems only logical that he found himself interested in the genealogies of the earlier generations of bards, among which the name of Hywel Swardwal (Hughes 1959: DWB), which might explain how he came to be interested in the latter's son's 'Hymn to the Virgin.' His son James (Siâms) Dwinn followed his example and became a poet as well as a genealogist, and happens to be the copyist for Llanstephan MS. 53, also containing a copy of the 'Hymn to the Virgin.' Lewys Dwinn was a very prolific poet, often addressing his works to people from all over Wales; the majority of these survive in both Peniarth MS. 96 and National Library (NL) of Wales MS 5270B (which also includes one poem by Simwnt Fychan). He was appointed deputy herald for the entirety of Wales by Robert Cooke and Robert Glover in 1586, 'in respecte of his former traveyles thoroughowte the most part of the said Countrey for the atteyninge unto the knowledge of the lynes, pedigrees, and descentes of the chieffest families and kinredes within that principalitie (the bookes and gatheringes wherof we have seene)' (Siddons 2004: ODNB), and also with regards to his vast knowledge of Welsh. Dwinn continued to use that title even after the death of those who bestowed it upon him, which should have marked the end of his service as well, and therefore kept using it during his travels throughout Wales. The reports of his travels exist in Peniarth MS. 268 and London, British Library, Egerton MS 2585 for the west of Wales, and NL Wales MS. 13215E for the north-east; the pedigrees they contain are signed by the head of the family and make a note of the payment received by Dwinn. Those manuscripts and others with copies of Dwinn's material were published in two volumes in 1846 by S.R Meyrick with the title *Heraldic Visitations of*

⁴⁵ It is worth noting here that, according to this birth date and that of the beginning of the composition of Peniarth MS. 96, this manuscript truly was the work of a lifetime, starting when Dwinn was twenty years old and kept until his death.

Wales and Part of the Marches, showing that he had visited the entirety of Wales throughout his life. This could explain the state of Peniarth MS. 96: it is possible that he took the manuscript with him during his travels, and copied poems in the libraries he visited as fast as he could, as he probably had more pressing matters to attend to; he was not a copyist, nor an antiquarian, but a genealogist now recognised for his accuracy and importance for Welsh genealogy first and foremost (Siddons 2004: ODNB), and his duties did not involve poetry collection. As a consequence, one has to read this copy of the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ as notes taken during travel, rather than the usual result of antiquarian interest.

c. Poem analysis

For all the haste that the handwriting seems to show, this version of the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ is one of surprising quality. It is preceded with the heading ‘in English owdl vair’ (‘in English, ode to Mary’) the words ‘in English’ having been added by a later hand, and the end-colophon gives the first two words again ‘almichdi ladi’ as well as the name of the author, here thought by Lewys Dwnn to be Hywel Swrdwal (‘howell swrdwal ai kant,’ which translates to ‘Hywel Swrdwal sang it’) and not Ieuan; the initials ‘H.S.’ can also be found in the right-hand margin next to the first line. Of more interest here, the spelling is particular to Lewys Dwnn: Dobson (1955: 81) indicates that Peniarth MS. 96 belongs to the α group of manuscripts, though it is descending from a long line of unknown exemplars, going through γ , ϵ (an exemplar for both Balliol 353 f.63r and f.136r), and ζ before Peniarth MS. 96 appears, alongside Llanstephan MS. 53 (i.e. the manuscript copied by James Dwnn, the son of Lewys). The differences in spelling between these two last manuscripts, knowing that Llanstephan MS. 53 was not a copy from Peniarth MS. 96, points to the possibility that the spelling system used in MS. 96 is indeed an invention of Lewys Dwnn rather than a copy from the exemplar he had access to, as his son’s version is very different.

Dwnn uses both English and Welsh letter-values in his version, though always very regularly: the most noticeable is his choice to use <v> to express the voiced fricative /v/ (‘hav’ line 1, ‘heven’ line 2 and ‘hevn’ line 11 & 24, ‘leving’ line 16, ‘saviowr’ line 18 etc.), as would be expected in English, but the Welsh <ff> for the unvoiced /f/ (‘ffeest’ line 3, ‘ffer ffader owr ffiding’ line 9, ‘preffering’ line 13, ‘fflicht’ line 24, line 60 ‘ei ffownd affo / 87ith ffeind ei ffeicht’): this goes throughout the poem with no exception, and no correction brought to it. Similarly, he uses the digraph <th> for both /θ/ and /ð/ indifferently, as it would be in English. However, he also uses <w> as it would be in Welsh, i.e. as an approximant /w/ (‘awl’ line 1,

‘owr’ throughout the poem, ‘yowr,’ ‘wyth,’ ‘wythowt’ line 12, ‘wacking’ line 19, ‘whwing’ line 20 etc.) as well as the vowel /ʊ/ (‘ws’,⁴⁶ ‘helpws’ line 13, ‘saviwr’ line 18, ‘tackws’ line 19, ‘bwks’ line 23, ‘ffwl’ line 24, ‘lwks’ line 31, ‘jessws’ line 48 etc), which he differentiates from <oo> for /u(:)/ (‘too’ line 21, ‘doonn’ line 25, ‘good’ line 26-35-38-44, ‘doo’ line 29), with a few occurrences of <o> for /u/ in words such as ‘to’ and ‘ynto.’

⁴⁶ Though there are in this case a few occurrences of ‘vs’ for ‘us’ as well, keeping in mind that <u> is not used in the manuscript.

Peniarth MS.111

a. Manuscript description

Though the other manuscripts containing the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ cannot be deemed forgettable or easy to overlook, there is an argument to be made about Peniarth MS. 111 being perhaps the most important. Also known as the *Llyfr Siôn ap Wiliam ap Siôn o hen gerdd a hen fydr ardderchawg* (‘Book of Siôn ap Wiliam ap Siôn of old poems and ancient myths’), it contains poems of Taliesin copied from the Black Book of Carmarthen and the White Book of Rhydderch (two of the most important manuscripts of the medieval Welsh period), along with other poems deemed ancient: among which, of course, the ‘Hymn to the Virgin.’ The 392 pages long manuscript is written on 11 x 8¼ paper in the hand of John Johns of Gelli Lyvdy, and dates to c. 1610. It is in excellent condition, having retained according to Evans its original full calf binding; however, an inscription in Latin on the inside cover, ‘Guilielmus Mauricius Lansilinensis . huic Lib. Operculum impertit orbo . 1660 .’ (‘William Maurice of Llansilin.⁴⁷ The cover that this book entrusts I deprive. 1660.’) may indicate that the calf binding is not original, but slightly later than the manuscript. A few names can be found in the manuscript: a label on the inside cover indicates that it was part of Robert Vaughan’s library at Hengwrt: not a surprise, as several manuscripts from the Peniarth collection used to bear that name, in this instance Hengwrt MS. 294. It also belonged to one Griffith Roberts in 1782, as indicated in Latin on page 1 (‘E Libris Griffithii Roberts. 1782.’), and Dr. John Davies’s⁴⁸ hand appears several times in the manuscript, though not on the pages containing the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ – though the copy in Peniarth MS. 111 served as his exemplar for Peniarth MS. 98b. John Jones indicates some of his sources for the poems, though these are always the Black Book of Carmarthen or the White Book of Rhydderch; as far as the ‘Hymn’ is concerned, Jones did not indicate what his exemplar was or where he found it.

This does not take from the quality of his copy: the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ in Peniarth MS. 111 is written with great care, ‘the most beautifully written of the early MSS. of the Hymn’ according to Dobson (1955: 75), spanning over five pages, and including the long version of the prologue to the poem (Prologue B). The lines are clearly separated and allow for a lot of space, leaving large parts of the page empty rather than trying to use it fully. This would tend to indicate that John Jones saw value in the ‘Hymn,’ as he was willing to use precious pages

⁴⁷ William Maurice of Llansilin (1620-1680) is a well-known Welsh antiquarian, collector and transcriber of Welsh manuscripts and books, and an associate of Robert Vaughan in the creation of the Peniarth / Hengwrt collection, of which he was the first cataloguer (Jones 1959: DWB).

⁴⁸ The copyist of Peniarth MS. 98b; see next section of this chapter.

and ink and quality paper for it – not only that, it also follows directly a poem of Taliesin, though Ieuan ap Hywel Swardwal is nowhere near as legendary (or talented) a poet as the ancient Welsh bard. As if to further the weight and historical significance of the ‘Hymn,’ John Jones also chose to write the first line of the poem, ‘O micht^{<↑>}I^{<↑>}i ladi,⁴⁹’ in large letters imitating a gothic script: it gives it the patina of an ancient text, and evokes to the reader older medieval poems such as, perhaps, those of Taliesin – though the ‘Hymn’ is not 150 years old when Jones copies it. Inscribing it in an ancient and respected tradition is an interesting choice, and Peniarth MS. 111 might in that regard be considered a turning point in the afterlife of the ‘Hymn to the Virgin,’ where the poem gains its *lettres de noblesse* after a fashion: the prologue gives it a learned context and inscribes it in a tradition of resistance to an English hegemony; the care given to the copy and its placement in the manuscript presents it as equal to those of ancient Welsh bards: if not in literary quality, at least in cultural significance.

b. John Jones of Gellilyfdy

The ‘most prolific and skilled of Welsh copyists’ (Lloyd 2004: ODNB), John Jones was born in Gellilyfdy (also spelt Gelli Lyvdy) before 1585 to William Jones (1527-1622) and Margaret daughter of Thomas ap Hywel; the eldest of nine children, he was born to a family of copyists and patrons of poets, as his grandfather was Siôn ap William. John Jones would sign himself from these names as Siôn ap Wiliam ap Siôn (John son of William son of John), which explains the title of Peniarth MS. 111; he can also be found to share a fuller ancestry as in Peniarth MS. 224 and name himself as ‘Siôn ap Wiliam ap Siôn ap Wiliam ap Siôn ap Dafydd ap Ithel Vychan ap Kynrig ap Rrobert ap Ierwerth ap Rryrid ap Ierwerth ap Madog ab Ednowain Bendew’ (Davies 1959: DWB), also signing occasionally with his English name ‘Yr hwnn Siôn ap Wiliam a elwir yn ol y Seisnigawl arfer John Jones’ (‘This here Siôn ap Wiliam also called by English custom John Jones’) (Lloyd 2004: ODNB). He has a possible connection to Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd (see the section about MS. Additional 14866), where a ‘clerk’ of the same name can be found in April 1600 (Lloyd 2004: ODNB). He is found copying a total of twenty-five manuscripts in Gellilyfdy and in the Vale of Clwyd between 1603 and 1610, borrowing exemplars from the gentry, clergymen, and scholars living in the region: Peniarth MS. 111 likely belongs to this category; in 1611-1612, he worked on a list of owners of manuscripts and books on both sides of the border (Lloyd 2004: ODNB). He then ceased to work with manuscripts for a few years and got engaged in politics instead, practising as an

⁴⁹ As for all transcriptions here, the <↑> symbol indicates a letter added later in superscript.

attorney in Ludlow, until he was arrested and imprisoned by the council in 1617 (Lloyd 2004: ODNB). According to Davies (1959: DWB), Jones was an attorney in Ludlow in 1609 and was in prison in London two years later. He was released by 1612 in time to transcribe the Book of Llandaff in Cardiff: he was nevertheless imprisoned once more in 1617. The reasons for his imprisonment seem obscure, and may be to do with debts incurred through litigation.

John Jones is notorious for his ability to be a most prolific copyist when imprisoned (often in the Fleet prison in London): he left a great number of manuscripts – over eighty – fifteen of them copied in 1632-1639 are badly damaged by an excess of sulphur in the ink, which destroyed the pages (Lloyd 2004: ODNB). When free, however, his activity as a copyist subsided. He died in the Fleet, leaving three girls under the age of six with his wife Elizabeth, and a collection of manuscripts surviving in various repositories: volumes containing poetry, as is the case here, but also Welsh history, bardic grammars, law, religious texts (including hagiographies), prose romances, folk tales, pedigrees, mathematics, astrology, music, dictionaries in several languages (including Welsh), and more (Lloyd 2004: ODNB). His manuscripts were for a large part inherited by Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt (the Hengwrt manuscript collection being now known under the name of Peniarth), with whom he kept a diligent correspondence throughout his life. The friendship was not surprising, as both men were copyists and one of them a prominent manuscript collector, and Jones was on top of this a skilled calligrapher, as indicated by Davies (1959: DWB): he had indeed taken advantage of his time in prison to study 16th-century Italian works on penmanship, and took these as a model as he was designing his own capitals influenced by Germanic and Celtic traditions, leaving in Peniarth MS. 307 a ‘Collection of Alphabets.’

c. Poem analysis

The ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ in Peniarth MS. 111 is a beautiful copy of the poem: spanning over five pages and using space liberally, it is remarkable for its wide array of punctuation compared to other copies of the poem. Some signs appear to be purely decorative, such as the <:·> at the end of line 1, which serves as a title to the poem, given after the prologue. The double virgula </> is used, in the initial *englynion*, to separate the two last syllables of the first line: it marks the second caesura of the *cynganedd sain*, with the first caesura marking the two rhyming sections of the line (the third one does not rhyme with the first two). That first caesura is not marked by Jones; my interpretation is that the end-rhyme of the first line does not correspond to the main rhyme of the *englynion* (in /ɪŋ/), though the internal rhyme does

at the end of the colophon: there are exceptions, where it is either omitted (lines 17, 21, 46, 51, 66), incomplete (giving </> on lines 5, 25), found twice in the same stanza (lines 57 & 60, 71 & 74), or misplaced (line 63 instead of line 66). There is also one use of suspension marks <...> on line 19, ‘maedyn not wythstanding...’ (‘maiden notwithstanding...’). The punctuation seems personal to John Jones, and has both a rhythmic role when reading the poem, indicating rests and accents; as well as a possible semiotic one, with the caesurae being indicated, as well as the end of stanzas being indicated. It is an intriguing feature, and shows that Jones intended the manuscript to be read aloud, with an attempt at providing what oral transmission would have given naturally, i.e. a sense of rhythm and therefore musicality to the poem.

The regularity in punctuation is matched by regularity in spelling as well: this can be demonstrated with a list of the ten most frequent words in this version of the poem, as in the table below reproduced from my previous MPhil thesis (Thuillier 2019: 42), to which I added details on variant spellings.

Item	Frequency	English spelling	Variant spellings
ei	20 occurrences	I	
owr	16 occurrences	our	
a	15 occurrences	a (indefinite article)	
tw	14 occurrences	to	to: lines 2, 56
as	13 occurrences	as	
and	12 occurrences	and	
dde	12 occurrences	the	the: line 15
wi	11 occurrences	we	
wyth	10 occurrences	with	
ys	9 occurrences	is	is: line 46

Table 6: The ten most frequent words in the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ as found in Peniarth MS. 111

The very few variant spellings point to either a great care in copying the exemplar, or confidence in the spelling system used: and the variant is always in favour of the English standard spelling rather than another Welsh letter-value spelling of the word; other manuscripts, for instance, render ‘the’ as ‘ddy,’ and Jones does use <y> as it would be in Middle Welsh, i.e. standing for both /ɪ/ or /ə/ depending on the word and position of the vowel within it; with /ɪ/ being used in monosyllabic words and /ə/ in polysyllabic words. We might compare, for instance, line 6 of the poem: ‘yw wann ddys wyth blyss dde blessing // off God’

where <y> appears in monosyllabic words and expresses /ɪ/ (note that the <i> in ‘blessing’ is short, but <y> is not used because it is a disyllabic word); and line 10, ‘Owr fforffaddrys ffaddyr, owr ffiding // owr pop,’ where <y> is used in polysyllabic words and stands for /ə/ – and, similarly to line 6, ‘ffiding’ is disyllabic, with the first <i> being a /i:/ and the second one /ɪ/, therefore <y> would not be proper. See line 18 ‘myddyr’ with <y> appearing twice in a disyllabic word, and twice as /ə/, including in the first syllable, though it is stressed.

On the same vowel, the use of <u>/<v> (both forms are used to the same end in Peniarth MS. 111) is equally of note. The letter appears used as a vowel (<v> is also used as a consonant /v/, along with <f>) only five times: line 15 ‘ffruwt’ (for ‘fruit’), line 45 ‘uws’ (for ‘use’), line 52 ‘trvwt’ (for ‘truth’), line 55 ‘rvwl’ (for ‘rule’), and line 76 ‘Dsivws’ (corrected from ‘Dsiews,’ for ‘Jews’). It is always in combination with a <w>, therefore <uw> or <vw>, and always in words where one would now expect a /u:/ or /ju/ in the case of ‘rule,’ except the pronunciation in Welsh when written as such would be /ɪu/. Dobson (1968: 702) comments as follows on this specific spelling:

The *Welsh Hymn*, Salesbury (Vol. I, pp.15-16), and the *Welsh Breviary* (Vol. I, p.345) transcribe ME [y:], &c. as *uw*; as these Welsh sources use *u* as a transcription for ME *ȳ*, this should mean a pronunciation [ɪu], with a lax first element (and not [yu] as assumed by Ellis followed by Viëtor and Luick); but the purpose may have been to avoid the suggestion of the ‘rising diphthong’ [ju(:)] which the transcription *iw* would give.

In my MPhil (2019: 43) I had suggested that John Jones originates from North Wales, which in the present day has /ɨ/ or /i:/ for <u>; it would not be strange that such a vowel was already present in John Jones’s time and, given the proximity between /y/ and /i/ (the first is a close front rounded vowel; the other a close central unrounded one), it might have been chosen, as well as to avoid the ‘rising diphthong’ mentioned by Dobson, because the North Wales variety of English had retained some of the Middle English /y:/. To this, we must add D. Simon Evans’s (1964: 1-2) observation on the letter <u> in Middle Welsh:

It appears that in MW the sound of *u* was different from that of ModW, where it is not distinguishable from [ɨ] N. Wales and [i] S. Wales. It was a central [ɨ]⁵². This sound persisted longer in accented syllables (including monosyllabic words) than in unaccented finals, where it became unrounded and approximated to [i] as early as the late MW period. In this position *u* and *y* are confused from the fourteenth century on [...]. In monosyllables where *u* was followed by *ch* the

⁵² [ɨ], [i], and [ü] respectively stand for /ɨ/, /i/, and /y/.

rounding was retained; this is evidenced by the glide *w* in ModW [...]. This development already appears in late MW.

For John Jones this would not have any implication: however, Peniarth MS. 111 is, according to Dobson (1955: 81), copied from exemplar η , a sister manuscript to Additional MS. 14866, both having been copied from manuscript β . Additional 14866 does use <u> more often than Peniarth MS. 111, with notably <û> standing for /i/, which includes three of the five words showing <uw> in Peniarth MS. 111⁵³: line 14 ‘ffruwt,’ line 40 ‘uws,’ and line 43 ‘truwth.’ These might point to this spelling dating back to older manuscripts, and perhaps to the authorial original: though the pronunciation of <u> changed to /i/ ‘as early as the Middle Welsh period’ (see Simon Evans above), it is possible that in Swardwal’s system, <u> still was pronounced /y/, while Middle English /y:/ was still in use: pointing to PDE ‘ffruwt,’ ‘uws,’ and ‘truwth’ still having a /y/ vowel, which at least ‘ffruwt’ and ‘uws’ would have had, as both come into Middle English from Old French ‘fruit’ /fryit/ and ‘user’ /yze/. The word ‘truwth’ is a bit more complicated, as ‘truth’ comes from Old English ‘treowþ,’ ‘triewþ’ pronounced /treo:wθ/, /triywθ/: in Middle English, the spelling changed to include forms such as ‘treowthe,’ ‘trewthe,’ ‘truthe,’ etc., and the pronunciation appears to have stemmed more often from the first pronunciation provided for Old English above than the second one, though one has to allow for regional variants. It is possible that Welsh speakers, including Swardwal, had been exposed to a pronunciation including a /y/, or perceived it as such, which would lead to Swardwal using <u> for /y/ in his version of the poem, which would have been kept afterwards – either through habits of copying verbatim, or because it did not come into conflict with the scribe’s own perception and pronunciation. This is where the two other words in <uw> from Peniarth MS. 111 differ from what is found in MS. Additional 14866: ‘rvwl’ from line 55 in Peniarth 111 is found on line 46 of Additional 14866 as ‘rywl,’ and line 76 ‘Dsivws’ is found on line 52 as ‘Jews.’ The latter word shows Rev. David Johns preferring the English spelling to Welsh letter-values to express a sound, /dʒ/, that does not exist in Welsh (Simon Evans 1964: 7).

The corrections brought to the manuscript are few: some appear because of a letter omission, such as line 8 ‘wynni↑n↑g,’ line 45 ‘a boy wyth^a bo’ and line 46 ‘s↑l↑o’ or space omission with ‘bi|hest;’ others change the pronunciation of the word, or word entirely, such as line 21 ‘mad’ changed to ‘mwd’ and ‘gae’ changed to ‘gwd,’ line 46 ‘lwkes’ changed to ‘loks,’

⁵³ It is worth noting that all manuscripts, with the exception of those in English spelling, read ‘ffruwt.’

lines 80 changing ‘ei gaynst’ for ‘agaynst’ and line 82 ‘a’ changed to ‘ei’ and on the same line ‘ei’ changed to ‘a’. The first instance required a pronoun, as it is followed by the verb ‘ffownd,’ while the second required a determiner, being followed by the noun ‘ffo’ (‘foe’). There are changes made in order to correct an involuntary English spelling, such as line 12 ‘th’ being crossed out immediately to write ‘ddys,’ and line 70 ‘to’ modified to ‘tw.’ One instance shows a change in word order, because it was in the exemplar and the mistake the result of an eye-slip, on line 46 after the accolade ‘hym↑2↑ ffrom↑1↑ a knicht,’ with the 1 and 2 written directly above the words ‘ffrom’ and ‘hym’ in order to indicate to the reader the proper word order, without crossing out the two words.

Peniarth MS. 98b

a. Manuscript description

A rather small manuscript, with only 86 pages and measuring 8x6 inches bound in white vellum, Peniarth MS. 98b is a ‘modernised copy’ (Evans 1898: 611) of better-known manuscripts such as the *Black Book of Carmarthen* (in the same collection, also known as Peniarth MS. 1) or the *Red Book of Hergest* (Oxford, Jesus College MS. 111). The pages were damaged by damp and some were eaten by mice; Evans (1898: 611) also notes that pages 1-26 are imperfect and interleaved. It indeed appears that the vast majority of the material in Peniarth MS. 98b comes from the *Black Book of Carmarthen*, with the exceptions being indicated by the copyist, Dr. John Davies of Mallwyd, in either Latin or Welsh; this source changes from page 49, where Davies appears to have added poems from different sources and penned by several poets, including Taliesin, Aneurin, and Ieuan ap Hywel Swrddwal – the colophon proposing both his name and that of Ieuan ap Rhydderch ap Ieuan Lloyd. As for Peniarth 111, it is interesting to see what authors the ‘Hymn’ shares a manuscript with, and it is especially intriguing when Taliesin and Aneurin are involved: the two bards inspired Welsh poets for centuries after their respective deaths, and have a legendary status that makes them somewhat inevitable, which easily explains their presence in numerous manuscripts. However, this is not the case for Ieuan: and the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ never, in appearance, had quite the same cultural weight as the *Llyfr Taliesin*. This version of the ‘Hymn’ is not accompanied by a prologue, though it is copied from Peniarth MS. 111: it is not immediately apparent because MS. 98b does not use Welsh letter-values, but rather has transcribed the text into English, but a close examination does show that Davies produced a nearly verbatim copy of John Jones’s version, with some conscious changes brought to the text, rather than misreadings. This happens to be Davies’s method, as noted by Evans (1899: 611):

This MS [...] is of great interest as an example of his methods and accuracy as a copyist. A comparison of certain portions with the original shows that Dr. Davis was generally accurate, but in the difficult and obscure passages he both blunders and amends (without notification) in such a way as to make one still regret the disappearance of certain MSS., the texts of which survive only in transcripts made either by himself or under his supervision.

Fortunately, Peniarth MS. 111 and its copy of the ‘Hymn’ can still be consulted, and though it does not allow us to judge on the accuracy of Davies when it comes to spelling, the near-

translating work he produced here does shed another light on the interactions between Welsh and English around this poem.

b. Dr. John Davies of Mallwyd

‘The only excellent Plato of our tongue’ according to his contemporary Rowland Vaughan⁵⁴ (Evans 2004: ODNB), John Davies was born c. 1567 in Llanferres, Denbighshire, to David ap John ap Rees, a weaver, and his wife Elizabeth ferch Lewis ap Dafydd Lloyd (Roberts 1959: DWB). Far from following in his father’s tracks, John Davies was influenced by the translators of the *Bible* into Welsh: William Morgan (c.1541-1604) (then Gamaliel, i.e. teacher of St Paul) when he was a vicar in a nearby parish; and Richard Parry (1560-1623) (future bishop of St Asaph) at the grammar school in Ruthin; Davies then graduated from Jesus College, Oxford, in 1594 (Evans 2004: ODNB). He mentions in a letter kept in NLW MS. 14529 that he then lived in Llandaff; this is thought to have been between 1595 and 1601, where he would have worked under William Morgan again, this time when he was his assistant. He mentions in the preface to his 1921 Welsh grammar in Latin, *Antiquae linguae Britannicae... rudimenta* that he was the ‘unworthy assistant’ of both Morgan and Parry – the name of the latter is on the cover of the 1620 translation of the *Bible*, though it is now acknowledged that more credit should have been given to Davies to whom it is believed the work owes its uniformity and impeccable language (Roberts 1959: DWB). Upon William Morgan’s death, he became the rector of Mallwyd, Meirionnydd, though the appointment was arranged before his mentor’s passing (Evans 2004: ODNB). He graduated again from Oxford, this time Lincoln College, B.D. in 1608, where he was also a reader of sentences, and D.D. in 1615, before becoming chancellor of St. Asaph in 1617 (Evans 2004: ODNB). He is said to have died in Harlech on 15 May 1644, and to have afterwards been buried in Mallwyd; his widow (Jane Price, married in 1609 and sister-in-law to Richard Parry) later married his successor Edward Wynn.

Davies’s life work was dedicated to help propagate the faith in the native tongue: this is seen not only in his involvement with the 1620 *Bible* as well as the *Book of Common Prayer* in 1621 (published under the name of Richard Parry), but also with his grammar in Latin. The grammar, also published in 1621, was extended in 1632 with a Welsh-Latin dictionary under the title *Antiquae linguae Britannicae... dictionarium duplex*, which was an important enough

⁵⁴ Of the Vaughan family of Llwydiarth, Montgomeryshire, Rowland Vaughan (c.1590-1667) was a poet, translator, and royalist; he does not appear to have been interested in the collection of manuscripts like other members of the same family, though it can be noted that the Welsh versions of the hymns found in the *Book of Common Prayer* are traditionally ascribed to him (Ellis 1959: DWB).

work to be cited in the English dictionaries of Thomas Blount and Edward Philips, while Samuel Johnson had a copy of this dictionary in his personal library (Evans 2004: ODNB). Both grammar and dictionary were not meant primarily for Welsh native speakers, but as ‘an attempt to provide materials through which English-speaking clergymen could learn Welsh in order to communicate with their Welsh-speaking parishioners’ (Evans 2004: ODNB), as some would have appointments in Wales; given his several years spent as a student in England, it is not surprising that he should be concerned with bridging the gap between the two languages, though he chose Latin as a medium, rather than writing directly English-Welsh dictionaries and grammars of Welsh in English. He also was busy with the translation and publication of pastoral materials, and took an interest in poetry from 1594 onwards which furthered his knowledge of Welsh and informed his grammatical work: some of the manuscripts, like Peniarth MS. 98b, were copied by him, while others were copied for him (Roberts 1959: DWB). His work was very influential in the study of as well as for the Welsh language and culture, with Sir Glanmor Williams (1987: 476) naming Davies as ‘the greatest Welsh scholar of his age, if not of all time.’

c. Poem analysis

As mentioned above, this version of the ‘Hymn’ does not use Welsh letter-values, and is rather an English translation/transcription made using Peniarth MS. 111 as an exemplar; and though the copy is rather faithful, as was his habit, Davies amended several passages in the poem, seemingly when he disagreed with or did not understand of the original copyist. The table below lists said changes:

Peniarth MS. 111	Peniarth MS. 98b	Comments
<p>Line 4:</p> <p>yntw ddei ffest everlasting</p>	<p>Line 3:</p> <p>vnto the feast everlasting</p>	<p>‘yntw’ (‘into’) is changed to ‘unto’ in Peniarth MS. 98b: as Davies is producing a deliberately anglicised version of the poem, this is to be treated as a choice on his part and not confusion.</p> <p>‘ddei’ (‘thy’) is modified to ‘the:’ while it is tempting to ascribe the change to a misreading or misunderstanding of the fact that <ei> stands for a diphthong in Peniarth MS. 111, it could be a choice to move from the second person singular possessive pronoun ‘thy’ to the definite article ‘the.’ It is possible that Davies preferred the interpretation of ‘the feast everlasting’ to be general rather than the virgin’s domain. It so happens that Dobson (1955: 112-113) believes the original to have read ‘ddy,’ and thus agrees with Davies’s emendation.</p>

<p>Line 5:</p> <p>i set a braynts ws tw bring</p>	<p>Line 4:</p> <p>is sette a branche ws to bring</p>	<p>‘i’ (probably standing for ‘ye’) becomes ‘is’ in Peniarth MS. 98b, a common change brought to the text and in keeping with the one at the preceding line, removing second person pronouns; it is also possibly a misreading/misunderstanding.</p>
<p>Line 12:</p> <p>yn hefn blyss i had ddys thing</p>	<p>Line 11:</p> <p>in heaven blisse I had this thing</p>	<p>‘i’ (‘for ‘ye’) copied as ‘I’ (first person singular pronoun) is a similar change to the one above, with ‘i’ not being read as a second person pronoun but as either another pronoun or other grammatical category: it seems Davies did not recognise the two words to be the same, as the first person pronoun in this context (‘in heaven bliss I had this thing / attendance without ending’) is a difficult reading, presumably relating to the prospect of eternal life.</p>

<p>Line 25:</p> <p>ywr synn s lyf owr syns leving /</p>	<p>Line 24:</p> <p>yo^f Sonnes live our sinnes leaving</p>	<p>‘lyf’ in Peniarth MS. 111 is likely to stand for the noun ‘life;’ Davies read it as the verb ‘live.’</p>
<p>Line 26-27:</p> <p>as we mae dde dae off owr deing // resef owr saviowr yn howsling</p>	<p>Line 25-26:</p> <p>As we may the day, of dying receive our in housling</p>	<p>The first-person plural pronoun ‘owr’ present on line 26 of Peniarth MS. 111 is omitted on line 25 of Peniarth MS. 98b, as it may have been considered redundant; however, the word ‘saviowr’ is forgotten in the following line, which causes it to not make sense in context.</p>
<p>Line 33:</p> <p>tw hefn ffwl wel /// tw haf on fflicht ./</p>	<p>Line 32:</p> <p>to heaven full well / to have our flight</p>	<p>‘on’ changed to ‘our,’ perhaps because Davies thought the first person plural pronoun made more sense here, with the ‘flight to heaven’ (i.e. entrance to paradise granted upon their death) being that of the believers. The preposition prevails in most manuscripts as well as the printed versions of the poem.</p>

Line 37: and se so swyn //	Line 36: and say so soone	'se' (for 'see') is translated as 'say' in English; while the absence of a spelling representing a diphthong (such as a spelling 'sei' for instance) does point to the verb not being 'say' for John Jones.
Line 46: ffrom hym a knight	Line 45: him from a knight	Davies ignored the change in word order introduced by Jones as a correction (see c. in 2.4.2.4. above)
Line 47: how mae yw know	Line 46: howe may knowe _	'yw' is omitted in Peniarth MS. 98b, with the <_> sign possibly indicating that Davies felt something was missing.
Line 48: the trvwrth is kyt	Line 47: The truth is kisse	'kyt' (for 'cut') is replaced by 'kisse,' which does not make a lot of sense in context; it might be a simple misreading.

Line 63: dde syns ddey sowld	Line 62: the sinnes we sould	The third person plural pronoun ‘ddey’ (‘they’) is changed to the first person plural ‘we.’ It might be an eye-slip (the preceding line reads ‘awar wi wowld’ in 111, ‘Aware we would’ in 98b), or intentional if Davies felt ‘we’ should be repeated.
Lines 80-85 in Peniarth MS. 111 are laid down differently than their equivalent in Peniarth MS. 98b on lines 74-79, with Davies abandoning the accolade layout for the last stanza though he followed it strictly in the rest of the poem.		

Table 7: Modifications brought to the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ by Dr. John Davies, Peniarth MS. 98b.

What must be noted as a difference between Davies bringing changes to the poem, compared to other copyists, is that he has an interest in language and making Welsh accessible to English speakers, and not especially in poetry. As mentioned before, he had a habit of not indicating or explaining his changes, though it appears that they were not made with regards to poetry, as most change the *cynghanedd* pattern of the lines. Though he had an interest in poetry, Davies does not seem to have kept the company of poets or read the bardic grammars, or to have tried his hand at writing any himself. The changes are then either due to confusion when copying, or conscious decisions to make the text more accessible. Though little is known of the audience of the manuscript, the contents make it seem like a sort of primer for Welsh poetry, with important poems being copied, such as it could be used by people learning Welsh (with Davies’s grammar) to familiarise themselves with the literature. There are however no signs that the manuscript was used as such; and the ‘Hymn’ being copied in English, it does not serve a potential purpose as a way to learn Welsh letter-values; it is however possible that it was copied only as an exercise in translation.

While it is without a doubt primarily a poem in English spelling now, there remain a few traces of the Welsh letter-values in the transcription by Davies. The first occurrence is on line 10, ‘swcking,’ where Peniarth MS. 111 had ‘swking’ on line 11: the <w> that is typical to Welsh orthography was retained in Peniarth MS. 98b, though the consonant cluster <ck> was added – this usage being typically English, and not found in Welsh. Similarly, line 23 reads ‘we fall to fffing’ with the <ff> that is already present (as it should) in Peniarth MS. 111, though

it should not be in an English text and clearly points to its Welsh origin⁵⁵; the same feature appears on line 33 ‘& he was ffiging.’ Line 67 presents an amusing mistake in the form of ‘O trusti Criste / that werst y crowne,’ knowing that <y> was not present in Peniarth MS. 111, which has ‘a krown’ (line 68) – using the English spelling for the indefinite article, while Davies unconsciously provided a Welsh letter-value spelling for it. This might indicate that the Peniarth MS. 111 spelling was familiar or comfortable enough for him to understand and use it without realising as he was copying, though the fact that he uses it not when copying verbatim but correcting what should have been found in his exemplar is interesting. Did Davies think as he was writing that Jones should have used <y> instead of <a>, and thinking so wrote it without realising his mistake?

Another feature of this anglicisation of the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ is the use of final <e>: it has no phonetic function in these words (as is the case in Early Modern English) and therefore is not part of the rhythm of the lines. Words that would end in <y> in Present-Day English are found – as is commonly the case in Early Modern English – with the spelling <ie> (line 1 ‘mightie Ladie,’ line 51 ‘prettie,’ line 68 ‘readie,’ line 75 ‘werie’), and do not enter into conflict with the monosyllabic ‘die’ which is a diphthong (‘dei’ in Peniarth MS. 111, line 69). The silent <e> is also found in any word ending with a double consonant, as one would expect, and after long vowels: there are a few instances, such as ‘nowe’ on line 39 followed by ‘now’ on line 43, where one might wonder whether these are not superfluous and intended to give an ancient patina to the poem, perhaps as a mean to emphasise its antiquity.

While it is not abnormal to find the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ in this manuscript – it always is found among Welsh poems in Welsh – the fact that it is in English spelling bears some questions; as mentioned previously it might have been a manuscript of texts to share with English learners of Welsh, with the ‘Hymn’ being copied as an example of what a Welsh poem looks like in a language that English speakers could understand. This change might seem benign, but it does appear like a betrayal of the possible original intentions of the author: writing in English but with a Welsh spelling system means that one would have to know both languages to some extent (being able to read Welsh and to understand spoken English at the minimum) to have access to it. *Traduttore, traditore*⁵⁶ could here describe the situation, as, though the text remains, albeit with minor changes, part of it is lost with its spelling: and its significance as a

⁵⁵ Which makes Furnivall’ and Ellis’s 1880 article and analysis that the poem was an ‘English hymn to the Virgin’ (on the basis of Peniarth MS. 98b) and Peniarth MS. 111 ‘a Welshman’s copy of it’ a rather intriguing mistake.

⁵⁶ ‘Translator, traitor’

Welsh poem, even amongst those of Taliesin and Aneirin, seems lessened when it could be easily confused (as it was by Furnivall and Ellis) with an English poem lost in a Welsh compilation. Nevertheless, it does not remove from the merits of Davies as a copyist, as the copy is clean and the changes, though they are not notified, are not illogical; however, if its aim was to share the poem with English native speakers, it does not seem to have attracted much attention, and it is possible that the manuscript never was found between the hands of any English colleague Davies might have had. It is possible, though, that having read the poem from Peniarth MS. 111 where it is found with a prologue, he felt a kinship with the unnamed author who also was a student at Oxford in his time, and thus felt compelled to keep a trace of the poem.

National Library of Wales MS. 13068B

a. Manuscript description

Formerly known as Llanover MS. 6, NLW MS. 13068B does not at first sight stand out from the other manuscripts containing the ‘Hymn to the Virgin:’ it is a collection of Welsh poems in strict and free meters, from c.1600x1826, with the folios containing the poem being in the hand of Llywelyn Siôn, who was mentioned above regarding the Llyfr Hir Llanharan and Llanstephan MSS. 47 and 134. The rest of the manuscript is shared between different hands, most notably one scribe thought to be the poet Giles/Sils ap Siôn of Glamorgan, with some poems by Thomas Lewis probably written in his own hand; the manuscript passed through the hands of Edward Williams, better known as Iolo Morganwg, as evidenced by the previous cover indicating it was gifted to him by Edward Lewis. It is 86 folios long, written on paper and rebound in half-vellum. Some folios were removed and are now part of NLW MS. 13180B, including more pages in the hand of Llywelyn Siôn. Therefore, the fact that only four folios are in his hand in MS. 13068B does not mean that he only added those to the manuscript: the rest simply was separated at a later unknown date⁵⁷.

The manuscript seems to have attracted some interest because of the ‘Hymn to the Virgin:’ at the very start of the manuscript, the words ‘Ieuan Swrdwal’ can be found, though it could refer to another poem found on folio 65r with a colophon indicating ‘Jefan ap howel Swrdwal / ai kant 1469’ (the date being in a different, black ink). Several other dates appear throughout the manuscript, with ‘1623’ twice at the end of lines on page 28 next to a poem by Thomas Lewis, ‘1506’ on folio 50r, and 27 July 1596 in a letter Llywelyn Siôn addressed to William Prys on folio 21r, immediately following the ‘Hymn.’ The letter does not mention the poem, and has nothing to do with the poetic craft; it is however followed by a note saying ‘Yr wyd yn meddwl mai ysgryffai Llen Sion yw'r wbl ager hyd yma,’ (‘it is thought that the writings of Llywelyn Siôn are the most important to date’), with another hand indicating that these words were written by Iolo Morganwg. It is also worth noting that though the ‘Hymn’ is, as usual, the only English-language poem in the manuscript, there are several lines in English scattered throughout the manuscript: on page 10 in the hand of Euan William, though they are difficult to read due to the quality of the ink, though they appear to be a poem or a prayer, and on page 82 the following, with the end of the lines missing due to damage to the pages:

⁵⁷ These were collated in MS. 13180B with folios from NLW MS. 13070B, 13169B, and 13178B.

The world is gon all out of fram they stain thy [...]
 for men are grown to fury a [?faith] they will disgrace [...]
 of all the godeses of fam they on li [...]
 wee women now are out of dat there non doe pr[...]
 nor yt speak [...] of rare [...] pur nor of domin labor
 nor [...] of them J know it wel indeyd J [...]
 theil say from these wee [...]

Which, added to the p.38 note ‘Mary Nicholas her hand,’ seems to indicate that women versed in poetry had access to this manuscript, one having added a few lines of hers to it. This also shows that readers of this manuscript were at ease with English, and are likely to have read the ‘Hymn.’

The ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ itself is now found in very faded brown ink on folios 19v-20v, and though the manuscript is damaged, it is still legible though the other witnesses for this poem in the (potential) hand of Llywelyn Siôn have not yet been discussed here, there will be comparisons between them and MS. 13068B below, as well as with the other manuscripts, as they should help determine its place in the *stemma codicum* drawn by Dobson (1955: 81).

b. Iolo Morganwg

Though he did not copy the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ in this manuscript, Edward Williams (1747-1826), better known under the bardic name of Iolo Morganwg, is an interesting figure associated with this poem. He was born to Edward William, a stonemason, in Glamorgan; he moved to Flemingston at a young age and considered it his home until his death. His native language was English, and Welsh came with ‘his literary awakening’ (Morgan 2005: ODNB). Following his father’s profession and becoming a mason himself, he travelled to London and Kent between 1773 and 1777 where he was introduced to literary circles in London from north Wales (in particular the society of the Gwyneddigion) and there developed his interest in the manuscript poems of Dafydd ap Gwilym, though his newfound peers derided him for his Glamorgan Welsh (Morgan 2005: ODNB).

He had an ambition to become an Anglo-Welsh poet, and had a way with Welsh poetry which he wrote easily; in 1794 he published *Poems, Lyric and Pastoral* as an ‘attempt to corner the market in Welsh labouring-class writing, [aspiring] to the success of Robert Burns or Ann Yearsley, presenting his collection as “the real unsophisticated productions of the *self-tutored Journeyman Mason*.’ Yet [...] the image of the artless stonecutter quickly fades [to] politically

oppositional visions of conflict and brutality, and sublime, if at times schematic, accounts of Ancient British “Bardism”, Iolo’s highly theatrical invented political system’ (Edwards 2013: 20). His interest in Bardism, which gave birth to neo-druidism, took roots in his Welsh nationalism, opposition to the British monarchy, and support for the French revolution, which he shared with other Welshmen stranded in London such as David Samwell (Edwards 2013: 20). Before 1794 he had already taken an interest in copying ancient Welsh manuscripts, as well as in forgery: in 1789 he had successfully had some of his poems in the imitation of Dafydd ap Gwilym published in the appendix to the edition of the bard’s works published that same year, which were thought to be genuine for a century before the identity of their author was uncovered (Morgan 2005: ODNB). His interest in old and medieval Welsh poetry turned to a quest to prove the superiority of Welsh bards, and especially Glamorgan bards, of which he just so happened to be one of the last survivors – his pseudonym translating to ‘Iolo of Glamorgan.’ His druidic beliefs led him to invent (though he claimed he simply unearthed an ancient order) the Gorsedd of Bards of the Isle of Britain, organising their first meeting at Primrose Hill on 21 June 1792. The Gorsedd later connected to the revival of the Eisteddfod (organised by the Gwyneddigion Society), during the 1819 edition of which Iolo introduced the tradition of the bardic chair made especially for the event (Morgan 2005: ODNB).

