

NLW MS 5267B; a partial transcription and commentary

Dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of
MPhil in Welsh and Celtic Studies

Cardiff University

December 2015

School of Welsh

Rebecca Try

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|---|----|
| List of Abbreviations..... | iv |
| Acknowledgements | v |
| Introduction..... | vi |
| Methodology..... | ix |
| Chapter 1: The Manuscript | 1 |
| 1.1. Manuscript History..... | 1 |
| 1.2. The Scribe | 2 |
| 1.3. Relationships to other Manuscripts | 6 |
| 1.4. The manuscript object..... | 8 |
| 1.5. Manuscript Contents | 9 |
| 1.6. Background to the Texts..... | 11 |
| 1.7. Folios 45-47; the uncatalogued section..... | 12 |
| 1.8. Glosses | 19 |
| Chapter 2: Buchedd Catrin Sant | 22 |
| 2.1. Transcription and Translation..... | 22 |
| Discussion..... | 55 |
| 2.2 Introduction: The Cult..... | 55 |
| 2.3 Catharine's History and Summary of Translation | 56 |
| 2.4 Larger Literary Tradition of the Life | 58 |
| 2.5 Welsh Traditions..... | 59 |
| 2.6 The Audience | 63 |
| 2.7 Miscellaneous..... | 66 |
| 2.8 <i>Buchedd Catrin</i> and <i>Y Casgliad Brith</i> | 68 |
| Chapter 3: Rinwedeu Efferen y Sul | 71 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| 3.1. Transcription and Translation | 71 |
| Discussion | 76 |
| 3.2 Introduction | 76 |
| 3.3 Milieu | 77 |
| 3.4 Relationship between texts..... | 86 |
| 3.5 <i>Rinwedeu</i> and <i>Y Casgliad Brith</i> | 89 |
| Chapter 4: Annals..... | 91 |
| 4.1. Transcription and Translation..... | 91 |
| Discussion | 97 |
| 4.2 Introduction | 97 |
| 4.3 Comparison: Dating Differences | 99 |
| 4.4 Comparison: Omissions | 105 |
| 4.5 Abbreviations | 112 |
| 4.6 Orthography..... | 112 |
| 4.7 The Hyparchetype..... | 115 |
| Chapter 5: Breuddwyd Pawl | 120 |
| 5.1. Transcription and Translation..... | 120 |
| Discussion | 136 |
| 5.2 Introduction | 136 |
| 5.3 The history of the text..... | 136 |
| 5.4 The Welsh versions | 138 |
| 5.5 Abbreviations | 142 |
| 5.6 Relationships between the texts..... | 143 |
| 5.7 Conclusions | 144 |
| Chapter 6: Enryveddodeu Ynys Bryden | 145 |
| 6.1. Transcription and Translation..... | 145 |
| Discussion | 165 |
| 6.2 Introduction | 165 |
| 6.3 Review of Scholarship | 166 |
| 6.4 Relationship of Manuscripts | 170 |
| 6.5 <i>Enryveddodeu Ynys Bryden</i> and <i>Y Casgliad Brith</i> | 176 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| Chapter 7: Conclusions..... | 178 |
| 7.1 Audience | 178 |
| 7.2 Purpose..... | 180 |
| 7.3 Relationship to other manuscripts..... | 182 |
| 7.4 The Manuscript Object..... | 185 |
| 7.5 Y Casgliad Brith..... | 187 |
| Bibliography | 189 |
| Buchedd Catrin | 196 |
| Appendix A: Texts and their Manuscript Context (texts to 1450) | 196 |
| Rinwedeu Efferen y Sul..... | 197 |
| Annals..... | 198 |
| Breuddwyd Pawl | 199 |
| Annals..... | 199 |
| Enryveddodeu Ynys Bryden | 200 |
| Appendix B: Folios 45-47 | 203 |
| Appendix C: Tri broder and Benwyn's Englyn ff. 60v and 84v | 208 |
| Dafydd Benwyn's Englyn | 208 |
| Annals Appendix A: Peniarth 50 transcription..... | 210 |
| Annals Appendix B: Dates Comparison..... | 211 |
| <i>Breuddwyd Pawl</i> Appendix A; the Manuscript groups | 219 |
| <i>Breuddwyd Pawl</i> Appendix B: The Sections of 5267b version | 221 |
| <i>Breuddwyd Pawl</i> Appendix C | 225 |
| Enryveddodeu Ynys Bryden Appendix A | 230 |
| Enryveddodeu Ynys Bryden Appendix B | 234 |
| Enryveddodeu Ynys Bryden Appendix C | 239 |

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|----------------|--|
| BBCS | Bulletin for the Board of Celtic Studies |
| BC | Buchedd Catrin |
| BP | Breuddwyd Pawl |
| BYB | Brut y Brenhinoedd |
| BYT | Brut y Tywysogion |
| CB | <i>Y Casgliad Brith</i> , the name of the manuscript (Aberystwyth, NLW 5267b) |
| EYP | Enryveddodeu ynys Bryden |
| HFC | Daniel Huws' forthcoming 'Catalogue of Manuscripts' |
| Llanst. | Llanstephan |
| MS | Manuscript |
| MSS | Manuscripts |
| NLW | National Library of Wales |
| Pen. | Peniarth |
| RBH | Red Book of Hergest, Oxford Jesus College MS 111, c. 1375- 1425 |
| RES | Rinwedeu Efferen y Sul |
| RhG | The <i>Rhyddiaith Ganoloesol</i> project |
| WB | White Book of Rhydderch, NLW Peniarth 4, c. 1350 |

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are several people without whom this MPhil would not have been possible. First and foremost, my supervisors Professor Sioned Davies and Dr Dylan Foster Evans, whose advice, assistance, and patience have allowed me to complete this study.

Secondly, those without whom I would never have found this manuscript; Professor Paul Russell, for teaching me Middle Welsh, and Professor Patrick Sims-Williams who was the first to make me think of '5267' as more than a Personal Identification Number.

To those who have provided me with their own transcriptions, advice, and encouragement in the past year; Ben Guy, Catherine Byfield, Charlotte Kenealy, Jessica Kershaw, James McIntosh, Maura McKeon, Sara-Louise Smith, and Elizabeth Meg Wilson.

It would also have been impossible without the help of my family; Gwyneth, Robyn, and Tamsin, and my boyfriend, Michael, all of whom have supported me physically and spiritually in the last year.

Above all, however, this would not have been possible without my Grandmother, Mary Gibbon, whose encouragement and support drove me to learn Welsh and to pursue this MPhil.

INTRODUCTION

Y Casgliad Brith or NLW MS 5267B (formerly Dingestow 7), is a small, unornamented bilingual compilation manuscript, containing 28 texts, five of which are in Latin.¹ The core hand has been identified by Daniel Huws as that of Siancyn ap Dafydd ap Gruffudd, a scribe working in the first half of the fifteenth century, probably in or near to Cwm Tawe (the Swansea Valley).² A date given in a set of Latin annals included in the manuscript suggests that it was probably written in 1438.³ *Y Casgliad Brith* (henceforth referred to as *CB*) contains a miscellany of prose texts, some of which are well known from other collections, such as *Breuddwyd Pawl* and *Ystorya Adaf*, while others are less well evidenced, such as *Natur y missoed yn y vl6ydyn*, which seems not to be found in any earlier manuscripts and may be the only surviving version. The manuscript has a rich mixture of text types, ranging through science, geography, religion, and history, and in this it has much in common with other later medieval Welsh manuscript compilations.

Despite the interest it holds, the manuscript has yet to be studied extensively. This is perhaps the consequence of both the misdating of the

¹ The title *Y Casgliad Brith* seems to have been given at the National Library, likely given for the speckled appearance of the vellum in the latter half of the manuscript. The size is 190x135mm.

² This information is taken from Daniel Huws' unpublished catalogue of the manuscript, kindly supplied by Dr Ann Parry Owen.

³ The date has been worked out in a modern hand on a flyleaf at the beginning of the manuscript. This is based on an entry in the Latin chronology, found on fol 42v which appears to read 'anno domini milmo ccccxxxviii', although the reading is impaired by damage to the manuscript.

manuscript in the NLW's handlist as a seventeenth-century document, and also the time period into which its creation falls.⁴ Although the beginning and end of the Old Welsh period are relatively easy to define (c. late eighth century to the beginning of the twelfth) there is much debate over where the end of the Middle Welsh period lies.⁵ Traditionally, Evans advocated the end of the fourteenth century as the cut off point for Middle Welsh.⁶ However, Russell has more recently argued for a cut-off point closer to 1500.⁷ This means that scholars of Middle Welsh have tended not to focus their attentions on manuscripts that fall after the first quarter of the fifteenth century. The *Rhyddiaith Ganoloesol* project, for example, which contains electronic editions of all Welsh prose manuscripts between 1300 and 1425, does not contain any material from the period after 1425. As a result, detailed analysis of Middle Welsh manuscripts between 1425 and 1500 is often lacking.

CB is a production of south Wales, most likely originating from Glamorgan. Daniel Huws suggests that Siancyn was working out of Cwm Tawe, and I see no reason to dispute this.⁸ Various orthographical features within the manuscript point to a south Welsh origin (e.g. loss of *-i-* in stems as in *bryttaneit*, *Annals* line 9, and the equivalent hypercorrection in *fynyon*, *EYP* line 88) and many of the texts appear to have a south Walian focus. The *Annals*, for example, contain material which is localised in and around the

⁴ NLW, *Handlist to Manuscripts*, p.8

⁵ Evans, *Grammar of Middle Welsh*, p. xvi; Willis, 'Old and Middle Welsh', p. 117

⁶ Evans, *Grammar of Middle Welsh*, p. xvii

⁷ Russell, *An Introduction to Celtic languages*, p. xviii

⁸ HFC, *CB* entry

Swansea Valley, with references to places and events of local significance such as Neath Castle and the breaking of Carmarthen Bridge. Furthermore, the manuscripts with which *CB* shares the most texts, namely Llanstephan 27 and Peniarth MS 50, are south Walian in origin.

Since its proposed creation in Glamorgan, it appears to have stayed there, as can be inferred from the insertion of two glosses in the hand of poet Dafydd Benwyn, on folios 52v and 84v. Dafydd Benwyn 'o Vorgannwc' ('from Glamorgan') was a poet from Llangeinor, Glamorgan, who was active in South Wales during the second half of the sixteenth century. Little is known of *CB*'s history in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but the manuscript later came into the hands of the Bosanquet family of Dingestow Court in Monmouthshire, located only around fifty miles from Cwm Tawe, before it was acquired by the National Library.

METHODOLOGY

The body of this dissertation contains the transcriptions, translations, and commentary for five of the 28 texts contained within *CB*, as well as a discussion of the manuscript itself and what it can reveal about fifteenth-century manuscript culture in south Wales. These texts were chosen to be representative of the manuscript as a whole, and also because they suffered from a lack of attention in earlier scholarship, or because earlier scholarship had noted something of interest within the *CB* version. I have attempted to choose at least one text to represent each of the four genres contained within the manuscript.

The texts are as follows;

| | | |
|---------------------------------|---|-------------------------|
| Buchedd Catrin | The life of St Catharine | Religious |
| Rinwedeu efferen y sul | Virtues of Mass | Religious/Wisdom |
| Annals | Annals from Adam to 1321 | Historical |
| Breuddwyd Pawl | The Dream of Paul | Religious |
| Enryveddodeu Ynys Bryden | Wonders of the Island of Britain | Geographical |

Of these texts, scholarly editions exist only for *BC*, *BP*, and *EYP* each of which has been edited in various volumes of the BBCS. Neither *RES* nor the *Annals* have been edited or discussed beyond their diplomatic transcriptions on *Rhyddiaith Ganoloesol (RhG)*. Where I have needed to check or corroborate my transcriptions, I have looked mainly to *RhG*, referring only to the older

editions when problems have arisen. Where a *RhG* edition is referenced in the footnotes, the name of the manuscript will be preceded by *RhG*. This means that the edition can be easily found on the *RhG* website. I have used the folio numbering system as provided by *RhG*.

Interjections by the editor are marked in blue or square brackets, so that any editorial decisions are obvious. As with the Rhyddiaith Ganoloesol project, a blue '+' is used to indicate that the second part of the same word continues on the subsequent line. A blue '[' indicates a place where the manuscript shows two words as one, which should be read otherwise, or where the manuscript is missing a punctuation mark. Square brackets are used for the insertion of presumed readings and are usually explained in footnotes.

The transcription was intended to be as diplomatic as possible, although some changes were made to assist with comprehension for the reader such as the blue editorial marks. Where a word is unnecessarily repeated in the manuscript or reading has been impaired by damage to the manuscript, this has been marked in the footnotes. Punctuation marks in the manuscript are translated to their modern versions, and suspension marks or other palaeographical features are footnoted. Any omissions or incorrect transcriptions are entirely the fault of the editor.

A line-by-line translation into modern English is provided alongside the transcription. The aim of this translation has been to provide a precise and accurate rendering from the Welsh, whilst still producing an English translation that can be read naturally in isolation.

After the transcriptions, a short commentary and discussion has been provided. The commentary on these texts has been used to illustrate the relationship of *CB* to variant readings of the texts in other manuscripts, in order to illuminate further the nature of fifteenth-century manuscript culture in Wales. It has also been used to discuss interesting features of the text, either those extant only in *CB*, or those common to more than one reading.

CHAPTER 1: THE MANUSCRIPT

1.1. MANUSCRIPT HISTORY

The manuscript was acquired by the NLW as part of the Dingestow Court collection which was purchased as a lot at Sotheby's, 17th July 1916.⁹ It was a part of the collection of manuscripts brought together by Sir John Bernard Bosanquet (1773-1848).¹⁰ It is unclear, however, when or how the manuscript came into his possession.

At some point in the sixteenth century the manuscript must have been in the hands of Dafydd Benwyn, a Glamorgan poet.¹¹ His autograph appears on f. 52v, where he claims the book as his own.¹² He also copied an *englyn* into the manuscript on f. 84v. Given that he annotated other manuscripts such as the Book of Llandaff, it is likely that his area of activity centred around Cardiff, Neath Abbey, and other scribal institutions in the area. We can surmise, then, that the manuscript was likely still in Glamorgan at this point.

The location of the manuscript in the centuries between that and its acquisition by the Bosanquet family is as yet unknown. It includes various

⁹ The microfilm of the manuscript contains a note on contents and manuscript history at the beginning of the collection.

¹⁰ This is also given in the note at the beginning of the microfilm.

¹¹ The largest collection of Dafydd Benwyn's work is edited in Dafydd Huw Evans' unpublished DPhil, 'The life and work of Dafydd Benwyn', (Oxford University, 1981).

¹² This has later been erased, presumably by another owner of the book who disagreed with Benwyn's claim, and is now visible only under UV light.

annotations of the seventeenth century, suggesting that wherever it was, it was being used prior to its acquisition by the Bosanquets. It is possible it came into the collection at the beginning of the nineteenth century through Sir John Bernard Bosanquet, a known antiquary who collected various Welsh manuscripts including the early version of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Brittaniae* now known as 'Brut Dingestow'.¹³

1.2. THE SCRIBE

Most of the manuscript is recorded in one hand, which Daniel Huws has identified as that of Siancyn ap Dafydd ap Gruffudd, a scribe who was working in Cwm Tawe in the fifteenth century.¹⁴ Siancyn's hand also appears in Llanstephan 2 and Peniarth 47iv, both of which are compilations of a similar type, including some of the same texts.¹⁵ Of these, the text of '*Pa ddelw y dylai dyn gredu i Dduw*' is the only one to be both extant in Siancyn's hand and found in more than one manuscript; besides *CB* it also appears in Llanst. 2.

Siancyn's name is recorded in a rather eccentric form of his own hand in a gloss on f. 37 of Llanst. 2. The signature, which reads 'Jbnkkn xbb dbykd

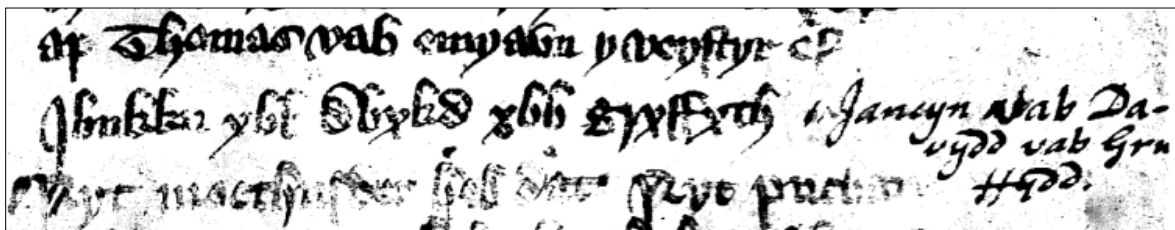


FIGURE 1: 'SIANCYN AP DAFYDD AP GRUFFUDD', LLANST. 2, F. 37

¹³ Gwent Archives, Records of the Bosanquet Family, 1736-1959

¹⁴ HFC, 'Siancyn ap Dafydd ap Gruffudd' entry

¹⁵ Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*, p. 61

xbb gryffyth’ has been glossed in a later hand as ‘Jancyn vab Davydd vab Gruffydd’. It’s written in a cipher whereby vowels are exchanged for the next consonant in the alphabet for example ‘a’ becomes ‘b’, ‘u’/ ‘v’ become ‘x’ (both of which can be seen above). An example of the same cipher is found in a 15th century gloss on Oxford, Jesus College MS 57, in the form of the phrase ‘qxp d mprgbn bp’ (‘quod morgan ap’).¹⁶

The signature is inserted between the translation of *Ffordd y Brawd Odrig* and a collection of Welsh proverbs. It directly follows on from a short note in the same hand:

Ac uelly y teruyna Siwrnei y Brawt Odoric yn India; yr hwnn a drossawd Syre Dafyd Bychein o Vorgannwc o arch a damunet Rys ap Thomas vab Einyawn, y veystyr ef¹⁷

And here ends the Journey of Brother Odoric in India and this was translated by Sir Dafydd Bychein of Morgannwg at the request and desire of Rys ap Thomas vab Einyawn, his master.

Brynley Roberts has argued convincingly that the ‘Rys ap Thomas vab Einyawn’ mentioned above was the brother to the Hopcyn ap Tomas ap Einiawn who commissioned the *RBH*.¹⁸ If this is the case, then this would give yet another tantalising glimpse into the relationship between Hywel Fychan (the scribe of the *RBH*) and Siancyn, as it is possible that they both had access

¹⁶ Richards, *Coleg yr Iesu LVII*, p.xi

¹⁷ Evans, ‘Llanstephan 2’, p. 421, See also Stephen J. Williams (ed.), *Ffordd y Brawd Odrig o Lawysgrif Llanstephan 2* (Caerdydd, 1929), pp. xi-xiii and 57.

¹⁸ Roberts, ‘Un o lawysgrifau Hopcyn ab Tomas o Ynys Dawe’, pp. 223-7

to the same libraries or reference texts, which could explain the shared texts between *CB* and *RBH* which are not common in other manuscripts.¹⁹

Llanst. 2 is a manuscript of the second half of the fifteenth century, also originating in Glamorgan. In the seventeenth century, it was combined by Edward Llhwyl, along with Llanst. 1, 3, and 4, into a collection entitled 'Didrefn Gasgliad' (the 'unordered collection').²⁰ It contains religious, didactic and narrative prose material, including *Claddedigaeth Arthur* and *Ffordd y Brawd Odrig*, thus following a very similar structure to *CB*. All but folios 72-4 are in Siancyn's hand.²¹

Peniarth 47iv is part of a composite manuscript including fragments which have been divided into four parts.²² Of the other fragments some, such as Pen. 47i, include texts in the hand of the Anchorite of Llandewi Brefi. Part 4 comprises 32 pages and 6 texts, including a set of Latin medical charms, all of which are in Siancyn's hand. These texts are a mixture of genres, including *Buchedd Anna* (Religious), *Triads* (Wisdom), and the medical charms.

All of the three manuscripts to which Siancyn has contributed are very similar compilation manuscripts which include a number of popular texts. Both Pen. 47iv and *CB* make use of Welsh and Latin, suggesting that Siancyn had a proficiency in both languages. The impression this gives is of a scribe

¹⁹ Roberts, 'Un o lawysgrifau Hopcyn ab Tomas o Ynys Dawe', pp. 223-7

²⁰ Evans, 'Llanstephan 2', p. 420.

²¹ HFC, Entry on Llanst. 2.

²² Evans, 'Peniarth 47iv', p. 380.

who is not a creator, but a collator and transcriber of texts, especially those of a religious nature. Excepting the inclusion of texts that are not yet known elsewhere and his name in Llanst. 2, Siancyn leaves very little trace of himself in these manuscripts.

The script used by Siancyn is a textura or book hand with some elements of Anglicana; styles such as this were popular in Europe during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Arguably the most distinctive features of this script are the 'double-compartmented a' and the 'w' with a right-side flourish. It is also characterised by the use of a tall 's', a '6'-shaped 'w', and a 'long-tailed r'. Similar scripts can be found in other contemporary manuscripts, including *RBH*.

Siancyn's interpretation of this style is clear, regular, and consistent throughout.



FIGURE 2: LETTER FORMS, LEFT TO RIGHT; 'A', 'W', 'SS', 'W' (6 SHAPED), 'R', F. 58

The glosses, which will be described in further detail below, are in a variety of different scripts. The 'Tri Brodyr' gloss on f. 60v is in a textura hand of fifteenth or sixteenth-century date, whilst Dafydd Benwyn's glosses are in a court hand of the sixteenth century. The seventeenth-century glosses found throughout the manuscript are also in a court hand.

1.3. RELATIONSHIPS TO OTHER MANUSCRIPTS

All but two of the texts within the manuscript (*Natur y Missoed* and *Rhinwedeu Lloer*) are known to exist in at least one alternative version elsewhere. *Breuddwyd Pawl*, for example, exists in ten manuscript versions to 1450 and fourteen other later versions ranging from 1450 to the nineteenth century.²³ Other texts, such as *Cas Bethau* and the *Annals from Adam to 1321*, are extant in only one or two other versions, showing that the compilation contains both popular texts and those that are less well known.

By analysing the manuscripts that share the most common texts with *CB*, it is possible to understand a little of the milieu in which *CB* was being produced, and perhaps manuscripts with which it may have had contact.²⁴ Of these manuscripts, Llanstephan 27 (The Red Book of Talgarth) shares the most texts (twelve), followed by Peniarth 50 (eleven), then by Peniarth 15, and Oxford, Jesus College MS 119 (The book of the Anchorite of Llandewi Brefi), which have nine texts each. *RBH* shares six texts with *CB*, one of which (*Cas Bethau*) is not found elsewhere. A full table of the manuscripts with shared texts can be found in Appendix A.

²³ Luft, Diana, Peter Wynn Thomas and D. Mark Smith. eds. 2013. Rhyddiaith Gymraeg 1300-1425. <http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk>; This website lists 8 manuscripts containing *Breuddwyd Pawl*, not including *CB*. They can be found here: <http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.cardiff.ac.uk/cy/texts.php?genre=religious> [20/01/13; 09:45]

²⁴ I have only examined those manuscripts which pre-date *CB*, namely those which are found on *RhG*. As it was written continuously between c. 1425 and c. 1456 and it has an interesting link to *CB* (see Ch. 4) Peniarth 50 has been included in this catalogue.

These manuscripts are compilations of a very similar ilk to *CB*, containing overwhelmingly religious prose alongside a smaller number of texts in other genres. Of these, the Book of the Anchorite is the oldest (c. 1350) with Llanst. 27 and Peniarth 15 dating from c. 1374-1425.²⁵ Peniarth 50 is a little later, written as an ongoing production from c. 1425-1456.

This suggests an emergence of significant manuscript compilations, usually of largely religious texts, of which the Book of the Anchorite is arguably the earliest.²⁶ The translation and transmission of religious texts in Welsh reached its zenith in the mid fourteenth century, indicating a high level of scholarly activity which was probably in part a result of the body of patrons whom Professor G. J. Williams suggested encouraged the translation of texts from Latin or French in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.²⁷ This flurry of activity saw the creation of the above manuscripts, and is likely the culture within which *CB* was created. With Siancyn's work on other manuscripts in mind, it would not be imprudent to suggest that he himself was one of those

²⁵ 'Oxford, Jesus college MS 119: TEI header', *RhG*; 'Llanstephan 27: TEI header', *RhG*; 'Peniarth 15: TEI header', *RhG*; Evans, 'Peniarth MS 50', pp. 389-399.

²⁶ Peniarth 7 could perhaps be accepted as an 'earlier' compilation manuscript, but it is firstly rather incomplete, and secondly appears to have been compiled with a clear structure in mind. It contains an incomplete copy of *Peredur*, followed by the Welsh Chronicle of Charlemagne, and finally the 'Finding of the True Cross' cycle (which comprises *Ystorya Adda*, *Y Groglith*, *Elen a'r Grog*, *Ystorya Bilatus*, and *Ystorya Judas*). This religious cycle should be seen as a whole, and does not appear in either the Book of the Anchorite, or Peniarth 15. Parts of it appear in Llanst. 27 (it is missing *Elen a'r Grog*) and the texts are included in a different order, with other texts inserted between them. There is a significant difference between the composition of these manuscripts and I would thus consider Peniarth 7 to be of a different type to the other manuscript compilations mentioned.

²⁷ Williams, *Traddodiad Llenyddol Morgannwg*, p. 173.

clerics who benefitted from the increase in patronage of Medieval Welsh prose.

1.4. THE MANUSCRIPT OBJECT

The manuscript is small, (c.190×135 mm) and made of parchment with endleaves of paper. It contains 92 folios in all, with foliation on folios 1-86 in a seventeenth or eighteenth-century hand. Huws argues that collation would have been impossible as there are no quires, or catchwords which would signify that the manuscript had been collated later.²⁸

It is clear that the manuscript was once longer and that folios have been lost over time; the beginning of *Delw y Byd* (the first text) is wanting, and the final text, *Buchedd Dewi*, ends abruptly. Furthermore, the present end pages of the manuscript do not show the same degree of wear as those at the front, suggesting that the original end pages may have been lost at some stage in its history. As the manuscript is not sewn by quires (instead, the leaves are overcast) it is impossible to know how much was lost at each end.

²⁸ HFC, NLW 5267b entry.

1.5. MANUSCRIPT CONTENTS

The 28 prose texts which occur in *CB* are as follows:²⁹

- | | | |
|-----|---|--------------------------------|
| 1. | Delw y Byd | (fols 1-10, beginning wanting) |
| 2. | Ystorya Adaf | (fols 10-19v) |
| 3. | 'Diarhebyon', A-O only | (fols 19v-29v) |
| 4. | Buchedd Catrin Sant | (fols 30-34v) |
| 5. | Llythyr Brenin yr India | (fols 35-41) |
| 6. | Chronology and annals | (fols 41-42v) |
| 7. | 'Doctrina quando acceditur luna' | (fol. 43) |
| 8. | 'De geometria' | (fol. 43) |
| 9. | 'De interpretacione sompnorum' | (fols 43-44v) |
| 10. | Llyma gorcheston | (fols 45-46) |
| 11. | Fel y rhannwyd | (fol. 45v) |
| 12. | Triads | (fols 46-46v) |
| 13. | Cas Bethau | (f. 46v) |
| 14. | Natur y missoed yn y vl6ydyd | (f. 46v) |
| 15. | Llymma 'gynnedrieu' medda6t (Kynneddyfeu) | (fols 46v-47) |
| 16. | Cynghoreu Kadw Doeth (Cynghorau Catwn) | (fols 47-52) |

²⁹ The names given below correspond with those given in the handlist to manuscripts at the NLW where possible. Where this has not been possible, the text is referred to either as the name given in the manuscript or the name by which it is best known. This is why the orthography alternates between Middle and Modern Welsh.

- | | | |
|-----|--|----------------------------------|
| 17. | 'Rhinweddeu efferen y sul' | (fol. 52r-v) |
| 18. | 'Py del6 y dyly [dyn] gredu y du6' | (fols 53-56v) |
| 19. | Annals from Adam to 1321 | (fols 56v-57v) |
| 20. | Breuddwyd Pawl | (fols 57v-59v) |
| 21. | Rhinweddau Lloer | (fols 59v-60) |
| 22. | 5 lines of Latin verse, followed by a short text in Latin | (f. 60-60v) |
| 23. | Ystorya Meir ae marwolaeth (Transitus Beatae Mariae) | (fols 61-67) |
| 24. | Adrian ac Ipotis | (fols 67-74) |
| 25. | Ystorya Titus | (fols 74-79) |
| 26. | 'Enryveddodeu Ynys Bryden' | (fols 79-81v) |
| 27. | Pwyll y pader | (fols 82-84) |
| 28. | Buchedd Dewi | (fols 85-86v, ends abruptly). |

The glosses in the manuscript are also detailed below:

- 'Tri broder da oedynt ...'. (fol. 60v, s.xv/xvi)
- Sidenotes and pen trials (e.g., fols 5v, 20v, 35v, 41, 75v., s.xv);
- 'Llyma lyfr Dd Benwyn ... ai law yw hon' (fol. 52v, Erased)
- An englyn in the hand of Dafydd Benwyn (fol. 84v)
- A note signed 'H E' (fol. 84v, s.xviz)

- Various annotations of s.xvii (e.g., fols 16v, 17v, 18v.).

1.6. BACKGROUND TO THE TEXTS

The manuscript contains 28 texts, five of which are in Latin. These texts cover a variety of genres which may be seen below.

| Geographical or the natural world | Historical | Wisdom | Religious |
|--|------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <i>Delw y Byd</i> | <i>Chronology and Annals</i> | <i>Diarhebyon</i> | <i>Ystorya Adaf</i> |
| <i>Doctrina Quando Acceditur luna</i> | <i>Annals to 1321</i> | <i>De Geometria</i> | <i>Buchedd Catrin Sant</i> |
| <i>De interpretacione sompnorum</i> | | <i>Gorchestion</i> | <i>Llythyr Brenhin yr India</i> |
| <i>Enryveddodeu Ynys Bryden</i> | | <i>Triads</i> | <i>Fel y Rhannwyd</i> |
| <i>Rhinwedu Lloer</i> | | <i>Cynghoreu Kadw</i> | <i>Rinwedu Efferen y Sul</i> |
| <i>Natur y missoed yn y vl6ydyd</i> | | <i>Cyneddfau Meddrawd</i> | <i>Py del6</i> |
| | | <i>Cas Bethau</i> | <i>Breuddwyd Pawl</i> |
| | | | <i>Ystorya Meir</i> |
| | | | <i>Adrian ac Ipostis</i> |
| | | | <i>Ystorya Titus</i> |
| | | | <i>Pwyll y Pader</i> |
| | | | <i>Buchedd Dewi</i> |

This diversity of genre is typical of a compilation manuscript of this type. The fact that there are no 'romance' or 'story' texts in the manuscript

could suggest that it was created with a practical purpose in mind, perhaps as a didactic book. The manuscript contains many signs of use such as underlining of passages which suggests that the manuscript was being read in detail. It is not a 'high class' decorated manuscript; instead the texts it includes and the condition of the manuscript suggest that it was in use over a number of years.

1.7. FOLIOS 45-47; THE UNCATALOGUED SECTION

Folios 45-47 contain a variety of short texts which are not covered comprehensively in the handlist to manuscripts in the National Library.³⁰ The handlist records three texts on these folios (*Y Gorcheston*, a collection of *Triads*, and *Cynneddfau meddawt*). On closer inspection, it is possible to identify as many as six separate texts in this section, the three mentioned above, as well as the short text *Fel y rhannwyd yr Ebestyl, Cas Bethau*, and an eight-line text named in the manuscript as *Natur y missoed yn y vl6ydyn*. A full transcription of this section is found in Appendix B.

The first of these texts is the short wisdom text *Y Gorcheston*, which occurs in the manuscript from folios 45-46v. There are two other extant Middle Welsh versions which can be found in Cardiff Hafod 16 and Peniarth 5.³¹ Of the two versions, the *CB* version seems to most closely follow that of

³⁰ NLW, *Handlist to Manuscripts*, p.81

³¹ <http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk/en/texts.php?genre=wisdom>; the text is also found in Peniarth MS 50, as well as 12 manuscript versions which are post 1550.

Pen. 5 as it does not include the first fourteen lines of the version in Hafod 16. In their article on the text, Catherine Byfield and Martha Bayless group the versions in Hafod 16, Pen. 5, and *CB* as part of Recension 1 of the text (along with Pen. 50 and two post-1550 versions of the text).³² However it is unlikely that *CB* was directly copied from either manuscript as there are too many scribal variations within the text; for example the insertion of the short text *Fel y Rhannwyd* 28 lines into the *CB* version.³³ This is a short piece that names the divisions of the apostles, and where they continued their mission after the Ascension.³⁴ Both the Hafod 16 and the Pen. 5 version instead include *Fel y Rhannwyd* at the end of the *Gorchestion* text.

Furthermore, after *Fel y Rhannwyd* in the *CB* version, several of the sentences are longer than the versions found in Hafod 16 and Pen. 5; for example the Hafod 16 question ‘Ac 6rth hynny ny dyly g6reic ysgynnu na chywhynnu yn ry uchel. na gost6ng’ becomes ‘O acha6s y bot yn gymherued ac 6rth fynny ny dyly gwreic ysgynnu na chyh6ynu yn ry uchel na gest6ng yn ry issel’ in *CB*.³⁵ The *CB* text also contains two final lines which do not appear in either Hafod 16 or Pen. 5; ‘Amrysson a|th gyffellyb ...etrus y6 yt amrysson a|r neb m6y no thi ynuydr6yd y6 yt. Amrysson ar neb a vo is no|thi diel6 y6 yt’.

³² Byfield and Bayless, ‘*Y Gorcheston*’, p.204.

³³ This is based on an initial reading of *CB* in comparison with the texts in Hafod 16 and Peniarth 5. A full investigation is required.

³⁴ At present, *CB*'s relationship to the other two versions is unknown.

³⁵ Hafod 16, *RhG*.

It is unlikely that the insertion of *Fel y Rhannwyd* can be explained by a scribal error on behalf of the copyist (such as eye skip) as the next section of *Y Gorcheston* begins with 'Pa acha6s', whilst *Fel y rhannwyd* begins 'Y deudec ebystyl'. This would suggest that the insertion was a conscious decision made either by the copyist of *CB*, or by the scribe who produced *CB*'s archetype, rather than a scribal error. It is unclear why this decision might have been taken. The preceding question is 'Pwy a subdiagon kyntaf a vu. Alobus' and above that a discussion of the first deacons and monks.³⁶ Thematically, it is not impossible to see why the text on the twelve apostles was inserted here, but it still seems strange. What the change in location of this text and the other alterations throughout do suggest is that the copyist of *CB* was working from a version of *Y Gorcheston* that was considerably different from those recorded in Hafod 16 and Pen. 5. It may be that at some point the two texts were not considered to be separate, and were instead part of the same whole. It is interesting that the two texts appear only in these three manuscripts, and that none of the three seem to be a shared recension, thus suggesting that *Y Gorcheston* may once have been part of a considerably larger textual tradition.

In Peniarth 5, *Fel y rhannwyd* is followed by the Gospel of John, which does not appear in *CB*. However, Hafod 16's version is followed by *Cynneddfau meddawt*, a text which appears in *CB* two-and-a-half folios later. The majority of f. 45v is the continuation of *Y Gorcheston* but, from the third line of f. 46, *CB* continues with seventeen Triads.

³⁶ Trans: 'Who was the first subdeacon? Alobus'.

The text *Cas Bethau* is extant in only one other manuscript; the Red Book of Hergest (Oxford, JesusCollege MS. 111), f. 147 r. The *RBH* version follows a slightly different reading, including the mention of ‘Gwilym hir’, the carpenter of Hopcyn ap Thomas who is thought to have commissioned the Red Book. Until now this has been thought to be a text unique to *RBH*, due to the inclusion of this reference to the manuscript’s patron. However, its occurrence in *CB* without the reference to Hopcyn suggests that Hywel Fychan, the scribe of *RBH*, may have added the reference to Gwilym Hir and Hopcyn himself. It also suggests that the text must have had a wider textual tradition than has come down to us; *CB* was compiled after *RBH* and thus could not have been Hywel’s source, yet it clearly cannot have been copied from *RBH*, as it does not include the reference to Hopcyn. Thus there must have been at least one other version of the text originating earlier than *RBH* (pre-1375), or more than one, which operated as the source text. The two versions are given below.

| <i>CB</i> | <i>RBH</i> |
|---|--|
| tri chas gan doethon ruuein. | <i>Tri chaspeth doethyon ruuein. Milgi</i> |
| Milgi kul h6yr a bard annigrif a | <i>h6yr. a bard annigryf.a g6reic</i> |
| gwreic hagr dr6c. A chas | <i>hagrdr6c. a chas gantunt heuyt.G6r</i> |
| ganthunt heuyt g6r kerdgar kalet | <i>kerdgar calet. a g6reic ot eidic. a</i> |
| a gwreic ot eidic a march h6yr | <i>marchh6yr goscoedic. A chas gantunt</i> |
| gogodic. A chas ganthunt heuyt | |

| | |
|--|---|
| h6ch b6rr by6 a march ma6r mar6 | <i>heuyt.h6ch byrr by6. a march mar6.</i> |
| ac anghena6c sebrer6 tla6t. ³⁷ | <i>ac ache+na6c syber6.</i> |

RBH then continues the text with a further section which does not appear in *CB*:

a g6rach vach veicha6c.

Tri chaspeth g6ilim hir. saer hopkyn

ap thomas. efferen sul. a dadleu. a march+

nat. a chas ganta6 heuyt. tauarneu.

a cherdeu.a chreireu. Tri dyn yssyd gas

ganta6. effeirat. a phrydyd. a chler6r..

The two extant versions differ enough to suggest that they represent two different recensions of the text, or that this was a fluid text which was actively adapted by one or both of the two scribes. The first line, for example, reads ‘*Tri chaspeth*’ in *RBH* and in *CB* it reads ‘*Tri chas gan*’. Furthermore, the text in *RBH* is considerably longer than that in *CB* and given that this is the section which follows on from the reference to Gwilym Hir, it is possible that this section was composed by Hywel. Alternatively, it is possible that there may have been more than one source text for *Cas Bethau* or that one of these two scribes was heavily altering the text. Given Siancyn’s apparent attention to detail and tendency to copy rather than redact, I would suggest that if this is

³⁷ End of *Cas Bethau* in *CB*.

the case then it is Hywel who is doing the editing. However it is not possible to say with any certainty if either of these scribes were editing the text or whether they were simply working from significantly different exemplars. Whichever is the case, it demonstrates that *Cas Bethau* may have had a much larger textual tradition than that which has survived.

The final text in this section is a short text which appears to be unique to this manuscript. Siancyn names the text as '*Natur y missoed yn y vl6y dyn*'. The text is similar in style to medieval texts on the signs of the zodiac (indeed, it bears some resemblance to Dafydd Benwyn's englyn on f. 84v), as it names each month and the characteristics associated with those born in that month. According to the *RhG* collection, it does not appear to be extant in any other prose manuscript prior to 1425. It may be that the text does appear elsewhere, perhaps in a verse or later manuscript, but it has not proved possible at present to determine whether this is the case. The text is concise, running over only eight lines. It bears no resemblance to other Welsh texts on the months of the year, such as *Englynion y Missoed* or the medical text *Y Missoed*.³⁸ The only similarity between *CB* and *Y Missoed* is perhaps in the style and tempo of the text. The version of *Y Missoed* found in Cardiff MS 3.242 in particular bears a strong resemblance in style, listing each month of a year and a few words

³⁸ Jacobs, *Early Welsh Gnostic and Nature poetry*, pp. 27-31; *RhG*, BL Additional MS. 14,912 (ff. 16r-17v), Cardiff MS. 3.242 (f. 10), and RBH (f. 233v): I would suggest, however, that the text in Cardiff MS 3.242 version is a different text entirely, and has been misclassified by the editors of *RhG*. The Cardiff text discusses time and its relation to the months, rather than the killing and blood which are the focus of the other two readings.

about time and the moon in that month. The theme and content of the text, however, differs so greatly that they cannot have originated from the same source, although they may have evolved from the same tradition.

