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The Editor welcomes the free expression in these pages of genuine opinions on any matters of interest relating to Wales—its modern developments as well as its ancient history—but disclaims responsibility alike for the opinions themselves, and for the manner in which they are expressed.

D Cymmrodor.

VOL. XLII. "CARED DOETH YR ENCILION." 1930.

The Catholic Church in the Welsh Laws.

BY T. P. ELLIS, M.A.,

Author of "Welsh Tribal Law and Custom in the Middle Ages".

[In the preparation of this article, I am indebted for help or suggestions on certain points to many, including the Rev. Father Thurston, S.J., the leading authority to-day in Britain on Catholic Liturgy; the Rev. Father McGrath, M.A., Principal of St. Mary's College, Aberystwyth; the Rev. Father Lofthouse, Dolgelley; Prof. T. H. Parry-Williams, M.A., U.C.W., Aberystwyth; Prof. T. Gwynn Jones, M.A., U.C.W., Aberystwyth; and Mr. J. Lloyd, M.A., Dolgelley Grammar School. The expression and such errors as there may be are mine exclusively.]

1.—In Wales to-day there are many who are dimly conscious of the fact that the "golden age" of Wales was a Catholic age, an age which, if not exactly "golden," at least gave to Wales its greatest men and witnessed its highest achievements.

There are, however, some who assert that Wales has no Catholic tradition or who are inclined to belittle, if not actually misrepresent, the attitude of the Welsh people towards the Catholic Church in the Middle Ages.

It is no part of the present purpose to appeal to all the facts of Welsh history; the present purpose is to consider the actual evidence of the Welsh laws, fairly enough regarded as among the greatest monuments of the race, in so far as that evidence bears upon the religion and practice of the people of Wales who lived under those laws.

The very considerable fragments of the laws, known as the laws of Hywel Dda, which have survived furnish an important body of evidence for the elucidation of Welsh mediæval history, and they throw a distinct light upon the religious outlook of the people of Wales for several hundreds of years.

In fact, it is no exaggeration to say that without an understanding of Catholic doctrine and of the Catholic atmosphere of the laws it is impossible, very often, to comprehend the meaning of many portions of them.

2.—Hywel Dda began life as the joint ruler of the small principality of Dyfed. By means of inheritance and annexation he became the ruler of the whole of Wales. His active life covered the first half of the tenth century.

He is credited with having codified the tribal customs and other laws of his country, and he is to this day honoured in Wales as the traditional law-giver of the land. Some deny the claim made for him in the teeth of all chronology, evidence and tradition, why, it is difficult to understand. It is sufficient, though, here, to say that the principal modern historian of mediæval Wales has no hesitation in accepting the fact that Hywel Dda did codify the customs of his people,¹ and, without entering into the evidence, which is hardly pertinent to the present purpose, that conclusion is indisputable.

Now, there is no doubt that Hywel Dda made a pilgrimage to Rome in the year 928 A.D.; and it seems probable that it was that visit, coupled with his knowledge of the work of Alfred the Great in England, inspired as that was to some extent by a Welsh cleric from Hywel Dda's own countryside, which induced him to undertake the task he did undertake.

3.—The actual Codes, which are said to have been

¹ Prof. J. E. Lloyd. *History of Wales*, vol. i, pp. 337-343.

originally tripartite in character, corresponding to the varying customs of the three main divisions of his territories, have not survived; but a number of manuscripts dealing with Welsh law, redacted at varying dates from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries, have come down to us.

These manuscripts differ in importance. They are, generally speaking, note-books of practising lawyers or teachers of law, employed in the administration of or instruction in a system of law, which they invariably ascribe to Hywel Dda. They contain what are apparent excerpts from an early Code, together with additions, attempting, in a most conservative spirit, to adapt that early law to the changed conditions brought about in the course of three centuries or so. It is not always easy to distinguish what is of comparatively late expansion, or development, or even change; though in many cases it is possible to discriminate between ancient and more modern elements. When, however, we examine the religious standpoint of view and practice we find it to be in full and absolute accord with the whole of Catholic tradition, preserving several elements from the earliest days of the Church in Wales.

This fact is of some importance: for, it may be said that in such matters as organization, practice, and observances in religious matters, the Laws are far closer to the tenth century than to the thirteenth, the period to which those who combat Hywel's claims would date the rise of a written Welsh law.

The main body of the survivals is in Welsh; but there are at least four manuscripts in Latin, more abbreviated in character than the Welsh manuscripts, which, in their present form, date back to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. But, however late the present manuscripts may

be, it is beyond question that they were compiled (as is in fact frequently stated in the manuscripts themselves) from something very much earlier, and contain much that goes back to a period even anterior to the days of Hywel Dda himself.

The survivals are primarily secular documents, compiled for purely secular reasons. The religious outlook only comes in incidentally, and, therefore, when it does occur it is all the more indicative of what that outlook was.

4.—In several of the manuscripts, both Welsh and Latin, there is included a preface, describing, or purporting to describe, the circumstances in which Hywel Dda undertook the codification of Welsh law. These prefaces ascribe a considerable part, as we shall see, to clerics; but a recent writer has described them as a progressive fabrication, and, in trying to find a reason for his assumption, asserts that because the Church, in the person of Archbishop Peckham (circa 1282 A.D.), a notorious hater of all things Welsh, characterized certain particular provisions of those laws as contrary to papal statutes and the decalogue, the very same Church, in the persons of Welsh ecclesiastical writers and lawyers, concocted the prefaces to establish that the Laws were compiled under the sanction of the Church and with the aid of clerics. With all due respect to this writer, one cannot help but feel that, in his argument, which is erroneous in facts, there is a certain bias against the Church displayed. Let us examine these prefaces, and we shall find that the ascription of clerical aid in them is antecedent to the days of Archbishop Peckham. In the earliest of the Welsh MSS., those of the Venedotian Code, a series of documents covering the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries, it is asserted that, in order to examine and codify the customs of Wales, Hywel Dda “summoned to him six men from every ‘cantref’

or 'cymwd' four of them laics and two clerics. The reason for summoning clerics was lest anything should be ordained by the laics which might be opposed to the Holy Scripture. The time they assembled there was Lent, and the reason they assembled in Lent was because everyone should be pure at that holy time, and should do no evil in that time of purity."¹

This preface, in substance, occurs, twice repeated, in all the manuscripts of the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries of what is commonly spoken of as the Venedotian Code.

The earliest Latin text,² of the end of the twelfth or early part of the thirteenth century, which is later than the earliest Welsh MS., states that Hywel

“accipit de quolibet pago . . . sex viros auctoritate et scientia, et omnes episcopos, archiepiscopos, abbates et sacerdotes totius Walliae pollentes . . . et ibi demorati XL^a diebus et XL^a noctibus in pane et aqua. . . . Tunc surrexerunt omnes archiepiscopi, episcopi, abbates et sacerdotes induerunt uestes suas, et insteterunt bacculis (i.e., croziers) cum crucibus et candelis, et ex communi consilio excommunicaverunt transgredientes leges istas, et similiter observantes benedixerunt”.

The next Latin text³ in order of date (temp. first half of the thirteenth century) abbreviates this to :—

“Hewel vocavit de quolibet pago VI viros sententia meliores . . . et ibi demorati sunt XL diebus et XL noctibus”,

this being clearly a reference to Lent.

The third Latin text⁴ of the end of the thirteenth century excludes all reference to clerical participation and to Lent, merely observing that Hywel Dda summoned six men from each territorial area “able in authority and knowledge.”

¹ V.C., I, Preface; V.C., III, Preface.

² Pen. MS., 28, Preface. ³ Harl. MS., 1796, Preface.

⁴ Vesp. MS., E. xi, Preface.

An almost contemporary MS.,¹ however, adds to this :

“et omnes ecclesiasticos dignitate baculosos, ut archiepiscopus uel episcopus uel abbas vel prior. . . . Rex autem et congregati morati sunt ibidem per totam quadragesimam orantes Altissimum per jejunium perfectum, petendo gratiam ad bona facienda”,

thus bringing the account into line with the earliest Welsh and Latin texts, adding the name, later on, of Blegywryd, a “most learned clerk”, as one of the drafters of the Code.

We have it, therefore, clearly shown that the earliest texts, Welsh and Latin, contain a full account regarding clerical aid and Lent, which some of the later manuscripts omit. On these points, at any rate, the charge of progressive fabrication falls to the ground. The “progress” is the other way round.

5.—The preface to Book III of the Venedotian Code, according to manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but excluding one thirteenth century MS., makes an important addition to the account of the assembly and states :—

“After they had made the Laws, as they seemed to them worthy, Hywel Dda and the Bishop of Mynyw and the Bishop of Asaph and the Bishop of Bangor, along with others to the number of thirteen preceptors and other wise men of the laity, went to Rome to obtain the authority of the Pope of Rome for the laws of Hywel. And the laws of Hywel were read out in the presence of the Pope of Rome, and the Pope was content with them, and gave his authority to them”.

The MSS. of the Dimetian Code,² which deal with S.W. Wales, and are mainly of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the earliest being about 1280 A.D., have a somewhat expanded account of what occurs in the Venedotian and Latin texts. They state :—

“Hydel Dda . . . summoned to him from every cymwd . . . six men accustomed to authority and judicial office, and

¹ Bodl. MS., 280.

² D.C., -I, Preface.

all churchmen, possessing the dignity of croziers, such as the Archbishop of Mynyw, and bishops and abbots and priors. . . . And the King and that assemblage tarried there throughout the whole of Lent, praying God, through perfect abstinence and prayer, to give them grace and prevision . . . And . . . when Lent was finished . . . the King appointed the twelve wisest laics and the wisest cleric . . . Blegywryd . . . to fashion . . . the . . . laws. . . . This is the book made by Hywel Dda at Ty Gwyn . . . where there came the six wisest laymen from every cymwd, and 140 croziers of archbishops and bishops and good preceptors and abbots and priors . . . He caused the twelve wisest men . . . and the ablest cleric of all Wales to write the laws, and to see that nothing was done against the law of the Church or the law of the Emperor. . . . And Blegywryd, archdeacon of Llandaff, was the cleric, and he was a doctor . . . in the law of the Church. And, having finished . . . Hywel Dda went . . . with Llunwerth, Bishop of Mynyw, and Mordaf, Bishop of Bangor, and Cebur, Bishop of St. Asaph, and Blegywryd, archdeacon of Llandaff, to (Anastasius the Pope as far as) Rome, to read out the laws, and to see if anything therein was against the law of God . . . and they were confirmed”.

In these Dimetian MSS. the date of the alleged visit is given as 914 A.D., a date which is extremely improbable. The improbability of this date is one of the chief reasons why the tradition of Papal confirmation of the laws is rejected.

The preface to the Gwentian Code,¹ the manuscripts of which are of the fourteenth century, the earliest being about 1290 A.D., is short, and omits all reference to the visit to Rome. After reference to his having made certain territorial arrangements “through the grace of God, fasting and prayer”, it runs:—

“Hywel Dda summoned six men from every cymwd . . . and 140 croziers, including bishops, archbishops, and abbots, and good preceptors. . . . And from that throng, twelve of the wisest laics and the best scholar (ysgolhaig) were chosen to make the laws”.

A commentary of the fourteenth century² gives as one of

¹ G.C., I, Preface.

² A.L., XIV, c. xxi, § 24.

the reasons why it has been good to use Latin in the laws is "so that they (the laws) might be shown to the Pope, lest they should be opposed to the law of the Church".

6.—The three principal points which arise, and which are contested by the same school which repudiates the view that Hywel Dda codified, are :—

- (1) Did clerics assist in codification?
- (2) Is the alleged retreat in Lent a fiction?
- (3) Is the visit to Rome a fabrication?

Now, the prefaces from beginning to end are unanimous on the first point, though there are differences as to who the actual participators were, and, except a will to disbelieve, there is no reason to reject the broad outline of the story. In any codification the most natural persons to assist were the clerics. It was in fact clerics (and this is not disputed) who were responsible elsewhere in Europe from the time of Theodosius on for a very considerable share in the actual codification of law. Such codifications elsewhere were inspired by two forces, the desire to determine the functions and rights of the increasing central authority of the King, and the desire to bring, so far as possible, the floating body of tribal custom into fuller conformity with the precepts of Christianity. There is, therefore, intense significance in the statement in the earliest MSS. that care was taken to see that nothing was ordained contrary to the Holy Scripture or the law of God. It has a ringing sense of truth in it which, in view of the comparable movements elsewhere, carries us back to an atmosphere long antecedent to the thirteenth century. There seems no reason to doubt that these words represent a tradition of a very early character. The answer to the attack upon this statement, which alleges that the prefaces display an obvious attempt to buttress the laws by asserting that they conform to "canon law",

is that the prefaces nowhere refer to " canon law " ; they refer to conformity with Holy Scripture and the law of God, and only the latest MSS. speak of " cyfraith eglwys ", which is not quite the same as " canon law " or " dull canonwyr ", the opinions of Canonists.¹ The fact is that the terms " canones," " ordo canonicus " and " sanctio canonica " date back to approximately the fourth century ; for many centuries the general body of ecclesiastical law, based upon the " canones ", is spoken of as " jus ecclesiasticum ", the Welsh equivalent of which is " cyfraith eglwys ", and the term " jus canonicum ", which is not exactly the same as " jus ecclesiasticum ", only came into usage in the twelfth century. The fact that the Welsh laws never speak of " jus canonicum " but of " jus ecclesiasticum " is, so far as it goes, a point in favour of their very early transcription.

7.—But, in addition, we shall see, as we proceed, that the laws are so saturated with Catholic doctrine and practice, that it is obvious that the clerical influence upon the formation of the laws was extremely great. In no other way is it possible to explain the constant appearance of Catholic doctrine and practice, and indeed that appearance is not explained away, for the simple reason that those who deny clerical influence are ignorant of that doctrine and practice and fail to see it when it is met with.

It is true that in certain points tribal custom was opposed to the precepts of the Church ; but such also was the case with comparable provisions in English, Irish, and Teutonic custom, in the codification of which no one for a moment denies the participation of clerics. St. Patrick, in particular, was forced to accept much that was

¹ The phrase " Canon law " occurs nowhere in the whole of the texts of the Welsh laws, and the argument of the writer referred to at once collapses to the ground. For mention of " canonists " see para. 51.

not Christian. It is never asserted by anyone that the Church succeeded in imposing its point of view in every particular upon tribal law : it is merely asserted that it tried, with very considerable success, to do so.

8.—Objection is also taken on the grounds (a) that there were no archbishops in Wales, and (b) that there were not 140 croziers in the land.

It is true that in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries there were no recognised territorial Archbishops in Wales ; there were none for nearly seven centuries after. Hence, on a logical basis of argument, these references relate to a much earlier time. That, however, is dialectic ; and it might be urged that the reference to “ archbishops ” is an echo of the twelfth century struggle to secure metropolitan status for Mynyw. There are, however, two points to consider, which must make us chary of jumping to a hasty conclusion of that sort. In the first place, Asser, writing in the ninth century,¹ definitely speaks of the Archbishop of Mynyw, who was a relation of his. Dyfrig, also, in the *Liber Landavensis* has a similar title, and there are other instances of a like nature. In the second place, in the early Church in Wales—at least from the time of Dewi Sant on,—the episcopacy was not primarily territorial, but monastic and tribal. Each monastic house had its bishop or bishops, and it appears that mother-churches like Mynyw, while claiming no metropolitan status, did claim for their own bishops an archiepiscopal status in relation to the “ bishops ” of the subordinate houses. So far, therefore, from the reference to “ archbishops ” being a proof that the prefaces are a late fabrication, they rather point in the other direction.

As regards the number of croziers, it is only the later MSS. which give any figures, and it is immaterial whether

¹ *De Rebus Gestis Aelfredi.*

there were 140 or not. The early MSS. merely state "all the croziers in Wales", and, even if the figure 140 is a late estimate, it does not touch the point. We have no means of knowing how many "croziers" there were in Wales in the time of Hywel, but, as in Dyfed alone there were at least seven monastic bishops at the time of the existing redactions,¹ and each of them would have an abbot as well, there is no inherent impossibility in the figure for the whole of Wales. It may, perhaps, be added that there were such persons as "tribal abbots" without clear indication that they had "houses".

That the figure "140" is not an over-statement is evidenced by external considerations; and a few references to the multiplicity of bishops in Celtic lands is sufficient to establish this.

In the *Catalogus Sanct. Hibern.* (Hadden & Stubbs, vol. ii, p. 293) it is said that St. Patrick in his conversion of Ireland had the assistance of 350 bishops, who formed the first "order of saints". In the "third order of saints" it is said that there were many priests but few bishops, and the "few" are given as "numero centum".

In the *Vita Malachiae* (vide Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 182, p. 1086) the multiplicity of bishops is referred to thus: "Unus episcopatus uno non esset contentus, sed singulae pene ecclesiae singulos haberent episcopos", while the *Liber Landavensis* (p. 115), referring to St. Teilo, says "multos alios . . . viros . . . sublinavit in episcopium, mittans illos per patriam dividensque parochias sibi ad opportunitatem cleri et populi".

In the *Martyrology of Oengus*, p. 182, we get a reference to fifty bishops of Cell muine (i.e., Mynyw) visiting Maedoc of Ferns, and Rhygyfarch in his *Life of St. David*

¹ D.C., II, c. xxiv, p. 1-7; Vesp., II, c. xlii, p. 1-8; Pen. MS., II, c. xviii, p. 1-7. I have, up to the present, been able to trace 75 churches in Wales, which appear to have been "clās" houses.

speaks of 118 bishops assisting Dewi Sant at the Synod of Brefi.

But it is really immaterial what the clerics present were called or how many of them had "croziers". The point is that all the prefaces lay special stress on the part taken by the Church, in much the same way as the prefaces of all European, English and Irish MSS. do, from the fifth century on, in regard to codifications or amendments throughout the length and breadth of the Catholic civilised world. It is almost stupidity to suppose that, in a matter of this sort, Welsh experience differed from that of the rest of the civilised world.

9.—As to Lent objection is taken that the observance of Lent is unlikely, and, to paraphrase one recent statement, it would be absurd to suppose that in the tenth century a large gathering fasted rigorously for 40 days and 40 nights, existing on bread and water. Another writer, already referred to, urges that because the 40 days and nights of some texts "have become Lent" in other texts (which they have not), this is proof of progressive fabrication. Really, how extraordinary! To such arguments it suffices to reply that a rigid observance of Lent was a characteristic of the Church for centuries before Hywel Dda's time, and a fast of this nature, preparatory to undertaking so important a work as codification, is exactly what might be expected in a Catholic and especially a Catholic Celtic land at the time. It is far more characteristic of the tenth and preceding centuries than it is of the thirteenth century to which one writer would assign its first mention.

Here again those who deny the likelihood of Lenten fasts in the tenth century, and the identification of a 40 days' fast with Lent—Quadragesima, Grawys—would be well advised to study the much neglected Penitentials

from the age of Gildas onwards. As a matter of fact such fasts were common preliminaries to the undertaking of any serious matter; but two references must suffice.

In Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, III, 23, wherein he refers to Cedd, it is stated:—

“*Studens autem vir Domini acceptum monasterii locum primo precibus ac jejuniis a pristina flagitiorum sorde purgare, et sic in eo monasterii fundamenta jacere, postulavit a rege ut sibi totum XL^{mæ} tempus, quod instabat, facultatem ac licentiam ibidem orationis causa demorandi concederet. Quibus diebus cunctis excepta dominica jejunium ad vesperam usque juxta morem proletans, ne tunc quidem nisi panis permodicum, et unum ovum gallinaceum cum parvo lacte aqua mixto percipiebat. Dicebat enim hanc esse consuetudinem eorum, a quibus normam disciplinae regularis didicerat ut accepta nuper loca ad faciendum monasterium vel ecclesiam, prius orationibus ac jejuniis Domino consecrent*”.

It is noteworthy how Bede insists on the fact that such fasts were characteristic of Celtic peoples: and we get exactly the same custom appearing in the *Vita Sancti Kebie (Cybi)* [*Cambro. Brit. Saints*, p. 185].

“*Inde . . . venit S. Kebius ad australem plagam regionis Mide, et ibi quadraginta diebus et quadraginta noctibus permansit, et edificavit ibi ecclesiam*”.

Such references could be multiplied ad lib.; but it would unnecessarily prolong this article. The simple fact is that the very mention of a Celtic fast of this nature in the prefaces is evidence of an early date for these prefaces.

Further, it seems to me that there is a special historical significance in these references to Lent in the *Welsh Laws*. The Church in Wales, following the fifth century decrees of Leo the Great regarding the observance of Easter, and therefore of Lent, held out strenuously against the later decrees, of which it had no official intimation till the end of the seventh century, and only adopted the latter in the eighth. The insistence upon Lent suggests that it was a final definitive recognition of

the newer dates for Easter, consequent upon Hywel's undoubted visit to Rome. That, however, is not material to the present question. The point is that the insistence upon a rigid observance of Lent is characteristic of the tenth and eleventh centuries, and the reference embodies a very real tradition.

10.—The visit to Rome for the express purpose of obtaining Papal confirmation of the laws presents too many difficulties for acceptance. It is practically impossible for Hywel Dda to have gone to Rome in 914 A.D.; he was not in a position at that date to have codified. That he went to Rome in the year 928 A.D. is attested by the unimpeachable (on this point) authority of the *Annales Cambriae*, written up within 26 years of the pilgrimage. But the *Annales Cambriae* do not mention his taking the laws with him—that negative fact is, however, not strictly evidence,—and in fact in 928 A.D. he was still not in a position to legislate for all Wales. If he paid a second visit to Rome after codification, it must have been somewhere between 942 and 950 A.D., and of a second visit we have no available evidence. Moreover, Anastasius, as stated by one MS., was not Pope during Hywel's reign—he died shortly before Hywel's accession. In addition, the earliest Venedotian and Latin MSS. do not refer to the visit, nor is there any proof that in the case of other codifications direct Papal confirmation was sought. It was sufficient that the local dignitaries of the Church participated in codifying and had thereby guaranteed the broad agreement of the Codes with Christian principles. There is, therefore, strong *prima facie* ground for withholding assent to the statement.