Despite his being vocal regarding the superiority of Welsh poetry, he preferred free verse to *cynghanedd* (and justified that preference by the – forged – claim that this was the true ancient way of the bards of Glamorgan), and several of his poems are written in English. Though NLW MS. 13068B was gifted to him, it is difficult to know whether Iolo Morganwg read the ‘Hymn to the Virgin,’ though it is tempting to think that he should have found it of interest: as the prologue teaches us, the author of the ‘Hymn’ was, too, a Welsh poet in England claiming to be ‘a poor scholar’ and ‘unaccomplished’ but nevertheless superior in craft to any Englishman – just as Morganwg describes himself. This, and later manuscripts will further that, inscribes the poem in a romantic tradition of antiquarianism: one that does not simply have an interest in ancient poetry, but rather seeks a political use of it, that would ultimately prove the superiority of one’s ancestry. In Morganwg’s case, his forgeries all aimed at demonstrating ‘that Wales itself was the most interesting part of Britain, and that bards were the true guardians of national tradition’ (Morgan 2005: ODNB), as is demonstrated in this stanza from his ‘Song for the Glamorgan Volunteers’ (in Edwards 2013: 167-8):

We, Sons of Glamorgan, of Britain’s old Race
Eye with filial affection our dear native place,

No nation before us this region possess'd,
 To this day 'tis our own, in its plenty we're blest.
 The Saxon, the Dane, and the Norman, in vain
 Strove to bind our forefathers in tyranny's chain,
 Or if we one moment experienced a fall
 Soon we sprang from his grasp that would Britons enthrall,
 One and all!
 One and all!
 Never long in our fall,
 We sprang from his grasp that would Britons enthrall.

c. Poem analysis

The MS. 13068B copy of the 'Hymn to the Virgin' is among those which, though they deploy Welsh letter values throughout, also have a fairly anglicised spelling. Among the Welsh features, the use of <w> for /u/ is observed, though not always consistent: /tu/ appears 18 times (including in /intu/), but is spelt 'tw' eleven times and 'to' the other seven times, without any specific pattern to explain the shifts. It does not appear to be motivated by a difference in pronunciation such as could be induced by the following word either, and must thus be explained by the copyist's familiarity with English. The poem does show that the copyist used <f> for /v/ and <ff> for /f/ regularly, though <v> for /v/ also appears – it is not a definitely 'unwelsh' feature per se, however it does make the words concerned with the spelling appear as they would in English: see 'have' line 1, 'leving' (for 'leaving') line 16, 'ever' and 'divers' line 40. Likewise, <th> is found for /ð/ in each occurrence of the sound, which would not be expected in Welsh as this sound generally maps onto the spelling <dd>, and <th> corresponds to <θ>: however, <dd> is never used in NLW MS. 13068B.

As it happens, none of the manuscripts ascribed (tentatively or as a certainty) to Llywelyn Siôn appear to use this spelling, including in his copies of 'Y Bardd y Saesnes' in the *Llyfr Hir Llanharan* and Llanstephan MS.47; and the irregularities in the Welsh letter-values can be found in them as well, though not in the same places, alongside choices that appear to be similar in each manuscript., MS. 13068B may be a key to the identity of the Llanstephan MS. 47 copyist: as mentioned previously, the date of c.1630 is fifteen years after Siôn's death, and L147 could be the work of an imitator or admirer of Llywelyn Siôn rather

than his own hand. There is, however, no doubt that Llanharan is his work; and none that the folios on which the ‘Hymn’ can be found in MS. 13068B are Siôn’s as well.

It bears mentioning that, like Llanharan and Llanstephan MS. 47, MS. 13068B belongs to what Dobson has determined to be the α group of manuscripts of the ‘Hymn to the Virgin.’ As he writes in his *Cymmrodorion* article (1955: 76), ‘the α group is characterised by the omission of ll. 13-20 and ll. 41-2 and by a series of corrupt readings’ – the omitted lines are, indeed, absent from MS. 13068B; the corrupt readings are given by Dobson in note 9 on the same page, and go as follows (with comparisons with MS. 13068B):

α corrupt readings (Dobson 1955: 76)	NLW MS. 13068B
line 9 ‘owld ffer ffader’	line 9 ‘owld ffor ffader’
line 10 ‘hath’	line 10 ‘hath’
line 11 ‘tw’	line 11 ‘to’
line 29 ‘tak’	line 21 ‘take’
line 30 ‘owr’	line 22 ‘owr’
line 31 ‘as’	line 23 ‘as’
line 34 ‘diw bid diw bon’	line 25 ‘diw bid<e> diw bon’
line 35 ‘matron’	line 26 ‘matron’
line 36 ‘maed’	line 26 ‘maed’
line 39 ‘a’	line 28 ‘a’
line 40 ‘so in on’	line 28 ‘so in on’
line 52 ‘they’	line 34 ‘they’
line 68 ‘ffends a ffold’	line 45 ‘ffends a ffowld’
line 70 ‘wyth’	line 46 ‘with’
line 71 ‘the’	line 47 ‘the’
line 73 ‘hath’	line 48 ‘hath’
line 75 ‘wee trust thy’	line 49 ‘wee trust thee’
line 76 ‘owr redy’	line 50 ‘owr redi’
line 79 ‘want’	line 52 ‘want’
line 80 ‘the nwn’	line 52 ‘the nwn’
line 94 ‘yn’	line 61 ‘in’

Table 8: Comparison between α corrupt readings and MS. 13068B

The difference in line numbering is due to Dobson using his own layout for the poem, which does not match the one used in MS. 13068B, nor of Llanharan and Llanstephan MS. 47. However, it is obvious from the comparison above that 13068B is indeed part of the α group, to the point where even the spelling for the variant readings lines up exactly with the one proposed by Dobson. When compared to Llanharan and Llanstephan MS. 47, it must be noted that the lines and layout are the same: and though the punctuation varies, it is placed in the same places in the lines and only to indicate a caesura, with few exceptions easily ascribed to inattention. A comparison of the last stanza in each of the three manuscripts gives a clear idea of the proximity between the three:

NLW MS. 13068B	Llyfr Hir Llanharan	Llanstephan MS. 47
a gast j go / mi ffrinds mi ffro	a gast I go my ffrynds my ffro	a gast j go · my ffrynds mŷ ffro
j ffownd a ffo / with ffend j fficht	I fynd a go with ffend I ficht	j ffownd a ffo · with ffend i fficht
j sing also / in welth in wo	J sing allso in welth in wo	j sing allso · in welth in wo
j kan no mo / tw qwin o micht	I kan no mo tw queen o micht	j kan no mo · tw qvin o micht

What appears obvious with this comparison is also the punctuation choices made in each manuscript: a virgula for MS. 13068B, a vertical line for Llanharan, and a punctus elevatus for Llanstephan MS. 47 – in each of them there is no other sign of punctuation used⁵⁸. To this can be added that the three have the exact same end colophon, ‘O michti ladi owr leding / howel swrdwal / ai kant,’ the only difference being that Llanharan and Llanstephan MS. 47 capitalise the name of the author when 13068B does not. Llanharan and Llanstephan 47 are categorised by Dobson as belonging to the δ subgroup of manuscripts, being itself a copy from exemplar γ : the latter has another copy in the form of exemplar ϵ , of which three ‘descendants’ were already mentioned above in the form of the latest Balliol MS. 353 copies of the ‘Hymn’ and in Peniarth MS. 96 (c.1601-1616). It appears from only the first line of the poem that MS. 13068B is not among the ϵ group, as the first line of the present manuscript reads (translated in PDE) ‘O mighty lady’ when ϵ manuscripts all have ‘Almighty lady’ – they are the only ones to present that variant, as well. On the other hand, 13068B shares many similarities with Llanharan and especially with Llanstephan MS. 47: the three manuscripts have several identical lines, with Llanharan and Llanstephan 47 sharing a further few lines together, but not as many as 13068B and Llanstephan MS. 47. Table 15 in the Appendix shows in detail the similarities between the

⁵⁸ The reader may notice in the transcription of MS. 13068B that line 1 has ‘owr leding , tw have’ rather than ‘owr leding / tw have’: this is to translate the fact that this initial virgula is shorter and lower on the line than the others found in the manuscript, but it does appear to be meant as the same punctuation sign.

three manuscripts; from this we can determine that MS. 13068B is doubtlessly among the δ manuscripts, but not necessarily the δ exemplar, as there seem to never be any lines in common between 13068B and Llanharan that are not equally shared with Llanstephan MS.47.

According to their dates of composition, MS. 13068B is the oldest of the three manuscripts, with the letter from Llywelyn Siôn dated 1596; Llanharan would be 1623, and Llanstephan MS. 47 is thought to have been written around c.1630, though it is possibly earlier. There is a possibility that Siôn copied the same poem three times from the same exemplar δ , though this would make the variant readings difficult to explain; section 2.2.2., D. above shows a filiation between Llanstephan 47 and Llanharan when it comes to ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes,’ and it is possible that the two are likewise linked here, with 13068B relating more closely to L147.

In terms of features specific to MS. 13068B, the most noticeable would be the use of <aiy> in words when one would expect the sound /eɪ/, /aɪ/: there are exceptions where the copyist used <ai> (line 1 ‘brains’ for ‘branche;’ lines 13, 37 ‘prai’ for ‘pray;’) or <ae> (lines 17, 19, 32 ‘mae’ for ‘may;’ lines 17 and ‘dae’ for ‘day;’ line 26 ‘maed’ for ‘made’), which might reflect a difference in the perception or realisation of the diphthong; there are other exceptions when the spelling is anglicised. The <aiy> are consistent from line 41 until the end of the poem, with one exception for line 42 ‘ney;’ this does not correspond to a new page in the manuscript, as line 41 is the start of the last stanza written on folio 20r, however /eɪ/, /aɪ/ is the main rhyme for this stanza as well and the copyist may have thus paid special attention to the best way to translate the sound into the Welsh spelling system at this point of the poem, when it may not have appeared as crucial before, and opted to keep it for the following words containing the sound. They follow a very regular pattern, as the spelling concerns only monosyllabic words with /eɪ/, /aɪ/ being the last sound (i.e. unlike ‘maed/made’ above), always in rhyming (including caesura) position. The spelling <ai> corresponds in Welsh to /aɪ/, so it would have been enough to transcribe the song: the addition of <y> at the end might be to stress the rhyme, adding a shorter /ɪ/ after the diphthong. This is the only manuscript using this spelling, Llywelyn Siôn seems not to have elected it for other copies of either the ‘Hymn’ or ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes.’

Another noteworthy feature is the absence of doubled consonants in the middle of words: the only ones to be found are <ff> for /f/, always found at the start of words with the exception of ‘off’ occurring four times in the poem; and <ll> for /l/, contrary to what would be expected from this letter in Welsh, though as the voiceless alveolar lateral fricative /ɬ/ is absent

from English it cannot stand for anything but the lateral alveolar approximant, and is therefore explained by the influence of English on the spelling used by the copyist.

Lastly, the use of <j> in this version is shared between <j> for the first person singular pronoun ‘I,’ as can be expected in manuscripts from this period, and on line 48 ‘the jeüs hath sowld / thi jesws hicht:’ as in other manuscripts, including Llanharan and Llanstephan MS. 47, Siôn chose to use the same letter as he would have were he copying the poem entirely in English spelling, as Welsh has no spelling corresponding to the sounds /ʒ/ or /dʒ/ required for both ‘Jews’ and ‘Jesus.’ He does however slightly change the spelling of the two words between MS. 13068B and Llanharan/Llanstephan MS. 47: here, he uses <w> for the <u> in ‘Jesus,’ implying a /u/ sound, as was found in Middle English: it might have still been a sound close to /u/ then, rather than /ə/ or /ʌ/ as in PDE. It can be noted, however, that Present-Day Welsh has ‘Iesu’ /jesɨ/ or /jesi/, with Llanharan and L147 using the spelling ‘Jesus,’ which could also indicate that the sound was perceived to be between /u/ and /i/ or /ɨ/, with <w> therefore not being contradictory with the later use of <u> for the same word – though the latter case could also be explained with the choice to use the English spelling of the name, as it is complicated to transcribe in Welsh letter-values. Equally important is the spelling ‘jeüs’ with a diaeresis on the <u>: in this case it indicates the separation of two vowels which would otherwise have formed a diphthong, here /əɨ/ which instead must be read /ɛɪ/ or /ɛi/, which seems to be an attempt at the difficult task of transcribing the Middle English /dʒiʊ/ in Welsh spelling; it can also be that this was motivated by the Welsh word for ‘Jew,’ ‘Iddew,’ pronounced /iðɛu/, with a similar vocalic situation at the end of the word. In this case, it might be a sign that though the copyist could recognise the English word when he read it, he might not have encountered it orally – a detail to keep in mind in bilingual situations, as Llywelyn Siôn appears to have kept to Welsh-speaking circles.

Cardiff Free Library MS. 5.44 / *Llyfr Hir Llanharan*

a. Manuscript description

For a fuller description of the manuscript (which can only be accessed in microfilm: multiple enquiries have not given any clue as to the place the actual manuscript can now be accessed) and biography of Llywelyn Siôn, see 2.2.2.2. above, in the section regarding ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes.’ The ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ can be found on folio 5v-6r, written in one column taking the full width of the page due to the manuscript’s ledger book format, with the bottom of folio 5v being badly damaged by damp – the faded ink and microfilm quality combined make the start of lines 6-12 illegible, though it must be noted that Dobson (1955: 75) also had difficulty reading those same lines with access to the manuscript. A few other hands can be found in the manuscript, notably one which seems to have collaborated with Siôn, adding a few poems and a contents list. It was known to be in the possession of the Powell family of Maesteg, Glamorgan, thanks to notes on ff. 1 and 69v; the hand of one member of that family, Rees Powell, can be found in the manuscript.

b. Poem analysis

As mentioned above, the *Llyfr Hir Llanharan* appears to be a sister manuscript to both NLW MS. 13068B and Llanstephan MS. 47, likely sharing a copyist and an exemplar. The table comparing the three manuscripts in the appendices shows that there are more similarities between Llanharan and Llanstephan MS. 47 than with MS. 13068B, which would suggest that the first two are more closely related than Llanharan is to MS. 13068B. If the former dates from 1596, with Llanharan dating from 1613, the differences could be explained by the seventeen-year difference between the two copies; Llanharan and Llanstephan would have to have been produced closer to each other, with Llywelyn Siôn dying c.1615.

It shares most spelling features with 13068B, including <ee> for, it seems, /i:/. The words in which this spelling can be found are lines 15, 23, 30, 37, 45, 49, 50 ‘wee;’ lines 21, 39 ‘hee;’ line 21 ‘mee;’ lines 27, 54 ‘see;’ lines 34, 46 ‘bee’ (for ‘be’); line 50 ‘weedy;’ line 51 ‘thee,’ ‘tree;’ line 53 ‘agree;’ line 57 ‘seek;’ line 62 ‘queen.’ The spellings coinciding with the English spelling of the words, added to the occurrences of ‘we’ line 17, ‘he’ line 19, ‘wi’ line 52, ‘me’ line 53, seem to confirm that these are to be read /i:/ and are, therefore, an English spelling rather than one corresponding to Welsh letter-values: the fact that they should appear so often and across all three manuscripts would suggest that they were present in the exemplar used by Siôn. The same feature appears across all manuscripts, though so often only in those

three as well as Llanstephan MS. 54, which is a copy of Llanstephan MS. 47; Peniarth MS. 96 derived from ζ; and Llanstephan MS. 53, also derived from ζ, itself copied from ε. These manuscripts are part of the same γ group of manuscripts as Llanharan, in the δ subgroup. This spelling is not found in β manuscripts, or so seldom as to not be comparable; and as it does not appear in Balliol 353 f.1r-88v, it could be inferred that it was not part of exemplar α, though the Balliol copies of the ‘Hymn’ are too fragmentary to be able to tell for sure that they did not have <ee>. It does not appear in the other two versions of the ‘Hymn’ in Balliol MS. 353, with the same problem of them being fragmentary. However, given the evidence that is not fragmentary, it would appear that the spelling goes back to at least γ; it is at least certain that this was not a feature present in the original poem.

Unlike what is common to both 13068B and Llanstephan MS. 47 however, it is evident in Llanharan that Siôn did not prefer <j> for ‘I’ to other options; it has ‘Ei’ on lines 4 and 5 where the other two manuscripts read ‘ye;’ ‘y’ on line 29, with ‘j’ for 13068B and ‘I’ for L147, and again on line 30 with this time L147 agreeing with 13068B; the exact same configuration is found again on line 43. Line 44 gives ‘I’ (including in ‘Ild’) in Llanharan, and ‘j’ in the other two manuscripts by Siôn (with ‘ild’ in 13068B and ‘yld’ in L147). Similarly, line 54 has ‘I’ in Llanharan, ‘j’ in the other two. Lastly, the last two stanzas have the same pattern (‘I’ in Llanharan, ‘j’ for L147 and 13068B), with both having one ‘J’ each: one occurs on line 57, and the other on line 61. These discrepancies between the three manuscripts are intriguing: how could Llanstephan MS. 47 and NLW MS. 13068B have such similar choices, and Llanharan introduce a coherent variant, if the three are copied from the same exemplar? As mentioned before, of the three, Llanharan appears to be the odd one out: it shares common readings with Llanstephan MS. 47, but no lines are exact replicas of each other between Llanharan and MS 13068B, except if they are also in common with Llanstephan MS. 47; however the latter two have more lines in common (not accounting for differences such as the choice to use <aiy> spellings in 13068B) than the three manuscripts together. As explained by Dobson (1955: 79-80):

Between C [Llanharan] and L₁ [Llanstephan MS. 47], both of which were written by Llywelyn Siôn, the relationship is, as might be expected, very close, but there are some differences. In ten cases L₁ preserves the α reading where C alters it; on the other hand in five cases C preserves the α reading against L₁. [...] Though neither MS. is an accurate copy of its exemplar, L₁ is the more accurate. There can be no doubt that they are direct copies of a common exemplar δ, which we may identify with the “archetypal MS.” which it has already been deduced, on other

grounds, that Llywelyn Siôn possessed⁵⁹. This MS. δ was characterized by jvse “use” (whence C jus, L₁ jese) in l. 46 and kwt “cut” (so both C and L₁) for kyt in l. 51.

The α readings mentioned by Dobson and their variants in each of the three manuscripts can be found listed in the table below:

α reading (according to Dobson)	Llanharan variant	Llanstephan MS. 47 variant	NLW MS. 13068B variant
Yowr	yowr	Yowr	yowr
Pop	pob	Pop	pop
Had	haf	Had	had
Ocht	och	Ocht	och
Sonn	son	Sonn	sonn
An	and	an	an
J	ye	j	ye
They	the (correct emendation)	they	they
World	world	world	world
Lwk	lok	lwke	lwke
Lok	lwk	loke	loke
ffownd	fynd	ffownd	ffownd
by licht	by licht	be licht (‘a correct though anglicised emendation,’ Dobson 1955: 79)	bee licht
rywl dwth	rywl dwth	rvl dw	rul doth
Gwd	gwd	god	gwd
God	god	gwd	god
Intw	intw	vntw	intw
That	that	tha	thi

Table 9: Comparison between the α readings and the three Llywelyn Siôn MSS of the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’

⁵⁹ Dobson points to Thomas Parry, *Gwaith Dafydd ap Gwilym*, p. cxliv.

From the above table it becomes apparent that of the three Llywelyn Siôn manuscripts, MS. 13068B is closest to the α exemplar, with Llanharan the most distant. MS. 13068B being the earliest, it is possible that some of these differences, if the three manuscripts did have the same exemplar in the possession of Siôn, could be explained by the exemplar becoming harder to read as the copyist became older.

Llanstephan MS. 47

a. Manuscript description

This manuscript has been described more fully on p.39 above. In this volume, the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ may be found on pages 36-37. Dobson argues convincingly (1955: 75) that the hand is that of Llywelyn Siôn, and Llanstephan MS. 47 therefore shares its copyist with the Llyfr Hir Llanharan (dated 1613) and NLW MS. 13068B, and the spelling is consistent with that of manuscripts known for certain to be in his hand.

Evans (1903: 516) dates the book to c.1630. However, Llywelyn Siôn is generally believed to have died in 1615, and would have been over 90 years old if he wrote Llanstephan MS. 47 in c.1630. Like Evans (1903: 516), the National Library of Wales⁶⁰ also considers Llanstephan MS. 47 to be in the same hand as the Llywarch Reynolds MS and Peniarth MSS. 48 and 134, but there are contradictory views, with the finding aid⁶¹ only indicating of MS. 48 that it is ‘a single scribe from the second half of the 15th century,’ while the creators of MS. 134 are considered to be Gruffudd Hiraethog, Simwnt Fychan, and William Llŷn, all of whom lived during the second half of the 16th century. It therefore appears that Peniarth MSS. 48 and 134 cannot have the same scribe. In 1747 Richard Morris (see below) added the index of the authors of poems on pages 565-580 for his friend William Jones.

Richard Morris made the indexes to Llanstephan MS. 47 for William Jones (1674/5-1749), a friend of the Morris family of Anglesey since childhood, though he later moved to London (Jenkins 1959: DWB). He is best known now as the father of the philologist Sir William Jones (1746-1794) known for his theory that Indo-European languages were related, notably that Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin had the same origin and could therefore be related to Gothic, Celtic Languages, and Persian (Jones 1799: 26). The older William Jones was however in his own right a person of note; an important mathematician, he was a friend of Isaac Newton (some of whose works he edited), and introduced the use of π to designate the ratio between the circumference and the diameter of a circle in his 1706 volume *Synopsis Palmariorum*

⁶⁰ See ‘Llanstephan MS. 47b,’ National Library of Wales <<https://www.library.wales/discover-learn/digital-exhibitions/manuscripts/the-middle-ages/dafydd-ap-gwilym-and-the-cywyddwyr/llanstephan-ms-47b>> [last accessed 14/01/2024]

⁶¹ See ‘Peniarth MS. 48,’ National Library of Wales <<https://www.library.wales/discover-learn/digital-exhibitions/manuscripts/the-middle-ages/dafydd-ap-gwilym-and-the-cywyddwyr/peniarth-ms-48>> [last accessed 14/01/2024]

Matheseos. He had few contacts with Welsh colleagues, and of the Morris family only was somewhat close to Richard.

The reason why Richard Morris wrote the indexes for him was because Jones had asked him to catalogue the manuscripts left to him by his friend Moses Williams (Jenkins 1959: DWB), the son of the reverend Samuel Williams, mentioned above (p.47) as the copyist of Llanstephan MS. 134. William Jones had helped Moses Williams (as well as Lewis Morris, older brother to Richard) obtain a membership of the Royal Society; this may be further proof or the reason of their friendship. Jones had also gifted two maps for Richard Morris's edition of the *Bible* in 1746; it therefore seems that even though it appears that he was not himself versed in Welsh poetry (though he might have had an interest in it even though he did not share it), he still helped his fellow countrymen in their projects. At his death, he had in his possession 15.000 works and 50.000 pages of manuscripts which he left to the 3rd Earl of Macclesfield, who kept them in Shirburn Castle and forbade access to them to Morris, or indeed to anyone else interested. The Macclesfield collection was bought in 1899 by Sir John Williams who donated it to the National Library of Wales, where it was catalogued by John Gwenogvryn Evans (*Report on manuscripts in the Welsh language*, vol. 2: *Plas Llan Stephan; Free Library, Cardiff*, Historical Manuscripts Commission, London, 1903).

It appears that Sir William Jones found no interest in the manuscript collection of his father, who died when young Jones was three: the younger man's interests lay with Sanskrit, leading him to move to Calcutta in September 1783, where he died a decade later. Although he spoke several languages, including Arabic, Chinese, Persian, Hebrew, modern European languages (among which French, in which he wrote several treatises), Greek, and Latin (Stephens 1998: 412-413), some sources have him speaking no Welsh (he after all grew up in England), and an anecdote has a British ambassador introducing him to the king of France as 'a man who knew every language except his own' (Jenkins 1959: DWB). Nevertheless, he had a correspondence with Richard Morris revealing that the two had a project to publish Lewis Morris's *Celtic Remains*, marking him as part of the antiquarian circles of his time. He however writes to Morris in 1790 that 'though, as a Cymmrodor, he was keenly interested in the antiquities and literature of Wales, yet he had not a minute to spare for them' (Jenkins 1959: DWB).

c. Poem analysis

As for NLW MS. 13068B and the *Llyfr Hir Llanharan*, Llanstephan MS. 47 is remarkable for the rarity of the corrections brought to the copy of the ‘Hymn.’ There are, in fact, none to be found in this manuscript, showing a high level of penmanship from the part of the copyist as well as, perhaps, some familiarity with the spelling system. It can also be noted that of all three manuscripts ascribed to Siôn, Llanstephan MS. 47 appears to be the one with the least anglicised spellings, as indicated in Table 10 below, which compares usages in the first stanza of the poem.

NLW MS. 13068B	Llyfr Hir Llanharan	Llanstephan MS. 47
O michti ladi owr leding , tw have at hefn owr abiding into the ffeast efr leasting ye sett a brains us to bring	O michti ladi owr leding tw haf at hefn owr abiding into they ffest ever leasting Ei set a braints ws to bring	O michti ladi owr leding · tw haf at hefn owr abiding intw they ffeast efr leasting ye set a brains ws tw bring
Heavily anglicised; ‘have,’ ‘into,’ ‘the,’ ‘us,’ and ‘to’ all are present here with their English spelling rather than with Welsh letter-values. The stanza presents correct readings, most notably ‘ye’ on line 4. Dobson (1955: 100) reconstructs the poem as originally having ‘i’ for ‘ye,’ which several copyists have read as a first person singular pronoun.	Llanharan corrects a few anglicisms found in MS. 13068B: ‘haf’ and ‘ws.’ The rest remains unchanged. Most notably, it introduces some new readings to the stanza: ‘the’ on line 3 becomes ‘they’ for ‘thy;’ ‘ye’ becomes ‘Ei,’ therefore the first person singular pronoun, on line 4. The copyist also experiments with the spelling for ‘feast,’ now writing ‘ffest’ ‘branche,’ adding a <t>, presumably in an attempt to transcribe the sound /ʃ/.	Ll47 keeps the corrections brought in Llanharan and removes all remaining anglicisms, now having ‘intw’ and ‘ws’ as well. It keeps the reading ‘they’ though erroneous, but goes back to ‘ffeast,’ ‘ye,’ and ‘brains’ which Llanharan had changed.

Table 10: Comparison of the first stanza of the ‘Hymn’ in the three manuscripts ascribed to Llywelyn Siôn.

This pattern is sustained throughout the poem; Llanstephan MS. 47 therefore seems the most accurate of the three in terms of closeness to the author’s conception of the work. It also

is the most consistent with its spelling, with for instance /f/ being exclusively expressed with <ff>, and /v/ with <f> for most occurrences; <v> occurs three times for /v/, once on line 16 ‘leving’ (with the same spelling in the other two manuscripts), once on line 18 ‘savior’ (which can also be considered as an anglicised spelling; Llanharan has the same spelling, and MS. 13068B has ‘saviwr’) and once on line 40 ‘divers,’ which is spelt the same way in all three manuscripts. In all cases, <v> for /v/ happens between two vowels, which is not unknown in Middle Welsh, since the letter is thought to have mapped onto the sound /β/, a bilabial fricative.

The letter <v> is also used as an equivalent for <u> in the manuscript. The two letters seem to be interchangeable: <u> is used in three words throughout this version of the ‘Hymn,’ with ‘truth’ on line 33, ‘jesus’ on line 48, and ‘up’ on line 56; whereas <v> appears in the word ‘us⁶²’ several times (lines 13, 14, 19, 39), ‘rvl’ on line 36, ‘vntw’ line 39 (for ‘into,’ therefore in this instance <v> stands for /i/), ‘trvst’ on line 49, and ‘qvin’ on line 62. This last instance is <v> combined with <q> (rarely if ever used in the Welsh alphabet, see Simon Evans 1964: 7). The common spelling for the word ‘queen’ found in ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ witnesses is ‘kwin,’ which is found in six of the manuscripts across groups α and β. Siôn, both in Llanstephan MS. 47 (line 8) and MS. 13068B (lines 8 and 62), however, uses the spelling ‘qwin,’ seemingly trying to find the best spelling for the word; in Llanharan he writes it as in English, ‘queen,’ at least on line 62 (line 8 being illegible), which furthers the theory according to which Llanstephan MS. 47 would be a perfected version of the ‘Hymn,’ probably still from the same exemplar δ as the two others.

There is no evidence that Llanstephan MS. 47 was produced with reference to Llanharan as a second exemplar, nor is there any indubitable evidence for that being the case with MS. 13068B either, despite the textual proximity between the two manuscripts. It is furthermore not impossible that Llywelyn Siôn never thought of improving his copy when he was producing the different manuscripts: the ‘Hymn’ might simply have been a poem he deemed important, and worth including in several different compilations of Welsh poetry, without any concern for the perfection of the spelling system he used. It would appear that several copyists, among which Llywelyn Siôn and Lewys Dwnn, were not necessarily struggling with the spelling system used in their exemplars because they might have been using a system of their own, which we would be witnessing in these manuscripts.

⁶² Also spelt ‘ws’ throughout the copy.

One way to verify this is to compare the three ‘Hymn’ versions by Siôn to his two copies of ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes.’ I have selected a few words that the two poems have in common that can give an insight into the workings of Siôn’s spelling system:

English word	Llanharan Bardd	Ll47 Bardd	13068B Hymn	Llanharan Hymn	Ll47 Hymn
I (pronoun)	j, i	j, I	j	I, Ei	j, I
the (determiner)	the	the	the	the	the
rood (-tree)	thrwd (= the rwd)	ddrwg	rood tree	rwd tree	rwd tree
Lady	ladi	ladi	ladi	ladi	ladi
to (preposition/particle)	tw	tw	to, tw	to, tw	tw
thy (possessive pronoun)	thỳ, thy	thi	they, thiy	they	they
thee (pronoun)	thỳ	thi	thi, thee	thee	thee
shall	shiawl	siawl	shal	siawl	siawl
(with)out	owt	owt	withowt	<...>ot	withowt
do	dw	dw	do	dw	dw
Sounds					
/v/	<f> defl	<f> difl	<f> hefn <v> leving	<f> hefn <v> leving	<f> hefn <v> leving
/f/	<ff> ffwrdd	<ff> ffwrdd	<ff> ffor	<ff> ffor	<ff> ffor
/u/	<w> parmwr	<w> parmwr	<w> bwke <o> into	<w> lwks <oo> book <o> into	<w> bwk
/i:/	<i> hil	<i> hil	<i> michti, qwin <ee> see	<i> michti, <ee> queen, see	<i> michti, qvin <ee> see <e> he

Table 11: Comparison between the two versions of ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes’ and three of ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ copied by Llywelyn Siôn

There are a few constants in Siôn’s spelling, but some discrepancies appear obvious: for instance, the use of <dd> for /ð/ in both Llanharan and Ll47 for ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes’ which is not used at all in ‘The Hymn to the Virgin;’ the use of diacritics on vowels for the Tudur

Penllyn poem (see ‘thỳ’ for instance in Llanharan, ‘bÿ’ in Ll47) which are not used at all in the poem of Swrdwal; and <ee> being used for presumed /i:/ in the copies of the ‘Hymn’ and not in the other poem. The similarities between the five different texts (see table above) can be explained by the restricted number of possibilities; it nevertheless seems to point to the different exemplars used influencing the spelling, with Siôn taking features from what he was copying and not transferring to the other poem. The lack of correction can therefore, in his case, be safely ascribed to his talents as a scribe rather than to him personally using that spelling – it is not impossible, but one would expect features as common in Welsh as <dd> to be present to stand for the same sound in English.

Llanstephan MS. 53

b. Manuscript description

Also known as the *Llyvyr Jams Dwinn* (Book of James Dwinn), Llanstephan MS. 53 is a compilation of poetry written c.1647 by James Dwinn, Huw Arwystli, John Keri, and others; as mentioned above, James Dwinn is the son of Lewis Dwinn, the copyist of Peniarth MS. 96, and he used the same exemplar as his father did for his copy of the ‘Hymn to the Virgin,’ which Dobson named ζ. It is written on paper, 7½ x 5⅞, and 542 pages long, though Evans (1898: 534) notes that the manuscript wants a beginning and an end, being written on folios 14 through to 280. James Dwinn’s hand can be found on pages 1-498, with pages 499-521 being in the hand of one Tho: P. and 521 (from line 10 onwards)-542 in one that resembles that of Sion Kain. The manuscript appears to have changed hands several times throughout its existence: p.159 has a marginalia reading ‘Mr. Charles Herbertt of pant:y:Sheriff in the parish of Caron 16503’ (the date probably is meant to read 1653); page 227 reads ‘his booke, 1691,’ then pages 451 and 481 ‘Morgan John Moris.’ Perhaps more interesting is the letter dated 28th October 1716 found on page 16, ‘To Mr. Alban Thomas near Blaenporth:’ the author of this correspondence, who signs himself Jen: Jenkins, states that he would not have him ‘send this old MS. To Mr. Moses Williams, neither to his Father, for I was desir’d since by my particular good Friend the curate of Llandewy Brevy who had the perusal of it for a time to have it restored.’ The identity of the curate of Llandefi-Brefi in 1716 is not known, but the mention of Moses Williams and his father (Samuel) is interesting: they have been mentioned several times above as copyists and owners of several manuscripts. As part of the Llanstephan collection, MS. 53 is known to have ended in the possession of Sir John Williams. The Llanstephan collection is made up in major part of the manuscripts of Samuel and Moses Williams; therefore it is possible that the father-son pair got their hands on Llanstephan MS. 53 despite the instructions given to Mr. Alban Thomas. As evidenced by the manuscript’s number, it was part of the Williams library when Sir John purchased it⁶³.

b. Copyist biography

There is unfortunately very little known about James Dwinn (c.1570-c.1660), other than he was the eldest of Lewys Dwinn’s four sons, that he also had two sisters, and followed his

⁶³ As stated on the National Library of Wales website, MSS. 1-154 of the Llanstephan collection were the manuscripts of Samuel and Moses Williams, bought from the Shirburn Castle collection by Sir John Williams in 1899; MSS. 155-200 were collected by the same Sir John, and are manuscripts which belonged to Lewis Morris and Walter Davies (‘Gwallter Mechain’).

father's tracks as a poet and genealogist (Siddons 2004: ODNB). The father-son pair 'frequently wrote panegyrics in honour of the same people – the families of Gogerddan, Mathafarn, Gregynog, and the Plasau Duon, Dr John Davies of Mallwyd' (Hughes 1959: DWB) – though the son seems to have been less sociable than the father, and mostly kept to his own neighbourhood. His poetical production can be found for the most part in the present manuscript, Llanstephan MS. 53, though several other poems are scattered in other collections in the National Library of Wales, including Peniarth and Cardiff Free Library. He did not leave much else to his name, and it is not even known whether he was married or had any descendants. He seems to have stayed with his father for a long time, sharing manuscripts with him; his version of the 'Hymn to the Virgin' was copied from the same exemplar as his father's was, though it would appear that James did not look at Lewys's manuscript to produce his own.

c. Poem analysis

Though Llanstephan MS. 53 and Peniarth MS. 96 share the same exemplar ζ, the two copies show a lot of differences, which are best explained by Dobson (1955: 80), who found that Peniarth MS. 96 is 'right' where Llanstephan MS. 53 is 'wrong' in twenty instances, while L153 is right over P96 in six others. However, that they have the same exemplar is indicated by their sharing several distinctive readings not found in other versions of the 'Hymn.' The two manuscripts agree exactly in one place corresponding to line 45 in P96 and line 46 in L153, 'a warr wee wowld / the ffens a ffowld;' all other copies, even when corresponding, have a minor difference either in spelling or punctuation. Comparing individual words rather than lines, however, does yield that out of 448 words in Llanstephan MS. 53's 'Hymn to the Virgin,' 265 (or 269 when including the colophon) are identical to those found in Peniarth MS. 96; a further 26 words only have a change in spelling from <y> to <i> or vice-versa – the rest tends to be either one letter away from the version in P96, an entire reading entirely, or an addition, which would point to L153 indeed not being copied from Peniarth MS. 96 (Thuillier 2018: 65), and not having been contaminated through consultation with a secondary exemplar either.

We have no information on ζ, either on its provenance, what it looked like, or who last possessed it; it is likely that it was owned by the Dwinn family, and probably came into James's hands at the death of his father in c.1616. It probably remained in the son's library until his own death, and was lost track of then, as James seems to have died with no descendants, or at least none that was a proficient enough antiquarian, poet, or genealogist to have left a trace.

Nevertheless, comparing its two copies allows for some deductions on what the version of the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ was like in ζ. Several spellings are shared across the different copies of the poem, such as <ow> in words like ‘owr,’ ‘howsling,’ ‘owld,’ or <ei> for occurrences of the diphthong /ai/ or /ei/. It also seems to have had <ee> for presumed /i:/, which, as mentioned above, is both an English feature rather than a Welsh one, but also one found in Middle English, though this would rather indicate a long /e/. This feature goes back to at least γ, as all manuscripts descended from it share the <ee> with the exception of Balliol MS. 353 (which, as said before, has the inconvenience of being only a partial copy of the poem, with half the content being in anglicised spelling). Since the usage is also found in Peniarth MS. 111 and Panton MS. 33, part of the β group of manuscripts unlike ζ, γ, and affiliated, it is possible that it goes even as far as χ and potentially ω, it may just reflect Ieuan ap Hywel Swardwal’s own version (and original) of the poem. Nevertheless, it would still be an anglicised feature, as Middle Welsh does not double vowels.

One element certain to be specific to ζ is the heading: Peniarth MS. 96 precedes the poem with the line ‘in English owld vair,’ with the words ‘in English’ being a later addition; Llanstephan MS. 53 has a similar line reading ‘owld i fair yn saesneg’ – it is therefore certain that at least ‘owld v/fair⁶⁴’ was part of ζ. The mention of the poem being in English is interesting: if it was part of ζ, it means that Lewys Dwnn did not deem it necessary to keep, either because the language of the poem was obvious or because it was not relevant information. In the case in which this is an addition on the part of James Dwnn for L153, this could go to show that the latter thought that the spelling needed clarification: and, perhaps, that Dwnn was not as familiar with English as his father used to be. The only evidence there would be to this is that what little is known of him points to James having spent his life in Wales, in the company of Welsh people, not engaging with translation work or with English. Some features in his copy of the ‘Hymn’ show that he was not necessarily most at ease with that language: see for instance line 8 ‘syns yw kwin yowr sonn is king’ with the addition of ‘yw’ before ‘kwin’ and on the other hand the omission of ‘and’ which is present in Peniarth MS. 96 and therefore likely so in the exemplar; line 10 ‘sowking’ for ‘sucking,’ which does not seem to correspond to any pronunciation of the word; ‘a soel’ (in P96) for ‘absolve’ which in L153 becomes ‘owr souls / soel’ on line 14, showing hesitation as well as possibly failure to either read the word ‘absolve’ or understand it; the entirety of line 16 ‘as wee mae to thee doo of

⁶⁴ It makes no difference: both <v> and <f> show the initial mutation from /m/ to /v/ due to the preposition ‘i,’ ‘to,’ (either present or suggested) before Mair, the Welsh name of Mary.

deing / resevede' which should read 'as we may the day of dying receive' (though P96 is not the clearest either, with 'as wee mae the doe off deing / resevd'), with the addition of 'to' and misreading of 'the' into 'thee' which makes the line quite weak; line 26 'diew bid dew bonn' where Peniarth MS. 96 has 'ddo bid ddo a bonn;' line 31 'as now ei trow, wi ↑in↑ see not reicht' with the superfluous addition of 'in;' line 42 'the word a way' instead of 'world;' line 60 'ei gasb ei go' where P96 reads 'agäst.' He also often confuses 'to' and 'too.'

James is also less consistent than his father when it comes to spelling, using <i> and <y> truly interchangeably, with for instance 'him' and 'hym' or 'blis' and 'blys' being found in Llanstephan MS. 53; <y> is used consistently when it comes to the second person singular pronoun, though it must be noted that just between lines 7 and 8 it moves from 'yow' to 'yw.' Overall, Llanstephan MS. 53 does not give the most qualitative version of the 'Hymn to the Virgin,' with a lot of misreadings which point to a lack of ease with the material. James Dwnn left some manuscripts, but is clearly not as renowned as his father for his manuscript production. It seems that James's manuscript – like that of his father – was not meant to be read by anyone else; but the reason for his interest in the 'Hymn to the Virgin' is more obscure than it was for other scribes.

Llanstephan MS. 54

a. Manuscript description

Like all the other manuscripts containing the ‘Hymn to the Virgin,’ Llanstephan MS. 54 is a book of poetry. Dated c. 1634 and 298 pages long, written on paper measuring 7 ½ x 6 inches, it contains a transcript in modernised orthography of most of the Black Book of Carmarthen, poetry by Dafydd ap Gwilym, Rhys Fardd, Iolo Goch, Dafydd Llwyd ap Llewellyn ap Gruffudd, and others; the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ can be found in the same hand as this material on pages 155 to 157. The identity of the copyist for pages 237 to the end of the manuscript is known to be that of William Maurice (c.1619-1680); unfortunately, that of the scribe who wrote the first part of the manuscript is unknown. The unknown copyist wrote in a clear, very legible cursive hand comparable to the one of Evan Evans, found in Panton MSS. 33 and 42. The stanzas are not separated, and it appears that the paper was lined, traces of them being still visible, which creates a very regular layout for the poem.