One note of interest is that the months of ‘Tachwed’ and ‘Racuyr’ do not fall in chronological order in *Natur y missoed* but instead change places, presumably as a result of a copying error. In addition, this section only includes two of the introductory notes common in this manuscript (those which are formed ‘llymma y ...’). *Y Gorcheston* is introduced by a title in Siancyn’s hand and in the same colour ink as the greater body of the text. On f. 46, a rubricated gloss is inserted on the second line of the page, just prior to the section of triads beginning ‘Dy gynghor’.³⁹ No room has been left for the gloss by the scribe, who did leave a space for the rubrication of the first initial of ‘Dy’. This suggests that the scribe originally copying this section into the manuscript may have been unaware of the fact that it contained a number of different texts, allowing for the rubricator’s interference.

³⁹ Unfortunately, the rubrication is obscured here by fading to the page, but it appears to read ‘llymma y maes’.

1.8. GLOSSES

Although *CB* is by no means a heavily glossed manuscript, it does contain a number of glosses throughout, in hands contemporary or near-contemporary to the manuscript's composition, and hands of the sixteenth to the twentieth century. Perhaps the most notable of these glosses are those made by Glamorgan poet Dafydd Benwyn, including a note of ownership (visible only under UV) and a short englyn on the signs of the zodiac, alongside a brief text on f. 60v in a textura hand of the seventeenth century.⁴⁰

The Dafydd Benwyn englyn is an obscure piece of verse that has not been published hitherto and which appears to be unique to *CB*. However it is his erased note on f. 52v which is perhaps of the most interest to the palaeographer. By claiming the book as his, Dafydd Benwyn gives us some indication of where the book was in the second half of the sixteenth century, as well as who was interested in reading it. Whether or not the book *did* belong to Dafydd Benwyn, he chose to claim it as his own, which suggests he had some interest in the contents. As one of the most prolific bards of Glamorgan in the sixteenth century, praising many of the families in the county, he had access to a large number of books and manuscripts. That he was able to leave his mark on this without fear of rebuke, though, does suggest that he had this book in his possession at some point.

⁴⁰ Transcriptions of the Dafydd Benwyn gloss and the 'Tri Brodyr' gloss are provided in Appendix C.

Before Dafydd Benwyn is likely to have got his hands on the manuscript, another hand of the late fifteenth/early sixteenth century used the half page between the Latin text on f. 60 and the beginning of *Ystoria Meir* on f. 61 to write a short story about three brothers who are walking along a road when they come across Jesus Christ. This is a version of a charm that appears in Llanst. 3 and 47; ‘y swyn a wnaeth yr Jessu Grist ac a’e dangosses y tri broder da’.⁴¹ The version in *CB* is very similar to, but not identical with, the version in Llanst. 3. Roberts argues that the charm was originally composed in English or Latin.⁴²

The story goes that three good brothers went out to Mount Olivet to seek herbs for healing wounds, before turning back to deliver a charm which swears deliverance from wounds in the name of Jesus Christ. Such charms were often believed to work in much the same way as medieval herbal remedies, invoking the power of God to cause healing.⁴³ They are often found glossed in manuscripts or filling blank spaces, which appears to have been the case here. It is possible that the glossator inserted the charm in *CB* with the hope that it might work to heal a specific injury although it is equally possible that the glossator took the opportunity to fill a blank space.

The charm is written in a large textura hand of the fifteenth or sixteenth century and spans twelve lines. There are several words glossed in the left hand margin. The main body of the charm is written in a heavy black

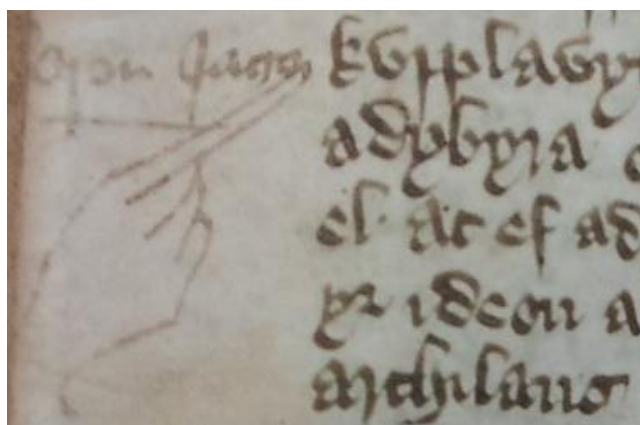
⁴¹ Roberts, ‘Rhai swynion Cymraeg’, p. 207.

⁴² Roberts, ‘Rhai swynion Cymraeg’, p. 206.

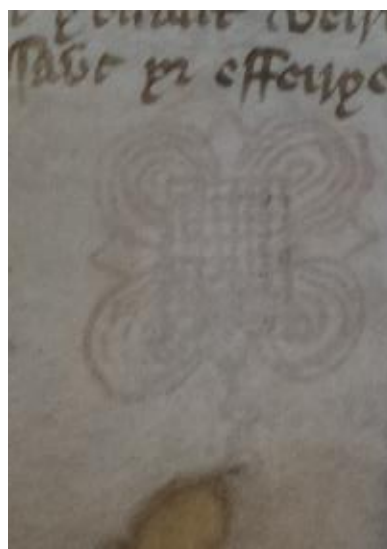
⁴³ Olsan, ‘Charms in Medieval memory’, p. 60.

ink, but the last two lines and the glosses are written in a different ink which has faded with time. A full transcription of the text can be found in Appendix C.

There is very little decoration in the manuscript, but it does contain some hand 'pointers' in the latter half of the manuscript, along with some small patterns. These are in a different shade of ink to the main body of the text and where they include text this seems to be in a different hand. Thus it appears that they have been added to the manuscript by a latter glossator.



'POINTER' ON F. 76V



A SMALL PATTERN ON F. 65V

CHAPTER 2: BUCHEDD CATRIN SANT

2.1. TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION

The life of Saint Catharine falls on folios 30-34v of the manuscript. It begins with a rubricated title reading ‘Llyma vuched katrin santes’, although this has somewhat faded. The first page features two rubricated initials: a large ‘A’ in ‘Argl6ydi’ and the ‘Y’ of ‘Yn Alexandria’. Throughout the text, the end of each sentence is marked by rubricated punctuation marks or by a faint mark on the manuscript which was presumably to be rubricated later. Whether or not the rubrication was completed by Siancyn is unclear. Lines of rubricated text (such as those on folios 10 or 67) do appear to be in his hand, or one which was very similar. However many of these rubricated passages are too faded to be certain.

On f. 30v the text is glossed ‘gell6ch’, four lines up from the bottom of the page. This is surrounded by a red box. There is a further gloss, ‘dyn’ marked in the same way next to the seventh line of f. 31v. Reading of the text is hindered in various places by creasing in the vellum, along with large stains on ff. 33v-34.

The text is preceded by the ‘Diarhebyon’ and is followed by a short text written in red on the bottom half of f. 34v. Unfortunately, the rubrication is largely faded and the text is difficult to read. Following on from the red is the text ‘Llythyr Brenhin yr India’.

Llymma vuched katrin santes

Here is the life of St Catharine

1 Argl6ydi gwarande6ch a deell6ch yr hyn a dywe+

Lords, listen and understand what I will tell

2 daf y6ch or wry uendigeit a elwir seint ka+

you about the blessed virgin who is called Saint Catharine.

3 trin merch oed y vrenhin constantinobyl yr a elwir yn

She was the daughter of the king of Constantinople, who in Latin

4 lladin alexander. yr honn a dechrea6d o|e ieuengtyt wa+

is called Alexander, who from her youth began to serve

5 sanaethu du6; ny dywat kelwyd. nyt oed oet arnei

God. She would never tell lies. She was

6 namyn deuna6ml6yd pan uuydha6d hi y wassana+

only eighteen years old when she submitted to the service

7 ethu du6 ac y rodes y mor6ynda6t y du6.

of God and gave her maidenhood to God.

8 Yn alexandria yr oed brenhin a gassaei du6 a|r seint

In Alexandria there was a king who greatly hated God and the saints.

9 yn ua6r. maxen y gelwit ac a gauas emelldith

He was called Maxen and he had obtained the curse

10 du6 a|r cristynogyon. A|r g6r dr6c h6nn6 a duc llaw+

of God and the Christians. And that evil man had put

11 er y angheu o|r cristynogon. Ac ef a wnaeth gwled

many of the Christians to death. And he made a great feast

12 ua6r ac a orchymynna6d o ba6b o|e wlat dyuot yno

and ordered that everyone of his land should come there

13 y aberthu o|e duyeyu ef. A|r neb ny delei atta6 y dodet

to sacrifice to his gods. And anyone who did not come to him

14 yngharchar. y rei kyuoetha6c a|doethant yno ac anreg+

would be imprisoned. The rich brought great gifts

15 yon ma6r gantunt. A|r rei a|e hanregassant ef herwyd

with them. And [the poor] gave according to their

16 eu gallu. yn y wlat honno yr oed uor6yn wryy a el+

ability. In that land there was a virginal maiden called

17 wit katrin ny doei hi o|e wassanaethu ef nac y wneu+

Catharine who would not come to serve him nor to

18 **thur abertheu y|6 du6yeu ef. Ac a erchis heb ohir d6+**

sacrifice to his gods. And he ordered without delay that

19 **yn y vor6yn atta6. Ac vynt a|e dugant. A|r g6r dr6c**

the maiden be brought to him. And they brought her. And that evil man

20 **h6nn6 a dechreua6d dywedut 6rthi. O vor6yn dec**

began to speak to her. ‘Oh fair maiden,’

21 **heb ef y b6y y credy di. Mi a|orchymynnaf yt gredu y|m**

he said, ‘in whom do you believe? I order you to believe in

22 **du6 i. Ac ony|chredy di megys y credaf i yn y ffyd**

my god. And if you will not believe as I do, by the faith I

23 **a|dylyaf i y appolin a|thernagannt uchel. mi a baraf**

owe to Apollo and the lofty Thernagant, I shall cause

24 **dy diuetha heb ohir a|th grogi yn uchel. mal lleidyr neu⁴⁴**

you to be despoiled without delay and hanged on high like a thief or

25 **dy doddi yngharchar kadarn hyt na welych na|th draet na|th**

⁴⁴ End f. 30.

you will be put in a strong prison so that you are unable to see either your feet or

26 **d6yla6 os y iessu y credy di. Mi a gredaf heb y katrin y uab**

your hands, if you believe in Jesus Christ.’ ‘I believe’, said Catharine, ‘in the son

27 **meir⁴⁵ yr h6n a rodes ynn eneit a|bywyt a synn6yr a nerth a**

of Mary who gave us a soul and life and reason and power and

28 **grym y h6nn6 y credaf i. Ac ef a enrydedaf ac ynda6 y|+mae**

strength; it is in Him that I believe. And I will honour [Him], and in Him is

29 **vyn|gobeith: vvg|ghorff⁴⁶ a elly di y lad. Mi a gredaf hag+**

my hope. You may destroy my body. But I believe

30 **en o|m kallon yn g6byl yn yr argl6yd a dica6n llad yr**

in all my heart in the Lord who is able to destroy the

31 **eneit ar corff. A maxen a|lidya6d yn va6r pan dywat**

soul and the body.’ And Maxen became very angry when she spoke

32 **hi o du6. Ac yna y gelwis ef atta6 rei oe wassanaeth+**

of God. And he called to him some of his followers

⁴⁵ Difficulty in reading caused by crease in vellum.

⁴⁶ Difficulty in reading caused by crease in vellum.

33 **wyr. Ac erchi vdunt dodi katrin yngharchar. A|r uor6+**

and commanded them to put Catharine in prison. And the maiden

34 **yn a garchar6yt. Ac eissoes du6 a rodes trugared idi o rodi**

was imprisoned. However God gave mercy to her by giving

35 **ry6 oleuat hyt pan yttoed yr eol oll yn oleu. Yr enggyl+**

some light so that all the gaol was illuminated. The angels

36 **yon a doethant y waeret⁴⁷a ry6 lewenyd a wnaethant**

came down and they gave such joy to the

37 **y|r vor6yn hyt nat oed dyn yn y BYT a allei y dywedut**

maiden, as no man in the world would be able to relate,

38 **na|challo⁴⁸ y vedylya6 nac ysgolheic y isgriuennu. Mor6yn**

nor heart imagine, nor scholar write. 'Maiden

39 **du6 nac ofna di namyn cret yn gadarn. Y|mae dy le wedy**

of God, do not be afraid but believe firmly. There is already a place prepared

⁴⁷ Ink smudge between the 'y' and 'w'; it is unclear as to whether they were originally one word with an illegible letter, or if they were separate. As the smudge partially obscures the 'y', it is also possible that this is to be read as an erasure of the 'y'.

⁴⁸ Should read 'challon'. It is possible that the manuscript is missing a suspension mark over the 'o', otherwise this is likely a scribal error. Suspension marks such as we would expect here can be found on f. 32, ll. 130-1. The reading here is taken from Cotton Titus D xxii (Rees, *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 211-218)

40 arl6ya6 rac bron du6. Ac yno y dodir coron am dy ben di.

for you before God. And there a crown will be placed on your head.'

41 maxen a|elwis y wyr atta6. Ac a|ouynna6d kynghor

Maxen called his men to him and asked for their advice

42 udunt. Pa del6 y gallei ef troi med6l y uor6yn y|6rth du6

about how he could turn the thoughts of the maiden from God

43 a gwassanaethu appolin y du6 ef. y gynghorwyr a erchis

so as to serve his god Apollo. His counsellors advised him

44 yda6. anuon yn diohir yn hol yr athrawon goreu o|e wlat

to send without delay for all the best scholars of logic and astronomy in the country

45 o dilechdyt⁴⁹ ac astronomi megys y gellynt goruot ar y mu+

so that they might be able to defeat the maiden.

46 r6yn. yr athrawon a|doethant yno. maxen a dywat 6rth+

The scholars came there. Maxen told them

47 unt mal⁵⁰ yd oed y uor6yn fol a|elwit katrin ny|chredei o|e

⁴⁹ The 'di' is illegible due to crease. This reading has been taken from Peniarth 15, f. 139.

⁵⁰ 'mal' is illegible due to crease. This reading has been taken from Peniarth 15, f. 139.

how there was a foolish maiden called Catharine who would not believe in

48 ⁵¹du6 ef. Or heb ef y goruot mi a rodaf y6ch diga6n o eur

his god. He said, 'if you [can] triumph over her, I will give you plenty of gold

49 ac aryant. yr kyntaf a|doeth yno⁵² a|dywat vrth y uorwyn

and silver.' The first came and spoke to the maiden

50 heb ohir. ti heb ef a|dyly dechreu. kanys o|th acha6s di y

without delay. 'You,' he said, 'ought to begin. Because it is for you that

51 doetham ni yma ac y ka6ssam ni lauur ma6r. Achaws⁵³

we have come here and had great labour. And because of that

52 hynny y dyly di dangos dy synn6yr di. Ac odyndy gouyn

you ought to show your views. And after that ask

53 yn synn6yr ninheu. y uor6yn dan owenu a|dywat yn wir

our views. The maiden said with a smile, 'In truth

⁵¹ A word appears in the left hand margin; 'gell6ch' with a red insert sign below the line of text, in between 'Or' and 'heb'.. According to Peniarth 15, this sentence should read 'Or gelloch heb ef y goruot'; 'if you can triumph over her, he said' so it appears that 'gell6ch' was missed during the copying and noted by the scribe.

⁵² As it is, there is a problem with the phrase 'yr kyntaf a doeth yno' as one would expect to see 'y kyntaf a doeth yno'. Throughout the rest of the manuscript, Siancyn does not usually use 'yr' before a consonant. In Cotton Titus D xxii, this phrase reads 'yr athro kyntaf a doeth yno'. It thus seems that CB is missing the word 'athro' here through a scribal error.

⁵³ End f. 30v.

54 y dywedaf yt bychan y clouoraf|i ych synn6yr chwi a by+

I say to you, scarcely shall I praise your views and

55 chan y|clouoraf chwitheu kanyt atweynwch|i vyn du6

scarcely shall I praise you because you do not recognize my God.

56 i. A chanys dylyaf dywedut o hana6 ef. G6rthod6ch|i a

Therefore I ought to speak of Him. Reject your

57 uch keluydyt eua6c yrda6 ef. Yna y dywat yr athro

false arts for His sake.’ Then the teacher said,

58 merch dec heb ef y b6y y credy di. Paham y gwrthody di

‘Fair maiden,’ he said, ‘in whom do you believe? Why do you reject

59 an du6yeu ni. Atteb yn heb ohir. Mi a gredaf heb hi

our gods? Answer us without delay.’ ‘I believe,’ she said,

60 y vn mab meir a anet o|r wry lan heb pecha6t a heb

‘in the one son of Mary who was born of the holy virgin without sin and without

61 folineb a heb gymysc ynda6 o dr6c. Ac a diodeua6d ang+

folly, and without any mixture of evil in him and who suffered a cruel

62 heu kadarn dros an pechodeu ni. A|thr6yda6 ef yn rydha+

death for our sins. And through Him we have been delivered

63 **6yt ni o boeneu uffern ac y do6n yr llewenyd brenhin+**

from the pains of hell and shall come to the kingly joy

64 **a6l yr h6n ny deruyd BYTh. Yna y dywat yr athro yr**

which will never end.’ Then the teacher said,

65 **a6rhon y clywaf|i folineb heb ef. Kymryt o iessu gna6t**

‘Now, I hear folly,’ he said, ‘Jesus taking flesh

66 **heb pecha6t a heb folineb yn erbyn dlyet y6 hynny. bot**

without sin and without folly—that is against reason. That a virgin

67 **mab yr wryr ny allei hynny uot uyth. A gallu kaffell⁵⁴**

should have a son could never be possible, and being able to obtain

68 **hynny heb pecha6t. kelwyd a dywedy heb y uor6yn**

that without sin.’ ‘You are lying,’ said the maiden,

69 **a|chanys o uab y dywedy bychan ia6n y6 dy synn6yr**

‘because of what you are saying about a son, your reason is very small.

70 **Iessu a|doeth o|r ysbryt glan ny wnaeth du6 anedigaeth**

⁵⁴ We would here expect ‘kaffel’.

Jesus came from the Holy Spirit. God did not bear [Him];

71 o ueir y ganet iessu a|doeth tr6y yr ysbryt glan attei

Jesus was born of Mary and came through the Holy Spirit to her

72 megys y|mae ysgriuenedic yn y gret. A h6nn6 yssyd

as is written in the creed. And He is

73 holl allua6c. Ac nyt oes dim a allo bot yn y erbyn ef.

all powerful. And there is nothing that can be against Him.

74 A pob peth a wnaeth heb dim defnyd. A phaham na

And He made everything without material. And why should He not

75 allei ef wneuthur vn peth. Canyt oes dim⁵⁵ a allo bot

be able to do a single thing? Because there is nothing that can be

76 yn y erbyn ef. Paham weithyon na allei ef y eni o|r

against Him. Why then can He not be born of the

77 wry. Atteb ym bellach heb hi athro kelwyda6c⁵⁶

virgin? Answer me, then,' she said, 'false teacher.'

78 h6nn6 a atteba6d tr6y lit ma6r ac o ureid y gallei dy+

⁵⁵ Difficulty in reading caused by crease in vellum, this reading is supported by Peniarth 15, f. 140.

⁵⁶ End f. 31.

And he answered in great anger so that he was scarcely able to speak

79 wedut rac llit. Ac yna y dywat ef. Mi a brofaf

through his fury. And then he said, 'I will prove,'

80 heb ef nat oes wirioned y|th atteb ot ytti6 megys

he said, 'that there is no truth in your answer. If it is

81 y dywedy di Du6 yssyd dyn a|du6 yssyd uab. Pa

as you say that God is a man and God is a son,

82 del6 y dica6n mab uar6 na godef angheu mar6+

how can the son die or suffer a fatal death?

83 a6l. ny diga6n ef mar6 gan ia6n kanyt oes angheu

He cannot die by right since death

84 yn y anyan ef. Os mar6 vyd ny diga6n ef godef

is not in his nature. If he dies he cannot suffer

85 angheu⁵⁷ megys du6 na|chyuot yn vy6 gwedy bei ua+

death as a God nor rise up alive after death.

86 r6⁵⁸ py del6 y diga6n dyn goruot angheu. Os du6 a

⁵⁷ Legibility impaired by stain on MS.

⁵⁸ Legibility impaired by stain on MS.

How can a man triumph over death? If God

87 uu varw kam oed hynny heb ef yn erbyn anyan yd6yt

has died that is contrary,' he said, 'to the nature you are describing

88 yn dywedut. Ac yn erbyn dlyet. Du6 neu dyn y|di+

and it is contrary to expectation that he can be God or man..

89 ga6n bot. Reit y6 y uot ef ae yn du6 ae yn dyn

He must be either God or man

90 kany dica6n ef uot namyn yn Vn. Pan deruyna6d

because he could not be anything but one of those.' When he had finished

91 y ymadra6d. hitheu a atteba6d mal mor6yn doeth

speaking, she answered like a wise maiden.

92 yn erbyn y wironed y|mae dy ymadra6d di 6rth

'What you have said is against the truth, since you

93 na mynny gredu. Ny|chredy di uot yn wir a dywe+

do not wish to believe. You will not believe what I say to be true,

94 daf|i bot iessu yn du6 ac yn dyn or mynny di g6y+

that Jesus is both God and man, and if you wish to know

95 bot y wironed gwaret dy syberwyt yssyd y|th gal+

His truth relieve yourself of the pride that is in your heart

96 lon kanyt oes y gyt a|thi. Dyret ti yn disgybyl ymi

because you do not have [the truth]. Be my disciple,'

97 heb yr hi. A mi a|baraf yt 6ybot y wironed. Yna y dy+

she said, 'I will make you know the truth.' Then the teacher

98 6at yr athro. Mi a gredaf y|r ysbryt glan ac y|r mab

said, 'I believe in the Holy Spirit, and the son

99 ac y du6 holl gyuoetha6c ac a 6rthodaf maxen dru+

and in God Almighty, and I reject the wretched Maxen."

100 an. ar athrawon ereill a gredassant megys hynny

And the other teachers believed the same.

101 A maxen heb ohir a|beris llosgi yr athrawon. Eis+

And Maxen without delay caused the teachers to be burned.

102 soes du6 a|dangosses y drugared ef. ny meda6d

But God showed His mercy. The fire did not consume

103 dim or tan arnunt nac ar eu dillat. yr englyon

them or their clothes. The angels

104 heb ohir a doethant yno ac a dugassant yr eneideu

came there without delay and brought their souls

105 geir bron du6 ac yno y dodet coron am ben pob vn⁵⁹

before God and there a crown was placed on the head of each one

106 o honunt. Ac yna y dywat maxen 6rth katrin. A uor6yn

of them. And then Maxen said to Catharine, 'Oh, fair maiden,'

107 dec heb ef cret ti etwa y|m kyureitheu i. A mi a|th gy+

he said, 'believe now in my laws. And I will take you to

108 meraf yn wreic ym. a mi a uyd brenhin a|thitheu yn

be my wife, and I will be king and you will be

109 urenhines. A mi a|baraf wneuthur del6 yn y dref a

queen. And I will cause an image to be made in the town

110 elwir alexandra o eur oll yn gyfelib y du6. A ph6y|bynnac

called Alexandria, all in gold like a god. And whoever

111 a|el ford yno 6ynt a vuydhant yt. Ac ual hynny y|th enry+

will go that way will submit to you. And like that you will be

112 dedir di. yna y dywat y vendigeit katrin yd6yd yn yn+

honoured.' Then the blessed Catharine answered 'You are

⁵⁹ End f. 31v.

113 **uydu. Yr argl6yd a|garaf|i ny pheidaf|i a|a|e garyat ef yr**

being foolish. I will not reject the love of the Lord whom I love

114 **dim byda6l gorwac oll y6 yr hyn a|dywedy di. Yma+**

for any worldly thing, everything you say is futile. Leave

115 **da6 o hanaf|i a|m|hargl6yd yr h6n yssyd grea6dyr nef**

me and my Lord who is the creator of heaven

116 **a daer yr g6r dr6c ysgymmun. Teil6ng oed6n i y|m**

and earth, you wicked heinous man. I should be worthy

117 **llusga6 6rth vylghrogi. Ac yna y llidya6d maxen yn**

to be drawn and hanged.’ And Maxen became very angry.

118 **va6r. Ac y gelwis y wassanaythwyr atta6. Kymer6ch**

And he called for his followers. ‘Take this foolish girl

119 **heb ohir yr ynuydes hon a r6ym6ch hi vrth bren a mey+**

without delay and bind her to a tree and beat her

120 **d6ch hi a gwyal hyt pan dybycchoch chwi y|mar6. A|r**

with sticks until you think she is dead.’ And

121 **gwyr dr6c hynny a|e maeda6d hi yn y reda6d y gwaet**

those evil men beat her until her blood ran

122 **allan ym hob lle o |e chorff mal y redei y d6u6r y gayaf**

out from every place in her body, like water runs in the winter,

123 **hyny oed y chna6t gwyn hi yn uelyn megys y uiolet**

until her white flesh was yellow like violet.

124 **Maxen a dywat yna 6rth katrin. G6rthot heb ohir**

Maxen then said to Catharine, "Reject without delay

125 **vab meir ac onys g6rthody ti a golly dy vywyt. Yna**

the son of Mary and if you do not refuse Him you will lose your life.'

126 **y dywat mor6yn du6. A |druan ynuyt y dywedy vy**

Then the maiden of God said, 'O wretch, you speak foolishly. I suffer

127 **mhoen am dolur yd 6yf yn eu diodef yr karyat du6**

my pain and my wounds for the sake of God's love.

128 **yn wir y dywedaf yt. Melyssach y6 gennyf |i 6ynt no |r**

In truth I say to you: they are sweeter to me than

129 **mel ac no |r llefrith melyssaf. Kymer6ch hi heb y max+**

the sweetest honey or milk.' "Take her,' said Maxen,

130 en a|dod6ch ymy6[n]⁶⁰ karchar kadarn hyt ni chaffo na b6yt

“and put [her] in the strongest prison so that she will not receive food

131 na dia6t. Yng|gharchar y dodet y uor6yn. Ac eissoes

or drink.’ The maiden was placed in prison. But

132 iessu mab meir ny ada6d y|wassanaeth uor6yn heb gof⁶¹

Jesus the son of Mary did not forget the maiden who served him.

133 ef a anuones y engylon attei. y rei a rodassant idi y ry6 lewenyd

He sent His angels to her who gave her such joy

134 hyt nad oed dyn|yn y BYT a allei dywedut y llewenyd a|r

that no man in the world can speak of the joy and the

135 digrif6ch na challon y vedylya6 nac yscolheic y ysgriuennu

pleasure, nor a heart imagine nor a scholar write

136 meint y llewenyd a|r digriu6ch a wnai yr englyon y ka+

of the amount of joy and pleasure that the angels gave to Catharine.

137 trin. A|r llewenyd h6nn6 a|glywei porffir. Ac ynteu a

⁶⁰ Here we would expect ‘ymy6n’ for ‘in’. This has been noted in the manuscript which shows a rubricated suspension mark between the ‘y’ and the ‘m’. (Compare ‘challo’ > ‘challon’ in l. 38.)

⁶¹ End f. 32.

And that joy was heard by Porffir, and he went

138 aeth at y vrenhines ac a dywat idi y llewenyd a gicleu

to the Queen and he told her of the joy he had heard

139 ef yn y geol. Ac yna y doethant ell deu yn dirgel tr6y obeith

in the gaol. And they both went in secret full of hope

140 da yn du6. Ac ny 6ydyat maxen vrenhin dim o|e menedyat.

in God. And King Maxen did not know anything of their entrance.

141 Yn y geol y gwelynt oleuat hyt nat oed ha6d y dyn yn

In the gaol they could see an illumination so that it was not easy for any man

in

142 y BYT oll dywedut decuet ran y|r kerdeu a|r didan6ch a|oed

the whole world to describe one tenth of the music and happiness

143 yno a|r llewenyd. Ac yna y galwassant h6y at gatrín uo+

and joy that was there. And then they called to Catharine,

144 r6yn du6. Ac y dywedassant neur droes yn kallonau ni

maiden of God. And they said 'All our hearts have turned

145 oll ar iessu grist uab meir. Ac yng|gharda6t gwedia dros+

to Jesus Christ, son of Mary. And in charity pray for

146 som a ni a ym6rthod6n a iolkyn a|theruagant ac appolin.

us and we will reject Iolkyn, and Thernagant, and Apollo.

147 Ac a gred6n y diodeifeint du6 a|e gynodedigaeth. Ac yna

And we believe in the suffering of God and His incarnation.’ And then

148 y dywat y uor6yn. Y iessu grist du6 trugar6c crea6dyr

said the maiden, ‘To Jesus Christ, merciful God, creator of

149 pob peth y diolchaf|i hynny. Merthyri vyd6ch chwi yr y

all things, I offer thanks for this. You will be martyrs for the sake of

150 garyat ef. Ac na ofynhe6ch dim. Ac ar vaxen y doeth+

His love. And do not fear anything.’ And afterwards they went

151 ant drachefyn. Maxen y g6r dr6c h6nn6 a beris d6yn y

back to Maxen. Maxen, that evil man, ordered the maiden Catharine to be

152 uor6yn katrin rac y vron. ac a beris y phoeni o lawer am+

brought before him, and caused her to be tortured by means of various

153 ry6 boeneu. Maxen heb y vrenhines kam ma6r yd6yt yn

pains. ‘Maxen,’ said the Queen, ‘you are doing a great wrong

154 y wneuthur a chatrin yr credu o honei y du6 ac y iessu yr

to Catharine because she believes in God, and in Jesus who

155 h6n a wnaeth pob peth tat a mab holl gyuoetha6c.⁶² Tru+

made all things, almighty father and son. Wretched Maxen

156 an a uaxen kam yd6yt yn y wneuthur. Yn enryded yr tat

you are doing a wrong. Into the honour of the great father

157 ma6r a meir y vam uelys ac y du6 holl gyuoetha6c yd

and of Mary His sweet mother and to the God almighty I do sumbit.

158 ymrodaf|i. A maxen druan a|6rthodaf a|theruagant ac appo+

I reject wretched Maxen and Thernagant and Apollo.

159 lin. nyt oes arnaf|i ofyn dy boeneu di. Yna y dechreua6d

I am not afraid of your punishments.' And then Maxen began

160 maxen ynuydu. Ac y gelwis y|wassanaethwyr atta6.⁶³

raging. And he called his attendants to him

161 Ac yd erchis udunt kymryt y vrenhines. a meyd6ch a gwyal

and he ordered that they take the Queen, 'and beat her with thick sticks

162 bras yn y uo mar6. A gwedy hynny crog6ch hi 6rth y gwallt

until she is dead. And afterwards hang her by her hair

⁶² Ink smudge here, it may be an additional letter, but if so it is illegible.

⁶³ End f. 32v.

163 a|thorr6ch y bronneu ymeith. a phan uo mar6 na|chled6ch na+

and cut off her breasts. And when she is dead, do not bury her but

164 myn rydhe6ch y|chorff y|r k6n. Pan gicleu borffir hynny y

give her body to the dogs.’ When Porffir heard that

165 dywat ynteu. Maxen gi taea6c truan 6yt ti a|chyfla6n 6yt

he said to him “Maxen you villainous dog, you are wretched and you are full

166 o|r diefyl dy wreic a bereist y angheu. Paham druan na le+

of devils. You have put your wife to the death. Why, wretched man,

167 uessit cladu y chorff hi teil6ng oedut ti y|th lusga6. Yna y dy+

do you not venture to have her body buried? You deserve to be drawn.’ Then

168 wat maxen 6rth y wyr kymer6ch borffir a dyg6ch y gan+

Maxen said to his men, ‘seize Porffir and take from him

169 ta6 y eneit a|e aelodeu. A phorffir ar y veinc.⁶⁴ Ac a gymerth

ysga+

his life and limbs. And Porffir [got up] from the bench and took a ladder

⁶⁴ The phrase ‘A phorffir ar y veinc’ does not make sense in isolation, and it appears that something is missing from the text here. Cotton Titus D xxii here reads ‘A phorffir a gyuodes y ar y veingk’, that is ‘And Poffir got up from the bench’. This is the reading that has been assumed in the translation.

170 **6l yn y la6 a phedeirmil a lada6d o wyr maxen rac y vron. A|r**

in his hand and killed four thousand of Maxen's men in front of him.

171 **gymeint arall a vratha6d. a maxen. Ac yna yd ofynha6d max+**

And as many others he wounded including Maxen. And then Maxen was terrified

172 **en ac y cryna6d rac ofyn o debygu y lledit ef. A chatrin a|we+**

and he shook with fear thinking that he would be killed. And Catharine saw

173 **les hynny ac a|dywat 6rth porffir peit a|llad a|choffa diodeif+**

that and she said to Porffir "Do not kill but remember the sufferings

174 **eint du6 yn hargl6yd ni iessu grist mor vuyd y godefa6d ef**

of God, our lord Jesus Christ, how obediently he endured them

175 **heb ymlad heb ymgeinya6. Os yr du6 y mynny di dy var6**

without contention and without cursing. If you wish to die for God

176 **a bot yn uerthyr y du6 ny dyly y ymlad namyn vu ydhau y**

and be a martyr to God then you should not fight him but be obedient

177 **angheu. Yna y dywat porffir yd6yf|i ar y kam. Mor6yn du6**

to death.' And then Porffir said 'I am in the wrong. Maiden of God,

178 **gwedia drossof ar iessu ac y titheu yr ymrodaf|i argl6yd holl**

pray for me to Jesus and to you I give myself, Almighty Lord,

179 gyuoetha6c. a maxen druan a 6rthodaf. Ar ysga6l yna a

and I reject the wretched Maxen.' And then he threw the ladder

180 v6rya6d o|e la6 yn y dorres yn drylleu oll. Maxen a orchymyn+

from his hand and broke it all to pieces. Maxen ordered

181 na6d llusga6 y vrenhines a llad eu penneu. A|r englyon a

the Queen [and Porffir] to be dragged away and decapitated. And the angels

182 duc eneideu⁶⁵ y rei bendigeit rac bron iessu grist mal yd|aeth+

brought the souls of the blessed ones before Christ as they went

183 ant o|r kyrff. Dywet heb y maxen 6rth gatrín. G6rthot

from their bodies. And Maxen said to Catharine, 'Reject

184 ti uab meir ac ny|cheffy vn dr6c ar dy gorff. Cret ym|d6y+

the son of Mary and you shall get no hurt to your body. Believe

185 eu ac ymi. A mi a vadeuaf yt pob peth. Mi a gredaf y

in my gods and in me. And I will forgive you everything.' 'I believe in

186 du6 holl gyuoetha6c heb hi yr argl6yd a|wnaeth pob peth.

⁶⁵ Ink is faded at the start of this line, making the reading of 'duc eneideu' difficult, the reading here is confirmed by Peniarth 15.

Almighty God,' she said, 'the Lord who made everything.

187 Ac or mynny ditheu gredu val hynny yna y bydy di

And if you wish to believe like that then you will be

188 vyngharyat i ac yd ymrod6n y wassanaethu an crea6dyr.⁶⁶

my love and we will give ourselves to serving our creator.'

189 Maxen a weles yna na vynnei hi dim o|e ewyllus ef na+

Maxen saw then that she would not do what he wished, but

190 myn credu a wnai hi y iessu vab meir y argl6yd hi.

believe in Jesus the son of Mary, her Lord.

191 Ynghallon vaxen ydoed ma6r dolur a llit 6rth y wryy

There was great pain in Maxen's heart and anger over the virgin.

192 yno yd oed g6r a|elwit cursattes a gauas emelldith

There was there a man called Cursates who had received the curse

193 du6. Argl6yd urenhin heb y t6yll6r h6nn6. Mi a baraf

of God. 'Lord King,' said that deceiver, 'I will provide you

⁶⁶ End f.33.

194 yt heb ohir a hofynhaa hi yn uaua6r.⁶⁷ Ac yna y gwna+

without delay with something to make her very terrified.' And then he made

195 eth ef pedeir rot a phob vn ohonnunt yn troi yn erbyn

four wheels and each of them turned against

196 y gilyd a danned o dur uduntt. Ac ar y rei hynny y

its neighbour and each with iron teeth. And on those

197 dodet y uor6yn katrin a edrycha6d parth a|r nef ac a we+

was placed the maiden Catharine who looked towards heaven and

198 dia6d ar du6. Y brenhin uchaf mi a|adolygaf yt trugared

prayed to God, 'O highest king, I ask you to have mercy

199 y|m eneit ar yr a6r hon yd|af|i y|m hangheu. Ac y|m

on my soul at this hour that I go to my death. And in

200 gwaet y|m bedydyir. Y dynyon truein dr6c a|droassant

my blood I shall be baptised.' The wretched men turned

201 y rodeu yn ebr6yd. Eissoes iessu iessu vab meir ny a+

⁶⁷ This is not a recognised form of 'ua6r' (large, great, emphatic adverb) but it seems from the context of the sentence that this was the intention. The manuscript includes an obelus over the second 'u', indicating that the first 'ua' was to be deleted. This is in the same ink as the rest of the text and was presumably done during the copying.

the wheels swiftly. But Jesus [Jesus] son of Mary did not forget

202 da6d heb gof y uor6yn. Yengylyon a|anuones attei

his maiden. He sent His angels to her

203 ac a dorrassant y rodeu. Ac [y dry]lleu⁶⁸ llymyon h6y o|r

and they broke the wheels. And [their] sharp [pieces] killed

204 truein angredadun bobyl a ladasant⁶⁹ dengmil a|deu+

fifty thousand of the wretched unbelievers

205 geint a llawer ac a weles y gwyrtheu hynny a gre+

and many who saw those miracles believed

206 dassant y|r argl6yd du6. A|thr6y uaxen y llas y rei

in the Lord God. And through Maxen were killed those

207 a greda6d ac eu heneideu a|aethant y barad6ys. A

who believed and their souls went to paradise. And

208 maxen vrenhin a lidya6d am lad y wyr. Ac a ve+

⁶⁸ The manuscript is stained, making a clear reading of this line impossible. The reading and translation given here corresponds with Cotton Titus D xxii, which reads 'ac eu drylleu llymyon'.

⁶⁹ This manuscript suffers here from a large stain which makes the reading of this line and the one above unclear. It is only possible to determine the reading through digital manipulation of a photograph of the page. This shows that the line appears to read 'a ladasant', a reading which is supported by that in Cotton Titus D xxii..

Maxen became angry because of the slaughter of his men. And he

209 **dylya6d py del6 y gallei ef lad y uor6yn. Ac y dywat**

thought about how he could kill the maiden. And he said

210 **6rth uorwyn du6 ymadraw6d geu. Medylya di uor6yn**

to the maiden a lie. 'Think about this again, fair maiden,

211 **dec etwa a|chret ym du6yeu i ac acha6s dy doethet**

and believe in my gods and because of your wisdom

212 **ti a geffy dy eneit. Ac yna yd atteba6d mor6yn du6.**

you shall have your life.' And the maiden of God answered,

213 **Ny|thal dim dy gel6yd di nyt oes ofyn dim arnaf**

'Your lies are worthless. I am not afraid of your

214 **o|th boeneu di. Kanys o|lewenyd tragwyda6l yd 6yf⁷⁰**

punishments because I am certain of ever-lasting joy

215 **diogel yr h6n ny deruyd BYTh. Y truan uaxen a dywat**

that will never come to an end.' And the wretched Maxen said

216 **6rth y wyr. Argl6ydi⁷¹ beth a|gynhor6ch chwi y mi.**

⁷⁰ End of folio 33v

⁷¹ Beginning of this word faded and difficult to read.

to his men 'My Lords, what do you advise me to do?