When that statement obtained currency and was added as a separate paragraph to some of the MSS. it is impossible to say, but it is clear that the tradition was

well-established in the thirteenth century, and, before it could be accepted, it must have had currency for some time.

It may be said that the laws of Hywel Dda attained at an early date to a semi-sacrosanct nature, and we are probably on safe ground in asserting that this semi-sacrosanct nature was by the thirteenth century or thereabouts referred to a traditional confirmation by the Pope, arising out of the undoubted fact that Hywel made a pilgrimage to Rome. The point is that at any rate about the thirteenth century, the attachment to Rome was so great in Wales that no higher tribute could be paid to the laws of the land than that they had behind them the confirmation of Papal authority.¹

Though we cannot, in our present state of knowledge, accept the Papal confirmation of the laws as established, it does seem an unnecessary exercise of the imagination to impute the account to an attempt by Welsh clerics to counter a charge of an English cleric, who, it would appear, had not made the charge when the answer to it was reduced to writing.

11.—We may summarize the conclusions so far arrived at from the prefaces, thus :—

(1) The laws of Hywel Dda were codified after a visit to Rome, a visit which probably gave him the inspiration to codify and bring the customs of his land more into conformity with the teachings of the Church.

(2) In that codification an important part was taken by clerics, whose influence was considerable.

¹ It is essential to be guarded in rejecting the tradition of Papal confirmation of the laws. The Welsh records in the Vatican are, in volume, very extensive. They have, hitherto, not been examined, or even catalogued. When the time comes, under the recent regulations, for examining the Vatican records, it may be that new light will be thrown on mediæval Wales. Till then dogmatic assertions must be suspended.

(3) That codification was preceded by a rigid observance of Lent, as a period of purity, abstinence and fasting.

(4) The prefaces disclose a deep reverence for the Holy Scriptures and recognize that the secular life must attune itself to religious standards.

(5) The prefaces bring out prominently the use of sacerdotal vestments, furnishings like croziers, crucifixes and candles, and the sacerdotal character of the priesthood.

(6) They indicate clearly that there was no differentiation between the Church in Wales and the Church elsewhere.

(7) They refer to excommunication.

(8) They establish the existence of a Catholic hierarchy and the prevalence of a Catholic monastic life.

(9) Finally, they recognise the ultimate primacy and patriarchal authority of the Papal See, so perpetuating a recognition already existing in the writings of the sixth century Gildas.

There is, therefore, in the Prefaces, a distinct Catholic atmosphere, and we may proceed now to consider how far this atmosphere appears in the body of the Laws.

12.—It is not to be expected, in documents of this nature, which are of a secular and practical character, that there should be statements of doctrine as such. The Laws are not theological; but there are, as it happens, two very striking Catholic theological expressions.

One occurs in the Gwentian Code,¹ "Though Christ was True Man, He was True God, and He sinned not in the flesh"; the other is in the Venedotian Code,² "No one can be called by a name until baptized". We have incidentally emphasized two of the cardinal doctrines of the Catholic Church, the divinity of Christ and the admission into His Church through baptism; and it is perhaps

¹ G.C., II, c. vi, p. 11.

² V.C., II, c. xxvii, p. 2.

worthy of note that the old Welsh word for Christianity was "bedydd", baptism.

13.—Do the Welsh Laws, apart from the Prefaces, contain any references to the Holy Father? After all said and done, the principal *external* sign of the Catholic Church is the recognition of the primacy of the Pope, which the Church has always claimed to be "ex divina institutione". It may be added, as a warning to non-Catholics, that patriarchal authority (which is in origin a matter of convenience) and primacy are two totally different things. Even in his official title to-day, the Pope does not assert "patriarchal authority" over the entire Universal Church.

There is a fair number of such references. Some of them are connected with the obtaining of absolution from the Pope in the matter of what is known as "reserved sins", that is certain graver sins, absolution of which the Holy Father, for very serious reasons, reserves to himself or the Bishops, by withdrawing authority or jurisdiction over them from ordinary priests. The list of "reserved sins" was far wider in the Middle Ages than it is to-day, but the very conception of "reserved sin" is essentially Catholic, and irrevocably tied up with the Papal primacy.

In the Xth Book¹ we have it provided that no claim could be heard against a person who had committed an act "which excluded him from obtaining the communion of the Church of God until he had obtained absolution (rhydau) from the Pope", if such claim were instituted after such person had departed on a pilgrimage with the object of procuring that absolution, "as it is not right to disturb anyone seeking . . . divine absolution (rydit duwawl)".

¹ A.L., X, c. xvii, p. 16. It should be noted that A.L. X, which is referred to on many occasions, is essentially a legal commentary by an ecclesiastic.

Apparently one of the "reserved sins" was that of treason, and another, possibly, that of waylaying. An offender in these matters could always obtain sanctuary, which protected his life, but, nevertheless, he lost his ancestral landed property. But there are several passages¹ which lay it down definitely that if the offender proceeded to the court of the Pope at Rome, and returned therefrom with written proof that he had obtained absolution for his sin from the Pope, he was entitled at once to recover his land, and the Latin text on this point² is worth quoting in full :—

"Si tamen limina Apostolorum Petri et Pauli petierit, et Domini Apostolici rescriptum retulerit, in quo contineatur illum condigne pro commisso satisfaciendo penitentiam suscepisse, hereditatem recuperabit".

It is difficult to conceive a more definite recognition of Papal primatical authority and power of absolution than this.

Another reference to Rome is to be found in the XIth Book,³ where pilgrimages to Rome and to the grave of Christ are coupled together; and a further one in some MSS. of the Venedotian Code⁴ states that a witness, before taking an oath, was warned by the presiding judge not to commit perjury with the following preface, "May the protection of God delay you, and the protection of the Pope of Rome, and the protection of your lord".

14.—We have noticed in the Prefaces references to a Church hierarchy and the monastic life. Similar ones occur throughout the laws, and the references to the priesthood are innumerable. These will be noted in subsequent paragraphs.

The importance of Church life is emphasised in the

¹ D.C., II, c. xxiii, p. 25; A.L., V, c. i, p. 19; A.L., XI, c. iii, p. 21.

² Vesp., II, c. xxv, p. 21.

³ A.L., XI, c. iv, p. 8.

⁴ V.C., II, c. vi, p. 2.

assertion frequently made that a Church is a "cyffredin" (a matter of universal use) in a "patria"¹; that a priest is an absolute essential to a country²; that every house should have a pathway reserved leading to its church³; and that arms placed at the entrance to a graveyard were "under the protection of God"⁴.

15.—This protection of God ("nawdd" or sanctuary) plays a very important part in the Welsh laws, and the references to it portray many Catholic practices.

The early Church in Wales, as indeed elsewhere, claimed a general right of sanctuary within its precincts. Probably enough the idea of sanctuary arose when the arm of the law was weak to punish offenders and retribution was left to the vengeance of the offended. Probably also it had some of its roots in the wish to combat the evils of private vengeance and to protect the helpless from the strong; possibly also in the early organization of the "agapetae," so characteristic of the Celtic Church in its beginnings. The right was claimed and exercised by the "saints" of the sixth century, who assigned its origin to Dewi Sant, as a right inherent in the Church.

In the *Vita Cadoci*, p. 54, which refers to an alleged recognition of the right by Rhun ap Maelgwn, we have the latter represented as saying "Si quis refugium tuum infregerit, sit excommunicatus"; and the origin of the right is succinctly stated (*vide Camb. British Saints*, p. 140) in these words:—

"Et nulli reges, neque seniores, neque satrape, sed neque episcopi principesve sancti audeant prae David agio refugium dare; ipse veto refugium ducit ante unumquemque hominem, et nemo ante ipsum".

¹ G.C., II, c. xxxix, p. 20; A.L., XI, c. iii, p. 10; Harl., p. 906, 2, 27; Vesp., II, c. xxv, p. 22.

² G.C., II, c. xxxix, p. 22.

³ A.L., IX, c. xxv, p. 7.

⁴ A.L., XIV, c. iv, p. 10; Pen. MS., II, c. vii, p. 38; Vesp., II, c. xlvi, p. 17.

As Chevalier in his "Essai" (p. 366) states regarding the right of "nawdd", "Elle était complète au temps de Teilo et de Beuno"; and what we find in the Laws, as the central political power acquired strength, is an attempt by that power to limit the claims of the Church, which justified its claims by an appeal to its own sanctity.

In Wales the local church was sacrosanct.¹ Around it there was generally a circular graveyard, hedged or walled in, with an opening leading into it. This interior graveyard was known as the "mynwent" (from the Latin "monumentum"), and it was almost as sacrosanct as the actual church itself. Around the "mynwent" there was another circle drawn not so sacrosanct as the "mynwent", and no doubt it was delineated by some boundary marks or other. This outer circle was known as the "corddlan" (the fold), or the "corfflan" (the burial ground). The latter form is possibly a corruption of the former.

The whole of the area, church, "mynwent" and "corddlan", formed a "noddfa", the place of "nawdd" or sanctuary.²

In addition to this sanctuary area the possession of "relics" afforded a limited right of protection; the herds belonging to a church afforded protection to the herds of a refugee; and certain priests had the right of extending their personal protection over an offender.

16.—The general right of sanctuary was not denied, but, as stated, there was a constant effort by the secular

¹ It will be noticed that the references in the Laws deal mainly with Abbeys or collegiate churches; but the right of sanctuary does not appear to have been confined to them. The references to "the Saint of the Church", and to the *offeiriad teulu's* "nawdd" extending up to the nearest church, prove that every church had a sanctuary area.

² V.C., II, c. x, p. 8; A.L., X, c. xii, p. 1; A.L., VI, c. i, p. 55.

power, as it grew strong and centralized, to limit it in duration, locality, and purpose.

In the Venedotian Code the right of sanctuary is dealt with in some detail. First of all¹ it is laid down that, on the accession of a new King, every church laying claim to rights and dues, must submit its claim to the King, so that he, after examination, might, *inter alia*, recognize, and re-invest the church with, a right of sanctuary. This illustrates an effort to make secular investiture the basis, not merely of land holding, but of the right of sanctuary. It is an effort antecedent apparently to the rise of the Norman power, and it was an effort which the Church resisted, for even in the late XIth Book² it is said that the only judge of a sanctuary was the judge of the sanctuary, *i.e.*, the abbey or the church to which it adhered. But, whether the effort of the secular power be pre-Norman or post-Norman matters little; what the secular power was trying to do was to limit a right which arose long before and independent of the secular power.

The Venedotian Code proceeds to define and limit the right of sanctuary (and these limitations are repeated elsewhere on occasions) in the following points:—

(i) No general right of sanctuary could be recognized which purported to cover offenders escaping from liability to suretyship or for wrongful seizure of landed property. But it was open to a particular church, claiming a right of sanctuary in such cases, to establish its claim by reference to the terms of its investiture.³

(ii) A person in sanctuary, against whom a legal claim had been instituted in respect of his offence, could not claim the personal protection of either abbot or priest on leaving the sanctuary area even if seeking another sanc-

¹ V.C., II, c. x, p. 3.

² A.L., XI, c. iv, p. 24.

³ V.C., II, c. vi, p. 20; c. x, p. 1, 2; A.L., IX, c. xxvii, p. 8.

tuary, unless he made satisfaction for that offence. But if no legal claim had been made, he was entitled to that personal protection in so far as it extended.¹

(iii) Should a person, while in sanctuary, commit another offence, and a legal claim be made against him, his right of sanctuary ended; but he was entitled to escape to another sanctuary area and claim fresh protection there.²

(iv) The area of sanctuary for a man was limited to the "mynwent" and "corddian", and his beasts were protected only so long as they remained during the day with the herds of the "clas" or abbot and returned with them at night to the milking-fold.³

(v) Any church claiming a right to give sanctuary to any person for more than seven years had to prove that right by strong evidence, if the lord of the "patria" disputed it.⁴

(vi) A person having relics upon him and doing wrong or using arms lost all right to protection from those relics, nor could he seek sanctuary in a sanctuary area.⁵

These limitations were extended in the other Codes or in later commentaries, so that:—

(i) A breach of peace committed in the King's hall, especially if committed at one of the three principal Church festivals, could not be protected either by relics or a church⁶; but one authority⁷ accorded sanctuary under the protection of "the patron saint of the church" according to some MSS., and according to one MS. "within the church and its mynwent".

¹ V.C., II, c. x, p. 4.

² V.C., II, c. x, p. 5; A.L., VI, c. i, p. 74.

³ V.C., II, c. x, p. 6.

⁴ V.C., II, c. x, p. 9.

⁵ V.C., II, c. x, p. 7; cf. A.L., V, c. i, p. 20.

⁶ V.C., II, c. vii, p. 1; D.C., II, c. viii, p. 13; G.C. xxxix, p. 45.

⁷ G.C., I, c. xii, p. 16.

(ii) There was no sanctuary for a serf of the King attempting to escape, an excommunicated person, a hostage of the king's, or one who, being bound to entertain the king, failed to do so.¹

(iii) The Church could not protect property placed in it as a deposit (*adneu*); but there was a peculiar reason for this, for, if a church accepted an "adneu", it would, in case of loss or theft, have made itself liable for it; and the reason for prohibiting an "adneu" in a church is given thus: "The church is a place of holiness, and the Mother of all men, and it is forbidden to keep a deposit in it, for the Church is a house of prayer and not a house of thieves".²

(iv) A person once banished in lieu of a death sentence could claim no sanctuary, if he returned; the special reason given being that, when banished, he had sworn to God and on the relics not to return, and, in returning, he had foresworn himself and, therefore, as a perjurer, he was liable to undergo the sentence in lieu of which he had been banished.³

17.—At each princely court there were two priests who ranked among the high state officials, the "offeiriad teulu" (the priest of the whole court) and the "offeiriad y frenhines" (the Queen's personal priest). Both of these had a right to grant a limited protection. Each of them had the right to conduct an offender under his special protection to the nearest church.⁴ That might mean in practice that a breaker of the law, if he could not at once get sanctuary in a sanctuary-area, might invoke the assistance of one of the court priests to accompany him so far.

¹ D.C., I, c. viii, p. 13; G.C., II, c. xxxix, p. 45; Vesp., II, c. xvii, p. 29. ² A.L., XI, c. iv, p. 14. ³ A.L., VIII, c. xi, p. 1.

⁴ V.C., I, c. xxiv, p. 9; D.C., I, c. vii, p. 5, 13; G.C., I, c. vi, p. 4, 13; Pen. MS., I, c. vii, p. 6, 14; Harl., c. viii, p. 3, 11; Vesp., I, c. v, p. 3, 11.

But the Latin texts are very significant, for they say that the priest was entitled to grant his protection to the church "in qua novissime missam celebravit" or "in qua sacrificaverit corpus Domini". These pronunciations as regards Mass and the doctrine of transubstantiation prove that the universal Catholic doctrine was perfectly well understood and accepted in the remotest parts of Wales.

18.—In these references to "nawdd" we are, from the beginning to the end, in an ancient and Catholic atmosphere; an atmosphere wherein sanctuary resting upon the sanctity of consecration is ever present; where "relics" have a limited, but real, sanctity; where priests and monks and abbots form a background to life; where the principal festivals of the Catholic Church are held in esteem; where the saint of the local church is something more than a mere forgotten name, but an actual being with an interest in human life after death and power to deal with a breach of his protection; and where the Mass and transubstantiation are common-places of thought. Even where the secular power is trying to define an ancient right it never trenches upon the sanctity of the Church or upon its doctrines.

19.—Just as there was a constant effort by the centralizing civil power to subordinate the Church to itself in the matter of sanctuary, so was there a constant effort to make the holding of land by the Church dependant upon the Crown. This is in direct opposition to the view held at the time of many of the early grants recorded in the Book of Llandaff. We may, however, inasmuch as we are dealing only with the record of the Laws, consider the law relating to Church land as it ultimately appears to us after the kingly power had done its utmost to make the holding of such land subject to secular rules.

The Venedotian Code¹ asserts that there can be no land without a King, and, in order to prevent encroachments on the King's superior rights in land, every church must show to an incoming king what its claims and what its due services might be in respect to land, and receive a re-investiture. This feudalization of Church tenure is, of course, of a comparatively new origin, and cannot, perhaps, be dated back completely to Hywel Dda, but the references seem antecedent to the conquest of North Wales by the Normans.

The Dimetian Code and the XIth Book² lay it down that an ecclesiastic holding land under the King with services attached was bound to answer therefor in the King's court, failing which he lost the land, but the latter authority³ makes it quite clear that an "ysgolhaig" in holy orders, inheriting ancestral tribal land, was only bound to pay rent and the ordinary "gwestfa" or food-revenue.

This feudalization of Church lands applies apparently only to bishop-land and abbey-land, and we find a very definite effort at an early date to subordinate the secular property of bishops to the Crown.

As a bishop had no "personal" successor it was laid down⁴ that all moveable property belonging to a bishop fell in, on his death, to the Crown, but this did not apply to vestments and ornaments of the Church, or, as the IVth Book expresses it, to the vestments, the books (i.e., the liturgical books), the chalices and land which pertained to the church itself. In the case of an abbot, however, inasmuch as an abbot could have no personal

¹ V.C., II, c. x, p. 3; c. xii, p. 8.

² D.C., II, c. viii, p. 131; A.L., XI, c. i, p. 1.

³ A.L., XI, c. iii, p. 8.

⁴ V.C., II, c. xii, p. 9; A.L., IV, c. i, p. 27; A.L., XIV, c. x, p. 23.

property, all property held in his name fell in, at his death, to the "clas" or community to which he belonged.

We have here a distinct differentiation between a "secular" bishop and "regular" abbots, and, moreover, some interesting references to the ritualistic nature of the Church services.

20.—On ecclesiastical estates there was, as time went on, a considerable development of the feudal conception from an early time. Dues payable, services renderable by holders of church-land to the head of the church who owned the land, easily became feudalized; and hence it is that we find the King insisting to some extent that he had rights, apart altogether from rights of jurisdiction, over the lay holders of church-land. He claimed "ebediw" (a type of heriot) and military service from all lay tenants of abbeys, and military service from all lay tenants of bishop-land, but nothing save court jurisdiction from tenants of hospital-land.¹

The liability to military service is, however, hotly contested by the XIth Book on the ground that all abbey-land was held in free-alms.²

He also claimed "ebediw" from all abbots and even anchorets, male and female,³ and special mention⁴ is made of the Abbots of Llandeilo, St. Dogmael's, Llan Ismail, and Rhoscrowther, as owing an "ebediw" of £10. Llanysyllt and Llangeneu, inasmuch as they owned no land, paid no "ebediw", and the exceptional position of Mynyw, whose landed estates were very considerable, appears from the fact that it paid no "ebediw" at all.

¹ V.C., II, c. xii, p. 8.

² A.L., XI, c. ii, p. 2.

³ V.C., II, c. i, p. 52; D.C., II, c. xii, p. 23, 24, 25; G.C., I, c. xlii, p. 11, 12; A.L., IV, c. i, p. 27, c. ii, p. 7, 8; Pen. MS., II, c. xxii, p. 12, 13; Vesp., II, c. xiv, p. 25, 27; c. xxv, p. 26.

⁴ D.C., II, c. xxiv, p. 9, 10, 11; Pen. MS., II, c. xviii, p. 9-11; Vesp., II, c. xlii, p. 9-11.

The remarkable thing is this, that the "feudalization", in so far as it went, affected land only. There is no trace, in the Welsh laws, of any spiritual subordination of the Church to the Crown; nor is there any trace of a personal homage of an ecclesiastic to the King. The spiritual independence of the Church and the personal freedom from kingly control of the clergy is clear throughout the laws.

21.—We have thus far traced the attempts at subordinating the rights of sanctuary claimed by the Church and the land held by the Church to kingly control, and have found no trace of spiritual or personal subordination.

We find very much the same sort of thing in the matter of court jurisdiction.

The matter of jurisdiction has to be viewed from three different angles; the baronial jurisdiction of bishops and abbots in regard to their lay tenants, a jurisdiction which was in no sense ecclesiastical; the liability or reverse of clerics to answer in the King's court for offences or debts; and the matter of capitular regulations.

22.—In regard to baronial jurisdiction, it is expressly stated in the Xth Book¹ that Hywel Dda . . . "permitted every ecclesiastical lord, such as the Archbishop of Mynyw, or other bishops, or abbots, to have the same status as the King to receive complaints among their own laics; and he maintained in his own hands (i.e., as against lesser local territorial 'arglwyddi' disputing the jurisdiction of ecclesiastics) the right to uphold the status of croziers in his kingdom".

Now it is established that secular lords or "arglwyddi" had courts throughout Wales, which dealt with most offences and claims, subject to a certain right of appeal; and the purport of this statement is that ecclesiastical

¹ A.L., X, c. xiii, p. 1, 2. Cf. also A.L., X, c. v. p. 6; c. xv, p. 1.

houses having estates had precisely the same baronial jurisdiction, which is referred to an investiture, as secular lords, and that that jurisdiction was guaranteed to them by the king.

The extent of the Church's baronial jurisdiction varied considerably according to the size and importance of the house—this is apparent from the proceedings Quo Warranto in the Record of Caernarfon—just as the extent of the baronial jurisdiction of local secular “arglwyddi” did.

The Venedotian Code¹ gives a rough classification which, like many other generalities in the Laws, is only an approximation. According to it the King was entitled to every criminal fine imposed, the right of “amobyr” (marriage fee), and cognizance of theft cases in which a lay holder of abbey-land was involved, and to cognizance of theft cases in which a lay holder of bishop- or hospital-land was involved.

This, however, is not the view of several other authorities, among whom there is considerable divergence of opinion.