Dobson (1955: 81) notes that Llanstephan MS. 54 is a copied from Llanstephan MS. 47, which is dated from c.1630: the two manuscripts were therefore produced quite close to each other, and might have been part of the same collection very soon after they were both produced. While the copyist of Llanstephan MS.54 was careful when it came to the accuracy of his spelling, he did miss seven lines; Dobson (1955: 82) only notes half of them are missing ‘owing to a remarkable example of haplography,’ corresponding in his line numbering to lines 62-67 and, in the manuscript (when compared to Ll47), to lines 39-40. The copyist also omitted the penultimate stanza of the poem, which was not noted by Dobson.

b. William Maurice

Though the first owner and scribe of the manuscript is anonymous, its secondary scribe is an interesting character to mention here. Born c.1619/20 in Cefn-y-braich, Llansilin, Denbighshire, to Lewis Maurice (himself a man interested in literature) and his wife Jane, William Maurice is primarily known as an antiquary. There is no information on the education he received, but his interest in the production of copies of Welsh poetry started early, with his first production dated 1638 (Huws 2004: ODNB). He considered Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt to be his teacher in the study of manuscripts, and went on to catalogue for him the manuscripts in his collection (which became part of the Peniarth collection later on) in 1658. Maurice himself had the means to collect manuscripts of his own and to copy them, as well as hiring

copyists⁶⁵: Llanstephan MS. 54 may therefore have been a purchase which he expanded on afterwards. His interests were varied, including literature, history, and law; in the latter case his works, specifically *Deddfgrawn* and *Corpus Hoelianum*, which are compilations of Welsh law, laid the basis for the modern classification of these texts. He is said to have been the best-read antiquary of his generation, a radical when it comes to religion (being very vocal against ‘altar-worship’), and regarded by his contemporaries as an eccentric (Huws 2004: ODNB). At his death in 1680, his library was left to his daughter, who appears to have sold it to Sir William Williams, and then descended to the Williams-Wynns of Wynnstay family. A fire in their library in 1858 destroyed the greater part of the manuscripts, with fewer than ten of Williams’s books surviving the fire, complemented by a few of his annotated printed books kept in other collections.

c. Poem analysis

As mentioned previously, the anonymous copyist of Llanstephan MS. 54 appears to have been a careful one. Writing in a cursive hand, the copyist was skilled in his craft to the point where, out of fifty-five lines in common with its exemplar when counting out the seven lines that are missing, L154 has twenty-two that are strictly identical (not counting punctuation, as this is to be taken as a matter of personal preference rather than standard), with a further six showing a minor difference (i.e. using ‘i’ instead of ‘j’), and again fifteen where the copyist chose to write <ight> where Llywelyn Siôn had <icht>. The twelve remaining lines are the following:

Line n°	Llanstephan MS. 47	Llanstephan MS. 54
Line 4	ye set a brains ws tw bring	<u>ye set</u> a brains us to bring.
Line 5	Ye win thys with blys the ble sing · of god	ye win thys with blys the plesing off god
Line 6	ffor yowr gwd abering	ffor yowr gwd abearing
Line 9	Owr owld ffer ffader owr ffeding · owr pop	Owr owld ffer ffadeer owr ffeding owr pop
Line 13	Help ws pray ffor vs preffering · owr sowls	help us pray ffor us preffering owr sowls
Line 24	tw hefn ffwl wel tw haf on fflicht	tw hefn ffwl wel tw on ffight
Line 25	all dids wel don · diw bid diw bon	all deds wel don diw bid diw bon
Line 26	a god matron · a gwd maed richt	a god matron a gwd maed bright
Line 29	I tell tw yow · as swm dw siow	I tel tw yow as swm dw siow

⁶⁵ He is said to have had a library built for himself that spanned over three floors, and catalogues of his collections indicate that he owned over a hundred manuscripts (Huws 2004: ODNB), among which the White Book of Hergest which was lost in a fire in Covent Garden in 1810 (Jones 1959: DWB).

Line 37	a preti thing wee pray tw thest	a prety king wee pray tw thest
l.44/42	yld a gwd may · wld god j nicht	yld a gwd may wld the ffends affold
l.47/44	the jwng and old · with hym they hold	the ywng and old with hym they hold

Table 12: Twelve variant lines between Llanstephan MS. 47 and Llanstephan MS. 54

Lines 4, 6, and 13 deploy anglicised spellings, which are, as seen in other manuscripts above, not uncommon. The variant in line 5 derives from a misreading, from ‘ble sing’ (‘blessing’) to ‘plesing,’ ‘pleasing;’ similar misreadings were made later in the same manuscript, as on line 24 ‘fflicht’ which became ‘ffight’ (and the omission of the verb ‘haf,’ ‘have’), line 26 ‘richt’ rewritten as ‘bright,’ line 37 ‘thing’ becoming ‘king,’ and the haplography on line 42/44 which caused the copyist to jump to line 45 of Llanstephan MS. 47 as he was copying line 44, having already missed lines 39-40 to a similar mistake, confusing ‘hicht’ and ‘licht’ in his exemplar. The other four lines exemplify changes for other reasons: line 25 sees ‘dids’ (‘deeds’) changed to ‘deds’ which might be an attempt at an anglicism. Line 9 changes L147’s ‘ffer fader’ to ‘ffor ffader,’ therefore correcting a minor pronunciation mistake in the exemplar; similarly, line 29 corrects an error in Llanstephan MS. 47, which had ‘as swm dw siow,’ where L154 gives ‘as swm dw siow’ as intended. Finally, line 44/47 simply changes the ‘jwng’ for ‘young’ in L147 for ‘ywng,’ probably as part of the copyist’s effort to remove all <j>- forms as he uses <y> in line 45 (in L154) in ‘Jews’ and ‘Jesus’, even though he kept the letter twice in line 30, ‘as now j trow wee jese not right.’

There is, otherwise, little to say about this particular version of the ‘Hymn to the Virgin,’ given that the copyist is anonymous: the anglicisations are on par with what can be found in other manuscripts, especially of the same period, so we must assume that the copyist was familiar with English; they are very regular, so it would appear that this practice was intentional. The copy from Llanstephan MS. 47 in Llanstephan MS. 54 is near-literatim, with the exceptions noted above: the seven missing lines makes it imperfect, but it would otherwise be a very high quality copy of the poem.

Panton MS. 33

a. Manuscript description

Over a century separates this manuscript from the previous manuscripts (the most recent before that being Llanstephan MS. 53, dated to 1647). Panton MS. 33 is thought to date from before 1772, mostly because this is the date known for the following manuscript in this chapter (Panton MS. 42) by the same copyist, and Pt33 is known to at least pre-date it. Out of its 180 pages (written on paper, 9½x7¼ inches), most are dedicated to transcripts of the *Black Book of Carmarthen* and the *Red Book of Hergest*, though indirectly: John Gwengovryn Evans (1899: 841) invites the reader to compare Panton MS. 33 and Peniarth MS. 111, which appears to have been the exemplar used by the copyist of the present manuscript, i.e. Evan Evans. Panton MS. 33 was of a high enough quality to be used as the source by the editors of *The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales* when editing the texts of both *Black* and *Red Books*, either making it their own or using it in notes (Evans 1899: 841). Indeed, this manuscript is very qualitative: writing in an extremely legible cursive hand, Evan Evans not only provides a good version of the poem alongside the longer version of the prologue, but also appears to have edited it in order to improve the spelling system used throughout. He also added a title to the poem, which, unlike other manuscripts, is not simply its first line or a descriptive ‘awdl i fair,’ preferring instead the evocative ‘Chwedyl o Rydychen’ (‘Anecdote/Legend from Oxford’). The title precedes the prologue, and can therefore be considered to apply to the latter more than it does to the poem in terms of subject: while the ‘Hymn’ intrinsically does not have anything to do with Oxford, its birthplace is said to be the city’s university; however, just as the poet’s identity remains unknown, no specific college is named. This title is an addition by Evan Evans, and the focus on the place though the title is in Welsh is interesting: even at the time of Ieuan ap Hywel Swrdwal Oxford was a popular university among Welsh scholars, which was still the case when Evan Evans was writing; the mention of Rydychen rather than Oxford could act as a subtle reminder of the strong Welsh ties to Oxford⁶⁶. The title also indicates that the prologue should be taken with some caution, but not discarded entirely: legends are known to be fictitious, but that does not take from their value (and it could be argued that it adds to them). Finally, it places the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ in the position of a ‘legendary forefather for all of Anglo-Welsh literature, yet one often treated as an anecdote’ (Thuillier 2017: 21), as hinted at by the choice of the word ‘chwedyl.’ This is furthered by the texts neighbouring the ‘Hymn’ in

⁶⁶ Among which Jesus College Oxford, founded in 1571 with a special Welsh focus.

the manuscript: the contents of the Black Book of Carmarthen and Red Book of Hergest were mentioned, but there also are individual poets named in the manuscript: Ieuan ap Hywel Swrdwal is the first with the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ on page 127, followed by Dafydd Ddu o Hiradduc (died 1371) on page 135 (‘Rhyfedd na phywllwn / rhyfyg na ddaliwn...’, Madog ap Gwallter (flourished c.1250) on page 141 (‘Mihangel uchel och rhag gelyn mawr’), and at the very end of the manuscript a poem (‘Crist audi nos Craton Cyrios’ on page 173) by Iolo Goch (c.1320-c.1398). Once again, the ‘Hymn’ is seen sharing a manuscript with older and illustrious Welsh poems and bards, despite its language.

b. Evan Evans

Also known as Ieuan Fardd (‘Ieuan the Bard’) and Ieuan Brydydd Hir (‘Ieuan the Tall Poet,’ which was already the name of a Welsh 15th-century poet), Evan Evans (20 May 1731 – 4 August 1788), Evan Evans was a scholar, poet, and cleric, born in Cardiganshire to a couple of farmers, Jenkin and Catherine Evans (Jenkins 2004: ODNB). He was taught by Edward Richard at Ystrad Meurig school, and appears to have been a student at Merton College, Oxford, between December 1750 and 1753/54; he however left without graduating (Lewis 1959: DWB). Before that English escapade, Evans is known to have attracted the attention of Lewis Morris who taught him the ways of Welsh poetry and introduced the young Evans to Welsh antiquarianism, introducing him to his brothers Richard and William Morris as well (Lewis 1959: DWB). He left Oxford as he was ordered deacon at St. Asaph on 4 August 1754, then priest on 3 August 1755 and licensed as curate of Manafon in Montgomeryshire; he left in 1756 to be a curate of Lyminge in Kent, then dedicated three months of 1757 to copying the *Red Book of Hergest* in Oxford, and two other months were spent as a naval chaplain; he returned to North Wales from 1758 to 1766, though once more his duties led him to move frequently and never spend more than two years in a row in the same place (Lewis 1959: DWB). During that time he collected and copied a variety of Welsh manuscripts, and came into contact with several antiquarians, among which the English Daines Barrington (who shared Evans’ work with Thomas Gray) and perhaps more importantly Thomas Percy, the two men having corresponded for several years, following which he was encouraged to publish his *Some Specimens of the Poetry of the Antient Welsh Bards* in 1764 (Lewis 1959: DWB), the very first attempt at translating the works of the Poets of the princes⁶⁷ as well as giving an overview of

⁶⁷ The Poets of the Princes (*Beirdd y Tywysogion*), also known as *Y Gogynfeirdd* (‘the fairly early poets’), flourished between the first half of the twelfth century and the second half of the fourteenth century. Stricto sensu, the first term would apply only to the bards who wrote until 1282 and the death of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd; the

the poetry of Wales from the sixth century to the Renaissance. From November 1766 to May 1767 he travelled around Wales serving as curate in different churches (including Ystrad Meurig), before spending a month in Appledore, Kent, in 1767 and then in July of that year moving to Newick, Sussex, for six months; he enlisted in the army in April 1768 and was discharged after four days, once he was discovered as a cleric, with comments made on his mental instability. He returned to Wales as a curate afterwards, earning a pension from Sir Watkin Williams Wynn II from 1771 to 1778 as well as the free use of his library at Wynnstay, which came with opportunities to visit the Vaughans at Hengwrt and Peniarth as well. During those years, he published, in 1772, a poem in English entitled *The Love of our Country*, in 1773 the sermon *Rhybudd Cyfr-drist I'r Diofal a Difraw* ('A Warning to the Tragic Number of Careless and Harmful Ones'), and in 1776 *Casgliad o Bregethau*, two volumes containing twenty-eight sermons translated from English. The pension was withdrawn in 1778 when it appeared to Sir Watkin that though Evans had an important number of materials ready for publication, the poet had preferred spending his income learning Hebrew and Arabic (Lewis 1959: DWB), and perhaps more significantly having berated his patron in his *Casgliad*... for 'wearing the badge of their vassalage, by adopting the language of their conquerors, which is a mark of the most despicable meanness of spirit' (Evans 1776: B3). He spent the last ten years of his life rather miserably, asking for funds to publish his works to no avail, failing to open a school in Aberystwyth, and not keeping a job in the church. Paul Panton and Thomas Pennant took pity on him in his last years, and arranged for some funds to be sent to him. Panton bought his collection of manuscripts in 1787, after Evans realised that his declining health would not allow him to publish his works, and it was afterwards made public through their publication in three volumes of *The Myvyrian Archaiology*. Evans died on 4 August 1788 in the farmhouse where he was born, unmarried, and poor despite his important contribution to Welsh literary history (Jenkins 2004: ODNB).

Indeed, his works were, and still are, valuable: he was a proficient and efficient copyist, the most knowledgeable of his time in the works of Welsh scholars from the early modern period onwards; having 'realized that the chief need of Welsh scholarship in his time was the publication of the texts of the principal manuscripts dealing with the history and literature of Wales' (Lewis 1959: DWB) undoubtedly makes him invaluable to the current state of the field nowadays. In his lifetime, Welsh literature and history attracted antiquarians, but little was

term *Gogynfeirdd* denotes a mode of composition (Stephens 1998: 268). Regardless of who their patrons were, their military feats were sung by these professional bards through complex diction and hyperboles, deploying the full extent of Welsh metre with the exception of the *cywydd* (Stephens 1998: 268).

printed, and there were no institutions dedicated to the ‘cause of Welsh scholarship’ (Jenkins 2004: ODNB). Evans’s publications and his lifelong quest for unpublished manuscripts forgotten in private libraries⁶⁸ allowed an extent of material to survive which probably would have known a different fate were it not for his work. He was, however, disregarded by his contemporaries for his very strong anti-English opinions, which he voiced unashamedly. His first point of worry was the Anglicization of Welsh churches, with monolingual English clergymen favoured in being named bishops (which Evans renamed ‘Esgyb-Eingl,’ ‘Anglo-bishops’) over Welshmen and especially patriotic ones, which the poet believed to be the reason for his lack of advancement. He wrote at length on the subject, and age did not come with wisdom: misanthropic, alcoholic, depressed, he became ‘passionately patriotic and Anglophobe’ (Jenkins 2004: ODNB), which caused many to turn their backs on him, though he was still highly valued as a scholar.

In that regard, Evans’s interest in the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ is not very surprising: on par with a certain trend in early romanticism, he was looking towards the past (as evidenced by his manuscripts, but also his poem *The Love of our Country* depicting Owain Glyndŵr as a popular and almost mythical hero) to find proof that his pride in his identity was justified, and clearly in his case, that his despal for the culture of its rival was erected on solid grounds.

c. Poem analysis

Panton MS. 33 presents quite a different version of the ‘Hymn to the Virgin:’ as mentioned before, it is separated from the most recent manuscript before it by a century, and from its exemplar, Peniarth MS. 111, by over 150 years. Both the present manuscript and its exemplar are the work of antiquarians who were recognised as some of the most prominent copyists in their generations; there is no doubt that the two copies are informed by a lifetime of collecting and writing poetry. The similarities between the two are not as numerous as one might expect: only eleven lines out of a total of 83 (85 in Peniarth MS.111) are identical, if the difference in capitalisation is not taken into account; Evans tends to capitalise much more frequently than Jones, often at the start of a line and systematically when using the first person singular pronoun. Other features remain: the common issue for all copyists of the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ is the use of ‘Jesus’ and ‘Jews’ in the poem, as the sound /(d)ʒ/ does not exist in Welsh (Simon Evans 1964: 7), and Jones had chosen the spelling <ddsi> (‘Ddsievs,’ ‘Ddsiesws’) to

⁶⁸ Which might explain the century separating Panton MS. 33 from the most recent manuscript before it; though the possibility of lost manuscripts copied during that time does exist.

stand for it, which Evans retained with ‘Ddsiws’ and ‘Ddsiwesws.’ He also retained the spelling ‘uws’ for ‘use,’ ‘ffruwt’ for ‘fruit,’ and ‘truwth’ for ‘truth.’ The copyist seems to have been rather consistent with his use of that letter, with exceptions for its presence in the spellings in <ou> /u/, and a misreading on line 46 of his version, ‘How mae yw knu,’ where P111 has ‘how mae yw know:’ if <u> stands for /i/, Evans might have understood the verb to be ‘knee,’ with the full sentence going ‘a boy with bow his looks is so how may you knee him from a knight,’ which could make sense if Evans thought of the knighting ceremony where one is required to kneel to become a knight. It is unlikely that this <u> should stand for /u/, as both Peniarth MS. 111 and Panton MS. 33 use <w> to stand for this phoneme, and rarely stray from that spelling; when P33 does, it is due to anglicisation, with Evans writing ‘noon’ on line 37 (above ‘nwn’ on the same line) and ‘Moon’ corrected with a superscript <w> to ‘Mwn’ on line 38.

This is not the only instance of anglicisation, far from it; as ironic as it may appear given Evans’s views on the English and fear of the anglicisation of Welsh churches, it does not seem to have been his foremost thought when applied to spelling. Many (though not all) of Jones’s <dd> for /ð/, for instance, were replaced with <th> by Evans: this is the case on line 3, ‘thei,’ line 9 ‘our forefathers father’ (which also changes ‘owr’ to the English spelling of the first person plural possessive pronoun, and has ‘feeding’ instead of ‘ffiding’⁶⁹), ‘this’ line 11, ‘the’ line 55. It can be noted that from line 11 onwards and with the exception of line 55, Evans seems to have paid more attention to the <dd> he was erasing, and uses them again: it is likely that he did not do so consciously, but rather was used to writing in English and, upon reading the words on the page of Peniarth MS. 111, naturally spelt them as he would, i.e. not using Welsh letter values. In a similar fashion, several words receive (near-)anglicised spellings which, though they do not always conflict with Welsh letter-values: this often happens in cases in which English has a doubled vowel or consonant when Welsh would not require it, such as ‘blessing’ on line 5 (Llanover 13068B and Llanharan had ‘blesing,’ which Dobson (1955: 100) agrees on as being the best option for this word), ‘winning’ on line 7 (but ‘wining’ to an English speaker would have been read with <i> as a diphthong /aɪ/), ‘feeding’ on line 9, ‘attendance’ on line 12, and several instances of /u/ spelt <oo> (in ‘good,’ ‘took,’ ‘noon,’ etc.). In a similar although different fashion, it can also be noted that though Jones had amended his copy, Evans did not take those into account: he might have not paid close enough attention to the exemplar to notice, as he was not cataloguing every minute detail of Jones’s manuscript, but rather was

⁶⁹ The reason for this change might be for the sake of clarity: ‘ffiding’ could have been deemed too obscure for the modern reader, whereas ‘feeding’ makes immediate sense; though it can be argued that the interest of the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ lies in its potential obscurity.

simply making a copy of the poem. This applies to both spelling (for instance on line 75, ‘to’ corrected to ‘tw’ in P111 and copied as ‘to’ in Pt33) and word order (most obviously with line 49 reading ‘him from a knight’ which P111 had corrected to ‘ffrom hym a knicht’).

This does not mean that Panton MS. 33 is necessarily an inferior version of its exemplar Peniarth MS. 111: some changes brought to the ‘Hymn’ are not devoid of interest. This is the case of the misreading ‘bosswm’ (for ‘bosom,’ perhaps pronounced with a voiceless /s/ rather than a /z/) on line 14, instead of line 15 in Peniarth MS. 111 ‘blossom,’ which changes the line from ‘the blossom ffruw t bering’ in the latter to ‘the bosswm ·ffruwt bering,’ with the punctus elevatus here playing the role of a comma and showing that Evans understood a more literal description of the pregnant virgin, probably due to the syntax of the sentence (he might not have expected a postpositive adjective, whereas ‘the fruit-bearing blossom’ served as a metaphor⁷⁰). Evans also brings corrections to Peniarth MS. 111 in a few instances: this is particularly visible in the second half (after the accolade) of line 69 of Panton MS. 33 (line 71 in P111), ‘ddein own tw light,’ where Evans correctly writes ‘own’ where P111 had ‘now.’ While it could be that Evans had access to a second exemplar, I had also pointed to the possibility (Thuillier 2019: 77-78) that he corrected Jones in order to restore *cynghanedd* in his version, as the full line (counting in the one preceding this one) would go:

Then went all we
ddein own tw light

With the alliteration pattern of /ð/ /n/ /w/ /n/ /t/ /l/ (/w/ or /t/ for the final consonant), this line can be qualified as a *cynghanedd groes* (‘cross-harmony’). The version in Peniarth MS. 111, however, has a /n/ missing (‘ddey now tw licht’ only has one), which changes the rhyming pattern. This is one instance where the difficulty of writing *cynghanedd* in English shows in the poem.

Though the spelling seems to be the main point of interest in most copyists of the ‘Hymn to the Virgin,’ Evans might have been attracted by the metre form more than the spelling itself, as he did anglicise the spelling in a lot of instances: this however is still a Welsh-spelt copy of the poem, unlike the following witness.

⁷⁰ The postpositive adjective enables the poet to oppose ‘blossom’ to ‘fruit,’ and thus to illustrate the paradox of a virgin (the blossom) bearing a child (the fruit).

Panton MS. 42

a. Manuscript description

From the same collection as Panton MS. 33 above, Panton MS. 42 also is in the hand of Evan Evans. It is dated 1772 according to an autograph note by Evans reading ‘Y Llyfr hwn a ddatscrifennwyd gennyfi Evan Evans ym Morgannwg allan o Lyfrgrawn y parchedig Mr. Powel o Lan Haran yn... 1772’ (‘This book was copied by myself Evan Evans in Glanmorgan from the Book of the Reverend Mr. Powel⁷¹ of Llanharan in... 1772’); he also gives here the information of what his exemplar was, as in Llanharan had remained the Llywelyn Siôn manuscript also known as Cardiff Free Library MS. 5.44, i.e. the *Llyfr Hir Llanharan*. This is confirmed by both John Gwenogvryn Evans (1899: 853) and the National Library of Wales webpage regarding Panton MS. 42⁷² pointing to a ‘1613 manuscript by Llywelyn Siôn,’ which would be Llanharan. It is otherwise a compilation of Welsh poetry written on paper, 7¾ x 6¼, 336 pages long (with the ‘Hymn’ on pages 159-162), and recognisably in Evan Evans’ hand without important additions by other persons.

This is however not a literatim copy of the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ from Llanharan, as, perhaps surprisingly given Evans’ view on English clergymen (and probably extending to English people in general), this is a fully anglicised version of the poem. This version also comes without an introduction, neither in English nor in Welsh, contrary to the previous Panton MS. 33 – Llanharan does not have a prologue either, so this is not abnormal, but this might point to Evans not having access to his previous manuscript by the time he copied Panton MS. 42.

b. Copyist biography

For Evan Evans’s biography, see the previous entry.

c. Poem analysis

The main point of comparison for this version of the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ is its exemplar in the hand of Llywelyn Siôn in the *Llyfr Hir Llanharan*, and especially so since Panton MS. 42 contains an anglicisation of the poem: comparing it to its exemplar allows us to see how Evans engaged with Siôn’s Welsh spelling of the poem which, as mentioned above,

⁷¹ It is tempting to read here the name of Evans’ mentor Sion Powel (d. 1767), but he does not seem to have been linked to Llanharan (he was in the parish of Llansannan), and Evans does not seem to indicate that the *Llyfr Hir Llanharan* used to belong to him, but rather that it was still in the possession of the Rev. Powel.

⁷² See <<https://archifau.llyfrgell.cymru/index.php/poetry-and-pedigree>> [last accessed 14/01/2024]

differs from that of other copyists. The first element that the two manuscripts have in common is the layout of the poem, with Evans copying each stanza as he found it in Llanharan (in contrast with what he did in Panton MS. 33 where he changed it slightly to account for Peniarth MS. 111 using the first half of the first line as the title of the poem as well). Another important detail visible in Pt42 is the fact that lines 5 to 12 do not appear to have been a problem for Evans, which indicates that around 1772 MS. Llanharan had not yet been water-damaged to the point where the start of these lines is illegible. Thus Panton MS. 42 can give an idea (albeit not regarding the spelling) of what was originally present in Llywelyn Siôn's manuscript. Several features are consistent between the exemplar and the copy, such as 'Ei' transcribed as 'I' (which was what Siôn intended, given the spelling), but also several 'y' (for 'ye' or 'you' in Llanharan) translated as the first person singular as well (lines 30, 43), when it is not directly 'ye' to 'I' as on line 32 – this might be due to Evans reading the text too quickly. This can also be seen at the very start of the poem on line 7, where he writes 'where you binn for your winning' before correcting it to 'where you been for your wooning.' The first correction, from 'binn' to 'been' simply replaces Welsh letter-values from 'bin' in Llanharan. The second one is less easy to interpret, as Llanharan has 'wining.' What Evans probably thought the reading should be is 'woning,' now archaic, from Middle English *woning* derived from Old English *wunung* 'living, dwelling, habitation,' which Evans, as an antiquarian, probably encountered. As the line is still referring to heaven, where the virgin lives, and the verb 'win' was already used on line 5 in the same stanza, Evans might have made the revision not because he misread the exemplar, but because he wanted to improve the poem in this specific instance. The fact that this is a correction is what leads me to believe that this was voluntary: there are nevertheless mistakes in the form of word changes or additions that found their way in the copy, such as line 19 'as he makes take us waking' instead of 'as he may...', and line 24 'to heaven to full well to have our flight' with the second 'to' being superfluous and, additionally, 'our flight' rather than 'on flight.'

Some elements seem to have been lost or confused in translation; we might note for instance line 23 'as.' where, indeed, Llanharan had 'as' for 'ask,' but with the <.> indicating a missing letter according to Evans, though one he did not manage to determine; line 25 'bid' changed to 'bed;' line 45 'aware' when Llanharan had 'a wae' (for 'away'); or line 58 'wery' being understood as 'weary' instead of 'wary'. However, there are some places indicating how Evans interacts intelligently with the exemplar. For instance, line 29 in Llanharan reads 'as swm dw siaw,' and Evans correctly understood 'siaw' as 'show,' confirming that the spelling

chosen here was understandable by Welsh speakers, even when others could be confusing. Similarly, even though Siôn had on line 40 of his manuscript ‘that efr siawl least,’ with ‘least’ being potentially confusing, Evans correctly understood (or corrected) the form as ‘last’ (though he added some elements to the line, writing it ‘that for ever shall last’). He also inserted line 52 back into the poem, as it was missing in the body of Llanharan and had been added by Siôn in the margin. A potential misreading, though Evans being right in this instance could be argued, is on line 55. Here are the two lines for comparison

Llanharan: owr lok owr king owr lwk owr kay

Panton MS. 42: Our luck our king our look our key

According to Dobson (1955: 102), the line should read ‘Our lwk, owr king, owr lok, owr kae’ therefore with the two words ‘lwk’ and ‘lok’ (‘look’ and ‘luck’) reversed. The misreading probably is on the part of Siôn, though it is not reflected in the two other manuscripts in his hand. It might be a one-time eye-slip, in which case Evans simply read correctly from his exemplar. This line seems to read the same in Panton MS. 33 (‘Owr lwc our king owr look our kae,’ though ‘look’ could arguably be a case of doubled vowel to indicate length) but not in this manuscript’s exemplar, Peniarth MS. 111, though it is an easy confusion to make.

Comparing Panton MS. 42 to Panton MS. 33 raises questions regarding the approach Evans had to copying a text without the intention to change its spelling (in Pt33) and when anglicising it (Pt42). It has been discussed above that Evans did nevertheless bring some changes to the spelling in Panton MS. 33, and that anglicisations were not uncommon in that one. Panton MS. 42, though spelt differently, does share similarities with Pt33: for instance, line 39 reads ‘and he us **fing** into his feast,’ where Llanharan has ‘and hee us **ffind** intw his ffeast;’ but Panton MS. 33 has ‘and he was ffiging with his fest’ copied from P111 ‘and hi was ffiging yntw hys ffest’ (one may note that Panton MS. 33 gives a wrong reading of the line in Peniarth MS. 111 here). This might indicate that Evans had some memory of his previous copy of the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ which could have influenced his version several years afterwards in Pt42. The rest of the differences between the two manuscripts can be easily explained by the fact that their exemplars belong to two different groups, with Panton MS. 33 belonging to the β group of manuscripts and Panton MS. 42 to the α group. It would therefore not be as informative to compare the two manuscripts as it would be to compare the three known to be in the hand of Llywelyn Siôn: Llanharan, Llanover MS. 13068B, and Llanstephan MS. 47 all

derived from manuscript δ in the α group, which made the comparison valuable, whereas Evans' two manuscripts have but little in common, and little to compare.

Cwrtmawr MS. 11

a. Manuscript description

The most recent manuscript containing the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ is, in some regards, the rightful heir to its predecessors: copied by the Reverend David Ellis, a Welsh poet, translator, transcriber of manuscripts, and curate of Amlwch in June 1777, Cwrtmawr MS. 11 is a book of poetry from a variety of sources, including *Y Gododin* and *Hanes Taliesin*. It is written on paper, measuring 7⁵/₈ x 6¹/₄ inches, and divided into three parts. The first section (pp.1-264) contains poetry from the 15th-16th centuries and ending with *Hanes Taliesin*, though he does not indicate what his source was, and a poem by David Ellis himself, ‘Meddwon sy ddynion anniddanawl, gwag’ (‘Drunks are unintelligent, empty men’) written in 1775 as evidenced by a note by the author below the poem. The second part of the manuscript extends from pages 265 to 494, and is a transcript from a 16th-century manuscript by Sion Brwynog according to a note left by David Ellis on page 493 on the 7th June 1777. The third and last part of the manuscript, from pp. 496-654, opens on ‘a copy of the *Gododin* and a transliteration in modern orthography with the lines metrically rearranged,’ seemingly copied from Peniarth MS. 31 pp.1-89 (Evans 1905: 899). The ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ immediately follows, with a similar layout: each stanza is copied from the exemplar used by Ellis, Peniarth MS. 111, followed immediately by its transcription into English spelling. The end-colophon following the ‘Hymn’ gives the date 1785, indicating that Cwrtmawr MS. 11 remained in the possession of and in use by Ellis for at least a period of ten years, from 1775 for part 1 to 1785 for part 3; given the fact that all the poems or transcripts copied in this volume date mostly from the 16th century, it might be that Ellis reserved this one for when he found manuscripts or poems from this period which he wished to copy.

b. Copyist biography

Little is known about the early life of David Ellis, except that he was born in Hafod-y-meirch, Dolgelley in 1736 to Elizabeth and Ellis David, and went to school at Ystrad Meurig⁷³ where he matriculated in November 1764 (Jenkins 1959: DWB). He then went to Jesus College Oxford in March 1764, but stayed no more than three months before he left. The reasons for this departure are unknown, but he is found a month afterwards ordained deacon at Bangor in July of the same year, then made priest the following year (Jenkins 1959: DWB). He travelled

⁷³ The same school that Evan Evans attended (see page # above); it is difficult to know whether the two men were classmates, as they have a slight age difference, but they were both taught by Edward Richard.

throughout Wales, including Amlwch where Cwrtmawr MS. 11 seems to have been composed, before he was appointed vicar of Llanberis in October 1788, then of Criccieth in July 1789, where he remained until his death on 11 May 1795 (Jenkins 1959: DWB). He knew Evan Evans, for whom he wrote elegies and whose poem ‘The Penitent Shepherd: a sacred poem’ he translated into Welsh; and, as his exemplar for the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ also was Peniarth MS. 111, the two men might have either shared it or both known the owner of the manuscript, and Evans might well have pointed Ellis towards it. Though Ellis is described as a ‘versatile poet’ by his biographer (Jenkins 1959: DWB), he seems to have had more interest in translating English religious works into Welsh, including Thomas Wilson’s 1774 *The knowledge and practice of Christianity*, James Merrick’s 1774 and 1805 *A short manual of prayers for common occasions*, and William Smith’s 1776 *The History of the Holy Jesus*. The ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ is therefore likely to be of interest in Ellis, as a poem and a religious subject; and it is not surprising, then, that he should have been tempted to provide a translation into English for it.

c. Poem analysis

Though Cwrtmawr MS. 11 contains no prologue for the ‘Hymn to the Virgin,’ it remains arguably the most complete version of the poem among all those contained in the manuscripts discussed above: it is part of the β of manuscript which, as discussed by Dobson (1955: 76), presents fewer line omissions than group α . David Ellis’ endeavour to provide the reader with both a transcription from Peniarth MS. 111 and a translation of the poem into English, or transcription into English spelling, makes it invaluable: it allows us to compare the two versions and see whether the copyist was truly able to understand the Welsh letter-values, or found himself confused by them. Of course, Evan Evans also provided two versions of the ‘Hymn,’ one in Welsh spelling and the other in English spelling, but as they were copied from two different sources the comparison is not as significant; and they also were produced several years apart, with Evans seemingly not having access to his previous version of the poem.

In Cwrtmawr MS. 11, David Ellis chose to treat each stanza separately, first copying it from his exemplar and then transcribing it immediately after, directly underneath, first separating each stanza and translation from the followings with a line on page 586 before abandoning this practice starting on page 587. The Welsh- and English-spelt stanzas are not separated, but rather treated as one full stanza: this might be for ease of reading, avoiding any confusion where the reader might not realise that these were the same lines, though this may seem unlikely – the manuscript is mostly in Welsh, and Ellis did have an interest in translation

attuned to more prototypical contemporary Welsh orthography. A similar reasoning might explain the change from ‘Myddyr’ in Peniarth MS. 111 to ‘Mwddyr’ on line 33 of Cwrtmawr MS. 11, though the pronunciation /muðə(r)/ would be a viable possibility. Also notable is the solution found by Ellis to the issue with Welsh not having a /dʒ/ sound and therefore no spelling equivalent for it: on lines 125-126 (corresponding to lines 66-67 in Peniarth MS. 111), he chose to spell ‘Jews’ and ‘Jesus’ respectively ‘Siws’ and ‘Siesws.’ The spelling <si> would indicate a fricative consonant /ʃ/ which, although not corresponding exactly to the English affricate pronunciation for both words, indicates a pronunciation that might be deemed a compromise between Welsh and English usage.

The value of Cwrtmawr MS. 11 however does reside in the English transcription/translation provided: the translation was produced at the time of copying the poem, so there is no possible confusion over not remembering what Ellis intended to have copied. The closest attempt at a similar work on the poem was in Balliol MS. 353 by Sir John Pryse, but as mentioned previously (see page #), the copyist never finished any of his copies or translations of the poem. Comparing the two gives an insight into what exactly Ellis understood from the text. The table below lists certain noteworthy translation choices:

	Welsh-spelt version	English version	Comments
Lines 9/13	Yw wann ddys...	You wone this...	The original word appears to be ‘want,’ but like several copyists Ellis understood it as ‘won’ – the Welsh spelling does suggest a more open vowel than expected here.
Lines 17/21	owr ffiding	our fiding	While one is expected to read ‘feeding,’ Ellis elected to keep the word as ‘fiding;’ ‘to fid’ is a nautical term to describe the supporting of a topmast with a fid (itself a small thick piece of wood or iron), and it would work as a metaphor, but there is

			no certainty that this was intentional.
Lines 19/23	Yn hefn blyss had this thing	In Heaven bliss *I / *he had this thing	Ellis added a pronoun where there was none in his exemplar, but only in the English version of the poem; it was missing as far as syntax was concerned, but he hesitated between the first and third person singular (in the masculine).
Lines 28/32	Wynn ywr lyf on ywr laving	Win your love on your laving	‘lyf’ corresponding to ‘love’ appears to reflect the /lʌv/ pronunciation; ‘laving’ was not changed (though evidence from other manuscripts point to the word being ‘loving’), from the verb ‘to lave’ meaning ‘to pour, wash out; to lavish; to wash’ (cf. French ‘laver’), which does make sense in the context of the poem.
Lines 42/46	Assel ws at ending	9.Assel ws at ending	The <9> appears to be a note by Ellis to indicate that he does not understand the word or the line, and he elected not to translate it at all, as it is identical in both versions.
Lines 43/47	... ddat wi ffawl tw ffing	That we fall to 9.ffing	As above, the <9> appears to indicate that Ellis could not determine what the word <ffing> stood for in the exemplar; this time, however, he translated the rest of the line.

Lines 58/62	... tw soels off hicht	... to soils of Hight 9. height.	Ellis correctly interpreted the consonant cluster <cht> to stand for PDE <ght>, but either did not recognise the word immediately due to the <i>stricto sensu</i> pronunciation with the Welsh letter-values would be */hɪft/, rather than /hart/, and first transcribed it 'Hight'; but he then corrected it to 'height.'
Lines 59/63	Wi aish wyth bwk...	We 9aish with book...	Same as above; the <9> indicates a problem for Ellis.
Lines 65/71	Awl dids wel do↑wn↑n	All deeds well done	The correction was brought to the Welsh version of Ellis' copy (P111 has 'Aŵl dids wél dywn'), to add a diphthong not dissimilar to the PDE pronunciation of 'down,' /daʊn/, which could indicate that Ellis did not distinguish between 'down' and 'done' when speaking English; alternatively, he might have first corrected the Welsh letter-values before realising when translating that the word actually was 'done.'
Lines 66/72	Tabyd Deo bwn} a gwd met wrig↑c↑ht	9Tabyd Deo boon, } a good met wright	As above, the <9> indicates that Ellis did not understand the word it precedes; in this case, it might apply to 'Tabyd Deo' ('to abide due,' corrupted from 'to abide the'). On line 66, it can be

			noted that Ellis corrected ‘wright’ to ‘wricht’ to correspond to Peniarth MS. 111.
Lines 67/73	A God mad trwn	A God made troon	‘trwn’ stands for ‘throne;’ Ellis translated it to ‘troon’ based on a phonetic pronunciation of ‘trwn,’ though it is difficult to say whether he intended it to stand for ‘throne’ as well or for something else; he did not write a <9> next to it, so it was not a problematic word for him.
Lines 68/74	And se so swn	And say so soon	‘se’ would originally stand for ‘see,’ though it might be that it already was understood as ‘say’ by John Jones in Peniarth MS. 111; Ellis had no reason to change this.
Line 69/75	... and so non micht	... and so none might	Originally the line would have read ‘and Son on might,’ but as above, Peniarth MS. 111 had exactly the same line as written in the Welsh version of the ‘Hymn’ in Cwrtmawr 11.
Lines 78/86	Hys sel ys best...	His zeal is best...	This translation is due to a misreading, as P111 has ‘hys sol ys beste’ (‘his soul is best’)
Lines 82/90	A boy wyth bo	A boy with’s bow	Ellis added the <’s>, though it is difficult to understand why.
Lines 101/111	A preti thing, we prae to thest	A pretty thing, we pray to thest	‘thest’ is kept as it is, rather than translated as ‘the east;’ which allows the metre not to change.

Table 13: Translation choices in Cwrtmawr MS. 11

Certain choices in the translation of Rev. David Ellis can be explained by some misreadings on his part, as well as difficulties in understanding what he read from his exemplar; this does suggest that copyists did not necessarily understand everything they wrote in the context of the ‘Hymn to the Virgin,’ as evidenced by the difficulty in translating it. However, it must be noted that Ellis’ transcription and translation are both of a high quality and are a testimony to how well the ‘Hymn’ survived the ages centuries after its composition.

The printed editions of the Hymn to the Virgin, 1796-1880

William Owen Pughe, 1796, 'An old Oxford anecdote, with an English ode upon the occasion, written in the Welsh orthography' The Cambrian Register, Volume II

The earliest printed version of the 'Hymn to the Virgin' also appears to be the least-known one. Published under the full title 'An old Oxford anecdote, with an English ode upon the occasion, written in the Welsh orthography,' it is less an article and more an occasion to share, in the section of this volume of the *Cambrian Register* entitled 'Antiquities,' the 'curious [...] piece of English poetry' (Pughe 1796: 299), as found in Panton MS. 33 (evidenced by both the copy of the poem and the title given to the prologue preceding it). It is introduced in the following paragraph:

The readers of the *Cambrian Register* may be amused, by reading the translation of an Oxford anecdote, the original of which is in the note below, and copied from volume I. of the Welsh School manuscripts. The piece of English poetry coming after it, and of which it was the occasion, is curious, and in some respects, valuable, as it is, very likely, the best record existing of the pronunciation of the English, at a period when it was composed, which was the middle of the fifteenth century, on account of its being chiefly written in Welsh orthography, which was settled then as it is in the present time. (Pughe 1796: 299)

This precedes a translation of the long prologue to the Hymn to the Virgin, which is provided in Welsh in a footnote, under the title 'A Report from Oxford;' after which follows the Hymn, the whole being copied, with some emendations and footnotes added to the text.

The *Cambrian Register* was a journal dedicated to Welsh antiquities, edited and written in English by the lexicographer and antiquary William Owen Pughe (1759-1835) and published in London; it only had three issues, the first one in 1795, the second one (volume II) the following year, and volume III in 1818. Its irregularity seems to have made it less popular than other works by Pughe, chief among them his *Welsh and English Dictionary* published in 1793 for the first part and 1803 for the complete two volumes along with a *Welsh grammar* (Williams 1959: DWB). Following the pattern already drawn by the manuscript copyists of the 'Hymn to the Virgin,' Pughe was a Welsh scholar born in Meirionnydd but schooled in Altrincham near Manchester, who then moved to London in 1776 where he remained for thirty years. His profession is unknown, though he is found to have taught (in school as well as privately) arithmetic and penmanship in 1802 (Williams 1959: DWB). He contributed to several English

periodicals before he encountered the Society of Gwyneddigion of which he became a member in 1783; he also became a member of the Society of Cymmrodorion in 1784 (Williams 1959: DWB). These associations led him to start an interest in Welsh manuscripts, and particularly those of the Morris brothers of Anglesey; from this his dictionary ensued, the idea for the *Cambrian Register*, as well as the *Cambrian Biography* in 1803, to which can be added several translations, including one of Milton's *Paradise Lost* into Welsh (Williams 1959: DWB). He brought a lot to Welsh learning through his work, even though his idea that Welsh was 'closely related to the primitive mother tongue' (Williams 1959: DWB) and his tendency to change etymologies according to those views according to those ideas led some of his contemporaries, as well as later scholars, to see him as 'a pretentious quack' (Williams 1959: DWB); this did not erase his contribution to the publishing of Welsh antiquities, such as is the case here.

This is a fascinating entry in the history of the 'Hymn to the Virgin:' though it is the earliest printed witness of the poem, it also is the one with the most accurate contextualisation before Förster's 1926 'Datierung und Charakter des kymrisch-englischen Marien-Hymnus.' It is indeed worth noting that the history of the study of the 'Hymn' includes possibly a century of misconceptions about the poem, with the most notable evidence of it being Furnivall's and Ellis' 1880 article for *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, who both mistook the poem for one written by an Englishman and then copied into Welsh spelling; Förster's article was essential in that it re-established the origin of the poem and, as indicated by the title, its dating. However, this version presented in the *Cambrian Register* seems to have escaped the notice of scholars; as can be seen above, it had both the dating and the provenance right, but also could see the value for which Dobson would study the 'Hymn' over a century and a half later, as 'the best record existing of the English [in] the middle of the fifteenth century' (Pughe 1796: 299). It is invaluable, as we rarely have any explanation why the 'Hymn' was shared by the copyists or editors.

The author of this introduction here seemed more eager to share the prologue to the poem rather than the poem itself: this confirms that the circumstances in which the poem was written rather than the poem itself could have been the main motivation for its sharing in other cases as well. The translation provided differs (of course) from the one provided by Garlick; this one opts for the phrase 'It happened once upon a time' to start the prologue, chooses to translate 'Kymro ardderchawc' ('excellent Welshman') with 'illustrious Welshman,' and ends on the line 'the which metre [cynghanedd groes] an Englishman has no idea of its structure' when the original text in Welsh has a meaning closer to 'which an Englishman cannot do.' This

does make evident the views on the Welsh language held by Pughe mentioned above, and his interest in the prologue more than the Hymn seems logical in that regard: though his journal is written in English, it is still addressed to a Welsh audience, and one which, stranded in London, tries to find some sense of belonging in the antiquarian findings. This of course is also a product of its time, as Europe was by the very end of the 18th century fully taken by the Romantic wave, and many found solace against the slowly rising *mal du siècle* in medieval manuscripts; nationalistic feelings were widespread across the continent, and proving the superiority of one's culture over others was not uniquely Welsh.. If anything, the Welsh attitude might have been an answer to this general attitude: the country may be small, just as Swardwal's self-description in the prologue may paint him as 'a poor and simple scholar,' but its culture would rival that of more vocal and visible actors – just as the 'Hymn' supposedly soared so high above the other poems suggested in the prologue that the latter were forgotten.