217 Py del6 y dielir y hynuydr6yd ar gatrín am na|chret y|m

How shall Catharine be punished for her foolishness since she does not believe in my

218 duy6eu i yna⁷² y dywat y g6r dr6c o vn llef. Ac erchi y|d6+

gods.' Then the evil man [men]⁷³ spoke with one voice and called for her to be

219 yn allan o|r dref a llad y phen. Yna y ducp6yt y vor6yn

taken out of the town and decapitated. Then the maiden was taken

220 o|r dref allan ac yd yspeil6yt. A llawer gwreic a oed yna

out of the town and stripped. And many women who were there

221 yn 6ylya6 ac yn k6yna6 am gatrín mor6yn du6. Vn

were weeping and lamenting for Catharine the maiden of God. One

222 truan o|r dynyon emelldigedic a dynna6d cledyf llym.

wretch from amongst the cursed men drew a sharp sword

223 Ac a erchis idi ystynnu y myn6gyl. A gwedy hynny

and ordered her to stretch her neck. 'And after that

⁷² Fading from beginning of line.

⁷³ The manuscript here reads 'g6r' 'man' but for sense we would expect 'g6yr' 'men'. This reading is supplied in the translation.

224 **ti a golly dy ben tec. Vmhra6t y tec arho ychydic. Vn**

you shall lose your head.' 'My fair brother, wait a little. I'll say one

225 **wedi a wna*f* i y|m|hargl6yd grea6dyr nef a daear tat**

prayer to my Lord, creator of heaven and earth, father,

226 **a mab ac ysbryt glan vn du6 yn yscriuenedic y bren+**

son, and Holy Spirit, one God in writing. Highest king

227 **hin uchaf mi a adolygaf yt kynnyc vy eneit y druga+**

I beseech You to offer mercy on my soul.

228 **red. Ac y bob crista6n trugared a grettont ynot ti yn ga+**

And mercy for all Christians who believe firmly in You.

229 **darn. Mi a|adolygaf yt yr dy en6 uchel di argl6yd y neb**

And I beesech You for the sake of Your supreme name, Lord, that anyone who

230 **a grettont y|m diodef i ac a|e koffao diffryt y rei hynny**

believes in my suffering and remembers it, protect them

231 **rac eu gelynyon. A rodi trugared o|e heneideu. A|r neb**

from their foes. And give mercy on their souls. And anyone

232 **a|del at vying|ghorff ac a|e keisso dr6y dy en6 di rodi**

who should come to my body and seek it through Your name, give

233 iechyt udunt o |e drygeu. Y brenhin uchaf yn y drin+

healing to them from their wrongdoings. Highest King in the trinity

234 dawt dyro ynn waret y|r dynyon truein hyn yma ys+

deliver us from these wretched men who are

235 syd y|m poeni yr dy garyat ti. Madeu udunt y foli+

punishing me for my love to you. Forgive them this foolishness

236 neb h6n kany 6dant beth y|maent yn y wneuthur

for they do not know what they are doing

237 y mi a minheu |a madeuaf udunt ac y|th lla6 dith+

to me and I will forgive them. And to Your hand, Lord,

238 eu argl6yd y gorchymmynnaf i vy ysbryt. Ac yna do+

I commend my spirit. And then an

239 eth anghel at gatrín ac y dywat wrthi. Gennyf i yd

angel came to Catharine and said to her, 'With me

240 anuones iessu vab meir y ganhatau y|r oll yr hyn

Jesus son of Mary has sent his permission for all that

241 a ercheist yda6. Dyret heb ohir or van hon y lewen+

you asked of him. Come without delay from this place to certain joy

242 yd diogel tragwyda6l. Yna y dywat katrin 6rth⁷⁴

never-ending. Then Catharine said to the

243 y g6r truan llad di vy mhen yr a6r hon. Kany vy arglw+

wretched man, 'Cut off my head now. For my Lord

244 yd a anuones attaf y erchi y|m dyuot y|r llewenyd ny deruyd

has sent to me to ask me to come to the happiness that will never end.'

245 6yth. A|r g6r dr6c yna a|lada6d y phen. A llaeth yn lle

And the evil man cut off her head. And milk instead of

246 gwaet a reda6d allan. A|r engylyon a dugassant eneit

of blood flowed out. And the angels took the

247 y uor6yn vendigeit yr nef a|e chorff a|gladassant y my+

blessed maiden's soul to heaven and her body was buried in Mount

248 nyd synai. A|r neb a del yno y geissa6 iechyt ac a gretto y

Sinai. And anyone who should come there to seek health and who believes in

her

249 diodeifeint hi 6ynt a gaffant iechyt. A phedeir fr6t yssyd

⁷⁴ End f. 34.

sufferings shall have health. And four streams

250 yn redec tr6y y bed hi o|e bronneu o ole6. Tr6y y rei hynny

of oil run through her grave from her breasts. Through those

251 y kauas llawer o wyr a|gwraged waret. Ac nyt oes neb

many men and women have received deliverance. And there is no-one

252 dyn a 6yppo eu rif a|hynny a wnaeth du6 yr di. A ninheu

who knows their number and that which God did for her. And let us

253 a adolyg6n y du6 yr y|charyat hi drugared y|n heneideu

request of God for the sake of her love that he have mercy on our souls

254 ac a rodo yn vywyt yn y|BYT h6n yma megys y gal+

and give us life in this world so that we might come

255 lom dyuot y diwed da a|charu du6 a|e wassanaethu

to a good end, and love and serve God

256 megys y gallom dyuot y|r llewenyd BYTh yr kary^at saint

so that through our love we may come to the joy without end, for the love of

saint

257 katrin. Amen.

Catharine. Amen.

DISCUSSION

2.2 INTRODUCTION: THE CULT

Saint Catharine of Alexandria, patron saint of philosophers, scribes, and students (amongst others) was one of the most popular saints of Western Europe in the Later Middle Ages.⁷⁵ Her cult disseminated quickly and widely across Europe as she was venerated in art, dedications, and most importantly for the purposes of this discussion, her Life. The Life survives in ten medieval European languages, some of which reflect more than one significantly different tradition.⁷⁶ This diversity is perhaps the result of her popularity rather than any fluidity ascribed to the text, as the multifaceted nature of her appeal means that there was not one, solely defined, medieval cult of St Catharine.⁷⁷ In the West, her cult developed largely out of Normandy, with Rouen as a popular pilgrimage site, driven by the Normans who seem to have perceived her as appropriately high status to deserve their patronage.⁷⁸ Despite her cult having originated in Greece, she soon came to have the same status as a local saint and churches such as Rouen became local sites for her worship. She was not tied to any one place

⁷⁵ Walsh, *The Cult of St Katherine*, p. 1.

⁷⁶ Jenkins and Lewis, *St Katherine of Alexandria*, p. 2.

⁷⁷ Jenkins and Lewis, *St Katherine of Alexandria*, p. 3.

⁷⁸ Jenkins and Lewis, *St Katherine of Alexandria*, p. 8; Walsh, 'The role of the Normans', p. 35.

and was instead seen as a 'universal' saint, recognised by Greek and Latin Christians.⁷⁹

2.3 CATHARINE'S HISTORY AND SUMMARY OF TRANSLATION

The 'historical' Saint Catharine, if such a person truly existed, would have been martyred in the early fourth century.⁸⁰ The Welsh life records her as a virginal young maiden, the daughter of a king, who gave herself in service and obedience to God at a young age.⁸¹ The life begins when Emperor Maxen calls all his people to the city of Alexandria to witness the sacrifice of Christians to his pagan Gods, threatening to imprison all who do not answer the summons. Catharine refuses on the grounds of her beliefs and is imprisoned after cleverly arguing with the Emperor. During her time in prison, she is visited by a host of angels who ask her not to be afraid as there is a place prepared for her at the breast of God. Maxen's councillors

⁷⁹ Walsh, *The Cult of St Katherine*, p. 5.

⁸⁰ Jenkins and Lewis, *St Katherine of Alexandria*, p. 5.

⁸¹ In the Welsh version, this is the King of Constantinople, although versions differ as the result of some confusion over whether the King's name is Alexander, or whether he is a king of Alexandria. The CB version reads '... merch oed y vrenhin constantinobyl yr a elwir yn lladin alexander ...' (the king of Constantinople had a daughter who in Latin is called Alexander). One should note also that this is not consistent within the Celtic languages; the Breton life records that Catharine is 'merch d'an roe Coste' (daughter of the King of Coste; Lewis, *Handbuch des Mittelbretonischen*, pp. 56-7). Cartwright suggests that the 'original' translator of the Welsh believed that 'Alexandr' was the Latin name for Constantinople, based on the argument of Rees and Bell that 'Alexandr' refers to her father, and not his kingdom (Cartwright, *Feminine Sanctity*, pp. 160-1). Certainly, it appears that at some point in an early version of the text, there was confusion between Constantinople and Alexandria, which has led to a disparity between the languages.

advise the king to send for the best scholars in the country who aim to convert Catharine to their pagan ways. Instead, she is able to use reason to convince a large number of Maxen's advisors of the veracity of her beliefs.⁸² When Maxen ordered that the converted be burned, God commanded that the fire would have no power over their clothes. Maxen says that if Catharine forsakes her beliefs, he will marry her and she will be worshipped like a God. She refuses his advances, and Maxen orders that she should be beaten.⁸³ When she still refuses, he attempts to starve her out in the strongest prison they have and she is visited again by the angels who sustain her with joy. This joy is heard by Porffir, one of Maxen's servants, who takes the Queen to visit Catharine. During the visit they are given a vision of God and they are both converted. When Maxen discovers this, he orders that his wife should be beaten to death, then hung by her hair with her breasts cut off once she is dead. Porffir responds by taking up a ladder and killing 4000 of Maxen's men before Catharine commands him to remember the sufferings of Christ and cease the slaughter, giving his life instead as a martyr for God.⁸⁴ Porffir throws away the ladder, breaking it,

⁸² In a large number of the other traditions, there is significant detail given to Catharine's education. In the Breton text, for example, she is 'trained in all the liberal arts' (Lewis, *Handbuch*, pp.56-7) This, however, is not apparent in the Welsh version. Cartwright suggests that this may be because she is being presented as a less academic figure to make her more accessible for lay-readers and ensuring that her wisdom comes from her faith and not from her education (Cartwright, *Feminine Sanctity*, p. 162.).

⁸³ Notably absent from the Welsh life is Catharine's profession that she cannot marry Maxen due to her mystical marriage to Christ, which is a prominent feature of most versions.

⁸⁴ This is again another notable moment of deviation in the Welsh version as Porffir's act of retaliation is not a common inclusion.

and Maxen orders Porffir and the Queen to be beheaded. Again Catharine rejects Maxen as he asks her to convert from Christianity, and his advisor Cursates creates four great wheels with iron teeth upon which he plans to torture and kill Catharine. However when Catharine prays to God for Mercy, the wheels break and a large number of the pagans are converted. She is eventually stripped and beheaded, whereupon she prays for their forgiveness and milk flows from her body rather than blood. Finally, she is buried in Mount Sinai whereupon four streams of healing oil run from her grave and breasts.

2.4 LARGER LITERARY TRADITION OF THE LIFE

The earliest mention of St Catharine can be found in an early ninth century German manuscript which refers to a no longer extant Latin passion of St Catharine.⁸⁵ The next reference to Catherine is from the 960s in a Greek life written by Simon Metaphastes.⁸⁶ This is held to be the earliest extant version of the life, and most of the Latin lives are descended from this.⁸⁷ Bell argues that the lives of Catharine come in two separate forms; those which follow the structure of the passion (her martyrdom and the events that led up to it) and those texts which are full lives, and include her mystical marriage to Christ.⁸⁸ The Welsh is closer to the passion in style,

⁸⁵ Jenkins and Lewis, *St Katherine of Alexandria*, p. 7.

⁸⁶ Jenkins and Lewis, *St Katherine of Alexandria*, p. 7.

⁸⁷ Jenkins and Lewis, *St Katherine of Alexandria*, p. 7.

⁸⁸ Bell, *Vita Sancti Tatheï and Buched Seint y Katrin*, p. xi.

neglecting to include Catharine's mystical marriage, and yet aspects of the Welsh life diverge from the passion in such a way that it can be afforded a place apart from the wider literary tradition of the Cult of Catharine.⁸⁹ Perhaps the most notable of these divergences is Porffir's visit to the gaol and his slaughter of men using a ladder, a scene which is unique to the Welsh but shares some similarities to a Middle English verse version of the Life. This will be discussed in further detail below. The combination of these features is unique to the Welsh, although some of the divergences can be found in some Italian and German versions.⁹⁰

2.5 WELSH TRADITIONS

The cult of Saint Catharine seems to have emerged with vigour in Wales sometime in the mid-thirteenth century. Certainly, it appears that her feast day was not celebrated in Wales earlier than this point; the *Vitae Sanctorum Wallensium* (a calendar dating from c. 1200) includes her feast day on the 25th November as an addition by a later hand between the mid-thirteenth and early fourteenth century.⁹¹ This would suggest that the cult of Catharine began to emerge at this point, and it was not long afterwards in the middle of the fourteenth century that the life of St Catharine first began to be adapted into Middle Welsh and subsequently copied across

⁸⁹ Bell, *Vita Sancti Tatheï and Buched Seint y Katrin*, p. xi.

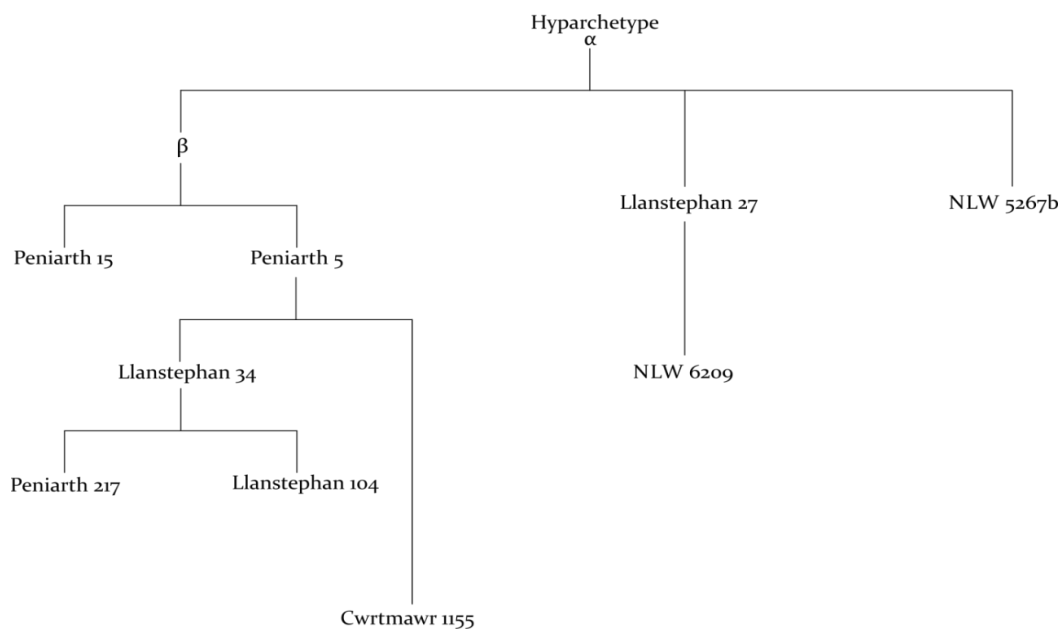
⁹⁰ For more detailed discussion of these and the Middle English version, see Bell, *Vita Sancti Tatheï and Buched Seint y Katrin*, pp. xii-xx.

⁹¹ Cartwright, *Feminine Sanctity*, p. 149.

multiple manuscripts.⁹² The Welsh tradition of Catharine's life is preserved in 17 manuscripts from the mid-fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries, of which four are pre 1450:

| Manuscript | Text Before | Text After | Date c. |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------|-----------|
| Peniarth 15 | Buchedd Farged | EYP | 1375-1425 |
| Peniarth 5 | Pa ddelw y dylai dyn gredu i Dduw | Buched Farged | 1350 |
| Llanstephan 27 | Ystoria Bilatus | Buched Mair Fadlen | 1375-1425 |
| NLW MS 5267B | Diarhebyon | Gwlat Ieuan | 1438 |

Caerwyn Williams argues that the manuscript versions fall into three distinct categories, which he illustrates with the following Stemma:



(Reconstructed from Caerwyn Williams, '*Buchedd Catrin Sant*', p. 259)

⁹² Cartwright, '*Buchedd Katrin*', p.65.

Caerwyn Williams suggests that *CB* is a direct descendant of the Hyparchetype, with no link to Llanstephan B or the hypothetical 'β' text, nor any direct descendants. His conclusions are based upon a comparison of one particular passage in the three earliest readings (Peniarth 5, Llanstephan 27, and NLW MS 5267B). In *CB*, this section falls on ll. 200-217 which is the section that includes the breaking of the wheel by the angels of God.⁹³

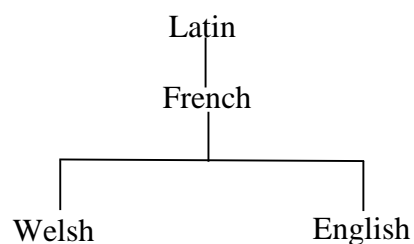
Determining which non-Welsh tradition is closest to that which survives in Welsh is not a simple undertaking. The Welsh texts of *Buchedd Catrin* share a great many characteristics with those of the English, which may suggest a shared history. Perhaps the most notable of these is in a Middle English verse version of the life, which includes the incident with Porffir and the ladder, although in this version the weapon is instead a shield.⁹⁴ Although this is seemingly a very different weapon from the ladder in the Welsh, the similarity of the Welsh words 'ysgaul' (ladder) and 'ysguyd' (shield) could help to explain this irregularity. Cartwright suggests that this may have been the result of a mistranslation or copyist's error, suggesting that the Middle English version may have been working

⁹³ It is interesting that Caerwyn Williams is able to provide a full transcription of the page in *CB*, where it is now impossible due to staining on the page. It thus appears that the damage to the manuscript occurred at some point following his transcription, which was published in 1973.

⁹⁴ This version is found in Cambridge, UL, MS ff.2.38 and Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson Poetry 34.

from a Welsh life.⁹⁵ Alternatively, both texts contain a reference to a Latin original and contain the same short and confusing description of her parents.⁹⁶ This suggests that there is a link between the Middle English and Welsh traditions, probably that they stem from a common original as it is unlikely that one is the translation of the other.⁹⁷

As to possible other sources, Bell suggests that the English and Welsh versions are likely to have been from either the French or the Latin traditions, although the French is more likely than the Latin tradition as the Welsh texts all note that the name of the King of Constantinople is Alexander ‘yn lladin’.⁹⁸ A Latin original would not have included such a phrase, and it thus seems more likely that the language of the life from which the Welsh version is derived was not Latin, but that it was instead probably derived from a Latin source. He proposes the following illustration to demonstrate the descent of the text and the relationship of the Welsh and English:



⁹⁵ Cartwright, *Feminine Sanctity*, p. 166.

⁹⁶ Cartwright, *Feminine Sanctity*, p. 170.

⁹⁷ Bell, *Vita Sancti Tatheï and Buched Seint y Katrin*, p. xviii, ‘in Latin’, ll. 3-4.

⁹⁸ Bell, *Vita Sancti Tatheï and Buched Seint y Katrin*, p. xviii, ‘in Latin’, ll. 3-4.

2.6 THE AUDIENCE

Many have attempted to explain Catharine's popularity by determining her audience and who would have been writing and commissioning these texts. Or, perhaps most importantly, who would have been propagating them. As a beautiful holy virgin and bride of Christ, it has been suggested that the primary audience was female. J. E. Caerwyn Williams, Glanmor Williams, and D. Simon Evans have all linked the Welsh lives of St Catharine with the Middle English Katherine group and texts such as the *Ancrene Wisse*, a text written for female anchorites who had chosen to withdraw from society and spend the rest of their lives in contemplation and chastity.⁹⁹ The Middle English life is often accompanied in manuscripts by texts such as *Hali Meiðhad*, which emphasises virginity and appears to have been written for nuns or recluses.¹⁰⁰

Given the close affinity between these two texts, it is tempting to infer that because the Middle English Life seems to have been written for women, so too must the Welsh. However none of the Welsh manuscripts contain guides for recluses or treatises on chastity, and Cartwright argues that there is nothing in the Welsh manuscripts which suggests that these lives were circulated for the female religious.¹⁰¹ Certainly, there is nothing

⁹⁹ Cartwright, 'Bchedd Katrin', p. 66.

¹⁰⁰ Cartwright, 'Bchedd Katrin', p. 66.

¹⁰¹ Cartwright, 'Bchedd Katrin', p. 66-7.

within *CB* which suggests that the manuscript contained texts which were particularly aimed at women.

One need not assume that these texts would be for the female religious. There existed in Wales women who were a part of a scholarly culture such as Efa, daughter of Maredudd ab Owain, for whom various religious texts were copied and translated in the fifteenth century.¹⁰² It is thus possible that there was a class of female scholars or female nobles with scholarly interests, and that the text was widely available so as to appeal to that group.

It seems more likely, though, that the text's popularity in Wales was instead the result of interest from the scribes and scholars of medieval Wales. As the patron saint of scribes and theologians, it is perhaps no surprise that Catherine was so popular in manuscript tradition. Certainly it is possible to argue that the life appealed to scholars, such as those compiling this and similar manuscripts, who would have seen their scholarly values reflected in Catharine. The majority of these lives would have been written by men, and though it is possible that she was being presented 'as a model by Male Authors to female readers', the life may have appealed in particular to clerical readers such as monks who were supposed to remain chaste and who were valued for their reverence and intelligence.¹⁰³ It is thus likely that the life of this 'holy educated virgin'

¹⁰² Caerwyn Williams, 'Medieval Welsh Religious Prose', p. 67.

¹⁰³ Jenkins and Lewis, *St Katherine of Alexandria*, pp. 3 16-7.

appealed to their natures as it is presenting holy virgins as spiritually powerful individuals'.¹⁰⁴ Other than Saint Stephen (whose cult did not receive the same level of popularity in Wales) there were no hagiographies that focused on male virginity. The focus on virginity very rarely appears in male saints lives, which is perhaps the result of the word itself; 'virgin' is from the Latin 'virgo' meaning 'maid'. Thus there were not many male role models for monks to look to, but Catharine's arguably 'masculine' qualities (her intelligence and scholarly training, her impudence, etcetera) made her very similar to monks and thus appealing as a role model, which could explain the wide dissemination of her life.¹⁰⁵ Whether the life was most popular with male or female readership, it was probably a comforting story to clerical men and women who felt that they had devoted their chastity to Christ rather than bowing to secular pressures.

However, Cartwright also suggests that 'the surviving Welsh life ... appears to have been aimed primarily at lay readers rather than virgins and clerics', a deduction she has made from the manuscript context of the extant versions.¹⁰⁶ Many of the readings of *Buchedd Catrin*, including that taken from the White Book and that in Llanstephan 27, are within manuscripts which were commissioned or compiled for lay readers, as opposed to the clergy.¹⁰⁷ Thus it is possible that the text's initial circulation

¹⁰⁴ Walsh, 'The role of the Normans', p. 33.

¹⁰⁵ Jenkins and Lewis, *St Katherine of Alexandria*, p. 16.

¹⁰⁶ Cartwright, '*Buchedd Catrin*', p. 55.

¹⁰⁷ Cartwright, '*Buchedd Catrin*', p. 69.

was a result of popularity amongst religious readers, but its later popularity may instead have been driven by a secular readership. *CB* contains no texts which seem to be aimed primarily at those living in religious institutions, despite the high number of religious texts it contains. Indeed the inclusion of one text in particular, *Rinwedeu Efferen y Sul*, suggests that the manuscript was aimed at lay readers. *Rinwedeu* describes the virtues of attending mass in order to encourage the reader of the manuscript to attend. There would be no need to give such encouragement to a clerical reader, whose entire life would revolve around masses and services in the church. Thus, on the basis of the inclusion of *Rinwedeu* and other non-religious texts such as *Cynghoreu Kadw Doeth* and Latin texts such as *De Geometria*, it seems unlikely that *CB* was compiled for a religious house, and it is more likely that it was instead aimed at a lay reader.

2.7 MISCELLANEOUS

The mutilation of breasts is a trope in female saint's lives, which often feature the disfigurement or dismembering of the breasts. However in Catharine's life, the disfigurement is transferred to Maxen's wife.¹⁰⁸ In addition, the Welsh version seems to further invert this motif, by

¹⁰⁸ Jenkins and Lewis, *St Katherine of Alexandria*, p. 10-11.

transforming Catharine's breasts from a site of torture to one of healing, as the torture is transferred elsewhere.¹⁰⁹

Another interesting feature of the Welsh version is how it begins. The life begins with 'Lords listen' which should perhaps be read as a literary trope rather than as an indication that it was to be read aloud although Cartwright suggests that the life may have occasionally been read out to the household.¹¹⁰ Nevertheless, none of the other texts in *CB* begin in this way way, nor do they necessarily contain any oral features and thus it seems unlikely that this was considered a text to be read out aloud.

¹⁰⁹ Cartwright, '*Buchedd Katrin*', p. 80.

¹¹⁰ Cartwright, '*Buchedd Katrin*', p. 84.

2.8 BUCHEDD CATRIN AND Y CASGLIAD BRITH

It is perhaps interesting that only two saint's lives are found in *CB*, namely the life of St Catharine and the (partial) life of Saint David. The Life of Saint David concerns a Welsh saint who gave his name to Wales' main contender for an archbishopric. Although the earliest copies of the life are written in Latin, it was composed by a Welshman, Rhygyfarch of St David's (fl.1057-1099), and was later translated into Welsh as *Buchedd Dewi*. The text was often used for political purposes, arguing for a separation of the Welsh church from Canterbury, by proposing that St David's should be its own Archbishopric. Although Catharine had no obvious connections with Britain, Walsh argues that a process of 'Anglicization' took place in England, whereby Catharine lost her Greek identity and became an English Saint.¹¹¹ Indeed, some Middle English lives provide a genealogy wherein she is given an English grandmother. Similarly, in France, she becomes localised to Rouen, which becomes her major pilgrimage site, and she is also purported to have appeared to Joan of Arc in order to mobilize troops.¹¹² In this encounter, she spoke French and was thus made increasingly 'local'. It is possible that a similar process happened with Catharine in Wales; Saint David was arguably the most renowned of the male saints for the Welsh, and it could be that Catharine was considered the female equivalent, despite not actually being Welsh. Intriguingly, none

¹¹¹ Walsh, *The Cult of St Katherine*, p. 99.

¹¹² Walsh, *The Cult of St Katherine*, p. 99.

of the other readings of *BC* exist without at least one other female saint's life being included in the manuscript too. As *CB* is missing both its beginning and its end, it is possible that it once included other texts, which are now lost. Otherwise it is very interesting that *BC* is chosen to be included here, and that these manuscripts chose to use non-native female saints rather than, for example, Saints Dynwen or Non. The inclusion of one natively Welsh and one typically Norman saint's life in the manuscript could be indicative of a patron who lived on the Welsh marches and considered himself to be dually Welsh and Norman. The diverse nature of the manuscript's contents and the inclusion of both native Welsh material (the Annals, *Enryveddodeu*) alongside popular international texts (*Breuddwyd Pawl*, *Delw y Byd*), as well as its bilingual nature, support this possibility.

Despite the largely religious nature of many of the other texts in this book, with Cartwright's suggestion that *BC* was not primarily aimed at the religious, it is possible to conjecture that *CB* was compiled for a secular audience. The religious texts which do appear in the manuscript contain information which would not necessarily have been needed by a religious audience; *Rinwedeu*, for example. The gloss of Dafydd Benwyn on the later folios of the manuscript could indicate that the book was at one point in secular hands, although Benwyn did also have access to other manuscripts, such as the Book of Llandaff which was kept at Llandaff. It is thus possible

that although the manuscript was compiled for a secular audience, it may have remained in religious hands for some time.

The dual language nature of the manuscript and the prevalence of translation texts alongside native Welsh texts suggests that the person choosing its contents (whether this was Siancyn or his patron) did not see any discrepancy between the Latin and the Welsh texts, regarding them as having equal value for a learned individual. Moreover, it is interesting that Peniarth 15, Peniarth 5, and Llanstephan 27 all contain very similar texts to *CB* (such as *DyB*, *BP*, and *Enryveddodeu*) suggesting there may have been a 'canon' of materials considered useful to include in a compilation manuscript.

CHAPTER 3: RINWEDEU EFFEREN Y SUL

3.1. TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION

Found on ff. 52-v of the manuscript, *Rinwedeu Efferen y sul* is a short text comprising only 21 lines. It follows on from *Cynghoreu Kadw Doeth*, beginning at the bottom of f. 52. It is introduced by '*llymma rinwedeu efferen sul*' and is given a rubricated initial 'P' at the start of the text. The title seems to have been written first in the same colour ink as the body of the text (though in a slightly larger hand) and has been decorated later by the rubricator who also adds a red line filler to complete the remaining space on that line. Similarly, the second part of the text is introduced with a brown '*Llymma rinwedeu gwelet corff crist*' which was later decorated. The englyn which forms the third section may have been added to the rest of the text later, as it has been introduced only in red, and this rubrication takes up a line and a half, with the text beginning immediately where the rubrication ends. The first line of the rubrication is faded, although it seems to read '*a llymma euely ... yon ...*'. There are further red markings where there must once have been words, but these are illegible. The text is punctuated in red throughout.

The text is followed by *Py del6 y dyly*, the only text which also exists in Siancyn's hand elsewhere.

Llymma rinwedeu efferen sul

Here are the virtues of Sunday Mass.

1 Pump rinwed efferen sul ynt. kyntaf y6 ohonunt bot yn h6y y hoed+

There are five virtues of Sunday Mass. The first is that the life of whoever listens

2 yl y|r sa6l a gwarandawo. Eil y6 madeu dy v6yt amryt or

shall be longer. The second is that your unseasonable eating will be pardoned from

3 sul y gylyd. Trydyd y6 madeu dy van bechodeu o|r sul y gylyd.

Pet+

one Sunday to the next. The third is that you will be pardoned of your minor sins from one Sunday to the next. The fourth is

4 weryd y6 a gerdych y gyrchu efferen sul. bot yn kystal yt

a|pheis ro+

is that when you to walk to reach Sunday Mass it will be as good for you as if you

5 dut o dref dy dat yn dir da6n y du6. Pymhet ot a dyn yr

purdan¹¹³

¹¹³ End f. 52.

gave land from your patrimony as a gift to God. The fifth is that if a man goes to purgatory

6 gorffywys a|geif yn gyhyt a phob efferen ac a warandawo

he shall have rest as long as every Mass that he hears.

7 Llymma rinwedeu gwelet corff crist

These are the virtues of seeing the body of Christ.

8 Pan ganer yr offeren madeu dy v6yt amryt y dyd y gwelych. dy

When mass is sung you are pardoned of your unseasonable food on the day you see it. Your

9 ymadrodyon diffr6yth ny|chofeir. Anudoneu an6ybot ny|th geryd+

unprofitable conversation shall not be remembered. You will not be chastized for

10 ir ohonunt. Ny da6 angheu deisyuyd y dyd h6nn6. Or bydy

false oaths in ignorance. Sudden death will not come on that day. If you

11 varw y dyd y gwelych breint kymuna6l a vyd arnat. Tra wa+

die on the day you see it the privilege of Communion will be on you.

Whilst

12 randewych efferen ny henhey yn hynny o amser. Pob kam a
ger+

*you hear Mass you shall not grow older during that time. An angel will
count every step*

13 dych y gyrchu efferen angel a|e rif ac am bob kam gobr6y a
gef+

you walk towards Mass and for every step you shall receive a reward.

14 fy. Ny|thric dryc ysbryt y gyt a|thi hyt tra vych yn gwaranda6

No evil spirit will be with you while you listen to

15 efferen. A llymma englynyon...¹¹⁴

Mass. And here ...

16 dyl y6 yr englyn. Oth ogyuarch dy Sul ath ofynnaf yn

... is the englyn: 'Greeting you on Sunday I ask you

17 dy vul¹¹⁵ py wnaſ am efferen sul. Efferen sul os keyd tr6y

boldly, what do I do about Sunday Mass?' 'If you keep Sunday Mass in

18 fyd a|chret a|chreuyd gwyn y uyt dy gyweithyd. O|th o gy+

¹¹⁴ The end of this line is very faded, and is thus illegible.

¹¹⁵ Staining on manuscript impairs legibility.

*faith and belief and religion, blessed will be your companions.’ ‘Greeting
you*

19 varch¹¹⁶ o diuri ath ouynnaf tr6y deithi py wnaif o bydaf

earnestly I ask you by right, what will I do

20 hebdi. O|r bydy hebdi o gynnen¹¹⁷ llauur heb arnat amgen

*without it?’ ‘If you are without it due to the oppression of labour without
an alternative,*

21 hyt yr wythnos na|chward wen. Ac velly tervyna.

through the week do not give a smile.’ And here it ends.

¹¹⁶ Staining and fading on the manuscript impairs legibility on this line and the one above. Peniarth 15 here heads 'oth ogyvarch'.

¹¹⁷ Alternate reading from all other witnesses (heb lauur).

DISCUSSION

3.2 INTRODUCTION

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw the emergence of a concern over the value of Mass to the secular believer, perhaps responding to the works of John Wycliffe, an influential dissident who questioned the teachings of the Catholic Church, most notably the doctrine of transubstantiation. He acquired a group of followers known as ‘Lollards’, whose antagonism toward the Church grew in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, culminating in the posting of *The Twelve Conclusions of the Lollards* on the doors of Parliament in 1395. This move prefigured the similar action of Martin Luther in 1517. It is at this point that there is a surge in literature on the theme of Communion’s value in both England and Wales. It is into this milieu that *Rinwedeu Efferen y Sul* was born.

The short text *Rinwedeu Efferen y Sul* (also known as ‘*Rhinweddau Gwrandu Offeren*’) is a 21 line discussion of the various virtues of the Mass. Including promises of a long life, the pardoning of sins, and rest in purgatory, the text seems to be aimed at a secular audience, encouraging their piety. The earliest version of this text is the version in the *RBH*, which was composed c. 1350.

It is divided into three separate sections by the scribe of *CB*. Lines 1-6 are the virtues of hearing Sunday Mass, lines 7-15 are the virtues of seeing the body of Christ, and lines 15-21 form four three-line verses (described in the

manuscript as ‘*englynyon*’) in the form of questions and answers.¹¹⁸ The text outlines the benefits and rewards granted to those that hear the Mass, including a lifetime that is longer for all the masses ever heard (ll. 1-2), forgiveness for any untimely food on the day you take communion (l. 8), and being free from the risk of sudden death on that day (l. 10). The first fifteen lines list the virtues of Mass and Communion, simply describing the benefits in simple prose. The virtues of hearing the Mass are numbered first to fifth, but there is no such numbering in the virtues of taking Communion. Lines 15-21 follow a slightly different format, as four verses formed of two questions and answers. The first question asks what should be done about Sunday Mass, and the second asks what will come to those who do not keep mass.

3.3 MILIEU

Various texts contemporary to *Rinwedeu*, in Welsh and English, include similar motifs and teachings on the value of Mass. The most notable of these for the purposes of this discussion are the poem entitled *Ymddiddan Arthur a’ Eryr*, another poem by Ieuan ap Rhydderch (c. 1420), and a popular English treatise on the *Virtues of the Mass* written by John Lydgate (fl. c. 1370-1451).

Perhaps the most striking of these similarities is the resemblance the text bears to a Middle Welsh poem from the fourteenth century, *Ymddiddan*

¹¹⁸ *CB* is the only extant version of RES which contains headings at the break of each text that include the title of the text, although fading on the manuscript makes it impossible to read the full title given for the verses .

Arthur a'r Eryr.¹¹⁹ This poem relates the conversation between King Arthur and his deceased nephew Eliwlad, who has returned in the guise of an eagle.

Harkening back to an earlier Arthur characterised by his strength and not his piety, the Arthur of the poem is presented as a warrior who is ignorant of the values of Christian worship. As Eliwlad has returned from the dead, he possesses a certain knowledge of the world beyond life, and is thus able to offer Arthur the religious instruction which characterises the poem.¹²⁰ Arthur questions the eagle on matters of religious instruction, most notably the nature and importance of mass:

1 **A:** **Yr Eryr, barabl diful,**
 Oh Eagle, bold in your speech,
 A'th ofynnaf heb gynful:
 I ask you without quarrel:
 Ai da cael offeren Sul?
 Is it good to receive Sunday Mass?

2 **E:** **Offeren Sul os ceffy,**
 If you receive Sunday Mass
 A dŵr a bara wedy,
 And have water and bread afterwards,
 Gwynfydedig o hyn fyddy.
 You will be blessed by it.

¹¹⁹ The poem is found in Oxford Jesus College MS 20, c. 1375-1425, though it may have been composed earlier.

¹²⁰ Padel, *Arthur in Middle Welsh Literature*, pp. 64-5.

- 3 A: **Yr Eryr, barabl difri,**
Oh Eagle, true is your speech,
A'th ofynnaf dros Geli
I ask you in the place of God,
Beth ym o byddaf hebddi?
What will happen to me if I am without it?
- 4 E: **O byddy heb offeren**
If you are without Mass
Ddyw Sul, heb raid, heb angen,
On Sunday, without necessity, without reason,
Hyd yr wythnos na chwardd wên
You will not laugh throughout the week.
- 5 A: **Yr Eryr, barabl honnaid,**
Oh Eagle, famous is your speech,
A'th ofynnaf wrth fy rhaid,
I ask you because it is necessary,
Beth sydd orau rhag enaid?
What is best for the welfare of the soul?
- 6 E: **Pader ac offerenau,**
The Lord's prayer and masses,
A dyrwest a chardodau,
temperance and charity,
A'u gorddyfnaid hyd angau.

and practising these things unto death.¹²¹

Two themes in particular, that of blessed food and of a lack of laughter when Mass is not heard, are present in both *Rinwedeu* and the poem. Line 8 of *Rinwedeu* reads '*Pan ganer yr offeren madeu dy v6yt amryt y dyd y gwelych*' which features the same idea of untimely eating of food (e.g. during Lent) being forgiven because the consumer has heard Mass. Perhaps most similar, however, is the englyn in *Rinwedeu*, which follows the same question/ answer format as the *Ymddiddan*. The englyn resembles most closely stanzas 3 and 4 of the section displayed above:

| Rinwedeu | Ymddiddan |
|--|---|
| Oth o gyuarch o diuri | A: Yr Eryr, barabl difri, |
| <i>'Greeting you earnestly</i> | <i>Oh Eagle, true is your speech,</i> |
| ath ovynnaf tr6y deithi | A'th ofynnaf dros Geli |
| <i>I ask you by right,</i> | <i>And I ask you in the place of God,</i> |
| py wnaf o bydaf hebdi. | Beth ym o byddaf hebddi? |
| <i>what will I do without it</i> | <i>What will happen to me if I am without it?</i> |
| Or bydy hebdi o gynnen | |
| 'If you are without it due to the | E: O byddy heb offeren |
| oppression of labour without an | <i>If you are without Mass</i> |
| alternative, | Ddyw Sul, heb raid, heb angen, |

¹²¹ Translation author's own. Text: Haycock, *Blodeugerdd Barddas*, pp. 308-9.

hyt yr wythnos na|chward wen.

through the week do not give a

smile.

On Sunday, without necessity, without

reason,

Hyd yr wythnos na chwardd wên

You will not laugh throughout the week.

In both, the same question is asked, and a very similar answer is given. Although the section in *Rinwedeu* is addressed to an unknown figure rather than an eagle, the phrasing is very similar. Hobson-Matthews suggests that this emerged from a prevailing belief in the Middle Ages that missing Mass should result in abstention from merriment until the following Sunday.¹²² Whilst this is perfectly possible, it is also likely that one of these originated from the other, or that it was used as inspiration. The choice of words, particularly the use of *difri* and the final line which is identical in both cases, implies a level of similarity which makes it unlikely that these texts were composed entirely independently. Instead, this suggests at least that one of these texts was familiar enough to a contemporary scholastic audience that they were able to adapt and re-use its material. As *Ymdiddan* is extant in only one reading, it is tempting to suggest that *Rinwedeu* was the more widely circulated text.