After reciting that the jurisdiction (gorsedd) of a bishop and abbot are lawful inherent jurisdictions, the IVth Book² proceeds to state that that jurisdiction is territorial, the criterion being always the venue of an offence or cause of action. Hence a man owing homage to a secular lord, committing a wrong on abbey-land or bishop-land, rendered satisfaction in the ecclesiastical baronial court, and a man owing homage to an ecclesiastical lord, committing wrong on land belonging to a secular lord, rendered satisfaction in the latter's court. Many authorities accept this view.³ On the other hand, some authori-

¹ V.C., II, c. xii, p. 8.

² A.L., IV, c. i, p. 24, 25, 26.

³ D.C., II, c. xxiii, p. 28; A.L., X, c. vii, p. 21; A.L., XI, c. iii, p. 1; Pen. MS., II, c. xi, p. 21, 22; Vesp., II, c. xxiv, p. 34.

ties¹ appear to lay down the rule that it was not the venue of the cause of action which determined jurisdiction, but the homage which the defendant owed, so, if a lord's man sued an abbot's man, he had to sue in the Abbey court, and vice versa.

The clue to these differences may be found in the fact that there was no rule of universal application; everything depended on the size and importance of the house concerned; so, in actual practice, we find a great house like Mynyw absolutely independent throughout its estates, having even cognisance of murder cases, while the jurisdiction of a small house like Cymmer was confined to minor civil disputes. In the Latin texts,² it is expressly stated that in Mynyw and in the houses of Beuno, Trillo and Tydecho only the bishops and his canons had any jurisdiction at all. St. Beuno refers to the great house of Clynnog, but there do not appear to have been any notable "houses" of Trillo³ or Tydecho, though, in regard to the latter, tradition asserts that Maelgwn Gwynedd freed all the territory associated with his name (the Mawddwy region) from secular control. But (and here I speak tentatively, for the simple reason that there is much yet to be examined) the fact seems to be that the older an institution is, the more it can be referred back to a Celtic rather than to a Cistercian or other twelfth century movement, the wider is its secular jurisdiction. If fuller investigation establishes that to be the case more or less generally, the more likely is the theory liable to be strengthened that baronial jurisdiction of abbeys is in origin not of feudalism but of the inherent right of the Church, dating back to days prior to Hywel Dda but confirmed and recognized by him.

¹ A.L., X, c. xiv, p. 1, 2, 3; Vesp., II, c. xxv, p. 23.

² Pen. MS., II, c. xviii, p. 13; Vesp., II, c. lvi, p. 5.

³ Perhaps Llandrillo (S. Asaph) is meant. It had a "clâs" as late as 1137 A.D.

23.—It should be noted that, in addition to the baronial jurisdiction over lay tenants, it seems that in Wales, as elsewhere, a definite claim was made by the Church to jurisdiction in certain other matters according to the Anon. Laws; but as regards testamentary bequests the Church certainly had no jurisdiction in Wales, either under the indigenous princes or after the conquest of 1282-4. Nor is it very easy to see how any jurisdiction could be exercised in Wales over people other than tenants of the Church or where the cause of action arose in the jurisdiction of a particular house.

However, it is claimed in the Xth Book¹ that the Church had exclusive jurisdiction in matters relating to tithes, offerings, testamentary bequests, mortuary fees, and sacrilege to an altar.

As regards perjury, it is invariably stated that this was an ecclesiastical offence, as it was a breach of the "nawdd" of relics; but we have a clear indication of how it was dealt with. The offender was tried in a secular court and fined 180d., and then handed over to be dealt with by ecclesiastical penance.²

24.—The question of jurisdiction in regard to offences or suits by or against clerics is, of course, mainly an ecclesiastical one.

It is beyond doubt that the very earliest law in Wales gave certain ecclesiastical jurisdiction to the Church exclusively. This jurisdiction is, in the early survivals, always referred to as a "synodical" jurisdiction.

In numerous passages dealing with the "offeiriad teulu" and the "offeiriad y frenhines", it is said that compensation for "saraad" (insult) to the King's or

¹ A.L., X, c. xiv, p. 1, 2, 3, 4.

² V.C., II, c. vii, p. 1; A.L., IV, c. iv, p. 27; A.L., VI, c. i, p. 73.

Queen's priest was fixed by the "synod" or according to synodical status. Sometimes it is said that the priest's saraad-value was 12 oxen, of which two-thirds was paid to the King, who was also insulted by an insult to his priest. Some passages extend this rule to compensation for injury and murder, though this is not universal, for we find other passages asserting that compensation for murder was according to kin. Again, the principle is extended in some passages to all "graddwyr", men in orders.¹

The offence of "tongue-wound", i.e., the use of abusive words to a priest of the court, or a monk, while engaged in his duties at the three principal festivals, was compensated for by a fixed statutory sum of a specially high character. It is worth noting that "tongue-wound" was an offence committed in church on high festivals, when the priest was wearing his vestments, or "reading books" (i.e., liturgical books),² a striking illustration of the sanctity with which the Church services were surrounded.

The Dimetian Code³ gives the Church the right to all compensation for insults to nuns, emphasising that this applied to married women becoming nuns and vowing renunciation of the world; and it asserts that such compensation was to be levied according to the "status" of the Church.

Special reference is also made to an injury to the abbot of any of the Dyfed houses, which involved a fine of £7, and the reduction to serfdom, as a washerwoman,

¹ V.C., I, c. viii, p. 5; c. xxiv, p. 10. 11; D.C., I, c. viii, p. 9; c. xii, p. 2; G.C., I, c. x, p. 1; A.L., V, c. i, p. 27; A.L., XIV, c. iv, p. 22; Harl., c. ix, p. 6; Vesp., I, c. xxvi, p. 2, 4.

² D.C., II, c. viii, p. 68; A.L., XI, c. v, p. 26; XIV, c. iii, p. 22; Pen. MS., II, c. viii, p. 45; Vesp. II, c. lvii, p. 25.

³ D.C., II, c. xviii, p. 53.

of a woman of the offender's kin, as a perpetual memorial of the kin's offence.¹ The references to the "synod" show a definite exercise of jurisdiction, how or where exercised is not clear; but many of the references merely indicate that offences against clerics were regarded as far more serious than offences against non-clerics, without determining whether it was the secular or ecclesiastical power which enforced the penalty.

25.—We get much the same sort of thing in regard to other offences affecting the Church.

An offence committed within the precincts of any "llan" involved a doubling of the ordinary penalty,² though the Dimetian Code,³ perhaps representing a later development, limits the increase to churches which were mother-churches, or otherwise of standing (*uchelawg*). At any rate, we get elsewhere specific mention of the fact that the penalty for wrong done in a "mother-church" was £14 or in its "mynwent" £7, or, as it is sometimes put, £14 for an offence in a "mother-church" or its "mynwent" and £7 if in the "ville" of the church outside its sanctuary area.⁴ In all cases this penalty went not to the Crown, but half to the abbot and half to the "clas" and other clerics officiating in the church.

If an offence were committed in an "eglwys" other than a "llan" or a "mam-eglwys" ("eglwys" here appearing to mean a church with more than one priest attached to it), the fine was £7, divided between the "offeiriad" and the other "personiaid",⁵ this being the rule of division for all receipts of an abbey or church

¹ D.C., II, c. xxiv, p. 12; Vesp., II, c. xlii, p. 12; Pen. MS., II, c. xviii, p. 12.

² V.C., I, c. xliii, p. 19; Vesp. II, c. xx, p. 2; Pen. MS., II, c. viii, p. 3.

³ D.C., II, c. vii, p. 2.

⁴ V.C., I, c. xliii, p. 20; D.C., II, c. vii, p. 3; Vesp., II, c. xx, p. 3, 4.

⁵ V.C., I, c. xliii, p. 21; Vesp., II, c. xx, p. 5.

other than gifts to the holy altar or otherwise specially allocated.¹

There was also a special fine of £3 for wrangling or swearing in a church or its "mynwent"²; and an interesting provision shows that, to exact this penalty, no regular judicial procedure was necessary. It sufficed for the abbot or clergy to have their attention drawn to a bruise or blood drawn,³ a provision which indicates that the whole matter was outside the cognizance of a secular court.

But several of these provisions leave us, at first sight, in doubt as to where judicial action was taken, but certain other provisions,⁴ which speak of the "iudicio synodi" or the like, leave no room for doubt that all offences against clerics were liable to be tried by a "synodical" court, which would be something quite distinct from an ecclesiastical baronial court, at least in its functioning.

26.—When we come to offences by clerics the practically universal rule is that no cleric was triable by a secular court, and the authority which dealt with any offence by one of the secular clergy was the bishop, and with any offence committed by one of the regular clergy was the immediate superior.⁵ The rule applied to any cleric, whether an "eglwysig" or an "ysgolhaig", or a monk (crefyddwr); and the rule is definitely extended to cover even civil claims against a monk under an abbot, who, *suo motu*, could transfer such a case to his own jurisdiction.

¹ Vesp., II, c. xx, p. 6.

² A.L., V, c. ii, p. 37; A.L., VI, c. i, p. 59; A.L., X, c. xii, p. 5; A.L., XI, c. v, p. 26.

³ D.C., II, c. vii, p. 6.

⁴ D.C., II, c. viii, p. 124; A.L., V, c. i, p. 27; Pen. MS., I, c. viii, p. 7; Vesp., I, c. vi, p. 9.

⁵ D.C., II, c. viii, p. 130; A.L., V, c. ii, p. 92, 121; A.L., XI, c. iii, p. 1, 2, 3, 5.

This rule did not necessarily extend to the exclusion of the liability of a cleric (*graddwr*) to pay compensation for wrong done by himself to a layman; the latter was entitled to accept the customary sum payable, and the "graddwr" was left to be dealt with by his own ecclesiastical superior.¹

But no cleric could, as a member of a kin-group, claim any right to a share in "galanas" (*wergild*) due to his kinsmen for the murder of one of his group, nor, provided he was in orders or under monastic vows, was he liable to contribute to "galanas" due by his kin-group. If, however, he were simply an "ysgolhaig", and, therefore, permitted to marry, though he could not share in "galanas", inasmuch as he was not entitled to avenge, he was liable to pay a share of "galanas" due by his kinsmen, in order to avoid vengeance falling on his children "in esse" or "in posse", unless he swore an oath to the effect that he would never have children".² In no case was an "ysgolhaig" bound to pay "spear-money" (a contribution leviable on remote relatives of a murderer when the total "galanas" had not been made up by the near kin) because "he was a man of peace",³ but apparently he was bound to contribute to the King's "exacting third".⁴

These provisions show the very marked line drawn between an "ysgolhaig" and a priest in orders. To a limited extent an "ysgolhaig" retained his civil status. He lost it entirely once he took orders and was removed altogether from civil jurisdiction.

Naturally it followed that no matter what offence a priest or a person who had received the tonsure (*corun*)

¹ A.L., V, c. i, p. 26.

² V.C., III, c. i, p. 14, 21; T.D., p. 22; D.C., II, c. i, p. 32; A.L., X, c. vii, p. 13.

³ V.C., III, c. i, p. 14; T.D., p. 17.

⁴ T.D., p. 19.

committed, he could not be executed¹; but (and this illustrates the absolute unity between Welsh law and ecclesiastical law and shows the influence of the Church on secular law) if he were a thief, the lord of the "patria" was entitled to seize all his moveable property, on the ground that he had forfeited the right to Church protection because he had broken Church-law, and the offender was degraded from his orders, and thereafter became subject to secular law for any second offence.²

27.—This separation of a priest from the lay life, and his immunity from the jurisdiction of an ordinary civil court is illustrated in various other ways.

A priest could neither be a surety nor have anyone to act as surety for himself.³ The reason for this was that, in civil law, he would run a risk of being involved in certain penalties imposed by a civil court, one of which might be that of falling into a state of semi-serfdom, were he to default either as a surety or as a debtor. The restriction applied to all "ysgolheigion", all in orders, monks, hermits, and, later on, friars; but a person who became a surety, and, thereafter, took religious vows could not escape liability for his secular acts.⁴

Nor could a cleric be a judge in a civil court.⁵ The reason for this was that a judge, who gave a wrong verdict, was liable, when a successful appeal was lodged by the procedure of "mutual pledging", to a penalty, which, by a legal fiction, was supposed to represent the value of

¹ A.L., V, c. ii, p. 92,121; A.L., X, c. vii, p. 35; A.L., XIV, c. xiv, p. 6, c. xxv, p. 5.

² A.L., X, c. vii, p. 35; A.L., XIV, c. xxv, p. 5; Pen. MS., II, c. viii, p. 55; Vesp., II, c. xlvi, p. 2.

³ V.C., II, c. vi, p. 39; D.C., II, c. vi, p. 23; A.L., XI, c. iii, p. 2; A.L., XIV, c. xviii, p. 8; Pen. MS., II, c. vii, p. 4.

⁴ A.L., IV, c. iv, p. 18; A.L., VIII, c. xi, p. 30.

⁵ D.C., II, c. viii, p. 124, 128; A.L., X, c. xi, p. 16, 19; A.L., XI, c. i, p. 1.

his tongue, which became forfeit because it had uttered a wrong judgment, but which was redeemable by the payment of that penalty. A priest was, therefore, protected even from the fictitious penalty of losing his tongue.

If, however, he were in his own right a free landholder, and, as such, entitled in South Wales to sit on a bench, he could sit, provided he withdrew before an adjudication was made.¹ This disqualification applied to all in holy orders or under monastic vows.

Again, he could not be an "arwaesaf" in a charge of theft.² In certain theft cases a person found in possession of stolen property could free himself of the charge by citing in his defence another from whom he had, bona-fide, received the property. Such person, called an "arwaesaf", would then take the original defendant's place, having to exculpate himself from a charge of theft, or, failing to do so, having to undergo the secular penalty for theft. To avoid even the possibility of having to answer to a charge of theft in a civil court a priest was precluded from being cited as an "arwaesaf", for, it is added, "relics, holy orders, and the monastic habit cannot assume the character of a thief".

The disassociation from civil courts was so marked that no priest or one in orders could appear as a "cyng-haws" (attorney) for another person,³ and the rule was so rigorous that a monk breaking his vow and returning to a secular life was similarly debarred.⁴

28.—It was mentioned, *supra*, that where a claim was made against a monk the monk's abbot could, *suo motu*, transfer the case to his own court. A monk, by becoming

¹ D.C., II, c. viii, p. 132.

² D.C., III, c. iii, p. 24; A.L., V, c. ii, p. 121; A.L., IX, c. i, p. 16; A.L., XIV, c. i, p. 8.

³ A.L., XIV, c. xlv, p. 25.

⁴ A.L., IX, c. xvi, p. 24.

a monk, became "dead in law", a phrase which is commented on in the XIth Book,¹ where it is stated that a professed religious (*gwr crefyddys professawl*) could not be a guarantor for another, nor put aside his habit, nor subject himself to any court, because the secular status of those who have "placed themselves under profession to an abbot is ended, and they are united indissolubly to the monastic life, and have perished in secular law".

29.—The XIth Book,² dealing apparently with civil suits, has a long discussion, in all likelihood arising out of an actual case, as to the proper procedure to adopt when a plaint was filed against a monk, under vows and subject to an abbot, in a secular court of a "cymwd" or "cantref". If the monk, it says, absented himself from the court, and proceedings were taken against him for contempt by distraint upon property in the monastery or its barn, the Abbot was first to object to the distraining officer that he, as head of the monastery, owned the property distrained upon. If the official did not at once release the property, as he ought to do, but referred the Abbot to the court for an order of release, then the Abbot was entitled to maintain that no court of the "cymwd" or "cantref" had any jurisdiction whatsoever in regard to him or his claim, and that the only secular court which could assume jurisdiction where he was concerned (and that by virtue of his holding land under the King) was the supreme court of the King.

Similarly, if a suit were filed against an abbot and those professed within the Abbey, the Abbot could claim that the suit should be struck out for want of jurisdiction, for no judge of inferior jurisdiction could decide a claim in which an Abbot or his professed were involved. It is also provided that no judgment against a religious com-

¹ A.L., XI, c. iii, p. 2.

² A.L., X, c. v, p. 1-8.

munity or its head given in such a court could be executed, and it could be set aside as void by the supreme court by mere motion, without objection being taken in the lower court or appeal in the usual form of "mutual pledging".

30.—The last point relative to jurisdiction is that of the capitular rights of a religious community; its right to dispose not merely of ecclesiastical offences, but of all matters arising between members of a community. Such power is expressly conceded. The Venedotian Code¹ refers to "capitular" (*cabydwl*) regulations as coming into existence by the power inherent in a religious house, and as accruing, by virtue of inherent right, to a bishop as regards those ecclesiastically subject to him, and among Knights Hospitallers, and as being valid provided they did not obstruct the King's law.

All disputes, therefore, in a religious community the community itself alone had jurisdiction to determine.²

A peculiar provision in the IVth Book³ appears to contemplate that, in case of a dispute between an ecclesiastical and a secular lord, it should be settled by a joint court. The meaning is obscure, but, in any case, it only concerns baronial jurisdiction.

The value of these rules regarding jurisdiction is principally that they are in entire accord with the earliest ecclesiastical law; and it is clear that ecclesiastical law was thoroughly well understood in Wales and, in fact, had a considerable influence upon the law of the land.

31.—Though, however, the Church and its priesthood were exempt from secular jurisdiction, it must not be supposed that the Church stood aside from the ordinary administration of secular justice. On the contrary, the Church had a great deal to say to it, sanctioning, con-

¹ V.C., II, c. xii, p. 10.

² A.L., IV, c. i, p. 28.

³ A.L., IV, c. i, p. 29.

trolling, guiding it in every way. The light of the Church shone upon it in all sorts of ways, and it is in this matter, perhaps, that we get more intimate glimpses than anywhere else as to how saturated Welsh mediæval life was with Catholic thought and outlook.

At the very commencement of his career, the future judge found the Church at his side. After he had gone through his training and satisfied those in authority that he was well-versed in law, the "King's chaplain" took him to the church, along with the twelve principal officers of the court, to attend Mass, and, after Mass and an offering by everybody, the chaplain required him to take an oath on the relics, and on the altar, and the holy elements (i.e., the Blessed Sacrament) upon the altar that he would not give wrong judgment knowingly.¹

It is a beautiful introduction to the judicial office, and the religious character, in its deepest sense, of that office finds eloquent testimony in the wonderful ending of the Gwentian Code :—

"Listen, oh judge, who delivers judgments; let not the worth of money be more to you than the worth of God; give not wrong judgment for worth, but judge rightly for God. It is small wonder that there should be halting in a court of this world, since they change their desires like the winds of the earth. However, whosoever shall seek certainty, let the service of right be rendered (by him) unto our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the glory of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost".²

All through his judicial service the Church was with a judge. The Laws state that Hywel Dda decreed that every court should have its priest in attendance. He sat on the right hand side of the judge,³ not to interfere with

¹ D.C., I, c. xiv, p. 20.

² G.C., II, c. xli, p. 12, 13. Cf. the abbreviated Latin text, Vesp., II, c. xlvi, p. 36: "Judex tamen qui causas judicat debet cavere ne diligit nummum plus quam Deum".

³ V.C., II, c. xi, p. 10, 13; A.L., IV, c. iv, p. 10; A.L., IX, c. i, p. 7; c. xvi, p. 6.

judicial proceedings at all, but so that, when the judge or judges retired to consider the pleadings, he might accompany them and commence proceedings by praying to God to lead them to a right judgment, after which he recited the Paternoster and the Ave Maria.¹

Some authorities say that the priest had the additional duty of maintaining a record of all suits until decided, and also to keep the cause list.²

32.—But, apart from the presence of the priest, the Church was always in evidence throughout a trial. It was the invariable rule that oaths of parties and witnesses were sworn on peripatetic relics or upon the relics embedded in the altar-stone in a church. The latter was the more solemn form, and was essential in certain cases; but in the formula the sole difference was that, in the former, the oath-taker held the relics in his hand, apparently kissing them, and then swore to God and upon the relics, while in the latter case the oath was to God and upon the altar and the relics thereon.

Instances of the swearing upon relics are mentioned in several authorities,³ and the practice applied to all cases.

33.—Little information is afforded about the peripa-

¹ V.C., II, c. xi, p. 21; A.L., IV, c. iv, p. 11; A.L., VIII, c. xi, p. 18; A.L., IX, c. xvi, p. 7.

² D.C., I, c. xii, p. 9; c. xxxi, p. 1, 2; A.L., XIV, c. xxi, p. 26.

³ V.C., II, c. i, p. 36, 67; c. xi, p. 48; III, c. ii, p. 33; D.C., II, c. iii, p. 21; c. v, p. 18, 20; c. viii, p. 30, 135, 138; c. xviii, p. 17, 18; c. xxv, p. 15, 18; III, c. iii, p. 48; A.L., IV, c. iv, p. 28; A.L., VII, c. i, p. 35; A.L., VIII, c. i, p. 2, 4, 5, 7; c. xi, p. 20, 25; A.L., IX, c. i, p. 14; c. ii, p. 1, 6, 9; c. iv, p. 1; c. v, p. 1, 2, 3, 4; c. vi, p. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6; c. viii, p. 4; c. xvi, p. 14; c. xvii, p. 5; c. xx, p. 5; c. xxi, p. 5; c. xxii, p. 1; c. xxiv, p. 10; A.L., X, c. i, p. 22; A.L., XIV, c. ii, p. 1; c. ix, p. 19; c. x, p. 31; c. xiii, p. 4; c. xix, p. 4; c. xxiii, p. 4; c. xxvi, p. 13; c. xxvii, p. 1, 2; c. xxxv, p. 3; c. xxxvii, p. 1, 2; c. xli, p. 1, 3, 6; c. xlv, p. 2; c. xlvi, p. 4; Pen. MS., II, c. x, p. 1; c. xx, p. 11, 20; Vesp., II, c. xxii, p. 12; c. xlix, p. 5.

tetic relics. The Black Book of St. David's gives an illustration of relics being carried about as late as the fourteenth century; but it would seem that, in addition to the altar-relics, there were relics in every "cymwd" i.e., in the "mam-eglwys" of the "cymwd", which were available for production in court. In fact, relics used had to belong to the "cymwd" of the court, and three days were usually, but not invariably, allowed for their production.¹

The Gwentian Code² states that courts were closed on Mondays, so that relics could be arranged for by suitors during the following days, and it was the duty of a person who had to be sworn to procure the relics,³ after which they remained in court until the case was completed, and, on the conclusion of the case, they were available for use by others.