Hugh Hughes, 1823, Yr Hynafion Cymreig

Inspired by and taking a substantial amount of material from Peter Roberts' 1815 *Cambrian Popular Antiquities*, *Yr Hynafion Cymreig* ('The Welsh Antiquities') is the first known 19th-century copy of the 'Hymn to the Virgin.' The book is an anthology of various Welsh texts in Welsh, while Roberts' was in English, with the 'Hymn' being added to the material from the *Cambrian Popular Antiquities*. Swardwal's poem is copied from Panton MS. 33, re-using the title given to the prologue by Evan Evans, 'Chwedl o Rydychen,' and copying the poem exactly under the title 'Awdl Saesneg.' Hughes provides footnotes for his readers: they do not add context to the poem, nor do they explain lines, but rather clarify the Welsh spelling of English words – indicating, for instance, 'Darllener, *The Jews have sold / That Jesus hight*' for 'Dde Ddsiws hâf sold / That Ddsiesws hight' on page 16. The audience is clearly not expected to be able to read the poem as it stands, yet Hughes chose to only gloss some of the words or lines – often the same as in the *Cambrian Register*, repeating some mistakes⁷⁴, though he has fewer footnotes for *Yr Hynafion Cymreig*.

Hugh Hughes (1790-1863) was primarily an artist, first educated in Wales by his grandfather Hugh Williams at Meddiant, Llansantffraid-Glan-Conwy, who later learned wood engraving and oil painting in Liverpool where his father had moved after the death of his wife in 1802 (Jenkins 1959: DWB). As an adult, he toured Wales and made sketches between 1819-1821, gaining a reputation as an author for the publication of the English excerpts of his journals in *Wales* and the Welsh ones in *Cymru*; the same year as the publication of *Yr Hynafion Cymreig*, he published sixty plates of his drawings under the title *The Beauties of Cambria*. He lived in both England and Wales, depending on the period of his life; and from 1828 he came into conflict with the Calvinistic Methodists (the Presbyterian Church of Wales) for having signed a petition in favour of Catholic emancipation, which would lead him to publish several pamphlets on the subject (Jenkins 1959: DWB).

His interest in the antiquities of Wales is less that of an antiquary like those who were mentioned above, and more of an amateur of Welsh culture. The prefaces, entitled 'At Y Darllenydd' ('To the Reader') and 'Rhagymadrodd' ('Introduction'), give some insight regarding his project for *Yr Hynafion Cymreig*, which 'is published for the purpose of explaining the Traditions, Rituals and Superstitions of Wales, which, by their antiquity, are

⁷⁴ Most notably, on page 301 of the *Cambrian Register* and page 15 of *Yr Hynafion Cymreig*, both explain 'ffing' as being the 'root whence the word finger is derived' (Pughes 1796: 301) and 'gwreiddyn y gair *Finger*' ('the root of the word *Finger*') (Hughes 1823: 15).

close to being completely unknown to the present age, in terms of their origin and meaning' (Hughes 1823: iii⁷⁵). The paragraphs which follow immediately give a vision of said traditions, rituals, and superstitions, stating that the 'success of the Gospel in Wales in the last century' caused them to be lost, when they were 'formerly common;' their value lies in the fact that they would 'prove the antiquity of the nation, some of them referring directly to the flood, others to various important events before the flood, and some so ancient that it is not known what they refer to if not the creation of the world' (Hughes 1823: iii-iv⁷⁶). This notion that the Welsh antiquities collected throughout the centuries are proof of the primacy and ancientness of Wales shall be discussed in the following chapter: it is a common thread running from the Renaissance to the end of the 18th century and the Romantic period, which sheds light on the possible reason why the 'Hymn to the Virgin' in particular endured the test of time.

Hughes dedicates his book not to the 'haneswyr,' the historian, but rather to the 'cyfreddin,' the common people, which according to him are the reason why these traditions endured and survived until the present day and the publication of his book (Hughes 1823: v), which contradicts the actual afterlife of these texts (not just the 'Hymn') which were safeguarded through the effort of antiquaries, i.e. historians. The 'Introduction' more than the address to the reader shows an influence which does not name itself from possibly Iolo Morganwg's druidism movement, referring at length to vague ancient traditions and places of worship which were lost to time but could be recovered through the texts published in *Yr Hynafion Cymreig*. Hughes never makes explicit the reasoning behind the selection of the texts he published, which leaves one to wonder why the 'Hymn' was chosen; the religious matter could have been determinant, or the prologue depicting the poet as resistant to the 'swallowing oppressor' (Hughes 1823: iii⁷⁷) that the English might appear to be. Nevertheless, it is perhaps the one version of the 'Hymn' which is the least aimed at a specialist audience.

⁷⁵ Translation my own: the original reads 'Y Traethawd canlynawl ar yr Hynafion Cymreig [The following Essay on the Antiquities of Wales], a gyhoeddir i'r dyben o egluro Traddodiadau, a Defodau, ac Ofergoelion Cymru, y rhai ydynt, gan eu hynafiaeth, yn agos a bod yn hollawl anadnabyddus i'r oes bresennawl, o ran eu tarddiad a'u hystyr.'

⁷⁶ 'Mae llwyddiant yr Efengyl yn Nghymru, yn y ganrif ddiweddaf;' 'trwy eu bod yn profi mor effeithiawl hynafiaeth y genedl; rhai o honynt a gyfeiriant yn uniongyrchawl at y diluw, ereill at amryw o ddygwyddiadau pwysfawr cyn y diluw, ac y mae rhai o honynt yn gymmaint eu hynafiaeth fel nas gwyddys at beth y cyfeiriant os nid at greadigaeth y byd.'

⁷⁷ '[...] a'u rhwystro rhag cael eu hollawl lyncu i fynu gan yr amrywiol ormeswyr a'u blinasent gynt,' '[...] and prevent them from being entirely swallowed up by the various oppressors who tired them before.'

F.J. Furnivall and Alexander J. Ellis, 1880, 'An early English Hymn to the Virgin (Hengwrt MS. 479, leaf 38)' Archaeologia Cambrensis, Volume XI N°XLIV (October 1880)

The first discussion of the 'Hymn to the Virgin' by hands other than those of Welsh scholars and antiquarians is in an article for *Archaeologia Cambrensis* (albeit a Welsh antiquarianism journal) authored by the Englishmen F.J. Furnivall, assisted by Alexander J. Ellis, then President of the Philological Society. The article is divided into two sections: one is a transcript of the 'Hymn' from two manuscripts, one in Peniarth MS. 98b (then known as Hengwrt MS. 479) and the other from Peniarth MS. 111 (Hengwrt MS. 294), which appear to be the work of Furnivall; the second section is a commentary by Ellis on the spelling system used in the poem.

The title immediately reveals the problem with this version of the 'Hymn:' Furnivall and Ellis interpreted the poem to have been first written in English, and then copied using Welsh letter-values. Unfortunately, the article reveals little about the interest they found in this ode: Ellis authored *Early English Pronunciation* in 1869, part of which was dedicated to a reproduction and translation of William Salesbury's 1547 *A dictionary in Englyshe and Welshe* and 1550 (re-edited in 1557) *A briefe and playne introduction, teaching how to pronounce the letters in the British tongue (now commonly called Walsh)*. This would be what made the 'Hymn' interesting for Ellis, as it could appear as an illustration of Salesbury's works (though actually produced before his own birth). As for Furnivall, he appears to have only produced the transcripts of the poem, and possibly added the notes and translations to this edition of it; there might have been more to his interest in it, and there must have been a discussion with Ellis regarding their interest in that specific work, but he left no trace of it.

As is obvious from the title of the article, 'An early English Hymn to the Virgin and a Welshman's Phonetic Copy of it Soon After,' the authors were confused when it came to the origin of the 'Hymn;' they took the earliest possible manuscript they had, Peniarth MS. 98b, to be the original of the poem, and understood Peniarth MS. 111 to be a copy from the previous. As seen before, the version of the 'Hymn' in P98b by John Davis is actually a copy and 'translation' of John Jones's 'Hymn' in P111. The confusion could come from P98b having been started in 1601, while the work on P111 started in 1607, making it easy to think P98b's 'Hymn' is older; however, this is overlooking the fact that while P111 was completed by 1610, the work on P98b lasted until 1644, and the 'Hymn' comes later in the manuscript. The most curious element in this is the fact that Peniarth MS. 111 contains a copy of the long prologue to the poem, which gives the context (whether fictitious in part or not) for its creation: this

prologue is neither copied nor mentioned in the *Archaeologia Cambrensis* article, and it was apparently ignored when looking at the manuscript, otherwise the authors might have expressed a different view on the poem's origin. The alternative would be that they read the prologue and decided that it was not a reliable source, but it is likely that they would have signalled it had it been the case.

Archaeologia Cambrensis is a journal founded in 1846 by the Cambrian Archaeological Association (founded in the same year), whose first editors hoped to '[strike] a chord in the hearts of Welsh antiquaries ... by describing and illustrating the antiquities of [their] dear native land, [and be met] with the lasting support and sympathy of all' (Cambrian Archaeological Association website). The Association and its journal were aimed at a Welsh audience, yet Furnivall and Ellis were both English and their interest in Welsh was purely philological. What makes the Welshness of the 'Hymn' in the eyes of Furnivall and Ellis is the spelling: this feature justified the inclusion of a poem they firmly believed to be English in a journal dedicated to Welsh antiquarianism, which is telling; the poem happens to be Welsh, unlike what the authors thought, but *it did not need to be the work of a Welshman to be perceived as having a Welsh quality*. This of course raises questions of identity, and of what makes a text's origin; is it its author or is it its appearance, or the place in which it was written (in which case, the 'Hymn' might be considered Oxonian)? Furnivall and Ellis seem to be leaning towards the answer being the language, hence English, but the mere presence of the article in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* would appear to contradict this view.

Chapter 3: The cultural impact of ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes’ and the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’

The afterlife of these two poems is due in great part, if not entirely, to the work of the Welsh antiquarians who found enough of an interest in them to decide they were worth preserving and sharing; this chapter is dedicated to, in the words of Stewart (2019: 78), ‘reconstructing the intellectual framework’ within which these antiquarians worked.

The previous chapter provides a detailed overview of the different versions of ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes’ and ‘The Hymn to the Virgin’ found in different manuscripts and printed books from the 16th to the 19th centuries. Though it gives the reader a good idea of what each manuscript contains, as well as a short context in the form of biographies of their different copyists, it might have been less obvious in showing what brought all those *variants* together. This chapter is therefore dedicated to the discourse communities surrounding the copies of the two poems. Discourse communities are defined by Smith (2020: 30) as ‘communicative networks that engage with a common world-view and express their ideologies – however conflicting – in mutually comprehensible ways;’ he further argues that in the context of the reproduction of an individual text, it is possible to speak of a community of practice around the circulation of such texts. In the present case, the spelling system shared by the copyists of the poems is the most remarkable sign of this community of practice; however, their common endeavour is to reach back to the origins of Welsh writing in English, and to anchor it in their present time – which will be discussed further in this chapter.

The two poems date from the same period and are the works of two rather prolific and well-known poets from North Wales⁷⁸, located in the context of what appears to be an Anglo-Welsh rivalry. Penllyn’s poem in its very subject opposing a male Welsh bard and a female Englishwoman in an attempt at seduction which gets lost in translation, Swrdwal’s through the prologues introducing some copies of his and presenting the very existence of his ‘Hymn’ as a consequence of that rivalry. Most obvious is their shared language: both written in Middle to Early Modern English, they also share their spelling. There is no evidence that Ieuan ap Hywel Swrdwal was aware of the existence of Penllyn’s poem, nor does there appear to be a common

⁷⁸ Penllyn from Merioneth, and the Swrdwals being known for having lived in Machynlleth (Powys) for a period of time; it is worth noting that though these are two different shires, they are neighbouring each other and share a border.

source that both authors could have drawn inspiration from⁷⁹. The two poems deploy their spelling to different effects: Penllyn's tone is humorous, alternating between Welsh and Welsh-spelt English to illustrate the impossible communication between the two characters of the poem. Swrdwal's tone is more solemn, as expected for a poem dedicated to the Virgin. This may also be because, according to the prologues, he aimed to demonstrate that Welsh is at least as respectable a language for poetry as English or Latin. Lastly, and most importantly as far as the present chapter is concerned, the two poems attracted an audience of Welsh antiquarians from the Early Modern to the Romantic era, the biographies of whom show, more or less strongly depending on the individual, a concern for Welsh literature and for Welsh language in general, and for both their past and their future. Such matters will be discussed further below.

A note on similar texts

These two poems were selected for this study due to the large number of manuscripts in which they survive, as well as the similarities mentioned above, causing them to have comparable afterlives, though the 'Hymn' appeared to be significantly more popular than Penllyn's dialogue. There are, however, a small number of texts using the same spelling features which were considerably less transmitted, if at all, which are still worth mentioning as part of the same phenomenon and coming from the same discourse community. These include a small set of 'prayers for each day of the week' dating from 1546, written in English and spelt in Welsh, which can be found in Llanstephan MS. 117 and was mentioned by Sir Thomas Parry-Williams in *The English Element in Welsh* (1923: 20), which is a text named by Parry-Williams as one of several 'Welsh source of information on English pronunciation' (Parry-Williams 1923: 20); however the fact that it survived in just one manuscript makes it ill-suited to a study of textual afterlife. The same can be said of a very fascinating astrological manual written in Early Modern English and encoded using Welsh letter-values, which can be found in Peniarth MS. 539 and was the subject of a 2011 article by L. Brady for *Studia Celtica*, 'Booklet Ten of Peniarth 359: An Early Modern English Astrological Manual Encoded through Welsh Phonology.'⁸⁰

There are other poems showcasing the same spelling feature: in chronological order, the anonymous 'Plea for Another Drink,' found only in British Library Additional MS. 14997 and Harley MS. 3725, which also suffers from being an extremely short text (8 lines in MS.

⁷⁹ It may be noted that first language Welsh children nowadays still at times deploy a similar spelling system when learning to write in English.

⁸⁰ It can also be added that these two works are also not poetry, which is the focus of this thesis.

14997, 4 in Harley MS. 3725). It is one of only two poems in English in Additional MS. 14997, which otherwise is a Welsh manuscript dating from the early 16th century; this and the fact that the two stanzas are *englynion* written in cynghanedd strongly suggest a Welsh origin to the text. Then comes a poem which was given the title of ‘Sir Richard’s Confession’ by Garlick & Mathias (1982: 57-8), which takes the form of a confession indeed by one Sir Risiart y Valchwen, or Sir Richard the Blackbird: the poem, written between 1590 and 1630, is of little poetic value, and details the regrets Sir Richard has over having been a landlord only interested in financial gain for most of his life; too little is known of the man to know if this was prompted by a specific event in his life. The poem survives in the *Llyfr Hir Llanharan*, therefore alongside the ‘Hymn,’ as well as an excellent copy of it in the printed book *Hen Gwndidau, Carolau, a Chwyddau* edited by L.J. Hopkins-James and T.C. Evans in 1910; to this could be added a manuscript copy by Hopkins-James produced as he was taking notes for *Hen Gwndidau*. Lastly, ‘I ddangos yr heldring a fu i wr pan oedd ar y môr’ is a most compelling poem not so much due to its internal qualities than for the context in which it was written, and perhaps even more so its author. Tomos or Thomas Prys, or Price (c.1564-1634), is described in his entry in the Dictionary of Welsh Biography (Rowlands, 1959: DWB) as a ‘poet and adventurer,’ and this is almost a euphemism to describe Prys. He was born in Plas Iolyn, Denbighshire, where he later became sheriff in 1599: before that, however, he travelled the world, following Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir Francis Drake on their expeditions (Jenkins-Jones, 1885-1900), though it is not known which; he fought in the Netherlands in 1585 under Sir Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester (Rowlands 1959: DWB), was found three years later in 1588 in Tilbury and is said to have ‘fitted out a privateer at his own expense and contributed to the defeat of the Spanish Armada’ (Jenkins Jones, 1885-1900: Dictionary of National Biography); he also found the time to fight in France between 1585-1589, and in Ireland between 1594 and 1603 (Rowlands 2004: ODNB). He is known, for it is the subject of the poem mentioned above, to have been a privateer/pirate/buccaneer sailing along the coast of Spain for part of his life; and among his feats can also be counted the fact that he was one of the first three men (along with William Myddleton and Thomas Koet) to have smoked tobacco in London around 1586. He returned to Plas Iolyn at the end of the 16th century, though he kept his old sea ways and went on plundering and pillaging ships around the Isle of Bardsey; and perhaps his pirating days also inspired him to (allegedly) rape his niece in 1613, which caused him to be imprisoned in Fleet prison, from which he wrote poetry to claim his innocence (Rowlands 2004: ODNB). As a poet, he had no patron, and was therefore considered as part of the poets ‘a ganai ar eu bwyd eu hunain’ (‘who sang on their own food’), because they were writing for pleasure and not to live from it;

therefore, Prys wrote a lot about his own personal experience, which is how details about his life such as him smoking tobacco came to be known (Rowlands 2004: ODNB). ‘I ddangos yr heldring a fu i wr pan oedd ar y môr’ stands out in his works for its length and extensive use of English, but it should be noted that Prys was criticised among others by Lewis Morris for his tendency to use English words throughout his Welsh poems (albeit not when he aimed at a more traditional style), who explained that ‘his incorrectness and carelessness in his orthography in writing prose must be attributed to his military & wandering life in his younger years’ (BL, Add. MS 14872, 6r). Though some two hundred poems of his survived, there is no extent edition of Prys’ works; and the reason why ‘I ddangos...’ (or any of his other poems deploying English words) is but mentioned in this thesis is because it is very likely that most of the manuscripts in which the poem is found are in the poet’s own hand, often in books dedicated to his own works. He and his work would make a fascinating subject of study; however, not from the perspective of this present one.

The antiquarian interest in Tudur Penllyn’s and Ieuan ap Hywel Swrdwal’s poems

The three above poems, while they share their language with ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes’ and the ‘Hymn to the Virgin,’ do lack one key element: the antiquarian interest.

These scholars never shared the reason behind their choice of copying these poems: what is known of their motivation was inferred from the manuscript context, rather than notes left by the copyists. This chapter takes another step back to look at the wider context in which these poems were read and copied: one of reclaiming of the past and of the search for a space for Welsh in the ‘wider European debates that extended from the Renaissance and carried into the nineteenth century’ (Stewart 2019: 79), where history and its (inevitable) re-writing, as well as forgery at times, were paramount.

Before delving into this subject, a few words on why ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes’ and the ‘Hymn’ might have attracted more attention, outside of the different contexts in which they were found (either composed, or copied): first, though not foremost, might be their quality as poems. Though they have been criticised (see for instance Conran 1995), both are very clear in their subject, which is not the case for Syr Risiart’s ‘Confession’ for instance, and in their language – with the ‘Hymn’ being entirely in English, and ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes’ alternating Welsh and English in an unambiguous way. This is not the case for Tomos Prys’ ‘I ddangos...’, for instance, in which English and Welsh meet on the same line and are rather more difficult

to distinguish due to both the spelling and technical nautical terms he uses. More crucially perhaps, the themes of the poems were simply more attractive to a wider audience.

Tudur Penllyn's, aside from the story of seduction (and mostly harassment) it tells, is one of miscomprehension and miscommunication due to the different languages spoken in Wales. The bard represents Wales, fittingly as an important figure in how the Welsh represent themselves (which will only gain in importance in the following centuries), and the Englishwoman the English: there is no reversal of the roles at play, since the bard does not conquer the object of his attention, though it does put English in the situation of a minority, as both the poet and the reader, and possibly the bard within the poem, understand both languages when the Englishwoman does not. Whether a common scene in 15th-century Wales or an amusing thought, the poem does not, in any case, relate anything as personal as Sir Richard's 'Confession' or the dangers encountered at sea by Tomos Prys, whose experience was so unique that there is no surprise in it not being relatable.

The 'Hymn,' even taken without its prologue – which was the case in most manuscripts – has something perhaps more universal to it: the very figure of the Virgin Mary, central to the poem, is well known to any of its readers at the times when it was both composed and copied. In Wales especially, the importance of her worship is not to be ignored: Glanmor Williams (1976: 481) found a minimum of 143 churches and chapels in her name, and Francis Jones (1992: 45) notes, in regions with a strong Norman influence, 76 holy wells associated to her. Of course, a great number of poets took inspiration and invoked the figure of Mary, with the 15th century marking the 'Golden Age of Marian poetry in Welsh' (Cartwright 2008: 11); this coincides with the date of composition of the 'Hymn,' which could have made it immediately relevant at the time of creation, while the subject remained important enough to gather attention in subsequent centuries. To this can be added that she is mentioned in the *Gramadegau'r Penceirddiaid* (the *Bardic Grammars*); these were destined to be used by professional poets when practising their craft, with information on both metre and 'guidance on writing praise poetry consisting of lists of appropriate reasons for praising individual subjects' (Cartwright 2008: 11), among which the perpetual virginity of Mary. Lastly, the Marian figure is that of a mediator, first and foremost between heaven and earth, which in Welsh poetry translated as a 'belief that [...] praising Mary would assist the poet in his search for salvation' (Cartwright 2008: 51); but also, in some aspects, a linguistic mediator, as is the case in works such as the Ave beatissima civitas / Ave, Maria / Ave maris stella motet in the 13th-century Montpellier codex, where the triplum, 'taking up the theme of Marian laudation and supplication, is an A,

B, C of Marian devotion, with each word beginning by a different letter of the alphabet' (Dillon 2012: 292), and examples such as the 'Ave Maria' from the *Heures de Charles d'Angoulême* (c. 1480) being styled as an alphabet. In the case of the 'Hymn,' this quality attributed to the Virgin resonates with the language, theme, and context of the poem: the poet uses two languages to ask the 'mighty lady' for her mediation to enter heaven, all while the poem is supposedly in the defence of the quality of both Welsh poetry and language.

This would not have been lost to the antiquarians who later transmitted the poem: even though this interpretation might not have been conscious, the preeminent figure of the Virgin would have been more familiar than any of the other texts mentioned previously. Penllyn's poem equally is inscribed in a tradition of romantic failure poetry, often intended to be humorous, with Dafydd ap Gwilym (c.1315/20 – 1350/70) being the best-known Welsh poet in this genre⁸¹: see 'Merch Llanbadarn' ('The girls of Llanbadarn'), where he laments his lack of luck with the women of his parish, whom he leers at on Sundays at mass, before concluding he must be alone forever – which is a feature found at the end of 'Y Bardd a Saesnes' as well.

However, poems are not remembered for the (perceived) universal qualities they may have, nor for the context in which they were composed: what determines the longevity of a text is the context in which it is transmitted, which informs both the reasons why the attention of a reader might have been drawn to it, and how it was copied for it to be read further on by later generations. This chapter is, as stated previously, most interested in the antiquarians who read and copied those poems, and more specifically in the contexts in which they evolved, as well as the different interests they may have had in those texts.

Two eras emerge distinctly in the afterlife of those texts: the Early Modern period on the one hand, and Romanticism on the other. The first one is the earliest as far as the manuscripts studied are concerned: the copyists of that period are more humanists than they are antiquarians, with Sir John Prise being a foremost figure. Welsh humanists were, like their English and wider European counterparts, learners and lovers of the classical languages, Latin and Greek: and as such, eager to see their native language in filiation with those, as well as dissatisfied with its state. Indeed, ancient books were gone, either through the bardicide which Edward I was accused of by later poets or explained by the Ysgolan myth⁸². However, it took

⁸¹ Dafydd ap Gwilym having Ovid as a model, who wrote at length about his own (fictitious or real) failures in love.

⁸² Ysgolan is a traditional character found in both Welsh and Breton texts (a poem and a ballad respectively) where the character admits to similar crimes: burning a church, killing cattle, and 'drowning' a book (Stephens

place, the fact remained that ancient knowledge of Welsh was in great part lost, and the humanists were the first to deplore that loss. The language too, partly as a consequence of the union of England and Wales, and perhaps of the loss of said knowledge, was ‘in dire danger of losing its learned status and becoming a patchwork of mutually incomprehensible dialects, if not of dying altogether because of the readiness of its speakers (especially the gentry) to abandon it in favour of English’ (Gruffydd 1990: 20-21). In this context, the interest in the two poems under study at that period could be defined as scholarly as well as historical: they represent part of this ancient knowledge, on the one hand, and seemingly speak to the new state of bilingualism in which the humanists existed, whether by necessity or out of interest.

With the later rise of the antiquarians came Romanticism: in the specific case of Anglo-Welsh literature, and at least when it comes to the present subject, it inherits from the humanist concerns to which is added nostalgia. One might even use the Welsh ‘hiraeth’⁸³ to describe the longing for an often-imaginary glorious past which may never be recovered. The movement, and not just amongst Welsh writers, is haunted by the figure of the bard as sung by Thomas Gray, who ‘with a master’s hand, and prophet’s fire, / struck the deep sorrows of his lyre;’ and populated by antiquarians of all horizons, from students of history and language to artistic forgers. In the context of Welsh antiquarianism specifically, this period marks the birth and height of bardism: a nationalistic movement aiming at restoring the glory of Welsh poetry and culture not through careful collection and preservation of ancient texts, though this was a component of it. Bardism demanded the ‘recovery’ of forgotten traditions which would prove the lost (but now found) superiority of the Welsh, with Iolo Morganwg as the figurehead of this movement.

There are, of course, nuances in both periods, and the early modern period is not without its own specificities: while the first chapter of the present thesis had a synchronic approach to the texts, examining each version in its own context, this chapter will look at the afterlife of these poems from a diachronic perspective, and aims at giving a clearer definition and categorisation of the different copyists for the poems, which will in turn show how exactly ‘Y

1998: 823). During the Renaissance, the name Ysgolan is alluded to by writers who associate him with the burning of Welsh books in the Tower of London, which is likely derivative of the traditional character (Stephens 1998: 823). Ysgolan destroying Welsh manuscripts is referred to as one of four foundational myths for Welsh humanists by Gruffydd (1990: 20).

⁸³ ‘a word with more than one meaning in Welsh and perhaps no exact equivalent in English, is used to denote nostalgia for childhood, youth, native district or country, or else a yearning for an ideal spiritual state or emotional experience in the future, usually beyond place and time. [...] The theme has new complexities in Anglo-Welsh literature of the twentieth century, especially in the work of those writers who have lamented the loss of the Welsh cultural heritage’ (Stephens 1998: 317-318)

Bardd a Saesnes’ and the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ fit into the self-narrative of the Welsh culture by Welsh scholars. This is followed by a discussion on the specificities of the language of these poems, and what role if any it may have played in their afterlife and the complexities surrounding it.

Transmission of the poems during the Renaissance

From the Italian ‘rinascita,’ meaning ‘rebirth,’ comes the term ‘Renaissance’⁸⁴: first used by the Florentine art historian Giorgio Vasari in 1550 in *his Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori, ed architettori* (‘Lives of the most excellent painters, sculptors, and architects’), it nevertheless draws from notions of renewal, revival, or awakening, from Petrarch (1304-74) who likens Renaissance to the return of spring to Valla (1407-1457) who theorised a degeneration of the arts, which was now being revived; the period is remarkable for having been named by its contemporaries (Williams 1990: 1), showing both an awareness of and a desire for this rebirth. The Renaissance as a cultural movement is marked by two directions: one towards the past, with an upsurge of interest in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew literatures, scholarships, and languages, with great care being given to the recovery, transmission, and translation of manuscripts in said languages; the other towards the present and future, with a critical eye turned to contemporary arts and languages, though the aim was not to exactly imitate the ancients, but rather to emulate them to better both languages and arts in the present time. This is embodied by the humanists, scholars and artists who, inspired by the Roman concept *humanitas*, removed themselves from medieval scholasticism and aimed for a renewal and purification of all things, among which Christianity, by going back to its source: the rediscovery of the original gospels being therefore crucial.

While other countries may have had more remarkable Renaissances, with Italy being at the heart of the movement throughout the period, the concerns of the movement resonate particularly with those of Welsh humanists: in the words of Philip Schwyzer, when the Renaissance reaches Britain, ‘we find the Welsh nation conceived and constituted as a community of longing, united by a collective orientation toward its own vanished antiquity, [... whose] history had the appearance of a succession of bibliocausts’ (Schwyzer 2004: 80-81). The matter of a rebirth, as far as Welsh was concerned and especially when it came to its literary history and culture, was perceived as a literal one; and it had to rise from the ashes of destroyed manuscripts, according to tradition. Gildas’ *De Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae* in

⁸⁴ The French translation for ‘rinascita’

the late 5th/early 6th century already made note of records lost in exile or burnt by enemies during the Saxon conquest, which could be seen as a first bibliocaust for the Britons in general more than Wales specifically. In the latter case, Edward I traditionally takes the blame, for having during his 13th century conquest of Wales imprisoned the Welsh nobility, who brought their manuscripts to prison in the Tower of London, where the manuscripts were burned – and that is without mentioning the alleged bardicides ordered by the king of England. A little over a century later, and Owain Glyndŵr's revolt causes what manuscripts had survived the conquest of Wales to be 'in like manner destroyed & utterly devastat, or at the least wyse that there escaped not one, that was not uncurablye maimed, and irrecuparablye torne and mangled' in the words of William Salesbury (1550), who suspected the bards to possibly profit from the loss of Welsh antiquities: they were the ones left in charge of history and memory, with no witnesses to challenge them.

This responsibility for the preservation and restoration of the past (including its witnesses, in the form of records) and ancient culture, specifically in the form of literature and language, corresponds to the mission humanists set out to accomplish. Welsh humanists, like their European counterparts, found that when compared to Latin their language appeared to be in a dire state: however, like their European counterparts, they also shared in their vision of a glorious past. R. Geraint Gruffydd (1990: 21) outlines their 'programme for the restoration of Welsh letters,' focused on the two main areas of Welsh history (real or imagined, one may note).

The first point of this 'programme' is the 're'translation of the Bible into Welsh, which was an effort spearheaded by Richard Davies and William Salesbury with their *Testament Newydd* published in 1567, with both addressing their fellow countrymen in the form of prefaces. Davies's in particular, the 'Epistol at y Cemru' ('Epistle to the Welsh'), is interesting in that it but touches on the fact that the work is presenting a translation from Latin into Welsh, and rather insists on the fact that the Welsh used to have a Bible in their own language, before it was lost to the bibliocausts mentioned above. This of course answers to Salesbury's views on the Reformation, i.e. that it is not so much an effort to find true religion away from Roman Catholicism than a renaissance of 'the faith of their forefathers, the ancient Britons (*ffydd ei hen deideu y Brytaneit gynt*)' (Schwyzer 2004: 90), which is highly debatable – but corresponds to that humanist ideal of finding and going back to a 'purer' past, even if the blanks were filled by contemporaries.

While the figure of the bard is an important one in Welsh cultural representation⁸⁵, as noted above, Salesbury did have some distrust towards his contemporary poets; while they still did have praise for them, this did not equal the respect they had for the likes of Taliesin and Aneirin. Rather, they treated contemporary bardsmanship ‘as a once-glorious profession in steep decline’ (Gruffydd 1990: 27), which they, as seekers of ancient knowledge, could restore. Indeed, one of the reproaches made to Renaissance poets was their lack of learning: which appears to stem from poetic ideals changing (of course, 16th-century poets would admire, but could not write like Taliesin ten centuries earlier) as well as changing ideas regarding what constitutes a poet. As an answer to this issue, another of the humanists’ endeavours was to ‘make their [the bards’] art more easily accessible to cultured amateurs like themselves [the humanists]’ (Gruffydd 1990: 21). Indeed, another accusation made by the Welsh humanists against the poets of their time was their secretiveness as far as their craft is concerned. The bards were encouraged to such secrecy in the 1523 statute of Gruffudd a Cynan from the First Caerwys Eisteddfod (Gruffydd 1990: 28), which but followed the ancient tradition of bards learning from one another, and before that (which probably led to the two categories being likened later on) the druids guarding their knowledge and imparting it to chosen heirs only over years of training: it would have appeared normal that the humanists should cherish such a long-held tradition. This, however, contradicts the ideal of the Renaissance man: elsewhere in Europe, humanists were poets and poets were humanists, as one can observe for instance in France with Ronsard and Joachim Du Bellay (known for his *Regrets* as much as for his linguistic essay *Défense et illustration de la langue française*). While the two categories were not entirely separated in Wales, a lot of the great humanist figures from Sir John Prise to William Salesbury were, in fact, not professional poets; Sir Tomos Prys mentioned in the introduction to this chapter is one such figure, who followed the prescriptions and teachings of his contemporary humanists dedicated to restoring the bardic craft, but never found success nor was published.

Perhaps even more fundamental than the bardic arts, and an element which will survive beyond the Renaissance, is the defence of the foundational myths of Wales. Gruffydd (1990: 19-20) lists four; the first one is the myth of Samothès, the grandson of Noah, who settled in what became the Celtic parts of Europe after the Flood and sired a line of kings including Druys and Bardus who would establish respectively the orders of the Druids and of the Bards. Second comes the myth of Brutus, from Geoffrey of Monmouth’s *Historia Regum Britanniae* (1136),

⁸⁵ One might say in Celtic representation in general, to the present day.

according to which Brutus, grandson of Aeneas of Troy, led what remained of the Trojans to Britain, gave his name to the island, and founded the line who would bear kings such as Brennus and Arthur. Third is the myth of Joseph of Arimathea, according to which Joseph came to Britain three decades after the Crucifixion to preach the Gospel of Christ and lead to the conversion of the country, through King Lucius, to Christianity a century later. Lastly, the myth of Ysgolan ties in with the bibliocausts mentioned earlier: though it knew different forms, and Ysgolan was given different identities and sins, the one that seems prevalent is Ysgolan as the figure of a Welsh bard who either drowned a single book or burned an entire library, either out of pure malice or as an emissary to the Pope. In any case, Ysgolan emerges as a self-destructive figure for the Welsh, one of the guardians of knowledge destroying what represents that knowledge, which now lacks his descendants. The first three myths, like many foundational myths floating around Europe during the Renaissance, serve to establish the antiquity of Wales – and even the antiquity of Welsh, as pointed out by Gruffydd (1990: 20), with the language thus establishing a lineage to all three learned languages at the time: Hebrew, through the myth of Samoethes, Greek with Brutus, and Latin with St Joseph. Ysgolan, on the other hand, both explains and represents the loss of those ties and the need to re-establish them and adds some tragedy to those foundational myths: the current state of Wales is the result of a self-inflicted wound.

In terms of defence of those myths by the humanists, one remarkable effort is ‘the first of the great books on the antiquity of the British’ according to Sir Thomas Kendrick (1950: 88), i.e. Sir John Prise’s *Historiae Brytannicae Defensio*, written from c.1545 to c.1547-1553 and published in print posthumously by his son Richard in 1573. It is a defence of Geoffrey of Monmouth against the doubts voiced by Polydore Vergil, using his knowledge of Welsh records to prove that these exceed in quality that of the Romans on the period, that the *Historia Regum Britanniae* is indeed a translation, and that kings Brennus and Arthur existed: his main argument and proof is that the Welsh as a people are record-keepers, who take great care in preserving their past, no matter how many manuscripts might have been destroyed – because manuscripts were copied and genealogies were kept, in no small part by the bards, who ‘never cease cultivating this, celebrating both the deeds of ancestors and the genealogies of those more recent, and the praise of heroes, in both verse and prose, preserved in written texts as well as in memory’ (Prise 1573: 9-10, translated by Schwyzer 2004: 87). Scientific historiography finds its roots in the Renaissance, and other scholars on the continent might have found issues with these methods – Flavio Biondo commenting that the *Historia Regum Britanniae* is ‘stuffed

with lies and frivolities’ (Fryde 1983: 22) comes to mind. Nevertheless, Sir John Prise found an audience, and his example was followed by scholars such as Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt, Dr. John Davies of Brecon, and William Maurice of Llansilin, the latter having, like Sir John Prise (Balliol MS. 353), produced a version of the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ (Llanstephan MS. 53).

More accessible to the humanists, with more sources available, the recent history of Wales at the Renaissance also was the object of scholarly endeavours. The ‘Brut y Tywysogon,’ of which several versions exist, was the work of an anonymous Cistercian monk from the abbey of Strata Florida completed in the late 13th century and covering the history of the Princes of Wales from Cadwaladr in the 7th century (following immediately where Geoffrey of Monmouth’s *Historia Regum Britanniae* ends) to the conquest of Gwynedd in 1282-3 and the death of the last prince of Wales Llywelyn ap Gruffudd. The ‘Brut’ was translated and extended several times during the Renaissance, starting with Humphrey Lhuyd in 1559 who produced a (truncated) translation; in 1584 his translation was added to and revised by Dr. David Powel under the title of *The History of Cambria now called Wales* (Gruffydd 1990: 22). On top of history, the humanists also showed an interest in the geography of Wales, and specifically engaged in chorography – the mapping and description of a region, often with regards to the specific history of said region. Sir John Prise counted chorography among his many (which is only natural as a Renaissance man!) endeavours, producing a ‘Description of Wales’ in Latin which was also translated by Humphrey Lhuyd and then added by David Powel to his *History of Cambria*, as an introduction to said history.

‘Reduc[ing] the language to regular order and record[ing] and amplify[ing] its vocabulary’ (Gruffydd 1990: 21) is a Renaissance endeavour *par excellence*, what could be considered as a genre of its own called ‘défense et illustration de la langue’ was perhaps all the more important to Welsh humanists that, to some extent, Welsh was (and still is) in a situation of cohabitation with English. That is not to say that humanists rejected England and English altogether: Sir John Prise, after all, did work for the British crown, and Welsh scholars often sought further education in Oxford, where Jesus College was founded in 1496. However, there floats the idea among said scholars that not only is Welsh valuable, but potentially superior to others. The foundational myths mentioned above link Welsh to the three learned languages of the Renaissance – Latin, Greek, and Hebrew – which made possible the conception that Welsh had a special function as a divine language, or heir to it, and erroneous but hopeful notions such as the one firmly held by Dr. John Davies that Welsh was closely related to Hebrew (Gruffydd 1990: 26). To this vision of the Welsh language, one may add the perception that

Welsh held as an advantage over English its resistance to change. Sir John Prise notes indeed that while English has changed enough over a few centuries as to be undecipherable to the modern reader, Welsh speakers can still read poets antedating them by, quite literally, a millennium, and expresses it in the following terms:

Nearly all our English are so addicted to the new names of things, that they hold neither a fixed or certain method of speaking or writing the language of their fathers. However, the case is far otherwise with that most ancient British language. For they both hold correct and constant spelling in writing and abhor all license in manner of speech. (Prise 1573: 10-11, translated in Schwyzer 2004: 88)

The advantage of Welsh not having known such drastic changes as English made possible for humanist scholars the study not only of ancient texts, but their language and its grammar (though these tended to be in Latin, and therefore gave a skewed point of view of Welsh, as they explained Welsh grammar through the lens of Latin grammar). This translates to the publication of William Salesbury's influential *Dictionary in Englyshe and Welshe* in 1547, which he actually compiled for his own use as he was learning English, as well as his 1550 *Briefe and playne introduction, teaching how to pronounce the letters in the British tong (now commonly called Walsh)*. The latter is a phonetic guide to Welsh intended for Welshmen who, having moved to England, might have lost some ability in the language, English speakers who might be interested in learning Welsh, as well as the *philoglottous* – the name used by Salesbury for scholars with an interest in language (Brinley Jones 1994: 23-24). He also is known for his effort on the Welsh language: Salesbury had devised his own spelling system which was inspired by Latin, involving for instance the keeping of Latin orthography for words derived from the language in Welsh, such as 'deo' instead of 'duw' for 'God,' 'temp' rather than 'tymp' for 'time,' or 'disgyn' being replaced by 'descen' for 'descent;' he also decided not to put initial mutation in writing even for words originating in Welsh, explaining that this would make 'the signification more apparent to the strange reader,' though it would appear that the intention was, once again, to have Welsh resemble Latin (Thomas 1967: 51-53). His example was followed by Dr. John Davies of Mallwyd⁸⁶ in 1621 with his Welsh grammar, *Antiquae Linguae Britannicae... Rudimenta*, followed in 1632 by his *Antiquae Linguae Britannicae... Dictionarium Duplex*, which he wrote following the careful study of manuscripts copied both by and for him – the two works having 'laid a firm foundation for recent studies of the Welsh language' (Roberts 1959: DWB). Davies made use of his extensive collection of Welsh poetry

⁸⁶ cf. Peniarth MS. 98b in the previous chapter

as a basis for his grammar, using the works of around eighty professional poets, which ‘has left to his successors only the corrections and amplification of detail’ (Morris-Jones 1913: v).

The last endeavour of the humanists is what sustains all those developed above: the collecting of ancient manuscripts in a quest for lost learning. What appeared evident to these early antiquarians was the necessity for careful manuscript collection, preservation, and reproduction. The myth of Ysgolan and the different narratives involving bibliocausts were no strangers to that effort: what was lost could be again through carelessness, and what had survived was precious enough that great care should be taken of it – this thought is not particular to Wales, however, as the rediscovery and reclaiming of lost or neglected manuscripts also was an interest of continental humanists such as Erasmus. Most Welsh humanists thus had sizable manuscript collections, with no discrimination regarding content: manuscripts of poetry, of course, were collected and copied, but genealogies, chronicles, heraldry, as well as sciences were preserved in these libraries, some of which, like that of Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt (c.1590-1667), would contain such treasures as the White Book or Rhydderch, the Black Book of Carmarthen, the Book of Taliesin and the Book of Aneirin, as well as the Brut y Tywysogion, and form what is now known as the Peniarth manuscript collection of the National Library of Wales – a number of these manuscripts being present in this thesis. Manuscripts, as is the case for John Davies’s grammar mentioned above, served as the basis for humanist production as well as the means for sharing it – though a few achieved publication, such as Sir John Prise, William Salesbury, or John Davies, the way knowledge was transmitted still was in majority through manuscript sharing and copying. Between 1546 and 1642, around 115 books were printed in Welsh or about Wales, and of these only 67 may be described as humanist (Gruffydd 1990: 35), while on the other hand medieval manuscripts collected during the period as well as those created at the same time, whether copies or original works, were not only preserved, but numerous.

In this context, the early afterlives of ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes’ and the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ become clearer: both poems are witnesses not of ancient poetry or knowledge, as they are late medieval, but of the last ‘great’ poets before the decline in the profession perceived by the humanists, as well as part of the recent past that humanists sought to reclaim. They also are an early example of bilingualism in Wales: the inevitability of bilingualism for Welsh scholars in the 16th and 17th centuries make the existence of texts deploying both languages at once valuable, especially for humanists who looked towards the past for guidance and explanations.