¹²² Hobson-Matthews, *The Mass and its folklore*, p. 21

Although the earliest extant version of *Rinwedeu* pre-dates that of the earliest surviving manuscript copy of *Ymddiddan*, it is possible that *Ymddiddan* is the earlier text. The date for the text's composition is unknown; it exists only in fourteenth-century manuscripts, although Ifor Williams posits that it may be a twelfth century composition.¹²³ As such it is not possible to determine which of these texts was the influencer or the influencee, nor is it possible to determine whether there was a hypothetical third text which may have influenced them both. However it is possible to argue that these texts were clearly produced in a very similar environment, and for similar motives.

Nevertheless it does appear that they may have been written so as to appeal to two slightly different audiences. The presentation of Arthur as an ignorant king in need of instruction implies that *Ymddiddan* may have been composed as a means by which to give religious instruction and explain its intricacies in a way that was accessible to those who were not well-educated. Indeed, Padel suggests that Arthur may have been chosen as a figurehead to show that even the greatest kings need basic religious instruction.¹²⁴ On the other hand, the style and contents of *Rinwedeu* are significantly different, and perhaps provides an example of a text aimed at a more learned class, particularly when taking the manuscript context of each reading into consideration. It may then be that these two texts were composed with the intention of conveying the same message, but to different audiences.

¹²³ Williams, 'Ymddiddan Arthur a'r Eryr', p. 285.

¹²⁴ Padel, *Arthur in Middle Welsh Literature*, p. 67.

Concern over the true value of Mass does not seem to have been a uniquely Welsh problem. Contemporaneously to the earliest versions of *Rinwedeu*, John Lydgate was writing about the virtues of the Mass in English.¹²⁵ Lydgate's treatise on the Mass is a somewhat extended version of the virtues given in *Rinwedeu*, with several additions. Some of the key similarities, however, are in the notion of security from sudden death on the day Mass is heard, the deduction of time spent in Mass from your age, and a guardian angel who walks with you to Mass.¹²⁶ The treatise was likely composed as a response to the Lollardian movement in England and is unlikely to have been composed earlier than 1390, by which point the earliest reading of *Rinwedeu* was already being circulated, and it is possible that up to three of the other versions were also extant by this point. It is thus not possible that Lydgate's work could have influenced *Rinwedeu*. Nor is it likely that Lydgate was exposed to the Welsh tradition as he has no clear link with Wales. Given the high number of translation texts in *CB* and the other MSS which contain *Rinwedeu* it is likely that *Rinwedeu* and Lydgate's *Virtues*, are drawing on similar sources.

If there was an original Latin text or, indeed, canonical teachings surrounding Mass, then it seems to have been prevalent in Wales long before it was introduced into Lydgate's English works. Notwithstanding the possible

¹²⁵ Hobson-Matthews, *The Mass and its folklore*, pp. 12-16; this book also provides a full transcription of Lydgate's text.

¹²⁶ Hobson-Matthews, *The Mass and its folklore*, p. 20.

date of composition for the *Ymddiddan* and the date of the earliest readings of *Rinwedeu*, a Welsh poem composed by Ieuan ap Rhydderch in the early fifteenth century includes many of the same themes.¹²⁷ Ieuan was a well-educated poet of Cardiganshire, who appears to have been familiar with much of the historical Welsh literary tradition, including the poems of Myrddin and Taliesin, the Red Book of Hergest, and the work of earlier bards including Hywel ap Owain ap Gruffudd.¹²⁸ Although there is no definitive proof of his education in a university, R. I. Daniel argues that his poetry shows evidence of an educated background and a Welshman of his time was most likely to have attended Oxford.¹²⁹ He also argues that Ieuan would have entered to study religion rather than law.¹³⁰ If these hypotheses can be accepted, then Ieuan would likely have been at University with, and perhaps tutored by, Professor John Wycliffe, the leader of the Lollardian movement. It does not, therefore, seem unlikely that he could have been familiar with either an early form of *Rinwedeu*, a hypothetical Latin text, or other texts on this subject.

This poem contains many of the same 'virtues' ascribed to Mass attendance in the other texts, particularly not growing old at Mass, and travelling to and from Mass with an angel at one's side.¹³¹ Again, these seem to

¹²⁷ Hobson-Matthews, *The Mass and its folklore*, p. 16; for a full version of this poem, see R. I. Daniel, *Gwaith Ieuan ap Rhydderch*, poem 7.

¹²⁸ Jenkins, 'Ieuan ap Rhydderch', *Dictionary of Welsh Biography* [<http://yba.llgc.org.uk/en/s-IEUA-APR-1430.html>, 02/07/15, 12:38].

¹²⁹ Daniel, *Gwaith Ieuan ap Rhydderch*, p. 5

¹³⁰ Daniel, *Gwaith Ieuan ap Rhydderch*, pp. 5-6

¹³¹ Daniel, *Gwaith Ieuan ap Rhydderch*, poem 7, ll. 31, 35 .

have been cross-cultural virtues of Mass, appearing in *Rinwedeu*, this poem, and the work of Lydgate.¹³²

It thus appears that the themes explored in *Rinwedeu* were not unique to this text and were, instead, part of a widespread notion of the virtues and benefits of Mass. It is unclear where these teachings may have originated, whether it was in the Welsh or in a Latin text of a similar type, but there was a rise in the production of texts on the value of Mass at the end of the fourteenth to the beginning of the fifteenth centuries. This may have been catalysed by the growing political dissension in England and Wales building up to the Wars of the Roses which would come towards the end of the fifteenth century, or it may simply have been with the aim of educating all laymen on the value of attending Mass. Whilst the bulk of *Rinwedeu*, the poem, and Lydgate's treatise were likely aimed at a more educated audience, though not necessarily a monastic one, the dialogue of *Ymddiddan* and the verses in *Rinwedeu* seem instead to be targeted towards the lower classes, to those who would recognise parts of themselves in the questioner and would thus be increasingly encouraged to attend Mass.

Hobson-Matthews also mentions an 'old Welsh proverb' which begins '*Nid hwy y daith er gwrandu offeren*' and bears some similarity to the texts

¹³² Daniel notes some other texts which could have influenced the composition of the poem. These are listed in Daniel, *Gwaith Ieuan ap Rhydderch*, pp. 169-70

mentioned above.¹³³ However it has not yet been possible to identify to which proverb he is referring here, or where to find it.¹³⁴

3.4 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TEXTS

The full text survives in five separate manuscript versions, all of which group the sections together, indicating that they were intended to be read as one full collection.¹³⁵

The text occurs in the following manuscripts;

- Oxford, Jesus College MS 119, *The book of the Anchorite of Llandewibrefi* c.1350
- Peniarth 15 c. 1375-1425
- Peniarth 32 c. 1375-1425
- Llanstephan 27, *The Red Book of Talgarth* c. 1375-1425
- NLW MS 5267B 1438

This appears at first glance to have been a fairly fixed text, with very few variants across the versions. One variant, however, points to two slightly differing recensions of the text.

¹³³ Hobson-Matthews, *The Mass and its folklore* f.n., p. 15.

¹³⁴ It is possible that he may be referring to a free verse '*Nid rhystrach y daith er gwrando offeren*' which is ascribed to Cato/ Taliesin and can be found in Wynnstey 1. It has not been possible to find a full transcription of this verse, but its entry can be found in the NLW's online index to poetry;

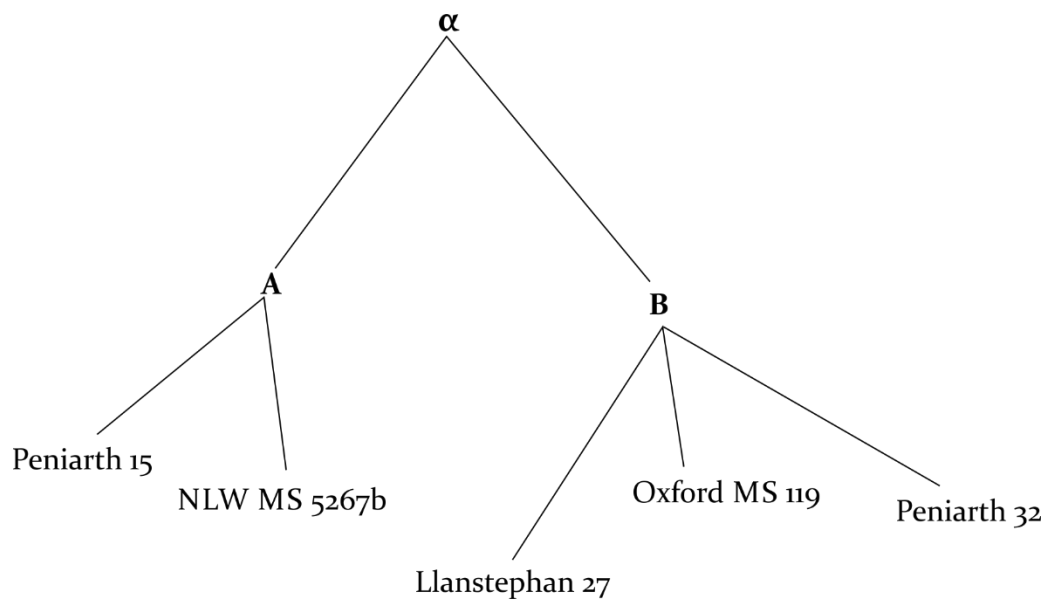
<http://maldwyn.llgc.org.uk/chwilio.php?BRN=628> [03/03/16, 13:22]

¹³⁵ A version of the section '*Rhinweddau gweled corf crist*' can be found in Peniarth 45 (c. 1300-1350). This predates the other manuscript versions mentioned above, and could suggest that this section originally travelled alone, and was only later associated with *Rinwedeu Efferen y Sul* and the verses.

| | |
|------------------|--|
| <i>MS 119</i> | <i>dy hoedyl aruod pob offeren vyth a 6arandey6ch</i> |
| <i>Pen 15</i> | <i>y hoedyl y sawl aw awarandawo</i> |
| <i>Pen 32</i> | <i>dy hoedyl arvod pob efferent BYTh a wrandewych</i> |
| <i>Llanst 27</i> | <i>dy hoedyl aruod pob offeren sul vyth or a warandewych</i> |
| <i>CB</i> | <i>y hoedyl yr sa6l a gwarandawo</i> |

It is clear that there are two slightly different versions of this text, which may be categorised simply as those that use ‘y sawl’ and those which use ‘aruod’. There are no clear indicators that any of the texts in the groups were copied from another extant text in the same group, as there is too much orthographical variation, usually as regards recording lenition or in verb endings.

A possible Stemma for these texts is illustrated below:¹³⁶



Of these, the Peniarth 32 version could be considered significantly different, as it also includes a further 25 lines that do not appear in the other versions. Despite this, I have included Peniarth 32 in the group with Llanstephan 27 and Oxford, Jesus College MS 119, as its appearance in only one of the five versions suggests that it may not actually have been a part of the *Rinwedeu* text. Indeed, it is possible that its inclusion is the result of an editorial decision on behalf of the editors of the *Rhyddiaith Ganoloesol* project, as it is not clear whether these 25 lines are a continuation of the previous text or another one entirely.

This section begins ‘Cristus olfactus. auditus. visio. tactus. Y rei hynn yssyd p6mp synn6yr y dyn’ and appears to be a religious text of the same ilk as *RES*, which lists first the five senses and their purpose, before taking on a

¹³⁶ The use of ‘A’ and ‘B’ for the groupings holds no significance, they are merely labels.

prayer-like format beseeching God and asking for his wisdom. It is possible that *RES* was being used here as a precursor to this text, the former explaining why it is important to honour God and the second acting as an illustration of how to ask for God's wisdom.

It is perhaps interesting to note that both the Peniarth 15 and MS 119 versions are followed in their manuscripts by *Breuddwyd Pawl*, suggesting that these texts may have once been transmitted together. However these two are from different recensions and it could thus be a coincidence, sprung from the similar message of both texts, which encourage good Christian worship and belief.

3.5 *RINWEDEU AND Y CASGLIAD BRITH*

This brief study of *Rinwedeu* sheds further light on the purposes and value of *Y Casgliad Brith*. That *Rinwedeu* was a religious text aimed at an educated audience is clear. However it is also clear that this was not necessarily a monastic one; those ordained into holy orders would have little use for a text such as this, as Mass would have been a central part of their daily routine that invited no challenge. Furthermore, virtues such as the fourth, '*a gerdych y gyrchu efferent sul bot yn kystal yt apheis rodut o dref dy dat yn dir da6n y du6*', would have been unnecessary for a religious audience, many of whom would have forsaken their worldly possessions before entering the Order. If this is to be considered a text aimed at a secular but educated audience, it supports the suggestion of Cartwright that *Buchedd Catrin* (another text in *CB*) was

intended for an educated lay audience.¹³⁷ It can thus be inferred that *CB* was intended for an audience of scribes and scholars and the educated nobility such as Hopcyn ap Tomas who often commissioned such compilation manuscripts.

Also, it seems to have been methodically placed within *CB*. It follows on from two Wisdom texts on the regulation of drinking and the keeping of good counsel, and is succeeded by the Religious text *Py delw y dyly [dyn] gredu y du6*. The placing of *Rinwedeu* here seems to be intentional as it highlights the importance of the text, additionally serving as a segue between the Wisdom and the religious genre in its capacity as a text which encompasses certain aspects of both. This suggests that the order of the texts within the manuscript probably came as the product of careful consideration. It is possible that similar links could be made through careful analysis of the other texts in the manuscript, giving more insight into the construction of books and the role of the scribe in the production of manuscripts such as these.

Overall, therefore, the inclusion of *Rinwedeu* reveals a little more about the manuscript and the purpose of its production. It appears to have been intended for an educated secular audience. Moreover, it provides some insight into the mind of Siancyn ap Dafydd ap Gruffudd and the role of scribes in fifteenth-century Wales.

¹³⁷ Cartwright, 'Buchedd Katrin', p. 69.

CHAPTER 4: ANNALS

4.1. TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION

The *Annals* fall on ff.56v-57v and are bookended in the manuscript by *Py delw y dyly* which takes up the preceding three folios, and *Breuddwyd Pawl* which occurs on the following two folios.

The text begins half way down f. 56v, with a decorated initial 'B' which is interwoven with the large initial 'G' which occurs towards the top of the page in *Py delw*. The decoration fills most of the left hand margin and may once have been ornate, although this has now faded. The text has rubricated punctuation marks throughout.

There is an erased gloss at the bottom of f. 57 which is illegible. It appears to have been in a hand similar to that of the main scribe.

1 Bl6ydy n eiseu o deucant a phumil a vu o|r amser

There were 5200 years but one from the time

2 y g6naethp6yt adaf hyt yn deuth crist yngna6t

that Adam was made until Christ came in man's flesh.

3 dyn. m cc xxx kyn geni krist y deuth brutus y|r y+

1230 years before the birth of Christ, Brutus came to

4 nys honn a|thrychanllog yn la6n o niuer y gyt ac ef.

this island with 300 ships filled by an army along with him.

5 ac ef a vu o|lin ef gwedy ef petwar brenhin ar|dec

And of his lineage after him there were 74 kings

6 a|thrugeint kyn dyuot crist yngna6t cccc x gwe+

before Christ came in flesh. 410 after

7 dy geni crist y proff6yda6d myrdin o acha6s ymlad

the birth of Christ Myrddin prophesied about the fighting of

8 y dreigeu. gwedy dyuot hors a hengys y|r ynys honn

dragons after Hors and Hengist first came to this island

9 gyntaf a llad cccc tywyssa6c o|r bryttaneit yng|haer

and killed 400 princes of the Britons in Caer

- 10 **garada6c tr6y d6yll. c lvi gwedy geni crist y herbyn⁺¹³⁸**
Caradoc through treachery. 156 after the birth of Christ
- 11 **na6d y brytanyeit gristynogaeth yn oes lles vab koel**
the Britons recieved Christianity in the age of Lles son of Coel
- 12 **brenhin y brytanneit. Dcii mlyned gwedy geni crist**
King of the Britons. 602 years after the birth of Christ
- 13 **yd erbyna6d y saeson gristynogaeth y gan seint austin.**
the Saxons recieved Christianity from St Augustine.
- 14 **Ac ef a vu o anedigaeth du6 hyt at gatwaladyr**
And there were from the birth of God to Cadwaladr
- 15 **vendigeit tri brenhin ar dec ar|hugeint ol yn ol. Ac**
the Blessed 33 successive kings. And
- 16 **ef a vu o gatwaladyr vendigeit hyt at wilym bas⁺**
there were from Cadwaladr the Blessed to William the Bastard
- 17 **tart vgeint brenhin corona6c o saeson ol yn ol. A|thrych⁺**
20 successive crowned kings of the Saxons. And for 300
- 18 **ant mlyned y buant yn tywyssya6 yr ynys. Mclxxi y llas**
years they ruled the island. In 1171

¹³⁸ End f. 56v.

19 **thomas o gaer geint mc lxxxviii y bu y lladua yng|has+**

Thomas of Canterbury was killed. In 1188 there was the slaughter at Painscastle.

20 **tell paen mccxxx y kahat kestyl neth. mcc xviii y**

In 1230 the castles of Neath were taken. In 1218

21 **torret pont gaer vurdin. mcc xxxix y bu var6 ll ap**

Carmarthen bridge was broken. In 1239 Llywelyn ap

22 **Ioruerth yn|g6yned. mcc x6i y g6naethp6yt creuyd y bro+**

Iorwerth died in Gwynedd. In 1216 the order of the

23 **dyr p^rgethwyr. mcc li y bu y vr6ydyr r6ng dauid ap gr**

preaching brothers was created. In 1251 was the battle between Dafydd ap Gruffudd

24 **a ll. mcc xlvi y bu var6 dauid ap ll ac y doeth y llu**

and Llywelyn. In 1246 Dafydd ap Llywelyn died and the black host came.

25 **du Mcc xlvii y cryna6d y dayar. mccl y bu y haf**

In 1247 the earth shook. In 1250 was the hot summer.

26 **tessa6c. mc[c]lvi¹³⁹ y bu y lladua yn y kymereu. mcclx**

In 1256 was the slaughter at Cymerau. In 1260

¹³⁹ Manuscript here reads 'mc lvi' which appears to be a scribal error and it should read 'mcclvi' so the second 'c' has been supplied by the editor.

- 27 **y kahat kastell buellt. mcclxv y bu y lladua yn**
the castle of Builth was taken. In 1265 was the slaughter at
- 28 **offam mcclxvii y rodes ll ap Gruffuth p6mmil ar**
Offham. In 1267 Llywelyn ap Gruffudd gave 25,000
- 29 **hugeint o vorkeu y edwart vrehin a|e 6rogaeth.**
marks and his homage to King Edward.
- 30 **mcc lxxviii yd|aeth Edward vrēhin y acrys. mcc**
In 1268 King Edward went to Acre. In 1275
- 31 **lxxv y cryna6d y daear yr eilweith. mcclxx6iii y**
the Earth shook for the second time. In 1278
- 32 **symuda6d y vath a dorrit. mcclxxxii y llas ll ap**
the mint that had been broken was moved. In 1282 Llywelyn ap
- 33 **gruffuth tywyssa6c kymry. mcclxxxiii y dihenydy+**
Gruffudd, Prince of Wales, was killed. In 1283
- 34 **6yt dauid yn am6ythic a|r vl6ydyn honno y ganet**
Dafydd was executed in Shrewsbury and in that year was born
- 35 **edwart yn y gaer yn aruon. mcc lxxxi y ryuela6d**
Edward in Caernarfon. In 1281

36 Res ap Mereduth mcclxxxvii y collet acrys. mcc¹⁴⁰

Rhys ap Maredudd waged war. In 1287 Acre was lost. In 1292

37 lxxxii y merthyr6yt Rees. mcclxxxxvi y reuela6d mada6c

Rhys was cruelly put to death. In 1296 Madog

38 ap ll ac y kysegr6yt dauid. mcclxxxx6iii y bu y lladua va+

ap Llywelyn waged war and Dafydd was consecrated. In 1298 there was the great slaughter

39 6r ar yr yscotyeit. mcccvi y bu var6 edwart hen ac y kyse+

of the Scots. In 1306 Edward the Old died and his son was

40 gr6yt y vab. mcccxii y llas pyrs o ga6ston. mcccxii y bu

annointed. In 1312 Piers Gaveston was killed. In 1312 was

41 y lladua ar y saeson yn ystrilig yn y gogled ac y llas iarll

the slaughter of the English at Stirling in the north and the Earl

42 clar. mcccxv y ryuela6d ll brenn y morgann6c. mcccxviii

of Clare was killed. In 1315 Llywelyn Bren waged war in Glamorgan. In 1318

43 y rodes y brenhin y cantref ma6r y hu spenser ieuang mcc

the King gave Cantref Mawr to Hugh Spencer the Younger.

44 cxxi y pan thomas o lancastyr

1321 was when Thomas of Lancaster [was killed].

¹⁴⁰ End f. 57.

DISCUSSION

4.2 INTRODUCTION

Situated between ‘*Py del6 y dyly*’ and ‘*Breuddwyd Pawl*’ are a set of Welsh annals, recorded in the *Handlist to Manuscripts* as ‘Chronology to 1321’.¹⁴¹ The Chronology is composed of two sections. The first is a section of 18 lines that detail the history of Britain from Adam to the arrival of ‘William Bastart’ (William the Conqueror), including the taking of Britain, first by Brutus and then by Hors and Hengist. These are dated however many years before or after the birth of Christ.¹⁴² The rest of the text is a collection of formulaic annals, set out as a date followed by the event which occurred in that year.¹⁴³ This annals section covers the period of history from the death of Thomas of Canterbury to the death of Thomas of Lancaster in 1321, recording 40 events of note within that timeframe. These events are geographically centred, for the most part, on Wales, although some entries focus on events more firmly rooted in English or Scottish history, but which would have been of interest in Wales. These include the Battle of Lewes (referred to in the annals as the Battle of Offham) in 1264, and the Battle of Bannockburn (referred to in the annals as the Battle

¹⁴¹ fols. 56v-57v; NLW, *Handlist to Manuscripts*, p.81.

¹⁴² It may be interesting to note that early events in *Brut y Tywysogyon*, another Welsh chronicle text, are given according to the age of Christ.

¹⁴³ For the purposes of this discussion, ‘Chronology/ chronologies’ is used for the section comprising the first 18 lines, whilst the larger part of the text is referred to as the ‘annals’. ‘Chronicle’ is used when referring to the hyparchetype for the text as a whole.

of Stirling) in 1314.¹⁴⁴ The events from Wales are mostly centred around the south and south-east (e.g. Carmarthen, Neath, Buellt) and point to a south Wales origin for the text. This focus on events in the south, despite general references to the princes of Gwynedd, suggests that the composition or compilation of this chronology can be localised to the area in or around Glamorgan.

The *CB* version features a large number of spellings that probably emanated from a Latin original, such as ‘neth’ for ‘Nedd’ and ‘dauid’ for ‘Dafydd’. Also, the dates in the annals section are rendered in Roman numerals, although the first 18 lines of the chronology utilises a mixture of Roman numerals and Welsh dates. This suggests that the original compiler of the events in the chronology may have been working from a Latin chronicle whose influence has survived in the orthography of these place names.

The text is extant in two other versions, only one of which definitely pre-dates *CB*. The earlier version is found in the *RBH*, in the hand of Hywel Fychan. Called *Chronicl* in *RhG*, its readings follow those of *CB* relatively closely.¹⁴⁵ The second version is found in Peniarth 50, a manuscript which was being written continuously from 1425-1456. It is not possible to know whether or not this version pre-dates that found in *CB*, although given the lack of other

¹⁴⁴ The manuscript dates the Battle of Lewes to 1265, and the Battle of Bannockburn to 1312.

¹⁴⁵ The name ‘*Chronicl*’ is that given in the *RhG* collection.

earlier versions, I have chosen to include it in the analysis of the text. I have provided my own transcription that can be found in the appendices.¹⁴⁶

For each of the events recorded in the annals, I have attempted to corroborate the readings elsewhere, using Welsh chronicles where possible (see Annals Appendix B). Primarily, the source I have utilised has been Jones' edition of the Peniarth MS 20 version of the *Brut y Tywysogyon*, which chronicles the history of Wales from 681 to 1282 (henceforth referred to as *BYT*). All numbering of annals refers to the numbering system outlined in Annals Appendix B.

4.3 COMPARISON: DATING DIFFERENCES

The three versions are similar, but none is identical to another. Each suffers from scribal interference, whether through editing or through error, and these differentiate them enough to suggest that none could have been directly copied from the other.

A key difference that sets the *RBH* version apart from the others is the way in which the dates are recorded. All the dates in *CB* and Pen. 50 are rendered in Roman numerals, whilst the *RBH* version expands these dates and writes them fully in Welsh.¹⁴⁷ Perhaps, at least in part, as a result of this translation, each of the three texts suffers from errors in dating different

¹⁴⁶ See Annals Appendix A.

¹⁴⁷ Rodway speaks of Hywel as a scribe who was 'consistently modifying his source to make it easier to understand', by changing linguistic constructions which would not have been understood by his audience. (Rodway, 2004) It is possible that this is why we see the change to Welsh in the *RBH* version. It is thus possible that this change was made deliberately by Hywel who was working here as a modifying scribe.

annals. Of these, *CB* contains 8 errors, *RBH* contains 7, whilst *Pen. 50* contains just 4. However, most of the errors in *CB* and *Pen. 50* can be explained as misreadings or miscopyings by the scribe.

In *CB* the errors can be found in annals 4, 11, 21, 22, 26, and 28:¹⁴⁸

| No. | Annal | Date | RB | Date | Pen 50 | Date | Date Corroboration |
|-----|---|------|--|------|--------------------------------------|------|--|
| 4 | mccxviii y torret pont gaer vyrdin | 1218 | Teir blyned a thrugeint a deucant a mil y tor-ret pont kaer vyrdin | 1263 | mccxviii y torret pont kaer veʹrdin. | 1218 | Probably William Marshall's battle at Carmarthen Bridge against Gruffudd ap Llywelyn of 1223, BYT |
| 11 | mccl y bu y haf tessa6c | 1250 | D6y ulyned a deucant a mil y bu yr haftessa6c | 1202 | mcclii y by yr haf tessawc. | 1252 | 1252; BYT. It seems that the date in <i>CB</i> was a scribal error made by Siancyn |
| 21 | mcclxxxix y ryfela6d Res ap Mereduth | 1281 | Illegible in Manuscript | | Mcclxxxvii y ryela6d Rys ap medyth. | 1287 | 1287; BYT. Error likely scribal in <i>CB</i> |
| 22 | mcclxxxvii y collet acrys | 1287 | | | Mcclxxxix y tollet a crys. | 1291 | In 1291 the city of Acre fell to the Saracens. As this was the last city in the Holy Land remaining in Christian hands, its loss signalled the end not just of the Ninth Crusade but arguably of the |

¹⁴⁸ The numbering used here corresponds with that in *Annals Appendix B*.

| | | | | | | | |
|----|--|------|--|------|--|------|--|
| | | | | | | | Crusades as a whole. |
| 26 | mcccvi y bu var6 edwart hen ac y kysegr6yt y vab | 1306 | Seith mlyned a thrychant a mil. y bu uar6 hen edwart. ac y kyssegr6yt y uab | 1307 | Mccvii y bu var6 Edward hen ac y kyssegr6yt y vab. | 1207 | The king died in 1307 (BYT). The error in Pen. 50 is likely scribal. |
| 28 | mcccxii y bu y lladua ar y saeson yn ystrilig yn y gogledd ac y llas iarll clar | 1312 | Pedeir blyned ar dec a thrychant a mil y bu y lladua ar y saesson yn ystriflin yn y gogledd. ac y llas iarll clar. | 1314 | Mcccxiiii y bu y lladua ar y season yn ystriflig yn gogledd ac y llas iarll clar. | 1314 | 1314; Battle of Bannockburn at Stirling Castle |

In most of these annals, the date given is incorrect by a number of years which could be explained by a misreading of Roman numerals. Each gap would be represented by only one or two characters. For example, Annal 8 (mccxvi y bu var6 dauid ap ll ac y doeth y llu du) is correct in *CB* but incorrect in Pen. 50 and *RBH*, both of which are incorrect by 10 years, giving the date of the death of Dafydd ap Llywelyn as 1256 when it should, in fact, be 1246. All that is missing is a single 'x' numeral, which must have been missing from the hyparchetype(s) which influenced Pen. 50 and *RBH*. The errors of annals 26 and 28 (the death of King Edward I and the Battle of Bannockburn, respectively) can be explained similarly.

However, the errors in annals 11, 21, and 22 appear to be scribal.¹⁴⁹

Annals 21 and 22 are as follows:

| | Annal | Date Given | Actual Date |
|-----------|--|-------------------|--------------------|
| 21 | mcclxxxi y ryfela6d Res ap Mereduth | 1281 | 1287 |
| 22 | mcclxxxvii y collet acrys | 1287 | 1291 |

It appears that the scribe has here confused the two annals, giving the date for 21 in 22, and using the date of 22 for 21, although he does change the date from 91 to 81. Perhaps the scribe knew the rising of Rhys occurred in the 1280s, or perhaps through simple error; the reason is unclear. The dates given in Peniarth 50 for these two annals are correct.¹⁵⁰

Annals 4 is slightly different. It refers to the breaking of Carmarthen Bridge which it dates to 1218. This is likely referring to a battle at Carmarthen, led by William Marshal in 1223, following which, according to *BYT*, the castle needed repairs.¹⁵¹ It does not seem impossible that this battle also caused the destruction of Carmarthen Bridge, although this is not mentioned in *BYT*. This would make the date in *CB* incorrect by five years. Yet *BYT* does mention Carmarthen in 1218, noting that in this year the castles of Carmarthen and

¹⁴⁹ Annal 11 will be explained in full below, see Comparison: Omissions.

¹⁵⁰ Whilst they may have once appeared in the *RB*, the bottom right hand corner of this page is missing, and thus it is not possible to compare it to the others.

¹⁵¹ Jones, *BYT*, pp. 99-100.

Cardigan were given to Lord Llywelyn to keep.¹⁵² It is possible that the acquisition of these castles was rather more hostile than *BYT* allows and during the acquisition the bridge was broken, though this is not mentioned by the annals. As such, this may not actually be an error, but if it is referring to the battle in 1223, then the difference in these numerals would be signified by the change of only one character as with annals 8, 26, and 28.¹⁵³

Thus, almost all of the errors in *CB* can be classified as scribal miscopyings. Likewise, the four errors in Pen. 50 (Annals 7, 18, 19, and 26) can be explained as similar errors as they are either 10, 50, or 100 years out, each of which is represented by just one respective numeral.¹⁵⁴ The error in annal 18 (Pen 50: Mccclxviii y symuda6dd y vath a dorrit) is 11 years different from the correct date, however it is only 10 years incorrect compared to the same annal in *CB*. As such it is probable that it was the hyparchetype which was a year out, as this error has been absorbed by both readings.

On the other hand, only one of the errors in the *RBH* can be explained as a scribal miscopying; Annal 12 which misdates the event by 10 years. Each of the others is considerably different, and cannot be explained by a miscopying. Instead, it appears that these are the result of errors made by Hywel as he translated the numerals into Welsh, unless they were already present in his

¹⁵² Jones, *BYT*, pp. 96.

¹⁵³ 1218 would be rendered mccxviii, whilst 1223 would be mcccxxiii.

¹⁵⁴ Annal 7: Mccxli y bu vr6ydyr v6g dd ap gruff a llywelyn.;
 Annal 18: Mccclxviii y symuda6dd y vath a dorrit;
 Annal 19: Mccxxxii y llas ll ap gruff tywyssa6c kymry;
 Annal 26: Mccvii y bu var6 Edward hen ac y kyssegr6yt y vab.

source. The Annals in which these apparent mistranslations appear are Annal 3 (+44 years), Annal 11 (-50 years), Annal 14 (-2 years), Annal 19 (-5 years), and Annal 27 (+8 years). This suggests that Hywel's attempts at translating the numerals into Welsh were not always successful. This seems surprising, as there is a Latin medical text in the *RBH* inscribed in Hywel's hand, which suggests that he was comfortable enough in Latin to transcribe, if not to translate, which means he certainly should not have had difficulties translating the numerals.¹⁵⁵ As Hywel was working in a secular context compiling the Red Book for Hopcyn ap Tomas, it is possible that he did not have as strong a grounding in Latin as Siancyn and the scribe of Pen. 50, both of whom are very comfortable working with Latin, including many Latin texts in each manuscript.

Some entries appear to be a year out when compared to the dates in corroborating sources, which could be the result of the practice of dating which runs the calendar year from March to March. Recording annals in this way was not unusual; indeed, the *BYT* itself suffers from similar inconsistencies in dating. During the period of 1283-1332 the *BYT* varies the commencement of the year between 25th March and 25th December.¹⁵⁶ Jones suggests that this inconsistency reflects the varying dates for commencement for the texts used in the original compilation of the Latin chronicle.¹⁵⁷ This

¹⁵⁵ The *Rhyddiaith Ganoloesol* project chose not to transcribe this text in their edition of the Red Book. A fuller understanding of Hywel's competency in Latin will not be possible until this text has been transcribed and studied in full. There are no other instances in which Hywel copies a Latin text.

¹⁵⁶ Jones, *BYT*, p. lxiv.

¹⁵⁷ Jones, *BYT*, pp. lxiv-lxv.

could also be the case for this text, as the sources being compiled to create it would probably have followed different dating systems, and there are six dates within the *CB* and Pen. 50 which are one or two years out in comparison with *BYT*, suggesting that these annals could have been taken from a source which used the March to March dating.

4.4 COMPARISON: OMISSIONS

There are five annal entries which are not common to all of the readings. Four of these are annals that do not appear in the *RBH*, and one is an annal that does not appear in *CB*. There is a further section of four annals in *RBH* that suffers from a lacuna in the manuscript. Peniarth 50 is not missing any of annals which are contained in the other readings, although it is missing one line from the initial prose section.

The four annals that appear in *CB* but not *RBH* are as follows:

| Annal in CB | Actual Year | Translation | Event referenced |
|--|--------------------|---|---------------------------------------|
| mccxvi y g6naethp6yt creuyd y brodyr p ^r gethwyr | 1216 | <i>In 1216 the Order of the Preaching Brothers was created.</i> | The foundation of the Dominican order |

| | | | |
|--|------|---|--|
| mcclxv y bu y lladua yn offam | 1264 | <i>In 1265 was the slaughter at Offham</i> | The Battle of Lewes at Offham Hill ¹⁵⁸ |
| mcclxxviii y synmuda6d y vath a dorrit (Pen. 50 dates this to 1268) | 1279 | <i>In 1278 the mint that had been broken was moved.</i> | In 1279 Edward had new money struck and the mint was moved to London ¹⁵⁹ |
| mcccxxi y pan Thomas o lancastyr | 1321 | <i>1321 was when Thomas of Lancaster [was killed] ...</i> | Presumably referring to the seizure and execution of Thomas Earl of Lancaster in 1321 ¹⁶⁰ |

It is possible that Hywel Fychan was choosing to omit entries which he did not understand or deem to be important. If he was the editing scribe that Rodway suggests, it is perhaps possible to explain why these annals were omitted from

¹⁵⁸ 1264 in Pen. 20 (Jones, *Brut*, pp. 113-4).

¹⁵⁹ In Pen. manuscript 20 BYT recorded as 1279, Jones, *Brut*, p. 119.

¹⁶⁰ Appears in manuscript Pen 20 BYT, Jones, *Brut*, p. 124.

RBH. Each appears in *CB* and Pen. 50, though often rendered in slightly different ways. The annal ‘y g6naethp6yt creuyd y brodyr p^rgethwyr’ (*CB*), for example, contains a superscript ‘r’ between the ‘p’ and ‘g’ which gives the ‘*prgethwyr*’ reading. Pen. 50 includes this annal, but does not include the word ‘*prgethwyr*’, instead omitting all but the ‘P.’. This annal is referring to the creation of the Dominican Order, or the Order of the Preachers. In Welsh, this should be rendered ‘*Pregethwyr*’. It is possible that the exemplar was here difficult to read, which resulted in a different response for each of the three copyists. The superscript ‘r’ is a common Latin abbreviation which indicates an omission of ‘re’. That Siancyn uses and recognises the abbreviation shows that he was familiar with such abbreviations in a way which the other two scribes perhaps were not. It seems here that both Hywel and the Pen. 50 scribe have omitted that which they did not understand, rather than making an attempt to discern to what the exemplar was referring.

Similarly, the entries on ‘Offam’ and the mint could have proved problematic for a copyist. Offham is an unusual name given in the text for the Battle of Lewes which took place in that year upon Offham Hill. Usually in Middle Welsh chronicles this battle is called ‘leaws’, ‘leos’, or ‘lowys’ and a reference to it as ‘Offham’ is atypical for a Welsh chronicle.¹⁶¹ It may be, therefore, that this is further evidence to suggest that the hyparchetype for

¹⁶¹ For example, in Pen. 20 it is referred to as ‘leaws’ (Jones, *BYT*, p. 113; *RG*, Peniarth 20, f. 279), NLW MS 3035 (Mostyn 116) and *RBH* call it ‘leos’ (*RG*, NLW MS 3035, f. 206r, *RG*, *RBH*, f. 88r), it is ‘Lowys’ in Peniarth 19 (*RG*, Peniarth 19, f. 125v).

these two texts was a linguistically non-Welsh chronicle which referred to battles in ways which were not familiar to a Welsh audience.¹⁶² It stands to reason that if Hywel did not recognise the ‘lladua yn Offam’ he may have decided not to include it in order to clarify the text for his Welsh audience, much as he seems to have done with the exclusion of other annals, such as Annal 18.

This entry refers to the breaking of the mint in 1278/9 and is not clear in its meaning, nor is it explicit to which event this is referring. It is thus perhaps not surprising that it would be misunderstood by the copyist. Where the event is referred to elsewhere in medieval Welsh chronicles, it instead reads:

**Blwydyn wedy hynny y gwnaeth Edward vrenhin symudaw
vwnei ac y gwnaethpwynt y dimei ar fyrdling yn grynnu
on. ac yna y bu wir dewindabaeth verdin pan dyw·awt
ef a hollir furyf y gyfnewit a|y|hanner a vyd krwnn;**

A year after that, king Edward had [his] money changed and the halfpenny and the farthing were made round. And then was verified the soothsaying of Merlin when he said, ‘The form of exchange shall be split and its half shall be round.’¹⁶³

The entry in *CB* is very generic and non-specific; it is perfectly understandable that Hywel could not have understood this reference and may have left it out, assuming that his patron would not miss it.

¹⁶² The annals contents seem too localised to the South East Wales (the references to Castell Buellt, Carmarthen bridge, and certain Marcher lords, for example) to have been composed outside Wales. However it is possible that the text was composed in Wales but not in Welsh.

¹⁶³ Peniarth MS 20, f. 290. Trans; Jones, *Brut*, p. 119.

A significant omission from the Red Book is the omission of the final annal, referencing Thomas of Lancaster. The annal in *CB* reads ‘mcccxxi y pan Thomas o Lancastyr’, presumably referring to the imprisonment and execution of Thomas of Lancaster in 1321. The structure of the annal, however, is unusual and at first sight it appears that the last part of the sentence is missing, as it contains no verb as it stands. The error, however, may be one of miscopying rather than omission. A simplified standard structure for the annals as found in *CB* would be as follows:

[date] [verb] [subject]

e.g.

[mclxxi] [y llas] [thomas o gaer geint]

However, where we would expect to see a verb in the final annal, we have ‘y pan’. If we substitute *llas* for *pan* we get a possible reading: ‘mcccxxi y llas Thomas o Lancastyr’. Alternatively, the annal could read ‘mcccxxi y bu pan llas Thomos o Lancastyr’. It does not appear, then, that the sentence has broken off or been left unfinished. It may be that the verb in the exemplar was unclear. If so, this would explain the presumed misreading in *CB*, and perhaps even the omission made by Hywel in the *RBH*.