Peripatetic relics were always taken by persons going round to collect "spear-money" from persons denying their liability to contribute.⁴

References to the fact that under the procedure for the recovery of stolen or lost property it was proper for "claswyr" or "personau ac offieiriaid"⁵ to swear to relics belonging to their church show that these peripatetic relics might belong to a monastery or any other church.

When the oath was sworn in court the judge appears to have addressed the party or witness about to be sworn warning him to beware of perjury, lest he should lose the "protection of God, the protection of the Pope, and the

¹ V.C., II, c. xxxi, p. 6; A.L., IV, c. iv, p. 32; A.L., IX, c. xviii, p. 15.

² G.C., II, c. xxxvii, p. 1; A.L., XIV, c. xx, p. 12.

³ D.C., III, c. vi, p. 19; A.L., IV, c. iv, p. 30; A.L., V, c. i, p. 16; A.L., IX, c. ii, p. 1; A.L., XIV, c. xli, p. 1; c. xxvii, p. 1.

⁴ V.C., III, c. i, p. 13.

⁵ A.L., V, c. ii, p. 60; A.L., VI, c. i, p. 5; A.L., XIV, c. xxvi, p. 14, 15.

protection of his lord",¹ whereafter the relic was kissed and the oath taken.

34.—In cases where the oath was administered in church, the church was almost invariably that church in which the witness or party "received his 'bara offeren' (lit. mass-bread) and his 'dwfr swyn' (holy water; lit. the water of the sign, i.e., the sign of the cross) or where (the words are important) are his 'bara offeren' and 'dwfr swyn'"; and the oath was administered before the priest had taken off his vestments and distributed the 'bara offeren'."³ In some cases the oath was repeated three times,⁴ and in one case, that of "briduw" (= Pro Deo, in which the sole witness was God) by an oath repeated seven times on the same altar or once on each of seven different "sacred altars".⁵

This conjunction of the phrases "bara offeren" (the meaning of which is referred to later) and "dwfr swyn" is remarkable, and I was quite unaware of its existence elsewhere until the Rev. Father Thurston, S.J., very kindly drew my attention to a passage in the poems of the Salopian, John Audelay, which runs:—

" And each day the Mass thou hear,
And take holy bread and holy water
Out of the priest's hand.
Such grace God hath given thee,
If thou die suddenly,
For thy housel it shall thee stand".

Since then, in the Life of the Cornish martyr, John Tregwethan (vide p. 40 "Under the Penal Laws" by Richard Simpson), I have found the same conjunction, "After Mass, he made holy bread and holy water".

¹ V.C., II, c. vi, p. 2. Cf. V.C., II, c. xi, p. 37.

² V.C., II, c. xxxi, p. 2, 3, 4; A.L., IX, c. vi, p. 4; c. xvii, p. 5; A.L., X, c. vii, p. 33; Pen. MS., II, c. viii, p. 19; Vesp., II, c. xliv, p. 6. See, infra, for "Bara offeren". ³ A.L., IX, c. vi, p. 4.

⁴ A.L., IX, c. xxi, p. 5; c. xxii, p. 1. ⁵ D.C., II, c. vi, p. 15.

Both the "bara offeren" and the "dwfr swyn" are not sacraments, but sacramentals, to which a definite protective character adheres.

Ordinarily speaking the parish church was the church where the oath-taker received his "bara offeren" and "dwfr swyn", but there were one or two exceptions. A member of the royal entourage always took his oath in the King's chapel, because it was there he was entitled to his "bara offeren" and "dwfr swyn"¹; and a wanderer without a settled home, taking an oath in a surety case, swore in the church of the parish where the cause of action arose, because, as a wanderer, he was not entitled to receive his "bara offeren" and "dwfr swyn" in one church rather than in another.²

35.—One of the cases where the taking of an oath had to be in church was an affiliation case. Where the mother swore to an alleged paternity against a free-born Welshman, she had to swear either in her own church, where her burying place was, on the altar, the relics, and the boy's baptism, or else in a mother-church (*mam-eglwys*)³; if she swore paternity upon a stranger settled in Wales, the oath appears to have been taken, in the same way, in the church where that stranger received his "bara offeren" and "dwfr swyn".⁴ In all cases the denial by the alleged father was upon the altar and relics and "by the Being who created him".⁵

According to two authorities,⁶ the oath of the mother, if she were of notoriously immoral life, was preceded by a visit of the parish priest ("offeiriad plwyf" or "peri-

¹ A.L., V, c. ii, p. 69.

² A.L., V, c. ii, p. 70; A.L., VI, c. i, p. 50.

³ V.C., II, c. xxxi, p. 2, 18; G.C., c. xxxix, p. 41; A.L., V, c. i, p. 8; A.L., VI, c. i, p. 51; A.L., X, c. vii, p. 33; Pen. MS., II, c. viii, p. 19; Vesp., II, c. xliv, p. 6; c. lvii, p. 20.

⁴ V.C., II, c. xxxi, p. 3.

⁵ V.C., II, c. xxxi, p. 4.

⁶ G.C., II, c. xxxix, p. 40; A.L., XIV, c. xxiv, p. 3.

glor ”), and, on occasions, there appears to have been a preliminary oath taken at the church door.¹

An affiliation case, which gave the child a right to share in the paternal property, was a very serious matter, and that accounts for the high degree of solemnity which surrounded the procedure.

36.—Another very serious matter was the procedure of “dogynfanac”. In this procedure anyone who feared, owing to the possibility of subsequent vengeance, to take a public oath against someone of high position, charging such person with theft, was entitled to go to the lord of his “patria” and make a secret accusation to him. The lord then sent the informer to the priest, who administered an oath to him, and the statement, so made on oath, could be sworn publicly to by the priest without disclosing the informer’s name. The priest’s assertion became conclusive as to what he had heard except in Gwynedd, where it became merely the basis of a charge.

This oath of “dogynfanac” had a marked ceremonial designed to impress upon the informer its terrible importance. The priest took the informer to the church door, signed him with the sign of the cross (achroyset), so that he should not swear a false oath; and then the information was thrice imparted on oath at the door of the church or its “mynwent”, at the entrance to the sanctuary, and finally on or before the sacred altar (allaw gysseger).²

37.—A very peculiar class of oath was the “llw gweilydd” (the absolver’s oath), the exact nature of which is rather obscure, but it is obviously one of the remotest antiquity.

¹ A.L., VIII, c. xi, p. 8.

² V.C., III, c. ii, p. 28; D.C., II, c. iii, p. 16, 18; c. viii, p. 92; A.L., V, c. viii, p. 10; c. xi, p. 1; A.L., IX, c. ii, p. 6; A.L., XIV, c. xii, p. 12, 15; c. xxix, p. 1; Pen. MS., II, c. iv, p. 15.

It seems that where one person suspected another of theft, without having sufficient evidence to proceed upon, he was entitled to challenge the suspect to take an oath exculpating himself, and, if he did so, he was at once cleared from suspicion.

Of course, such an oath could not be tendered to a priest, as he was exempt from the "law of theft".¹

The oath might be administered anywhere; but in the Gwentian Code² it is stated that it could not be administered at the entrance to a graveyard "because men should there recite the Paternoster for the souls of the Christians of the world (*rac eneidu Christonogon y byt*)", nor at the door of the church "because there men should recite the Paternoster facing the crucifix (*rac bron y groc*)".

Other authorities, however, speak of this oath being taken on relics, and even at a churchyard gate, church door and entrance to the sanctuary.³

38.—It should be noted that relics were never used when an oath was taken within a "mynwent", for the reason that the "mynwent" itself was a home of relics, that is the home of the departed saints.⁴ This fact recalls that where a person liable as a surety was dead, an oath swearing to his liability was always taken upon his grave, but, if the grave could not be found, the oath could be taken on a "dedicated altar in a mother-church".⁵

Behind all these oaths there was a double sanction; the secular sanction, which imposed a fine of 180d. for a false statement, and the ecclesiastical sanction, for a perjurer was handed over to the Church for it to impose a

¹ A.L., IV, c. i, p. 11; A.L., XIV, c. xlii, p. 7.

² G.C., II, c. xxxix, p. 34.

³ A.L., IX, c. ii, p. 9; c. xxiv, p. 10; c. xxxviii, p. 1; A.L., XIV, c. xli, p. 1; c. xlii, p. 6.

⁴ A.L., IV, c. iv, p. 31; A.L., XIV, c. xxiii, p. 4.

⁵ V.C., II, c. vi, p. 27; D.C., II, c. vi, p. 18, 20; Pen. MS., II, c. vii, p. 8; Vesp., II, c. xix, p. 2.

penance on him for his sacrilege, followed by a life-long incapacity ever to make a statement admissible in any court of law.¹

39.—The Laws, for some reason or other, say very little as to where the oath or sworn verdict of a “raith” or jury of compurgation was made. But the Venedotian Code² states that a “raith” had to give its finding in the church (llan) wherein the accused or debtor was accustomed to hear Mass, and the time for giving the verdict was “between the ‘Benedicamus’ and the distribution of the ‘bara offeren’.”

This is a very striking phrase, and is of very considerable importance in the matter of Celtic liturgy.

The “Benedicamus”, as Catholics are well aware, closes the canon of the Mass; but it is not recited except during Lent and on a few special feasts outside Lent. The fact that it, and not the ordinary ending, “Ite, missa est”, is mentioned is another indication of the enormous importance of Lent in the eyes of the mediæval Welsh, and, in a way, confirms the prefaces as to the Codes being preceded by a Lenten fast.

If also we connect this statement with another statement, already cited,³ that oaths were taken before the priest divested himself of his “vestments” and before the distribution of the “bara offeren”, we see that the oath was taken, as we would expect it to be, not during Mass, but immediately Mass was ended. But as it preceded the distribution of the “bara offeren”, the “bara offeren” can clearly not mean the consecrated wafer given at Communion during Mass. The consecrated wafer, the Blessed Sacrament, was known in early Welsh as the “afrlld”, the “Sagrafen Fendigaid”. Hence what is

¹ A.L., XIV, c. xxxv, p. 22, 23.

² V.C., II, v. vi, p. 3.

³ A.L., IX, c. vi, p. 4.

meant by the "bara offeren"? We come at once into contact in Wales with a very primitive observance, which held its place in the liturgy of the Catholic Church in Wales for centuries, and which is even to-day observed in many churches in France and Spain.

The "bara offeren" is the equivalent of the "eulogia" of the "Egyptian Church Order" and the "pain bénit" of France; that is, we have evidence here that the custom existed in Wales of presentation by the congregation of bread for the Eucharist, part of which was consecrated for the communion of the priest and the congregation communicating, the rest was blessed "in sacrario", and, after Mass, distributed among the congregation which had not communicated to take to their homes.

In the July, 1928, number of "The Month" (pp. 21 et seq.) the Rev. Father Thurston, S.J., has summarized what is known of this ancient sacramental. He identifies the "eulogia" with the "pain bénit" of France, the "gehalgod hlaf" of Archbishop Ecgbert's Scrift-Boc, the "hlaf-gange" of the Anglo-Saxon Grith, the "anti-doron" of the Greek Churches, the "holy bread" of England, and the "benedictio" which is frequently mentioned in the Patrologia Latina. The distribution after Mass had become, he notes, enjoined as a duty on the Continent from the early IXth century, and had existed from a much earlier date. It was a distribution of "blessed" bread, not the consecrated elements, given to those who, on account of public penance, were excluded from Holy Communion, or who, for some other reason, were not prepared to communicate; and its reception, as in the case of the use of holy water, protected or tended to protect the recipient from ills of a spiritual or temporal nature.

We have, therefore, in these references to "bara

offeren" in the Welsh Laws striking evidence of the identity of Welsh practice with Catholic practice throughout the world; and incidentally it seems probable that, wherever we get the references, the subject matter dealt with can be definitely assigned to a date at least as early as Hywel Dda's time. They confirm, in so far as they go, the view that the tradition of a codification by Hywel Dda is a sound, historical tradition.

The only other mention of an oath by a "raith" is in the VIth Book,¹ which refers to a "raith" being received in any church, with the proviso that a "raith" in an affiliation case must be in a mother-church.

40.—These provisions in a procedure, which was purely secular in object, show how important a part the Church played in the life of the people, and how saturated with Catholic practice the people were. We find abbeys, mother-churches and daughter-churches, parish-priests and the like all taking their share in the administration of the law. We find the graveyard, the church door, the sanctuary and the holy altar all hallowed and hallowing; we see the awe and respect with which relics were regarded; we hear of the sacramental "bara offeren", holy water, vestments, the crucifix, the Paternoster, the Ave Maria, prayers for the dead, and even of the Pope of Rome. Throughout, the Mass is there, occasional words from its liturgy appearing.

Yet the Catholic atmosphere of mediæval Wales is strangely overlooked by some of our polemical writers, who, ignorant of that atmosphere, twist the Church of the "golden age" of Welsh history into a mere preparation for, or anticipation of, modern Protestantism.

¹ A.L., VI, c. i, p. 51.

From a consideration of the part played by the Church in the administration of secular justice we may pass to a series of points which, often casually mentioned in the Laws, illustrate the respect in which the Church and its priesthood was held.

41.—A very interesting reference¹ is that regarding the bishop, where it is said that the bishop is the King's "periglor" or parish-priest (which incidentally throws light on the fact that the various Welsh principalities and the dioceses were more or less co-terminous), and, therefore, the King ought always to rise in his presence and sit down after him, and, further, "should hold his sleeve when he washes", i.e., of course, at the Lavabo at the commencement of Mass, a custom which, on certain occasions, has, even to-day, its comparable observance in the Catholic Church.

42.—But the ordinary priest of the King was not the bishop, but the court-priest, the "offeiriad teulu" of whom some mention has already been made.

Every court had its "offeiriad teulu", and the Queen had her special priest, the "offeiriad y frenhines", and both of them ranked among the principal officers of state.

The "offeiriad teulu" ranked second in order of precedence, immediately after the commander of the body-guard,² the Queen's priest tenth.³ In the banqueting hall the "offeiriad teulu" sat next to the recognised heir or to the judge, immediately opposite to the King, and his

¹ V.C., I, c. xii, p. 6.

² V.C., I, c. i, p. 1 (2); c. vii, p. 1; D.C., I, c. i, p. 1 (2); G.C., I, c. i, p. 1 (2); Pen. MS., I, c. i, p. 1 (2); Vesp., I, c. i, p. 1 (2); Harl., c. 1.

³ V.C., I, c. i, p. 2 (2); c. xxiv, p. 1; D.C., I, c. i, p. 1 (10); G.C., I, c. i, p. 1 (10); Pen. MS., I, c. i, p. 1 (10); Vesp., I, c. i, p. 1 (10); Harl., c. i, p. 3 (10).

duty is definitely stated to be to say Mass, to bless the food, and to recite the Paternoster (*canu y Pader*) at meals,¹ while the Queen's priest sat immediately opposite to her.²

Whatever land they held they held free of all dues³; and even their horses were provided free with full provender, "*quia sacerdos debet missas cantare et cibos benedicare*".⁴ The "*offeiriad teulu*" was one of the three "*indispensables*" of the King, because, again, he had to say Mass and bless the King's food, or, as the Latin text says, "*ad sacrificandam et ut benedicat cibos et potus*".⁵

If he and the steward and the judge were together there was the full dignity and status of a court,⁶ just as if the King himself were present. He had free access to the court at all times,⁷ a very exceptional privilege; he was entitled to an exclusive secret audience with the King,⁸ no doubt for spiritual direction; it was he who wrote and read the King's correspondence.⁹

Besides the holding of land free, the priests had many

¹ V.C., I, c. vi, p. 1; c. viii, p. 3; c. xxiv, p. 7; D.C., I, c. v, p. 2; G.C., I, c. v, p. 6; A.L., XIV, c. iv, p. 14; Pen. MS., I, c. v, p. 3; Vesp., I, c. iv, p. 4; Harl., c. vi, p. 3.

² G.C., I, c. xi, p. 5.

³ V.C., I, c. viii, p. 2; c. xxiv, p. 2; D.C., I, c. xii, p. 8.

⁴ V.C., I, c. viii, p. 14; c. xii, p. 6; c. xxiv, p. 2; D.C., I, c. xii, p. 4, 6, 7; G.C., I, c. x, p. 5; c. xi, p. 1; c. xiv, p. 6; Pen. MS., I, c. xv, p. 8.

⁵ V.C., I, c. viii, p. 13; c. xliii, p. 1; D.C., II, c. viii, p. 9; G.C., II, c. x, p. 7; Pen. MS., II, c. viii, p. 4; Vesp., I, c. ix, p. 32; Harl., c. xiv, p. 11.

⁶ V.C., I, c. xliii, p. 14; D.C., I, c. xii, p. 5; II, c. viii, p. 70; G.C., I, c. x, p. 8; c. xxxiii, p. 3; Pen. MS., I, c. xxix, p. 1; Vesp., I, c. xi, p. 2; Harl., xvii, p. 1.

⁷ A.L., XIV., c. x, p. 3.

⁸ D.C., II, c. viii, p. 8; Pen. MS., II, c. viii, p. 52; Vesp., II, c. xvii, p. 27.

⁹ D.C., I, c. xii, p. 9; A.L., XIV, c. xxi, p. 26.

rights, privileges and dues. They were entitled to free clothing at the three great festivals from the King and the Queen,¹ and, in addition, whatsoever clothes the King might wear during Lent, in which he did penance as part of his Catholic Easter duties (*erbyn y Pasc*), were the perquisite of the "*offeiriad teulu*,"² and likewise the Queen's clothes, wherein she did penance during Lent, "*erbyn y Pasc*," went to her priest.³

Special quarters were assigned to both of them in the royal palace, according to some texts in the house of the bell-ringer of the court-church, according to others in the house of the "*capellanus*" of the court, that is, the priest specially attached to the oratory. In either case they formed a religious community within the palace, for with them also lived all other clerics, priests and scholars, attached to the court.⁴ They had also free rations fixed on a generous scale.⁵

Moreover, they were each entitled to special offerings. It would appear that the King attended Mass daily—and this is a matter of some import in dating our survivals, for whereas attendance at daily Mass was the rule in the eighth to tenth centuries, there was considerable laxity in the matter from the twelfth century on. The offering then made by the King was a special gift to the priest. At all the three principal feasts the whole offering made by the court officials went to him, while

¹ V.C., I, c. i, p. 4; c. vii, p. 2; c. xxiv, p. 2; D.C., I c. i, p. 2.

² V.C., I, c. vii, p. 12; D.C., I, c. xii, p. 1; G.C., I, c. x, p. 2; c. xvii, p. 1; c. xxxii, p. 1; Pen. MS., I, c. xii, p. 1; Vesp., I, c. xxi, p. 1.

³ V.C., I, c. xxiv, p. 6; D.C., c. xii, p. 1; c. xvii, p. 9; G.C., I, c. xi, p. 4; Pen. MS., I, c. xii, p. 2; Vesp., I, c. xxi, p. 3.

⁴ V.C., I, c. viii, p. 4; c. xxiv, p. 8; D.C., I, c. ix, p. 3; G.C., I, c. viii, p. 3,4; Vesp., I, c. vii, p. 3; Harl., c. x, p. 4; Pen. MS., I, c. ix, p. 3.

⁵ V.C., I, c. xiii, p. 6; G.C., I, c. x, p. 4.

the Queen's priest was entitled to all offerings made by her or her attendants.¹

One-third of the King's tithes or Queen's tithes went to their respective priests²; one-third of the tithes of the body-guard or the attendants of the Queen's "ystafell" or private apartments went similarly,³ and one-third of the "gweini" or services due to court officials had to be given to the priest of the court.⁴ They kept the respective privy seals, and were entitled to a special fee whenever the seals were attached to gifts of land or other important transactions.⁵ The "offeiriad teulu" was so important that even the bishop could make no presentation to a king's chapel without his consent, at any rate in North Wales.⁶

43.—Naturally, the laws being secular laws, we hear little of the rights and duties of the ordinary parish-priests; these were matters of ecclesiastical law rather than civil law, but the right of priests to "tithes" is expressly recognised.⁷ Incidentally, too, we find that at the age of seven every child came under the instruction of its "periglor" or parish-priest.⁸ No wonder the land was deeply religious—it believed in an education which was not "undenominational". So, too, we find that when one of a married couple was dying, the priest was called in to divide the property of the dying one between his or her kinsmen and the sur-

¹ V.C., I, c. viii, p. 7, 11; c. xxiv, p. 5; D.C., I, c. xii, p. 3; G.C., I, c. x, p. 3; c. xi, p. 23; Vesp., I, c. xxvi, p. 3.

² V.C., I, c. viii, p. 8; c. xxiv, p. 3; G.C., I, c. x, p. 6; Vesp., I, c. xxvi, p. 1. ³ V.C., I, c. viii, p. 9; c. xxiv, p. 3.

⁴ V.C., I, c. viii, p. 11.

⁵ V.C., I, c. viii, p. 10; c. xxiv, p. 4; A.L., XIV, c. xxi, p. 26.

⁶ V.C., I, c. viii, p. 15.

⁷ A.L., X, c. vii, p. 10; A.L., XIV, c. iii, p. 23; Vesp., II, c. xlvi, p. 26.