Though it appears more clearly later on in the transmission history of both poems, there is a difference in the identity of the copyists interested in each of them: Tudur Penllyn's poem was copied predominantly by poets – Huw Cae Llwyd, Llywelyn Siôn, possibly Tomos Prys – during the Renaissance, while the 'Hymn to the Virgin' attracted a more diverse crowd, with more varied interests and intentions. As seen previously, Huw Cae Llwyd may have known Tudur Penllyn as a contemporary, was himself a poet, not particularly well known for being a manuscript collector, lived before the Renaissance in Wales, and Llanstephan MS. 6 was likely a collection of poems for his own personal use rather than a book he intended to share. Llywelyn Siôn, as well, was a professional poet, though unlike Huw Cae Llwyd he also is known as a proficient scribe at the time. He also has produced several copies the 'Hymn to the Virgin,' at times alongside 'Y Bardd a Saesnes' as is the case in the *Llyfr Hir Llanharan* and Llanstephan MS. 47, and the scope of his copies would tend to show he was interested in the preservation of old (and not just ancient) Welsh poetry, and perhaps was intrigued by the possibility of having it in English as well as Welsh, though there is no trace of an attempt of his to emulate Tudur Penllyn or Ieuan ap Hywel Swardwal.

The matter of readers and scholars who might have come across the poem, though they have not made any copy of it, is equally interesting: among them can be found the aforementioned Robert Vaughan, who, having had Peniarth MS. 104 in his library, therefore owned a version of 'Y Bardd a Saesnes.' He was part of the humanists of the Welsh Renaissance, and his manuscript collection is a testimony to his efforts in preserving as much of Wales' past as possible. However, it is (of course) impossible to know what his views on this specific poem were.

In the case of 'Y Bardd a Saesnes,' it can be argued that the form taken by the poem rather than its language or subject was the focal point: by alternating *cynghanedd* in Welsh and English, Tudur Penllyn effectively proposes a demonstration of how to write native Welsh poetry in another language, in this case English. It is a stylistic exercise more than a statement on either language or culture: the theme of romantic failure is a classic one, as mentioned above, but it might be overreading the poem to burden it with an interpretation regarding tensions between Wales and England – at the very least, if it is there, it is not a serious matter but rather a laughing one; and if the copyists perceived it, it would have been no more important than the various attempts at seduction bordering assault in Dafydd ap Gwylim's poetry. The value of the poem for its Renaissance copyists probably was found in the dialogue and change between the two languages rather than in any particular cultural significance it could have borne or been

ascribed: this can explain the apparent leniency regarding the poem's spelling in its different manuscripts which is never fully anglicised, nor kept as 'purely Welsh' as it could.

Ieuan ap Hywel Swrdwal's 'Hymn to the Virgin' is, perhaps unsurprisingly, different. It seems almost serendipitous that the earliest known copy of the poem should be in the hand of Sir John Prise, given his importance among Welsh humanists: from its very commencement, the poem's afterlife is marked by scholarly interest. Where 'Y Bardd a Saesnes' appears as an interesting poem for poets, the 'Hymn' has a more defined scholarly copyist- and readership. Also mentioned above for his *Antiquae Linguae Britannicae... Rudimenta*, and *Dictionarium Duplex*, Dr. John Davies also is the hand behind Peniarth MS. 98b; and John Jones of Gelilyfdi (Peniarth MS. 111), father and son Lewis and James Dwnn (respectively Peniarth MS. 96 and Llanstephan MS. 53), as well as David Jones (BL Additional MS. 14866) all were known in humanist circles, friends with other scholars (often Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt), and shared Renaissance ideals among these circles. Alongside Llywelyn Siôn again, Lewis Dwnn was a poet as well as a prominent genealogist, with the 'Hymn' being copied among his own poetical works – perhaps to serve as inspiration.

In contrast with 'Y Bardd a Saesnes,' the interest generated by the 'Hymn to the Virgin' for Welsh humanists is much clearer: the fact that it is written entirely in both *cynghanedd* and English no doubt had its influence in that. Sir John Prise and John Davies, whose efforts at anglicising the spelling of the poem were more thorough than what can be seen in copies of Penllyn's poem, were not only both engaging with English speakers – with Davies hoping to help English-speaking clergymen at the head of a parish in Wales learn the local language in order to better communicate with the community –, they also were involved in comparing Welsh to other languages, be that English or Latin. The critic addressed by Prise to the English language, 'that they hold neither a fixed or certain method of speaking or writing the language of their fathers,' shows that he was aware that it evolved in a different direction from Wales, though he visibly associates that trait to a flaw. The 'Hymn' therefore provides him with English spelt in Welsh, in such a way that makes evident its 'original' (i.e. at the time of composition only) pronunciation: and the transliterations into English started by Prise can therefore be considered more as works meant to compare two different stages of English, an early one and the one Prise was familiar with, rather than an attempt at translation per se. The unfinished state in which he left those versions therefore is of no concern, as they were exercises more than careful copies (hence the commonplace book), and Balliol MS. 353 does not show a humanist attempt at preserving the text but rather an act of curiosity for its language.

In the case of Peniarth MS 98b, Davies might have seen in the poem a useful tool to familiarise English natives with the poetry of Wales, all the more so that its subject is religious, and they would have exchanged with their Welsh parishioners in that context. The ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ indeed might not be the most well-known or best example of Welsh poetry, however it does negate the need for a translator to be skilled at poetry himself in order to translate the verse form and rhymes along with the meaning of the poem: using English standard spelling makes it easier to share with monolingual English speakers, which is likely to have been Dr. Davies’ motivation, though it is not known whether he actually got to use it to demonstrate *cynghanedd* to people who were unfamiliar with it.

For the Renaissance copyists who kept the original intention for the spelling of the ‘Hymn,’ what emerges from their different profiles is their literary and historical interests: as mentioned above, Lewis Dwnn for instance was both a very proficient genealogist and a poet – when it comes to poetry, he might have been considered as poorly as his peers by other humanists, as one who did not come close to the glory and skill of his forefathers, but the answer to this criticism was, in part, to seek answers in the wisdom of ancient bards. As a genealogist, Dwnn had an interest in Wales’ past, even though genealogy involves a more personal and familial history than what we nowadays understand as ‘history.’ Earlier, it was suggested that he might have copied Ieuan ap Hywel Swardwal’s poem as an inspiration for his own work, because it survives in a manuscript containing Dwnn’s own works; however, this could also be a way to inscribe the ‘Hymn’ in the history of native Welsh poetry, as one witness for the emergence of what will later be called Anglo-Welsh literature (to which authors such as Garlick will designate the ‘Hymn’ as the precursor). The poem is by the early 17th century indeed removed enough from the copyist for him to consider it history, and the context of the Renaissance makes likely the realisation that it is both unique and possibly important for the history of Welsh literature: and with the myth of Ysgolan being known to and bearing some importance for humanists as a cautionary tales for whoever engages with manuscripts, the preservation of such a text might have seemed evident.

This, in turn, leads to the question of the prologues to the ‘Hymn to the Virgin:’ two Renaissance manuscripts include them alongside a copy of the poem, one in BL Additional MS. 14866 (the short prologue, in 1587) in the hand of David Jones, and the other in Peniarth MS. 111 (the long prologue, in c. 1607-1610), by Sir John Jones of Gellilyfdy. Both prologues propose an origin story for the composition of the poem, opposing an anonymous Welsh poet to English students at Oxford: the poet in both cases comes to the defence of Welsh poetry, and

by extension of the Welsh language, and announces that he will prove the superiority of Welsh to English by writing the poem which follows in the manuscripts. The prologues crystallise several concerns of the humanists: the need for a defence of Welsh faced with other languages (the long prologue mentions English, but also Latin and ‘any language [anyone] chooses’ to try and rival the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ in a poetical contest), which is a European theme during the Renaissance, and the exceptionalism of Welsh. The long prologue ends with a sentence stating that the poem is in ‘*cynghanedd groes*, which an Englishman cannot compose’ (Garlick 1985: 9), which is quite telling of that mentality, and the equivalent is also present in the short prologue (‘he would compose an English poem in Welsh metre and *cynghanedd*, so that neither the Englishman nor anyone of his companions could make one like it in their own language’: Garlick 1985: 7). The notion that Welsh is a ‘privilege which God has given [to the Welsh people]’ (Garlick 1985: 9) also is present, reminiscent of views such as those of William Salesbury and Dr. John Davies that Welsh is a divine language, either through its mythical filiation to the languages of the Bible (chiefly Hebrew and Latin, though Greek is part of the mythology of the origins of Welsh) or because the Bible was supposedly originally written in Welsh alongside those languages. The prologues therefore serve the same purpose as the foundational myths of Wales, at the scale of the ‘Hymn:’ it gives a reason for the existence of the poem and its copies, and whether they are fictional or not is of no importance.

The Welsh humanists therefore had an interest in these poems because these answered several of their concerns: the growing influence of English in Wales, the emergence of a more bilingual society, and the proof that this was by no means a new phenomenon; the very bilingual nature of both poems, though in different contexts and used in different manners to different effects, echoes the experience of scholars in the Renaissance, proficient in several languages and yet attached to their native culture – here present in the very spelling of the poems, which as noted by Prise was preserved by Welsh while it (or, rather, the pronunciation) changed during his lifetime in English.

However, the end of the Renaissance in Wales (and, truthfully, throughout Europe) marks an evolution of these concerns, rather than an abandonment of them. While the ‘*esprit romantique*’ can be discerned in the concerns of the 18th-century antiquaries discussed below – the strong and melancholy relationship to the past, and still that sense of irrecoverable loss – it must be noted that the traditional periodisation does not exactly work here. There is a continuum rather than a separation, and the humanists’ works and concerns allow the romantic development of the relationship of antiquarians to the past, rather than it being a *sui generis*

phenomenon. The early modern era is not forgotten: however, it was marked by the fact that national history had to be written with regard to sacred history throughout Europe, which did not allow for as much inspection of the past as during the Renaissance, nor for the romantic interest in the Middle Ages, and therefore was less concerned about the 'national story' and more about finding universality through a shared religious experience, with obvious caveats (Stewart 2019: 105-106).

Romantic antiquarianism in Wales

The adjective 'romantic' first appears in English in the 17th century, specifically in literature, in reference to the medieval French *roman* (romance); it can refer to both to the medieval, especially to the Gothic era, and to the atmosphere of medieval romance from the nobility associated with it down to its fantastic elements (Vaillant 2012: XVI). Two peculiarities of romanticism are that, in a British context, it long remains unnamed while the continent adopted both the word and its philosophy around 1770, though its precursors and inspirations were the likes of Joseph and Thomas Warton and the very influential James Macpherson, with the young Thomas Chatterton being considered the first Romantic poet⁸⁷; and that, depending on how strict a definition of romanticism one wants to follow, it either is an ephemeral movement lasting around five decades, or a much longer one that simply evolves with time and sensitivities. As far as the material in this thesis is concerned, the manuscripts copied strictly during the Romantic period were at its very birth; the spectre of romanticism however does appear prior to the mid-18th century, as a continuation of what was observed during the Renaissance.

The humanists were preoccupied with the defence of their antiquity, both through its preservation and through proving that they were its rightful heirs: from foundational myths to the end of the medieval period, their endeavours aimed at showing a continuum between the past and themselves. Language had an important role in that, as the witness of this history and, in the case of Welsh and Celtic languages in general, proof of their long-established ancestry.

Stewart (2019: 71-72) notes the existence in English literature of a pre-romantic (i.e. 16th – 17th centuries) 'Celtic revival,' brought by the growing popularity of finding Celtic

⁸⁷ His figure was important enough for Alfred de Vigny to write both a novel, *Stello* (1832), and a play, *Chatterton* (1835), inspired by Chatterton. Both works revolve around the inevitable conflict between poetic creation and life within a society / community, with Chatterton representing the ultimate poetic ideal – prematurely dying for the sake of art as he cannot live for and from it, his death becoming art itself in the play, itself a foundational stone for the myth of the 'poète maudit.'

ancestors in one's genealogy (including among the English) and the belief held by some scholars that the 'ancient Celtic language [...] might not only be the oldest European language but also the "mother tongue" from which all languages descend' (Stewart 2019: 71-72.). Of course, the Welsh had a good claim as the descendants and heirs to that heritage, helped further by the Renaissance and early modern efforts at recovering and safeguarding both the myths and history of Wales, as well as its language.

The 17th and 18th centuries brought antiquarianism to the forefront of scholarship, with the study of linguistic origins and changes attracting a lot of interest. The aforementioned Dr. John Davies was a precursor, albeit a mistaken one in his belief that Welsh, rather than being descended from the Celtic family of languages, was a dialect of Hebrew originating in Babel; however, his work, as well as that of the humanists in general – whether their grammars, dictionaries, or efforts at manuscript preservation – served as a basis for their successors. For instance, we owe to Edward Lhuyd⁸⁸ the division of Celtic languages into two branches, through his observation of consonantal changes in Welsh, of which he was a native speaker, a P-Celtic language, Irish and Scottish Gaelic (Q-Celtic), and in fragments of Gaulish (Stewart 2019: 93), thus pioneering comparative philology.

The first sparks of the romantic ideal can be seen in the relationship antiquarians had to their education: they were often educated men, who had had access to a grammar school, and therefore could add to their native Welsh the knowledge of English and Latin at the very least, often with Greek. Latin and Greek were prestige languages, and throughout Europe the 17th and 18th centuries were marked by an interest and admiration for the Classics that continued from the Renaissance, surviving architecture being a good and still standing witness. However, their native past did become the priority for some antiquarians, one of the best known example being that of the Morris brothers: the eldest of the three, Lewis (1701-1765), did send a letter to a member of their very large circle of correspondents, the grammar school master Edward Richard of Ystradmeurig (1714-1777) and owner of over 700 books on Greek and Roman literature, to accuse him of 'understand[ing] the ancient Greeks and Romans better than the ancient Celtae and Britons' (Jenkins 2017: 8). This sentence echoes one of the concerns of Romantics: though they were learned in the Classics, the priority had to go to their national past and identity, which is often overlooked in their ideals – overtaken by the words of melancholy and visions of awe-inspiring ruins and natural landscapes, the profoundly

⁸⁸ Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum from 1690 to 1709, and a mentor figure to Moses Williams – the son of Samuel Williams, to whom we owe Llanstephan MS. 133

nationalistic strand in Romanticism might be what carries the movement, especially in people who consider themselves as part of a minority such as the Welsh.

After all, are not the loss of a mythicized past and now forgotten traditions – romantic topics *par excellence* – good reasons to be melancholy? Welsh antiquarians and poets, in this case, had a fertile terrain for these ideas to grow: the manuscript verse tradition and the large libraries started by their predecessors gave them access to a wealth of literature which they considered exemplar, as well as to the knowledge, through the histories, of the foundational myths mentioned above, and especially the bibliocausts believed to have been endured by Wales as well as Edward I's bardicide – the other myths, with the evolution of historiography, having fallen into disregard (Jenkins 2017: 5). The antiquarians lived with these narratives bearing some importance to their work, justifying the efforts they were putting towards the preservation of their culture. The situation of Welsh in Wales was not as dire as one may think: in 1674, the Welsh Trust was established by the English clergyman Thomas Gouge (1605-1681) with the aim of establishing schools in Wales where pupils would learn English in order to make them 'more serviceable to their countries,' which prompted his Welsh collaborator Stephen Hughes (1622-1688) to write him: 'it would be excellent if everyone in Wales could understand English. But Lord, how will that come about if thou dost not make miracles?' – encouraging Gouge to publish and distribute Welsh books, so that the children could learn how to read in their native language before being taught English (Davies 2015: 45). Their work was taken over by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) from 1699, leading to 545 books in Welsh being published between 1660 and 1730 (five times the number from 1540 and 1660), and the establishing of schools which, though it was expected that the students would be taught in English, actually favoured Welsh in some districts (Davies 2015: 45-46).

The crux of the tension between Wales and England, by the time of the Acts of Union (1707), was not so much that Wales was at risk of being assimilated by England (though the worry persisted in people such as Evan Evans), but that, as discussed both by Stewart (2019) and Colley (1992), the English were (re)claiming the ancient Celts as part of their ancestry, whether consciously or not, leading to 'the promotion of an increasingly Anglocentric "British" identity' (Prescott 2006: 72). While English culture is made prevalent in such a way that it obscures the other nations in the United Kingdom⁸⁹, parts of the folklores and cultures from

⁸⁹ A phenomenon that is still very visible to this day, especially when outside of the UK, where 'England' often is used (unconsciously) as a synonym for 'United Kingdom' and all of its parts are deemed English. The adjective 'British' is used by those willing to be more careful, but the idea still is one of uniformity, and the specificities of each culture within the UK are generally ignored.

Celtic regions being adopted by the English. Such is the case of the figure of the bard⁹⁰; the best example in this specific case might be Thomas Gray's 1757 'The Bard,' which refers specifically to the bard massacre during the Edwardian conquest. The poem is definitely romantic, presenting the tragic figure of the last bard, lyre in hand, 'on a rock, whose haughty brow / Frowns o'er Conway's foaming flood, / Robed in the sable garb of woe,' (Gray 1757), singing his sorrow both to the invading king and to an awe-inspiring natural landscape before falling to his death at the end of the ode. It takes its inspiration and references from the history of Wales, as found in John Wynn's *History of the Gwedir Family* which was available to Gray in Mostyn Library before its first publication in 1770, and from Thomas Carte's *A General History of England* (1747-1750) which gives an English perspective on the Edwardian conquest (Prescott 2006: 74). In both sources, the bards are both poets and political opponents, with the power to stir the people to action, appealing and reinforcing the Welsh pride in their culture: in Carte, this was presented as a negative trait, with Edward I being the good king faced with the 'unruly and uncivilised' Welsh (Prescott 2006: 74) whose manifest destiny was to be conquered. The killing of the bards becomes in these histories as well as in Gray's poem the crux of the struggle between Wales and England; which goes to show that despite having been part of the same kingdom since the 13th century, Wales was not necessarily as peacefully and happily annexed to its neighbour as it could appear.

This contact with the notion of Britishness which becomes increasingly synonymous with English, but also the correspondences and friendships with as well as knowledge of English fellow antiquarians, led to the increase of Welsh antiquarianism as antiquarians were faced with the threat of losing (once again) the traditions they and their predecessors had been working on recovering. The foundation of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion by Lewis and Richard Morris in 1751, in London, on the grounds of the earlier Most Honourable and Loyal Society of Antient Britons (1715), speaks to the sentiment of uprooting shared by Welshmen stranded in London at the time. According to the Society's website, the society had three aims: holding dinners and collecting funds for the Welsh charity school or to help Welsh people in distress in London, providing the Welsh with a secular institution that was lacking at home, and discussing and publishing books of history and literature in Welsh – which is where the Society shows its antiquarian endeavour. The name, likely chosen by Lewis Morris, 'was

⁹⁰ It is probably not coincidence that William Shakespeare started to be known as 'The Bard (of Avon)' or 'the matchless bard' in the second part of the 18th century, despite being a playwright rather than a bard *per se*; the figure of the bard had its romantic appeal. And it is quite telling of the appropriation, then, that the most famous 'Bard' should be an Englishman!

formed from “cyn-frodorion” or “earliest natives,” to signify the unique role of the Welsh linking modern Great Britain with the ancient Britons [...] implying that the Welsh should be held in high regard for holding the key to the earliest history of Britain’ (‘A Brief History of the Cymmrodorion By the President, Professor Emeritus Prys Morgan’). Lewis Morris, antiquary, poet, lexicographer, hydrographer, and the eldest of the three Morris brothers of Anglesey, spent his life travelling between Wales and England, feeling at ease on both sides of the border and fluent in both languages; he felt himself a Briton both as a Welshman inheriting from the Britons of the past and as a Britishman loyal to the crown, and was influential in both Welsh and English antiquarian circles. Though he did not appear to choose an allegiance to any one of the two countries over the other, his defence of Welsh antiquities was fierce. He was very preoccupied with the fact that the production of the society should not be stained by inferior work and therefore surveyed the antiquities with great care, insisting that these should also be shared in the Welsh language to prevent the English from ridiculing their endeavours – confident as he was in the worth of Welsh literature, he still did not want to face rejection by his English peers (Jenkins 2017: 36).

This echoes the prologues of the ‘Hymn to the Virgin:’ the idea that, as worthy as Welsh poetry can be, the judgement by an English audience is a possibility, and that unless proven wrong it will be negative. And, in both the choice made by Morris to have the publications of the Honourable Society printed in Welsh and that of the spelling system of the two poems, what emerges is the tension between the voiced intention to share a part of Welsh culture with an English audience (though this is truer of Lewis Morris’ correspondence rather than of the Society itself as he founded it) and to keep it from them by using Welsh or Welsh letter-values. This is a notable difference between the Welsh humanists of the Renaissance and the romantic antiquarians: while the former tended to produce their work among Welsh people, and for Welsh people (even with Dr. John Davies and his intention to teach Welsh to English prelates being an exception), the latter appear to walk a thinner line – that of the border between the two countries, having to reconcile two identities which by many accounts were merged into one. ‘History is a battleground for fighting modern-day quarrels between Wales and England,’ writes Prescott (2008: 106): the primary battle being internal to bilingual Welsh-English speakers, more than one between English and Welsh speakers⁹¹.

⁹¹ Though this should not be understood to mean that the two were easily reconciled: while there was a certain shared sense of Britishness (see Colley 1992), the English and Welsh people perceived themselves as ‘distinctly and essentially different’ (Jenkins 2017: 5). The picture painted here is not one of appeased cohabitation only disturbed by a few individuals, but of navigating contradictory feelings of belonging.

‘What have I, who am a Welshman, to do with English Poetry?’: that is the question asked by Evan Evans in the preface to his 1772 poem ‘The Love of our Country,’ which sings of the function of the bard ‘whatever clime we travel or explore’ (Evans 1772). Evans sought to share the glory and the love of his country, which he demonstrates in the second part of his poem with a retelling of the history of Wales through the prism of its conflicts with England from Owain Gwynedd to Owain Glyndwr, illustrating his advice to his contemporaries:

‘Once more, ye Bards, with boldness touch the lyre,
And thoughts becoming your own rage inspire,
No more your country’s wrongs with plaints bewail [...]

Evans’ plea is for the Welsh poets to inspire pride for their past in their compatriots, and perhaps some anger too. As mentioned in his biography outlined in the previous chapter, Evans was deemed Anglophobic by his contemporaries and successors alike; this does not mean that he refused any contact with the English. His main concern was for the existence of what he names in the preface to ‘The Love of our Country’ the ‘Anglo-Welsh Prelates’ whom he sees as persons being ‘confer[ed] Welsh benefices [...] that do not understand the Welsh language’ (Evans 1772: 7): an issue which, as seen previously, Dr. John Davies had been concerned with a century earlier. The difference between the two is that while Davies seemed to prefer a route which would lead to the English curates appointed in Wales learning the language, Evans does not believe that this would happen, and would rather see them gone and see those positions filled by Welshmen, who would be better qualified. The reason for which he writes in English in this instance, he also gives in the preface: ‘[...] the ill usage of our country has of late years received from English writers, will both warrant and justify any, the very dullest retainer of the Muses, to stand up in its defence. [...] I have done it in English verse, in order that men of learning, in both nations, may understand it,’ (Evans 1772: 5, 7), followed by the statement that he ‘value[s] the English nation as a brave sensible people, and [is] sorry that a few individuals have made it necessary for [him] to draw [his] pen in defence of [his own], which has been so barbarously insulted of late, without any provocation whatsoever’ (Evans 1772: 5, 7).

The resemblance with the prologues of the ‘Hymn to the Virgin,’ and especially the long one which can be found in Evans’ hand in Panton MS. 33, is rather striking. The justification for the poems being in English, which both Evans and Swardwal stress (or are made to, in the latter’s case) is not their own language with the latent idea that they are forced to use

it, is that there was an original provocation on the part of certain English speakers who ‘were scoffing at the Welsh and dispraising them greatly’ (Garlick 1985: 9). The posture is a defensive one: the Welsh poets paint themselves as being made to come to the *défense et illustration* of their culture and language, which is paralleled in ‘The Love of our Country’ with the multiple instances in which ‘Cambria’ (as Evans names Wales) is described fighting against the repeated invasions by the Saxons, the Normans, and the English; until the ‘Tudor race, from ancient heros sprung’ (Evans 1772: 24) accessed the throne, which brought forth Salesbury, Morgan, Williams, and Davies ‘To save our language, and with pious weal / To tear away the Babylonian veil / That hid the truth, and bring the gospel light / To open view, and guide our footsteps right’ (Evans 1772: 26). The end of the poem is a lament for the lost glory of Wales and a warning against new dangers, such as ‘Anti-Christian Rome,’ leading to a last stanza reminding that the Gospels in Welsh are the Britons’ ‘birthright,’ which ‘ever in thy language shine, / While sun and moon, and while the starry train, / Adorn the sky and gild the heavenly plain’ (Evans 1772: 27), referencing both the belief held since the Renaissance that the Bible was originally written in Welsh, as well as the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ with the ‘sun and moon’ motif – not that it is the most original, but Evans’ poem is known to date from after he produced his two copies of the ‘Hymn to the Virgin,’ and it would not be surprising that he chose to make a nod to it.

If ‘The Love of our Country’ is an important poem in Evans’ career, his reputation as an antiquarian comes from the publication of *Some Specimens of the Poetry of the Antient Welsh Bards, translated into English*, published in London in 1764. The existence of this project is explained by Evans in the preface to his *Specimens*: ‘I had long been convinced, that no nation in Europe possesses greater remains of antient and genuine pieces of this kind than the Welsh; and therefore was inclined, in honour of my country, to give a specimen of them in the English language. [...] This is a noble treasure, and very rare to be met with; for Edward the first ordered all our Bards, and their works, to be destroyed, as is attested by Sir John Wynn of Gwydr, in the history he compiled of his ancestors at Carnarvon’ (Evans 1764: i-iii). Once more the conquest of Wales by Edward I and especially the foundational myth of the bardicide and ensuing bibliocaust is mentioned, as well as the love (here, honour) of his country, and his desire to share elements of Welsh culture with English speakers: the poems he shares are re-contextualised through short paragraphs preceding each of them, generally giving a succinct biography of their author. Evans’ translations were criticised by his peers, as he did not translate these poems in verse but in prose, with no embellishments that would please an 18th-century

audience (Prescott 2006: 79), which left English reviewers ‘disappointed at the literalness of Evans’ translations’ (Johnson 1981-2: 71). This choice can be explained by Evans’ willingness to stay true to the text, rather than attempt a translation which would be a treason to the original; but the reception of this work could have motivated the attempt, eight years later, at a poem in English composed in *cynghanedd*.

‘The Hymn to the Virgin’ is not included in the *Specimens*, yet it is possible to see that it held some importance for Evans, as well as his fellow antiquarians: he mentions it in a letter to Lewis Morris as ‘Swrdwal’s poem upon our Lady,’ (Evans 1872: 183), as he is sharing with Morris a snippet of his correspondence with the English antiquary Thomas Percy (1729-1811), whose influential *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* was published one year after Evans’ *Specimens*. Percy was however known before then, having published translations, poetry of his own, and *Five Pieces of Runic Poetry* in 1763 with the assistance of the philologist Edward Lye (Smith 2020: 2). The correspondence between Evans and Percy appears to have been of a professional nature: they were introduced via Rice Williams (c. 1723-91), rector of Weston-under-Lizard in Staffordshire, for a project of a series of literal translations of poetry in rare languages, including Arabic, East-Indian, Peruvian, Scandinavian, and originally, Welsh – as desired by Percy (Jenkins 2017: 97). Percy appeared to appreciate Evans, having before then only encountered Welshmen who had been assimilated into English culture: Evans was no stranger to it, but the fierce defence of his Welshness made him stand out of the crowd; and therefore, Percy knew how to attract the attention of his Welsh counterpart, as his first letter mentions the sorry state of the Welsh language, one of Evans’ favourite subjects – before turning against the Scots to appeal to the fact that the English and the Welsh people are ancient ‘com-patriotes,’ while the Scots are not, an argument which was sure to please Evans again (Jenkins 2017: 98, 100). The letter in which Evans shares the ‘Hymn’ with Percy dates from the 13th January 1763: in this letter, he is trying to demonstrate what *cynghanedd* looks like to his interlocutor, and he uses the following line to illustrate the Welsh bards’ ‘method of Scanning their strictest kind of verse’ (Smith & Brooks 1957: 58) –

My God I pray me guide upright

Which he does not comment further on, but to which he adds a little bibliographical note about Hywel Swrdwal without naming him (Ieuan is mentioned as ‘his son John,’ but

Evans ascribed the poem to the wrong Swardwal), stating he ‘wrote this poem in English at Oxford where he was educated exactly in the measures that were in his time used by the Cambrian Bards,’ adding that the poem would give Percy ‘a truer Idea of our prosody than any thing I can say upon the subject’ (Smith & Brooks 1957: 58). The same letter teaches us that Evans had no knowledge of any other English poem in Welsh metre, indicating that Tudur Penllyn’s ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes’ was unknown to him, as well as Sir Richard’s ‘Confession’ and Tomos Prys’ recounting of his adventures at sea, proving that the latter three poems did not have an afterlife comparable to that of the ‘Hymn,’ either because they were not deemed of interest by 17th-century antiquarians, or quite possibly because they simply were forgotten by that point. Evans does not include the rest of the poem, and Percy’s response suggests to him that the alliterative metre might not be originally Welsh but rather inherited from ‘Scandrian Scalds.’ This implies that the similarities between Saxon and Welsh poetry stem from a common ancestor rather than one tradition being superior. This idea Evans absolutely rejects, ‘for there are traces of it in some very old pieces of the Druids still extant, which I am persuaded are older than the introduction of Christianity and before we had any commerce or intercourse with any of the inhabitants of Scandinavia or any branch of the Gothic race whatsoever’ (Jenkins 2017: 102). This dispute does not resolve for as long as their correspondence endures, as Percy keeps defending the idea that the Scalds came first while Evans refuses any other primacy but that of the Celtic bards. Their letters grow shorter and rarer from December 1764, as Percy shares the upcoming publication of his *Reliques* with Evans; from then the exchanges are less passionate and more cordial, until 1767; three last letters are exchanged a decade later in the summer of 1776, in which Evans shares that he is going through difficult times (which he will until his death in 1788), and one last opinion on the state of Welsh: ‘it is indeed the fault of Government, which should provide Pastors both in England and Wales that can preach in a language they can understand. It is therefore false policy as well as an abuse of religion to endeavour to root out the language of the natives, or to discourage the cultivation of them which the Bishops have notoriously done of late years’ (Smith & Brooks 1957: 146).

With reference to Evans’ opinion on the primacy of the Celtic bards, it is worth noting that he mentions the ‘very old pieces of the Druids still extant’ rather than the poems of ancient bards, though he never quite defines which pieces he is referring to, or what druids. This appears to be a precursor to the ideas of Iolo Morganwg/Edward Williams, who was mentioned in the previous chapter due to his links to the National Library of Wales MS. 13068B and the version of the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ it contains. It would appear that Williams’ first language

was English, with Welsh being that of his ‘literary awakening’ (Morgan 2005: ODNB); Glanmor Williams describes Williams as having both languages as his native languages (Williams 1979: 136). In both cases, Williams/Morganwg bears in himself the tension between the two languages of Britain, perhaps more so than those mentioned before who had Welsh as a native (if not primary) language; which tension was ‘a source of perpetual anxiety and internal conflict, culminating to a mental crisis whilst in London in the early 1790s and a subsequent retreat from England and from English literature’ (Jenkins 2017: 104). Morganwg is a well-known forger, whose interest in ancient Welsh poetry became a quest to prove the superiority of Welsh bards, leading to the advent of Druidism – the defence of ancient traditions which he invented, despite his claims of having rediscovered an ancient and long-forgotten order, in typical romantic fashion. This is inscribed in a larger movement of bardic nationalism, of which Evans in his correspondence with Percy showed to be a defender: beyond the simple antiquarian interest in ancient texts, bardic nationalism is a political stance, ‘a cultural nationalism with a nationalism of more clearly articulated political perhaps even revolutionary goals’⁹² (Trumpener 1997: 10). Similarly to the myths which were defended by the humanists during the Renaissance, and very much like many nations during the 18th and 19th centuries, the details defended may not have been true – Evans might have rejected Percy’s arguments out of sheer national pride – but the important point was to defend them nonetheless, and give them some amount of credit, to give weight (perhaps even *gravitas*) to one’s culture. In the case of Edward Williams, his forgeries did lead to what are now true and long-held traditions in Wales, such as the modern form of the Eisteddfod and the tradition of the bardic chair: where is the limit between a forgery and the truth?

Yet, the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ is not a forgery; its prologues might be later additions to it, and may well be embellished versions of reality, but the poem remains nevertheless the same. The correspondence between Evans and Percy shows that the former saw value in the text, in that instance, as an example of *cynganedd* in English, which he would reproduce in a poem of his own: he does not, however, mention the Welsh spelling of the poem, except to say that it is ‘imperfect, and so ill wrote and spelt, as it is in the copy I have of it’ (Smith & Brooks 1957: 58) – which does not indicate whether he failed to understand the intention behind the way the poem was spelt, or if he was expressing difficulty at reading it – which appears from the mistakes he makes in translating it from Panton MS. 33 to Panton MS. 42. It is possible

⁹² It is no coincidence that this should see the light of day at the end of the 18th century, between the American War of Independence and the French Revolution, the latter being supported by Edward Williams along with several other Welsh poets; see Elizabeth Edwards, *English-Language Poetry From Wales 1789-1806* (2013).

that Evans found the poem to be ‘ill spelt’ not because of the Welsh letter-values, but because these reflected a pronunciation of English with which he was not familiar anymore; the Great Vowel Shift had of course been long completed by the time Evans was born. Nevertheless, the figures associated with the ‘Hymn,’ from the Renaissance to the early days of Romanticism, all appear to share that tension between Welshness and Britishness.

The particularity of Welsh romantic antiquaries is that, more than their humanist counterparts, they produced an important number of works in English, all while trying to justify the use of that language as the best way to defend and illustrate their own – if not Welsh itself, at least the value of Welsh literature and culture. This, more than the inherent quality of the texts or their subjects, might be the reason why the ‘Hymn’ had a much more important afterlife than, for instance, Penllyn’s poem: though they deploy the same features, Swrdwal’s poem answers to that tension itself, if solely through the prologues that precede the poem⁹³, which in the same way that the foundational myths of Wales were important during the Renaissance gets a new title from Evan Evans – ‘Chwedyl o Rydychen,’ translated in the previous chapter as ‘Anecdote/Legend from Oxford,’ but for which I now propose the alternative ‘Myth from Oxford.’ Just as the myth of Ysgolan was foundational to the antiquarians from the Renaissance, the ‘myth from Oxford’ is foundational to Anglo-Welsh literature not simply because it would be the first poem written in English by a Welshman, whether using Welsh metre or not – it is not, as Tudur Penllyn’s ‘Y Bardd a Saesneg’ predates the ‘Hymn’ – but much rather because it comes with this background of tension between two identities which both are and are not compatible. Swrdwal was a student at Oxford, say the prologues; he studied with English students, even mastered their language as his own, yet was faced with their lack of knowledge of Welsh; Dr. John Davies is in the same situation, as was John Prise, as was Evan Evans, and several known readers of the ‘Hymn’ such as Lewis Morris and Edward Williams. Their challenge, and it grew more important with time, was to conciliate their two languages; the identity of Briton in the ancient sense of the term, and the British identity built primarily in England, but assimilating elements of Welsh tradition into it – as can be seen with Thomas Gray’s ‘The Bard,’ or in the English antiquaries such as Thomas Percy’s interest in ‘neighbouring’ cultures – Celtic with Welsh and Scots, Germanic with Scandinavian and Old

⁹³ Though this is but conjecture, it is highly possible that the poem would have been sooner forgotten were it not for the context given to it in several copies, and no doubt shared between antiquaries who had come across it.

English⁹⁴ languages and texts. The ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ therefore appears as an ancient answer to a modern question: is it possible to conciliate two identities, when they seem to contradict each other? Swrdwal answered that it was, and showed how – by writing in English while being unashamedly Welsh, which was bound to speak to (perhaps somewhat reluctant at times) bilingual speakers.

What emerges from this, however, is an interest in the text – the Welsh metre applied to the English language –, but what of the spelling? From Evans’ correspondence with Percy, it would seem that it was not necessarily noticed or perceived as being Welsh, and his 1772 translation in Panton MS. 42 would therefore appear as a corrected spelling version of the poem; the possibility that Evans simply did not mention it to Percy as it was not relevant to their conversation also exists. Sir John Prise attempted to translate it several times, and Dr. John Davies provided a translation as well much with the same logic as Evans – to be able to share it with English speakers. David Ellis, with the most recent version of the ‘Hymn’ in 1785 found in Cwrtmawr MS. 11, gives both the ‘Welsh’ and the English. The one indication that the spelling of the poem may have been acknowledged is in British Library Additional MS. 14866 by David Jones, with the last words of the (short) prologue asking the reader to ‘read it as Welsh.’ For each manuscript of both the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ and ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes,’ however, regardless of whether there was an attempt at translation or not, it was noted in the previous chapter that some misreadings were due to the Welsh spelling of familiar English words, which would indicate that it did cause some difficulties to the copyists, probably because their fluency in English made the switch between the two difficult. It does not take away from the weight the poem may have had for antiquaries, especially those who were poets: as they were attached to safeguarding relics and specimens of ancient poetry, the fact that a medieval author had already faced the same issue as they were probably was important; the spelling system he used, however, might not have mattered so much, as they were speaking and writing in standard English⁹⁵.

⁹⁴ Which are both treated under the umbrella term of ‘Runic,’ as is the case with Thomas Percy: it did not refer to the writing system (Futhark/Futhorc), but rather to anything Germanic (Smith 2020: 2), with therefore the possibility that Old English might have been perceived as just as foreign to English as Norse could be.

⁹⁵ The spelling-system deployed in these poems may be at times reminiscent of Scots; but it is worth reminding at this point that Scots developed from Old English parallelly to English, and its spelling therefore is not comparable to a ‘Welshed’ English. It is found to be applied to English borrowings into Welsh, however, such as ‘cwestiwn’ (‘question’), ‘inc’ (‘ink’), or ‘tiwlip’ (‘tulip’).

To find signs of interest in the spelling of the ‘Hymn to the Virgin,’⁹⁶ one has to wait for its first printed editions. The first two, destined for a Welsh audience, appear to derive from Evan Evans’ Panton MS. 33, as they use its title: the 1796 article in the *Cambrian Register* refers to the prologue as ‘an old Oxford anecdote,’ and *Yr Hynafion Cymreig* (1823) uses the title ‘Chwedl o Rydychen.’ The last 19th century (1880) copy of the ‘Hymn,’ in *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, treats the poem as an English work which would have been copied in Welsh orthography after its composition, which, though the interpretation is wrong, shows that the focus had moved from the language of the poem to its spelling specifically. The *Cambrian Register* even underlines that the poem is ‘the best record existing of the pronunciation of the English, at the period when it was composed, which was the middle of the fifteenth century, on account of its being chiefly written in the Welsh orthography, which was settled then as it is in the present time’ (Pughe 1796: 299): this is an early precursor, with Furnivall and Ellis following on the same tracks, of what now makes part of the interest in the ‘Hymn,’ i.e. its value in relation to the study of English phonology – see Dobson 1955, 1968. Neither of the two articles comment on the origin of the poem (Furnivall and Ellis even omitting to read the prologue entirely), and the *Cambrian Register*, if it attracts its reader’s attention to the poem’s spelling, does not comment on it either.

Yr Hynafion Cymreig presents the poem without any comments apart from the long prologue copied from Panton MS. 33; however, it does, like the *Cambrian Register*, add footnotes to clarify the meaning of certain lines, as the changed pronunciation of English since the time of composition could have confused readers – the second word of the poem, ‘michti,’ being one of them, with Hughes only supplementing ‘mighty’ in his footnote while the 1796 edition gives the explanation that ‘this word shews that the guttural *ch*, or *gh*, was then sounded by the English at Oxford, as it is now in the Scottish dialect’ (Pughe 1796: 300).

What this exemplifies is the change of audience for the poem as it moves to print: while it existed in antiquarian circles during its manuscript afterlife, and attracted antiquaries who also were poets, or indeed poets who also were antiquaries. As the ‘Hymn’ meets the press, the audience becomes (logically) wider: the *Cambrian Register* still is of antiquarian interest, but destined to be read more than those who would come across the manuscripts in which the poem is found, and is meant to address a wider range of subjects – the ‘Antiquities’ is but a section

⁹⁶ ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes’ having fallen off the radar until the 20th century, with the Thomas Roberts’ edition of Tudur Penllyn’s poems in *Gwaith Tudur Penllyn ac Ieuan ap Tudur Penllyn* and Dafydd Johnson’s *Canu Maswedd yr Oesoedd Canol / Medieval Welsh Erotic Poetry* in 1998.

of the *Register*, sharing its pages with ‘History,’ ‘Biography,’ ‘Ancient Laws,’ ‘Parochial History,’ ‘Topography,’ ‘Naval Affairs,’ ‘Review,’ ‘Letters’ and ‘Poetry,’ spanning across almost 600 pages just for the second volume of the journal. The ‘Hymn’ is treated, as the entry in the table of contents indicates it, as an ‘anecdote’ for the distraction of readers more than the subject of study or reflection. In *Yr Hynafion Cymreig*, it is added to what Hugh Hughes had taken from Peter Roberts’ 1815 *Cambrian Popular Antiquities*: Hughes’ intention for his book, as he outlines them in the address to the reader and the introduction, is to be ‘an encouragement for them [young people] to strive to become acquainted with such Customs and Rituals, which were the main means of keeping the Welsh a separate nation, and prevent them from being completely swallowed up by the various oppressors who tired them before’ (Hughes 1823: iii). The book is therefore specifically addressed to a new audience, and even a young one: by that it can be understood that the readers would not be expected to have any knowledge of Welsh antiquities and ancient poetry, but are rather newcomers to this literature. *Yr Hynafion Cymreig* is written entirely and exclusively in Welsh, and therefore excludes an English audience: it also is explicitly a book of local folklore for local readers, with no scholarly ambitions. It also is worth noting that these first two printed versions of the ‘Hymn’ are also the first which do not have the ‘Hymn’ sitting next to poetry, but rather among a miscellany of works in Welsh from various dates, authors, in different genres, aiming at giving to the reader an overview of their culture. One motif that stays from the manuscript antiquarians from the Renaissance to Romanticism discussed earlier is the desire to show how ancient Wales and its people are, with in *YHC* the idea that these texts would ‘prove the antiquity of the nation, [...] some of them so ancient that it is not known what they refer to if not the creation of the world’ (Hughes 1823: iii) – note, however, how much wider that aim is, from proving the primacy of the Welsh language or poetry to the antediluvian origin of the nation!