Peniarth 50 includes this annal, but the copyist here appears to have made an attempt to edit the annal and make it more comprehensible. The editing does not succeed in making the annal grammatically correct, although it does here include the verb. It reads:

Mcccxxi [dat?] pan las Thomas o lancastyr

Again, what this suggests is that the exemplar at this point was unclear in its reading, or simply did not make sense, and that this caused the three scribes to react in different ways: Siancyn copied it exactly, the scribe of Pen. 50 attempted to edit it, and Hywel chose to ignore it. As such it is possible to see a little of the personalities of the scribes shining through in their redactions of this text.

The annal that appears in the *RBH* and Pen. 50 but not the *CB* reads ‘Mcccl y bu vr6ydyr r6g ll ap gruff ae vrod’ (Pen. 50). This is almost identical to the annal 2 entries above, which reads ‘vn ul6ydyn ar|bymthec a|deucant a mil y bu vr6ydyr r6ng dauyd ap gruffuda|llywelyn’. The differences here are minimal; a different date (1250/ 1251, respectively), a difference in word order, and the naming of Dafydd. The overall content remains the same. At first, it seems possible that this may have been the same incident copied in twice; however this does not in fact seem to be the case. In the previous annal, *CB* uses 1250 as the date for ‘yr haf tessa6c’, where both Pen. 50 and *RBH* date this to 1252. What appears to have occurred here, is an eye skip wherein Siancyn missed a line of the text. This explanation accounts for the difference in date for the ‘haf tessa6c’ entry and suggests that the missing annal was present in the archetype for this text. Why it was chosen to be included is unclear; the original compiler must have considered these to be two significantly different events which both merited record.

It is unfortunate that the bottom right hand corner of the *RBH*'s f. 125r is missing as this means there is a section which is not possible to compare with *CB*. In this space, both *CB* and Pen. 50 include four annals which may or may not have once been in the *RBH*. The annals record the death of Dafydd ap Gruffudd and the birth of Edward of Caernarfon in 1283, the campaign of Rhys ap Maredudd in 1281, the loss of Acre in 1287, and the execution of Rhys in 1292. As these annals occur in both other extant readings of the text, it seems safe to suggest that this lacuna may once have held these same four annals.

There is an omission of a single word in Pen. 50, which could be significant. In Annal 29, both *CB* and *RBH* record the 'ryuela6d ll brenn y morgann6c', but Pen. 50 does not include the reference to Glamorgan.¹⁶⁴ This could indicate that the scribe of Pen. 50 chose to omit this because he did not deem it necessary to include the localisation, perhaps because his audience would not need it. As it is likely that both *CB* and *RBH* were produced in Glamorgan, and that the text itself seems to have been southern, this further corroborates the argument of scholars such as Helen Fulton that Pen. 50 was a manuscript compiled in Glamorgan by someone who had access to texts native to the region.¹⁶⁵

Peniarth 50 is also missing a line in the first section as it does not include the words 'yngna6t dyn. Mccxxx kyn geni grist' on l.4. This section is

¹⁶⁴ Trans: Llywelyn Bren waged war in Glamorgan.

¹⁶⁵ Fulton, 'The geography of Welsh Literary production in late medieval Glamorgan', pp. 3-8.

roughly equivalent to one written line, and thus it is possible that the scribe of Pen. 50 here suffered from eye-skip, missing one line in the text.

4.5 ABBREVIATIONS

The *CB* and Pen. 50 Chronologies use a large number of abbreviations, particularly for personal names. The *RBH* version uses slightly fewer, although the text does abbreviate Llywelyn ap Gruffudd to ‘llywel ab gruff’ in Annal 19 and abbreviates Llywelyn in the same way in Annal 24.¹⁶⁶ Of the three, Pen. 50 uses the greatest number of abbreviations, usually in the place of personal names, including ‘ll’ for ‘Llywelyn’, ‘dd’ for ‘Dafydd’, and ‘Ed’ for ‘Edward’. The scribe also uses an abbreviation for ‘yng Ngwynedd’, instead writing it as ‘y g6y’.¹⁶⁷ None of these are difficult to decipher, and it seems that they were used only in cases where understanding the abbreviations would be easy. It is unclear whether the use of ‘p’ for ‘prgethwyr’ was another of these abbreviations made by the scribe of Pen. 50 or whether it was, as has been suggested previously, the result of difficulty in understanding to what the annal was referring. It seems to me that when also taking into account the omission of the annal by Hywel, that this was not an abbreviation of the same ilk as the others.

4.6 ORTHOGRAPHY

Each of the three readings renders the text in slightly different orthography which could indicate the dialectal differences of the scribe, and perhaps help

¹⁶⁶RBH, F. 125r.

¹⁶⁷ The abbreviation is indicated in the manuscript by a suspension mark over the ‘y’.

to localise the three manuscripts. The orthographies utilised in each manuscript are not hugely different. The differences occur mainly with proper nouns, although Pen. 50 also uses a slightly different orthography for some verbs; 'bu', for example, is rendered 'by' by the Pen. 50 scribe.

Where the orthography of personal and place names in *RBH* and Pen. 50 uses common South Wallian forms, some of the orthography of *CB* appears to indicate anglicised forms, perhaps retained from one of the original sources.¹⁶⁸ One example of this is the rendering of Neath Castle, which is written '*kestyll neth*' in *CB*, '*kestyll nethuet*' in Pen. 50 (both with an unnecessary plural form), and '*castell ned*' in *RBH*. The texts refer to Neath, a town which would have been local to both Siancyn and Hywel, and possibly to the scribe of Pen. 50 who may have been working at Neath Abbey.¹⁶⁹ This is one example of an anglicised form in the *CB* text. A further example can be seen in the *CB*'s reference to Dafydd ap Gruffudd in line 23, where his name is spelt '*Dauid*'. Alternatively, the *RBH* spells it '*Dauyd*', which is closer to the form one would expect in Middle Welsh. Pen. 50 consistently uses the abbreviation 'dd' for Dafydd, so this is not, perhaps, comparable.

A similar orthographical difference, which may be the result of difficulties of translation within the exemplar, occurs within Annal 28. This annal is referring to the Battle of Bannockburn near Stirling Castle in 1314 and

¹⁶⁸ For more on 'Standard South Wallian' (if such a feature exists) see Wynn Thomas, 'Middle Welsh Dialects', pp. 17-50.

¹⁶⁹ Evans, *RMWL*, Vol 1, part 1, p. 389.

it appears that the annals are attempting to render the word ‘Stirling’ in Welsh, but in none of these renderings is the meaning clear. Each of the manuscripts renders the word differently. In *CB* it is ‘ystrilig’, in *RBH* it is ‘ystriflin’, and in Pen. 50 it is ‘ystriflig’.¹⁷⁰ It is possible that the word in the exemplar was unfamiliar to the copyists, or that the reading of the manuscript was impaired by obscure handwriting in the hyparchetype. It could even be a combination of the two. The Battle of Stirling (another name for the Battle of Bannockburn) does not seem to appear with this name in Middle Welsh chronicles. In Peniarth 20’s *BYT* it is given a different name, instead referring to it as the battle of ‘polles’, named for the slow-running streams which gave the district of Stirling its colloquial name:¹⁷¹

*‘ar dyd hwnnw y bu y kyfranc en y polles ac y llas Gilbert ieuwanc jarll
Clar a llawer o wyr lloigyr gyd a hynny. y gan y scottieit
ac y foas brenhyn lloigyr en gywiludus o|r kyfranc hwnnw.’¹⁷²*

I would suggest, therefore, that both the copyists working in *CB* and *RBH* were copying from a Welsh version of a chronicle which had originally been written in a language which was not Welsh, and possibly Latin (particularly given the presence of a Latin chronicle text, earlier in the manuscript, which bears some similarity to the Welsh Annals). However it seems unlikely that both Hywel and Siancyn are independently translating an original hypothetical chronicle,

¹⁷⁰ The versions in *RBH* and Pen. 50 correspond to the form ‘Strivelyn’ which is attested for Stirling in the 12th- 15th centuries.

¹⁷¹ Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, p. 303.

¹⁷² ‘And on that day occurred the encounter in the Pools, and Gilber the Younger, earl of Clare, and many of the men of England besides, were slain by the Scots. And the King of England ignominiously fled from that encounter.’ Trans: Jones, *BYT*, p. 123; Rhyddiaith Ganoloesol, *Peniarth MS 20*, f. 295.

as the two readings are too similar to allow for this possibility; one would expect differences in vocabulary and word order in two separate translations of the same text. Thus it seems more likely that the two were working from a Welsh text which retained several anglicised forms. *CB* has retained these forms, whilst Hywel has continued to act in the role of the modifying and modernising scribe, choosing to prioritise comprehension for his audience over preserving an exact replica of the text. Siancyn, on the other hand, seems to be more concerned with preserving the text, in order to preserve the original text as much as possible, only emending discreetly.

4.7 THE HYPARCHETYPE

The earliest possible date for the composition of this text is 1321 although it is possible that its sources could have been considerably earlier. It seems unlikely that this was a Chronicle which was being added to continuously, due to the lack of chronological order in the annals. Instead, it seems more likely that this text was compiled from one or more other texts at some point in the fourteenth century so that Hywel Fychan could have access to the text when compiling the *RBH*. Although one of these texts may have been in Latin to account for the Roman numerals and the Latinate spellings found in *CB*, the first section at least seems to have been compiled from a text which was written in Welsh.

The style of this first section is significantly different from the style of the second. It follows a style reminiscent of native Welsh texts, its opening lines detailing the conquerors of Wales and the prophecies of Myrddin

reminiscent of the openings of *Brut y Brenhinoedd* and *Brut y Tywysogion*. The format of dating used in this section (dating in relation to the birth of Christ rather than giving the year in numerals) is also similar to that used in these Chronicles. The *RBH* version of *BYT*, for example, begins ‘Petwar ugeint mlyned a whe chant oed oet crist pan vu y uar60lyaeth ua6r ...’ and includes the prophecies of Myrddin in l. 10.¹⁷³ Perhaps the most prudent indicator of Welsh origin for this section, however, is the name given to William the Conqueror. In the Chronology he is named as ‘*Wilem Bastart*’ a moniker only used for the king in non-Norman sources.¹⁷⁴ Although this does not mean that the text has to have been of Welsh origin, only non-Norman, it makes a Welsh origin more probable than an Anglo-Norman one. Given the similarity of the annals to the Welsh *Brut* texts, it seems likely to have been composed in a non-Anglo-Norman context.

In terms of location, the annals cover the whole of Wales and the events which did not take place in Wales involved the Welsh to a great degree. There are far fewer events which are particularly North Walian, and the focus seems to be on mid and South Wales. The only three extant copies of the text are all found in manuscripts of Glamorgan, suggesting that the text did not have a wide remit.

The Chronicle does not seem to be a very coherent or chronological survey of the twelfth to fourteenth centuries. The entries between 1171 and 1281

¹⁷³ *RhG, RBH*, f. 23.

¹⁷⁴ Bates, "William I", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

are not necessarily in chronological order. For example, the *CB* Annals jump from the taking of Neath Castle in 1230 to the breaking of the bridge at Carmarthen in 1218, and then to the death of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth in 1239 before returning to 1216 and the creation of the *prgethwyr*.¹⁷⁵ This indicates that this section of the annals' hyparchetype is likely to have been compiled from one or more sources, rather than compiled chronologically over time. Furthermore, the inclusion of two separate versions of the same event supports the idea that this text is being constructed from various different sources that may have been recording the same events. The later section from 1281 to 1321 may have been recorded contemporaneously in a source which was then compiled into the exemplar Chronicle, or may have been original to the exemplar.

Both *CB* and Pen. 50 include a Latin text earlier in the manuscript, which shares some of the annals found in the Chronology. In *CB* this occurs on ff. 41-42v (13 texts previous to the Chronology) and in Pen. 50 it is the text directly preceding the Chronology. The Latin text is not a direct translation of the Chronology, but in both cases it ends with the death of Thomas of Lancaster. It is possible that this was one of the texts from which the annals were derived. However certain events which do occur in both are referred to using different terms; the Battle of Lewes, for example, is referred to by that name, rather

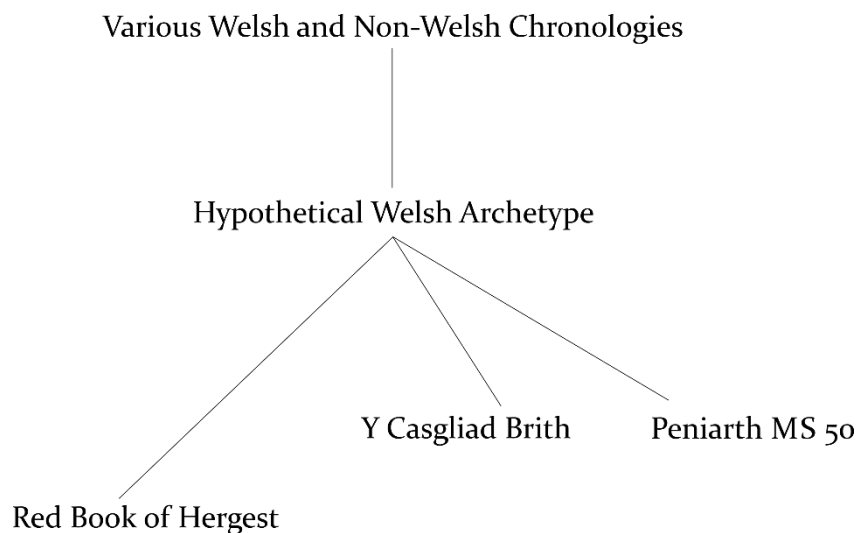
¹⁷⁵ Interestingly, the annals referring to the taking of the bridge and to the death of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth both occurred later than they are recorded here. The breaking of the bridge mentioned in 1218 is probably referring to William Marshall's battle at Carmarthen in 1223. (Jones, *BYT*, p. 99) Moreover, the death of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth occurred in April 1240, not 1239. (Jones, *BYT*, p. 103)

than as the battle of Offham as in the Chronologies. The Chronology also includes some events which are not present in the Latin texts. Thus it seems unlikely that this was the only source text for the Chronology.

There are, throughout each of the texts, several instances of scribal error. These are separative errors, which make it impossible for either of the texts to have been directly copied from the other. Several of these are the annals which are missing from one of the three readings; of the three readings Pen. 50 is the only one to include all the annals extant in the other two texts, but this manuscript is too late to have been an archetype for either of the other readings. Furthermore, the Welsh dates that are utilised in the *RBH* do not match the Roman numerals in either *CB* or Pen. 50, meaning that it would not have been possible for either *CB* or Pen. 50 to have been working with *RBH* as an archetype.

Thus I think it likely that the three copyists were all working from the same archetype, an archetype which may have been obscure in meaning or suffered some damage, making it difficult to read in places, resulting in some of the scribal errors found in each of the three readings. This archetype would have been compiled and translated between 1321 and c. 1410, the terminus ante quem for the *RBH*. Of the three readings, *CB*'s reading could be argued to be closest to the archetype, as it seems to have undergone less editing, whether

through omission, standardisation of orthography, or through abbreviation. A stemma for the text should therefore be illustrated thus:



Therefore, what we have here is a case of *'recentes non deteriores'*; despite not being the eldest copy, the copy in *CB* shows the fewest signs of scribal interference and as a result is probably closer to the hyparchetype for these three texts, although Peniarth 50 is arguably the most complete of the trio. Re-constructing such a hyparchetype is not possible, but by comparing the three it is possible to say something of what it may have looked like.

CHAPTER 5: BREUDDWYD PAWL

5.1. TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION

Breuddwyd Pawl follows on from the *Annals*, and is found on ff. 57v-59v. It is then followed by *Rhinwedu Lloer*, a short text which may be unique to *CB*.

It begins with a large decorated ‘R’ initial, typical of this section of the manuscript, which appears to have somewhat more elaborate rubrication than the earlier parts of the manuscript. The title is inserted in a gap in the line between the *Annals* and *BP*, and appears to have been rubricated later, over the existing black/brown ink. This is in a slightly larger hand than the body of the text. Similarly, the final line, ‘*ac velly teruyna breud6yt ba6l apostol*’ is in a slightly larger script that has been rubricated later. The text uses rubricated punctuation marks throughout, but contains no other palaeographical features of note.

1 Breud6yt Pa6l¹⁷⁶

The Dream of Paul

2 Reit y6 yni vrodyr karu digrif6ch parad6ys ac

We brothers must love the delight of paradise and

3 ofnycau poeneu vffern y rei a vuant dangosedic

fear the pains of hell which were shown

4 y ba6l ebostol pan vu ynghararchar yn y BYT h6n. Du6 a

to the Apostle Paul when he was imprisoned in this world. God

5 vynnei dangos ida6 ef nef ac vffern ac am hynny yr

wished to show him heaven and hell and for that

6 anuones du6 vihangel yn ysbryt o|e vlayn. a dyuot a wna+

God sent Michael in spirit before him. And they came

7 ethant y auon va6r. A gouyn a wnaeth pa6l y|r angel p6y

to a great river. And Paul asked the angel what

8 oed en6 yr auon honno. A dywedut a wnaeth yr angel 6r+

was the name of that river. And the angel said to him

¹⁷⁶ Added in gap at the end of previous texts, in a slightly more elaborate style and with rubrication to highlight the title..

9 **thaw ef yr auon hon a elwir occianus yn yr hon y dyg6y+**

'This river is called Occianus into which will fall

10 **dant syr y nef ac a|gy¹chyna yr holl daear. Odyo y daeth+**

the stars of heaven and which surrounds the whole world.' From there they came

11 **ant y le aruthur yn yr h6n ny oed namyn tywyll6ch dre+**

to a terrible place in which there was nothing but lands full of darkness

12 **theu¹⁷⁷ a|thrist6th. Ac yno yr oed yr auon yn kymherwi megys**

and sadness. And there the river was boiling like

13 **tan a|thonneu yr auon honno a drycheuynt hyt y nef. sef oed**

fire and the waves of that river reached up to the heavens. The name of that river was

14 **en6 yr auon honno. cochiton ac o honno yd amlhaant teir a+**

Cochiton and from it three rivers multiply out

15 **uon yr rei a elwir val hyn. Semiton. cogiton a grauiton. Ac**

which are called as follows: Semiton, Cogiton, and Graviton. And

16 **o dyna y daethant y le arall yn y lle yd oed mynyd ma6r**

¹⁷⁷ The form 'dretheu' is unusual but could be the plural of 'treth' meaning 'toll, tax'. However it would make more sense if we took this to be an unusual (and perhaps erroneous) form of 'traetheu' meaning 'lands, regions'.

from there they came to the another place where there was a great mountain

17 ac ar y mynyd yd oed sarff angheua6l. yr h6n yd oed ynda6

and on the mountain there was a deadly serpent that had

18 can penn yn y vyn6gyl a|mil o danned ym hob penn megys

a hundred heads on its neck and a thousand teeth in every head like

19 lle6. A|e lygeit a oedynt kyn lymmet a|chledyfeu llymyon.

a lion. And its eyes were as sharp as sharpened swords.

20 Ac yn wastat angheredic eneu a vydei yda6 yn llyncu

And it had cruel jaws which were constantly swallowing

21 yr eneideu ac en6 y sarff h6nn6 oed parti m6th ac ohan⁺¹⁷⁸

souls and the name of that serpent was Parti Mwth and from it

22 a6 yd archyuyunnynt llawer o seirff. A phan rennei y ana+

many serpents were springing out. And when it exhaled

23 dyl y doynt a hana6 holl genedloed pryuet y dayar. Ac

all kinds of earthly vermin came from it. And

24 y geneu h6nn6 yr anuonit y dynyon a wnaethoynt enwi+

¹⁷⁸ End f. 57v.

to those jaws were sent people who had committed wickedness

25 red yn y BYT h6nn. Ac odyo y kerdssant y le kyfla6n

in this world. And from there they walked to a place full of

26 o dynyon sodedigyon ymy6n auon o dan. Rei hyt y glineu

people sunken into a river of fire, some up to their knees,

27 ereill hyt y bogeleu. 6yla6 ac vcheneidya6 a wnaeth pawl

others up to their navels. Paul wept and lamented

28 a gouyn a gouyn a wnaeth ef y|r anghel. P6y oedynt

and asked and asked the angel who were those

29 y rei a oedynt sodedigyon hyt y glineu. A dywedut

who were sunk up to their knees. And the angel said

30 a wnaeth yr anghel yda6 ef. y rei a wnaethant ledrat

to him, 'Those who committed theft

31 a godineb ac ny chymerassant eu penyt Ac ny chytunas+

and adultery and who did not take their penitence and who did not conform

32 sant ac egl6ys du6. A gouyn a wnaeth ef y|r anghel

to God's church.' And he asked the angel

33 p6y y rei yssyd hyt eu bogel. y rei a wnaethant odineb

'Who are those who are up to to their navels?' 'Those who committed adultery

34 wedy kymeredigaeth korff y argl6yd. Ac nyt ymhoelas+

after taking the body of the Lord and who did not return

35 sant eu penyt hyt angheu. A gouyn a wnaeth ef y|r

their penitence before death.' And he asked the

36 angel p6y y rei a oedynt sodedigyon hyt y tauodeu y

angel who were those who were sunken up to their tongues.

37 rei a vuant gamdyston ac a|sonyassant y my6n eg+

'Those who were perjurers and who spoke in God's church

38 l6ys du6 ac ny waranda6ssant eireu du6. a gouyn

and did not listen to the words of God.' And he asked

39 a wnaeth ef y|r angel pwy sodedic hyt y haeleu y

the angel who were sunken up to their eyebrows.

40 rei a oed digassed yn eu kallonneu y ryngtunt ae

'Those with hatred in their hearts between them and their

41 kymodogyon ac ae kyfnesseiuait y rei a wnel y pechot

neighbours and their kinsmen. Whoever should commit this sin

42 h6n ony|chymmer y benyt amdana6 ef a vyd ym press+

unless he take penitence for it he will reside

43 6yledigaeth yn vffern. Ac o dyno y kerdassant y le ar+

in hell.' And from there they walked to another place

44 all ac y gwelynt le aruthredic kyfla6n o wyr a gw+

and they could see a terrifying place full of men and women

45 raged yn 6yla6 ac yn vchenedya6 ac yn llefein ac

weeping and sighing and lamenting and

46 yn dywedut. Trugarha di vab du6 6rthym ni ac

saying, 'Be merciful to us, son of God'. And

47 6yla6 a wnaeth pa6l ac gouyn a wnaeth y|r angel¹⁷⁹

Paul wept and asked the angel

48 p6y oedynt y rei hynny. A dywedut a wnaeth yr angel y

who they were. And the angel said,

49 rei ny obeithassant y du6 ac ny bu gret vdunt. A

'Those who did not believe in God and who had no faith'. And

50 dywedut a wnaeth pa6l py veint y6 dyfynder y

¹⁷⁹ End f. 58.

Paul said, 'How deep is that

51 lle h6nn6. Ac ateb a wnaeth yr angel anuessedic+

place?' And the angel answered 'the depth of this place is

52 gaeth o dyuynder yssyd yn y lle h6n yr eneit yn y py+

immeasurable. The soul in that pit

53 de6 h6nn6 kymherwi a wna ac ny byd atwaret

shall boil and there shall not be deliverance for it

54 yda6 rac bronny deyrnas. A phan gogleu ba6l hyn+

before His kingdom.' And when Paul heard that

55 ny 6yla6 ac vchenedya6 a wnaeth a dywedut a wna+

he wept and sighed and the angel said,

56 eth yr angel. Beth a 6yly di ar dyna6l genedyl. A m6y

'Why do you weep for the human race? Is your

57 dy drugared di no|thrugared vab du6 yr h6n a|death

mercy greater than the mercy of the son of God who came

58 y brynu kyfia6nyon y BYT ac y ada6 y bob vn y bra6t

to purchase the righteous of the earth and to give to everyone his judgment of

59 ewyllus ac amser y benydya6. A gwedy hynny y gw+

will and time to do penance?' And after that they saw

60 **elsant le arall aruthur yn yr h6n ydoed auon va6r yn**

another terrible place in which there was a great river

61 **llosgi. A gwyr a gwraed yn b6yta y tauodeu a phry+**

burning and men and women eating their tongues and vermin

62 **uet yn y b6yta wynteu. A 6 a w p. a. go. a. w yr an+**

eating them. [And Paul wept and lamented and asked] the angel

63 **gel p6y y rei hynny. A dywedut a wnaeth yr angel y**

who those people were. And the angel said,

64 **rei hyn a dremygassant y gwedwon ac ymdiueit ac**

'These are the ones who insulted widows and orphans and

65 **a wnaethant ockyr. Ac ny 6uant drugara6c. A|than**

practiced usury and who were not merciful.' And a fire

66 **yn llosgi y neill hanner udunt a|r hanner arall yn rewi.**

was burning one half of them and one half freezing.

67 **Ac y gwelynt luosogr6yd o dynyon ac amrauaelon v6+**

And they could see a vast number of people with various

68 **ydeu yn eu kylch ac ny ellynt gymryt dim o hana6**

foods around them but they could not take any of it.

69 A gouyn a wnaeth pa6l y|r angel. P6y ynt y rei racco

And Paul asked the angel, 'Who are those yonder'

70 y rei a|dalassant kyn noc amser. Ac y gwelynt yn lle

who have paid before time?' And they could see in another place

71 arall lawer o wraged noethon o dillat a nadred a|th+

many women naked of clothes and snakes and fire

72 an a seirff yn gylch eu mynygleu. A|r seirff a ogyffroynt

and serpents around their throats. And the snakes brandished

73 kyrn tanolyon yn fusta6 y gwaged. A gouyn a w+

fiery horns which were striking the women. And Paul asked

74 naeth pa6l y|r angel p6y oed y gwaged hynny a dy+¹⁸⁰

the angel who those women were and the angel

75 wedut a wnaeth yr angel y rei a|lathassant¹⁸¹ eu plant ac a

said 'The ones who have killed their children and

¹⁸⁰ End f. 58v.

¹⁸¹ This seems to be an unusual form of 'lladdasant', with a 'th' substituted for 'dd'. It may be that this is another example of the influence of anglicised forms, such as with the substitution of 'neth' for 'Nedd' in the Annals.

76 vodissant eu meibyon. ac vyla6 a wnaeth pa6l a dywedut

drowned their babies.' And Paul wept and said,

77 gwae g g yr pechaduryeit eu geni. A dywedut a wna+

'Woe, woe, woe the sinners that they were born.' And the angel said,

78 eth yr angel beth a 6yly di ny weleist|i etto y poeneu m6+

'Why are you weeping? You have not yet seen the greatest pains.

79 yaf kanlyn di vi a|thi a|e gwely. A|cherdet a wnaethant y|r

Follow me and you shall see them.' And they walked

80 lle y gwelynt bydew aer6y to caedic o seith inseil. A dywe+

to a place where they could see a pit [with a] chain [and a] roof closed by seven seals. And

81 dut a wnaeth yr angel vrth pa6l Saf ym hell ny elly odef

the angel said to Paul, 'Stay back—you won't be able to suffer

82 arogleu y lle h6nn. Ac agor a wnaethp6yt y pyde6 h6n+

the smell of this place.' And that pit was opened

83 n6 a dyuot a wnaeth ry6 arogleu o h6nn6 a oed waeth no|r

and a smell came from it that was of a worse kind than

84 holl boeneu ereill. A y gwelynt dynyon kyfla6n o dan yn

all the other pains. And they could see many people full of fire

85 ymdrychauael e hunein. A gouyn a wnaeth pa6l y|r ang+

lifting themselves up. And Paul asked the angel

86 el Py ry6 le y6 h6nn llymma uffern yn y lle y disgynas+

'What kind of place is this?' 'Behold hell to where

87 sant yr holl eneideu kyn no dyuodedigaeth yn hargl6yd ni

all souls decended before the coming of our Lord

88 iessu grist y proff6yd ar holl vyt a vuant dreigledic yn uf+

Jesus Christ the prophet and the whole world had been thrown into hell.

89 fern. A|r gwar drugara6c argl6yd a warandewis k6ynuan y

And the kind and merciful Lord listened to the laments

90 rei hynny a dysgynnu a wnaeth yr argl6yd a d6yn a wna+

of those and the Lord came down and took

91 aeth gantha6 ran ac ada6 ran o honnunt. P6y bynnac ac an+

a portion of them with him and left a portion. Whoever shall be sent

92 uoner dydbra6t y|r pyde6 h6nn6 y eneit a gorff¹⁸² a anuonir

¹⁸² The 'a gorff' here is a mistake for 'ae gorff', as is shown by the lenition of 'gorff'.

on the day of judgement to that pit, his soul and body will be sent

93 y gyt. A gouyn a wnaeth pa6¹⁸³ y|r angel p6y oed y rei hyn +

together. 'And Paul asked the angel who those were.

94 ny. Ac ateb a wnaeth yr angel kenedloed ny buant ve+

And the angel answered 'unbaptized nations

95 dydedigyon. ac ny|chredassant dyuot yr argl6yd ynghna6t

who did not believe in the incarnation of the Lord

96 ac ny|chyperassant gorff yr argl6yd y rei hynny a grog+

and did not take the body of the Lord. Those shall be hanged

97 ir heb orffen. y pechaduryeit a leuassant o vn llef ac a

in perpetuity. 'The sinners cried in one voice and

98 dywedassant. Trugarha di 6rthym ni vab du6 a|thi+

said, 'Have mercy upon us, the son of God. And you

99 theu vihangel a|pha6l erch6ch drossam ni drugared yr

Michael and Paul, ask on our behalf for the mercy of the

100 argl6yd 6yl6ch chwi y gyt a ni ac engyllyon yr argl6+

¹⁸³ The final 'l' is missing from 'pa6l' in the manuscript. This reading has been assumed in the translation.

Lord.' 'Weep with us, you and the angels of the Lord

101 yd a|pha6l yn keredic hyt pan vo y trugara6c argl6yd

and Paul, lovingly until the merciful Lord

102 a rodo gorffy6ys y chwi. ac a6ch lleuein. A lleuein a

gives you rest and [peace from] your crying.' And they cried

103 wnaeth h6y a|dywedut. Trugarha di vab du6 6rthym¹⁸⁴

and said, 'Be merciful, son of God, to

104 ni. Acha6s mihangel ac acha6s y keredic ba6l mi a rod+

us.' 'Because of Michael and because of the loving Paul I shall give

105 af y chwi orffywys du6 sul y rei yssyd yn y poeneu hyt

you rest on Sunday, to those who are in pain until

106 dydbra6t. A lleuein a wnaeth h6y o vn llef a dywedut y ben+

the day of judgement.' And they cried in one voice and said, 'the blessed

107 digedic argl6yd a roes y ni orffywys du6 sul. M6y y6 y ni or+

Lord has given us rest on Sunday. It is greater for us to rest

108 fywys vn dyd no|r holl vuched a|gernerassam ni ar y|dae+

¹⁸⁴ End f. 59.

one day than all the life we had on earth.'

109 ar. Yna y bendig6ys ef ba6l ac y gorchymynn6ys ida6 ym+

Then he blessed Paul and ordered him to

110 hoelut y|r BYT hyt pan bregethei ef hynny y dynna6l gene+

return to the world so that he might preach that to the human race

111 dyl. A|thr6y wir gyffes a|phenyt hyt nat elynt h6y yn y

and by true confession and penitence so that they might not go into

112 poneu hynny. A|r poeneu gwaethaf ny buont adrodedigy+

those pains. And the worst were not reported

113 on y ba6l. Pettei bedermil o dynyon yr dechreu BYT hyt

to Paul. If there were four thousand people from the beginning of the world

until

114 hedi6 a|phetwar tauot haearn ym pen pop dyn heb orf+

today with four iron tongues in the mouth of every person speaking without

rest

115 fywys yn dywedut ny ellynt datganu vn poen o vf+

they could not relate one pain of the pains

116 fernolyon boeneu. Ofneke6ch garedigyon vrodyr y poen+

of hell. Be afraid, dear brothers, of those pains

117 neu hynny a gwne6ch y meint a alloch yr du6 ac an+

and do as much as you can for the sake of God and

118 reded6ch du6 a|e seint hyt pan vo ef a|n kynhalyo ym hob

honour God and his saints until He should come who supports us in every

119 gweithret da ac a|n dycko y drugara6l vuched tragywyd

good deed and who takes us to an eternal merciful life,

120 amen. Ac velly teruyna breud6yt ba6l apostol.¹⁸⁵

amen. And thus ends the dream of Paul the Apostle.

¹⁸⁵ This final sentence is decorated in red and is a larger script than the body of the text.

DISCUSSION

5.2 INTRODUCTION

The Welsh *Breuddwyd Pawl* is part of a large textual tradition. *Pawl* is a Welsh version of the Latin text *Visio Sancti Pauli*, whose own tradition stretches back to the third century and a Greek original. It claims to be an account of an apocalyptic dream of the apostle wherein an angel gives Paul a whistle-stop tour of Heaven and Hell. The Welsh version has lost the original tour of heaven and retains only the descriptions of the torments of hell. In Silverstein's edition of the Latin, he describes it as 'a complete Baedeker to the otherworld', and its vibrant descriptions of Hell's many punishments build a vivid picture reminiscent of John's visions in Revelation.¹⁸⁶

5.3 THE HISTORY OF THE TEXT

Notwithstanding its claims to be a true account of Paul, the *Visio* was met with much disapproval by the Church Fathers who did not accept it as a canonical description of heaven or hell and saw it instead as a man-made footnote to the Gospel which served only to offend and distract from God's message.¹⁸⁷ The text was re-issued after 388 with a preface relating how it was miraculously discovered at Tarsus, thereby giving it an air of authenticity, and yet it was still not accepted by the Church. Despite this,

¹⁸⁶ Silverstein, *Visio Sancti Pauli*, p. 5.

¹⁸⁷ Jones, 'The book of the Anchorite', p. 76.

or perhaps because of this, it infiltrated quickly and extensively into the corpora of medieval literature, penetrating within three centuries as far as Armenia in the east, and England in the west.¹⁸⁸

The text opens with 'reit y6 yni vrodyr', which is very reminiscent of Paul's Biblical letters.¹⁸⁹ He consistently uses the term 'brothers' to address those to whom he writes, and it appears that this was done to give a further air of authenticity to the text. This is almost directly translated from the Latin Redaction I: '*Oportet uos, fratres*'.¹⁹⁰ This may have been a conscious effort to make the text seem more Biblical, and make it more acceptable to the ecclesiastical authorities.

Although some elements of the story seem to be 'fixed' into the narrative, the textual transmission of the story across time and languages appears to have been relatively fluid. For this reason, several different versions of the story survive. The original Greek text has been lost, and much of the dream's textual transmission stems from the Latin translations which were created some time in the sixth century. The Latin translations are preserved in two categories; those of the long version, which includes both Heaven and Hell, and those of the short version, which includes only Hell. It is the recensions which stem from the short version that are of

¹⁸⁸ Jones, 'The Book of the Anchorite', p. 76.

¹⁸⁹ 'There is a need for us brothers'.

¹⁹⁰ Silverstein, *Visio Sancti Pauli*, p. 153.

interest to the Welsh scholar for it is these which lie at the foundation of the Welsh translation.

5.4 THE WELSH VERSIONS

Although *Breuddwyd Pawl* exists in 24 manuscript versions from c. 1400 to the nineteenth century it has, for the most part, escaped the attention of scholars. The most detailed study of the Welsh Version of *Visio Sancti Pauli* was undertaken by J. E. Caerwyn Williams in 1962 and since then, very little work has been done on this Welsh text.¹⁹¹ He argues that within these 24 versions, one can identify three groups of redactions which are Welsh translations of the different Latin versions, all of which provide significantly different texts. There are also three readings, that is Llanstephan 4, Peniarth 254, and Llanover C. 13, which are not directly related to any of the other readings.¹⁹² These groups have been outlined below in Appendix A.

The two Latin versions that have been translated into Welsh are Redaction I (of which the version in *CB* is an example) and Redaction IV, which is the most commonly translated Latin redaction. In the Welsh versions, Caerwyn Williams argues that the Redaction IV version has been translated into two separate recensions, IV A, and IV B.¹⁹³

¹⁹¹ Caerwyn Williams, 'Welsh Versions of *Visio Sancti Pauli*', pp. 107-26.

¹⁹² For a detailed outline, see Caerwyn Williams, 'Welsh versions of *Visio Sancti Pauli*', pp. 109-123. I have also provided a table demonstrating the grouping of the texts, as BP Appendix A.

¹⁹³ Caerwyn Williams, 'Welsh Versions of *Visio Sancti Pauli*', pp. 117-123.

The Redaction I translation is found in five manuscripts from 1400-1640 that contain relatively similar readings:

- | | | |
|--------------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Shrewsbury MS 11 | c.1400 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Peniarth 50 | c. 1425-1426 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | NLW MS 5267B | 1438 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Peniarth 32 | c. 1450 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Peniarth 267 | 1640 ¹⁹⁴ |

This Welsh version can be broken down into 17 significant sections, which correspond closely to the Latin text of Redaction I.¹⁹⁵ Although the Welsh translation often corresponds word for word with the Latin, there are seven significant diversions from the Latin text, which can be found in each of the manuscripts of this tradition. For this reason, they can be considered to be 'Welsh' additions or emendations to the text, probably brought in when the text was first translated. For example, the names of the three rivers which stem from Cochiton, are given as 'Semiton, Cogiton, and Grauiton' rather than the three rivers of Hades named in the Latin (Styx, Flegeton, and Acheron). It seems likely that 'Cochiton' and 'Cogiton'

¹⁹⁴ At the time of writing, it was only possible to access Shrewsbury MS 11, Peniarth 32, Peniarth 50, and NLW MS 5267B, and thus the findings discussed in this chapter may not, indeed, be representative of the full Welsh tradition, and may only be indicative of the texts presented in these four versions. It has not been possible to access a copy of Peniarth 267 at this time due to restrictions at the National Library of Wales.

¹⁹⁵ Those sections are outlined in BP Appendix B. A comparison of Latin Redaction I and the text found in *CB* is provided in BP Appendix C.

were originally the same word, and that somewhere in the transmission of the text, one word became two. This river is likely to be 'Cocytus', or 'Kokytos', the river of wailing and lamentation in Hades, the Greek underworld. Semiton and Grauiton are harder to identify; the rivers which stem from 'Cocytus' in the Greek mythology are those named in the Latin, so the substitution of these two names seems unusual. It is possible that they correspond to two Biblical rivers; 'Sambation' (the river beyond which the 10 tribes of Israel were exiled), and 'Gihon' (one of the four rivers in the Garden of Eden), however the true origin of these two interpolations is unclear.

The other most significant differences in the Welsh version are those sections or details which have not been carried over from the Latin. The *Visio Sancti*, for instance, claims this of the giant snake Partimon/Partimwth:

In ore eius mittuntur satrape omnes qui iniquitatem faciunt in terra cum principibus.

He consumed all the Satraps and Princes who practised iniquity in the land

The Welsh, however, does not make this distinction, claiming instead that Partimwth would consume all those who had committed wickedness in the world. Similarly, in section 11, the Latin clothes the women in rags and pitch, as well as giving them the torments of an angel with wings of fire. The Welsh version, on the other hand, says that the women are 'noethon o dillat' (*naked of clothes*), and removes the angel. Such emendations are

relatively typical of a translation text, where the original translator may not have quite understood the text they were translating, thus making changes to create a more comprehensible text. These changes would then have become fossilised through further copyings.

The section of the text immediately prior to the homiletic epilogue has become somewhat garbled in the Welsh. The Latin translation is quite clear in outlining that the pains which Paul saw were not the worst, and that not even 100 people with iron tongues would be able to describe those pains, despite starting at the beginning of creation. This is preceded by an enumeration of the pains of hell, which stands at 4400. In the Welsh, the meaning of this section has become unclear. *CB* reads thus:

Pettei bedermil o dynyon yr dechreu BYT hyt hedi6 a phetwar tauot haearn ym pen pop dyn heb orffywys yn dywedut ny ellynt datganu vn poen o vffernolyon boeneu.