⁸ V.C., II, c. vii, p. 4; xxviii, p. 4.

vivor.¹ The enforcement of a contract of "briduw" was the function of the priest, because it had been made with God alone as a witness²; while even the defence of exceptional privileges, like the Privileges of Arfon, was in the hands of the "clas" of the monasteries of Bangor and Beuno.³

44.—Incidental light on the local priesthood and churches and the faith and customs of the people is shed by such references as "no person of orders inferior to an 'offeiriad' is to judge of sins or absolve them"⁴; "baptism is essential for naming a child"⁵; and the provision that anyone could be cited to appear in court by a simple announcement in his parish church illustrates the regularity of attendance at church.⁶

Besides the constant references already made to liturgical and other ecclesiastical terms we find scattered throughout the laws references to "nones",⁷ "vespers",⁸ and even to the constant refrain of the Mass, "Deo Gracias", spelt in the Welsh text as the Church to-day pronounces it.⁹

The thunder of the Church's excommunication is there too. No excommunicated person could bear testimony¹⁰; he was coupled with open adulterers and thieves who had stolen sacred articles or things from a sanctuary; and anyone publicly excommunicated was liable at the end of a year and a day to find the whole of his property forfeit to the Crown.¹¹

¹ V.C., II, c. i, p. 12.

² V.C., II, c. vii, p. 1, 4.

³ V.C., II, c. ii, p. 2.

⁴ A.L., VII, c. i, p. 40.

⁵ A.L., XIV, c. xxi, p. 2.

⁶ A.L., XIV, c. xliii, p. 3.

⁷ V.C., II, c. xviii, p. 1.

⁸ V.C., III, c. xviii, p. 1; A.L., IX, c. xxvii, p. 2; A.L., X, c. vii, p. 45.

⁹ D.C., II, c. xxxiv, p. 9.

¹⁰ D.C., III, c. i, p. 10; c. ii, p. 5, 10, 17; c. iv, p. 4; A.L., VIII, c. xi, p. 19.

¹¹ A.L., V, c. ii, p. 91; A.L., XI, c. iii, p. 23, 29. Cf. A.L., V, c. ii, p. 91.

45.—The feasts and fasts of the Church were the dates upon which or after which things could be done or could not be done. The whole life of the people was largely conditioned by the performance of economical duties on these feast and fast days. The three principal festivals of the Church are mentioned literally dozens of times; but besides them we have the holy days of All Saints (21 times), Ascension Thursday (once), Epiphany (4 times), the Purification of the B.V.M. (8 times), the *Inventio Sanctae Crucis* (once), St. Bridget (3 times), St. Curig (6 times), St. David (twice), St. John (22 times), St. Luke (once), St. Martin (4 times), St. Michael (16 times), St. Môr (3 times), St. Patrick (5 times), St. Teilo (once), and Trinity Sunday (twice). Invocations of saints are also found, one each in the case of St. Gwenog, Lawrence the Martyr, and St. Tysilio, and no less than 22 times in the case of Dewi Sant. The Church was, in fact, everywhere and always in men's minds.

46.—But perhaps the most striking illustration of the respect in which the Church was held is the provision whereby, if a church were built in a serf ville, with the King's consent, the inhabitants of that ville became free at once, the dues thenceforth payable to the Crown from the ville being limited to the "heriot" of 10/-.¹ Some of the authorities add that the church must be consecrated, Mass said within it, and a burial had within its precincts, but these additions were intended simply to secure proof that the building erected was a church and intended to be used as such.

Similar to this provision is another which illustrates the dignity with which holy orders were invested. No

¹ D.C., II, c. viii, p. 28; c. xii, p. 22; c. xxii, p. 7; G.C., I, c. xlii, p. 7; A.L., IV, c. xi, p. 5; Vesp., II, c. xiv, p. 24; c. xxiv, p. 20; c. xlvi, p. 34; Pen. MS., c. xxii, p. 11.

“ serf ” could ordinarily become a priest ; it was a duty confined to free men.

But the Church was always on the side of emancipation, and it was due to it that the strict rule was so far modified as to allow a serf to become ordained with his superior’s consent.

The moment he became ordained or assumed the tonsure (*corun*) he became, *ipso facto*, a free man, though a legal fiction was maintained that he was emancipated first and then ordained. Subsequent to ordination he could never be reclaimed as a serf by his former superior.¹ Orders and the tonsure were signs of freedom.

One late authority, however, excludes from emancipation by orders a foreigner of servile status (*alltud*).²

47.—This matter of “ status ” was a most important characteristic of Welsh law, jealously and rigidly observed, and it permeated everything in secular life.

One of the oldest branches of the Welsh law is that relating to the demarcation of boundaries. In its fundamentals it is antecedent to any system of judicial procedure properly so called.

Where boundaries had to be demarked, the right of demarcation lay with that one of the disputing parties who had superior status, the demarcation being effected by swearing on the holy relics.

The authorities dealing with demarcation as between the King and the Church are slightly confused ; but the rule deducible from them is that in all cases where a church, possessing a “ gospel and a crozier ”, that is to say, an episcopal see or an abbey, was in dispute with the king or a local lord, the Church had superior “ status ”

¹ V.C., I, c. xliii, p. 11 ; D.C., II, c. viii, p. 7, 28 ; A.L., X, c. vii, p. 1 ; Pen. MS., II, c. viii, p. 10 ; Vesp., I, c. xix, p. 2 ; c. xli, p. 34.

² A.L., V, c. ii, 90.

by virtue of its "gospel and crozier" under the sanction of which the demarcation was made. In other cases between a church not having a "gospel and a crozier" and a local lord, the lord had precedence, and in all cases between any church and any other laic the Church had the right of demarcation.¹

To all conversant with the enormous importance of "status" in Welsh law this concession of superior "status" to the Church is of great signification as indicative of the high position it occupied in the minds of men.

48.—Another peculiar indication of the exceptional privileges of the Church in the law is that which ordains that when the recovery of Church-land was claimed, the claim had to be proceeded with immediately, instead of being adjourned for nine days as was the customary rule in other land cases.²

A few other illustrations of the same attitude towards the Church may be given here.

It was free, for example, for the Church to enter upon the King's woods at any time to cut therefrom any wood required for the beams and rafters of a church³; a yew tree in a churchyard was worth sixteen times what a yew tree elsewhere was, because it belonged to the saint of the church⁴; no ecclesiastical goods could ever be pledged⁵; a priest could trespass anywhere he willed to do so when on his way to visit the sick⁶; and anyone was fully en-

¹ D.C., II, c. xx, p. 2, 3; G.C., II, c. xxxi, p. 8; A.L., V, c. ii, p. 98, 114; A.L., IX, c. xxxiv, p. 1; A.L., X, c. xiv, p. 5; A.L., XI, c. ii, p. 1; Pen. MS., II, c. ix, p. 1, 16; Vesp., II, c. xxiv, p. 1, 13.

² V.C., II, c. xi, p. 55; D.C., II, c. xxii, p. 8; G.C., II, c. xxx, p. 25; Pen. MS., II, c. xi, p. 28.

³ D.C., II, c. viii, p. 40; G.C., II, c. xxxix, p. 33; Harl., p. 60.

⁴ G.C., II, c. xviii, p. 66; D.C., II, c. xxxv, p. 86.

⁵ G.C., II, c. xix, p. 4.

⁶ G.C., II, c. xxxix, p. 15.

titled to seize a horse anywhere in order to ride to fetch a priest or for the priest to ride upon so that he might visit a sick person "lest such sick person should be lost without communion", a queer little sidelight on the last rites of Holy Church.¹

Again, no one could question the statement of an abbot in a dispute between two of his monks; it was conclusive.² Such, too, was the case with the statement of a parish priest in certain disputes between two parishioners,³ and the parish priest was accorded time to recall what had happened up to the time when "he could say his next Mass".⁴ Finally, a parish priest's statement that a party was too ill to attend a court was accepted as final.⁵

49.—There are three small matters left. One of them happens to be one of the most difficult points in early law and practice in Wales, that is the question of the validity of the marriage of a Welsh priest.

It is fairly well established that the married priest was common in Wales, though we have not a shred of evidence that a priest's marriage was ever a "priodas", i.e., one blessed by the Church, or anything more than a marriage of a civil nature, well-recognized in ancient custom as valid, but standing, in the eyes of the Church, very much in the same category as a "mixed marriage", contracted in a registry office, since the *Ne Temere* decree of 1908.

However, whatever the extent of the practice may

¹ A.L. X, c. xvii, p. 34; A.L., XIV, c. iii, p. 30.

² V.C., II, c. iv, p. 2; D.C., II, c. v, p. 2; Vesp., II, c. xvi, p. 2; Pen. MS., II, c. v, p. 2.

³ D.C., II, c. v, p. 6; A.L., IX, c. xi, p. 6; c. xviii, p. 4; Pen. MS., II, c. v, p. 6; Vesp., II, c. xvi, p. 6.

⁴ D.C., II, c. v, p. 1; A.L., IX, c. xviii, p. 12; A.L., XIV, c. xxiii, p. 5; c. xxxiii, p. 8; Vesp., II, c. xvii, p. 16.

⁵ A.L., X, c. xvii, p. 17.

have been, the Welsh laws, as they have survived, reproduces the law of the Church on the subject in its very strictest form. The Xth Book¹ is vehement in its assertion (of course it is the most ecclesiastical of all the commentaries) that a married priest is one of the things which corrupt the world.

The Dimetian Code and other authorities² lay it down that, if an "ysgolhaig", before taking holy orders, married and had a son, that son was entitled to succeed to his land; but, if thereafter he received the orders of priesthood (*urdeu offeiriadaeth*) and had another son by the same mother, that latter son had no right of succession, because "he was begotten contrary to law".

A person marrying after taking orders was said to be incapable of credibility as a witness; and it is worthy of note that it is the breaking of a solemn vow which rendered him so, because the very same incapacity is attached to a monk breaking his vow, to a person returning to the world after once renouncing it, and to a monk, a friar, an anchorite or a hermit marrying. Further, all of these persons were expressly excluded from receiving redress in court for any wrong done to them, unless and until they had received absolution from the Pope or a bishop on condition of performing some public penance (*penyd cyhoeddawg*), the only case in the Laws where public penance, that most drastic of all disciplinary actions of the Church, is mentioned.³

50.—The second point is the power of the Church to receive gifts from laymen. There was always a contest going on between the central secular authority and the

¹ A.L., X, c. ix, p. 4.

² D.C., II, c. viii, p. 27; A.L., X, c. vii, p. 19; *Vesp.*, II, c. xxv, p. 20.

³ A.L., VIII, c. xi, p. 9; A.L., IX, c. i, p. 19; A.L., X, c. vii, p. 3; A.L., XI, c. iii, p. 15, 28.

Church regarding gifts of land; but that they were extensive is clear from the various surveys of the fourteenth century. The Venedotian Code¹ expressly recognises the right to make gifts, apparently of moveables mainly, under the title of "daered" in anticipation of death, and such bequests, if broken by the heirs, entailed excommunication. They did not need, as other gifts did in law, the guarantee of a surety to make them valid.²

In the Codal survivals we find no restrictions on gifts of land, but in the later commentaries, herein reflecting the Norman Angevin campaign against "mortmain", it is said: "No landowner can give land to a saint, nor to a Church without permission of the lord; if he give it, the Bishop should not consecrate it, nor defend it under the protection of the Church."³

51.—Lastly, we have a few references to canonists as judges. It is stated in the commentaries that whenever there was an appeal to the supreme court of the King against a decision, and contrary decisions in written law were quoted, one supporting, the other in opposition to the decision appealed against, it was the duty of the King to call in canonists, who were to be under monastic vows or other ecclesiastics, to decide which of the two decisions was the correct one, and the finding was to be in accordance with unbiassed canon,⁴ a provision which is of import as showing that "ecclesiastical law" was well understood in Wales, and as indicating that from the time ecclesiastics helped to frame the Welsh codes to the end

¹ V.C., II, c. i, p. 13; III, c. ii, p. 45.

² D.C., II, c. viii, p. 62; Pen. MS., II, c. viii, p. 47; Vesp., II, c. xlvi, p. 27.

³ A.L., VI, c. 1, p. 22; A.L., XI, c. iii, p. 19, 20.

⁴ D.C., II, c. viii, p. 118; A.L., X, c. xi, p. 18; c. xv, p. 3; A.L., XI, c. v, p. 6.

of the commentators, there was a conscious effort to bring the tribal customs of the people into accord with the law of the Church.

That to the very end of the Welsh legal system, the Church did not fully succeed in doing so is true. It failed to do so in the matter of consanguinity, it failed to acquire complete jurisdiction over testamentary dispositions, it failed to impose the law of primogeniture, it failed to abolish altogether the "right of vengeance", it failed to alter the tribal law of divorce; but it failed to do many similar things in other lands. To argue from that, as has been done, that the power of the Catholic Church in Wales was negligible and without influence on the law is to be guilty of writing nonsense.

52.—The references which show the influence of the Church on the law and people of Wales, as illustrated in the laws themselves, have been given. There is no point in recapitulating the various Catholic references; they are there to read, and it is beyond comprehension how any serious writer can say, as has been said, that "there is no Catholic tradition in Wales".

If these Laws are looked at without bias, apart altogether from references to Papal absolution, penance, relics, invocation of saints, the Paternoster, the Ave Maria, the crucifix, vestments and all the other matters, some of them incidental, some of them of primary importance in the Catholic Faith, the outstanding fact, which crops up over and over again, is the celebration of Mass as the offering (the "offeren") of the "Corpus Domini". Then, as to-day, throughout the whole history of the Catholic Church, "it is the Mass that matters". Where there is Mass, following the Canon of the Mass, there is the Catholic Church.

This article may be closed with a beautiful little legend

connected with the Mass, which finds a place in the Gwentian Code :—

“ The origin of bees is from Paradise, and because of man’s sin they came thence. God gave to them His grace, and, on that account, Mass cannot be celebrated without their wax ”.¹

The waxen candle was on the altars of the Catholic Church in Wales a thousand and more years ago ; it is still there. The moral may be left to be drawn. The waxen candle, at any rate, may stand as a symbol of a tradition, whose existence has been denied, but which, in spite of hammering at and efforts at suppression, has never been lost.

¹ G.C., II, c. xxvii, p. 1.

APPENDIX I.

Words and Phrases of Ecclesiastical Import used in the Welsh Laws.

In the Welsh texts.	In the Latin texts.	Meaning.
abat.	abbatis.	abbot.
allawr.	altare.	altar.
....., gysegr.	altare dedicatum.	holy altar.
ancr.	sanctimonialis.	anchoret.
angel.		angel.
archangel.		archangel.
archdiagon.		archdeacon.
archesgob.	archiepiscopus.	archbishop.
Arglwydd Iesu.		The Lord Jesus.
Ave Maria.		
Awdurdawd Pab Rufein.		the authority of the Pope of Rome.
bagl.	bacculus.	crozier.
bara offeren.		Mass bread (see para. 39).
bedd.	sepulchrum.	grave.
bedydd.		baptism.
bedyddio.		to baptize.
bendychu fwyd.		to bless food.
Benedicamus.		
braint y urdeu.		the status of "orders".
brawd.		friar; lit. brother.
cabidwl.		chapter.
cangell.		chancel; the sanctuary.
canu offeren.		to say Mass.
canu y Pader.		to say the Paternoster.
cannwyll.	candela.	candle.
capel.	capella.	chapel.
caplan.	capellanus.	chaplain.
caregl.		chalice.
cardod tir.		land held in "free alms".
clas.		a monastic community.
clochydd.		bell-ringer.
côr.	chorus.	choir.
corddlan.		a fold; sheep-fold.
corfflan.		outer graveyard.
corun.		tonsure.
....., rhoddi c.		to give the tonsure.
....., caffael c.		to receive the tonsure.

In the Welsh texts.	In the Latin texts.	Meaning.
corunog.		tonsured.
crefydd.		the monastic vow.
		M.W. : faith.
. crefyddus pro-		a professed monk.
fressawl.		
..... eglwysig rhwymedig		an ecclesiastic bound by
wrth grefydd.		monastic vows.
crefyddwr.		a monk ; but in A.L.
		XIV., c. xxviii, p. 1,
		equated with
		“ offeiriad plwyf ”,
		q.v.
creiriau.		relics.
creirio.		to swear on relics.
Crist.		Christ.
Cristion.		Christian.
crog.	crux.	crucifix.
ewyr.	cera.	wax.
Cychafel.		Ascension.
cyfraith eglwys.		the law of the church.
....., eglwysig.		ecclesiastical law.
....., y crefydd.		monastic rule.
cymun.		Communion.
cynonwr.	canonicus.	canonist.
cysegr ; cysegredig.		sacred ; consecrated.
cysegru eglwys.		to consecrate a church.
daered.		a death fee or gift.
darllen llyfrau.		to read the (liturgical)
		books.
degwm.	decimum.	tithe.
diawl.		devil.
dillad crefydd,		monastic habit.
crefyddus.		
diofryd.		vow.
....., rhoddi d. o wyr y		to vow withdrawal from
byd.		the world.
diurddo.		to degrade from orders.
duwiol lythyrwr.		one learned in divine
		letters.
dwfr swyn.		holy water.
dyn eglwysig.		an ecclesiastical person.
dyn plwyf.		parishioner.
dyn ym mherygl.		a person “in extremis.”
dirwest ; dirwest.	demorare in pane	abstinence ; fast.
	et aqua.	

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In the Welsh texts.	In the Latin texts.	Meaning.
efengyl.	evangelium.	Gospel.
eglwys.	ecclesia.	church; the Church.
....., plwyf.	ecclesia pleba.	parish church.
eglwysig.		ecclesiastic; ecclesiastical.
eglwyswr.		an ecclesiastic.
erimidwr.		hermit.
esgob.	episcopus.	bishop.
ewyllys Dduw.		the will of God.
Garawys.	Quadragesima.	Lent.
glanwr.		a religious man.
gorffwysfa yr eneidan.		the resting place of souls.
gospwr.		vespers.
graddwr, grahwr.		one in orders.
....., eglwys.		one in orders of the Church.
gwaed Crist.		the blood of Christ.
gweddi.		prayer.
gwenwisg.		holy vestment; surplice
gwisg.	vestis.	vestment.
gwr eglwysig.	vir ecclesiasticus.	ecclesiastic.
gwrando yr offeren.		to bear Mass.
gŵyl.	vigilia; festum; festivitas.	vigil; feast.
....., Fair y Canhwyllau.		Candlemas.
....., uchel.		high festival.
gwyddfa.		burial place.
llan.	ecclesia.	church.
lle glendid.		place of purity (applied to a church).
llyfrau.		(liturgical) books.
llys esgob.		bishop's residence.
mam eglwys.	metropolis ecclesia. ecclesia matrix. mater ecclesia.	mother church.
meudwy.		hermit, anchoret.
mynach.	monachus.	monk.
mynaches.		nun.
mynachty.		monastery.
mynwent.	cimiterium.	inner churchyard.
Nadolig.	Natalis.	Christmas.
nawdd.	refugium.	sanctuary.

In the Welsh texts.	In the Latin texts.	Meaning.
....., sant.		sanctuary of a saint.
nawn.		nones.
nef.		heaven.
noddfa.		sanctuary area.
offeiriad.	sacerdos, presbyter.	the offerer; priest.
....., y frenhines.	sacerdos reginae.	the Queen's priest.
....., gwreigiog.		married priest.
....., plwyf.		parish priest.
....., teulu.	sacerdos familiae	the King's or Court priest.
offer.		furniture of a church.
offeren.	Missa.	the offering; Mass.
canu offeren.	missam celebrare.	
offerennu	missam cantare.	to celebrate Mass.
	sacrificere corpus Domini.	
offrwm.	oblatio.	offering.
Pab Rufein.	Apostolicus Dominus.	the Pope of Rome.
Pader.		Paternoster.
paradwys.		paradise.
Pasc.	Pascha.	Easter.
pechod dyn.		the sin of man.
penyd.	penitentia.	penance.
....., cyhoeddog.		public penance.
....., cymryd, p.	agere penitentiam; suscipere penitentiam.	to do penance.
penydio.		to impose penance.
pererindod.		pilgrimage.
person.		parson.
....., p. Crist.		Christ's parson.
¹ periglor.		parish priest.
plas y creiriau.		place of relics; the "mynwent".

¹ "Periglor", a derivate according to some authorities from "parochalis"; according to others from "periculum". Notwithstanding certain philological difficulties, the texts leave no room for doubt that the word is used in the Laws as equivalent to "parish priest", vide V.C. I, c. xxi, p. 6; II, c. i, p. 12; c. vii, p. 4; c. xxviii, p. 4. A.L. X, c. xvii, p. 17. Also G.C. II, c. xxxix, p. 40, and A.L. XIV, c. xxiv, p. 3, in both of which it is definitely equated with "offeiriad plwyf".

plwyf.		parish.
plwyfogaeth.		state of being a parish- ioner.
proffes.		profession.
crefyddwr a doro y		a monk who has broken
broffes.		his profession.
proffesawl.		one professed.
rhad Duw.		the grace of God.
rhyddau gan y Pab.		to be absolved by the Pope.
sant.	sanctus.	saint.
S. yn ei eglwys.		a saint in his church.
sapel.	capella.	chapel.
segyrffyg.		sacrifice of the Mass.
senedd.	synodus.	synod.
seneddwyr.		synod-men.
Sul.		Sunday.
Sulgwyn.		Whit-Sunday.
uffern.		hell.
urddau.	ordo.	orders.
....., eglwys.		Church orders.
....., offeiridaeth.		orders of priesthood.
eglwysig rhwymedig		an ecclesiastic bound in
wrth urddau		holy orders.
cysegregatedig.		
ymolchi.		to wash; applied to the Lavabo.
ysgolhaig.	clericus.	clerk before receiving major orders.
y. corunog.		a tonsured clerk.
Ysgrythur Lân.		holy Scripture.
ysgymun.	excommunicatus	excommunicated.
Ysbryd Glân.		Holy Spirit.
ysbytty.		hospital.
ystafellof (gwr).	vir cameram	anchoret.
	habens.	
....., (gwraig).	cameram in-	ancess.
	habitans.	
Ystwyll.	Epiphania.	Epiphany.
Y Wryr Fair.		The Virgin Mary.