Finally, the *Archaeologia Cambrensis* article bridges the gap between Welsh and English (and beyond) scholarship regarding the ‘Hymn.’ Though it is through a mistake on the part of its authors, because there is a possibility that Furnivall and Ellis may not have had as much interest in the poem had they understood it was originally Welsh and not English, it nevertheless brings it to the attention of its (according to the prologues) intended audience: monolingual⁹⁷ English speakers. They do not take note of the Welsh metre, and the Welsh orthography is seen as an afterthought rather than the original and, as a consequence, the Welshness of the poem is erased, reminiscent of the way Welsh cultural elements were

⁹⁷ or at least, people with no knowledge of Welsh

assimilated into a more general concept of Britishness, as discussed by Linda Colley in *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (Colley: 6). From this article by Furnivall and Ellis stems one branch of the current scholarship surrounding the ‘Hymn to the Virgin:’ that most concerned with its value for English phonology and the study of the Great Vowel Shift, with the poem acting as an artefact proving, with the help of the Welsh having a ‘fixed and certain method of speaking the language of their fathers’ (Prise 1573: 10-11) which helps ascertain the lost pronunciation of Middle English, at least in this poem. The second branch of the studies around the ‘Hymn,’ and it is no coincidence that it should concern Welsh scholars rather than English ones, is the study of Anglo-Welsh literature, which from Thomas Parry-Williams to Raymond Garlick places Ieuan ap Hywel Swrdwal as the forefather of Welsh writing in English, therefore tracing a direct line from the Renaissance humanists to the present day in the search for past answers to the present issue of bilingualism in Welsh letters.

The antiquarian contexts of transmission of ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes’ and the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ were therefore in constant evolution as well as varied. There are, of course, similarities between them: their common endeavour was always one of furthering and safeguarding the heritage of Welsh literature written in English, and the creation of copies of these two poems is one part of this. The motivations and audiences have evolved throughout the centuries, from Welsh native humanists to a wider and more varied public including everything from poets to scholars. What emerges most clearly, however, is that this is a community of discourse in evolution rather than definitely separate ones: while there is a difference between Sir John Prise and Evan Evans (if simply in the views they hold regarding the English), the latter belongs to a community that inherits from the former’s. This is the reason why any historical boundaries regarding the afterlife of ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes’ and the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ cannot be but artificial: the interest in the poems *evolved* from one period to the next, rather than with a radical shift.

Chapter 4: Conclusion

Before proceeding further into the conclusion, let there be a reminder of the research questions established in Chapter 1 above: how were these poems, ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes’ by Tudur Penllyn and the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ by Ieuan ap Hywel Swrdwal, written and then transmitted; by who? Why were (specifically) these poems composed and copied at these moments in time? To what outcomes – what afterlife did these poems and their witnesses have? The answers to these questions intersect, and it would not do to answer each question individually. Therefore, the findings of this thesis are as follows:

1. The manuscripts in which ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes’ and the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ are to be found all originate in Wales or within Welsh circles, without exception. The situation is similar for printed versions of the poems: despite a certain amount of interest in the ‘Hymn’ among non-Welsh scholars, there is a difference of treatment between those for which the poem is primarily a textual witness and Welsh publications which still include it among other works of poetry (Garlick and Mathias’ 1982 *Anglo-Welsh Poetry 1480-1990* comes to mind), keeping it in the same context as the manuscripts in which it is found.

When compared to the ‘Hymn,’ ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes’ is relatively unknown: it has been suggested above that the reason for the difference in popularity between the two poems might lie in the presence of a prologue (either long or short) to accompany the former. Ieuan ap Hywel Swrdwal was likely not the first Welsh poet to devise this spelling system to write in English, as Tudur Penllyn’s poem appears to be older; however, the story told of its composition might have made it more appealing than Tudur Penllyn’s broken, humorous dialogue.

Equally of note, this study brought to light the before then unknown copy of the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ which can be found in NLW MS. 13068B, formerly known as Llanover MS. 6, folios 19v-20v. The manuscript is known to have been at some point in the hands of Iolo Morganwg: it is not possible to say whether he read the ‘Hymn,’ or whether he knew about the ‘legend from Oxford’ told in the prologues accompanying it in other manuscripts, without a detailed study of his correspondence, which was not the objective of the present thesis.

2. The orthography deployed in the poems – English written with Welsh letter-values – was not meant to be standardised or perfectly mapping onto the Welsh spelling system; it is possible that it could reveal some phonological specificities for the various copyists’ dialects of English, however this would not have been intentional, and might not be reliable. It was, however, meant to be recognisable: any Welsh speaker looking upon either of the two poems would have known it to have originated from another Welsh speaker, or to have been copied by another Welsh speaker.

In other words, the spelling system of ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes’ and of the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ is a matter of community of practice. When faced with these poems, ‘authors, copyists (scribes, printers), editors and even readers all participate in the construction of [these texts’] meanings in the widest sense, expressed through a set of signs, [... some] marginalised by linguists or even excluded from their consideration altogether [such as] writing-systems in the widest sense’ (Smith 2020: 30-31). The two poems were copied for what the way they were spelt represented: Welsh writers writing in English, that is choosing not to use their native language and yet still remaining different – ‘despite [their] speech, they are not English,’ to quote once more R.S. Thomas’s poem ‘Border Blues.’

The anglicised versions of the poem do not contradict this: they were the work of copyists who had an interest in English, either like Sir John Prise who worked for the English crown, or Evan Evans who desired to share the ‘love of [his] country’ beyond the borders. These copies could only have been produced by copyists who knew Welsh in order to produce a ‘translation.’ They also do not rescind the Welshness of the texts: the metre remains Welsh, and so do the authors, the copyists, and the manuscripts in which the poems are found.

The prologues of the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ seem to indicate that the motivation for the spelling system could be to act as a sort of cypher: the English cannot compose a poem in their own language which would equal that of Ieuan ap Hywel Swrdwal in one that he had to learn, but neither can they read the poem which is meant to prove to them the superiority of the Welsh. This view, however, does not seem to hold: the spelling system is rather more of a visual affirmation of the Welshness of the poems, and of its readers. It belongs to a community of practice and is a sign of inclusion within that community rather than of exclusion: this is at least the purpose it served, regardless of

the original intent. After all, had the authors and then the copyists wanted to write in a language which would be obscure to their English counterparts, they would have written in Welsh.

3. Lastly, the biographies of the different copyists all show an interest in the antiquities. The afterlives of ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes’ and the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ (and perhaps more so that of the latter) are owed to antiquarians collecting literary artefacts and including the two poems among other works of Welsh poetry.

While antiquarians of all horizons had an interest in the recovery of a glorious past, the view that Welsh antiquaries held of the lost greatness of their nation makes them difference. The different foundational stories defended by Welsh humanists defined by Gruffydd (1990: 19-21) all revolve around the Welsh language, as well as the loss of witnesses of this language in the form of bardic poetry, destroyed either from within (Ysgolan) or without (Edward I). The safeguarding of these poems, especially when the two offer a discourse on the position of the Welsh language when faced with English (either in the poem as is the case in Tudur Penllyn’s, or in the prologue for the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’), can therefore be considered as part of the *zeitgeist*, during the Renaissance as well as the romantic period when it comes to the ‘Hymn.’

These poems do not appear to have been central in antiquarian discourse: they were not found in print, and therefore not widespread, before the very end of the 18th century at the earliest and only in this case for the ‘Hymn to the Virgin.’ They were at times mentioned in correspondences, but always as interesting texts, often due to the spelling system used throughout. However, the figures that are associated with them, either as copyists directly or owners of copies, are for some of them important for their periods: Sir John Prise, Llywelyn Siôn, Samuel Williams, the Vaughans, the Morris brothers, Iolo Morganwg, Evan Evans all have been major figures of the antiquarian community in their respective times. Therefore, the poems, and especially the ‘Hymn,’ appear regularly through the centuries as a regular point of interest, as they crystallise a questioning Welsh antiquarians have about their own language and their relation to English, their other language and one that they used gradually more often.

I speake for those, whose Tongues are strange to thee

In thine owne Tongue ; if my words be vnfit,

That blame be mine ; but if Wales better be
By my disgrace, I hold that grace to me.

(Davies 1603; in Garlick 1972: 28)

These four lines from the poem ‘Cambria’ by John Davies of Hereford (c.1565-1618) encapsulate the tension that the Anglo-Welsh poets, from Tudur Penllyn to Dylan Thomas via Evan Evans, incarnate: the expression of the love of their country and of what it means for them to be Welsh in a language which is not, and could even appear with regards to history to be a menace to it. For despite the best efforts at forging a British nation, to use the expression of Linda Colley (1992), what emerges from the antiquarian efforts discussed in this thesis is that, in the words of the poet R.S. Thomas, those partaking in Anglo-Welsh writing are ‘despite [their] speech’ (‘Border Blues’) ‘Not British; certainly / Not English, Welsh / With all the associations’ (‘Expatriates’): the use of English is, when it is not their native language as was the case for Thomas and Iolo Morganwg/Edward Williams, is a means to speak their difference to those who they suspect might not see it, whether consciously or not.

Both Tudur Penllyn and Ieuan ap Hywel Swrdwal appear as precursors of the need to express Welshness to English speakers: if Penllyn uses a humorous tone and a traditional theme (rejection poetry, so dear to Dafydd ap Gwylim), Swrdwal invokes the mediatrix Virgin Mary herself to his aid – but, most importantly, is depicted to be doing so after his fellow English student at Oxford start deriding the Welsh. This might be the last reason why his poem and not Penllyn’s got the longest longevity: the latter’s Tudur in the poem is the one who assaults the Englishwoman, while Swrdwal is defending the value of Welsh scholarship and poetry, which corresponds to the views shared by the antiquaries who copied the poem from the Renaissance to the end of the 18th century.

For the afterlife of a text does not depend exclusively on the text itself, but on the way it echoes the concerns of those who read it: as it became increasingly unavoidable for native Welsh speakers to not be bilingual in English as well (to the point when some would be Welsh and monolingual English speakers nevertheless, such as Dylan Thomas), the need to reconcile what appeared to be two identities, expressed first and foremost by their two languages, grew. The ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ and especially its prologues appear to have inspired descendants, but it must be noted that, despite its originality, its spelling appears to have been but secondary to the actors of its afterlife. A few poems that have been mentioned above deploy a similar orthography, but the vast majority of Anglo-Welsh literary production does without the cypher

of Welsh letter-values, which prevents it from doing its purpose: that of communicating Welshness to those who do not understand it, as those who do already do it in Welsh. Why would they write in English among themselves, if they share a preferred language?

Interestingly, perhaps ironically, the spelling system of these early Anglo-Welsh poems is of use to the English philologist, both for the history of English phonology, but also to survey the relationship that Welsh speakers had to their second language: what emerges, perhaps unsurprisingly, is that they too fall victims to the use of Welsh letter-values which obscure the meaning of the poem, even for them who master both languages. Reading the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ (and ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes’) does not only require one to be bilingual in both Welsh and English, but also familiar with both Middle English and Early Modern English, and most importantly to have knowledge of the evolution of English at the time in terms of pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary, which though not impossible to expect from a scholar of any era nevertheless goes beyond the boundaries of bilingualism.

This creates a multitude of versions, or *variantes*, of the poems: not because they are as changed as the medieval texts which Cerquiglini (1989) concerns himself with, though some lines are added and others are lost, but because each copy of both poems is unique to its copyist, and sometimes even unique to the copy even when it is in the same hand: the Evan Evans who copies the ‘Hymn’ in Panton MS. 33, preceded by its prologue and in Welsh orthography while probably working on his *Specimens of the Poetry of the Antient Welsh Bards*, is not the same Evan Evans who copies the same poem in English spelling in Panton MS. 42, in 1772 which is the year of publication of ‘The Love of our Country.’ His earlier copy of the poem is one for the anecdote, and perhaps more motivated by the presence of the prologue accompanying the poem than by the poem itself, though he sees its values and shares it in his correspondence with Thomas Percy; the later version of the poem is fully anglicised because at this point, Evans had probably formed his opinion on what mattered most when writing Welsh poetry in English. However, just as *variantes* are versions of a same text, these poems remain the same, and appear to have attracted the attention of antiquaries and scholars all for similar reasons.

I will invoke here the term of *relecture*, French for both ‘proofreading’ and ‘rereading,’ which involves reading a text anew, revising it, and reappropriating it, which is what constitutes the afterlives of Tudur Penllyn’s and Ieuan ap Hywel Swrdwal’s poems, and how the *variantes* of these texts came to be. Each new version proposes a new point of view on the text, changed by the experience of its copyist; the poems are thus in constant reappropriation by the

communities of discourse who re-discover them, in *relecture*, where their meaning changes slightly depending on who writes it, and who reads it. The intimacy of a commonplace book offers a different view of the text from the wide distribution of the printed page, and their authors (perhaps subconsciously) know it. Overall, those who propose a *relecture* of ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes’ and the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ fall under the umbrella term of antiquarians, specifically Welsh, from the Renaissance to the Romantic period, endeavouring to preserve native antiquities from disappearing. The two periods are important to name: the Renaissance sees the appearance of this concern, which from the manuscript dates lasts until the mid-17th century, after which a full century elapses before this desire for the *relecture* of their heritage emerges among the romantics. These waves of interests, however long-lasting, are inscribed in atmospheres of a European-wide quest for the proof of the greatness of one’s nation (a good example of which being the Victorian interest in the Celtic figure of Boudicca in the 19th century), and the Welsh, though often englobed as being part of Britain, were no strangers to this. If the humanists of the Welsh Renaissance seem to have had an impact mostly located in Wales, which was their main ambition – showing the Welsh what treasures were theirs –, from the 18th century the exchanges with the English antiquarians, such as the correspondence between Evan Evans and Thomas Percy, cause Welsh culture to travel beyond its native borders, and even though it remained a rather intimate poem, the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ to attract the interest of non-Welsh antiquarians and scholars.

A common motif in the review of the afterlife, or afterlives, of ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes’ and even more so of the ‘Hymn to the Virgin,’ when it comes to their copyists, their concerns, and their endeavours, is that of loss: in the words of Philip Schwyzer (2004: 80-81), ‘the Welsh nation [is] conceived and constituted as a community of longing, united by a collective orientation toward its own vanished antiquity.’ This, in the scope of the present work, translates as the quest for a precedent: the proof that the poets of old could combine their two identities (Welsh and English/British), and that there is a way to embrace the English language without alienating one’s Welsh culture. It echoes what Sir John Prise underlines himself in the Welsh people: the devotion to the preservation of their past through record-keeping and bardic lore and poetry, preserved through the resistance to change of their language, of which he took great pride when comparing it to English (ibid.: 88). The loss is that of a monolingual Wales, and of an era before Edward I and any invasion: it is perpetuated in myths of bibliocausts, bardicides, and self-harming bards such as the figure of Ysgolan, and in an interesting turn of events, it is being kept alive as the main motivation for the work of antiquaries – and the loss becomes lore.

In that regard, antiquaries may be seen less as sole collectors (and occasional forgers) of historical items, but as important actors in the study of history. Not only do they unearth and maintain texts and knowledge which may otherwise have been easily overlooked, but they show it in a light which, tainted with their outlook on their world, is valuable to the modern student of the past. As put by Rosemary Hill in *Time's Witness* (2021: 8), 'later generations of professional historians have not generally cared to acknowledge their debt to antiquarianism, perhaps because they see the antiquaries like embarrassing elderly relatives whom one would rather keep out of sight,' summarising this phenomenon as 'the condescension of posterity' (Hill 2021: 5). It is indeed easy to dismiss antiquaries' views and works as unscientific and more than occasionally partisan, as evidenced in this thesis: however, this is where the value of antiquaries' accounts and works lie.

This is the last salient point found in this thesis: the tension between two identities is doubled by the tension between lore and history. The poems have their place in history: they were composed by living poets, of whom we (and the copyists) have biographies, other works surviving, and they were transmitted by similar persons according to the different contexts in which they evolved. It is however difficult to omit the fact that, less than history, Welsh antiquarianism was preoccupied with lore: it is particularly obvious in the Renaissance, as the transmission, preservation, and defence of the foundational myths of Wales were as important as genealogies and actual history – knowing that even genealogies, when going far back enough, were made to include legendary ancestors, some of them fictional. It is no less fundamental in the romantics, as evidenced with Iolo Morganwg, who created tradition through forgery, the bardic chair of his Eisteiddfod still being withheld to the present day. At their own level, the two poems of Tudur Penllyn and Ieuan ap Hywel Swrdwal, and especially that of the latter, also answer to the same logic: what imports in their transmission is the story that goes with it, the identity of the author is not always certain or ascertained, and when there are prologues, he even goes unnamed. The bard is, however, he who preserves the culture and traditions of his country through the use of language, even if it means facing the English 'yn [eu] iaith [eu] un,' 'in their own language,' even if the battle seems all but lost – very much rejoining the figure of Sir Walter Scott's last minstrel, and Thomas Gray's bard who drew his inspiration from the Welsh.

Appendices

Note on the symbols used in the manuscript transcriptions

In order to facilitate the transcription of the poems presented in these appendices, I have used several symbols to indicate features of the manuscripts. Here is a key to these conventions:

[a] letter(s) or word(s) added by a different hand than the copyist's; alternatively, when indicating a different hand or ink, my words.

<a> letter(s) or word(s) supplied by me, because they are barely legible, missing, or part of an abbreviation.

^a letter(s) or word(s) written above the line, but not above other word(s) or letter(s).

(a)e the letter(s) or word(s) between parentheses written over by the letter(s) or word(s) immediately following.

⌘ letter(s) or word(s) struck through by the copyist.

a letter(s) or word(s) underlined in the manuscript.

↑a↑ the letter(s) or word(s) between the arrows are written above the preceding letter(s) or word(s).

↓a↓ the letter(s) or word(s) between the arrows are written below the preceding letter(s) or word(s).

Any other symbol, including diacritics, is used to better reflect the punctuation and spelling used in each manuscript.

I. Transcriptions of ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes’

Llanstephan MS. 6

[top of the page is cut, and so is the title] Cywydd ... <?yfay?>

dydd daed saysnes gyffes gain

yrwyf yth gary vy riain

What saist mane hebr honou

ffor truthe harde wailsman J trow

dyro wen ferth loyferch lan

amay gas ymi gysan

kyste the dyfyl whate kansto doe

I leafe alon wosorowe

gad yr llaw dau godir llen [/ lleu]

dy glywed ddyn deg lawen

J am not wels thowe wailsmane

ffor byde the lete mi alone

na vydd chwimwth ym gwthiau [/ gwthian]

vay arian llydau om llaw

J holde the made byrladi

ffurth J wyl do non ffor thei

pas meddwn mi aroddwn rod

<...>yn dyn er myned ynod

<.....> harm to be the paramoure

<..... ?>n ye shalbe kald hwre

<.....> saesnes gyffes gy

<..... ?>yn vynd y vyny

<.....> shrowe the twtil

<.....> re mi sore hile

<.....> aysnic saysnes

<.....> ynes

[in red:] kywydd yffan gwa[illegible]

bytherwde ele make the blodū
anon J wyle plucke oute thy nei
gad ym vyned yth gedor
hyd y groes onyd does dor
thewe shalt not pas be saynt asaf
ffor the lif J have a knyffe knave
jaddyn ay kenady ddwyd
y dydyr ay na dy dwyd

[in gothic lettering imitation]

Tydyr Penllyn ai kant

Cardiff Free Library MS. 5.44, *Y Llyfr Hir Llanharan*

- h Dydd daed saesnes gynnes gain
ir wyf yth gair riain
- A hwat sest mon hebe honno
ffor truth a-wes Welshman j tro
- h dyro wennferch loewserch lan
amar gas i mi Gŷsan
- A kys the defl hŵat hast tw dw
syr let a lon wyth sorw
- h gad ir llaw dan godir llen
dy glywed ddyn deg lawen
- A j am not welsh thow welshmon
ffor bid thi let mŷ a lon
- h na vydd chwimwth yn gwthiaw
kar arian llydan om llaw
- A j howld thŷ mad byr ladi
ffwrdd j wyl dw non fford thŷ
- h pes meddwn mi roddwn rod
myn dyn [illegible]⁹⁸ myned ynw
- A tŷs harm tw bŷ thŷ parmwr
kold hain j shiawl bŷ kawld hwr
- h gad ym saesnes gynnes gu
vondew vun vynd I vynŷ
- A owt owt byshrow thy towtil
syr how bŷ war my sor hil
- h navydd ddig saesneg saesnes
y vyn gad ddyvod i nes
- A by thrwd jl mak thy blwdi
a non jl plwk owt thyn yi
- h gad ym vyned ych gedor
hed y groes oni does dor

⁹⁸ As this was the microfilm copy

- A thow shiawl not pass myn sant asaf
 ffor thy liyf j haf a kniff knaf
- h jo dduw aü karniady ddwyd
 o Dydür aü nid ydwyd

Tydür Penllyn
ai kant 84

Peniarth MS. 104

Kowydd rhwng ?gnor /a/ Saesnes

Dydd da ir Saesnes gyffes gain

ir wyf ith gartu rhiaïn

what sayest thou man eb honno

ffor truth thou art welshman i tro

moet y wenferch loywferch lan

amen ar gais mi gisan

kisse the divel what kanst thou dwe⁹⁹

syr lett alone with sorowe

gad ir llaw dan godi yr llên

dy glowed fyn deg awen

J am not milsh thou welshman

J bid thee let me alone

na fydd chwimwth im gwthiaw

kei ariain llydain am llaw

J hould thee mad byr ladea

ffor the n^{ow100}Jle doe not ffor thee

pei meddwn mi roddwn rod¹⁰¹

myn dyn er kael mynd yned

it is harme to bee a / paramwr

hould /i/ should be kald a / hwr

na fydd ddig sisnig saesnes

yn war gad ddowad yn nes

J bid beshro thy bodye

ffar the vce ile do not ffor thee

paid /a/ chwipio wiwdo wedd

diwin duw dy winedd

Jle drawe blod of thy body

anon and pwl out thine ey

⁹⁹ There seems to have been a <o> replaced with first “lock” of <w>

¹⁰⁰ The letters following <n> (which I think may be <ow>) are very small

¹⁰¹ There seems to have been a or <l> instead of <r>

gad im saesnes gynes gu
 fondew fyn fynd /i/ fynu
 out out beshro thy towtille
 syr ho war my sore hile
 gad im fyned ith ge dor¹⁰²
 hyd y groes onid oes dor
 thou shal not passe by assaf<?y?e>
 for thy liffe /i/ have /a/ kniffe knave
 O dduw ai kamad r ddwyd
 i / dudur ai nad ydwyd

Tudur Penllyn

[different hand, ink:] Hugh Lewis

Hugh

[different hand, ink:] Rem<illegible>

[different hand, ink:]

gysan

Mons yn gyfan moes gant ar finnes
 moes fenaidd im drichans
 moes im filoedd diwn foliant
 moes im ei moes ar fy mant

scriptum p <illegible>

¹⁰² Ink somewhat erased here

Llanstephan MS. 47

Dydd daed saesnes gynnes gain
 ir wyf yth garu riain
 hwat sest mon hebe honno
 ffor truth a welsman j tro
 dyw wennferch loewferch lan
 amar gas I mi gŷsan
 kys the difl hwat hast tw dw
 syr let a lon with sorw
 gad ir llaw dan godi r llem
 dy glywed ddyn deg lawen
 j am not wels thow welsmon
 ffor bid the let me a lon
 na bydd chwimwth yn gwthiaw
 kar arian llydan om llaw
 j howld thi mad byr ladi
 ffwrdd j wyl dw non ffor thi

 pes meddwn mi roddwn rod
 myn dyn er myned ynod
 tys harm tw bŷ thi parmwr
 kowld hain j siawl bŷ kawld hwr
 gad ym saesnes gynnes gu
 vondew vun vynd i vym
 owt owt bisrow thi towtil
 syr how bŷ war mŷ sor hil
 na vydd ddig saesnig saesnes
 y myn gad ddyvod i nes
 bŷ ddrwg jl mak thi blwdi
 a nonn jl plwk owt thi n ei
 gad ym vyned yth gedor
 hed y groes onyd oes dor
 thow siawl not pas myn sant asaf
 ffor thi liff j haf a kniff knaf

jo ddüw ai kaniadý ddwyd
y Dydyr ai nyd ydwyd

Tydyr penllyn
ai kant 188

Llanstephan MS. 122

58 Cyw: ymddiddau rhwng y Bardd

21 a Saesnes

Dydd da yt Saesnes gynnes gain
i rwy ich garu riain

y Saes: what saiest mon eber hono
thou art a welshmon I tro

y Bardd. moes meinferch loywserch lan
amen a gais i mi gysan

y Saes: cisse the divell what canst thou doe
syr let alone my sorrow

y Bardd. gad ïr llaw dan godi 'r llen
dy glowed ddyn deg lawen

y Saes: I am not milke you Welshmon
I bid you let me alone

y Bardd. na fydd eñ chwimth im gwthiau
cei arian llydan om llaw

y Saes: I bid beshrow thy body
fane then I will not doe for thee

y Bardd. pei medrwn mi a roddwn rôd
myn dyn er cael mynd ynod

y Saes: yt is harne b be a Paramoore
coulede I should be called a whoore

y Bardd. na fydd ddig Seisnig saesnes
yn wâr gad ddyfod yn nes

y Saes: I houlde thee mad by 'r ladie
thou knafe withdraw thon thy knee

- y Bar: paid a chripio wiwd wedd
diwimil duw dy winedd
- y S. I will draw blood of thy bodie
a non and pull out thyne eye
- y B. gad ym saesnes gymes gu
ffondew ffin fynd i fyne
- y S. out out bishrowe thy towthill
Syr hô wâre my sore hîl
- y B. gad ym fyned i'th godor
hyd y groes onid oes dôr
- y S. thou shalt not passe by St Asaph
for thy life I have a knife knave
- y B. 19 o dduw ai caniadu ir wyd
i Dudur, ai nid ydwyd?

Tudur Aled ai cant. Tudur Penllyn medd eraill

Llanstephan MS. 134, *Y Llyfr hir o'r Mwythig*

- h Dydd daed saesnes gynnes gain¹⁰³
ir wyf yth garu riain
- a hwat sest mon ebe honno
ffor truth a Welsman j tro
- h dyro wennferth loewserch lan
amau gas i mi gusan
- a kys the deifl what hast thow twdw
syr let a lon with for w
- h gad ir llaw dau godir llenn
dy glywed ddyn deg lawen
- a j am not ~~welsh~~ in health thow welshman
ffor byd thy let my a lon
- h na vydd chwimwth yn gwthiaw
kar arian llydan om llaw
- a j howld thi mad byrladi
ffordd j wil dw non ffor thi
- h pes meddwn mi a roddwn kod
myn dyn er myned ynod
- a tys harm tw by they parmwr
kowld hain j shiawl by kawld hwr
- h gad hym saesnes gynnes gu
vondew vun vyndy vyny
- a owt owt bishrow they towtyl
syr how by war my sor hyl
- h na vydd ddig saesnig saesnes
y myn gad ddyvod I nes
- a by ddrwg jl mak thy blwdy
a non j wyl plwk thyn ej

¹⁰³ Next to the first four lines:

llyma gywydd
o hawl ag ateb
rhwng kymrio
a Saesnes

- h gad ym vyned yth gedor
 vod y groes onid oes dor
- a thow shiawlt not pas myn sant asaf
 ffor they liff j haf a kniff knaf
- h jo ddün aü kaniady ddwyd
 i Dydür aü nid ydwyd

Tydür penllyn

ai kant 89

Llanstephan MS. 133

Cywydd ymddiddan rhwng Tudur Penllyn
a Saesnes ynghylch mynd arni

Dydd da yt' Saesnes gyffes gain

Yr wyf i'th garu riain

What sayst mōn eb yr honno

Of truth thou Welshman I tro

Dyro wēn ferch loyw ferch lân

Ame gais i mi gusan

Kiss the Devil what canst thou do

Syr let alone wyth sorrow

Gad i'r llaw dan godi'r llen

Dy glywed ddyn deg lawen

I know no Welsh thou Welshmon

Sorrow to thee¹⁰⁴ let me a lone

Na fydd chwimwth I'm gwthiaw

Cai arian llydan yn llaw

Behold thy mate by our Lady

I hold thee mad¹⁰⁵

Hence thou I am not for thee

Pe meddwn mi roddwn rot

Mŷn Duw er cael mynd y not yn

Tis harm to be a harmer

For God I should be call'd a whore

Gad im' Saesnes gyffes gu

Fordew fun, fun'd i fynu

untill

Syr beware my Sorry he¹⁰⁶ fore

Bydd ddiddig Seisnig Saesnes

Fy nŷn gad ddyfod yn nes

Abide beshrew thy body

¹⁰⁴ Second <e> added afterwards

¹⁰⁵ Either a later correction by the same scribe, or maybe alternate reading?

¹⁰⁶ Second <e> added afterwards

O thou knave draw hence thy knee

P aid a'th grippio wmgo wedd

Diwynid Duw dy 'wynedd

I'l draw blood of thy body

Anon i'l put out thine eye

Gad im' fyned i'th gedor

Hyd dy groes onid oes ddr

Thou shouldst pass by S^t Asaph

Thy life had I a knife knave

Ie Dduw di caniadhau 'dd wyt

I Dudur Enaid ydwyth.

ai nid

Tudur Penllyn a'i cant.

Table 14: Comparison of the English lines in all six manuscripts of ‘Y Bardd a Saesnes,’ as well as in Canu Maswedd yr Oesoedd (Johnson 1998)

Line n°; MS	Llanstephan 6	Llanharan	Peniarth 104
Line 3	What saist mane hebr honou	hwat sest mon hebe honno	what sayest thou man eb honno
Line 4	ffor truthe harde wailsman J trow	ffor truth a-wes Welshman j tro	ffor truth thou art welshman i tro
Line 7	kyste the dyfyl whate kansto doe	kys the deffl hwat hast tw dw	kisse the divel what kanst thou dwe
Line 8	I leafe alon wosorowe	syr let a lon wyth sorw	syr lett alone with sorowe
Line 11	J am not wels thowe wailsmone	j am not welsh thow welshmon	J am not milsh thou welshman
Line 12	ffor byde the lete mi alone	ffor bid thi let my a lon	J bid thee let me alone
Line 15	J holde the made byrladi	j howld thy mad byr ladi	J hould thee mad byr ladea
Line 16	ffurth J wyl do non ffor thei	ffwrdd j wyl dw non ffordd thy	ffor the n ^{ow} Jle doe not ffor thee
Line 19	[.....] harm to be the paramoure	tys harm tw by thy parmwr	it is harne to bee a / paramwr
Line 20	[.....] ?n ye shalbe kald hwre	kold hain j shiawl by kawld hwr	hould /i/ should be kald a / hwr
Line 23	[.....] shrowe the twil	owt owt byshrow thy towil	J bid beshro thy bodye
Line 24	[.....] re mi sore hile	syr how by war my sor hil	ffar the vce ile do not ffor thee
Line 27	bytherwde ele make the blodū	by thrwd j mak thy blwdi	Jle drawe blod of thy body
Line 28	anon J wyle plucke oute thy nei	a non jl plwk owt thyn yi	anon and pwl out thine ey
Line 31	thewe shalt not pas be saynt asaf	thow shiawl not pass myn sant asaf	out out beshro thy towille
Line 32	ffor the lif J have a knyffe knave	ffor thy lyf j haf a knif knaf	syr ho war my sore hile
Line 35			thou shal not passe by assaf[?y?e]
Line 36			for thy liffe /i/ have /a/ kniffe knave

Llanstephan 47	Llanstephan 122	Llanstephan 134	Llanstephan 133
hwat sest mon hebe honno	what saiest mon eber hono	hwat sest mon ebe honno	What sayst mòn eb yr honno
ffor truth a welsman j tro	thou art a welshmon I tro	ffor truth a Welsman j tro	Of truth thou Welshman I tro
kys the diffl hwat hast tw dw	cisse the divell what canst thou doe	kys the deiffl what hast thou twdw	Kiss the Devil what canst thou do
syr let a lon with sorw	syr let alone my sorrow	syr let a lon with for w	Syr let alone wyth sorrow
j am not wels throw welsmon	I am not milke you Welshmon	j am not wetst in health throw	I know no Welsh thou Welshmon
ffor bid the let me a lon	I bid you let me alone	ffor byd thy let my a lon	Sorrow to thee let me a lone
j howld thi mad byr ladi	I bid beshrow thy body	j howld thi mad byrladi	<u>Behold thy mate</u> by our Lady
ffwrdd j wyl dw non ffor thi	fane then I will not doe for thee	ffordd j wil dw non ffor thi	Hence thou I am not for thee
tys harm tw by thi parnwr	yt is harme b be a Paramore	tys harm tw by they parnwr	Tis harm to be a harner
kowld hain j siawl by kawld hwr	coude I should be called a whoore	kowld hain j shiawl by kawld hwr	For God I should be call' d a whore
owt owt bisrow thi towtil	I houlde thee mad by ' r ladie	owt owt bishrow they towtyl	untill
syr how by war my sor hil	thou knafe withdraw thon thy knee	syr how by war my sor hyl	Syr beware my Sorry he'el
by ddrwg jl mak thi blwdi	I will draw blood of thy bodie	by ddrwg jl mak thy blwdy	Abide beshrew thy body
a nonn jl plwk owt thi n ei	a non and pull out thyne eye	a non j wyl plwk thyn ej	O thou knave draw hence thy knee
thow siawl not pas myn sant asaf	out out bishrowe thy towthill	thow shiawlt not pas myn sant asaf	I' l draw blood of thy body
ffor thi liiff j haf a kniff knaf	Syr hô wâre my sore hil	ffor they liiff j haf a kniff knaf	Anon i' l put out thine eye
	thou shalt not passe by st Asaph		Thou shouldst pass by S' Asaph
	for thy life I have a knife knave		Thy life had I a knife knave

	<i>Canu Maswedd yr Oesoedd Canol</i>	<i>CMOC - translation</i>
	"What saist, mon?" ebe honno,	"What do you say, man?" she said
	For truthe, harde Welsman I tro."	"for truth, you're a Welshman I think."
	"Kyste dyfyl, what kansto doe,	"Kiss the devil, what are you doing,
	sir, let alone with sorowe."	sir, stop your mischief."
	"I am not Wels, thow Welsmon,	"I don't speak Welsh, you Welshman,
	for byde the, lete me alone."	stop it, leave me alone."
I hold thee mad ¹⁰⁷	"I holde thi mad byrladi,	"I reckon you're mad, by our lady
	forth, I wyl do non for thi."	go away, I'll do nothing for you."
	"Tis harm to be thy parnwr,	"It's bad to be your paramour,
	howld hain, I shalbe kalde hwr."	stop you rogue, I'll be called a whore."
	"Owl, owl bisherewe thy twile,	"Out, out! beshrew your shouting,
	sir, how, ware my sore hile."	sir, ho, beware my sore heel."
	"By the rode I'll make the blodei,	"By the rood I'll make you bloody,
	anon I wyle plucke oute thyn ei."	I'll soon pluck out your eye,"
	"Thowe shalt not pas, be Saynt Asaf,	"You shall not pass, by Saint Asaph,
	for thy lyf I have a knyfe knave."	for your life I have a knife, knave."

¹⁰⁷ Alternate reading given in Llanstephan MS. 33.

II. Transcriptions of ‘The Hymn to the Virgin’

Balliol College MS. 353

f. 1r

1

O mýchtí Ladí owr leding to have
 at hevyn our abeyding
 ynto thy fest everlesting
 wy sett a branche us to bring

Ar:11

f. 1v

Ei tel tu iow, as sŵm du siow
 as now ei trow wi w yws nót right
 a boi wyð bow hys lwks so low
 how mae ei know fro hým a knight
 Dý trywth ýs kýt th ðát yrd ys cást
 ddei índs by lást t ddei hands by light
 o gód sét hýt gúd as ýt wás
 ddeí rywl dwth pás ddy world hadd píght
 A prettí thíng wi prai tu thest
 ðát gúd byhest dát god byhight
 and he vs fíng yntu hys fest
 that evyr shál lest wyð deivers light
 ddy world e awae ys dŵn as dae
 yt ys no nae yt ys nei níght a sowl ei sae ei wish yn ffæ
 ild a gúd mae wuld gód ei might
 awar wi wld ðy ffyndys ffold
 and by not hold wyð a band tíght
 ddy iwng and old wyð hým ðey hold
 ddy Jues háð sold pás Jesus híght
 wi tryst di kreist ðát werst a crown

er wi dei down owr redi dight
 tu thank tu át ðei rwd tri
 ðan went ál wi ðy nwn tu light
 tu grawnt agri a mán ↑amen↑ wyð mí
 t ðát ei mae si ði tu mei sight.

f. 63r

<after> the english Almighty Ladie leding to hav
 <aft>er the welsh A Almighti ladi ledíng to haf
 hevȳn at our ending.
 hevyn att owr ending. als. at hevyn o<ur> abeyding
 Into thy feste everlesting
 yn tw ddei ffest evyrlesting
 I sett us to bring
 • ws tw bring
 I wynne this with blysse thy blessing of god
 ei wynn ddys wydd blyss thei blessing of god
 for our good abearíng
 ffor owr gwd abéríng
 where ye been for yo<ur> wenyng
 hwir i byn ffor yowr wyning
 syns quene and thy soonne is king
 syns quyn and thei swnn ýs king
 Owr old forfather owr feeding owr pure
 owr old fforffaddyr owr ffyding owr pywr
 on ow o<ur> pp pappes hath sucking
 ón owr páps hadd swcking.
 who wedde such with a rich ring
 hwo wéd sits wyd a ryts ring
 as god made this gaye wedding
 as god maed th ddýs gae wedding.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸ Underneath this line follow two additional ones in Welsh, barely legible, which Dobson describes as 'scribblings' (1955: 74)

f. 88v

Owr Luck owr kÍng owr lock owr kaí
 mei gód ei prai mei geíd upright
 ei syk ei sing ei siak ei sai
 ei wer awai a wiri wight
 agast ei go mei frynds mi ffro
 ei ffownd a ffo wyð ffynd ei ffight
 ei síng also ýn welth ýn wo
 ei kán no mo to quyn o might.

Howel Surdevall sang ít

f. 136r

Almighty Lady our leadinge to have att heven our abydinge,
 unto thy feast everlastinge, thou sett a branche,
 us to bringe,

British Library Additional MS. 14866

Llyma owdyl arall i dduw, ag i fair, a wnaeth kymbro yn Rhudychen wrth ddysgu. Achos dwedyd o un or season and oedd na mesur na chynghanedd ynghymbraeg. Yntau ai atebod, i gwnai ef gerdd o saesnaeg ar vesur a chynghanedd kymbraeg, fal na fedrei 'r sais, nag yr un oi gyfeillion wneythur moi math yn i hiaith i hunein: ac i canodd ef val i canlyn. Ond am fy mod i'n scrivennu'r llyfr hwn oll ag orthographi kymbraeg e gaiff hyn o saesneg ganlyn yn llwybr ni: darllenwch hi val kymbraeg.

O meichti ladi, owr leding / tw haf
 at hefn owr abeiding,
 in-tw thei ffest efrlesting,
 i set a braents, ws tw bring.

yw wan~ ddy↑u↑s, wyth blûs, dde blessing / off god,
 ffor ywr gwd abering:
 wher yw bunn, for yw'r wunning,
 syns kwin, and ywr sonn ûs king.

Owr fforffadders ffadder, owr ffiding / owr po<p>
 on ywr paps had swcking,
 in hefn blûs, ffor ddûs thing,
 attendans wythowt ending.

We↑e↑↑i↑ sing to↑w↑ breicht king, wyth coning / and bli<s>
 ddei blossom ffruwt bering;
 Ei wowld, as owld as ei sing,
 win ywr lof, on yowr lafing.

Qwin od, off owr god, owr geiding / modder
 mayden not wyth-standing,
 who wed sich↑ts↑, wyth a rich↑ts↑ ring,
 as god wad t ddus gwd weding.

Help ws, prae ffor ws, prefferring
 owr sowls, assoel ws at ending.

mak ddat awl, wi ffwal to fffing fffing for ffeind
 ywr sons lof, owr syns lefing.

As we wi mae, dde dae off owr deiing, resef
 owr saviowr in howsling [Bedd]
 as he↑i↑ mae tâk ws wâking,
 tw hûm in hûs meichti whing.

1¹⁰⁹ O[ff] meicht hi twk, mi ocht to tel
 owt, sowls off hel, tw soels off heig↑c↑ht.
 Wi aish wyth bŵk : wi wish with bel
 tw hefn ffwl wel : tw haf on ffleig↑c↑ht.

Awl dids wel dwn : t'abeid te bwn
 a god mad trwn : a gwd mît wreight.
 and se so sŵn : and north and nŵn
 and synn and mŵn : and so non meight

2 as sŵn as preid : is now swpprest
 his hel is pe↑a↑st, his sowl is peight.
 ei tel tw io / as swm do↑w↑ shio
 as now ei tro / wi uws not reight.

a boe wyth bo /, hys lŵcks ys lo /,
 how mae uw kno / ffrom hym a knig kneight

3 dde th truwth ûs yt, ddat iyrth is cast,
 dde en↑d↑s bi last, dde hands bi light.

¹⁰⁹ From that point, the stanzas are numbered in the manuscript.

o god set yt / gwd as yt was,
 dde rywyl doth pas / th dde wo↑r↑ld hath peight

4. a pretti thing / we prae to thest, that good behest / that god be height || no...
 and hi ws ffing, untw hiys ffest
 ddat efr shawl lest / wyth deifyrs leight.

dde wo↑r↑ld awae / is dwn as dae,
 yt ys no nae / yt ys nei neight.
 as owld ei sae ., ei was in ffae /
 eild a gwd mae / wowld god ei meight
 a wâr wi wowld the dde syns ddeû sowld3 /
 an' bi not bowld / in a bant height.

and iwng and owld wyth hymn they howld /
 dde g↑J↑ews has sowld / ddat J↑g↑esus height

- 6 o gJesuw Creist / ddat werst a crown /
 and wi dei down / a wedi deight.
 (here laketh a vers for it
 was not in my copi/)
 tw thank tw thi / at the rwd tri
 went all wi. wntw thi leight.

7. ovr kŵk ovr king / ovr cok ovr cae ;
 mei god, ei prae / mei geid up-reight.
 ei sick, ei sing / ei shiâk ei sae
 ei wêr awae / a weiri weight.
 ei gainst ei go / me↑i↑i ffrinds mi ffro /
 a ffond a ffo / wyth ffend ei ffeight
 ei sing also / in welth and wô
 ei can no mô / tŵ kwin ô meight.

o meighti ladi etc.

kymerwch fi yn esgusodol
 er nad yw yr owdyl hon
 yma yn gwbl ac yn iawn
 ni fedrais i weled ond hyn,
 mew'n hen gopi gida S. vychan.¹¹¹

Jeuan ap hywel Swardwal
 ai cant. medd ereill
 Jeuan ap Rytherch ap Joan lloyd.¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰ Translation: 'Ieuan ap Hywel Swardwal sang this, others say Ieuan ap Rhydderch ap Ieuan Llwyd.'

¹¹¹ Translation: 'Excuse me for this ode is not complete and correct, I was not able to see [anything else] but this in an old copy by S. Fychan.'