If there were four thousand people from the beginning of the world until today with four iron tongues in the mouth of every person speaking without rest they could not relate one pain of the pains of hell

Although the meaning is still discernible, it appears that the pains of hell section has become conflated with the iron tongues section at some point during the translation process. The reading is the same across the Welsh versions (orthographical variances notwithstanding) suggesting that this confusion came in at the point of translation.

There is one significant difference which is unique to *CB*, although there may have been some confusion at this point in the other

manuscripts. In the section which refers to those who are surrounded by food but are unable to eat, *CB* says that they were 'y rei adalassant kyn noc amser' (*Those who paid before time*). The Latin version says that they were those who broke their fasts before time, and this is carried over into the other Welsh versions which include 'eu hympryd' (*their fasting*). It thus seems likely that this was an error on Siancyn's part, rather than an omission copied from another witness. However there is some further confusion across the manuscripts as to which word should precede 'eu hympryd'. Both *CB* and Shrewsbury MS 11 read 'adalassant'. Peniarth 32 and 50 use 'Dorrassant' although the version in Peniarth 50 is somewhat unusual. Whilst it is spelt correctly, the scribe uses two different types of 'r' side by side, first the two shaped 'r', and then a long-tailed 'r'. This can lead to some confusion upon reading, as it is an unusual practice.

5.5 ABBREVIATIONS

Each of the Welsh texts contains abbreviations. The *CB* reading includes two sets of abbreviations, in line 62; '**A 6 a w p. a. go. a. w yr angel**', and line 77; '**gwae g g**'.¹⁹⁶ The first of these is shared with Peniarth 32, and the second with Shrewsbury MS 11. Peniarth 50 shares both of these

¹⁹⁶ Shrewsbury MS 11 has a slightly different way of phrasing this repeated statement (using 'oruc' rather than 'gwnaethpwy') which could explain why it did not include the abbreviations. An abbreviation identical to those used in the other manuscripts would not, in this case, be helpful, as there would be no indication as to how to read it. This could suggest, then, that the scribe of MS 11 was altering the text he was copying rather than copying faithfully, choosing to use verbs like 'oruc' as he would during speech or textual composition, making it impossible to use the same abbreviations.

abbreviations, and many more. Of all the Welsh texts, the reading in Peniarth 50 is the only one to use Welsh and Latin abbreviations including, for example, suspended nasals over 'aghel' to indicate a missing 'n'. These abbreviations would have been used in order to save time and space when copying the text. As these abbreviations appear in the same form in more than one manuscript, it is likely that the 'original' Welsh redaction I text would have had these abbreviations and that most of the copies reproduced them without expanding them.

5.6 RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE TEXTS

These four texts are similar enough that it seems likely that they can all be traced back to the same translation, although none could have been copied from the other due to the various errors in each version which are not carried into other versions of the text. Perhaps the best example of this is in the 'adalassant' / 'dorrassant' confusion, as here each of the Welsh versions has a slightly different reading. This would suggest that none of them were copied from the other, and supports J. E. Caerwyn William's argument.

Instead Williams suggests that there was a Welsh translation which preceded all of these, probably including abbreviations and some difficulty around the 'adalassant' / 'dorrassant' area, which provided the means for divergences in the texts.

5.7 CONCLUSIONS

Overall, therefore, the Welsh *Dream of Paul the Apostle* is an exciting and interesting text with a complicated history that requires some careful analysis if one is to understand it properly. The Welsh version in *CB* corresponds to the readings of four other manuscripts and is a translation of the Latin Redaction I. Very few changes were made to the Welsh during translation, which means that the text is very similar to the Latin, but also that there is very little original Welsh material. There are, however, some aspects of the text which do seem to be Welsh features or emendations. The Welsh *Dream of Paul* is thus very complex and in need of a far more detailed study.

CHAPTER 6: ENRYVEDDODEU YNYS BRYDEN

6.1. TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION

Folios 79-81v of *CB* contain the text *Enryveddodeu Ynys Bryden*, which details the names and wonders of the island of the Britain. It is preceded by *Ystorya Titus* and followed by *Pwyll y pader*.

EYP is perhaps the most palaeographically interesting of the texts transcribed here. It begins with two rubricated lines which, unfortunately are faded to the extent that they are now impossible to read. The text marks the beginning of each new section with rubricated punctuation marks and a large rubricated initial and, as it is written in paragraphs, it uses rubricated line fillers to fill each space, some of which are more detailed than others. A few of the initials are more ornately decorated than others, and appear to have been interwoven with other initials on the page, although much of this decoration has now faded. The rubricator also chose to highlight the 'k' in each 'kaer' of the first paragraph and also the initials of other personal or place names. It is possible that these rubrications also served as punctuation marks to separate the items in the list.

Why there is such an increase in rubrication for this text is unclear, for the rubricator reverts to his usual level of rubrication in the next text (punctuation marks and one initial). It may be that the rubricator wanted to

draw particular attention to this text and distinguish it from the others in the manuscript.

1 **Kyntaf en6 a vu ar ynys brydein kyn no|e|cha+**

The first name of the island of Britain before it was taken

2 **el na|e|chyuanhedu clas myrdin. A gwedy y**

or inhabited was Clas Myrddin. And after it

3 **chael a|e|chyuanhedu y uel ynys. A gwedy y goes+**

was taken and inhabited, the Island of Honey. And after it was conquered

4 **gyn o brydein vab Aed ma6r y dodet arnei ynys**

by Prydain son of Aedd the Great [the name] Island of Britain was put on it.

5 **brydein. Teir prif rac ynys yssyd idi Mon a mana6**

It has three main adjacent islands: Anglesey, Man

6 **ac ynys Weir. Tri phrif aber a seith ugeint yssyd y**

and the Isle of Wight. It has three main estuaries and seven score

7 **danei. A|phetwar prifborth ar dec a|deugeint. A|their**

lesser [ones]. And fifty-four main ports. And thirty-three

8 **prifgaer ar dec ar|ugeint nyt amgen kaer alclut ka+**

main cities namely Caer Alclud [Dumbarton], Caer

9 **er lyn kaer ffawyd kaer Eura6c kaer gent kaer**

*Lŷr [Leicester], Caer Ffawydd [Hereford], Caerefrog [York], Caer-gaint
[Canterbury],*

10 wyranghon kaer lun dyn kaer lyryon kaer golin¹⁹⁷

*Caerwrangon [Worcester], Caer Lundain [London], Caer Lyryon, Caer Golin
[Colchester],*

11 kaer loy6 kaer gei kaer siri kaer wynt kaer went kaer

*Caerloyw [Gloucester], Caer Gei [Caer-gai], Caer Siri [Cirencester], Caer-
wynt [Winchester], Caer-went, Caergrawnt*

12 grant kaer da6ri kaer l6ytkoet kaer vudei kaer vyr+

*[Cambridge], Caer Dawr, Caer Lwytcoed [Litchfield], Caer Fuddai,
Caerfyrddin [Carmarthen]*

13 din kaer yn aruon kaer gorkyrn kaer lleon kaer grin+

Caernarfon, Caer Gorcyrn, Caerlleon [Chester], Caer Grinarawdd

14 ara6d kaer vrnas kaer selemion kaer mygyt kaer li+

Caer Wrnas, Caer Selemion, Caer Mygid, Caer Lisyddid,

15 sydit kaer beris kaer llion kaer weir kaer garada6c

*Caer Beris, Caerllion [Caerleon], Caer Wair [Durham], Caer Garadog [Caer
Caradoc]*

¹⁹⁷ End f.79.

16 kaer wida6l wir kaer vadon

Caer Widawlwir, Caerfaddon [Bath].

17 Rei ohonunt yssyd wedy diwreydya6 y muroed yn w^allus¹⁹⁸

Some of them have walls overthrown by negligence,

18 ereill yn gywreint gyuanned etwa. Petwar prif

others are still inhabited in a fair manner. There are thirty-four main

19 enryued ar dec arr ugeint yssyd yndi nyt amgen Prenn

wonders in it, namely: There is a tree

20 yssyd yng|hoet dyn yn ynys brydein a|thebic y6 y gollen

in a man's wood in the Island of Britain and it's similar to a hazel tree

21 eythyr bot g6ryt yn hyt y deil ac yn d6ygeinc y|mae

except that there is a curl along the leaves and it splits into two branches.

22 yn ranneu. Ar neill ran amser haf y tyf risc a deil a

And in the summer on one side it grows bark and leaves

23 fr6yth arna6 A phan del y gayaf y dyg6yd y risc a|e

and fruit. And when winter comes the bark,

¹⁹⁸ The manuscript has 'wllus' and a (possibly later) hand has added a superscript 'a' between the 'w' and the 'l'.

24 fr6yth a|e deil y|arna6 ac y tyf risc a deil a fr6yth y ga+

the fruit and the leaves fall from that side and in winter bark and leaves and fruit grow on the other side

25 yaf ar y ran a vu segur yr haf.

on the part that was dormant in summer.

26 Egl6ys yssyd yn ynys brydein a mynwent p6y

There is a church and graveyard in the island of Britain

27 bynnac a letrattao dim yndunt ny digawn tyn+

that whoever steals anything from them will not be able to take

28 nu y la6 y|ar yr h6n a dycko na mynet o|r vynwent

his hand from what he has stolen or leave the graveyard

29 yn y del yr efferyat pl6yf a|e rydhau.

until the parish priest comes and frees him.

30 Ederyn yssyd yn ynys brydein yn press6ylya6 y

There is a bird in the island of Britan that dwells in

31 myn¹⁹⁹ tarren Deuet y neb a vynno y|6 ben y

¹⁹⁹ The manuscript here reads 'y myn' but it has been taken as 'y mywn' 'in' for the purposes of translation. This is not a recognised form of the preposition, but it seems that this was a scribal error.

a mountain. Let whoever who so wishes come to the top

32 bress6ylua a gouynnet yn ieith a vynno. A yd6yt ti y+

of its home and let him ask in whichever language he may wish, 'Are you

33 ma ymy6n ac o|r byd ynteu yno ef a ateb yn yr vn

from here and of this world or elsewhere?' and it will answer in the same

34 ieith ac a ouyn pa vn 6yt ti a|pha beth a vynny di.

language, and ask 'who you are and what do you want?'

35 Dywedet y dyn yna. Dyret allan ym y|th lad. ac yn+

Let the man then say, 'Come out to me to be killed'. And it will

36 teu yna a|da6 dan g6ynuan a griduan ac a|dyweit

come out lamenting and moaning and saying

37 gwae vi. Paham y|m gwnaetp6yt kanys yr a6r²⁰⁰

'Woe is me, why was I made because now

38 hon y bydaf var6 ac ef a|da6 at y dy yd y drugared

I shall die' and it will come to you for his mercy.

39 Ry6 lynn an6uyn yssyd yn ynys brydein ac y neb

²⁰⁰ End f.79v

There is a shallow lake in the Island of Britain and let whoever

40 a vynno hyt y llyn a dywedet vrthi. echwynna

wishes [go] to the lake and say to it 'Lend me

41 ym kymeint a hyn o da ac enwet y amkan ac yr a6r

as much as this of goods' and let him name his amount and at that hour

42 honno ef a|e keif os teruyn ar y|dalw a dyt. ac onys tal

he will receive it if he puts a deadline on paying it [back]. And if he does not repay

43 yn y teruyn ny|cheffir yno m6y BYTh.

at the deadline he will never receive more.

44 Maen a dogyn o veint ynda6 yssyd yn ynys bryde+

There is a stone of a fair size in the island of Britain,

45 in chwech milltir y|6rth y|mor. a phwll yssyd

six miles from the sea. And there is a hollow

46 ynda6 ac ar ben mynyd vchel y|mae a|phan lanwo y

in it and it is at the top of a high mountain. And when the tides of the

47 mor y llein6 y p6ll yn y|maen o dyu6r. A|phan dreio

sea come the hollow in the stone fills with water. And when the sea

48 y|mor y treia ynteu heb vn dauyn ynda6.

ebbs it also ebbs without a single drop of water in it.

49 Yn y mynyd a elwir pec y|mae gogofeu p6y|byn+

In the mountain called 'Pec' there are caves. Whoever

50 nac a saffo yn eu hymyl a|thaflu y dillat a

stands by them and throws whatever clothes he wishes into those

51 vynno yn y gogofeu ef a|e hemyl y gwynt o|r gogof+

caves, the wind will bring them out of the caves

52 eu 6ynt allan ac a|e teyuyl y|r a6yr.

and throw them into the air.

53 Ar vynydd salusburi²⁰¹ y|mae mein ar weith gor+

On Salisbury hill there are stones like wickets

54 drysseu heb vedru o neb o neb²⁰² py geluydyt

and nobody knows by what skill

55 na pha vod a drychau6yt nac y gossodet 6ynt yno

²⁰¹ Literally 'On Salisbury Mountain' although, as there is no mountain there, 'mountain' has been translated as 'hill'.

²⁰² This shows an unnecessary repetition of 'o neb', perhaps a sign of copying. The text shows an unusual number of these such repetitions (see 'yssyd yssyd', l. 117, and 'y mae ymae', l. 126).

or how they were lifted or set there

56 ac yn trigya6 velly tragwyda6l.

and they will remain there for eternity.

57 Wrth gaer golin y|mae gogof ac y pellet y kerd+

Near Colchester there is a cave and however far one walks

58 er yndi ny|cheffir dim teruyn arnei ac yndi

into it the boundaries of it will not be found and in it

59 y|mae messyd ma6r ac auonyd

there are great fields and rivers.

60 Geir tref abynton y|mae mynyd ma6r ac eil+

Near the town of Abingdon there is a great mountain

61 un march arna6 ac yr tyfuu gwellt a|lly|

and on one side there is an image of a horse and although grass and plants

62 seu o bobtu yda6 ny|thyf arna6 ef dim

grow on either side of it nothing grows on it

63 vn amser or vl6ydyn

at any time of the year.

64 Maen yssyd ac nyt ma6r ar lether mynyd ar

There is a stone that is not big on a mountain side in

65 dir g6hyr a dycker d6y villitir yr hanner y²⁰³

the land of Gower that may be taken two and a half miles

66 mynner o|e le a gadawer yno. A|thrannoeth y bore ef a

from its place and left there. And the following morning it

67 uyd yn y lle y kyrch6yt o hana6.

will be in the same place it was taken from.

68 D6y gollen franghec yssyd yng|herny6 a d6y vill+

There are two French hazels in Cornwall that have two miles

69 tir yssyd y ryngtunt a|r neill vl6ydyn y byd crin

between them and one year one of them will be withered

70 yr vn o nadunt a|r llall yn ir a|fr6yth a|deil arnei

and the other will be green and have fruit and leaves on it.

71 a|r vl6ydyn rac vyneb y byd ir yr honn a vu grin

And in the following year the tree that was withered will be green

72 y vl6ydyn hynny ac y d6c frwyth a deil ac y byd

²⁰³ End f. 8o

and will have fruit and leaves and

73 crin y llall.

the other will be withered.

74 Mynyd yssyd yn lloegyr a elwir sefraul r6ng

There is a mountain in England called Sefraul between

75 d6yfford. a doet deu 6r yno ac aet vn y|r ne+

two roads and if two men come there and one

76 illford a|r eil y|r llall ac nyt ymwelant BYTh gwe+

goes by one road and one goes by the other then they will never see each other again

77 dy o|r a6r|honno allan

from then on.

78 Maen yssyd ar ford yn ynys brydein yn y lle y

There is a stone on a road of the island of Britain in a place

79 mae ma6r tram6y. A|ph6y|bynnac a sangho

of heavy passage. And whoever treads

80 arna6 yr meint a gerdo y dyd h6nn6 reit y6 yda6

on it will find that no matter how much they walk on that day, that

81 y nos honno dyuot y|r lle y dathoed o hana6 y bore y

night they must come to the place that they had come from on the morning

82 dyd gynt.

of the previous day.

83 Maen keu ma6r yssyd yn ynys brydein ar weith

There is a great hollow stone in the Island of Britain which is like

84 t6r ehang odmy6n a mag6yr yda6 mal gw+

an ample tower inside and walls that are the thickness of

85 erth d6yla6 ac yn seuyll ar betwar piler ma6r o

two hands and it stands on four great pillars of stone

86 vein kymeint a march bob vn o nadunt ac vgeint

each as big as a horse and each one of them twenty

87 troetued yn y hyt a maen keu megys t6r arnad+

feet in length and a hollow stone like a tower on them

88 unt a fynyon yn reddec yn bedeir fr6t ohana6 hyt

and a spring with four streams running from it

89 y lla6r yn raedreu g6rd kadarn

to the floor as fierce, powerful waterfalls.

90 Deu vynyd yssyd yn ynys brydein vn ma6r

There are two mountains in the Island of Britain, one big

91 ac arall bychan ac y gyt y|maent ac o ret

and the other small and they are together. And if two men run,

92 deu6r vn yngylch y mynyd ma6r a|r llall yng

one in a circle around the big mountain and the other

93 hylch y mynyd bychan 6ynt a ymgyuaruydant²⁰⁴

in a circle around the small mountain, they shall meet

94 yn y lle y dechreuassant redec gyntaf.

at the place where they began running first.

95 Maen yssyd yn ynys brydein a|cheu y6 p6y byn+

There is a stone in the island of Britain and it is hollow. Whoever

96 nac a v6ryo gwialen ynda6 ef a|e keif o dyno

throws a stick in it will find it

97 d6y uilltir yng|lan y mor.

two miles away by the sea.

98 Nant yssyd yn ynys brydein p6y|bynnac a|uy+

²⁰⁴ End f. 8ov

There is a stream in the Island of Britain and whoever

99 **nno gwneuthur syldelereu heyrn odiethyr**

wishes for iron chains to be made with the exception of

100 **arueu deuet a|r haearn ganta6 a+|b6yt y lan y nant**

weapons let him bring the iron and food to the bank of the stream

101 **ac adawet yno.²⁰⁵ A|r defnyd a vynno y gael o|r hae+**

and leave it there. And the form that he wishes to have from the iron

102 **arn ef a|e keif yn bara6t erbyn trannoeth.²⁰⁶**

he shall have ready by the next morning.

103 **Gogof yssyd yn ynys brydein dyget dyn gan+**

There is a cave in the Island of Britain; let a man go with

104 **ta6 v6yt a goleu dros seith diwarna6t ac**

food and light enough for seven days and

105 **my6n dydgweith a nosweith y deruyd y dreila6.**

in only one day and one night it will have been consumed..

²⁰⁵ The ‘.’ here is a faint brown dot in the manuscript, indicating that this is to be rubricated later with a punctuation mark that was clearly never inserted.

²⁰⁶ McMullen; A stream that if you leave iron and food on the shore, the next day it is made into iron links, p. 49

106 Fynyon yssyd yn ynys brydein ymhell y|6rth y

There is a spring in the island of Britain far from the

107 mor ac o|r dyu6r h6nn6 y gwneir yr halen

sea and from that water is made the white salt

108 gwyn ac ny ellir y wneuthur o hanner dyd du6

but it is not possible to make it from midday

109 sadwrn hyt du6 llun.

Saturday until Monday.

1010 Kastell yssyd yn ynys brydein ac y dengwyr

There is a castle in the Island of Britain and for thirty men

111 ar|ugeint y byd kyuing diga6n a pheide+

it will be cramped enough but were a thousand men

112 lei vil o wyr yda6 ehang diga6n vydei vdunt

to come it would be spacious enough for all of them.

113 Koet yssyd yn ynys brydein ac auon a ...

There is a wood in the island of Britain with a river [running through]

114 da6 ac o|r koet hynny nad bren ar y llyn

it and if from that wood you cut a tree in any way you wish

115 y mynych a b6r6 yn yr avon ac ar ben vl6yd+

and throw it in the river then at the end of a year

116 yn ef a dry yn vaen kalet.²⁰⁷

it will turn to hard stone.

117 Enneint yssyd yssyd²⁰⁸ yn ynys brydein ...

There is a hot spring in the island of Britain ...

118 uadon a drycheif yn d6yrayn o|r ...

bath shall rise in the east from the ...

119 a dric yn wressa6c velly BYTh²⁰⁹

and it will always stay warm.

120 F6rn yssyd yn ynys brydein a heb

There is an oven in the island of Britain without [a cover]

121 arnei y|mae ac ny syrth ...²¹⁰

on it and [rain or snow or hailstones] never fall [in it].

²⁰⁷ McMullen: A forest with a river: if you put any of the wood of the forest in the river, after a year it will be a hard stone, p.49

²⁰⁸ An example of unnecessary repetition, see fn. 203.

²⁰⁹ McMullen: There is a bath in the island of Britain that gets very hot at all times without assistance, p.49

²¹⁰ Fading on the right edge of the page makes the ends of sentences somewhat illegible. *RhG*, Pen 15 reads; 'ffrn yssyd yn. brydein.a hed arnei ac ny syrth na gla nac eira yn y.', f. 146

122 **Medra6t yssyd yn ynys brydein y dan ysbyden a**

There is a tomb in the island of Britain under a thornbush and

123 **heb dim ar y gwarthaf. ac ny da6 gla6 BYTh**

without anything surrounding it. And rain never comes

124 **idi ac na bychan na ma6r vo y|dyn a dotter yndi**

to it and no matter how small or big the man who is put in it

125 **kymhedrol vyd y uedra6t yda6**

the grave will be the right size for him.

126 **Ac y|mae y|mae²¹¹ medra6t arall yn ynys bry+**

And there is another grave in the Island of Britain

127 **dein ar lan ford. ac yr meint vo y g6r e+**

by the side of a road and whatever the size of the man

128 **hang diga6n a vyd yda6. a|chyuing diga6n y**

it will be spacious enough for him, but small enough

129 **uab bl6yd.**

for a one-year old baby.

130 **Koet yssyd yn ynys brydein a maes ma6r yn+**

²¹¹ An example of unnecessary repetition, see fn. 203.

There is a wood in the Island of Britain with a big plain in it

131 **da6 a holl aniueilyeit gwylltyon y gwla+**

and all the wild animals of the lands

132 **doed a deuant bob du6 kalan mei y|r maes h6n+**

come every Mayday to that field

133 **n6 yn dieu**

without doubt.

134 **Maen yssyd yn ynys brydein kymeint a|phen**

There is a stone in the island of Britain as large as a man's head.

135 **dyn a gwan a|chadarn a|e kyuyt hyt y d6yu+**

And both a weak man and a strong man can lift it to his chest

136 **ron ac ny ellir y drychael yn y6ch no hynny**

but it is not possible to lift it higher than that.

137 **Sef y6 hyt yr ynys o benryn bladon ym|phryd+**

The length of the island from Penrhyn Bladon in Prydain

138 **ein hyt ym|henryn penwaed yngherny6 na6⁷**

to Penrhyn Penwaedd in Cornwall is

139 **cant milltir o|hyt. Sef y6 y led o grukyll y|mon⁸**

900 miles in the length. Its breadth from Crugyll in Anglesey

140 **hyt yn Soram pumpcant milltir. Sef y|dlyir y**

to Soram is 500 miles. What should be

141 **daly 6rth goron lundein Teir taleith vn ...**

held of the crown of London is three provinces. One ... +

142 **yn rioned yn y gogledd. A|r eil daleith yn Aberf ...**

[Penrh]yn Rhinonedd in the north. And the second province in Aberf[fraw]

143 **a|r dryded yng|herny6 A|thri archesgopty a dlyei**

and the third in Cornwall. And there should be three archbishoprics

144 **vot yndi vn yng+|haer geint. Ar eil yng+|haerllion**

in it: one at Canterbury, and the second at Caerleon

145 **ar vysc. Ar dryded yng+|haer eura6c**

upon Usk and the third at York.

DISCUSSION

6.2 INTRODUCTION

This text (which is sometimes called *Enwau ac Anrhyfeddodau Ynys Prydain*) is a topographical text, similar in style to Irish *dindsenchas* or place-name lore, which lists the chief cities and wonders of the Island of Britain.²¹² The text is not short, numbering 144 lines. It is preserved in four pre-1450 manuscripts and several post-1450 manuscripts. This analysis focuses mostly on those versions in manuscripts prior to 1450.

The text naturally divides itself into three sections: the names of Britain, the chief cities (listed by *CB*, Peniarth 4, and 15), then the chief wonders of the Island, ending with the length of Britain and its three archbishoprics. The *WB* version only numbers the cities and wonders, without naming them. As a result, it runs for only 32 lines in the manuscript, and covers less than one side of a folio; the *CB* version covers 18 (this divergence will be discussed in more detail below).²¹³ It is perhaps possible that this indicates a single text which was originally two, as *Enwau Ynys Prydain* may have travelled independently of the Wonders.

²¹² Throughout this discussion, the text as it appears in *CB*, *RBH*, and Peniarth 15 will be referred to as *Enryveddodeu*. When the term *Enwau* is used, it refers either to the version as preserved in Peniarth 4 (*WB*) or to the first section of *Enryveddodeu*. In the case of the latter, it should be clear from the context.

²¹³ The length in terms of lines or folios is not necessarily directly comparable due to the different format of the manuscripts, but this illustration is given to show that the *WB* version is considerably shorter than that in *CB*.

The text has often been associated with the triads as much of it contains the same triadic structure: the three names of the Island, the three archbishoprics, the thirty three chief cities, and it also falls after the *Triads* in the *RBH*. The majority of the manuscripts including *Enryveddodeu* also include the *Triads*, with Peniarth 15 being the one exception to the rule. However, it does not necessarily seem to have been part of the *Triad* tradition as it is preserved in only three of the many manuscripts which include the *Triads*. It is arguable that the placement of *Enryveddodeu* so close to the triad collections suggests this was reflecting a significantly Welsh tradition.²¹⁴

6.3 REVIEW OF SCHOLARSHIP

As yet, relatively little research has been done on the text beyond an early edition by Ifor Williams in *BBCS* and an article by A. Joseph McMullen in *Studia Celtica Fennica*.²¹⁵ This research has provided the basis for the following analysis, although both of these are working from the *RBH* and neither mentions nor seems to be aware of any of the other manuscript versions. Thus, their work is limited, and is used with caution when applied to the version in *CB*.

The contents of *Enryveddodeu* bear similarities both to the *dindsenchas* tradition and to the mirabilia found in Latin texts such as the *Historia Brittonum* (henceforth *HB*). McMullen, however, suggests that *EYP* has ‘more

²¹⁴ McMullen, ‘*Enwau ac Anryfeddodau*’, p. 46.

²¹⁵ Williams, ‘*Enryveddodeu*’, pp. 19-24; McMullen, ‘*Enwau*’, pp. 36-53.

in common with the Latin descriptions of Wonders first attested in the *Historia Brittonum*' than it does with the *dindsenchas* tradition.²¹⁶ Outwardly, *EYP* does present more similarities to the *HB* than it does to the onomastic *dindsenchas* tradition. Like the *HB*, *EYP* contains a list of the thirty-three chief cities of Britain, although these match only in number, with several names appearing in only one of the two lists.²¹⁷ There are 11 cities recorded in *HB* that are not included in *EYP*, and 12 which appear in *EYP* but not in *HB*.²¹⁸

The *HB* includes 14 wonders of Britain, each of which is localised.²¹⁹ However, in a manner analogous to the de-localisation of tales as they become legend, only six of the wonders in *Enryveddodeu* are given geographical locations.²²⁰ This means that even though they are located in Britain, they retain an essence of legend which allows them to be non-specific and to appear increasingly as supernatural locations. McMullen categorises the seven wonders of RBH into three groups - those that are Natural (2), Unnatural (4), and Supernatural (21), carefully noting that this categorisation is based upon a modern perspective, as a medieval audience would probably have thought of the majority as supernatural.²²¹ However, I would argue that all of the wonders could be classed as 'supernatural', except perhaps those which have later been explained through historical or scientific analysis, such as the image of the

²¹⁶ McMullen, 'Enwau ac Anryfeddodau', p. 37.

²¹⁷ See Appendices EYP A, and EYP B.

²¹⁸ See Appendix EYP C.

²¹⁹ McMullen, 'Enwau ac Anryfeddodau', pp. 39-40.

²²⁰ McMullen, 'Enwau ac Anryfeddodau', p. 38.

²²¹ McMullen, 'Enwau ac Anryfeddodau', p. 38.

horse on the hill (likely the Uffington Horse), or the bath that becomes very hot at all times without assistance (which could perhaps be a natural hot spring). Regardless, each of these were, by the very nature of their classification as ‘wonders’, considered to be supernatural by those who were recording them.

The text also bears certain similarities to two English chronicles. Henry of Huntingdon’s *Historia Anglorum*, (c. 1129) is a Latin chronicle including a set of wonders which seems to more closely follow the wonders of *Enryveddodeu* than those of *HB*.²²² Furthermore, Alfred of Beverly, a contemporary of Henry’s, composed his *Annales sive Historia de Gestis Regum Britanniae* c. 1143, and this text uses a unique mix of the *HB*, the *Historia Anglorum* or its source, and possibly a third source.²²³ Alfred’s work has often been dismissed as he draws so exhaustively on other chroniclers, but McMullen argues that his is a compilation chronicle, which builds on that of earlier chroniclers, containing eight further wonders which do not appear in the *HB*, five of which are also absent from the *Historia Anglorum* and the *Historia Regum Britannia*.²²⁴ One such wonder correlates very closely with one of the *Enryveddodeu* wonders. It reads:

‘a fountain ... which gives the whitest and (very) fine ... salt all week long but from Noon Saturday until Monday, the water is drawn out fresh’²²⁵

²²² McMullen, ‘*Enwau ac Anryfeddodau*’, pp. 40-1.

²²³ McMullen, ‘*Enwau ac Anryfeddodau*’, p. 41-2.

²²⁴ McMullen, ‘*Enwau ac Anryfeddodau*’, p. 42.

²²⁵ McMullen, ‘*Enwau ac Anryfeddodau*’, p. 41-2.

The closest analogue is *Enryveddodeu*'s nineteenth wonder, which talks of a stream that makes salt as flawless as flour and which cannot be worked from noon Saturday until Monday.²²⁶

This similarity suggests that Alfred's work was taking material either from the source material for *Enryveddodeu* or from an early version of *Enryveddodeu* itself. Alternatively, it is possible that *Enryveddodeu* was drawing on Alfred's work. However, given Alfred's role as a compiler rather than a composer, it seems more likely that he was drawing on some other source material, which may or may not have been *Enryveddodeu*.

Behind all these works was a powerful nationalistic agenda, harkening back to an historic England, free of Norman or 'outside' influence. This view particularly favours the Welsh, the original inhabitants of Britain. Perhaps the one line which makes this abundantly clear is an extract which is extant in only the Peniarth 50 version of the Wonders:

*Ac nyt oes dlyet y neb ar (yr) Ynys Honn, namyn y genedyl Gymry
ehun, Gweddillyon y Brutannyeit, y ddeuth gunt o Gaer Droea*²²⁷

McMullen argues that the English chroniclers' use of these wonders was a way of claiming a Welsh work and making it English for nationalistic purposes.²²⁸ Whilst this is a possibility, the earliest manuscript copies of the

²²⁶ McMullen, 'Enwau ac Anryfeddodau', p. 41-2.

²²⁷ 'And no one has a right to this Island except only the nation of the Cymry, the remnant of the Britons, who came here formerly from Troy'; Bromwich, *Trioedd ynys Prydein*, pp. 246-7.

²²⁸ McMullen, 'Enwau ac Anryfeddodau', p. 44.

English chronicles significantly pre-date those of the Welsh *Enreyveddodeu* (though not the *Historia Brittonum*), and thus it is possible that the tradition Henry and Alfred were working from was one which was not originally Welsh.

Whatever the case, this suggests that by the ninth century there was a tradition of wonders circulating in Britain, possibly of Welsh origin.²²⁹ The *Wonders of the Island of Britain* was a text which was disseminated widely outside Wales, and it is possible to find allusions to this genre of text in many chronicles and historical texts outside the country.²³⁰

6.4 RELATIONSHIP OF MANUSCRIPTS

There are four extant MS versions of EYP which fall before 1450.²³¹ These are:

| Manuscript | Text Before | Text After | Date |
|--|-------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------|
| Peniarth 4 | Trioedd Ynys Prydain | Anhreg Urien | 1350 |
| Peniarth 15 | Buchedd Catrin | N/A | 1375-1425 |
| Oxford Jesus College MS 111 | Cas Bethau | Blank; Ystoria Carolo Magno | 1375-1425 |

²²⁹ McMullen, *Enwau ac Anryfeddodau*, p. 40.

²³⁰ McMullen, *Enwau ac Anryfeddodau*, p. 40.

²³¹ Peniarth 50 (ongoing c. 1425-1456) contains a partial version of the text, listing only the wonders (not including the names) and stopping halfway through wonder 17. This does not seem to have been an abrupt end, as the last word 'haearn' is the only word on the final line. The next page of the manuscript is blank but for a name recording ownership: 'Jankin Tomas'. The text seems to have been deliberately stopped here.

| | | | |
|--------------|---------------|---------------|-----------|
| NLW MS 5267B | Ystorya Titus | Pwyll y Pader | 1438 |
| Peniarth 50 | ? | Name; Jankin | Ongoing |
| | | Tomas | 1425-1456 |

Of these, only the first four definitely fall before 1450. Peniarth 50 is only included in this selection because it was begun in 1425, and thus it is possible that this part of the manuscript was composed prior to 1450.

Williams also suggests that there may be as many as eight other manuscript copies of the Wonders section alone (he mentions nine overall, including Peniarth 50).²³² These MS versions all fall after 1400, and perhaps after 1450, suggesting that at some point in the fifteenth century the text separated to include only the Wonders. It has not been possible at present to access the other MS versions that Williams mentions, and to examine whether they contain the full set of Wonders as shown in *CB*, or whether they have the same cut off point as Peniarth 50. An analysis of this scale may have to wait until suitable research has been done on the development of the text over time, rather than simply the text in its manuscript context.²³³

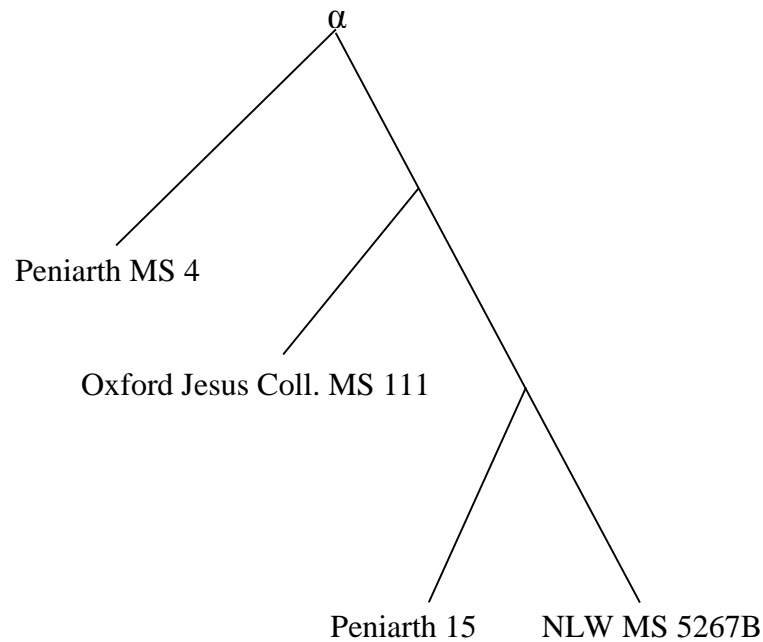
Williams clearly distinguishes the two sections of the text, demarcating them as different texts, and it is perhaps possible that the text known in *CB* as *Enryveddodeu Ynys Bryden* was originally two separate texts. The first is the

²³² Williams, *Enwau ac Anryfeddodau Ynys Prydain*, BBCS 5, p. 21.

²³³ Williams, *Enwau ac Anryfeddodau Ynys Prydain*, BBCS 5, p. 21 (pp. 19-25).

Enwau, including the names, outer islands, rivers, cities, and wonders of Britain without listing each individually, as well as the length of the island, the crown and three coronets of the island, and the three archbishoprics. The *Enryveddodeu* text would include all of the above, also listing the cities and wonders. The *Enwau* tradition can be seen in the surviving White Book version (Peniarth MS 4) which is a third of the length of *Enryveddodeu*. This version is very close to that preserved in the *Enryveddodeu* texts, in most cases following exactly the same wording. It would not have been possible for these two texts to develop entirely independently and it seems likely that one or the other is an adapted version of the hyparchetype. It is possible that the text as preserved in the White Book was the original and was later conflated with another text on the Wonders of Britain, producing the text of *Enryveddodeu*. Alternatively, it is possible that the longer text came first, and was later simplified to create the *Enwau* text following the principles of *lectio difficilior* (that is, that the more difficult reading is likely to be closer to the source, as text are simplified over time). It is possible that the interpolation of the cities into the *Enryveddodeu* text occurred prior to the wide circulation of the *Historia Brittonum*, as it seems unlikely that this text would not have been edited to match the cities described in the *HB*. However this would require the text to be extremely old (possibly even predating the composition of the *Historia Brittonum* in 831), and this idea therefore seems impossible. I would suggest, therefore, that instead there were two different lists of the cities, one in the Latin tradition, and one in the Welsh. These lists differed and remained independent.

A proposed Stemma for manuscript versions may be illustrated as follows:



Whatever the hyparchetype for this text (or the two hyparchetypes for the two texts) the Peniarth MS 4 version is clearly of a different recension to the other texts, whereas the other three are similar enough to have developed from the same branch.

The Peniarth 15 and *CB* versions are so similar that they are likely to be products of the same tradition, although there are enough separative errors that it is clear neither came directly from the other. Instead, it is likely they

both came from another text which fell between them and the hyparchetype.²³⁴

The *RBH* version is clearly of the same group as Peniarth 15 and *CB*, but differs significantly enough that it is probably one or two steps away from them on the stemma. It lists only 32 of the cities. and in the wonders section, the phraseology is significantly different from that found in Peniarth 15 or *CB*:

²³⁵

| RBH | NLW MS 5267B |
|---|---|
| <p>Prenn yssyd yg coet ydyn yn ynys prydein. tebic y6 y goll. a g6ryt yn hyt y deil. a r pren yssydyn rannu yn d6y geinc. a r neill ran o r prenn amser haf a dyf risgyl a deil a mes arna6. a phan del gayaf y dyg6yd y ffr6yth a e deil a e risgyl y arna6 a e ada6 ynteu yn noeth. ac yn gynhebic y hynny ual y tyf deil a ffr6+ yth a risgyl yr haf ar y neill hanner y r prenn. velly y tyf y gayaf ar yr hanner arall y r prenn. deil a ffr6yth</p> | <p>Prenn yssyd yng hoet dyn yn ynys brydein a thebic y6 y gollen eythyr bot g6ryt yn hyt y deil ac yn d6ygeinc y mae yn ranneu. Ar neill ran amser haf y tyf risc a deil a fr6yth arna6 A phan del y gayaf y dyg6yd y risc a e fr6yth a e deil y arna6 ac y tyf risc a deil a fr6yth y ga+yaf ar y ran a vu segur yr haf.</p> |

²³⁴ *CB* uses 6 for 8 in wonder 5; both Pen. 15 and *RBH* use 8, for example.

²³⁵ 'Enwau ac Anryveddodeu Ynys Prydain', *Oxford Jesus College MS. 111 (The Red Book of Hergest)*, f. 147r, Luft, Diana, Peter Wynn Thomas and D. Mark Smith. eds. 2013. Rhyddiaith Gymraeg 1300-1425.

<http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk> [16:02, 06/07/2015].

| | |
|---|--|
| a risgyl. A phan del yr haf y kilyant. ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ | |
|---|--|

This shows a great deal of variation, suggesting either that the two versions were the product of fluid transmission, or that the *RBH* version is earlier, having been simplified in later versions.