[NOTE.—The Appendix does not include all derivatives.]

APPENDIX II.

After seeing the proofs of this article, the Rev. Father McGrath, M.A., has very kindly furnished me with the following notes, which help to confirm the close adherence of the Welsh Laws to the "jus ecclesiasticum".

(1) Paras. 17 et seq. show very clearly that Welsh Law recognized absolutely the discipline of the Catholic Church *re* her clerics, inasmuch as these provisions support what has long been known as *Privilegium Canonis*, viz. :—

"quo intelligitur immunitas ab omni violentia externa seu injuriosa iniectione manuum sub poena excommunicationis Rom. Pontifici reservatae ex can. 'Si quis suadente diabolo . . . in Concil. Later. II sub Innoc. II'".

(2) Paras. 24 etc. similarly show Welsh Law in line with Catholic clerical discipline as catered for by *Privilegium Fori*, viz. :—

"quo intelligitur exemptio qua personae ecclesiasticae per se, adeoque praeter canonicas dispositiones, exemptae sunt ab omni potestate seu jurisdictione saeculari tam in civilibus quam in criminalibus ex quo etiam sequitur immunitas a tributis".

(3) Para. 44 anticipates the decree of the Council of Trent 'contra Waldenses, Wicliffestas et Luther', viz. :—

"Si quis dixerit non solos sacerdotes esse ministros absolutionis sed omnibus et singulis Christi fideribus esse dictum 'Quaecumque ligaveritis etc, quorum remiseritis etc' quorum verborum virtute quilibet absolvere possit peccata, publica quidem per correptionem dumtaxat, si correptus acquirerit, secreta vero per spontaneum confessionem anathema sit". (Sess. 14, Can. 10.)

(4) *Re* Reservation of sins the position is thus:—

For valid absolution the minister of the Sacrament of penance is 'solus sacerdos jurisdictione praeditus et simul approbatus ab episcopo'. Ergo, three things are needed (a) the radical, inchoative power of remission which is conferred by the Sacramental orders, (b) jurisdiction by authority over the penitent as over a subject, and (c) an act of mind and will on the part of the bishop approving and determining the priest to this office.

In the Sacrament there is similarity to the office of a judge in civilibus, who needs, even when he has qualified for his office, to have a circuit appointed to him wherein he exercises his power. Now reservation is defined as "restrictio seu limitatio jurisdictionis

in ordine ad absolutionem certorum peccatorum". If jurisdiction be entirely absent or withdrawn, no confession then heard is valid. But it may be withdrawn only as regards certain graver sins.

The reasons for reservation are, as a rule, two, (a) to deter people from committing such sins by the difficulty of getting absolution and the consequent shame, (b) so that these graver diseases of the soul may be attended to by more experienced physicians. Finally, if the minister of the Sacrament be a priest and have (a) the radical power and (c) the episcopal approbation, he may still find himself debarred from absolving certain very grave sins, the jurisdiction over which is reserved by the Pope either to himself or to the Bishop.

(5) From all the regulations of Welsh Law on these points, it is absolutely clear that Hywel Dda was assisted in his codification by clerics and canonists, and it certainly would seem that Papal confirmation was had for his Code, merely from this consideration, and thus gave rise to the traditional belief on the matter.

(6) *Re* explanation of the term "bara offeren". While I agree with the explanation as given in the article, I would point out that in the Hengwrt MSS., Vol. II, there is a late treatise on "The Virtues of seeing Christ's Body", viz., attending Mass, in which the following lines occur:—

"Os byddy varw (y dydd) y gwelych, breint kymmunawl
a vydd arnat y dydd hunnw, a hynny o achos kymryt y bara
offeren".

As this stands, it may mean either the Blessed Sacrament or the "pain bénit"; but, being part and parcel of a passage which emphasized the value of hearing Mass and seeing the Corpus Domini elevated, it would seem to mean the Consecrated Species.

Possibly, if it should mean the Consecrated Species here, and not the "pain bénit", it would be because the MS. was written at a date when the custom of distributing the "pain bénit" had practically died out, and the phrase come to lose its earlier signification and had come to replace the term "afrllad".

[Here too, I think, "bara offeren" equals "pain bénit", because as in the poem of John Audelay, quoted in the text, the "breint kymmunawl" (the status of communion) appears to attach to a sacramental for the same reason, viz., sudden death on the date of reception.
—T.P.E.]



Clynnog.



Interior of Clynnog.

To face p. 69.

“ Three Old Foundations ”.

By ALBERT OWEN EVANS,

*Archdeacon of Bangor and Rector of Llanfaethlu cum Llanfwrrog,
Anglesey.*

They passed not with the passing day,
The great ones that are gone:
Their bodies fell beside the way,
Their spirit leads us on.¹

WHETHER or not our title is too comprehensive, remains to be seen. There is no question but that all three are old, and that they are foundations, and in addition, that in spite of, or because of, vicissitudes they have a tale to unfold. They are three churches which during last year, after undergoing extensive repairs and renovation, were re-opened for public worship. For the moment, attention need not be called to their *πρεῖμα*, but their *ψυχὴ* is so inviting that it conjures up thoughts and invites enquiry and reflection.

A foundation which can point to thirteen centuries of history is surely worthy of notice and attention. Dynasties and houses, crowns and thrones, came and went, but these still remain in their seclusion, isolation, and modesty, as so many parables and symbols of warning, encouragement and solace. The trio are the church of St. Beuno, in the village of Clynnog, that of St. Rhychwyn, near the better known village of Trefriw, and that of St. Ccinwen, near the hamlet of Dwyran. The first two are in Carnarvonshire; the third is in Anglesey.

NOTE.— All the Illustrations are from photographs taken specially by Mr. W. Aspden, Photographer, Bangor, North Wales.

¹ *The Life and Times of Nicholas Ferrar*, by H. P. K. Skipton (1907), p. 182.

To every lover of ancient fanes their restoration, or rather their reparation and refurbishing, must be a source of gratification. The names Beuno, Rhychwyn and Ceinwen are typical of what we have in Wales at our very doors to tell us of the past. Moreover, these are thoroughly Welsh in every feature of their life and story. Sometimes we meet with an Armorican, at other times with an Irish (children of the same family) dedication, but these three were home Saints,¹ natives of the soil.

Difficulties and Values.

Never were neighbourhoods where poverty was so pinching, and means were so lacking even to encourage the initiation of schemes for reparation, but in each case people were found who thought upon their stones, and who were grieved to see them in the dust.² We read very lately of means which were discovered to appeal for more pretentious and better known edifices in the country,³ and so it is the more creditable to all concerned that the total sum of £10,000 was obtained in these poor, out of the way, far from everywhere, country places to accomplish what was so necessary for their preservation. Each spot is so inaccessible that a visit involves and claims a day's travelling. Had Wales followed the example of Ireland under similar conditions, and in present circumstances, we would have reverently and with sorrow dismantled the three churches. But what a loss to Wales that would have spelt!

In these buildings are the webs and strands of history, and entwined with their fabrics are not only local, but a

¹ Undoubtedly at first the word "saints" was used in the New Testament sense, but later, saintship was subjected to an elaborate system of classification and canonization. ² Psalm cii, 14.

³ Such as the funds collected for St. Paul's Cathedral, Westminster Abbey, and Lincoln Cathedral.

general compendium and epitome of the happenings, incidents and events of larger and more portentous occurrences. In addition they visualize the halo of ideals, conceptions and imaginings of individuals as well as of communities.

Foundations and Dedications.

Rice Rees in "An essay on the Welsh Saints",¹ points out that a foundation took its title from its founder, and this general principle the authors of the "Lives of the British Saints"² accept with a slight modification. Besides, the naming involved proprietary rights. With respect to these three foundations, whether judged by subsequent history, or tested by the scant material to hand, it is doubtful whether it could even be suggested that the persons named could not be identified with the building and site, or that there had been a change in the dedication during the passing of the years. Dr. Silvan Evans used to assert what had actually happened in the case of Llanwrin.³ Originally the dedication of his parish church was to Ust and Dyfnig, but at a later date it was changed to Gwrin. In a notice of this character and length dependence has to be placed to some extent on the inferences and gleanings of others. Still, much delight and pleasure would be lost if our information were exact and minute, and all details were reproduced with the precision and grimness of a diary.

There are three main and constant factors in history which should be borne in mind if justice is to be done to any period or personage. Human nature in all climes

¹ *An Essay on the Welsh Saints*, by Rice Rees (1836), p. 11.

² *The Lives of the British Saints*, by S. Baring Gould and John Fisher (iv vol's., 1907), i, p. 3.

³ Upon what information Silvan Evans founded his assertion is not known.

and countries varies but little. The actors were men of like nature to ourselves. What we call common sense (for the want of a better term) is not the prerogative or the special attribute of any race or time. It is just as precious, and equally rare and valuable, in every century. Very possibly the most important clue to a right knowledge of a movement is the discovery of the motive which was in view. It is what constrained men which most of all enhances their work, and the fruit of their labours, and not the mere cataloguing of their opportunities and abilities. Providence preserves what is worth preserving be it a name or a site, though the Psalmist appears to cavil at those who call their lands after their own names.¹

Parish of Clynnog, and its Neighbourhood.

Clynnog still retains the name for its parish and village which it obtained from the Goidels, many years before the advent of Beuno. Attempts have been made to derive the name from Celynnog²—a place of holly-trees, but it has no more connection with that tree than Holyhead has with holly. Neither the soil nor the geographical situation of Holyhead, or Clynnog, is favourable to the growth of the holly, and the shrub is conspicuous by its absence from both districts. Six miles to the south of Clynnog lie the

¹ Psalm xlix, 2.

² *A History of Wales*, by J. E. Lloyd (ii vol's.. 1911). i, 235 (note). Possibly by false inference the "e" has crept in from Celleiniog the name of a township in Llan Ceinwen (see *Arch. Camb.*, 1846, p. 312). It was Lewis Morris who first suggested "holly" as the meaning of Clynnog. It is interesting to notice that Leland, who, thanks to Rowland Griffiths his mentor possibly, has some wonderful meanings to Welsh names never ventures on a derivation for Clynnog. He invariably spells the name Clunnok. Leland, gives *magna turba militum* for Llanfaethlu, *Og an harow* for Llanfwrog, and *tawny* for Llanrhyddlad (see *Leland*, p. 131)! See also Fenton's *Tours in Wales* (1917), p. 324.

remains of Tre'r ceiri, the famous Iberian settlement on a spur of the Rivals (Yr Eifl). Undoubtedly the final departure of Maximus in 387¹ created a new situation in the country generally and especially in this particular neighbourhood. The Roman army had sheltered and protected, and when circumstances compelled the Roman evacuation, the countryside and its inhabitants were laid bare to marauders. These at the time came principally from Ireland, and for many years formed colonies along the sea-board. It may be accepted as a fact that for several centuries, really till the Norman period, there were numerous and great movements of the population² as well as emigration, once the Roman forces had left these shores.

Coming of Christianity.

The year 387 is a land-mark in many ways. If, as it is alleged, that Peblig was a son of Maximus,³ and that Peblig was the real founder of the church which now bears his name at Caernarvon, Christianity had already been planted in this district. We note that both Camden and Gibson are extremely careful when they refer to any church, for they invariably use the word dedicated rather than founded.⁴ It is now generally assumed by historians that Christianity was introduced into this country by the effort of individuals who were members of the Roman army of occupation, and by merchants who traded from the Continent, rather than, as it was once maintained, by some of the Apostles and their companions who came on what might be termed a missionary enterprise. In this

¹ *A History of Wales* (J. E. Lloyd), p. 93.

² *Ibid.*, p. 94.

³ *The Lives of the British Saints*, iv. p. 86. *Tours in Wales* 1917, (Fenton), p. 321.

⁴ *Britannia* by William Camden, revised by Edmund Gibson (ii vol, 1722), ii, 825.

connection attention might be called to the views of Bishop Richard Davies which he expresses in his remarkable address to the Welsh people, which he wrote in 1567 as an epilogue to the first New Testament in Welsh.¹ Following a synod of the Bishops of Gaul in 429² we find that a visit is paid to this country by Germanus of Auxerre and Lupus of Troyes for the purpose of combating the Pelagian heresy. When the records of this visit are examined it is found that these Gallican Bishops met an organized body of believers. Reference is made to the presence of heretics at their assemblies, but not to any great body of heathenism. There was some lack of true faith but not of the want of faith. We mention this in our endeavour to show that the story of Peblig and his foundation is probably true and that this part of Gwynedd had already adopted Christianity. The gap between 387 and 429 was much too short, and opportunities were far too few, to allow for a wide propaganda in the meantime. For the next hundred years the country was in a state of great turmoil. There were dissensions within and attacks from without.³ Raid followed raid, battles were frequent, and the inhabitants were disciplined in the stern school of necessity and hardship. The Latin language was no longer heard in the land, and people were confused by the clash of Celtic dialects. Still, through such a distracting period the country maintained a hold on its ecclesiastical terms for the details of worship and ritual. Words which savoured of the Latin days, clothed perhaps in homely garb, yet were reminiscent of the peace and tranquility which reigned when the people lived under the protecting wings of the Roman army. This transition period is im-

¹ *A memorandum on the legality of the Welsh Bible, etc.* (1925), p. 85.

² *A History of the Welsh Church* (E. J. Newell, 1895), p. 34.

³ *A History of Wales* (J. E. Lloyd), i, chap. vi.

portant. The years of the Roman occupation were just as many as those of the domination of organized monastic settlements,—from the days of Giraldus Cambrensis to their dissolution in the reign of Henry VIII. Yet the first period left seemingly a greater impression on the spoken language than the latter. Such words as *allor*, *offeiriad*, *esgob*, *Nadolig*, *Garawys*, *Pasc*, *pylgain* and *gospwr*,¹ only to mention a few in current use, and more especially when we compare them with their equivalents in Cornish and Breton, tell of a living Church even in the dark and troublous days between 387 and the coming of Gildas. This writer, indirectly and meagrely it must be confessed, throws much light on the history of Wales in the sixth century.²

The Golden Age.

This was the golden age of saints³ and founders. Then flourished David, Cadoc, Dyfrig, Teilo and Padarn. Two men from the North appeared in North Wales, and Deiniol formed a religious centre at Bangor which in time became the seat of a bishop, and Kentigern, his contemporary, followed on similar lines at St. Asaph. The former is said to have died in 584,⁴ and Kentigern in 612.⁵ This was the period when Cybi and Seiriol came on the scene. Cybi, the Cornish man, after a long trail, settled finally at Holyhead on the extreme western coast of Anglesey, while Seiriol made his home in the eastern corner of the island.

“ In the bare midst of Anglesey they show
Two springs which close by one another play ;

¹ See Appendix III.

² *Gildas*, Hugh Williams (1899). *The Works of Gildas and Nennius* (J. A. Giles, 1841).

³ *A History of Wales* (J. E. Lloyd), i, chap. v.

⁴ *Annales Cambriae*, p. 5.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

And, "Thirteen hundred years ago", they say,
Two saints met often where these waters flow".¹

Cybi died in 554.²

The Mission of the Roman Church.

Augustine, the head of the Roman mission, with his band of workers, arrived in 597. His conference with the Welsh Bishops was held in 602 or 603,³ and then began a new period of confusion and misunderstanding which culminated in the itinerary in 1188 of Archbishop Baldwin, Ranulph de Glanville, "privy counsellor and justiciary of the whole Kingdom",⁴ and Archdeacon Giraldus Cambrensis. For close on six hundred years of keen controversy, more political than religious, the country passed through a prolonged contest, for supremacy on the one hand, and for peace on the other. Augustine, through his close associations with the new-comers, the Angles and Saxons, appeared to the Welsh people as an enemy, and it is to be feared that Canterbury itself in consequence remained for many years under a cloud of misapprehension and suspicion to the ordinary Welshman.

Beuno.

In 615 occurred the disaster of Chester,⁵ when Æthelfrith won his famous victory over the Britons. In consequence Gwynedd, which apparently had not taken part in the battle, was flooded with refugees from the east, and among them Beuno, who came to the court of Cadfan at Caer Saint, the old Segontium of the Romans.

Beuno was a Powys man, and was probably born at

¹ *East and West*, Sonnet by Matthew Arnold.

² *The Lives of the British Saints*, ii, p. 211.

³ *A History of Wales* (J. E. Lloyd), i, p. 174.

⁴ *The itinerary through Wales*, Giraldus Cambrensis (Dent & Co.), p. 12.

⁵ *A History of Wales* (J. E. Lloyd), i, p. 179.

Llan-y-mynach,¹ in Montgomeryshire. After an early training at Caerwent, at the time famous as a seminary, he commenced his ministry in Ewyas (Hereford). We follow his path by churches dedicated to him, which even to-day recall his name. Berriew and Bettws Cedewain in Montgomery, and Llanycil and Gwyddelwern in Merioneth, all have churches bearing Beuno's name. His interview with Cadfan was not altogether a success, but eventually he found and obtained what he required at Clynnog. It is a secluded beauty spot midway between Caernarvon and Pwllheli, about ten miles from both places, and at the foot of Gern Goch (1,607 feet high), the central height of a group of three hills. It was an ideal site for a religious centre. Over the water were the broad acres of "Môn mam Cymru", to the North was Arfon, to the East Eifionydd, and to the South, Lleyn. Not far, was an old Roman castellum called Dinas Dinlle, and quite near were the ancient Iberian villages which probably left many effects on the countryside, both linguistic and moral. Clynnog itself in its name retains such a trace for it appears to be "Cluanóg", Cluanog, meaning a secluded place,² and it is cognate with Cloyne in Ireland. This is a perfect description of the place, for though the tower of the present church is 75 feet high, yet it is not observable till one approaches quite close to the church. Eben Fardd, the schoolmaster and bard of Clynnog, called this part of the parish "Llawr y llan".³ If Beuno came in 615, and died in 635, his period of activity at Clynnog must have been only twenty years. Such a short period of time would scarcely have permitted him to accomplish the great and important work with which he has been

¹ *The Lives of the British Saints*, i, p. 210, note 4.

² From *An Irish-English Dictionary*, by O'Reilly and O'Donovan (Dublin).

³ *Cyff Beuno*, Eben Fardd (1863), p. 23.

credited. It not only meant settling down at Clynnog but led to ramifications in other districts, for we find that there are two dedications to Beuno in Anglesey—at Aberffraw and Trefdraeth, and also at Penmorfa in Eifionydd, as well as at Carngiwch, Pistyll, and Bottwnog in Lleyrn. A good view of these six parishes is obtainable from the summit of Gern Goch. Though the authors of “The British Saints” give, in their genealogical table of Beuno,¹ 635 as the year of his death, yet apparently they were not quite satisfied, and later in their notice of Beuno suggest 642,² in order to reconcile it with the falling of Low Sunday in that year, and to allow for Beuno’s association with Ynyr Gwent. Such a calculation undoubtedly would give more time to Beuno at Clynnog.

Llan Rhychwyn.

Conditions at Llan Rhychwyn are in sharp contrast with those obtained at Clynnog. Here, because of its close proximity to Trefriw, and its inaccessibility, much of its glory has passed away. In early days this church served a much larger area of country, and included not only the now Trefriw district, and Bettws-y-Coed,³ but also a portion of Capel Curig.³ The mesh of paths and lanes which lead to the church from every direction is just like the sheep tracks along the mountains of Snowdonia.

Rhychwyn.

As a dedication Rhychwyn stands alone in Wales. From the east end of the church can be seen Moel Rhychwyn, on the other side of the river Conway in Denbighshire, and beyond the Foel, Mynydd Bôd Rhychwyn, but

¹ Page 209.

² Page 221.

³ On Bettws and Capel, see *A History of the Welsh Church* (Newell), p. 147.



Llan Rhychwyn.



Interior of Llan Rhychwyn.

To face p. 78.

apparently there is no family connection between the three Rhychwyn's. The founder of the church is described by some authorities as the son of Hael the Breton, but more often, and looking at the site of the church, with every semblance of probability, as the son of Helig ab Glannog,¹ whose land was inundated by the sea. This territory is said to have been "from Bangor vawr yn gwynedd to Gogarth and soe to Tyganwy or Gannog Castle".² If Rhychwyn was the son of Helig, the place would be ideal, if a man required a spot to which he could retire for meditation and contemplation after such a harrowing experience. He had three brothers who founded other churches—Boda or Bodfan, at Aber between Bangor and Llanfairfechan; Gwynin, at Dwygyfylchi (Penmaenmawr), and at a place eight miles beyond Pwllheli³; and Brothen, near Portmadoc. The foundation of Rhychwyn would be unlike that of Beuno. In the latter case there would be a "clas", or community of men and women working in co-operation and leading a common life under a rule and an acknowledged head and leader, and naturally the outlook on life would be wider and more extensive than that of the lonely cell above Trefriw. In course of time the abba would become the abbot. Hence, would offshoots and branches be organized which would look to the old centre for inspiration and guidance. As time crept on, the lesser leaders became founders, and so the system developed and expanded. Thus we find the names of Cwyfan, Aelhaiarn, Twrog and Buan associated with that of Beuno in the neighbourhood of Clynnog. In similar cases to Rhychwyn we find a lonely cell where the saint would occupy his time in religious exercises.

¹ *An Ancient survey of Pen Maen Mawr*, by Sir John Gwynn of Gwedyr (1859). New Edition, 1906, p. 8. Also, *The History of the Gwydir Family* for inundation, p. 8.

² *Ibid.*, p. 8.

³ Llan Dygwinnin.

A little wyde
 There was a holy chapell edified
 Wherein the hermit dewly went to say
 His holy things each morn and even tyde.¹

In accordance with the practice of the British Church his final settlement was not lightly undertaken. The site having been selected, with due regard more especially to a good water-supply, then would follow a period of forty days for fasting and prayer before the saint considered that the place was sufficiently hallowed for his purposes.