Peniarth MS. 96

in English owdl vair

Awl michti ladi owr leding to hav H.S.

heven owr a beiding

in to the ffeest ever lestring

ei sett a braens vs to bring.

ei win thys wyth blys the blessing / off god

ffor yowr godod a bering

Whwer ei bynn ffor yowr wininnng

Syns gwin g↑i↑ving and yowr sonn ys king

owr owld ffer ffader owr ffiding / owr pob

onn yowr paps hath swking

in hevn blvs too had thȳs thing

a tendens wythowt ending

helpws prae ffor ws preffering owr sowls

a soel ws at owr ending

mak awll that wi ffa↑w↑l to ffinng

Iowr sonn'↑s↑ lov owr syns leving.

as wee mae the doe off deing / resevd

owr saviwr in howsling

as hee mae tackws wacking
to hym in hys michti whwing

Michti tak mee ocht too tel
owr sowls off hel to soels off heicht
wee as with bwks wi wys wyth bel
to hevn ffwl wel to hav onn fflicht
awl dids wel doonn / ddo bid ddo a bonn
a good matron a good maed reicht
and see so sonn and north and non
a sonn a nonn so in onn micht

ei tel too yow as sonn doo siow
as now ei tro wee see not ryght
a boi wyth bow hys lwks so low
how mae i know ffrom hym a knicht

the trovwth is kytt thatt yrd is kast
nei nids bey last theei hands bee leicht
a god sett yt good as yt was
they rvwl doth pas the world hath picht

a preti thing wee prae to thest
that good by hest thad god bee heicht

and hi vs ffein ynto hys ffest
 thas ever siffawl lest wyth deivers licht

the world awaey is dwnn as day
 i tis no naey / it vs nei neicht
 a saowl ei say / ei wys inffae
 Ild a good mae / owld god ei micht

a warr wee wowlld / the ffens a ffowld
 and bee nodt sowld / wyth a band heicht
 the jong and owld / wyth hym thei howld
 the jiws hath sowld / that jessws heicht

Wee trvst thee kreist / that wers a krown
 or wee dei drownd owr redi dreicht
 doo thangk too thee / at the rwt tree
 then want all wee the nwnn to leicht
 to grawnt a gree / amen wyth me
 thath ei mae see thee too mei seicht

Mei lwk mei king mei lock mei kaey
 mei god ei prae mei geid uprecht
 ei seek ei sèng ei siagk ei say
 ei wer a wae a wŷrŷ weicht

âgâst ei go mei ffrynds mei ffro

ei ffownd affo / wyth ffeind ei ffeicht

ei sing sa↑w↑lssso / in welth ynn woe

ei kano moo / tw kwin ameicht

almichdi ladi

howell swrdwal

ai kant

Peniarth MS. 111

Ef a ddamweiniodd ar amser yn Rydychen ir Saeson oganu y Kymru ai anghanmol hwynt yn vawr am i hanysgolheictod gan ddywedud and oedd un ysgolhaic da o Gymro nag ni ellid gwneuthur o Gymro ysgolhaic ysgolhaic kystal, mor ddysgedic, ac mor ddoeth, a chystal mydyrwr ag y gellit o Sais, ac and oed y Kymru yw kystadlu ar Saesson am ysgolheictod.

Yna y kododd Kymro ardderchawc ac a safodd ar i draet, ac a ddywedodd mal hynn: “Nid wyf vi ond ysgolhaic disas herwydd vy ysgolheictod, nac im kyfflybu i lawer o ysgolheigion dygedic ardderchogion o Gymru y rhai nid ydwy vi addas i arwain ei llyru yn ei hol. Etto her hynn i gyd llesg vydde gennyf na alle ysgolhaic gwael disas o Gymro ymgystadly ar Sais goreu i ysgolheictod am wneuthur mydr ac am lawer o bwyntieu eraill. Ond nid yw yn ysgolheigion goreu ni kimint I maswedd ac mor over, a am roi i pennau ai meddwl i amrysson ac i ymgomi ar Saesson boksachus. Eithyr mi a atebaf y kwestiwn hwn i chwi val hynn: gwnaed y Sais goreu i ddysgeidieth o honoch vydr yn Lladin; oni wnaif inne vydyr Saesnec neu yn Gymraec; oni chystadla i evo, gogenwch y Kymru. Gwnaed vydyr yn yr iaith a vynno ar a vettrw vi, oni wnaif i un kystal ac efo, kabled y Kymru ac and arbeded. Minneu a wnaif vydyr yn Saesnec, yn ych iaith ych hun; ac os holl Saeson Lloegyr a wneiff y vath vydyr ne ai kystadla, gogenwch y Kmyru. Onis gellwch i wneuthur, gadewch y Kymru yn y braint a rhoes Duw uddunt. A gwybyddwch chwithau and ydych chwi I ymgystadlu ar Kymru.” Ac am hynny y gwnaeth ef yr owdwl Saesnec honn ar y groes gynghanedd yr hynn ni vedyr Sais moi gwneuthur.

O micht_u↑d↑i ladi :·

owr leding // to haf

at hefn owr abeiding

yntw ddei ffest everlasting

i set a braynts ws tw bring /

yw wann ddys wyth blyss dde bblessing // off God
 ffor ywr gwd abering
 hwier yw bynn ffor ywr wynni↑n↑g
 syns kwin and ywr synn ys king ./

Owr fforffaddys ffaddyr, owr ffiding // owr pop
 on ywr paps had swking
 yn hefn blyss i had ~~th~~ddys thing
 atendans wythowt ending ./

Wi sin dde bricht kwin wyth kwning // and blys
 the blossom ffruwt bering
 ei wowl'd as owld as ei sing
 wynn ywr lyf on ywr laving

Kwin od off owr god owr geiding // myddyr
 maedyn not wythstanding...
 hw wed syts wyth a ryts ring
 as god m↑w↑ad ddys gae↑wd↑ weding

Help ws prae ffor ws preffering // owr sowls
 asoel ws at ending
 mak awl ddat wi ffawl tw ffing
 ywr synn s lyf owr syns leving /

As wi mae dde dae off owr deing // resef
 owr saviowr yn howsling
 as hi mae tak ws waking
 tw hym yn hys michti wing ./

Micht hyt twk // mi ocht tw tel //
 owr sols off hel // tw soels off hicht :/
 wi aish wyth bwk // wi wish wyth bel ///

tw hefn ffwl wel /// tw haf on fflicht ·/

Awl dids wel dywn //
 tabyd deo bwn / } a gwd met wricht
 a god mad trwn //
 and se so sw'n //
 and north and mwn // } and so non micht ·/
 and synn an mwn //

as swn as preid // ys now syprest
 hys sol ys beste /// his sol ys picht
 Ei tel tw yo //
 as sym dwth shio // } wi uws not richt:
 as now ei tro //
 a boy wyth ^a bo //
 hys lw↑o↑kes is s↑l↑o . } hym↑2↑ ffrom↑1↑ a knicht
 how mae yw know

Dde trvth ys kyt // ddat yerth y's kast //
 dde ends bi last // dde hands bi licht /.
 o God set yt // gwd as yt was //
 dde rvwl dwth pass // dde world hath picht

A preti thing wi prae to thest //
 ddat gwd bi|hest // ddat God bihicht ·/
 and hi was ffig // yntw hys ffest //
 ddat eer shal lest // wyth deivers licht ·/
 dde world away /
 ys dynn as day // } yt ys nei nicht ·/
 yt ys no nay //
 as owld ei say //
 ei was yn ffay // } wld God ei micht ·/
 eild a gwd may //

Awar wi would /
 dde syns ddey sowld // } in a bant hicht ./
 and bi not howld //
 and ywng and owld //
 wyth hym ddei howld // } ddat Dsiesws hicht
 dde Dsie_u↑v↑ws has sowld

O trysti kreist // ddat werst a krown /
 er wi dei down // a redi dicht

Tw thank t_o↑w↑ ddi //
 at dde rwd tri // } ddey now tw licht ./
 dden went all wi //
 tw grawnt agri //
 amen wyth mi // } ddi tw mei sicht ./
 ddat ei mae si //

Owr lwk owr king // owr lók owr k↑a↑e ///
 mei God ei prae /// mi geid ypricht ./
 ei sîk ei sing // ei sh↑i↑ak ei sae ///
 ei wer awae /// a wiri wicht ./
 e_i↑a_↑ gaynst ei go ///
 mei ffrynds mi ffro // } wyth ffynd ei ffeicht
 a↑ei↑ ffo↑w↑nd e_i↑a↑ ffo //
 ei sing also //
 yn welth and wo // } tw kwin off micht ./
 ei kan no mo //

Ieuan ap Rhydderch // medd eraill
 Ieuan ap hywel Siwrdwal / ai kant ./

Peniarth MS. 98b

O mightie Ladie our leading / to have
 at heaven our abiding
 vnto the feast everlasting
 is sette a branche ws to bring
 You wanne this w<i>th blisse the blessing / of God
 for your good abearing
 where you bene for yor winning
 since queene & yor Sonne is king
 Our forefaders fader our feeding / our pope
 on yor pappes had swcking
 in heaven blisse I had this thing
 attendaunce w<i>thout ending
 We seene the bright queen - w<i>th cuning / & blisse
 the blossome fruite bearing
 I would as ould as I sing
 winne yor love on yor lavinge
 Q↑u↑eene odde of our God our guiding / moder
 mayden notwithstandinge
 who wed such w<i>th a rich ring
 as God woud this good wedding
 Helpe us pray for us pr<e>ferring / our soules
 assoilv vs at ending

make all that we fall to ffin
 yor Sonnes live our sinnes leaving

As we may the day, of dying receive
 our in housling

as he may take us waking
 to him in his mightie wing

Might hit tooke / me ought to tell
 our soules of hell / to soiles of hight
 wee ask with booke / we wish w<i>th bell
 to heaven full well / to have our flight.

All deeds well done
 t'abide deo bo↑o↑ne } a good meete wright
 a god made trone
 and say so soone
 and north and noone } & so none might
 and sonne & moone

as soone as pride/ is nowe supprest
 his soule is best / his soule is pight
 I tell to you
 as some doe showe } we use not right
 as now I trowe
 a boy w<i>th bowe

his look is slowe } him from a knight.

howe may knowe _

The truth is kisse / that earth is cast

the ends be last / the hands be light

O godde sette it / good as it was

the rule doth passe / the worlde hath pight.

A prettie thing / we pray to thest

that good behest / that god behight.

& he was ffiging / into his feaste

that euer shall lest / with diuerse light.

The world awae

is done as day } it is nighe night.

it is no nay

as ould I say

I was in fay } would God I might.

yelde a good may

Aware we would,

the sinnes we sould } in a bant highte.

& be not hould

And young and ould

with him they hould } that Jesus highte.

the Iewes has sould

O trusti Criste / that werst y crowne
 ere wee die downe / a readie dight
 to thank to thee
 at the roode tree } thee to my sight.
 that I may see

Our lucke, our kinge / our locke, our key
 My God I pray / my guide vpright.¹

I seeke I sing / I shake I say
 I ware away / a werie wight
 against I goe / my frends me fro
 I found a foe / w<i>th fende I fight.
 I sing allso / in welth & woe
 I can no mor to queene of might
 Jeun ap Rydderch ap Jeun lloyd ai k.
 medd eraill Ieun ap holl Swrdwal

National Library of Wales MS. 13068B

O michti ladi owr leding / tw haf

at hefn owr abiding

into the ffeast efr leasting

ye sett a brains us to bring

ye win thys with blys the blesing / off god

ffor yowr gwd abering

wher ye bin ffor yowr wining

syns qwin and yowr son is king

owr owld ffor ffader owr ffeding / owr pop

on yowr paps hath swking

in hefn blys to had thys thing

atendans withowt ending

help us prai ffor us prefering / owr sowls

a soec us at owr ending

mak that we ffall to ffling

yowr sons lof owr syns leving

as wee mae the dae off deing resef

owr saviwr in howsling

as hi mae take us waking
to him in hys michti whing

Micht hee take mee och tw tell
owr sowls off hell tw soels off hicht
wee as with bwke wee wis with bell
tw hefn ffwlwel tw haf on fflicht
all dids well don / diw bid[e] diw bon
a god matron / a gwd maed richt
and see so son / and north and non
a sonne an mon / so in on micht

j tell to yow / as som do show
as now j trow / wee jüse not richt
a boie with bow / his lwks so low
how mae ye know / ffrom him a knicht

the truth is kwt / that ird is kast
they inds by last / they hands bee licht
o god set it gwd as it was
thiy rul doth pas the world hath picht
a preti thing wee prai tw thest
that gwd behest / that god bee hicht
and hee ws ffing intw his ffest
that ever shal lest / wyth divers licht
the world a waiy / is donne as daiy
it is no naiy / it is ney nicht

a sowl j saiy / j wis in ffaiy
 ild a gwd maiy / wld god j micht

a war wee owld / the ffends a ffowld
 and bee not howld / with a bant hicht
 the jwng and owld / with him they howld
 the jeüs hath sowld / thi jesws hicht

wee trust thee krist / that werst a krown
 or wee diy drown / owr redi dricht
 do thank tw thee / at the rood tree
 then want all wee / the nwn to licht
 tw grawnt a gree / amen with mee
 that j maiy see thee / tw mi sicht

owr lwke owr king / owr loke owr kaiy
 mi god j praiy / mi gid up richt
 j seeke j sing / j shake j saiy
 j wear a waïy / a weari wicht

a gast j go / mi ffrinds mi ffro
 j ffownd a ffo / with ffend j fficht

j sing allso / in welth in wo
 j kan no mo / tw qwin o micht

O michti ladi owr leding
 howel swrdwal
 ai kant

[In different hand and ink below:]

Llaw'n gofyd ywr bŷd ar bon; dyrogan
 ni drigwn yn ?cynnon
 heb na ffeyria na fferen / fforon ut (illegible)
 na ffydd yn Bynyt na ffen

Jorwerth vynghwyd
ay kant

Ar dolsoyn Wiliam prys , gorchmyun / uch
ui at bawb och kyvaillon ,, a dwediog wrth
Sion edwart , na chair vn llestr o menyn
dan bedair nobl , ag I mae rai yn dala
wyth swllt arhigain ,, ag o mym ef i my vi
ÿ bryny ef velly , dan foned ?ybydd gan y
gennad yna ; fa bryd i del ef i vynned , a
mi ddawaf ar menyn yny erbyn ef
yna adüw y blaen , ag na ffaeled ef o
vod yno pan brwnaiso ef vod, a fhrored
vod y no, ar byw ddydd gwener ! kant hawdda
i mi gaet bad erbyn y dydd hynny I ddyvod
drwa ,, ag velly düw ych radw

y 27 o offorn ef 1596

llü sion¹¹²

[Different hand and ink]

Yr wyd yn meddwl mai ysgryffai Llen Sion

yw'r wbl ager hyd yma¹¹³ | sebe Iolo Morganwg¹¹⁴ [different hand and ink again]

¹¹² Letter from Llywelyn Siôn to William Price, dated 27 July 1596; my transcription is imperfect, and I could not translate it, but it does not seem to have any relation to the poem.

¹¹³ Translation: 'It is thought that the writings of Llywelyn Siôn are the most important to date.'

¹¹⁴ Translation: 'said Iolo Morganwg'

Cardiff Free Library MS. 5.44, *Y Llyfr Hir Llanharan*

O michti ladi owr leding | tw haf
 at hefn owr abiding
 into they ffest ever lestring
 Ei set a braints ws to bring

<Ei> wyn thys with blys the blesing | of god
 or yowr gwd abering
 <wher ye> bin ffor yowr wining
 <en> and yowr son is king

for ffader owr ffeding | owr pob
 <a>ps hat swking
 <lys> to haf thys thing
 <ot> ending

help us pray ffor us preffering | our sowls
 a soel ws at owr ending
 mak all that wee ffal tw fing
 yowr sons lof owr sins leving

as we may the day off deing | resef
 owr savior in howsling
 as he mae tak us waking
 tw hym in hys michti whing

micht hee tak mee och tw tell
 owr sowls off hel to soes off hicht
 wee as with book wee wis with bell
 tw hefn ffwlwell tw haf on flicht
 all dids well don, diw bid diw bon
 a god matron | a good maed richt

and see so son | and north and non
a son and mon | so in on micht

y tell tw yow | as swm dw siaw
as now y trow | wee jus not richt
a boy with bow | his lwks so low
how may ye know from hym a knight

the truth is kwt | that yrd is kast
the inds bee last | the hands by licht
o god set yt gwd as yt was.
they rywl dwth pas the world hath picht

a prety thing wee pray tw theast
that gwd by heast | that god by hicht
and hee us ffind | intw his ffeast
that efr siawl least | with divers licht

the world a way | is donn as day
yt is no way | it ys ny nicht
a sowl y say | y wischs in ffay
Ild a gwd may | wld god I micht

a wae wee wold | the ffends a ffold
and bee not hold | with a band hicht
the jwng and old | with hym they hold
the jews hath sold | that jesus hicht

wee trust thy krist thats werst a krown
or wee dy drown, owr weedy dicht
dw thank tw thee | at the rwd tree
tw grawnt agree | amen with me ðan want all wi the nwn
that I mae see | thee tw my sicht

owr lok owr king owr lwk owr kay
mi god I pray my gyd upricht
I seek I sing | I siak J say
I wer a way | a wery wicht

a gast I go | my ffrynds my ffro
I fynd a fo | with ffend I ficht
J sing allso | in welth in wo
I kan no mo | tw queen o micht

O michti ladi owr leding
Howel Swrdwal
ai kant 9

Llanstephan MS. 47

X O michti ladi owr leding · tw haf
 at hefn owr abiding
 intw they ffeast efr leasting
 ye set a brains ws tw bring

Ye win thys with blys the ble sing · of god
 ffor yowr gwd abering
 wher ye bin ffor yowr wining
 syns qwin and yowr son ys king

Owr owld ffer ffader owr ffeding · owr pop
 on yowr paps hath swking
 in hefn blys tw had thys thing
 atendawns withowt ending

Help ws pray ffor vs preffering · owr sowls
 a soel vs at owr ending
 mak all that wee ffal tw ffig
 yowr sons lof owr syns leving

As wee mae the dae off deing · resef
 owr savior in howsling

as hee mae tak vs waking
 tw him in hys michti whing

Micht he tak mee ocht tw tel
 owr sowls off hell tw soels off hicht
 wee as with bwk wee wis with bel
 tw hefn ffwl wel tw haf on fflicht
 all dids wel don · diw bid diw bon

a god matron · a gwd maed richt
 and see so son · and north and non
 a sonn an mon · so in on nicht

I tell tw yow · as swn dw siow
 as now j trow · wee jese not richt
 a boy with bow · hys lwks so low
 how mae j know · ffrom hym a knight

the truth is kwt · that yrd is kast
 they inds be last · they hands be licht
 o god set yt gwd as yt was
 they rvl dw pas · the world hath picht

a preti thing wee pray tw thest
 that god bee hest · that gwd bee hicht
 and hee vs ffig · vntw hys ffest
 that efr siawl lest · with divers licht

the world a way · is dwnn as day
 yt is no nay · yt ys ny nicht
 a sowl j say · j wis in ffay
 yld a gwd may · wld god j nicht

a war wee wold · the ffends a ffold
 and bee not hold · with a band hicht

the jwng and old · with hym they hold
 the jews hath sold · tha jesus hicht

wee trvst thee krist · that werst a krown
 or wee dye drown · owr redy dricht
 dw thank tw thee · at the rwd tree

then want all wee · the nwn tw licht
 tw grawnt agree · amen with me
 that j mae see · thee · tw my sicht

Owr lwke owr king · owr loke owr kay
 mÿ god j pray · my geid up richt
 j seek j sing · j siak j say
 j wear a way · a wyeri wicht

a gast j go · my ffrynds mÿ ffro
 j ffownd a ffo · with ffend i fficht
 j sing allso · in welth in wo
 j kan no mo · tw qvin o micht

O michti ladi owr leding

Howel Swrdwal

ai kant 12

Llanstephan MS. 53

hs,

owdl i fair yn saesneg

Almeichdi ladi owr leding / to have
too hevn owr abeiding
in too the ffest ever lestring
ei set a braens ys to bring

ei winn this with blis the blessing of God
for yowr good abering
wher yow bin ffor the wining
syns yw kwin yowr sonn is king

owr owld ffer ffader owr ffiding owr pope
onn yowr paps hath sowking
in hevn blys had thys thing
a tendens wythout ending

Help ws prae ffor ws preffering —
owr souls / soel ws at owr ending
mak awl that wi ffowl in ffing
yowr sons love owr sins leving

as wee mae to thee doo of deing / resevede
owr saviowr in howsling
as hi mae tak ws waking
to hym, in his meichti hwing

Meichti tak mi ocht to tel
owr sowls of hel yowr soels of heicht
wee as with bwks wee wis with bel
too hevn ffwl wel tw hav onn fflicht

owld dids wel donn
 diew bid dew bonn
 a gwd matronn / a gwd maed reicht
 and see so sonn / and north and nonn
a sonn a nonn / so in onn neicht /

ei tel to yow / as sonn doo s↓i↓ow
 as now ei trow, wi ↑in↑ see not reicht
 a boy with bow / his lwk so low
how mae yow know ffrom hym a kneicht

the triwth is kytt / that jerd i kast
 nei and bei last thy hands bi leicht
 a god sett yt good as itt was
thei riwl doth pas ; the world hath peicht

o preti thing wee pray to thest
 that good by hest / that god by heicht
 and hi ws ffeind in to his ffest
that ever saw last / with deivers leicht

the word a way / i donn as day
 it is no nay / ît is no neicht
 a sawl ei say / ei wis in ffay
ild a gwd mae // owld god a meicht

a warr wee wowld / the ffens a ffowld
 and by not howld / with a bend heicht
 the yong and owld / wyth him the howld
the Ji(e)ws ath sowld / that Jesws heicht

wee tryst thi krist that wers a krown

or wee dy down owr redi deicht
 doo thank to thi / at the rwt tri
 thenn want all wee / the nwnn tw leicht
 too grawnt a gree / a men wyth mee
that ei mae see thi to my seicht

Mei lwk mei king mei lok mei kae
 mei god ei prae mei geid vp reicht
 i siak ei sing / ei sik ei sae
 ei wer a wae a wiri weicht

ei gasb ei go / mei ffrinds mei ffro
 ei ffownd a ffo / wyth ffein↑d↑ ffeicht
 ei sing awl so / in welth in wo
ei kann no mo / too kwin o meicht

ko: anamam | Howel Swrdwal ai kant
 fair |

Llanstephan MS. 54

O might(i)y ladi owr leding tw haf
 at hefa↑n↑ owr abiding
 intw th↑e↑y ffeast efr leasting
ye set a brains us to bring.
 ye win thys with blys the plesing off god
 ffor yowr gwd abearing
 wher ye bin ffor yowr wining
 Syns qwin and yowr Son ys king.
 Owr owld ffor ffadeer owr ffeding owr pop
 on yowr paps hath swking
 in hefn blys tw had thys thing
 atendawns withowt ending
 help us pray ffor us preffering owr sowls
 a soel us at owr ending
 mak all that wee ffall to ffig
 yowr sons lof owr syns leving.
 as wee mae the dae off deing resef
 owr saviowr in howsling •

As hee mae tak us waking
 tw him in hys mighti whing
 Might hee tak mee ocht tw tel
 owr sowls off hell to soles off hight
 wee as with bwk wee wis with bel
 tw hefn ffwl wel tw on ffight
 all deds wel don diw bid diw bon
 a god matron a gwd maed bright
 and see so son and north and non
 a sonn and mon so in on might
 I tel tw yow as swm dw siow

as now j trow wee jese not right
 a boy with bow hys lwks so low
 how mae i know ffrom hȳm a knight
 the truth is kwt that yrd is kast
 they inds be last they hands be light
 o god set yt gwd as yt was
 they rul dw pas the world hath pight
 a prety king wee pray tw thest
 that god bee hest that gwd be hight
 the world away is dwnn as day
 yt ys no w↑n↑ay yt ys no night
 a sowl I say i wis in ffay
 yld a gwd may wld the ffends affold
 and bee not hold with a band hight
 the ywng and old with hym they hold
 the Jews hath sold tha Jesus hight

wee trust thee Krist that werst a krown
 or wee dye drown owr redy dright
 dw thank tw thee at the rwd tree
 than want all wee the nwn tw light
 tw grawnt agree amen with me
 that i mae see thee tw my sight
 a gast i go my ffrynds my ffro
 i ffownd a ffo with ffend i ffight
 I sing allso in welth in wo
 I kan no mo tw qwin o might
 O mighti ladi owr leding.
 Howel Swrdwal ai kant

Panton MS. 33

[title, author's name, and first two lines of the prologue in red ink]

Chwedyl o Rydychen

Ef a ddamweiniawdd ar amser yn
 Rhydychen ir Saesson ogani r Cymry ai
 anghanmawl hwynt yn fawr am eu
 hanysgolheictod, gan ddywddyd nad
 oedd un Yscolhaic da o Gymro, ag ni
 ellid gwneuthur o Gymro yscolhaic Cystadl
 mor ddyscedig ag mor ddoeth a chystdal
 mydror ag i gellid o Sais, ag nad oedd
 Cymry yw Cystadlu ai Saeson am Yscoldeictod.

Yna i cododd Cymro ardderchanc ag a
 safodd ar ei drast, ag a ddywedodd mal
 hyn, nid wyf i ond ysgolhaig disas herwydd
 fy yscolheictod, nam in Cyffolybu i lawer
 o Yscolheigion dyscedig ardderchogion
 o Gymru, yrhai nid ydwyf i addas i
 arwain en llyfran yn en hol, etto er
 hyn i gyd llesc fyddas gennyf na
 allas Yscolhaig gwael disas o Gymro
 yngystadlu as Sais goreu ei Yscolheictod
 am wneuthur Mydr ag am lawer o
 bwyntiau eraill. Ond ni yw ein Yscolheigion
 gorau ni cymmaint en Marwedd ag
 mor ofer am rei en hennau au meddwl
 am ymrysson, ag i ymgomio ar
 Saeson bochsachus : Eithr Mi a atebaf
 y cwestion hwnnw i chwi fal hyn.
 Gwnaed y Sais goreu ei ddys ceidiaeld
 o honoch fydryn llatin : oni wnaif i

fydr cystadl a gynteu barked ar y
Cymry : gwnaed fydr yn Saesoneg neu
yn Gymraeg, oni chystadlu i ef

gogenwch y Cymry : gwnaed fydr yn y
saith a fynno ar a fettrwyf i, ag oni
wnaf i un Cystadl ag efo, cabled y
Cymry ag nag arboded.

Minnau a wnaef fydr yn Saesoneg yr
eich jaith eich hunain, ag os holl Saeson
Lloegr a wnaef fath fydr, men ai
cystedla, gogonwedd y Cymry : a gwybyddwch
chwithau nad ydych chwi i Ymgystadlu
ar Cymry. Am hynny i gwnaeth
ef yr Awdl Saesoneg hon ar groes
Gynghanedd, yr hyn ni foedr Sais
moi gwneuthur.

O michti ladi owr leding to haf
at hefn owr abeiding
unto thei ffeast everlasting
i set a braentes ws tw bring

Yw wann this wyth blyss dde blessing of God
ffor ywr good abering
hwier yw bynn ffor ywr winning
syms kwin and your Son y<i>s king

Our forefathers father owr feeding our Pop
on your paps had swking
yn hefn blyss, had this thing
attendance without ending.

Wee sin dde bright kwin with cwning & bliss
the bosswm ·ffruwt bering

ei would as old as I sing
Wynn ywr love on ywr loving.

Kwin od off our God owr geiding mwdder
Maeden notwithstanding
hw wed sits with a rits ring
as God wad ddys good weding.

Help ws pray ffor ws preffering owr sowl
assoil ws at ending

Mak all that wee fawl to ffin
Your Sons love oŵr Synns leving.

As wi mae the dae of our deiying resef
Owr Safiowr yn howsling
as he mae tak ws waking
tw him in his mighti wing .

Mighty he took mi oght tw tell
all sowl of hel to soels of hight

We aisk with bok we wish with bel
tw hefn ffwl wel to haf on fflight

Awl deds wel dwn
tabyd Deo bwn } a gwd met wright
a god Mad trwn
And se so swn
and north and nwn ↑ noon } and So non might
and Syn and Moo↑w↑n

As swn as Preid ys now sypresst
hys soll is best, his Soul is pight

Ei tel to yo
 as sym do shio } we uws not right
 as now Ei tro
 A boy with bo
 his loks is so } him ffrom a knight
 How mae yw knu

Dde truwth ys kyt ddath yerth is kast
 dde ends bi last dde hands bi light
 O God set it gwd as yt was
 dde ruwl doth past dde wold hath pight

A pretti thing wi pray to thest
 ddat gw bi hest that God behight
 and he was ffing with his ffest
 that ever shall last, with deverse light
 the word away ys donn as day
 yt ys no nay it is nei night

As owld I say
 Ei was yn ffay } wld God I might
 eild a good may

Away wi would
 dde sins they sowld } in a bant hight
 and be not ho↑w↑ld

and ywng and owld
 with him thei howld } that Ddsiesws hight
 dde Dsiws has sold

O tryti Crist ddat werst a krown
 er we dei down a redi dight

tw thank to ddi
 at dde rwd tri } ddein own tw light
 then went all we

Tw grawnt agri
 amen wyth mi } ddi to my sight
 ddat I mae si

Owr lwc our king owr look our kae
 Mei God ei pray mi geid upright
 Ei sik I sing, I siak I say
 Ei wer away a wiri wight

Against ei go
 Me ffrynds my ffro } with ffynd I fight
 ei ffound a ffo

Ei sing also
 yn wealth and wo } tw kwin of might
 Ei can no mo

Ieuan ap Rhydderch medd erall Ieuan
 ap Howel Swrdwal ai cant

Panton MS. 42

O mighty Lady our leading to have
 at heaven our abiding
 into thy feast everlasting
I set a branch us to bring.

I win this with bliss the blessing of God
 for your good a bearing
 where you binn↑been↑ for your winning↑wooning↑
Since Queen and your Son is King.

Our old for fador our feeding our Pope
 on your paps hath sucking
 in heaven bliss to have this thing
attendance without ending

help us pray for us preferring our souls
 assoil us at our ending
 make all that we fall to fing
 your Son s love our sins leaving

As we may the day of dying receive
 our Saviour in housling
 as he makes take us waking
 to him in his mighty wing.

Mighty he took me ought to tell
 all souls of hell to soils of hight
 we as. with book we wish with bell
 to heaven to full well to have our flight
 all deeds well don, due bed due boon
 a god matron a good maid right

and see so soon and north and noon
a sun and moon so in one might

I tell to you as some do show
 as now I trow we use not right
 a boy with bow his looks so low
 how may I know from him a knight

the truth is cut that earth is cast
 the inds be last thy hands be light
 o God set it good as it was
 thy rule doth pass the world hath pight

A pretty thing we pray to theast
 that good behest that God by hight
 and he us fing into his feast
 that for ever shall last with diverse light

The world away is down as day
 it is no nay it is nigh night
 a soul I say I wish in fay
 yield a good may would God I might

Aware we wold the fiends a fold
 and be not hold with a band hight
 they young and old with him they hold
 the Jews hath sold that Jesus hight

We trust thee Christ that wearst a Crown
 or we dy drown our weedy dright
 to thank to thee at the Rood tree

then went all we thine own to light
to grant agree Amen with me
that I may see thee to my sight

Our luck our King our look our key
✠ My God I pray me guide upright
I seek I sing, I shake I say
I wear away a weary wight

Aghast I go my friends my foe
I find a foe with find I fight
I sing also in wealth and woe
I can no more to Queen of might

Howel Swrdwal ai Cant

Cwrtmawr MS. 11

Ef a ddigwyddodd↑ddamweiniodd↑ ar Amser yn Rhydychen
i'r Saeson oganu y Cymry ai anghanmor
hwynt yn vawr, am i hanysgolheictod gan
ddywedud and oedd un Ysgolhaig da o Gymro,
ag ni ellid gwneuthur o Gymro Ysgolhaig
kystal, mor ddysgedig, ac mor ddoeth, a
chystal Mydyrwr ag y gollid o Sais, ac nad
nad oedd y Kymru yw kystadlu ar Saesson
am Ysgolheictod.

Yna y cododd Kymro arddechawc a saf-
odd ar i draed ac a ddywedodd mal hynn. Nid
wyf vi ond Ysgolhaig disav, horwydd vy Ysgol-
heictod, nac i'm cyfflybu i lawer o Ysgolheigion
dysgedig ardderchawc o Gymru, y rhai nid
y dwyf vi addau i arwain ei Llyfreu yn ei
hól, etto er hynn i gyd llosg vydde gennyg na
alle Ysgolhaig gwael, disas o Gymro ymgys.
tadlu* ar sais goreu i Ysgoleigion goreu
ni kimint i Maswedd ac mor over, a am
rei i pennau ai Meddwl i amrysson ac i
ymgonri ar Saeson boksachus : Either mi
a atebaf y kwestiwn hwn i chwi val hynn.

*corrected from <y>

Gwnaed y Sais goreu i ddysgeidiaeth o honoch
vydr yn Lladin : Oni wnaif inne vydyr Kystal ac
ynneu, barnod ar y kymru : gwnaed vydyr yn
Saesnech neu yn Kymraec, oni chystadla i evo,
gogenwch y Kymru : gwnaed vydyr yn yr
iaith a vynno ar a vottrw vi, oni wnaif I un
kystal ac efo, kabled y kymru ac nac arbeded.
Minneu a wnaif Vydyr yn Saesnech, yn ych
iaith ych hun, ac os holl Saeson Lloegyr a

wneiff y vath Vydyr, ne ai kystadla, gogenwch
 y Kymru : Onis gelwch i wneuthur, gadewch y
 Kymru yn y braint a rhoes Duw uddunt : a
 gwybyddwch chwithau nad ydych chwi i ym-
 gystadlu ar Kymru : ac am hynny y gwnaeth
 ef yr Awdwl Saesnec honn ar y groes gyng-
 hanedd, yr hynn ni vedyr Sais moi gwneu-
 thur.

[in pencil, later hand] See Hinafion Cymreig by Hugh Hughes page 13

O michti Ladi, owr leding ; to haf
 At hefn owr abeiding ;
 Yntw ddei ffest everlasting
 I set a braynts ws tw bring
 O mighty Lady our leading, to have
 at Heaven our abiding ;
 Unto thy feast everlasting,
 I set a braynts us to bring.

 Yw wann ddys wyth blys dde blessing, of God
 Ffor ywr gwd abering ;
 Hwier yw bynn ffor ywr wyning,
 Syns kwin and ywr Synn ys king
 You wone this with bliss, the blessing, of God
 For your good abearing ;
 Where you been for your winning,
 Since Queen and your Son is King.

 Owr fforffaddyrs ffaddyr, owr ffiding ; owr Pop
 On ywr paps had swking ;
 Yn hefn blyss had this thing,
 Atendans wythowt ending.
 Our forefathers' father, our fiding ; our Pope
 On your paps had sucking ;

In Heaven bliss *I had this thing, *₉. he
Attendance without ending.

Wi sin dde bricht kwin wyth kwning ; and blyss
 The blossom ffruwt bering ;
Ei would as owld as I sing,
 Wynn ywr lyf on ywr laving.
We seen the bright Queen with cunning, and bliss
 The blossom fruit bearing ;
I would as old as I sing,
 Win your love on your laving.

Kwin od off owr God owr geiding, Mwddyr
 Maedyn notwithstanding ;
Hw wed syts wyth a ryts ring,
 As God wad ddys gwd weding.
Queen od of our God our guiding, mother
 Maiden notwithstanding ;
Who wed such with a rich ring
 As God wad his good wedding.

Help ws prae ffor ws preffering, owr Sowls,
 Assel ws at ending ;
Make awl ddat wi ffawl tw ffing,
 Ywr Syn's lyf owr syns leving.
Help us pray for us prefering, our souls
 ⁹Assel ws at ending ;
Make all that we fall to ⁹ffing,
 Your Son's love our Sins leaving.

As wi mae dde dae off owr deing, resef

Owr Saviowr yn howsling ;
 As hi mae tak ws waking,
 Tw hym yn hys michti wing.
 As we may the Day of our dying, receive
 Our Saviour in housling ;
 As he may take us waking,
 To him in his mighty wing.

Might hyt twk, mi ocht tw tel,
 Owr sols off hel, tw soels off hicht,
 Wi aish wyth bwk, wi wish wyth bel,
 To hefn ffwl wel, tw haf on fflicht.
 Mighty he took, me ought to tell,
 Our Souls of hell, to soils of Hight, ⁹height.
 We ⁹aish with book, we wish with bell,
 To heaven full well, to have on flight.

Awl dids wel do↑wæ↑n
 Tabyd Deo bwn } a gwd met wrig↑c↑ht
 A God mad trwn
 And se so swn
 And north and nwn } and so non micht.
 And synn and mon
 All deeds well done,
⁹Tabyd Deo boon, } a good met wright
 A God made troon
 And say so soon,
 And north and noon } and so none might.
 And sun and moon

As swn ad preid, is now syprest
 Hys sel ys best, hys sol ys pight
 I tel tw yo
 As sym dwth shio } Wi uws not richt

As now ei tro
 A boy wyth bo
 Hys lœwk is lo } hym ffrom a knicht
 How mae yw kno
 As soon as pride, is now supprrest
 His zeal is best his soul is pight,

I tell to you
 As some doth show } we use not right.
 As now I trow
 A boy with's bow
 His look is low } him from a Knight.
 How may you know ~~him~~

Dde truwth ys kyt, ddat yerth ys kast,
 Dde ends bi last, ~~th~~↑dd↑e hands bei light,
 O God set yt, gwd as yt was
 Dde ruwl dwth pass, ~~th~~dde world hath picht
 The truth is cut, that earth is cast,
 The ends be last, the hands be light,
 O God set it, good as it was,
 The rule doth pass, the world hath pight.

 A preti thing, we prae to thest
 Ddat gwd bi hest, that God bi hicht
 And he was ffing, yntw his ffest,
 Ddat ever shal lest wyth deivers licht
 Dde world away
 Ys dynn as day } yt ys nei nicht
 Yt ys no nay _
 As owld ei say
 Ei was ynffay } wld God ei nicht.
 Eild a gwd may

A pretty thing, we pray to thest
 That good be hest, that God be hight,
 And he was ffig, unto his fest
 That ever shall lest with divers light
 The world away
 Is done as day } It is nigh night,
 It is no nay
 As old I say
 I was in ffay } would God I might.
 Yield a good may

Awar wi wowld / wewld
 Dde syns ~~th~~ddey sowld } in a bant hight
 And bi not howld
 And ywng and owld
 Wyth hym ~~th~~ddei howld } Ddat Siesws hight.
 Dde Siws hav sowld
 Aware we would,
 The sins they sold, } in a bant hight
 And be not hold
 And young and old
 With him they hold } the Jesus hight.
 The Jew hav sold

O trysti Kreist, ddat werst a krown,
 Er wi dei down, a redi ~~de~~icht,
 Tw thank tw ddi
 At dde rwd tri } ddey now tw licht
~~Th~~Dden went awl wi
 Tw grawnt agri
 Amen wyth mi } ddi tw mei sicht.

Ddat ei mae si
 O trusty Christ, that werst a crown,
 Ere we die down a ready dight;
 To thank to thee,
 At the rood tree } they now to light,.
 Then went all we
 To grant agree
 Amen with me } thee to my sight.
 That I may see

Owr lwck our King, owr lok owr ke
 Mei God ei prae, mei geid ypreicht,
 Ei sik ei sing, ei shak ei sae,
 Ei wer awae, a wiri wight ;
 Agaynst ei go,
 Mei ffrynds mi ffro, } wyth ffynd ei ffeicht,
 Ei ffownd a ffo

Ei sing also,
 Yn welth yn wo. } tw kwin off micht.
 Ei kan no mo.
 Our luck our King, our lock our key
 My God I pray, my guide upright,
 I seek, I sing, I shake I say,
 I wear away, a wiry wight.
 Against I go
 My friend mi fro } with fiend I fight.
 I found a foe
 I sing also,
 In wealth in wo, } to Queen of might.
 I can no mo

Phai [?] a ddywedant, mai Ieuan ap Rhydderch
 ap Ieuan Llwyd o Ogorddan, yr hwn oedd yn

byw o gylch y Fl.1420, a'i Cant; eraill, mai
 Ieuan ap Hywel Swrdwal, yr hwn by yng.
 hylch y Fl.1460.¹¹⁵

Yr hôn Gordd uchod, a'sgrifonnwyd allan
 o Llyfr Sion ap William Sion o Gell Lyfrdy
 yn Swydd Fflint, yr hwn yn byw o gylch y
 Fl. 1630 A.D. 1785¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵ Translation: 'Some say that Ieuan ap Rhydderch ap Ieuan Llwyd of Ogorddan, who was living around 1420, sang it; others say it was Ieuan ap Hywel Swrdwal, who lived around the year 1460.'

¹¹⁶ Translation: 'This old poem was written from the book of John Williams of Gell Lyfrdy in Flintshire, who lived around the year 1630. A.D. 1785'.