The Peniarth 50 version provides another complexity. Although it is slightly later than the other MS versions, it provides some material not found in either of the other versions. It follows the WB version closely until the section on the three archbishoprics, following it then with the three realms and its rightful inhabitants, the three chief rivers of the Island, and the three chief ports of the Island.²³⁶ It then includes an abbreviated version of the wonders, stopping part way through the seventeenth wonder. Interestingly, it does not include the list of cities, suggesting that it may be closer to the WB version in origin. Its list of wonders seems to be closer to the Peniarth 15 and *CB* version than it does the *RBH* reading. The true nature of this text and the relationship of its various versions is not possible to determine at present, without a full transcription of the Peniarth 50 text. However it is possible that this represents a third recension of the text namely an expanded version of the WB *Enwau*, and a shortened version of the *Enryveddodeu*.

Thus the production and transmission of this text appears to have been a complex one. Perhaps it should even be treated as two separate texts, each

²³⁶ Bromwich, *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*, pp. 246-7 contains the first part of the text. The wonders are then listed afterwards, but have not, as yet, been transcribed.

with its own textual history. However the two are so similar and closely interwoven that it would not be appropriate to view them as entirely different texts, as they likely originated from the same source text, or they represent slightly altered versions of the other. It may indeed be possible that the *WB* text is that original source text, which was later altered and adapted, perhaps with another independent text becoming interpolated into it and forming the full *Enryveddodeu*. It seems to have been a relatively fluid textual tradition, and one which was composed in a very similar vein to the *Historia Brittonum*.

6.5 ENRYVEDDODEU YNYS BRYDEN AND Y CASGLIAD

BRITH

The study of this text gives a further indication of the purpose and motivations of *CB*'s compiler and author. It furthers the link between *CB* and Peniarth 15, a manuscript which shares nine texts with *CB*. Given the similarity between the two versions of *Enryveddodeu* in these manuscripts, it is possible that they were in contact with each other, or alternatively that they were being produced within the same milieu. It thus provides us with a better idea of the source material available to Siancyn, and also some of the history of Peniarth 15.

Furthermore, it demonstrates that the manuscript is quite concerned not only with the concept of Britain and its history, as is demonstrated by the inclusion of texts such as the *Annals* and *Enryveddodeu*, but also within the history of the world as a whole, including texts like *Delw y Byd*. It may be

possible to conjecture that the choices for texts in *CB* were very carefully considered by the compiler, to give as broad a view of world history as was possible. The texts cover the natural history and geography of the world with *Delw* and the Latin texts, as well as the spiritual history with *Ystorya Adaf* and *Y Gorchestion*. It provides the reader with a cornucopia of religious texts, hagiographical and practical. None of the texts in the compilation seem superfluous, and together they provide the basis of a medieval spiritual and practical education, with a slight Welsh bias. Although the manuscript includes some uncommon texts such as the annals, the large majority of the other texts appear in similar compilations, suggesting that this was a selection of texts and materials that the educated class of Wales in the fifteenth century would be expected to know. In addition to what has been demonstrated by analysis of the other texts in the manuscript, it suggests that the patron or intended audience of *CB* was a Welsh individual of a noble or educated class who would have been bilingual with both Welsh and Latin. For such an individual, this manuscript would have provided the foundations of a good medieval education.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSIONS

This dissertation has shown the manuscript of NLW MS 5267B to be a diverse and rich manuscript, worthy of further study. The compilation manuscript contains a great many texts (a high number compared to many other manuscripts of its ilk) and these are of varied length, genre, and language. The transcription and analysis of the five texts above has demonstrated links to various other contemporary or near-contemporary manuscripts.

7.1 AUDIENCE

It has been argued above that the manuscript seems to include the essential texts required for a noble's education in Medieval Wales, and many popular or interesting texts besides. Additionally, the manuscript has been shown to be of a lower status as it does not use high-quality vellum or parchment although the fancy rubrication and decorated initials do suggest that care was taken in its creation. The glosses, penitentials, and underlining in the manuscript suggest that even though it was produced by a single scribe, it was accessible to many different people later in its life.

Taking all these points together, it is possible to suggest a hypothetical audience for this manuscript. As suggested in the chapters on *Buchedd Catrin* and the *Rinwedeu*, it seems unlikely that the manuscript was intended for a clerical audience. If this were the case, then one would expect to see more religious texts (similar perhaps to the contents of the Book of the Anchorite of

Llandewi Brefi); moreover, it is unlikely that the manuscript would have included *Rinwedeu*, a text clearly aimed at secular readers, encouraging their piety and explaining, in simple terms, the virtues of attending mass. As such it seems likely that the manuscript was intended for a secular audience, and perhaps a lay patron.

The manuscript's contents seem to have been chosen in order to provide a comprehensive medieval education, covering logic, wisdom, and a large number of the liberal arts. A detailed study of the manuscript would have given the medieval reader a good knowledge of a variety of subjects, and it could be considered to be a reference book for a fifteenth-century noble. The texts in the manuscript are in both Welsh and Latin, which is not unusual as fluency in both was expected of the Welsh educated class in the fifteenth century.

However, the inclusion of texts such as this particular version of *Buchedd Catrin* and the charm on f. 60v suggests that the manuscript may have originated from a family living in or near the Welsh Marches. Both texts seem to have links to Middle English exemplars, and by the fifteenth century St Catharine had been adopted as an arguably 'French' saint, with her cult centering around Rouen.²³⁷

CB was produced in a region of fifteenth-century Wales where there existed a complex notion of nationality. By the fifteenth century most of the

²³⁷ Walsh, 'The Role of the Normans', p. 19.

noble classes in Wales were either descended from Norman Marcher lords or had married into such families. This led to generations of multilingual scholars working in as many as four different languages: Welsh, Latin, Anglo-Norman, and English. Although the manuscript contains no work in Anglo-Norman, and no more than a few modern glosses in English, it was undoubtedly a product of this mixed national identity. This is further suggested by the large body of translation texts contained within the manuscripts alongside native Welsh texts such as *Enryveddodeu*. Thus the audience of *CB* was likely to have been a member of one such family: a secular reader who had knowledge of both Welsh and Latin, alongside an interest in both native and non-native texts.

7.2 PURPOSE

Although the structure of the manuscript is unclear at first, it is apparent that some careful consideration was given to the order of the texts. The manuscript begins, appropriately, with the beginnings of the world, both physical and spiritual: *Delw y Byd* and *Ystorya Adaf*. The next few texts from *Buchedd Catrin* through *Py Delw* are given over to knowledge and wisdom, whilst the latter part of the manuscript from the *Annals* to *Buchedd Dewi* seems to be given over to religious instruction and history. The choice and structure of these texts suggests that the manuscript was intended to be regularly used and read, probably for educational purposes.

It seems unlikely, however, that the manuscript resided in an educational institution. Instead, given what we know of the other manuscripts *Siancyn* had

contact with, and the texts shared with manuscripts in the possession of the Ap Thomas ap Einion family, it seems more likely that *CB* belonged to a noble family living in Glamorgan, with an interest in its history. Despite being in the possession of a single family, a large number of people clearly had access to the manuscript over the years. It is even possible that *CB* was once a manuscript which belonged to this family; if not Hopcyn ap Thomas then perhaps his brother, Rhys, who commissioned the translation of *Fford y Brawd Odrig*, a fact which is known only due to the gloss of Siancyn ap Dafydd ap Gruffudd himself. It may be that Siancyn knew this because he was one of the scribes producing manuscripts for the family, or it may simply be that this was common knowledge. It is difficult to know for sure; however, the evidence suggests that *CB* appears to have been produced for a secular literary patron.

If the Ap Thomas ap Einion family were the literary patrons whom Roberts suggests they may have been, it is perfectly possible that they would have had a large number of scholars borrowing and copying the manuscripts they commissioned.²³⁸ The subsequent owners of *CB* seem to have followed a similar rule, allowing Dafydd Benwyn and the unknown glossator of f. 60v to work with and in the manuscript. Although it is not as yet possible to know whether *CB* was used as an exemplar for copies of texts made in more recent manuscripts, the compiler of *CB* clearly had access to a large number of exemplars which allowed him to create the manuscript that survives today.

²³⁸ Roberts, 'Un o lawysgrifau Hopcyn ab Tomas o Ynys Dawe', p. 224.

7.3 RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER MANUSCRIPTS

Fifteenth-century manuscript culture in Wales was clearly diverse and multi-layered. Despite the large number of texts in the manuscript, none of them, as of yet, can be clearly and definitively linked to any other manuscript versions. This suggests that there must have been a much greater manuscript tradition in Welsh at the time, not much of which has survived to the present day. We are thus left with mere fragments of the earlier traditions.

The scribe is likely to have been influenced by the various other compilation manuscripts such as *RBH* and Llanstephan 27, which are contemporary with *CB* and contain very similar texts. The choice of texts in the manuscripts was certainly influenced to some degree by the scribe of the manuscript. There do not appear to have been any rules or regulations as to what should be included in this type of manuscript unless, perhaps, a patron had specified certain texts to be included. It is thus plausible that the texts in this manuscript, although traditional texts, were texts chosen by Siancyn himself to fit his desires or those of his patron.

Perhaps the most notable of the relationships with other manuscripts are the links shared between *CB* and *RBH* and Peniarth 50, respectively. With regards to the links with *RBH*, this study has shown two texts (*Cas Bethau* and the *Annals*) which before this point were considered to be unique to *RBH*. As such it is clear that both of these texts had a much wider textual tradition than previously thought, particularly as the divergences in these two readings suggest that there must have been at least one other manuscript version of

each text which has since been lost. This has perhaps been most informative as regards the study of Hywel Fychan as a scribe; it is now possible to see more clearly which aspects of the texts were his own creations, and to understand a little more of his practices as a scribe. This begs the question whether performing similar analyses of other texts in Middle Welsh, and examining the work of later scribes, can reveal anything more of those who came before them.

Using the above methods to compare *CB* with a later manuscript, Peniarth 50, has indeed been fruitful. A cursory glance at Peniarth 50 shows at least eleven shared texts between the two manuscripts, though there may in fact be more as Peniarth 50 does not have a full and up-to-date contents list. Although the composition of Peniarth 50 ended later than *CB* (c. 1456), they were in production at the same time. It is possible that there was some interaction between the scribes of the two manuscripts. Indeed, the hands of Peniarth 50 and *CB* are very similar, and it is possible that they were both being produced by scribes linked to Neath Abbey. Jenkins suggests that the scribe of Peniarth 50 was working in or around the Swansea valley and also that he could have been educated at Neath Abbey.²³⁹ The Abbey was a key centre for manuscript production in fifteenth-century Glamorgan, and only around five miles from Cwm Tawe, the area in which Huws argues that Siancyn was working. It is not inconceivable that Siancyn could have been educated at Neath, or at least

²³⁹ Jenkins, 'Aspects of the Welsh prophetic verse tradition', pp. 226-9

had access to the texts being worked on at the Abbey. I would argue that it is possible that the scribes in charge of the two manuscripts may well have interacted with each other and may have been working from the same or very similar exemplar texts.

Furthermore, the connections between manuscripts showing Siancyn's influence has more firmly centred the manuscript's composition upon Glamorgan, as his hand also appears in two other manuscripts of the fifteenth century (Llans. 2 and Pen. 47iv), both of which are linked to Glamorgan and the Swansea Valley. Although little is known of the history of these two manuscripts that could illuminate more about Siancyn or his patrons, Llanst. 2 provides an interesting link to Rhys ap Thomas ap Einion. Rhys who, according to this note, commissioned the translation of *Ffordd y Brawd Odrig* is also referenced various times in Llanst. 27.²⁴⁰ Roberts argues that Rhys ap Thomas was a brother of Hopcyn ap Tomas ab Einion who was responsible for commissioning the *RBH*.²⁴¹ Hywel Fychan, the scribe of the *RBH*, is also the chief hand in Llanst. 27. As a scribe of Llanst. 2 and a part of the scribal group with links to Rhys and Hopcyn, it is possible that Siancyn had access to many of the manuscripts owned by the ap Thomas ap Einion family. It is thus possible to provide further context to the scribe of *CB* and the manuscripts to which he may have had access.

²⁴⁰ *RhG*, Llanst. 27 TEI header.

²⁴¹ Roberts, 'Un o lawysgrifau', p. 224.

Consequently, by studying the manuscripts which seem to have strong links with *CB*, it has been possible to explore both how the manuscript and its scribe were interacting with other contemporary manuscripts, and how such manuscripts may have been produced.

7.4 THE MANUSCRIPT OBJECT

In addition to creating a better understanding of the milieu and purpose of the manuscript itself, the above investigation has also revealed a little about the manuscript object itself. Rather than the original 20 texts catalogued in *CB*, it has been shown that there are indeed as many as 28 texts within the compilation. These texts are varied as regards type, length, and purpose within the manuscript.

However, it is possible that, rather than being longer, the manuscript may once have been shorter than it is at the present moment. The final text, a partial Life of St David, stands apart from the rest of the texts in the manuscript as it features rubrication in both red and green, whereas the rest of the manuscript uses only red. It is possible that this was an attempt to distinguish this text from the others in the manuscript, and perhaps elevate it above the others. However certain other features suggest that it may not have originally been a part of *CB*.

Folio 84v, which is the last page of *Pwyll y pader*, the penultimate text, ends after only six lines, leaving the rest of the page blank. This space has later been filled with pen trials, some initials and notes, and also the *Dafydd Benwyn englyn*. Such glosses and pen trials are common on the end

pages of manuscripts, particularly where there is a blank space. Moreover, the text ends with the phrase 'Ac velly teruyna'. Where this phrase is used elsewhere in the manuscript, it always also includes the name of the text which is coming to an end. The use of it here without such a name suggests a finality which could indicate the end of the manuscript compilation, as well as the end of the text.

The page also shows a significant amount of wear, far greater than the previous verso folio, which does not match the wear on the first folio of *Buchedd Dewi*. If the manuscript had travelled from the beginning with *Buchedd Dewi* attached, it seems likely that the level of wear and the staining on the left-hand margin would have matched. Furthermore, the *Buchedd Dewi* folios feature marginal staining which does not occur on f. 84v. Although it is possible that the folios could have travelled together and still have acquired dissimilar staining, it seems likely that they may have travelled separately, being bound together at some later stage.

The hand of *Buchedd Dewi* seems to be identical to that of Siancyn, and thus it seems plausible that at some time after the first binding of this manuscript and before the foliation in the nineteenth century, the *Buchedd Dewi* folios may have been appended to the end of the manuscript, despite having been separate previously. This could explain why only a portion of this text survives, as it may once have been part of another manuscript which is now lost. I would suggest that if these folios were added later, then it would have been after Dafydd Benwyn included his englyn in the

sixteenth century, and perhaps also after the note signed ‘H.E’ which Huws dates to the second half of the sixteenth century, but before the later foliation of the manuscript.²⁴²

7.5 Y CASGLIAD BRITH

Catherine McKenna suggested in 2015 at a keynote lecture at the *International Congress of Celtic Studies* that there should be a move amongst medievalists to begin looking at medieval manuscripts with a focus on the codex as a book, rather than focusing solely on the texts themselves.²⁴³ By examining NLW MS 5267B as a codex rather than simply a collection of texts, it has been possible to reveal far more about the manuscript itself and the texts contained within it, than through an investigation of the individual texts. Examining each of the five texts above individually has revealed more about the manuscript’s textual tradition. A study of the annals, for example, has revealed a much wider transmission for this text than previously thought, whilst also revealing complex links between *CB* and other manuscripts. Examining them together has provided a clearer view of the transmission and circulation of texts in fifteenth-century Glamorgan and allowed for further investigation into the history of this manuscript. The manuscript has been shown to include unique texts and translations as well as determining which aspects of texts contained in *CB* and other manuscripts may, in fact, survive only in *CB*.

²⁴² HFC, NLW MS 5267B.

²⁴³ McKenna, *BY THE BOOK, GLASGOW, 2015*.

Further study of this manuscript and others could help produce a comprehensive window on to the manuscript culture of fifteenth-century Glamorgan - those texts which were accessible, those which were being chosen to be written, copied, or translated, and the scribes who appear in various manuscripts or those textual links between manuscripts which suggest scribal institutions operating throughout Glamorgan. Further examination of the possible links between *CB* and *RBH* could shed more light on the nature of the ap Thomas ap Einion family of literary patrons, and determine whether or not Siancyn had links to this illustrious family who seem to have been responsible for the survival of a great many Middle Welsh texts.

Whilst this research has answered a great many questions, it has also raised a great many more. It has been shown that there must have been a large collection of manuscripts circulating in Glamorgan at the time this manuscript was compiled, many of which have not survived. Further study of *Y Casgliad Brith* and other contemporary manuscripts, including Peniarth MS 50, could reveal a great deal about that which has been lost, illuminating a period of heightened literary activity which currently remains largely unexplored.

Ac velly teruyyna.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Barrow, G. W. S., (1965). *Robert Bruce and the community for the realm of Scotland*, Berkely and Los Angeles: University of California Press
- Bates, D. (2004). "William I (known as William the Conqueror)". *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. [Online] Oxford University Press. Available at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29448?docPos=4> [Accessed 4 August 2015]
- Bell, H. Idris, (1909). *Vita Sancti Tatheï and Buched Seint y Katrin*, Bangor: The Bangor Welsh Manuscript Society
- Bromich, R. (2006). *Trioedd Ynys Prydein: The Triads of the Island of Britain*, Caerdydd: University of Wales Press
- Byfield, C. E. and Bayless, M., (1996). 'Y Gorcheston: The Welsh *Ioca Monachorum*, Texts, Translations, and Commentary', *Studia Celtica*, XXX, pp. 197-222
- Cartwright, J., *Feminine Sanctity in Medieval Wales*, Caerdydd: University of Wales Press
- Daniel, R. I., (2003) *Gwaith Ieuan ap Rhydderch*, Aberystwyth: Canolfan Uwchefrydiau Cymraeg a Cheltaidd Prifysgol Cymru
- Evans, D. S., (1964). *A Grammar of Middle Welsh*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies

Evans, D. H., (1981) 'The life and work of Dafydd Benwyn', Oxford University:
Unpublished D.Phil.

Evans, J. G., (1902). 'Llanstephan 2', in *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language*, London: Historical Manuscripts Commission, Vol. 2. pp. 420-422

Evans, J. G., (1902). 'Llanstephan 27', in *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language*, London: Historical Manuscripts Commission, Vol. 2. pp. 455-462

Evans, J. G., (1902). 'Peniarth 47iv', in *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language*, London: Historical Manuscripts Commission, Vol. 2. pp. 380-382

Evans, J. G., (1902). 'Peniarth 50', in *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language*, London: Historical Manuscripts Commission, Vol. 2. pp. 389-399

Fulton, H., (2015) 'The geography of Welsh Literary production in late medieval Glamorgan', *Journal of Medieval History*, Online: Taylor and Francis, Vol. 41, Issue 3, pp. 325- 340

Haycock, M., (1994). *Blodeugerdd Barddas o ganu crefyddol cynnar*,
Aberystwyth: Cyhoeddiadau Barddas

Hobson-Matthews, J., (1903). *The Mass and its folklore*, London: Catholic Truth Society

Huws, D., (2000). *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*, Caerdydd: University of Wales Press and The National Library of Wales

Huws', D., (forthcoming). 'NLW MS 5267B', Unpublished catalogue of Welsh Manuscripts

Huws, D., (forthcoming). 'Peniarth 15', Unpublished catalogue of Welsh Manuscripts

Huws, D., (forthcoming). 'Peniarth 50', Unpublished catalogue of Welsh Manuscripts

Huws, D., (forthcoming). 'Siancyn ap Dafydd ap Gruffudd', Unpublished catalogue of Welsh Manuscripts

Jenkins, D., 'Ieuan ap Rhydderch', [Online], *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*
Available at: <http://yba.llgc.org.uk/en/s-IEUA-APR-1430.html>, [Accessed: 12th July 2015]

Jenkins, M. B., (1990) 'Aspects of the Welsh Prophetic Verse Tradition in the Middle Ages', Cambridge: unpublished D.Phil.

Jones, T., (1937). 'The book of the Anchorite of Llandewi Brefi', *Transactions and archaeological record, Cardiganshire Antiquarian Society*, Vol. 12, pp.63-82

Jones, T., (1952). *Brut y Tywysogyon or The Chronicle of the Princes; Peniarth MS 20 Version*, Caerdydd: University of Wales Press

Lewis, H., (1990). *Handbuch des Mittelbretonischen*, Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck

Luft, D., Wynn Thomas, P. and Smith, D. M, eds. (2013). [Online] *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg 1300-1425*. Available at:

<http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk> [Accessed 18th December 2015]

Maddicott, J. R., (1970). *Thomas of Lancaster, 1307-1322*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

McKenna, C., By the Book: New Ways of Thinking about our Medieval Manuscripts, [Lecture at the *International congress of Celtic Studies*] (Glasgow, Friday 17th July 2015)

McMullen, A. J., (2012). 'Enwau ac Anryfeddodau', *Studia Celtica Fennica*, IX, pp. 36-53

National Library of Wales, (1943). *Handlist to Manuscripts in the National Library of Wales*, Aberystwyth: The Library

Olsan, L. T., (2004). 'Charms in Medieval Memory', in J. Roper, *Charms and Charming in Europe*, New York: Palgrave, pp. 59-90

Padel O. J., (2000). *Arthur in Middle Welsh literature*, Caerdydd: University of Wales Press

Parry-Williams, T. H., (1926). 'Breuddwyd Pawl', *Bulletin for the Board of Celtic Studies*, Vol. 3, pp. 81-9

Petrovskaia, N.I. (2013). Delw y Byd: la traduction médiévale en gallois d'une encyclopédie latine et la création d'un traité géographique. *Études celtiques*, 39, (pp. 257-277).

Rees, W. J., (1853). *Lives of the Cambro-British saints*, Llandoverly: The Welsh Manuscripts Society

Richards, M., (1990) *Cyfreithiau Hywel Dda yn ôl Llawysgrif Coleg yr Iesu LVII Rhydychen*, Caerdydd, University of Wales Press

Roberts, B. F., (1965). 'Rhai swynion Cymraeg', *Bulletin for the Board of Celtic Studies*, Vol. 21. iii pp. 198-213

Roberts, B., (1967). 'Un o lawysgrifau Hopcyn ab Tomas o Ynys Dawe'. *Bulletin for the Board of Celtic Studies*, Vol. 22. pp. 223-7

Rodway, S., (2004). 'The Red Book scribe of *Culhwch ac Olwen*: A modernising scribe at work', *Studi Celtici*, Vol. 3, pp. 93-131

Russell, P., (1995). *An Introduction to Celtic languages*, London, New York: Longman Linguistics Library

Rymer, T., (1739). *Foedera, conventiones, literæ, et cujuscunque generis acta publica, 1307-1327*, Vol. 3, Hagae Comitum : Neaulme

Silverstein, T., (1935). *Visio Sancti Pauli: The history of the Apocalypse in Latin, together with nine texts*, London: Christophers

Walsh, C., (2003). 'The role of the Normans', in Jenkins, J., and Lewis, K., J., *St Katherine of Alexandria*, Belgium: Brepols Publishers , pp. 19-36

Walsh, C., (2007). *The Cult of St Katherine of Alexandria in Early Medieval Europe*, Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing limited

Williams, G. J., (1948). *Traddodiad Llenyddol Morgannwg*, Caerdydd: University of Wales Press

Williams, G., (1976). *Welsh Church from Conquest to reformation*, Caerdydd: University of Wales Press

Williams, I., (1925). 'Ymddiddan Arthur a'r Eryr', *Bulletin for the Board of Celtic Studies*, Vol. 2 pp. 269- 286

Williams, I., (1929, 1929–1931). 'Enwau ac Anryfeddodau Ynys Prydain', *Bulletin for the Board of Celtic Studies*, Vol. 5, pp. 19-24

Williams, J. E. C., (1962-1963). 'Welsh Versions of *Visio Sancti Pauli*', *Etudes Celtiques*, Vol. 10, pp. 109-126

Williams, J. E. C., (1963). 'Medieval Welsh Religious Prose', in *Proceedings of the International Congress of Celtic Studies*, Caerdydd: University of Wales Press, pp. 65-97

Williams, J. E.C., (1973). '*Buchedd Catrin Sant*', *Bulletin for the Board of Celtic Studies* XXV, pp. 246-268

Williams, S. J., (ed.) (1929). *Ffordd y Brawd Odrig o Lawysgrif Llanstephan 2*, Caerdydd: University of Wales Press

Willis, D., 'Old and Middle Welsh', [Online] Available at:

http://people.ds.cam.ac.uk/dwew2/old_and_middle_welsh.pdf [Accessed: 18th

December 2015]

Wynn Thomas, P., (2006). 'Middle Welsh Dialects: Problems and Perspectives', *Bulletin for the Board of Celtic Studies*, Vol. 40, pp. 17-50

 APPENDIX A: TEXTS AND THEIR MANUSCRIPT

CONTEXT

(TEXTS TO 1450)

| |
|----------------|
| BUCHEDD CATRIN |
|----------------|

| Manuscript | Text Before | Text After | Date c. | No of Shared texts |
|----------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------|-----------|--------------------|
| Peniarth 15 | Buchedd Farged | EYP | 1375-1425 | 9 |
| Peniarth 5 | Pa ddelw y dylai dyn gredu i Dduw | Buched Farged | 1350 | 8 |
| Llanstephan 27 | Ystoria Bilatus | Buched Mair Fadlen | 1375-1425 | 12 |
| NLW MS 5267 B | Diarhebyon | Gwlat Ieuan | 1438 | N/A |
| | | | | |

RINWEDEU EFFEREN Y SUL

| Manuscript | Text Before | Text After | Date | No of Shared texts |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|-------------|---------------------------|
| Peniarth 15 | Marwolaeth Mair | BP | 1375-1425 | 9 |
| Oxford Jesus College MS 119 | Pwyll y Pader | BP | 1350 | 8 |
| Llanstephan 27 | Mi yw Pedr Esgob Antioys | Ystoria Adrian ac Ipostis | 1375-1425 | 12 |
| Peniarth 32 | Englynion I'r Offeren | Blank | 1375-1425 | 3 |
| NLW MS 5267 B | Cynghoreu Kadw Doeth | Py dylly | 1438 | N/A |

ANNALS

| Manuscript | Text Before | Text After | Date | No of Shared texts |
|------------------------------------|---|-------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| Oxford Jesus College MS 111 | Delw'r Byd | Hwsm onaeth | 1375-1425 | 6 |
| Peniarth 50 | De cronicis Diuersarum materiarum | Gorche stion | Ongoing 1425-c. 1456 | 11 |
| NLW MS 5267 B | Py delw | BP | 1438 | N/A |

BREUDDWYD PAWL

| Manuscript | Text Before | Text After | Date | No of Shared texts |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| Peniarth 15 | Rinwedeu | Epistol y Sul | 1375-1425 | 9 |
| Oxford Jesus College MS 119 | Rinwedeu | Epistol y Sul | 1350 | 8 |
| Shrewsbury MS 11 | Elen a'r Grog | Deongl Terfynau'r Byd | 1375-1425 | 3 |
| Peniarth 3 part ii | Poetry | Cynghorau Catwn | 1275-1325 | 1 |
| Llanstephan 27 | Pwyll y Pader, Awstin | Epistol y Sul | 1375-1425 | 12 |
| Peniarth 32 | O Oes Gwrtheyrn Gwrthenau | Ystoria Adda | 1375-1425 | 3 |
| Llanstephan 4 | Buchedd Bueno | Purdan Padrig | 1375-1425 | 2 |
| Peniarth 14 | Brut y Brenhinoedd | Ystoria Judas | 1300-1350 | 2 |
| Peniarth 50 | De Geometria | Rhinwedeu Lloer | Ongoing 1425-c. 1456 | 10 |
| NLW MS 5267 B | Annals | Rhinwedeu Lloer | 1438 | N/A |

ENRYVEDDODEU YNYS BRYDEN

| Manuscript | Text Before | Text After | Date | No of Shared texts |
|--|----------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|
| Peniarth 15 | Buchedd Catrin | N/A | 1375-1425 | 9 |
| Peniarth 4 | Trioedd Ynys Prydain | Anhreg Urien | 1350 | 2 |
| Oxford Jesus College MS 111 | Cas Bethau | Blank; Ystoria Carolo Magno | 1375-1425 | 6 |
| NLW MS 5267 B | Ystorya Titus | Pwyll y Pader | 1438 | N/A |
| Peniarth 50 | Enwau Ynys Prydain | Name; Jankin Tomas | Ongoing 1425-1456 | 11 |

ALL MANUSCRIPTS WHICH SHARE TEXTS WITH

Y CASGLIAD BRITH

| Manuscript | Date | No. of Shared Texts |
|--|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| Llanstephan 27 | 1375-1425 | 12 |
| Peniarth 50 | Ongoing 1425-c. 1456 | 11 |
| Oxford, Jesus CollegeMS 119 | 1350 | 9 |
| Peniarth 15 | 1375-1425 | 9 |
| Peniarth 5 | 1350 | 7 |
| Oxford Jesus College MS 111 | 1375-1425 | 6 |
| Cardiff MS 2. 242 | 1375-1425 | 3 |
| Peniarth 32 | 1375-1425 | 3 |
| Peniarth 4 | 1375-1425 | 3 |
| Shrewsbury MS 11 | 1375-1425 | 3 |
| Llanstephan 4 | 1375-1425 | 2 |
| Peniarth 14 | 1300-1350 | 2 |
| Peniarth 16 1.1 | 1275-1325 | 2 |

| | | |
|--|-----------|---|
| Oxford Rawlinson MS B 467 | 1375-1425 | 1 |
| Peniarth 3 p.ii | 1275-1325 | 2 |
| Peniarth 45 | 1300-1350 | 1 |
| Philidelphia 868o | 1375-1425 | 1 |

 APPENDIX B: FOLIOS 45-47

Llymma y gorchestron

Pa oet vu Adaf dengml6yd ar|ugeint a|na6cant. P6y dyn ny anet ac a vu var6 Adaf ny anet namyn ef a wnaethp6yt. P6y a glad6yt ynghallon y vam Adaf a gla+d6yt yn y daear. P6y a vedydy6yt ynghallon y vam gwedy y var6 Adaf. P6y yssyd yn g6ylya6 yn wastat ym para+d6ys. Ely ac enoc. P6y a vy var6 ac ny anet Adaf. P6y gyn+taf a alwa6d en6 yr argl6yd Enoc. P6y enweu y pedeir seren y cahat en6 Adaf o honunt. Anatoloe. Disis. Artos. Mesebbrios. P6y enweu y pedeir auon a gerdant tr6y bara+d6ys. Tigrys. Seon. Ffison. Euffrates. P6y a rodes llaeth ac nys kymmerth eua. P6y a offrymma6d y du6 o|r daer yn gyntaf. Abel a offrymma6d oen. P6y gyntaf a|lygra6d y daear kaem pan lada6d abel y vra6t. P6y|r offeryat gyn+taf a vu. Melchissedhec. P6y y gof kyntaf a vu Tubal ef Taym mab lameth a Syle. Pa sa6l mab a vu y adaf dec meib ar|ugeint a dec merchet ar|ugeint ac abel a|chaem yn ynghwanec. P6y gyntaf a rodes llythyr anuon E+noc bra6t llareth a|thrugeint mlyned a thrychant y buant ar y daear yn press6yllya6. Pa sa6l bl6ydynd y bu noe yn g6neuthur y llong. Deucant a|thrichant cufyt vu y hyt a deucant cufyt yn y llet a dec cufyt ar|ugein vu y huchet. Pa sa6l diwarna6t y parha6d gla6 dili6 deugeint diwarna6t. P6y a blanna6d gwinllan gyntaf gwedy y dili6. Noe. P6y a|gant gyntaf alleluya. Dauyd vrenhin.

Pwy ae kauas selyf. P6y a vu diagon gyntaf seint yste+
 phan. Pwy a wnaeth manachloc gynt Pa6l veud6y²⁴⁴
 seint Anton abbat. P6y obdiagon aloby. y deudec ebystyl a
 gymerassant ranneu y BYT. Pedyr a gymerth ruuein. Andras
 achram. Iago yr yspaen. Thomas yr indiam. Jeu^{an} yr asia. Math+
 eu macedoniam. Ph galileam. Bartholomeus liconiam. Sy+
 mon zeletus Egiptu.²⁴⁵ Mathias Judeam. Iago bra6t yr ar
 argl6yd karusalem. Pa6l a rei ereill ny rodet ran bra6t vd+
 unt namyn pregethu yn gyffredin yr bobloed y lle y mynnynt.
 Py acha6s y g6naethp6yt gwreic o assen m6y noc o aela+
 6t arall. O acha6s y bot yn gymherued ac 6rth hynny ny dy+
 ly gwreic ysgynnu na chyh6ynu yn ry uchel na gest6ng yn
 ry issel namyn bot yn y perued herwyd ewyllus y g6r. Py
 acha6s y byd y|r doethon meibon ynuyt. Acha6s y|r doethon
 medylya6 llawer. Ac 6rth hynny y sycha eu kyt yn ormod ac
 velly y meibion a vydant ynuyt. Py acha6s y byd y rei or ani+
 ueileit gyrn. Acha6s y bob anieuil y rodir ry6 amdiffyn oe na+
 tur. Megys ewined y|r lle6 a danned y|r bleid a|chyrn y|r ta+
 r6 ac y dyn y d6ylya6 y gynnyt y arueu. Paham y kymmer
 dyn ouyn dyn mar6 m6y no pheth mar6 arall. Acha6s y dyn
 karu kyssylltedigaeth yr eneit a|r korff a|chassau eu gwahanu.
 Py achos na byd hallt pysca6t y mor ac eu magu hwynt+
 eu yn y dyu6r hallt. 6rth na megir h6y ar y dyu6r ehunan
 namyn ar betheu ereill a meint bychan o|r dyu6r. Paham na
 chwenychant yr anieueit kyt gwedy yd aruollont megys y

²⁴⁴ End f. 45.

²⁴⁵ Length mark above 'u' of 'egiptu'.

chwennych y gwaged gwedy yd aruollont. 6rth nat oes y|r
 anieileit namyn vn synn6yr o natur. 6rth hynny gwedy yd
 aruollont ny choffaant h6y yr ewyllus gynt o eisseu dosbarth.
 y gwaged hagen dosparthus gwedy kaffont eillenwi eu he+
 tiuet yr h6n a ga6ssant gynt no hynny ac y dygant ar gof
 ac a|gyffroant yr ewyllus. Amrysson a|th gyffellyb ... aethus y6 yt²⁴⁶
 amrysson a|r neb m6y no thi ynuydr6yd y6 yt. Amrysson a|r neb a vo
 is no|thi diel6 y6 yt. **Llyma y maes**

Dy gynghor a|th gyssul y6 amouyn a doeth. Tewi 6rth
 ynuyt | ymoglyt rac diryeit. ymanhywed a hael. ymo
 leitha6 a glew. ymdihauarchu a drut kany dida6r drut pa
 wnel. Teir vnbengerd yssyd prydu a|chanu telyn a|chyuar
 6ydyt. Tri pheth a gynneill hir direidi gan dyn drygyoni a
 dryc anyan a glythineb. Tri gorefdyfras direidi glythineb
 ac ymlad ac anwadal6ch. Tri pheth ny|cheif dyn y dogyn o
 honunt BYTh hoedyl a iechyt a|chyuoeth byda6l. Teir bendith
 n|at dyn y newyn a|noethi os keif. Bendith y berigla6r a ben+
 dith y argl6yd prioda6l a bendith kerda6r o lin gerd. Teir ben+
 dith yssyd well no|r rei hynny. Bendith mam ac vn tat a
 bendith atuydic da. Tri fynyant g6r ynt. Eredic tref y dat
 ac ardadlu y dadyl yn da a d6yn y blant ar voned. Tri go+
 chyfla6nder g6r mynet ynghyrch ac ynghorsed ac yn dad
 leueu. Ffynyant y6 keisa6 da. A da6n y6 y gaffael. A detwy
 dyt y6 ymgynnal yndaw. Tri pheth nys medyr namyn doeth
 ne detwyd ymada6 ac ouered yn amsera6l. A|pheida6 a gor+

²⁴⁶ End f. 45v.

mod medda6t a|chilya6 y|6rth gyngha6sed.²⁴⁷ Dewiseu dyn
 ynt y varch yn va6r ac yn dec. a|e vilgi yn vuan a|e a[r]
 gl6yd yn hael a|e wreic yn diweir a|e gedymdeith yn did6y²⁴⁸
 a|e dir yn dirion a|e dy yn didos.²⁴⁹ Tri r6yd hynt efferen a
 chinya6 a||chedymdeith.²⁵⁰ Tri ryuel my6n hed6ch dryctir a
 dryc wreic a dryc argl6yd. Tri ymborth g6r hely a|chfyne
 wit ac eredic. Teir tywysogaeth yssyd y dyn dywedut
 bot yn da y ann6yt a bot yn da y wassanaeth a bot yn
 da y|gyfrinach. A hynny ny|chyngain namyn y gan greuyd+
 us neu vonhedic. Tri pheth yssyd y diol6ch gwaha6d a²⁵¹
 rybud ac anrec. Tri dyn yssyd ia6n bot yn da 6rthunt gwed6 ac all+
 tut ac ymduat.²⁵² Tri char elyn dyn dyu6r a|than ac argl6yd. Tri
 pheth ardrychauael g6r gwreic diweir dynn ac arglwyd dywyt
 kadarn a diffeith hed6ch. Tri pheth a darest6ng g6r drycwreic a
 dryc tir a dryc argl6yd. Tri anghyuartal BYT berthred a charu ac
 angheu. Tri g6rp6yth BYT Ryging a|phrydest a|cherd telyn.²⁵³ Tri
 gl6th BYT mor a dinas ac argl6yd.²⁵⁴ Tripheth a syrthant ar dyn heb 6y+
 bot yda6 pecha6t a hun a heneint.²⁵⁵ Tri ystyr a vyd y hustyng me+

²⁴⁷ Quite different from WB reading ‘*ri pheth ny|s medyr namyn doeth neu det6yd ymada6 ac ouered yn amsera6l. ac a godineb. ac a gormod medda6t.*’

²⁴⁸ The right edge of this folio damaged, and the end of this word is lost. WB here reads ‘did6yll’.

²⁴⁹ Again, diverges quite significantly from the WB reading; ‘*a|e wely yn da. a|e was yn esgutlym.*’

²⁵⁰ Diverges from WB reading which goes to ‘*Tri afr6yd hÿnt diasbat a dryckin ac ymlit.*’ This is part of one of the triads in ‘Cas Bethau’.

²⁵¹ End f. 46.

²⁵² Missing Triad from WB ‘*Tri dyn ymae ia6n rodi b6yt vdent ymdeithic.*’ Probably due to similarity to prev Triad.

²⁵³ This Triad is missing from WB.

²⁵⁴ This Triad is on WB Pen 4, pg. 59v, follows on from ‘ac angheu’.

²⁵⁵ CB misses 2 triads from WB.

dyant a|th6yll a g6ylder. Teir merthyrolyaeth heb dineu gwaet yn ieuengdyt diweirdeb. A haelder yn tlodi ac ymgynnal my6n kyuo+ eth byda6l.²⁵⁶ Tri afr6yd hynt diasbat ac ynllly ymlit a dryckin.²⁵⁷ ²⁵⁸tri chas gan doethon ruuein. Milgi kul h6yr a bard anigrif a gwreic hagyr dr6c. A|chas ganthunt heuyt g6r kerdgar kalet a|g+ wreic ot eidic a march h6yr gosgodic. A|chas ganthunt heuyt h6ch b6rr by6 a|march ma6r mar6 ac anghena6c sebrer6 tla6t.²⁵⁹ Y mab a aner mis iona6r oer vyd y natur a|e anyan. Chwefra6r dena6c a digrif. Ma6rth gorchymynedic ac ofna6c. Ebrill gwas iac a|chyuoetha6t. Mei prud a doeth. Meheuin anoeth a|chyuaned. Gorffennaf kebyd a lladia6c. Aust diweir a fydlan a phrud. Me+ di kymedra6l vyd yn y holl weithredoed. hydref dr6c vyd y an+ nyan talu dr6c dros da bob amser. Racuyr seithyd da a|chall a medic da vyd. Tachwed bra6d6r kyuya6n a godinabus. Ac velly teruyna natur y missoed yn y vl6ydyn.