Llan Ceinwen.

With Ceinwen we observe another characteristic of the early days of Christianizing the country. Here is neither a community nor an isolated cell, but assistance vouchsafed by a member of a family to propagate the ideals in which she had been nurtured, so it was a natural expression to realize in practice what she had always been taught, and with which she was thoroughly familiar. Her parish of Llan Ceinwen is conterminous with that of her sister, Dwynwen. In both cases the termination "wen" is generally accepted as equivalent to "blessed".² In Cein (possibly Cain) and Dwyn we have the Mary and Martha of Anglesey. Cain had chosen the good part, and her foundation to-day is intact, whereas that of Dwyn, alas! has all but disappeared in the waters of Caernarvon Bay. The sea has made such inroads that, though in 1500 Llan Dwyn was a rich prebend which afforded a substantial income to the then Dean of Bangor,³ to-day there is neither church nor parsonage, but a few scattered stones which mark the spots where they formerly stood, and for

¹ *Fairie Queene* (Spenser), Book I, Cant. i. St. 34.

² *The Lives of the British Saints*, ii, p. 52.

³ *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, vol. vi (printed 1834), p. xxxiv. Also *A History of Anglesey* (Anon., 1775), p. 44; and *A Book of North Wales*, p. 81.



Llan Ceinwen.



Interior of Llan Ceinwen.

To face p. 80.

ecclesiastical purposes, what is left of the parish is added to the adjoining parish of Newborough. Six miles distant from Llan Ceinwen is another parish called Cerrig Ceinwen, but we are unable to make any suggestion why it is so called.

Anglesey has many dedications to female saints. Of the ninety-two churches on the island, no fewer than twelve recall females, and these do not include the twelve dedicated to Mary. The British names are those of the oldest foundations, then come those named after Saint Michael the Archangel (there are four Llanfihangels in Anglesey),¹ and after that, those called after Saint Mary. Most of these of the last category are of the Norman period. It is a striking fact that where we find a castle in North Wales, we have in almost every case a church dedicated to Mary—Denbigh, Rhuddlan, Conway, Caernarvon, Beaumaris and Harlech. When Prince Llewelyn, for the sake of Joan his wife,² built Trefriw church to take the place of Llan Rhychwyn, we find that the dedication of the new church was to Mary.

If we were asked to place these three foundations under our notice in the order of the time of their formation, we would suggest the following:—Ceinwen, Rhychwyn, Beuno. Apparently there was some connection between Ceinwen and Cybi. The latter died 554, and was associated with Caffo the brother of Gildas.³ Ceinwen in the neighbouring parish to Llan Caffo would form her settlement soon after his time. Rhychwyn, like Beuno, was a victim of the disaster at Chester,⁴ and as he re-

¹ Llanfihangel Tre'r beirdd.
Llanfihangel Din Silwy.
Llanfihangel Ysceifiog.
Llanfihangel yn Nhowyn.

² *The Old Churches of Snowdonia*, Harold Hughes and North, 1924, p. 99. ³ *Lives of the British Saints*, ii, 50. ⁴ *Ibid.*, i, 224.

turned to his old neighbourhood he would more readily discover a site for his cell. Beuno seems to have appeared before Cadfan to plead for a home, and through the death of Cadfan¹ had to renew his petition before Cadwallon, the son and successor, and undoubtedly his initial application was not favourably received.

Church of Rhychwyn.

Just as these churches vary in the character of their creation so also do they differ in their *σῶμα*. It will be readily understood that the present buildings were not erected by their founders. The earliest churches in all probability were rude wattle work and daub, and those in which we are concerned are the third or even the fourth of a series. The oldest is Llan Rhychwyn. This contains three distinct and noticeable parts built at three long intervals. In the south aisle we discover a portion which is generally claimed by competent authorities to have been erected before 1200,² and this seemingly was afterwards lengthened to provide for a chancel. Between these parts is a low step which is the line of demarcation. This aisle with its addition is known as Llewelyn's (died 1240) old church. Parallel to this aisle is another of equal length (39 feet), and a foot wider (15 feet), which was added by Meredydd ap Ieuan of the Gwydir family (died 1525) about 1520.³ Altogether we obtain a double aisle church very similar to what we often see in the Vale of Clwyd. The altar is placed at the east end of Llewelyn's old church, and the Communion rails bear the date 1616. The reading desk and pulpit are at the east end of Meredydd's aisle, and are of the date of 1691. The Gwydir family

¹ *A History of Wales* (J. E. Lloyd), i, 181.

² *The Old Churches of Snowdonia*, p. 106.

³ *The History of the Gwydir Family* (1827). p. 93 (note).



Lych-Gate of Clynnog.



Lych-Gate of Llan Rhychwyn.

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in its time and day appears to have been noted church builders. The above-mentioned Meredydd, in addition to an aisle at Llan Rhychwyn, had to his credit the old parish church of Dolwyddelan, built 1512.¹ The portion of Llanrwst Parish Church called Gwydir chapel was added in 1633 by Sir Owen Wynn,² and Sir Richard Wynn in 1673 built a private chapel to serve his family in the wood above Gwydir Castle.³

Church of Beuno.

The next in age is Clynnog. This was new in the days of Leland,⁴ whose account is dated 1536-39, and the suggestion is made that it was built somewhere between 1480 and 1500. A charter had been granted by Edward IV to Galfrid Trefnant,⁵ who at the time was head of the community at Clynnog, to confirm and ratify all endowments⁶ which from time to time had been made to the Church of Beuno. There is no allusion in the document to any rebuilding, and none such would be expected. The chapter at Clynnog in this respect would be independent, and it is questionable whether any faculty was required or sought. Probably the ratification of the endowments was for the purpose of sales of the lands in the possession of the corporate body at Clynnog,⁷ and that the present edifice was built with the proceeds. Clynnog had been a rival of Bangor Cathedral from its inception, and it is not surprising that, due to various causes, like other capitular

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 94, and Fenton's *Tours in Wales* (1917), p. 167.

² *Ibid.*, p. xiv. and Fenton's *Tours in Wales* (1917), p. 162.

³ *The Old Churches of Snowdonia*, p. 110, and Fenton. p. 173.

⁴ See *The Itinerary in Wales of John Leland* (1906, Lucy T. Smith), p. 52.

⁵ *The Record of Caernarvon* (printed 1838), from E. Codice MSS, Harleiano 696 descriptum, p. 257.

⁶ See Appendix I.

⁷ A similar step was taken at Bangor for the repairs of the cathedral at that place, see *Browne Willis (Bangor)*, pp. 56, 183.

bodies, they should claim at Clynnog the exclusive right of jurisdiction over their own domestic affairs. It was this policy of claiming exemption from episcopal control which afterwards became the principal cause of the abolition of all monastic establishments in this country. Among old manuscripts will be found three odes to Clynnog, and all are of the years 1480-1500. One of these odes seems to be in laudation of a feast held in celebration of some notable event in connection with Clynnog, and this might well have been, though it must be admitted that it does not contain any direct reference, the opening of the new church.¹ This poem was written by a cleric of the name of Sir John Leiaf (there was a John Fechan, vicar-choral of Bangor in 1504). This suggestion of the date of rebuilding has the merit of not being antagonistic to other factors in the calculation. In addition there is to be found at Clynnog what is called a Mazer Bowl of the highest interest and importance, of dark maple wood, mounted with silver-gilt band, engraved with the inscription in black letters :—

" I.H.S. nazareus rex iudeorum fili dei miserere mei "

Its date is said to be " circa 1480-90 ".² This again would be in agreement with our suggestion. We would number the church among the best seven ecclesiastical piles in Wales. St. David's, Llandaff, and Bangor Cathedrals would come early in the list. Wrexham has always been considered one of the seven wonders of Wales, Margam and Ewenni Priory are fine churches, yet Clynnog, with its tower, transepts, rood-screens, and one item which belongs to few—a miniature chapel which nestles under

¹ See Appendix II. The Richard Kyffin mentioned in the ode, and known as the Black Dean (see *Browne Willis*, p. 124), was Dean of Bangor, 1480-1502. See also *Browne Willis (Bangor)*, p. 34.

² *The Church Plate of Bangor*. E. Alfred Jones (1906), p. 72.

its shadow, forming a part of, and yet quite separate from the mother church—will bear comparison with the best. In these days we speak of side-chapels, but in few churches have we anything like “*eglwys y bedd*” which represents the oratory, the chantry, the pantheon and bede-house of the past. We look in vain for similar buildings at many of our cathedrals and larger churches. It is true that St. Asaph Cathedral possesses one in its parish church, but alas! in the case of the Cathedral of Bangor the site of Capel Mair garth Edgar frenin only is known and that marked by a beautiful yew tree. Canterbury has such a chapel, and Exeter Cathedral has several guild chapels in its immediate vicinity. The little known church of Llan Eilian on the northern coast of Anglesey, as well as the old Collegiate church of Holyhead, have additional edifices similar to that of Clynnog.

The length of Clynnog church from east to west is 138 feet, and its width across the transepts is 70 feet. The height of the walls of the body of the church, the transepts, and chancel, to the top of the battlements, is 36 feet 8 inches, which is just half of the height of the tower. Both the heights of church and tower exceed those of Bangor Cathedral.

The Moral of Beuno's Church.

Looking at the size of the church and the needs of a country parish, with a population at the present time of 1495, without a doubt it is much too large for what is required. The adjoining building would suffice for all the general purposes of the parish. The church itself fills the imagination with a grand idea of the glory of God it is true, and this renders valuable service in the face of the rich variety of human life. There stands a wonderful and ancient fane which for over four hundred years has been

a monument to the passer-by of a conception of religion which is infrequently obtained elsewhere! We forget these days the primary intention of such an edifice. It was built on the highway of the many pilgrimages which processed so frequently in those far-off days from all parts to Bardsey. It afforded a resting place physically, morally and spiritually. To-day, during the summer months, the church re-echoes with the footsteps of English visitors, who arrived may be by char-a-banc, and have been carried willy-nilly to view a large empty church in connection with which are many legends and fables, forgetting that we have here a famous pilgrim church, and where used to be queues of pious-minded persons waiting in silence after a long and tiring journey on foot, for permission to enter the sacred building for spiritual refreshment. Clynnog church was not built to be a home of congregational worship as we understand the term to-day. An attempt should be made to resuscitate some of the primary and original intentions of the foundation. As it is, the burden of guardianship and responsibility is much too great for one man, however diligent and industrious he may be. It is not exactly the arduousness of the task, especially now that the fabric has been so well restored, but something more is needed. The times require a fresh outlook and vision, and schemes and plans should be mapped out for a new lease of service, reviving, where necessary and possible, some of the old life, and utilising what is to hand in a direction that would realize some of the old dreams. We are aware that much of this work should be the task of the mother church of the diocese, yet there is room for Beuno's foundation. As the first step to secure this the old chapter should be revived. It consisted of five members. Till 1536 the members were duly and canonically elected and instituted. It was in the sixteenth century

that Clynnog saw for the first time what we call a sole Vicar. Though Clynnog is not numbered among the monasteries suppressed by the Act of Henry VIII, yet we find that the election of prebendaries fell into abeyance about this time. Surely four of our leading clergymen, with the incumbent of Clynnog as provost or warden, would be a useful board of management for such purposes. In consultation and collaboration schemes would be devised that would carry out some of the ideals of the church of Clynnog. There are already fourteen prebendal stalls in its choir, and with the incumbents of all churches dedicated to Beuno, in conjunction with such a committee, they would form an ample and practical council for further developments. The enthusiasm and zeal which were shown when the church was re-opened on the second of July of last year were expressions of an interest as unexpected as it was remarkable. Whether or not a concourse so large and so representative would come together again under other auspices is problematical. Still, an attempt should be made. The church affords every facility as a place for the holding of a festival of sacred music. The fact that it has no organ would be in these days in its favour rather than to the contrary. With a well-devised programme of lectures it would conceivably prove a great attraction at least once a year. Pilgrimages might well be organised in the summer time. All this would not preclude that which we are so accustomed to in Wales, and possibly we are so inured to them that we cannot conceive of any other form of religious diversion and edification,—a simple congregational service with Welsh sermons. Pious visitors sometimes are pained by the apparent lack of any regard for the place as primarily a house of prayer, yet, even so, it is possible to believe that a good secondary use might be made of such a consecrated

building. The possibilities are great with a modicum of patience and diligence.

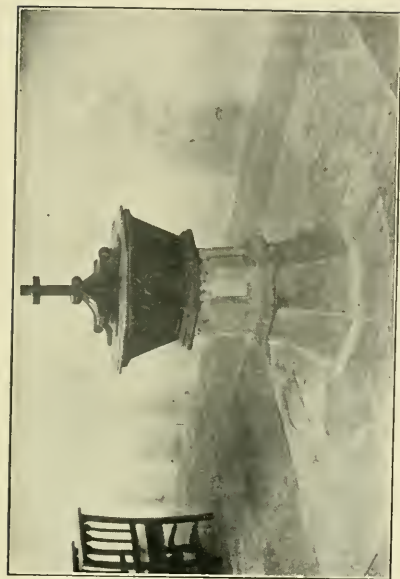
Church of Ceinwen.

Great is the contrast between the above two and the church of Llan Ceinwen. Llan Rhychwyn's atmosphere is simplicity, primitive, and native. Every stone of Clynnog breathes forth the word ecclesiastical. In Llan Ceinwen it is far different, for the present building was only erected in 1812¹ on the old foundation, and its tower was added in 1838-9.² Inside, with the exception of its font, was nought to be found but what is generally termed "Churchwardens' restoration". It possessed before its present reparation what was called a "three decker",—there are now only two left in Bangor diocese. It will be remembered that during the eighteenth and early nineteenth century it was quite fashionable to have such erections in churches. On the ground level was a desk for the clerk, above this was the reading-desk for the clergyman, and still higher was the pulpit where the sermon was delivered. In the case of Llan Ceinwen this was most unfortunate owing to the low roof, for the preacher, more especially if he happened to be tall, had his head literally in the roof. All this has been changed, and the church has been refurnished throughout in oak. We excepted the font, which is extremely beautiful. It is of early thirteenth-century workmanship and there is no other instance of similar design in the neighbourhood. It bears a marked resemblance to some of the earlier carving at Valle Crucis Abbey, which was not commenced till about 1200.³ The font at Llan Rhychwyn apparently is

¹ *A History of the Island of Mona*, Angharad Llwyd (1833), p. 275.

² From a tablet in the church.

³ *Archæologia Cambrensis*, vol. lxxii, part i; Seventh Series, vol. ii, p. 76.



Font of Clynnog.



Font of Llan Ceinwen.



Font of Llan Rhychwyn.

one of the earliest forms found in this country,¹ and is older than that of Llan Ceinwen. At Clynnog, what on first inspection might be considered to be a very recent addition to the church, a font is found which cannot be said to accord with the large edifice. It gives the appearance of being insignificant, but on the authority of a reference² it is said to be of the year 1622. It is remarkable that the foundations which were brought under Latin influences possess more striking and more imposing fonts than those which retained their local and primitive colouring. Such would be that of Conway. We ought to mention that an ancient doorway of the eleventh century was discovered at Llan Ceinwen during the course of the restoration. This shows that when the church was rebuilt the entire building was not taken down.

Communion Vessels.

These always are of value in connection with the history of every church. Clynnog, in addition to the Mazer Bowl to which reference has already been made, possesses an Elizabethan silver chalice of the date of 1574, with a paten-cover of the same date; also, another chalice of a larger capacity, which has the London date-letter for 1636-7, and inscribed on it, "Calix Ecclesiæ de Clynnocke. Ex dono Olivi Lloyd LL.D. rectoris ibm". The paten-cover of the chalice is of the same date and has the inscription, "Operculum calicis Ecclesiæ de Clynnocke ex dono Ioannis Griffith clerici Vicar ibm". The "Oliver Lloyd" mentioned was a Montgomeryshire man, and died Dean of Hereford in 1625.

At Llan Ceinwen will be found a very interesting

¹ *The Old Churches of Snowdonia*, p. 105.

² The present vicar of Clynnog (Rev. John Davies) supplies the information that at one time the date was to be found on the font, but though careful search was made, yet it could not be discovered.

chalice and paten-cover. The paten is plain but the chalice is inscribed, "Ex dono R. White Lhan-ginwen Rectoris regi a sacris qui alienarit anathema sit 1613". Robert White, D.D., was of the Fryars, Beaumaris. He was Prebendary of Pennynydd and Worcester, Archdeacon of Merioneth (he succeeded Edmund Prys) and Norfolk, and sinecure Rector of Clynnog, at different periods in his life. He died in 1657, and was buried in the adjoining parish of Llan Caffo. They have also at Llan Ceinwen a paten which has inscribed on it "The gift of the Rev^d Thos Holland of Berw, Rector of the church of Llangeinwen, 1736". He was the son of John Holland of Caernarvon and Berw. He was instituted to Llan Ceinwen in 1708, and died in 1746.

Owing to the somewhat peculiar circumstances at Llan Rhychwyn, due to the building of Trefriw church, the silver vessels here are few. It possesses a fine silver chalice with the inscription, "Ex dono Randall Lloyd", and bears the London date-letter for 1614-15.

Parochial System.

It is now generally maintained that parishes (*Παροικιαί*, neighbourhoods) were formed in this country during the Archiepiscopate of Theodore of Canterbury (668-693) because of a reference found in his "Penitential",¹ but it is clear from Bede's "Epistle to Egbert", Archbishop of York (734-767), that the system had not at that time been universally adopted. Rowlands in "*Mona Antiqua*"² mentions an earlier date, and attributes the parochial divisions to Archbishop Honorius (627-655), and sagely remarks, "But in the British churches at that time his injunctions could be of no force". The ministerial serv-

¹ *The History of the Church of England*, H. Oflley Wakeman (1896), p. 48. ² *Mona Antiqua Restaurata*, Henry Rowlands (1723), p. 151.

ing of the various parishes was at first two-fold, which began as supplementary, but tended to become antagonistic. These were the parochial system, as we know it to-day, and the monastic system. In the parochial the "persona ecclesiae" was appointed and collated to his cure by the Bishop of the particular diocese in which the parish was situated, and in the other case it would be an appointment by the monastery of which the cleric was a member, but he had to be admitted to his parochial charge by the Bishop of the diocese, and in addition he would be inducted into the "real, actual and corporeal possession" of the parish by the Archdeacon. It appears that Llan Rhychwyn was an ordinary parochial charge, and the case as such presents no difficulty, but with Clyn-nog it is not easy to decide what was really the position. In the Register of Bishop Benedict Nicolls of Bangor (1408-17) it states :—

"Item xviii^o die mensis Aprilis anno domini proxime scripto idem Reverendus pater contulit domino Lodowico ap Iore ap Dd vicariam de Klennokvaur vacantem per mortem domini Kenenarth ap Teg et ad ipsius collacionem spectantem et ipsum instituit juxta formam constitucionis dominorum Ottonis et Ottoboni quondam apostolice sedis in Anglia legatorum iuratum, etc., Et scriptum fuit Archidiacono Bangorensi vel eius officiali pro ipsius induccione, etc."¹

When an appointment was made by the Bishop in his own right, the admission was by collation, but if the right of presentation did not belong to the Bishop, the admission was by institution.

The following entries are given in order to make the above, if possible, more explicit :—

"Item xviii^o die mensis Julii ejusdem anni in hospicio suo Londoniensi idem Reverendus pater admisit magistrum Walterum Medford in utroque jure Bacallarium ad preposituram

¹ *Archæologia Cambrensis*, Seventh Series, vol. ii, p. 92.

Ecclesie Collegiate de Castro Kebii ad quam per excellentissimum in Christo principem et dominum donimum Henricum dei gracia Regem Anglie et Francie illustrem presentatus extitit et ipsum instituit et investivit canonice in eadem cum suis juribus &c. Et scriptum fuit Archidiacono Anglesey vel ejus officiali pro ipsius installacione, &c. et prestitit obedienciam, &c."¹

"Item xix^o die mensis Septembris in hospicio suo Londoniensi idem Reverendus pater admisit dominum Iohannem Nugent capellanum ad vicariam perpetuam Sancti Peblicii cum capella de Caernervan vacantem per mortem Iohannis Schorlache ultimi vicarii ibidem ad quam per priorissam et conventum Cestrie veras diete vicarie patronas presentatus extitit et ipsum instituit juxta constitutionem dominorum Ottonis et Ottoboni² canonice in eadem cum suis juribus et pertinentiis universis. Et scriptum fuit Archidiacono Bangorensi pro ipsius induccione, &c."³

In the case of Holyhead the King had become the patron for that turn, and so the Bishop institutes and invests. With regard to Caernarvon also he institutes as the Prioress and Convent of Chester had appointed and presented the candidate for institution.

Patronage of Clynnog.

A word on this will enable us to understand the character of the church at Clynnog. Rowlands in "Mona Antiqua" calls the head of Clynnog "Praefectus monachorum",⁴ but we do not find in any record a reference by which he was justified in ascribing to him this title. In the Register of Bishop Benedict Nicolls of Bangor (1408-1417), Clynnog is invariably called the "Collegiate Church of Clynnog Fawr". In Pope Nicholas's Taxatio⁵ (1291) the following will be found:—

¹ *Archæologia Cambrensis*, Seventh Series, vol. ii, p. 95.

² For Otto and Ottobon, who were Cardinal Deacons and were Legates *a latere*, see "*A collection of the laws and canons of the Church of England*", by John Johnson (1851), vol. ii. The former took a prominent part in the Council of 1237 (Henry III), and the latter in that of 1268, and hence these orders and forms.

³ *Archæologia Cambrensis*, vol. lxxvii, part i; Seventh Series, vol. ii, p. 95. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 152. ⁵ *Browne Willis (Bangor)* 1721, 202.

“Portio Magistri¹ Aniani Rusi in Ecclesia de Kelynock-vawr ix m et dim.