Table 15: Side-by-side presentation of the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ in Llanover MS. 13068B, MS. Llanharan, and Llanstephan MS. 47

13068B	Llanharan	LI47
O michti ladi owr leding , tw have	O michti ladi owr leding tw haf	O michti ladi owr leding · tw haf
at hefn owr abiding	at hefn owr abiding	at hefn owr abiding
into the ffeast efr leasting	into they ffeast ever leasting	intw they ffeast efr leasting
ye sett a brains us to bring	Ei set a braints ws to bring	ye set a brains ws tw bring
ye win thys with blys the blesing / off god	<Ei> wyn thys with blys the blesing of god	Ye win thys with blys the ble sing · of god
ffor yowr gwd abering	or yowr gwd abering	ffor yowr gwd abering
wher ye bin ffor yowr wining	<wher ye> bin ffor yowr wining	wher ye bin ffor yowr wining
syns qwin and yowr son is king	<en> and yowr son is king	syns qwin and yowr son ys king
owr owld ffor ffader owr ffeding / owr pop	for ffader owr ffeding owr pob	Owr owld ffer ffader owr ffeding · owr pop
on yowr paps hath swking	<a>ps hat swking	on yowr paps hath swking
in hefn blys to had thys thing	<lys> to haf thys thing	in hefn blys tw had thys thing
atendans withowt ending	<ot> ending	atendawns withowt ending
help us prai ffor us prefering / owr sowls	help us pray ffor us preffering our sowls	Help ws pray ffor vs preffering · owr sowls
a soet us at owr ending	a soel ws at owr ending	a soel vs at owr ending
mak all that we ffall to ffing	mak all that wee ffal tw fing	mak all that wee ffal tw ffin
yowr sons lef owr syns leving	yowr sons lof owr sins leving	yowr sons lof owr syns leving
as wee mae the dae off deing resec	as we may the day off deing resec	As wee mae the dae off deing · resec

owr saviwr in howsling	owr savior in howsling	owr savior in howsling
as hi mae take us waking	as he mae tak us waking	as hee mae tak vs waking
to him in hys michti whing	tw hym in hys michti whing	tw him in hys michti whing
Micht hee take mee och tw tell	micht hee tak mee och tw tell	Micht he tak mee ocht tw tel
owr sowls off hell tw soels off hicht	owr sowls off hel to soes off hicht	owr sowls off hell tw soels off hicht
wee as with bwke wee wis with bell	wee as with book wee wis with bell	wee as with bwk wee wis with bel
tw hefn ffwlwel tw haf on fflicht	tw hefn ffwlwell tw haf on flicht	tw hefn ffwl wel tw haf on fflicht
all dids well don / diw bid<e> diw bon	all dids well don, diw bid diw bon	all dids wel don · diw bid diw bon
a god matron / a gwd maed richt	a god matron a good maed richt	a god matron · a gwd maed richt
and see so son / and north and non	and see so son and north and non	and see so son · and north and non
a sonne an mon / so in on micht	a son and mon so in on micht	a sonn an mon · so in on micht
j tell to yow / as som do show	y tell tw yow as swm dw siaw	I tell tw yow · as swn dw siow
as now j trow / wee jüse not richt	as now y trow wee jus not richt	as now j trow · wee jese not richt
a boie with bow / his lwks so low	a boy with bow his lwks so low	a boy with bow · hys lwks so low
how mae ye know / ffrom him a knicht	how may ye know from hym a knight	how mae j know · ffrom hym a knight
the truth is kwt / that ird is kast	the truth is kwt that yrd is kast	the truth is kwt · that yrd is kast
they inds by last / they hands bee licht	the inds bee last the hands by licht	they inds be last · they hands be licht
o god set it gwd as it was	o god set yt gwd as yt was.	o god set yt gwd as yt was

thiy rul doth pas the world hath picht	they rywl dwth pas the world hath picht	they rvl dw pas · the world hath picht
a preti thing wee prai tw thest	a prety thing wee pray tw theast	a preti thing wee pray tw thest
that gwd behest / that god bee hicht	that gwd by heast that god by hicht	that god bee hest · that gwd bee hicht
and hee ws ffing intw his ffest	and hee us ffind intw his ffeast	and hee vs ffing · vntw hys ffest
that ever shal lest / wyth divers licht	that efr siawl least with divers licht	that efr siawl lest · with divers licht
the world a waiy / is donne as daiy	the world a way is donn as day	the world a way · is dwnn as day
it is no naiy / it is ney nicht	yt is no way it ys ny nicht	yt is no nay · yt ys ny nicht
a sowl j saiy / j wis in ffaiy	a sowl y say y wischs in ffay	a sowl j say · j wis in ffay
ild a gwd mai y / wld god j micht	Ild a gwd may wld god I micht	yld a gwd may · wld god j micht
a war wee owld / the ffends a ffowld	a wae wee wold the ffends a ffold	a war wee wold · the ffends a ffold
and bee not howld / with a bant hicht	and bee not hold with a band hicht	and bee not hold · with a band hicht
the jwng and owld / with him they howld	the jwng and old with hym they hold	the jwng and old · with hym they hold
the jeüs hath sowld / thi jesws hicht	the jews hath sold that jesus hicht	the jews hath sold · tha jesus hicht
wee trust thee krist / that werst a krown	wee trust thy krist thats werst a krown	wee trvst thee krist · that werst a krown
or wee diy drown / owr redi dricht	or wee dy diown, owr weedy dicht	or wee dye drown · owr redy dricht
do thank tw thee / at the rood tree	dw thank tw thee at the rwd tree	dw thank tw thee · at the rwd tree
then want all wee / the nwn to licht	ðan want all wi the nwn	then want all wee · the nwn tw licht

tw grawnt a gree / amen with mee	tw grawnt agree amen with me	tw grawnt agree · amen with me
that j maiy see thee / tw mi sicht	that I mae see thee tw my sicht	that j mae see · thee · tw my sicht
owr lwke owr king / owr loke owr kaiy	owr lok owr king owr lwk owr kay	Owr lwke owr king · owr loke owr kay
mi god j praiy / mi gid up richt	mi god I pray my gyd upricht	mý god j pray · my geid up richt
j seeke j sing / j shake j saiy	I seek I sing I siak J say	j seek j sing · j siak j say
j wear a waïy / a weari wicht	I wer a way a wery wicht	j wear a way · a wyeri wicht
a gast j go / mi ffrinds mi ffro	a gast I go my ffrynds my ffro	a gast j go · my ffrynds mý ffro
j ffownd a ffo / with ffend j fficht	I fynd a fo with ffend I ficht	j ffownd a ffo · with ffend i fficht
j sing also / in welth in wo	J sing allso in welth in wo	j sing allso · in welth in wo
j kan no mo / tw qwin o micht	I kan no mo tw queen o micht	j kan no mo · tw qvin o micht
O michti ladi owr leding	O michti ladi owr leding	O michti ladi owr leding
howel swrdwal	Howel Swrdwal	Howel Swrdwal
ai kant	ai kant	ai kant

Table 16: Side-by-side presentation of the ‘Hymn to the Virgin’ in Peniarth MS. 111, Panton MS. 33, Cwrtmawr MS. 11 (A) and Cwrtmawr MS. 11 (B)

Peniarth MS. 111 (P)	Line # (P+Pa)	Panton MS. 33 (Pa)	Line # (A)	Cwrtmawr MS 11 (A)	Line # (B)	Cwrtmawr MS 11 (B)
O micht ^u d ⁱ ladi :		O michti ladi owr leding to haf	1	O michti Ladi, owr leding ; to haf	5	O mighty Lady our leading, to have
owr leding // to haf		at hefn owr abeiding		At hefn owr abeiding ;		at Heaven our abiding ;
at hefn owr abeiding		unto thei ffeast everlasting		Yntw ddei ffest everlasting		Unto thy feast everlasting,
		i set a braentes ws tw bring	4	I set a braynts ws tw bring	8	I set a braynts us to bring.
yntw ddei ffest everlasting						
i set a braynts ws tw bring /						
yw wann ddys wyth blyss dde blessing // off God	5	Yw wann this wyth blyss dde blessing of God	9	Yw wann ddys wyth blys dde blessing, of God	13	You wone this with bliss, the blessing, of God
ffor ywr gwd abering		ffor ywr good abering	10	Ffor ywr gwd abering ;		For your good abearing ;

hwier yw bynn ffor ywr wynni↑n↑g		hwier yw bynn ffor ywr winning		Hwier yw bynn ffor ywr wynning,	15	Where you been for your winning,
syns kwin and ywr synn ys king ·/		syns kwin and your Son y<i>s king	12	Syns kwin and ywr Synn ys king	16	Since Queen and your Son is King.
Owr fforffaddys ffaddyr, owr ffiding // owr pop		Our forefathers father owr feeding our Pop	17	Owr fforffaddys ffaddyr, owr ffiding ; owr Pop	21	Our forefathers' father, our fiding ; our Pope
on ywr paps had swking	10	on your paps had swking		On ywr paps had swking ;		On your paps had sucking ;
yn hefn blyss i had thddys thing		yn hefn blyss, had this thing		Yn hefn blyss had this thing,		In Heaven bliss *I had this thing, *9. he
atendans wythowt ending ·/		attendance without ending	20	Atendans wythowt ending.	24	Attendance without ending.
Wi sin dde bricht kwin wyth kwning // and blys		Wee sin dde bright kwin with cwning & bliss	25	Wi sin dde bricht kwin wyth kwning ; and blyss	29	We seen the bright Queen with cunning, and bliss
the blossom ffruw bering		the bosswm ·ffruwt bering		The blosswm ffruw bering ;	30	The blossom fruit bearing ;
ei wowld as owld as ei sing	15	ei would as old as I sing		Ei wowld as owld as I sing,		I would as old as I sing,

wynn ywr lyf on ywr laving		Wynn ywr love on ywr loving.	28	Wynn ywr lyf on ywr laving.	32	Win your love on your laving.
		Kwin od off our God owr geiding mwdder				
Kwin od off owr god owr geiding // myddyr		Maeden notwithstanding	33	Kwin od off owr God owr geiding, Mwddyr	37	Queen od of our God our guiding, mother
maedyn not wythstanding...		hw wed sits with a rits ring		Maedyn notwythstanding ;		Maiden notwithstanding ;
hw wed syts wyth a ryts ring	20	as God wad ddys good weding.	35	Hw wed syts wyth a ryts ring,		Who wed such with a rich ring
as god m↑w↑ad ddys gae↑wd↑ wedding		Help ws pray ffor ws preffering owr sowls	36	As God wad ddys gwd wedding.	40	As God wad his good wedding.
		apsoil ws at ending				
Help ws prae ffor ws preffering // owr sowls		Mak all that wee fawl to ffing	41	Help ws prae ffor ws preffering, owr Sowls,	45	Help us pray for us preferring, our souls
asoel ws at ending		Your Sons love oŵr Synns leving.		Assel ws at ending ;		9.Assel ws at ending ;
mak awl ddat wi ffawl tw ffing	25	As wi mae the dae of our deiying resef		Make awl ddat wi ffawl tw ffing,		Make all that we fall to 9.ffing,
ywr synn s lyf owr syns leving /		Owr Safiowr yn howsling	44	Ywr Syn's lyf owr syns leving.	48	Your Son's love our Sins leaving.

		as he mae tak ws waking				
As wi mae dde dae off owr deing // resef		tw him in his mighti wing .	49	As wi mae dde dae off owr deing, resef	53	As we may the Day of our dying, receive
owr saviowr yn howsling			50	Owr Saviowr yn howsling ;		Our Saviour in housling ;
as hi mae tak ws waking		Mighty he took mi oøht tw tell		As hi mae tak ws waking,	55	As he may take us waking,
tw hym yn hys michti wing ./	30	all sowl of hel to soels of hight	52	Tw hym yn hys michti wing.	56	To him in his mighty wing.
Micht hyt twk // mi ocht tw tel //		We aisk with bok we wish with bel	57	Might hyt twk, mi ocht tw tel,	61	Mighty he took, me ought to tell,
owr sols off hel // tw soels off hicht :/		tw hefn ffwl wel to haf on fflight		Owr sols off hel, tw soels off hicht,		Our Souls of hell, to soils of Hight, 9.height.
wi aish wyth bwk // wi wish wyth bel ///				Wi aish wyth bwk, wi wish wyth bel,		We 9aish with book, we wish with bell,
tw hefn ffwl wel /// tw haf on fflicht ./			60	To hefn ffwl wel, tw haf on fflicht.	64	To heaven full well, to have on flight.

Awl dids wél dywn //		Awl deds wel dwn	65	Awl dids wel do↑wn↑n	71	All deeds well done,
tabyd deo bwn / } a gwd met wricht		tabyd Deo bwn } a gwd met wright		Tabyd Deo bwn } a gwd met wrig↑c↑ht		9Tabyd Deo boon, } a good met wright
a god mad trwn //	35	a god Mad trwn		A God mad trwn		A God made troon
and se so swyn //		And se so swyn		And se so swyn		And say so soon,
and north and mwn // } and so non nicht · /		and north and nwn ↑ noon } and So non might		And north and nwn } and so non nicht.	75	And north and noon } and so none might.
and synn an mwn //		and Syn and Moo↑w↑n	70	And synn and mon	76	And sun and moon
as swyn as preid // ys now syprest		As swyn as Preid ys now sypresst	77	As swyn ad preid, is now syprest	85	As soon as pride, is now suprest
hys sol ys beste /// his sol ys picht	40	hys soll is best, his Soul is picht		Hys sel ys best, hys sol ys picht		His zeal is best his soul is picht,
Ei tel tw yo //		Ei tel to yo		I tel tw yo		I tell to you
as sym dwth shio // } wi uws not richt:		as sym do shio } we uws not right	80	As sym dwth shio } Wi uws not richt		As some doth show } we use not richt.
as now ei tro //		as now Ei tro		As now ei tro		As now I trow

a boy wyth a bo //		A boy with bo		A boy wyth bo	90	A boy with's bow
hys lw↑o↑kes is s↑l↑o . } hym↑2↑ ffrom↑1↑ a knicht	45	his loks is so } him ffrom a knight		Hys loowk is lo } hym ffrom a knicht		His look is low } him from a Knight.
how mae yw know		How mae yw knu	84	How mae yw kno	92	How may you know him
Dde trvwith ys kyt // ddat yerth ys kast //		Dde truwth ys kyt ddath yerth is kast	93	Dde truwth ys kyt, ddat yerth ys kast,	97	The truth is cut, that earth is cast,
dde ends bi last // dde hands bi licht /.		dde ends bi last dde hands bi light		Dde ends bi last, th↑dd↑e hands bei light,		The ends be last, the hands be light,
o God set yt // gwd as yt was //		O God set it gwd as yt was	95	O God set yt, gwd as yt was		O God set it, good as it was,
dde rvwl dwth pass // dde world hath picht	50	dde ruwl doth past dde wold hath pight	96	Dde ruwl dwth pass, thdde world hath picht	100	The rule doth pass, the world hath pight.
A preti thing wi prae to thest //		A pretti thing wi pray to thest	101	A preti thing, we prae to thest	111	A pretty thing, we pray to thest
ddat gwd bi hest // ddat God bihicht · /		ddat gw bi hest that God behight		Ddat gwd bi hest, that God bi hicht		That good be hest, that God be hight,
and hi was ffiging // yntw hys ffest //		and he was ffiging with his ffest		And he was ffiging, yntw his ffest,		And he was ffiging, unto his fest

ddat eer shal lest // wyth deivers licht ·/		that ever shall last, with deverse light		Ddat ever shal lest wyth deivers licht		That ever shall lest with divers light
dde world away /	55	the word away ys donn as day	105	Dde world away	115	The world away
ys dynn as day // } yt ys nei nicht ·/		yt ys no nay it is nei night		Ys dynn as day } yt ys nei nicht		Is done as day } It is nigh night,
yt ys no nay //				Yt ys no nay _		It is no nay
as owld éi say //		As owld I say		As owld ei say		As old I say
ei was yn ffay // } wld God ei nicht ·/		Ei was yn ffay } wld God I might		Ei was ynffay } wld God ei nicht.		I was in ffay } would God I might.
eild a gwd may //		eild a good may	110	Eild a gwd may	120	Yield a good may
Awar wi wowld /	60	Away wi would	121	Awar wi wowld / wewld	127	Aware we would,
dde syns ddey sowld // } in a bant hicht ·/		dde sins they sowld } in a bant hight		Dde syns thddey sowld } in a bant hight		The sins they sold, } in a bant hight
and bi not howld //		and be not ho↑w↑ld		And bi not howld		And be not hold
and ywng and owld //				And ywng and owld	130	And young and old

wyth hym ddei howld // } ddat Dsiesws hicht		and ywng and owld	125	Wyth hym thddei howld } Ddat Siesws hight.		With him they hold } the Jesus hight.
dde Dsie↑v↑ws has sowld		with him thei howld } that Ddsiesws hight	126	Dde Siws hav sowld	132	The Jew hav sold
	65	dde Dsiws has sold				
O trysti kreist // ddat werst a krown /		O tryti Crist ddat werst a krown	133	O trysti Kreist, ddat werst a krown,	141	O trusty Christ, that werst a crown,
er wi dei down // a redi dicht		er we dei down a redi dight		Er wi dei down, a redi deicht,		Ere we die down a ready dight;
Tw thank to↑w↑ ddi //		tw thank to ddi	135	Tw thank tw ddi		To thank to thee,
at dde rwd tri // } ddey now tw licht ./		at dde rwd tri } ddein own tw light		At dde rwd tri } ddey now tw licht		At the rood tree } they now to light,.
dden went all wi //	70	then went all we		ThDden went awl wi	145	Then went all we
tw grawnt agri //				Tw grawnt agri		To grant agree
amen wyth mi // } ddi tw mei sicht ./		Tw grawnt agri		Amen wyth mi } ddi tw mei sicht.		Amen with me } thee to my sight.

ddat ei mae si //		amen wyth mi } ddi to my sight	140	Ddat ei mae si	148	That I may see
		ddat I mae si				
Owr lwk owr king // owr lók owr k↑a↑e ///		Owr lwc our king owr look our kae	149	Owr lwck our King, owr lok owr ke	159	Our luck our King, our lock our key
mei God ei prae /// mi geid ypricht ·/	75	Mei God ei pray mi geid upright	150	Mei God ei prae, mei geid yprecht,	160	My God I pray, my guide upright,
ei sîk ei sing // ei sh↑i↑ak ei sae ///		Ei sik I sing, I siak I say		Ei sik ei sing, ei shak ei sae,		I seek, I sing, I shake I say,
ei wer awae /// a wiri wicht ·/		Ei wer away a wiri wight		Ei wer awae, a wiri wight ;		I wear away, a wiry wight.
ei↑a_↑ gaynst ei go ///				Agaynst ei go,		Against I go
mei ffrynds mi ffro // } wyth ffynd ei ffeicht		Against ei go		Mei ffrynds mi ffro, } wyth ffynd ei ffeicht,		My friend mi fro } with fiend I fight.
a↑ei↑ ffo↑w↑nd ei↑a↑ ffo //		Me ffrynds my ffro } with ffynd I fight	155	Ei ffownd a ffo	165	I found a foe
ei sing also //	80	ei ffound a ffo		Ei sing also,		I sing also,
yn welth and wo // }				Yn welth yn wo. } tw kwin off nicht.		In wealth in wo, } to Queen of might.

ei kan no mo //		Ei sing also	158	Ei kan no mo.	168	I can no mo
		yn wealth and wo } tw kwin of might				
Ieuan ap Rhydderch // medd eraill		Ei can no mo		Phai [?] a ddywedant, mai Ieuan ap Rhydderch ap Ieuan Llwyd o Ogorddan, yr hwn oedd yn byw o gylch y Fl.1420, a'i Cant; eraill, mai Ieuan ap Hywel Swrdwal, yr hwn by yng. hylch y Fl.1460. Yr hwn Gordd uchod, a'sgrifonnwyd allan o Llyfr Sion ap William Sion o Gell Lyfrdy yn Swydd Fflint, yr hwn yn byw o gylch y Fl. 1630 A.D. 1785		
Ieuan ap hywel Siwrdwal / ai kant ./						
		Ieuan ap Rhydderch medd erall Ieuan				
		ap Howel Swordwal ai cant				

III. Translation of the 'To the Reader' and 'Introduction' of *Yr Hynafion Cymreig* (Hughes 1823, pages iii-vi)

To the Reader

The following Essay on the *Welsh Antiquities* is published for the purpose of explaining the Traditions, Rituals and Superstitions of Wales, which, by their antiquity, are close to being completely unknown to the present age, in terms of their origin and their meaning.

The success of the Gospel in Wales, in the last century, has been the means to abolish many of the old Rituals and Superstitions that were formerly common in the state; because of that, some extraordinary things may be spoken of here that the young readers have not heard of before; that is no reason for them to think that such things have never existed in Wales, but rather it is an encouragement for them to strive to become acquainted with such Customs and Rituals, which were the main means of keeping the Welsh a separate nation, and prevent them from being entirely swallowed up by the various oppressors who tired them before.

The Traditions and Rituals of the Welsh are worthy of our attention, because they prove so effectively the antiquity of the nation; some of them refer directly to the flood, others to various important events before the flood, and some of them are so ancient that it is not known what they refer to if not the creation of the world.

The author of the *Antiquities* does not claim authorship in the least measure; most of them are translated from that famous book in English, called "Cambrian Popular Antiquities." The writer is also indebted to Giraldus Cambrensis, and to several other old authors, for many of the Rituals, Superstitions, and other Remarks that are included in it. The writer did his best to search for their origin, and he hopes that the reader will find his comments on them worth his pain to consider, and full of information.

The Publishers of this book have spared neither labour nor expense to make it acceptable to his countrymen, and also useful to them. The illustrations are based on the most important subjects, and carved by one of the best carvers, in the most beautiful way. Several parts of the book's Poetry have been composed by the main Poets of the Principality.

Introduction

When the behaviours, customs, and rituals of a nation, through national causes or other phenomena, have changed in general, the search for what they were in former times becomes important and desirable, not only to satisfy curiosity, but often as a means to dispel doubts, and ensure laudable imaginations, which the regular historian takes instead of truth. In that part of history which relates most specifically to the origin of nations, the search for folk customs and traditions is more important than it is generally considered; for it is noticeable, since whatever the diversity in customs and rituals of the nobles and the middle people, among any nation, the various traditions, superstitions, sports, and rituals are kept by the common people, without knowing or considering where they came from, just because it was customary to do so. Such is the steadfast adherence of the common people to maintain several of them, that it is difficult to determine the cause of that, unless they were impressed upon the minds of such nations, when they were first formed into regular societies, and had an established form of religion and government: others refer to later circumstances, easy to find out. But in the end the oldest of them contain a lot which helps to know what the religious and political principles of the nation were, and what the state of the nation itself was in different ages, even though, at first sight, they seem insignificant, and thus historians pass them by unnoticed. Such are the ceremonies of April Day, and May Day, and John's Day, and All Saints' Day, – the great stone circles, and the remains of law courts and places of worship in the high places of Wales.

These old things belong to those early times, when the Britons withdrew from the rest of mankind, and took their journey westwards, as a separate tribe, and with them some dark tradition of the deluge, and a ceremonial commemoration of the weighty events that took place before the flood: and the religion, although it was not as perfect as the religion of Noah and the patriarchs, was still untainted by idolatry. It is likely that the sanctity of high places has originated from the necessity of choosing such places to hold their national meetings, when the lowlands were covered by trees; and consequently, the same custom was followed, in later times, when they could be held in more convenient places, out of religious respect for such places. The beginning of the practice of putting prisoners of war to death can also be attributed to a kind of necessity; and it is thought, with more justice than a cruel principle, that there is no doubt that the practice will go that way in succeeding ages. Having won a victory over their enemies, the conquerors or the prisoners had to starve, so it was necessary to kill them in a country where the inhabitants would live on the accidents of the day. This became a religious

ceremony through the usual course of old rituals of a public nature, of such events this is the most appalling example.

Of the persons, temperament, disposition, and behaviours of the Welsh, the description given by Giraldus Cambrensis* is just as appropriate today. In their dress, there was nothing special, in his time, that distinguished them from their English neighbours, in the same circumstances. Their dress and behaviour, when the Romans were among them, have been described so often, that there is no need to say anything about them in a work, the purpose of which is to notice, and explain, old traditions and customs of the Welsh in terms of their origin and meaning.

*In the time of Henry II.

Bibliography

Manuscripts

‘Y Bardd a Saesnes’

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Llanstephan MS. 6.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Llanstephan MS. 47. (461)

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Llanstephan MS. 122 (58)

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Llanstephan MS. 133 (600)

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Llanstephan MS. 134.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth MS. 104.

‘The Hymn to the Virgin’

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Cardiff Free Library MS. 5.44.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Cwrtmawr MS. 11.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Llanover MS. 13068B.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Llanstephan MS. 47.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Llanstephan MS. 53.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Llanstephan MS. 54.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Panton MS. 33.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Panton MS. 42.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth MS. 96.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth MS. 98b.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth MS. 111.

London, British Library, MS. Additional 14866.

Oxford, Balliol College, Balliol MS. 353.

Primary Sources

Brooks, C. Smith, D.N. 1957. *The Percy Letters: Correspondance of Percy & Evan Evans*. Louisiana State University Press.

Evans, E. 1772. *The Love of Our Country*. Carmarthen: Ross.

Evans, E. 1776. *Casgliad o Bregethau*. Shrewsbury: J. Eddowes.

Hughes, H. 1823. *Yr Hynafion Cymreig*. Caerfyrddin.

Furnivall, F.J. and Ellis, A.J. 1880. 'An English Hymn to the Virgin and a Welshman's copy of it soon after'. *Archaeologia Cambrensis* XI (XLIV). 300-307.

Prise, J. 1573. *Historiae Britannicae Defensio*. London.

Pughe, W.O. 1796. *The Cambrian Register*. London: E. & T. Williams.

Secondary Sources

Ball, M.J. & Jones, G.E. (eds). 1984. *Welsh Phonology*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Barber, C. Beal, J.C. Shaw, P.A. 2009. *The English Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bowen, G. 1959. 'Williams, Samuel (c.1660-c.1722), cleric and author.' *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*. <<https://biography.wales/article/s-WILL-SAM-1660>> [accessed 09/07/2023]

Bowen, G. 1959. 'Williams, Moses (1685-1742), cleric and scholar.' *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*. <<https://biography.wales/article/s-WILL-MOS-1685>> [accessed 09/07/2023]

Brady, L. 2011. 'Booklet Ten of Peniarth 359: An Early Modern English Astrological Manual Encoded through Welsh Phonology.' *Studia Celtica* 45. 159-183.

Brinley Jones, R. 1970. *The Old British tongue: The Vernacular in Wales 1540-1640*. Cardiff: Avalon Books.

Brinley Jones, R. 1994. *William Salesbury*. Cardiff: Cardiff University Press.

Briquet, C-M. 1923. *Les Filigranes : Dictionnaire historique des marques de papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*. Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann.

Caerwyn Williams, J.E. 1959. 'Tudur Penllyn (c.1420--c.1485-1490), bard.' *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*. <<https://biography.wales/article/s-TUDU-PEN-1420>> [accessed 09/07/2023]

Caerwyn Williams, J.E. 2004. 'Swordwal, Hywel.' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/48652>> [accessed 09/07/2023]

Cartwright, J. 2008. *Feminine Sanctity and Spirituality in Medieval Wales*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Cerquiglini, B. 1989. *Éloge de la variante : Histoire critique de la philologie*. Paris : Seuil.

Charles-Edwards, T.M., Owen, M.E., Russell, P. (eds). 2000. *The Welsh King and his Court*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Colley, L. 1992. *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Conran, T. 1995. 'Ieuan ap Hywel Swardwal's Hymn to the Virgin.' *Welsh Writing in English vol. 1*. 5-22.

Cook, M. 2019. *The Poet and the Antiquaries: Chaucerian Scholarship and the Rise of Literary History, 1532-1635*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Davies, C. & Law, J.E. (eds). 2005. *The Renaissance and the Celtic Countries*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Davies, J. 2007. *A History of Wales*. London: Penguin Books.

Davies, J. 2014. *The Welsh Language: a History*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Davies, W.L. 1959. 'JONES, JOHN (born c. 1578-1583, died 1658?), notable calligrapher and transcriber of manuscripts, of Gellilyfdy (Loveday), Ysgeifiog, Flintshire.' *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*. <<https://biography.wales/article/s-JONE-JOH-1578?>> [accessed 12/01/2024].

Dillon, E. 2012. *The Sense of Sound: Musical Meaning in France, 1260-1330*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dobson, E.J. 1955. 'The Hymn to the Virgin.' *The Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, Session 1954. 70-124.

- Dobson, E.J. 1968. *English Pronunciation 1500-1700*. Oxford: Oxford Clarendon Press.
- Edwards, E. 2013. *English Language Poetry from Wales 1789-1806*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Ehrsam Voigts, L. 1996. 'What's the Word? Bilingualism in Late-Medieval England.' *Speculum*, Vol. 71. 813-826.
- Ellis, M. 1959. 'VAUGHAN, ROWLAND (c.1590-1667), of Caer-gai, Merioneth, poet, translator, and Royalist.' Dictionary of Welsh Biography. <<https://biography.wales/article/s-VAUG-ROW-1590?>> [accessed 12/01/2024].
- Evans, D.S. 1876. *Gwaith y Parcheddig Evan Evans, Ieuan Brydydd Hir*. Caernarfon: Argraffedig Gan H. Humphreys.
- Evans, E. 1959. 'IEUAN ap HYWEL SWRDWAL (fl. 1430-1480), poet.' *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*. <<https://biography.wales/article/s-IEUA-APH-1430?=1>> [accessed 12/01/2024].
- Evans, J.G. 1898-1910. *Reports on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language*. London: Historical Manuscripts Commission.
- Evans, M.D. 2004. 'Davies, John.' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/7246>> [accessed 12/01/2024].
- Evans, R.J.W. 2010. 'Wales and Oxford: Historical Aspects, National and International'. In Charles-Edwards, T.M. and Evans, R.J.W. (eds.) *Wales and the Wider World: Welsh History in an International Context*. 118-138. Donington: Shaun Tyas.
- Fleschman, S. 1990. 'Philology, Linguistics, and the Discourse of the Medieval Text.' *Speculum*, vol.65. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 19-37.
- Foster Evans, D. 2000. *Gwaith Hywel Swrdwal a'i Deulu*. Cyfres Beirdd yr Uchelwyr. Aberystwyth: Canolfan Uwchefrydiau Cymreig a Cheltaidd Prifysgol Cymru.
- Foster Evans, D. 2004. 'Panton, Paul.' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/21236>> [accessed 12/01/2024]
- Förster, M. 1926. 'Datierung und Charakter des kymrisch-englischen Marien-Hymnus'. *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*. Der Neueren Serie 50. Band. 187-202.

- Fryde, E. B. 1983. *Humanism and Renaissance Historiography*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Garlick, R. 1972. *An Introduction to Anglo-Welsh Literature*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Garlick, R. 1985. *The Hymn to the Virgin attributed to Ieuan ap Hywel Swrdwal*. Powys: Gwasg Gregynog.
- Garlick, R. and Mathias, R. 1982. *Anglo-Welsh Poetry 1480-1990*. Bridgend: Seren.
- German, G.D. 2000. 'L'analyse phonétique de trois poèmes anglo-gallois du 15ème siècle : l'orthographe galloise comme indice pour la prononciation de l'anglais moderne primitif.' *Bulletin des anglicistes médiévistes*, N°57. pp. 1-22
- Griffen, T.D. 2004. *Phonetic Regularity in Welsh Poetry*. New York: The Edwin Mellen Press.
- Griffiths, R.A. 2001. 'After Glyn Dŵr: An Age of Reconciliation?' *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Volume 117. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 139-164.
- Gruffydd, R.G. 1990. 'The Renaissance and Welsh Literature.' *The Celts and the Renaissance: Tradition and Innovation*. Williams G. and Jones R.O. (eds). Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Gruffydd, R.G. (ed). 1997. *A Guide to Welsh Literature c.1530-1700*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Hanna, R. 2017. 'Manuscript Catalogues and Book History.' *The Library: The Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, Volume 18. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Harries, L. 1959. 'Huw Cae Llwyd (fl. 1431-1504), poet.' *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*. <<https://biography.wales/article/s-HUW0-LLW-1431>> [accessed 09/07/2023]
- Harries, W.G. 2004. 'Fychan, Simwnt [Simon Vaughan].' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/25610>> [accessed 12/01/2024]
- Horobin, S. & Smith, J.J. 2002. *An Introduction to Middle English*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Hughes, G.H. 1959. 'JOHNS, DAVID (fl. 1569-1586), cleric and poet.' *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*. <<https://biography.wales/article/s-JOHN-DAV-1569?>> [accessed 12/01/2024].

Hughes, G.H. 1959. 'DWNN, LEWYS (c. 1550 - c. 1616), or LEWYS ap RHYS ab OWAIN, of Betws Cedewain, Montgomeryshire, genealogist.' *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*.

<<https://biography.wales/article/s-DWNN-LEW-1550?>> [accessed 12/01/2024].

Hughes, G.H. 1959. 'DWNN, JAMES (c. 1570 - c. 1660), poet, from Montgomeryshire.'

Dictionary of Welsh Biography. <<https://biography.wales/article/s-DWNN-JAM-1570?>>

[accessed 12/01/2024].

Huws, D. 2004. 'Maurice, William.' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

<<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18388>> [accessed 12/01/2024].

Jarman, A.O.H. & Hughes, G. R. (eds). 1997. *A Guide to Welsh Literature 1282-c.1550*.

Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Jarvis, B. (ed). 2000. *A Guide to Welsh Literature c.1700-1800*. Cardiff: University of Wales

Press.

Jenkins, B. M. 2017. *Between Wales and England: Anglophone Welsh Writing of the*

Eighteenth Century. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Jenkins, D. 1959. 'ELLIS, DAVID (1736 - 1795), cleric, poet, translator, and transcriber of

manuscripts.' *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*. <[https://biography.wales/article/s-ELLI-DAV-](https://biography.wales/article/s-ELLI-DAV-1736?)

[1736?](https://biography.wales/article/s-ELLI-DAV-1736?)> [accessed 12/01/2024].

Jenkins, G.H. (ed). 1997. *The Welsh Language before the Industrial Revolution*. Cardiff:

University of Wales Press.

Jenkins, G. H. 2004. 'Evans, Evan [pseud. Ieuan Fardd; called Ieuan Brydydd Hir].' *Oxford*

Dictionary of National Biography. <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/8955>> [accessed

12/01/2024].

Jenkins, G.H. 2007. *A Concise History of Wales*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jenkins-Jones, R. M. 1885-1900. 'Price, Thomas (fl. 1586-1632).' *Dictionary of National*

Biography. Volume 46.

<[https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Dictionary_of_National_Biography,_1885-](https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Dictionary_of_National_Biography,_1885-1900/Price,_Thomas_(fl.1586-1632))

[1900/Price,_Thomas_\(fl.1586-1632\)](https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Dictionary_of_National_Biography,_1885-1900/Price,_Thomas_(fl.1586-1632))> [accessed 09/07/2023]

Jenkins, R.T. 1959. 'Hughes, Hugh (1790-1863), artist and author.' *Dictionary of Welsh*

Biography. <<https://biography.wales/article/s-HUGH-HUG-1790>> [accessed 09/07/2023]

- Jenkins, R.T. 1959. 'JONES, WILLIAM (1675?-1749), mathematician.' *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*. <<https://biography.wales/article/s-JONE-WIL-1675?>> [accessed 12/01/2024].
- Johnson, C. 1981-2. 'Evan Evans: Dissertatio de Bardis.' *National Library of Wales Journal*, 22.
- Johnston, D. 1998. *Canu Maswedd yr Oesoedd Canol / Medieval Welsh Erotic Poetry*. Bridgend: Seren.
- Johnson, I. 2018. 'A Sensibility of the Miscellaneous?' Corbellini, S. Murano, G. Signore, G. (eds) *Collecting, Organizing and Transmitting Knowledge*. Turnhout: Brepols.
- Jones, E.D. 1959. 'Maurice, William (died 1680), antiquary and collector of manuscripts.' *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*. <<https://biography.wales/article/s-MAUR-WIL-1680>> [accessed 09/07/2023]
- Jones, E.D. 1959. 'PRICE (or PRYS), Sir JOHN (1502? - 1555), notary public, the king's principal registrar in causes ecclesiastical, and secretary of the Council in Wales and the Marches.' *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*. <<https://biography.wales/article/s-PRIC-JOH-1502#?>> [accessed 12/01/2024].
- Jones, F. 1992. *The Holy Wells of Wales*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Jones, G. 1977. *The Oxford Book of Welsh Verse in English*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jones, W. 1799. *The Works of Sir William Jones*. London: Robinson.
- Lambdin, R.T. 2013. 'Clanvowe, Sir John.' *Encyclopedia of Medieval Literature*. Lambdin, L.C. and Lambdin, R.T. (eds). London: Taylor and Francis.
- Lewis, A. 1959. 'EVANS, EVAN (Ieuan Fardd or Ieuan Brydydd Hir 1731 - 1788), scholar, poet, and cleric.' *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*. <<https://biography.wales/article/s-EVAN-EVA-1731?>> [accessed 12/01/2024].
- Lloyd, N. 2004. 'Jones, John.' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/68197>> [accessed 12/01/2024].
- Lockwood, W.B. 1975. *Languages of the British Isles Past and Present*. London: André Deutsch.

- Matonis, A.T.E. 1988. 'The Harley Lyrics: English and Welsh Convergences.' *Modern Philology*, Vol. 86, No. 1. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1-21.
- Momma, H. 2013. *From Philology to English Studies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Morgan, F.C. 1956. 'The will of Sir John Prise of Hereford, 1555'. *National Library of Wales Journal*, 9 (1955-6). 155-61.
- Morgan, P. 2001. 'A Brief History of the Cymmrodorion By the President, Professor Emeritus Prys Morgan.' <<https://www.cymmrodorion.org/the-society/our-history/>> [accessed 09/07/2023]
- Morgan P. 2005. 'Williams, Edward [pseud. Iolo Morganwg].' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University press. <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29498>> [accessed 09/07/2023]
- Morris-Jones, J. 1913. *A Welsh Grammar, Historical and Comparative*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Mynors, R. 1963. *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College Oxford*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Nichols, S.G. 1990. 'Philology in Manuscript Culture.' *Speculum*, vol. 65. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1-10
- Parry-Williams, T.H. 1923. *The English Element in Welsh*. London: Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion.
- Phillips, T. O. 1959. 'LLYWELYN SION (1540 - 1615?), poet, farmer, at one time beadle or crier in the courts, a professional copyist by trade, and one of the most important figures in the literary life of Glamorganshire in the second half of the 16th century.' *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*. <<https://biography.wales/article/s-LLYW-SIO-1540>> [accessed 12/01/2024].
- Prescott, S. 2006. "Gray's Pale Spectre": Evan Evans, Thomas Gray, and the Rise of Welsh Bardic Nationalism.' *Modern Philology*, 104. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 72-95.
- Prescott, S. 2008. *Eighteenth-century writing from Wales*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

- Pryce, H. 2008. 'Prise, Sir John [Syr Siôn ap Rhys].' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22752>. [accessed 12/01/2024].
- Roberts, B. F. 2004. 'Johns [Jones], David.' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/14987>> [accessed 12/01/2024].
- Roberts, R. F. 1959. 'Davies, John (Dr. John Davies of Mallwyd, c. 1567 – 1644), one of the greatest of Welsh scholars.' *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*. <<https://biography.wales/article/s-DAVI-JOH-1567>> [accessed 09/07/2023]
- Roberts, T. 1958. *Gwaith Tudur Penllyn ac Ieuan ap Tudur Penllyn*. Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru.
- Robbins, R.H. 1952. *Secular Lyrics of the XIVth and XVth Centuries*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Romaine, S. 1995. *Bilingualism*. Oxford: Blackwell Press.
- Rowlands, W. 1959. 'Prys (Price), Thomas, of Plas Iolyn (1564? – 1634), poet and adventurer.' *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*. <<https://biography.wales/article/s-PRYS-THO-1564>> [accessed 09/07/2023]
- Rowlands, W. D. 2004. 'Price, Thomas [Tomos Prys].' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22766>> [accessed 12/01/2024].
- Russell, P. 1995. *An Introduction to the Celtic Languages*. New York: Longman.
- Seahill, J. 2003. 'Trilingualism in Early Middle English Miscellanies: Languages and Literature.' *The Yearbook of English Studies*, Vol. 33. 18-32.
- Schwyzler, P. 2004. *Literature, Nationalism and Memory in Early Modern England and Wales*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sebba, M. 1998. 'Orthography as Practice and Ideology: The Case of Manx.' Lancaster University.
- Sebba, M. 2009. 'Sociolinguistic Approaches to Writing Systems Research.' Lancaster University.
- Shakespeare, W., Wilson, J.D. (ed.). 2010 *The First Part of the History of Henry IV*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Sherman, W.H. 2010. *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Siddons, M. 2004. 'Dwnn, Lewys [Lewys ap Rhys ab Owain].' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/8340> [accessed 12/01/2024].
- Siddons, M. 2006. 'genealogies [2] Welsh.' Koch, J.T. (ed). *Celtic Culture : A Historical Encyclopedia*. Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio.
- Simon Evans, D. 1964. *A Grammar of Middle Welsh*. Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.
- Smith, J.J. 1996. *An Historical Study of English*. London: Routledge.
- Smith, J.J. 2020. *Transforming Early English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Stephens, M. 1998. *The New Companion to the Literature of Wales*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Stewart, I.B. 2019. 'The Mother Tongue: Historical Study of the Celts and their language(s) in Eighteenth-century Britain and Ireland.' *Past & Present*, Vol. 243 Issue 1. 71-107.
- Thomas, D. Ll. 1885-1900. 'Llywelyn of Llangewydd.' *Dictionary of National Biography*, Volume 34. <https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Dictionary_of_National_Biography,_1885-1900/Llywelyn_of_Llangewydd> [accessed 09/07/2023].
- Thomas, D.Ll. 1885-1900. 'Ieuan ap Hywel Swrdwal.' *Dictionary of National Biography*, Volume 28. <https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Dictionary_of_National_Biography,_1885-1900/Ieuan_ab_Hywel_Swrdwal> [accessed 12/01/2024].
- Thomas, I. 1967. *William Salesbury and his Testament*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Thomas, M.W. 2006. 'Anglo-Welsh Literature' in Koch, J.T. (ed.). *Celtic Culture: A Historical Encyclopedia*. 61-67. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO.
- Thuillier, M. 2017. *Chwedl o Rhydychen: A Study of the Welsh Hymn to the Virgin*. MA Dissertation: University of Glasgow.
- Thuillier, M. 2018. 'The Welsh Hymn to the Virgin: Transmission and Cultural Identity from the Late Middle Ages to the Present Day'. *eSharp*, Issue 26. 29-42.

- Thuillier, M. 2019. *The Welsh Hymn to the Virgin: Contexts and Reception*. MPhil Thesis. University of Glasgow.
- Trumpener, K. 1997. *Bardic Nationalism: The Romantic Novel and the British Empire*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Vaillant, A. 2012. *Dictionnaire du Romantisme*. Paris: CNRS Éditions.
- William, D. W. 2004. 'Morris, Richard.' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19315>> [accessed 09/07/2023]
- Williams, G. 1976. *The Welsh Church From Conquest to Reformation*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Williams, G. 1979. *Religion, Language and Nationality in Wales: Historical Essays*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Williams, G. 1987. *Recovery, reorientation and Reformation*. Oxford: Clarendon Press / University of Wales Press.
- Williams, G. 2004. 'Llywelyn Siôn [Llywelyn of Llangewydd].' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/16877>> [accessed 12/01/2024]
- Williams G. J. 1959. 'PUGHE, WILLIAM OWEN (1759 - 1835), lexicographer, grammarian, editor, antiquary, and poet.' <https://biography.wales/article/s-PUGH-OWE-1759?> [accessed 12/01/2024].
- Williams, G. & Jones, R.O. (eds). 1990. *The Celts and the Renaissance: Tradition and Innovation*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Willis, D. 2009. 'Old and Middle Welsh.' *The Celtic Languages*. London: Routledge.

Websites

- Cambrian Archaeological Association <<https://cambrians.org.uk/archaeologia-cambrensis/>> [accessed 10/07/2023]
- Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion <<https://www.cymmrodorion.org/the-society/our-history/>> [accessed 10/07/2023]

National Library of Wales <<https://www.library.wales/catalogues-searching/about-our-collections/manuscripts/the-llanstephan-manuscripts>> [accessed 10/07/2023]

National Library of Wales Archives and Manuscripts

<<https://archifau.llyfrgell.cymru/index.php/y-llyfr-hir-or-mwythig>> [accessed 10/07/2023]

National Libray of Wales, Finding Aid – Panton Manuscripts (GB 0210 MSPANT)

<<https://archifau.llyfrgell.cymru/downloads/panton-manuscripts.pdf>> [accessed 15/01/2024]

<<https://archifau.llyfrgell.cymru/index.php/poetry-39>> [accessed 10/07/2023]