²⁵⁶ A somewhat similar version of this triad appears in WB Pen 4, pg. 59v. In the WB, it is followed by the previous triad.

²⁵⁷ This Triad appears about half a page further up in WB, in between 'Tri r6yd hynt' and 'Tri ryuel yn Hed6ch'.

²⁵⁸ *Cas Betheu* begins, slightly different reading from RB.

²⁵⁹ End *Cas Betheu*. RB version goes on to have the Hopkyn ap Thomas line.

 APPENDIX C: TRI BRODER AND BENWYN'S ENGLYN

 FF. 60V AND 84V

- 1 Tri broder da oedynt yn cerdyd ar un forde ac
- 2 a gardysont an arloyd ny uesu gryst y tri bro+
- 3 derda ble cr wch ni aoynt euenyt oliuet e|kysau llu
- 4 ssee da iachynt lholl vrathe o tri broder da cymoelwch
- 5 dracheuyn acimerwch wlan du ag oele a|wedwch y
- 6 swyn hyn \ Mi ath thiguedaf di vrath true rat a
- 7 grym e|pump archoll er|rei a|gymerth gowir du a|go+
- 8 wyr dyn yn||santiaf gnaude dros yn iechyd ny
- 9 hyd na doluryog ac na driko ac na+vo dregaro+
- 10 gele moy nag e|iachauwyd bratih iessu gryst ac yr
- 11 ... lcxii ar y deuyllu iessu ...
- 12 amen

 DAFYDD BENWYN'S ENGLYN

hwrdd trwy gvwrdd tarw gevell yn ll[o]

krank llew morwyn ddiell

tafl sarff rudd seuthydd saithwell

gafr dyfwr pysk o vordor pell

ANNALS APPENDIX A: PENIARTH 5o TRANSCRIPTION

Bly6ddyn eisseu o ddeucant a phum mil a
 6u or amser y gwnaethp6yt addaf yny
 deuth crist yngnawt dyn. M ccxxx kyn
 geni crist y deuth Brutus y|r ynys hon a thry+
 can llog yn lla6n o niuer gyt ac ef.²⁶⁰ Ac ef a vu
 gwedy ef o|e lin ef petwar brenhin a|dddec a thru+
 geint kyn dyuot Crist yngna6t.²⁶¹ Mccx mlyned
 gwedy geni Crist y prof6yda6dd myrddin o acha6s
 ymladd y dreigeu g6edy dyvot hors a hengist y|r
 172 ynys hon gyntaf a lladd.²⁶² cccc tywyssa6c o|r bryta+
 nyeit yg kaer garada6c dr6y d6yll. clvi gwedy ge+
 ni Crist yt erbynya6dd y brytanyeit gristynogaeth yn
 oes lles vab coel brenhin y brytanyeit. Dcii 6ly+
 nedd gwedy geni Crist yd erbynya6dd y ssaesson gristo+
 nogaeth y gan Seint Austin. Ef a vy o anediga+
 eth Crist hyt at Gatwaladyr vendigeit tri brenhin ar
 ddec ar|ugeint olynol.²⁶³ Ef a vu o katwaladyr ven
 digeit hyt at wilim Bastart ugein brenhin corona6c
 o|r saesson olynol.²⁶⁴ A|thrychant mlyned y buon yn ty+
 wyssa6 yr ynys. M lxxi y llas Thomas o gaer

²⁶⁰ CB: Bl6ydynd eiseu o deucant a phumil a vu or amser y g6naethp6yt adaf **hyt** yny deuth crist **yngna6t dyn. mccxxxkyn geni grist** yr y ynys ...

²⁶¹ CB: Ac ef a vu **olin ef gwedy ef** petwar ...

²⁶² CB: **ccccx** gwedy ...

²⁶³ CB: **Ac** ef a vu o anodigaeth **Du6** hyt ...

²⁶⁴ CB: **Ac** ef

geint.²⁶⁵ M c lxxx6iii y bu y lladua yg castell paen.²⁶⁶
M ccxviii y torret pont kaer ve^yrdin. M cc
xxx y kahat kestyl nethuet.²⁶⁷ M ccxxxix y
bu var6 ll ap ioruth yg6y.²⁶⁸ m ccx6i y gwnaeth
p6yt creuydd y brodyr p.²⁶⁹ m ccxli y bu vr6ydyr
r6g dd ap Gruff a llywelyn.²⁷⁰ M ccxli y bu
var6 dd ap ll ac y doeth y llu du.²⁷¹ M ccxl6ii y cry+
na6d y ddaear.²⁷² M ccl y bu vr6ydyr r6g ll ap
Gruff ae vrod.²⁷³ M cclii y by yr haf tessa6c.²⁷⁴
M cclvi y by y llatua yn y kymereu. M cclx²⁷⁵
y kahat kastell buellt. M cclxv y bu y lladua
yn Offam. M cclxvii y rodde ll ap Gruff
pum mil ar|ugeint o vorken y Ed bvrenhin a|e wra+
ged.²⁷⁶ M cclxviii yt aeth Ed vrenhin y acrys.²⁷⁷
M cclxx6 y cryna6dd y ddaear yr eilweith. M
cclxviii y symuda6dd y vath a dorrit.²⁷⁸ Mcc
173 lxxxii y llas ll ap Gruff tywyssa6c kymry.

²⁶⁵ *CB*: **mcclxxi** y llas Thomas o gaer geint

²⁶⁶ *CB*: **yng ghastell**

²⁶⁷ *CB*: mcccxxx y kahat kestyl **neth**. Also, this and the previous annal occur in alternate order in *CB*, with the annal regarding Neath occurring first.

²⁶⁸ *CB*: y g6yned

²⁶⁹ *CB*: prgethwyr

²⁷⁰ *CB*: **mccxli** y bu vr6ydyr **r6ng dauid ap gr a ll**

²⁷¹ *CB*: mccxli y bu var6 **dauid ap ll** ac y doeth y llu du

²⁷² *CB*: dayar

²⁷³ Not present in *CB*

²⁷⁴ *CB*: **mccl** y **bu** yr haf tessa6c

²⁷⁵ *CB*: mcccclx

²⁷⁶ In Pen 50, Edward is abbreviated to 'll6d'.

²⁷⁷ *CB*: **daeth**

²⁷⁸ *CB*: mcclxxviii

M cclxxxiii y **dihenydy6yt** dd²⁷⁹ yn am6ythic
 A|r vl6yddyn honno y ganet Edward yn y gaer
 yn aruon. M cclxxxvii y Ryela6d Rys ap
 medyth.²⁸⁰ M cclxxxxi y collet Acrys.²⁸¹ M cc
 lxxxvii y merthyr6yt Rys. M cclxxxvi
 y ryuela6dd mad²⁸² ap ll ac y kyssegr6yt dd. M
 cclxxxviii y bu llatua va6r ar y|scotyeit.
 M ccvii y bu var6 Edward hen ac y kysse+
 gr6yt y vab.²⁸³ M ccxii y llas prys o ga6st6n.
 M ccxiii²⁸⁴ y bu y lladdua ar y sesason yn ys+
 triflig yn gogledd ac y llas iarll clar. M cc
 x6 y bu ryuel ll bren.²⁸⁵ M ccxviii²⁸⁶ y rodes
 y brenhin y Cantref ma6r y hu spenser ieuank
 M ccxxi dat pan las Thomas o lancastyl.

²⁸⁷

²⁷⁹ CB: dauid

²⁸⁰ CB: mcclxxxi

²⁸¹ CB: **mcclxxxvii** y tollit at yt

²⁸² CB: mada6c (presumably this is one of Peniarth 50's abbreviations)

²⁸³ CB: mcccvi

²⁸⁴ CB: Mccii

²⁸⁵ CB: mcccxv y ryvela6d ll brenn y morgann6c

²⁸⁶ CB: mcccxi

²⁸⁷ CB: y pan thomas o lancastyr

ANNALS APPENDIX B: DATES COMPARISON

| No. | Annal | Date | RB | Date | Pen 50 | Date | Date Corroboration |
|-----|--|------|--|------|---|------|---|
| 1 | Mclxxi y llas thomas o gaer geint | 1171 | Un vl6ydyn ar dec arhugeint a chant a mil y llas thomas o gaergeint. | 1171 | Mclxxi y llas Thomas o gaer geint. | 1171 | 1171 (BYT) |
| 2 | mc lxxxviii y bu y lladua yng has+tell paen | 1188 | Wyth mlyned a phedwar ugeint a chant a mil y bu y lladua yg kastel* paen | 1188 | Mclxxx6iii y bu y lladua yg castell paen. | 1188 | 1198 (BYT) |
| 3 | mccxxx y kahat kestyll neth | 1230 | Deng mlyned ar hugeint a deucant a mil y kahat kastell ned | 1263 | Mccxxx y kahat kestyll nethuet. | 1230 | Neath Castle razed by Llywelyn the Great in 1231; BYT. |
| 4 | mcc xviii y torret pont gaer vyrdin | 1218 | Teir blyned a thrugeint a deucant a mil y tor·ret pont kaer vyrdin | 1263 | mccxviii y torret pont kaer ve ^y rdin. | 1218 | Probably William Marshall's battle at Carmarthen Bridge against Gruffudd ap Llywelyn of 1223, BYT |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|--|------|--|------|---|------|--|
| 5 | mcc xxxix y bu var6 ll ap Ioruerth yn g6yned | 1239 | Pe+deir blyned ar bymthec ar hugeint a deu+cant a mil y bu uar6 ll6elyn ab Jorwoerth yg g6yned | 1274 | Mccxxxix y bu var6 ll ap iorueth yg6y. | 1239 | 1240; BYT |
| 6 | mcc x6i y g6naethp6yt creuyd y brodyr p'gethwyr | 1216 | Not in RB | | mccx6i y gwnaethp6yt creuydd y brodyr p. | 1216 | The Dominican Order, also known as the Order of Preachers (Lat: Ordo Praedicatorum), was approved by Pope Honorius III in 1216. |
| 7 | mcc li y bu y vr6ydyr r6ng dauid ap gr a ll | 1251 | vn ul6ydyn ar bymthec a deucant a mil y bu y vr6ydyr r6ng dauyd ap gruffuda llywelyn | 1251 | mccxli y bu vr6ydyr v6g dd ap gruff a llywelyn. | 1241 | In 1241, Dafydd would have only been three years old, so it seems unlikely that this is the correct date. 1251 is more likely, although he was only 13 in 1251, and the first recorded 'battle' between the brothers was Bryn Derwin in 1255. It is not unlikely that there was contention before this time. |

| | | | | | | | |
|----|---|------|---|------|---|------|--|
| 8 | mcc xlvi y bu var6 dauid ap ll ac y doeth y llu du | 1246 | Chwe blyned a deugeint a deu+cant a mil y bu uar6 dauyd ap llywelyn. ac y doeth y llu du | 1256 | mccxlvi y bu var6 dd ap ll ac y doeth y llu du. | 1256 | Dafydd ap Llywelyn died in 1246 (BYT) |
| 9 | Mcc xlvii y cryna6d y dayar | 1247 | Seith mlyned a deugeinta deucant a mil y cryna6d y dayar. | 1247 | Mccxl6ii y cryna6d y ddaer. | 1247 | Cannot corroborate |
| 10 | Does not appear in <i>CB</i> | | Deng mlyned a deugeint a deucant a mil y bu vr6y+ dyr r6ng llywelyn ab gruffud a e vrodyr | 1250 | Mcll y bu vr6ydyr r6g ll ap gruff ae vrod. | 1250 | This cannot be corroborated exactly, but by 1250 Llywelyn had been Prince of Gwynedd for four years, and with three brothers it is not unlikely that there was contention in 1250. |
| 11 | mcll y bu y haf tessa6c | 1250 | D6y ulyned a deucant a mil y bu yr haftessa6c | 1252 | mcllii y by yr haf tessawc. | 1252 | 1252; BYT. It seems that the date in <i>CB</i> was a scribal error made by Siancyn |
| 12 | mclvi y bu y lladua yn y kymereu | 1256 | Ch6e blyned a deugeint a deucant a mil y bu y lladua yn y kymereu | 1246 | mclvi y by y llatua yn y kymereu. | 1256 | 1256; BYT |

| | | | | | | | |
|----|--|------|--|------|---|------|---|
| 13 | mcclx y kahat kastell buellt | 1260 | Trugein mlyned a deucant a mil y kahat castell | 1260 | mcclx y kahat kastell buellt. | 1260 | Llywelyn ap Gruffudd took the Castle at Builth in 1260; BYT |
| 14 | mcclxv y bu y lladua yn offam | 1265 | Not in RB | | Mcclxv y buy n lladua yn offam. | 1265 | The Battle of Lewes was 1264. The year difference here is probably a result of a March to March calendar. (BYT) |
| 15 | mcclxvii y rodes ll ap Gruffuth p6mmil ar hugeint o vorkeu y edwart vrehin a e 6rogaeth | 1267 | Pump mlyned a thrugeint a deucant a mil y rodes llywelyn ab gruffud pump mil ar hugeint o vorkeu y etwart urenhin a e 6ro+gaeth | 1265 | mcclxvii y roddas ll ap gruff pum mil arugeint o vorken y [Edward] brenhin ar w roged. | 1267 | It is possible that this refers to the events prior to the Treaty of Montomery, where Llywelyn marched on London in 1267 (BYT) |
| 16 | mcc lx6iii yd aeth Edward vrēhin y acrys | 1268 | Wyth mlyned ar hugeint a deucant a mil. yd aeth etwart urenhin y ackrys | 1268 | mcclxviii yt aeth Ed vrenin y acrys. | 1268 | In 1268 Edward began raising troops and funds for the Ninth Crusade, travelling towards Acre. |
| 17 | mcclxxv y cryna6d y daear yr eilweith | 1275 | Pymthec mlyned a thrugeint a deucant a mil. y cryna6d y dayar yr eilweith | 1275 | mcclxxv y cryna6dd y ddaer yr eilweith. | 1275 | 1275; BYT |

| | | | | | | | |
|----|--|------|---|------|--|------|---|
| 18 | mcclxx6iii y symuda6d y vath a dorrit | 1278 | Not in RB | | Mclxviii y symuda6dd y vath a dorrit. | 1268 | 1279; BYT. Again, the difference here is likely the result of a March to March calendar. Pen. 50 is missing an additional 'x', probably scribal error. |
| 19 | mcclxxxii y llas ll ap gruffuth tywyssa6c kymry | 1282 | Dwy ulyned ar bymthec a thrugeint a deucant mil. y llas llywelyn ab gruffud kymry | 1277 | Mccxxxii y llas ll ap gruff tywyssa6c kymry. | 1232 | 1282; BYT. Large discrepancy here between the sources. The Pen. 50 date is likely the result of a missing 'L', but the error in RBH is more difficult to determine. |
| 20 | mcclxxxiii y dihenydy+6yt dauid yn am6ythic a r vl6ydyn honno y ganet edwart yn y gaer yn aruon | 1283 | Illegibility in RB impared | | mcclxxxiii y dihenydy6yt dd yn amBYThic ar vl6yddyn honno y ganet Edward yn y gaer yn aruon. | 1283 | 1283; BYT |
| 21 | mcc lxxxi y ryuela6d Res ap Meredith | 1281 | | | Mclxxxvii y ryela6d Rys ap medyth. | 1287 | 1287; BYT. Error likely scribal in CB |

| | | | | | | | |
|----|---|------|--|------|--|------|---|
| 22 | mcclxxxvii y collet acrys | 1287 | | | Mcclxxxix y tollet a crys. | 1291 | In 1291 the city of Acre fell to the Saracens. As this was the last city in the Holy Land remaining in Christian hands, its loss signalled the end not just of the Ninth Crusade but arguably of the Crusades as a whole. |
| 23 | mcclxxxix y merthyr6yt Rees | 1292 | | | Mcclxxxix a merthyr6yt Rys. | 1292 | Cannot corroborate |
| 24 | mcclxxxvi y reuela6d mada6c ap ll ac y kysegr6yt dauid | 1296 | vn vl6y dyn ar bymthec a phedwar ugeint a deucant a mil. y ryuela6d mada6c uaab llywelyn | 1296 | Mcclxxxvi y ryuela6dd chad ap ll ac u kyssegr6yt dd. | 1296 | Cannot corroborate |
| 25 | mcclxxxviii y bu y lladua va6r ar yr yscoteit | 1298 | Teir blyned ar bymthec a phedwar ugeint a deucant a mil y bu y lladua ua6r ar yr yscot+ teit | 1298 | mcclxxxviii y bu lladua va6r ar yscoteit. | 1298 | The Battle of Falkirk was fought in 1298 |

| | | | | | | | |
|----|--|------|--|------|---|------|---|
| 26 | mcccvi y bu var6 edwart hen ac y kyse+gr6yt y vab | 1306 | Seith mlyned a thrychant a mil. y bu uar6 hen edwart. ac y kyssegr6yt y ua | 1307 | Mccvii y bu var6 Edward hen ac y kyssegr6yt y vab. | 1207 | The king died in 1307 (BYT). The error in Pen. 50 is likely scribal. |
| 27 | mcccxii y llas prys o ga6ston | 1312 | Deudeg mlyned a thrychant y llas prys o garst6n | 1320 | Mcccxii y llas prys o ga6st6n. | 1312 | 1312; BYT |
| 28 | mcccxii y bu y lladua ar y saeson yn ystrilig yn y gogledd ac y llas iarll clar | 1312 | Pedeir blyned ar dec a thrychant a mil y bu y lladua ar y saesson yn ystriflin yn y gogledd. ac y llas iarll clar. | 1314 | Mcccxiiii y bu y lladua ar y saeson yn ystriflig yn gogledd ac y llas iarll clar. | 1314 | 1314; Battle of Bannockburn at Stirling Castle |
| 29 | mcccxv y ryuela6d ll brenn y morgann6c | 1315 | Pymtheg mlyned a thrychant a mil y ryuela6d llywelyn brenn ym morgann6c | 1315 | Mcccxv y bu rya6l ll bron. | 1315 | 1315; BYT |
| 30 | mcccxvii y rodes y brenhin y cantref ma6r y hu spenser ieuang | 1318 | Teir blyned ar bym+thec a thrychant a mil. y rodes y brenhin y kantref ma6r y hu y sp6nsaer ieuanc. ~ ~ ~ | 1318 | mcccxviii y rodes y brenhin y cartref ma6r y hu spenser ieuanc | 1318 | Hugh de Spenser killed Llywelyn Bren in 1318, and was made royal Chamberlain in the same year. It is likely that this large cantref was included. |

| | | | | | | | |
|----|---|------|-----------|--|---|------|-----------|
| 31 | mcccxxi y pan thomas o lancastyr | 1321 | Not in RB | | Mcccxxi lat pan las Thomas o lancastyr. | 1321 | 1321; BYT |
|----|---|------|-----------|--|---|------|-----------|

BREUDDWYD PAWL APPENDIX A; THE MANUSCRIPT
GROUPS

| Redaction I | | Redaction IV A | | Other | |
|---------------------|--------------|---|------------------|--|-----------|
| Shrewsbury MS 11 | c. 1400 | Peniarth 3 | c. 1300 | Llanstephan 4 ²⁰⁸ | c. 1400 |
| Peniarth 50 | c. 1425-1426 | Oxford, Jesus College MS 119 (The book of the Anchorite) | c. 1346 | Peniarth 254, Part 3 ²⁰⁹ | c. 1609 |
| NLW MS 5267B | 1438 | Peniarth 14 | c. 1325- 1350 | Llanover MS. C. 13 ²¹⁰ | 1775-1827 |
| Peniarth 32 | c. 1450 | Llanstephan 27 | c. 1400 | | |
| Peniarth 267 | 1640 | Peniarth 15 | c. 15th c | | |

²⁰⁸ Comparatively early version of an alternate translation of Redaction IV, probably the only survivor of a now lost tradition. (See Caerwyn Williams, "Welsh versions of *Visio Sancti Pauli*", p. 123).

²⁰⁹ Comparatively late re-writing of an earlier text, possibly one of Class A, and one derived from the same original as I, II, II, and V (See Caerwyn-Williams, "Welsh versions of *Visio Sancti Pauli*", p. 123).

²¹⁰ Written by Iolo Morganwg, it is probably derived from one of the older texts, but attempting to construct a genealogy would be futile. (See Caerwyn Williams, "Welsh versions of *Visio Sancti Pauli*", p. 123).

| | | | | | |
|--|--|-----------------------|----------------|--|--|
| | | Peniarth 191 | c. 1450 | | |
| | | Peniarth 94 | 1590- 1600 | | |
| | | Cwrt Mawr Ms 208B | end. 16th c | | |
| | | BM Add. 14, 936 | 18th c | | |
| | | Peniarth MS. 319 | Modern | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | Redaction IV B | | | |
| | | BM Add. MS 14, 919 | c. 1500 | | |
| | | BM Add. MS 14,967 | c. 16th | | |
| | | Havod MS 19 | 1536 | | |
| | | Llanstephan 117 | 1549 | | |
| | | Peniarth 170 | c. 1600 | | |
| | | Peniarth 120 | end. 17th c | | |

BREUDDWYD PAWL APPENDIX B: THE SECTIONS OF
5267B VERSION

| Section | | Lines |
|----------------|---|--------------|
| 1 | Homiletic Introduction; 'There is a need for us, dear brothers ...' | 1-6 |
| 2 | Occianus, into which fall the stars of heaven and which surrounds the whole earth | 6-10 |
| 3 | Terrible place with dark taxes [?] and sadness | 11-12 |
| 4 | Cochiton, the boiling river; three rivers multiply out of it | 12-15 |
| 5 | Large mountain with Partimwth the multi-headed snake, who has 1000 teeth like lions and eyes like swords, constantly swallowing souls and exhaling earthly vermin. | 15-25 |
| 6 | River of fire with people submerged to various degrees; those to their knees were guilty of theft, adultery, and did not take penitence, or confirm to God's church. Those to their navels were guilty of committing adultery after communion, without taking penitence. Those to their | 25-43 |

| | | |
|----|---|-------|
| | tongues were perjurers, who spoke in church and did not listen to God. Finally those who were submerged to their eyebrows held hatred in their hearts between them and their neighbours/ kinsmen. | |
| 7 | Men and women, weeping and lamenting whilst asking for mercy; they are those who did not believe in God. Theirs is an immeasurably deep place, and their souls boil for eternity. | 43-54 |
| 8 | Pa6l is asked why he weeps for the human race, and the angel asks if his mercy is greater than God's. | 54-59 |
| 9 | They arrive at a burning river, full of people eating their own tongues, and insects eating them. They were those who had insulted woman and orphans, and who had practiced usury. Half of them are on fire, and half of them are frozen. | 59-66 |
| 10 | People are surrounded by food by unable to eat; they are those who paid before time. | 67-70 |
| 11 | Naked women with snakes and fire around their throats. The snakes have fiery horns, and those are the women who killed their children and drowned their sons. | 70-76 |

| | | |
|----|--|---------|
| 12 | Pa6l weeps, and the angel condemns him, saying that he has not yet seen the greatest pains. | 76-69 |
| 13 | They arrive at a pit with chains and a roof with seven seals. The angel says that Pa6l won't be able to suffer the smell, as it is a worse smell than all the other pains. There are people full of fire, lifting themselves up and they are the souls that are pre-Jesus. God took a portion to be saved, and left another. On judgement day, soul and body are sent together. They are the unbaptized nations who did not believe, and are hanged in perpetuity. | 79-97 |
| 14 | Sinners cry for mercy, and God gives them rest on Sunday. | 97-108 |
| 15 | Pa6l told to go back to Earth | 109-112 |
| 16 | The worst sufferings were not reported to Pa6l, there are also 4000 from creation until today with 4 iron tongues each which mean that they cannot relate the pains of hell | 112-116 |
| 17 | Homiletic epilogue warning you to be afraid of Hell. | 116-120 |

BREUDDWYD PAWL APPENDIX C

A comparison of the Latin with 5267b (Latin description taken from Silverstein, *Visio Sancti Pauli*, pp., and supplemented with the author's own translation)

| Latin Red I | | 5267b | |
|-------------|---|-------|---|
| 1 | Brief Homiletic Preface | 1 | Homiletic Introduction; 'There is a need for us, brothers ...' |
| 2 | Journey to River Oceanus, into which fall the stars of heaven. It encompasses the whole earth. | 2 | Occianus, into which fall the stars of heaven and which surrounds the whole earth |
| 3 | They see a terrible dark place, with no light in it, and sighing. | 3 | Terrible place with dark taxes [?] and sadness |
| 4 | The Four rivers of the classical Hades are named as Cochiton, Stix, Flegeton, and Acheron. The latter three all flow from the first. The water there is full of sinners, and it is like a Volcano. | 4 | They come to Cochiton, a boiling river, which has three rivers that multiply out of it, namely Semiton, Cogiton, and Grauiton. |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5 | <p>They arrive at a pit which holds Parthemon, a snake with a hundred heads, teeth like a lion's which flame, and eyes as sharp as swords. He devours the wicked princes and satraps of the earth and spews frogs and worms.</p> | 5 | <p>Large mountain with Partimwth, 1000 teeth like lions and eyes like swords, constantly swallowing souls and exhaling earthly vermin.</p> |
| 6 | <p>River of fire with people submerged to various degrees; those to their knees were guilty of theft, robbery, and lust, and did not take penitence. Those to their navels were guilty of committing fornication after communion, without taking penitence. Those to their tongues lied in church and did not listen to God. Finally those who were submerged to their eyebrows were the evils of the deceitful soul, who deceived their friends and old women, and did not repent.</p> | 6 | <p>River of fire with people submerged to various degrees; those to their knees were guilty of theft, adultery, and did not take penitence, or confirm to God's church. Those to their navels were guilty of committing adultery after communion, without taking penitence. Those to their tongues were perjurers, who spoke in church and did not listen to God. Finally those who were submerged to their eyebrows held hatred in their hearts between them and their neighbours/ kinsmen.</p> |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|--|
| 7 | Men and women, weeping and lamenting whilst asking for mercy; they are those who did not believe in God. Theirs is an immeasurably deep place, and their souls will have eternal punishment. | 7 | Men and women, weeping and lamenting whilst asking for mercy; they are those who did not believe in God. Theirs is an immeasurably deep place, and their souls boil for eternity. |
| 8 | Paul is asked why he weeps for the human race, and the angel asks if his mercy is greater than God's. | 8 | Paul is asked why he weeps for the human race, and the angel asks if his mercy is greater than God's. |
| 9 | <p>They then come to a great river, both terrible and narrow which goes northward. There, they see men and women eating their own tongues, and worms eating them. Paul asks who they are, and the Angel replies that they are the orphans and widows who hurt without mercy. Half of them are on fire, the other half are frozen.</p> | 9 | <p>They arrive at a burning river, full of people eating their own tongues, and insects eating them. They were those who had insulted woman and orphans, and who had practiced usury. Half of them are on fire, and half of them are frozen.</p> |

| | | | |
|----|--|----|---|
| 10 | They then come across those who broke a fast before the time fixed by the law, and who are unable to reach their food. | 10 | People are surrounded by food they are unable to eat; they are those who paid before time. |
| 11 | They come across women who murdered their children, who are clad in rags, and pitch, brimstone and fire , and they have fiery serpents around their necks, and angels with wings of fire on them . | 11 | Naked women with snakes and fire around their throats. The snakes have fiery horns, and those are the women who killed their children and drowned their sons. |
| 12 | Paul weeps, and the angel condemns him, saying that there are torments greater by seven than those he has seen already . | 12 | Pawl weeps, and the angel condemns him, saying that he has not yet seen the greatest pains. |
| 13 | They then come across the pit with seven seals in which are confined those who are lost forever. It contains the souls of all those who died before the coming of Jesus, and God in his Mercy came down and rescued half of them. Paul is told | 13 | They arrive at a pit with chains and a roof with seven seals. The angel says that Pawl won't be able to suffer the smell, as it is a worse smell than all the other pains. There are people full of fire, lifting themselves up and they are the souls that are pre-Jesus. God took |

| | | | |
|----|--|----|--|
| | that he may not be able to suffer the smell. | | a portion to be saved, and left another. On judgement day, soul and body are sent together. They are the unbaptized nations who did not believe, and are hanged in perpetuity. |
| 14 | They ask for Mercy and are given respite on Sunday | 14 | Sinners cry for mercy, and God gives them rest on Sunday. |
| 15 | Paul returns to Earth | 15 | Pawl returns to Earth |
| 16 | Paul wrote of these pains, and they numbered around 440,000. 'If I had a hundred lives from the beginning of the world, and each had an iron tongue, one could never describe in detail the punishment of hell'. | 16 | The worst sufferings were not reported to Pawl, there were 4000 from creation until today with four iron tongues in the mouth of every person speaking without rest they could not relate one pain of the pains. |
| 17 | Homiletic epilogue. | 17 | Homiletic epilogue warning the reader to be afraid of Hell. |

 ENRYVEDDODEU YNYS BRYDEN APPENDIX A

The HB names and their locations are taken from 'Nennius',
HISTORY OF THE BRITONS (HISTORIA BRITTONUM) Trans. by J. A. Giles,
 Medieval Latin Series, (Cambridge, Ontario, 2000), p. 5

| | HB | Possible Geog location | | EYP | Possible Geog location |
|---|-------------------|------------------------|---|-----------------|------------------------|
| 1 | Cair ebrauc | York | 1 | Kaer altclud | Alt clud (Strathclyde) |
| 2 | Cair ceint | Canterbury | 2 | Kaer lyr | Leicester |
| 3 | Cair gurcoc | Anglesey? | 3 | Kaer ffawyd | ? |
| 4 | Cair guortheg ern | ? | 4 | Kaer eurac | York |
| 5 | Cair custeint | Carnarvon | 5 | Kaer gent | Canterbury |
| 6 | Cair guoraneg on | Worcester | 6 | Kaer wyrang hon | Worcester |
| 7 | Cair segeint | Silchester | 7 | Kaer lundyn | London |
| 8 | Cair guin truis | Norwich, or Winwick | 8 | Kaer lyryon | Leicester |

| | | | | | |
|-----------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------|------------------|------------------------------|
| 9 | Cair merdin | Caermarthen | 9 | Kaer golin | Colchester? |
| 10 | Cair peris | Porchester | 10 | Kaer loy6 | Gloucester |
| 11 | Cair lion | Caerleon- upon-Usk | 11 | Kaer gei | ? |
| 12 | Cair mencipit | Verulam | 12 | Kaer Siri | Sirencester |
| 13 | Cair caratauc | Catterick | 13 | Kaer wynt | Winchester? |
| 14 | Cair ceri | Cirencester | 14 | Kaer went | Caerwent |
| 15 | Cair glout | Gloucester | 15 | Kaer Grant | Grantchester |
| 16 | Cair luillid | Carlisle | 16 | Kaer da6r | Doncaster, or Dorchester? |
| 17 | Cair grant | Grantchester, now Cambridge | 17 | Kaer lytkoet | Lincoln |
| 18 | Cair daun or Cair dauri | Doncaster, or Dorchester | 18 | Kaer vudei | ? |
| 19 | Cair britoc | Bristol | 19 | Kaer verdin | Carmarthen |
| 20 | Cair meguaid | Meivod | 20 | Kaer yn aruon | Carnarvon |

| | | | | | |
|----|--------------------------|---|----|-----------------------|---|
| 21 | Cair mauiguid | Manchester | 21 | kaer gorkyrn | Worren, or Woran, in Pembroke- shire |
| 22 | Cair ligion | Chester | 22 | Kaer vrna6 | ? |
| 23 | Cair guent | Winchester, or Caerwent, in Monmouthshir e | 23 | Kaer Selemio n | Camelet, in Somerset- shire |
| 24 | Cair collon | Colchester, or St. Colon, Cornwall | 24 | Kaer mygit | Meivod/ Manchester? |
| 25 | Cair londein | London | 25 | Kaer lisydit | ? |
| 26 | Cair guorcon | Worren, or Woran, in Pembrokeshire | 26 | Kaer lleon | Chester |
| 27 | Cair lerion | Leicester | 27 | Kaer grinara6 d | ? |
| 28 | Cair draithou | Drayton | 28 | Kaer bers | Porchester |
| 29 | Cair pensavelc oit | Pevensey, in Sussex | 29 | Kaer llion | Caerleon |

| | | | | | |
|----|-------------------|------------------------------|----|-----------------------|-------------|
| 30 | Cairtelm | Teyn-Grace, in Devonshire | 30 | Kaer weir | Warwick |
| 31 | Cair Urnahc | Wroxeter, in Shropshire | 31 | Kaer garada6 t | Catterick |
| 32 | Cair colemion | Camelet, in Somersetshire | 32 | Kaer wida6lw ir | ? |
| 33 | Cair loit coit | Lincoln | 33 | Kaer vadon | Caer Badon? |

 ENRYVEDDODEU YNYS BRYDEN APPENDIX B

Those in bold type are the entries which appear in both texts. The HB names and their locations are taken from 'Nennius', *HISTORY OF THE BRITONS (HISTORIA BRITTONUM)* trans. by J. A. Giles, Medieval Latin Series, (Cambridge, Ontario, 2000), p. 5

| | HB | Possible Geog location | | EYP | Possible Geog location |
|---|----------------------|------------------------|---|-------------------|------------------------|
| 1 | <i>Cair ebrauc</i> | York | 1 | Kaer altclud | Alt clud (Strathclyde) |
| 2 | <i>Cair ceint</i> | Canterbury | 2 | Kaer lyr | Leicester |
| 3 | Cair gurcoc | Anglesey? | 3 | Kaer ffawyd | ? |
| 4 | Cair guorthegern | ? | 4 | Kaer eurac | York |
| 5 | <i>Cair custeint</i> | Carnarvon | 5 | Kaer gent | Canterbury |

| | | | | | |
|----|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|----|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 6 | <i>Cair guoraneg on</i> | <i>Worcester</i> | 6 | <i>Kaer wyran ghon</i> | <i>Worcester</i> |
| 7 | <i>Cair segeint</i> | <i>Silchester</i> | 7 | <i>Kaer lundy n</i> | <i>London</i> |
| 8 | <i>Cair guin truis</i> | <i>Norwich, or Winwick</i> | 8 | <i>Kaer lyryo n</i> | <i>Leicester</i> |
| 9 | <i>Cair merdin</i> | <i>Caermarthen</i> | 9 | <i>Kaer golin</i> | <i>Colchester?</i> |
| 10 | <i>Cair peris</i> | <i>Porchester</i> | 10 | <i>Kaer loy6</i> | <i>Gloucester</i> |
| 11 | <i>Cair lion</i> | <i>Caerleon- upon-Usk</i> | 11 | <i>Kaer gei</i> | ? |
| 12 | <i>Cair mencipit</i> | <i>Verulam</i> | 12 | <i>Kaer Siri</i> | <i>Sirencester</i> |
| 13 | <i>Cair caratauc</i> | <i>Catterick</i> | 13 | <i>Kaer wynt</i> | <i>Winchester?</i> |
| 14 | <i>Cair ceri</i> | <i>Cirencester</i> | 14 | <i>Kaer went</i> | <i>Caerwent</i> |
| 15 | <i>Cair glout</i> | <i>Gloucester</i> | 15 | <i>Kaer Gran t</i> | <i>Grantchester</i> |
| 16 | <i>Cair luillid</i> | <i>Carlisle</i> | 16 | <i>Kaer da6r</i> | <i>Doncaster, or Dorchester?</i> |

| | | | | | |
|----|--|--|----|----------------------------------|---|
| 17 | <i>Cair grant</i> | <i>Grantchester, now Cambridge</i> | 17 | <i>Kaer lytko et</i> | <i>Lincoln</i> |
| 18 | <i>Cair daun or Cair dauri</i> | <i>Doncaster, or Dorchester</i> | 18 | <i>Kaer vudei</i> | ? |
| 19 | <i>Cair britoc</i> | <i>Bristol</i> | 19 | <i>Kaer verdi n</i> | <i>Carmarthen</i> |
| 20 | <i>Cair meguaid</i> | <i>Meivod</i> | 20 | <i>Kaer yn aru n</i> | <i>Carnarvon</i> |
| 21 | <i>Cair mauigui d</i> | <i>Manchester</i> | 21 | <i>kaer gorky rn</i> | <i>Worren, or Woran, in Pembroke- shire</i> |
| 22 | <i>Cair ligion</i> | <i>Chester</i> | 22 | <i>Kaer vrna6</i> | ? |
| 23 | <i>Cair guent</i> | <i>Winchester, or Caerwent, in Monmouth- shire</i> | 23 | <i>Kaer Sele mion</i> | <i>Camelet, in Somerset- shire</i> |

| | | | | | |
|----|-----------------------------------|---|----|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 24 | <i>Cair collon</i> | <i>Colchester, or St. Colon, Cornwall</i> | 24 | <i>Kaer mygit</i> | <i>Meivod/ Manchester?</i> |
| 25 | <i>Cair londein</i> | <i>London</i> | 25 | <i>Kaer lisydit</i> | ? |
| 26 | <i>Cair guorcon</i> | <i>Worren, or Woran, in Pembroke- shire</i> | 26 | <i>Kaer lleon</i> | <i>Chester</i> |
| 27 | <i>Cair lerion</i> | <i>Leicester</i> | 27 | <i>Kaer grinar a6d</i> | ? |
| 28 | <i>Cair draithou</i> | <i>Drayton</i> | 28 | <i>Kaer bers</i> | <i>Porchester</i> |
| 29 | <i>Cair pensavelc oit</i> | <i>Pevensey, in Sussex</i> | 29 | <i>Kaer llion</i> | <i>Caerleon</i> |
| 30 | <i>Cairtelm</i> | <i>Teyn-Grace, in Devonshire</i> | 30 | <i>Kaer weir</i> | <i>Warwick</i> |
| 31 | <i>Cair Urnahe</i> | <i>Wroxeter, in Shropshire</i> | 31 | <i>Kaer garad a6t</i> | <i>Catterick</i> |
| 32 | <i>Cair colemion</i> | <i>Camelet, in Somersetshir e</i> | 32 | <i>Kaer wida6 lwir</i> | ? |

| | | | | | |
|----|---------------------------|----------------|----|---------------|-------------|
| 33 | <i>Cair loit coit</i> | <i>Lincoln</i> | 33 | Kaer vadon | Caer Badon? |
|----|---------------------------|----------------|----|---------------|-------------|

 ENRYVEDDODEU YNYS BRYDEN APPENDIX C

The names which appear in only one text.

| | HB | Possible Geog location | | EYP | Possible Geog location |
|-----------|---------------------|-------------------------------|-----------|-----------------|-------------------------------|
| 3 | Cair gurcoc | Anglesey? | 1 | Kaer altclud | Alt clud (Strathclyde) |
| 4 | Cair guorthegern | ? | 2 | Kaer lyr | Leicester |
| 7 | Cair segeint | Silchester | 3 | Kaer ffawyd | ? |
| 8 | Cair guin truis | Norwich, or Winwick | 11 | Kaer gei | ? |
| 12 | Cair mencipit | Verulam | 14 | Kaer went | Caerwent |
| 16 | Cair luillid | Carlisle | 18 | Kaer vudei | ? |
| 19 | Cair britoc | Bristol | 22 | Kaer vrna6 | ? |

| | | | | | |
|----|----------------------|------------------------------|----|-------------------|-------------|
| 28 | Cair draithou | Drayton | 25 | Kaer lisydit | ? |
| 29 | Cair pensavelcoit | Pevensey, in Sussex | 27 | Kaer grinara6d | ? |
| 30 | Cairtelm | Teyn-Grace, in Devonshire | 30 | Kaer weir | Warwick |
| 31 | Cair Urnahc | Wroxeter, in Shropshire | 32 | Kaer wida6lwir | ? |
| | | | 33 | Kaer vadon | Caer Badon? |