Portiones Wilhelmi parvi et Obventiones, viij m.

Portio Matthei Capellani in eadem vij m et dim.

Portio David Capellani in eadem vij m.

Portio Magistri Iohannis Capellani in eadem vij m et dim.”

A copy of this Taxatio will also be found in the “Record of Caernarvon”,² and is called a “Transcriptum Rotuli de pticulis Taxaconis &c” (A transcript from a Roll in the Exchequer, containing the particulars of the Taxation of the Spiritual and Temporal possessions of the clergy in the diocese of Bangor). Here again the head of Clynngog is simply called Magister, and the parish is included among the ordinary parishes of the diocese.³

On the death of Bishop John Swapham (or Swaffham) of Bangor in 1398, an inventory of the Extent of the temporalities of the See was taken.⁴ This will be found in the “Record of Caernarvon”.⁵ Here, in addition to the property attached to the Bishopric and the Cathedral, will be found a list of the Spiritual and Temporal possessions of all the religious houses in Bangor Diocese. These were Conway, Cymmer, Bardsey, Beddgelert, and Penmon, and for some reason which is not apparent Cwmhir and Strata Florida, but it will be noticed that neither Clynngog nor Holyhead is mentioned among them. All these religious houses were called Abbeys and their heads Abbots.

¹ “The title *Magister* was generally given in the case of men holding University degrees.” See *The Diocese of Bangor in the Sixteenth Century*, Arthur Ivor Price (1923), p. vii. ² p. 226.

³ In “Bishop Merick’s Return of his Diocese to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Anno 1561” (*Browne Willis—Bangor*, p. 262), the names of the clergy are given:—

D. Henry Symons, Priest, Parson of Clenoke-vawr [Clynngog-vawr (*sic*)] not resident, where he remaineth uncertain.

D. Morgan Apres, Priest, Vicar of Clynockvaur aforesaid, resident and kepeth house.

⁴ See *Browne Willis (Bangor)*, p. 205.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 228.

In 1537 a Commission of enquiry was held at Caernarvon with respect to the patronage of Clynnog¹:—“ Apud Caernarvon xiiij die Novembris anno regni regis Henrici viij, xxix^o ”. Even in the time of Henry VII a similar commission had been appointed to enquire for and into all the King’s patronage in the three shires of North Wales. The verdict of the 1537 Commission was that the appointment to Clynnog was in the patronage of the King because it was alleged by all the witnesses who were called to give evidence that Matthew Pole was appointed to be “ prepositorius of Clenock Vaure ” by Prince Arthur (son of Henry VII).

In the “ Record of Caernarvon ” is a declaration² by Edward King of England, in which he confirms all gifts made and all privileges granted to Clynnog, including that of sanctuary. The editor of the Record (printed 1838) suggests that it was Edward IV (1461-83).³ It recites all donations of land, and this list will be found in our Appendix I with the suggestions of Eben Fardd as to their locality.⁴ This declaration appears to be a reply to a petition presented by Galfrid Trefnant, at the time head of Clynnog. He is entitled in this document as “ prepositus sive rector ” of Clynnog. (In the 1537 enquiry at Caernarvon there are many references to this confirmation of donations). When the document refers to Beuno he is invariably called the Abbot of the Abbey of Clynnog. There is another authority to which we might have expectantly turned for further information with respect to Clynnog. This is what is called the “ Valuation of Norwich ”,⁵ which is so named because the

¹ *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. xix, p. 78.

² *Record of Caernarvon*, p. 257.

³ *Ibid.*, p. v.

⁴ see p. 106

⁵ *The Valuation of Norwich*, edited by W. E. Lunt (1926).

then Bishop of Norwich took a very important part in the collection of the tenths which gave rise to the Valuation. The other collectors were the Bishop of Chichester and the Abbot of Westminster. Unfortunately, though very minute accounts are given for the rest of Bangor diocese, the folios which contained the deanery of Arfon, in which Clynnog is situated, are missing. The "Valuation of Norwich" is generally dated 1254. In the case of the Diocese of Bangor the valuation is made up on the whole in accordance with the various townships (and so often bear the names of farms which to-day even are recognisable), and not in what are now known as parishes.

General Inference for Clynnog.

In its inception and origin it was a monastery where there was a community and a head. Very early in its history it became more of a centre of learning and education than a mission station for evangelistical work. The various names of tenements which to-day are to be found in the neighbourhood of the church could well have been species of hostels for young men and women who came to Clynnog for their education. At such an institution some provision would have to be made not only for the students, but also for casual visitors both distinguished and otherwise. It was also one of the most prominent places for sanctuary in Gwynedd.¹ Cae'r gwrddy, cae'r bw'sant, and even monachdy gwyn,² point this way. The long list

¹ *Mona Antiqua* (1723), pp. 131-132. *Welsh Tribal Law and Custom in the Middle Ages*, T. P. Ellis (1926), i, 194, ii, 249.

² Possibly "Gwrddy" is a mutilated form of *Gwryfydy*, which would be an equivalent for men's hostel.

Bw'sant > Bwth y sant.

Gwyn might be white but it may have some connection with "blessed". The fact remains that there is no reference to Clynnog in Zimmerman's *Monumenta Historica Carmelitana*.

of endowments which were made at various times by prominent people appears to support the contention that the educational side of the work of Clynnog had been developed rather than its religious. In connection with such an institution we would expect to find that its governors would be learned men, and that records and documents would be kept to give some account of the life in the place. We find in several directions evidence that such was the case. In the Venedotian Code of the Laws of Howell Dda¹ we are told that with respect to the Privileges of the men of Arfon if any doubt existed "the community at Bangor, and that of Beuno shall uphold them". Also,² "that the Court of country and law in Gwynedd is constituted in this manner, to wit; the head of the Commote unless the Prince himself be there: a maer, chancellor, one judge by office, the priest of Clynnog, or one of Bangor or Penmon to write pleadings". These laws were codified about 940.³ In 1537 existed a book called "Graphus Sancti Beunoni".⁴ It was also sometimes referred to as "Llyfr Twrog" and "Tiboeth".⁵ It purported to be the Act Book of Clynnog. Dr. Thomas Williams of Trefriw mentioned it in 1594, but since that year this priceless book has disappeared. The fact that

¹ *Myvyrian Archaeology*, (1870), p. 1030.

² *History and Antiquities of Clynnog*, J. E. de Hirsch Davies, p. 5.

³ *Hywel Dda* (1928).

⁴ Public Record Office. *Miscellanea of the Exchequer*, 10, 29; and *Y Cymmrodor*, xix, p. 78.

⁵ *Antiquae Linguae Britannicae*, John Davies (1632). Under Tiboeth, "Y gelwid llyfr Beuno sant oedd yn Eglwys Gelynnog yn Arfon, a maen du arno; yr hwn a'sgrifennasai Twrog yn amser Cadfan frenhin, ac a ddiangodd pan losgodd yr eglwys (q.d. Diboeth, ἀχαισος) Hwn a welais i, medd T[homas] W[illiams] anno 1594. Llygad fal glain cawad coeth, Tebyg i faen y Tiboeth. S. Kyf".

Tiboeth: this was the name of Beuno's Book which was in the Church of Celynog in Arfon with a black stone upon it; it was written by Twrog in the time of King Cadfan, and escaped destruc-

in 1346 at Llan Dewi Brefi¹ a manuscript was written which contained a history of Beuno seems to point out that, though over six hundred years had elapsed since the death of the saint, still his fame remained, and we might also infer that his principal foundation and his successors there had befittingly upheld the reputation then acquired. Rowlands in "*Mona Antiqua*" maintains that it "continued a place of education and literature".² If we may rely on the testimony of "*Brut y Tywysogion*"³, in 978, for the second time, the grove of Celynog Fawr was devastated by Hywel ap Ieuan and his Saxon allies, and that the church, among many others, was destroyed. After such a catastrophe it may be gathered that, though the place would still be associated in the minds of the people with learning and piety, yet such a disaster with all its concomitant consequences would at any rate for a long period appear to be irreparable. The endowments would remain, but the duties of those in charge would have disappeared. We associate this time with the deflection of the character of the establishment. Though some effort was made to resuscitate the work, yet it never recovered its former glory. In 1188 Archbishop Baldwin and Archdeacon Gerald must have passed through Clynnog when they made their itinerary,⁴ for they were at Nevin one day and at Caernarvon the following, but they do not refer

tion when the church was burnt down. "I saw this book", said Thomas Williams (of Trefriw), "in the year 1594". An old poet refers both to the book and to the black stone upon it, as follows:— "An eye like a polished rain-stone, like the stone of Tiboeth". It is said that this book was commenced by Twrog, the amanuensis of Beuno.

¹ See "Life and Miracles of S. Wenefrede", Bishop Fleetwood (1713), *Llyvyr Agkyr Llandewivrevi*, printed in 1894, and edited by J. Morris Jones and Rhys.

² *Mona Antiqua*, p. 152.

³ *Myvyrian Archaiology*, p. 692.

⁴ *The Itinerary through Wales* (Dent & Co.), p. 116.

to the place. Why this silence? We can hardly believe that with such endowments Clynnog had sunk into utter insignificance. At Llan Padarn the conditions of Church life were severely criticized, and the Archdeacon found fault with the old tribal custom of patronage which was then obtained at the place. When he reaches Aberconway he mentions that a small religious community had recently settled on the banks of the Conway, but he travels through Clynnog without a comment. This is almost inexplicable unless we attribute the silence to the obsession of Gerald in St. David's. He was not prepared to accept even a rival to his own ambitions with respect to that place. There are three references which might rightly describe the place of Clynnog in the life of Gwynedd. First, there is the legend about Beuno that it was his hatred of the Saxon which caused him to leave Powys-land.¹ Then, we find that in the life of Beuno, found in the book of the Anchorite of Llan Dewi Brefi, there seems to be a strong anti-Saxon bias²; and lastly, the many gifts of land by Welsh Princes from time to time to Clynnog, which exceeded in number and value those given to Bangor, Penmon and other religious houses in North Wales, tend to intimate that this place was more closely associated with Welsh ideas and aspirations than other institutions of a similar character. It may be that Archdeacon Gerald only saw in the place a simple country parish church without any special feature to attract attention. If our contention that its glory as a place of learning had disappeared is correct, and that by now the staff of the college had dwindled to two, and though there were three others who were admitted as Chaplains³ in name, but performed duties elsewhere, such a state of affairs, judging from the

¹ *Lives of the British Saints*, i, p. 211.

² *Ibid.*, i, p. 209.

³ *Browne Willis*, p. 202.

Archdeacon's attitude in like conditions at other places, would not altogether be disconcerting to his conscience or sense of the fitness of things. By the time of Henry VIII this had actually been realised. From the "*Valor Ecclesiasticus*"¹ we find that the three Chaplains to whom attention has already been called were in addition incumbents of the daughter churches in which Clynnog had an interest. These were:—

1. Capella de Llan Unda et Llan Vaglan.
2. Capella de Llan Gelynyn [in Merioneth].
3. Ecclesia de Llan Keynwen et Llan Kaffo.²

This is why the five clergymen in connection with Clynnog were called portionists. Superficially it appears quite simple, but when the position is examined it opens out difficulties of all kinds. A. Neobard Palmer in the "*Archæologia Cambrensis*"³ has written very lucidly and at great length on the anomalous position of a portionist. All the five were portionists of Clynnog, and were instituted by the Bishop as vacancies occurred. One was called the *Præpositus*, another Vicar, and the other three Chaplains. This institution by the Bishop covered the three daughter incumbencies which are mentioned above, and so no record of any separate institution to the daughter churches are to be found. Time and space do not permit of a survey of Clynnog as given in the "*Valor Ecclesiasticus*"; it would be interesting though complicated. The references in the "*Valor*" are many in number. The importance or rather the value of the patronage of Clynnog is apparent as it involved five appointments. When the Commission of 1537 adjudicated the patronage of Clynnog to be in the possession of the King, naturally it would not be acceptable to the Bishop, and so in 1541 we

¹ *Valor*, xx.

² *Browne Willis*, p. 202.

³ 1886, 5th series, vol. iii, p. 175.

find Bishop Arthur Bulkeley petitioning the King¹ to permit him to appeal to the Court of the Marches on the question. The Bishop was personally concerned in the decision for he had been admitted in 1537 by Bishop John Capon of Bangor as a prebendary of Clynnog.² When Bulkeley became Bishop in 1541 he forthwith petitioned. It was ultimately decided to uphold the finding of the Commission and we find that the Earl of Pembroke became patron, but whether by purchase or favour is not known. Before the court had finally given its verdict in favour of the King, there were vacancies in two of the daughter churches in 1543, and Bishop Bulkeley appointed John Puleston to Llanwnda,³ and Edward Keble to Llangelynin,⁴ but we discover that the Earl of Pembroke afterwards made good his rights for he appointed to Llanwnda in conjunction with Clynnog in 1564,⁵ and also likewise to Llangelynin.⁶ It is much to be regretted that the questionable transactions which unmistakably took place at this time in such matters as Church patronage, not only at Clynnog but throughout England and Wales, were general, and deserve every stricture and condemnation possible. It was an age which was golden in more senses than one. The glories of the times were many, and the misdeeds were equally as numerous. Even as late as 1829⁷

¹ *Browne Willis*, p. 260.

² *Letter from Sir Richard Bulkeley to Thomas Cromwell, dated May 8th, 1537*. In letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, xii(i), No. 1154.

Browne Willis (Bangor), p. 101, gives August 8th, 1525, as the date of Bulkeley's institution as Prebend of *Clynoc Vachan*, but we find that this should have been August 7th, 1537 (see "*The Diocese of Bangor in the Sixteenth Century*", p. 8).

³ *The Diocese of Bangor in the Sixteenth Century*, p. 10.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁷ This information is found in an interleaved copy of *Mona Antiqua* which belonged to the Rev. J. H. Williams, Rector of

a Mrs. Hughes of Trefan paid £6,000 for the advowson of Llan Ceinwen with Llan Caffo and presented her son-in-law, the Rev. William Wynne Williams, to the benefice. Such cases in Bangor Diocese were fortunately few. Justice compels us to add that the clergyman appointed in 1829 was an exemplary parish priest and even to-day his name and labours are recalled with affection and respect. It should also be mentioned that until 1836, when the "Tithe Apportionment Act" was obtained, the stipends in Wales were unquestionably small and often led to amalgamation and unjustifiable schemes which probably otherwise would not have been entertained for a moment. In course of time the five portions of Clynnog were separated, and eventually the Rectorial tithes of Clynnog, as well as those of Llanwnda, as also the presentation, came into the possession of Jesus' College, Oxford, and the first appointment was made by the College on March 8th, 1676-7,¹ but the patronage of Llan Ceinwen till 1918 continued to be the property of the highest bidder after the then Earl of Pembroke had disposed of the rights of presentation.

Clynnog Fechan.

So the parish of Llan Ceinwen is called in the "Valuation of Norwich" in 1254 by Professor Lunt,² but actually the title in the manuscript is "Ecclesia de Kellenauc". In the report of the Commission of 1537, to which reference has already been made, we find "Clynnog Fechan" is mentioned.³ In the "Valor Ecclesiasticus" of 1534 it is called "Klennoc Vechan".⁴ To-day, Llangadwaladr, Anglesey. See *A Chapter in the History of the Welsh Book of Common Prayer*, iii, 326.

¹ From the *Bangor Diocesan Subscription Book*.

² p. 192. See also *Arch. Camb.*, 1846, p. 312 and 392.

³ See *I' Cymmrodor*, xix, p. 78. ⁴ *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, xxiii.

only separated by a field from the church of Llan Ceinwen is a small country mansion still called "Clynnog Fechan". The close connection between Llan Ceinwen and Clynnog has already been pointed out. It is suggested that Clynnog was called Fawr because Bangor was called Fawr, and that Llan Ceinwen was called Clynnog Fechan to distinguish it from the mother-church of Clynnog Fawr.

In the "Record of Caernarvon" the place is spelt Clennok, Klynnoc, and Clenock. In the copy of the "Valuation of Pope Nicholas" (1291), as found in "Browne Willis", it appears as Kelynock.¹

Epilogue.

The whole atmosphere of these three old foundations is most intriguing. Looking at Llan Rhychwyn as it stands among the hills in its isolation and simplicity, the mind pictures Llewelyn the Great and Joan his wife entering the building by the very door as does the ordinary worshipper of to-day—Llewelyn the hero of Wales and of many battles; the benefactor of religion and of his country; the man with the poetic afflatus which prompted him to bestow land (Maes-y-porth) in the parish of Llan Ceinwen for the upkeep of the gateway of the Abbey of Conway.² Up the same steep hill climbed the redoubtable Sir John Wynn of Gwydir—the plotter and the schemer—to worship in the church to which his forefathers had contributed so liberally. Occasionally, may be, he was accom-

¹ *Browne Willis (Bangor)*, p. 202. It is interesting to notice how Leland describes Llan Ceinwen in his list of Anglesey Churches as found in his *Itinerary*, p. 131: "Rent Llan Kainwen (Caina pulchra) cum annex, a prebend of Clunnoc vanr". Angharad Llwyd in her *History of the Island of Mona*, p. 275, has improved on Leland's "Caina pulchra", and has given "Blanch Fair" (*sic*) as an equivalent to Ceinwen!

² *A History of the Island of Mona*, p. 276.

panied by the learned Dr. Thomas Williams of Trefriw, William Morgan afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph, or perhaps Archdeacon Edmund Prys. Gwydir was the family which claimed descent from Gruffydd ab Cynan (died 1137),¹ the man who never acknowledged defeat. He was the leader who knew Clynnog Fawr in the old days when he was glad to procure sanctuary for his defeated forces after Bron-yr-erw (1075).² This was a sanctuary that was always available for "justos et injustos, latrones et silvaticos".³ Often had the shore been invaded, and frequent was the clash of arms, yet the bell still rang,

—ei wŷs hên
I wasanaeth Duwdod.⁴

Across the waters was the daughter church of Cain, also with her troubles and anxieties. Sometimes the parish was terrified by the venturesome black Dean⁵ plotting at Llan Dwyn, for the old story of Tal-y-foel⁶ was often told by the fireside on a winter's night, of how—

¹ *A History of the Gwydir Family*, p. xv, and Fenton's *Tours in Wales* (1917), p. 168.

² *Cyff Beuno*, p. 32.

³ *Record of Caernarvon*, p. 258.

⁴ From Eben Fardd's *Awdl ar adgyweiriad hen Eglwys ardderchog, Celynog Fawr yn Arfon* (1862). In 1863 was published *Cyff Beuno*, which contains the bulk of the prose and poetry of Ebenezer Thomas (Eben Fardd). In 1873 a more ambitious work was produced which purported to be a complete issue of all his poetical writings, but by some strange Nemesis it omits his ode to Clynnog Church. However, the late Sir Owen M. Edwards saved it from oblivion, and found a place for it in the *Cymro* for January 1911, with the note "this splendid ode found a place in *Cyff Beuno* of 1863". See also *Arch. Camb.*, 1846, p. 407.

⁵ *Browne Willis (Bangor)*, p. 124. *A History of Anglesey* (Anon.), 1775, p. 45. *A History of the Island of Mona*, p. 224. *Arch. Camb.*, 1847, p. 133. Fenton's *Tours in Wales* (1917), p. 270.

⁶ *A History of the Island of Mona*, 24. 25.

The old ferry of Talyfoel was in the parish of Llan Ceinwen, as was also that of Abermenai.

Slaughter after slaughter, gleaming with the clash of spear
 on spear,
 And drive on, drive, in pain extreme, in drowning so to drown,
 And Menai without ebbing from a flood of rippling blood!¹

Bosworth Field was fought and won, and the black Dean was vindicated, and at length Wales with honour came within the pale. Clynnog is raised from the dust, and a building is erected which still holds its own even in these days of wealth and prosperity. But peace was not yet the lot of the new church. Ambitious men, embittered by defeat and allured by Mammon, as Dr. Ellis Price,² cast their sordid nets over the gifts devoted by religious men to the honour of God and Beuno. Denuded of its glory, bare because of its poverty, forsaken by all but a few, yet it has been our pride and privilege lately to renew the old church. Old customs have disappeared giving place to new. The kine of Clynnog may still bear the mark of Beuno,³ but alas! its possession does not enhance their value at the neighbouring Smithfield. The old coffer⁴

¹ This is part of a translation of the Ode of Gwalchmai son of Meilir to Owen Gwynedd, after the battle called Gwaith Tal y Foel, in 1158, which was the handiwork of Evan Evans (Ifan Brydydd Hir). It appears to have been written for Dr. Percy, the Bishop of Dromore about 1763. The ode appears also in Welsh in Evan Evans's *Some Specimens of the Poetry of the Antient Welsh Bards* (1764). Another translation will be found in the *Cambro-Briton*, 1819-20, vol. i, p. 231, with a note as to the locality and date of battle.

² Dr. Ellis Price was an unsuccessful candidate for the Bishopric of Bangor in 1566 (see *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. xxxix, p. 168). See *Calendar of State Papers*, May, 1589, vol. 224, No. 74, about the information given by Mr. Price of certain idolatries and superstitions practised by the people in North Wales; the sacrifice of bullocks at Whitsuntide to Beuno, the patron saint of the parish of Clynnog in the Bishopric of Bangor.

³ *The Welsh Outlook*, June, 1929, *Studies of Rural Wales*, also *A Book of North Wales*, S. Baring Gould (1903), p. 123.

⁴ This had actually become a proverb in the neighbourhood—"Cystal i chwi geisio tori Cyff Beuno," (you might as well try to break Beuno's Chest), in reference to anything of unusual difficulty.

still remains, but it is now empty and affords a biding place for the canker-worm. Still the southern breeze wafts the sound of the bells of Clynnog across the bay to tell of the renewal of life and inspiration, and to call upon her daughters in Anglesey to greater and keener efforts to up-lift the present, and remember the old, for the old is better.

APPENDIX I.

From the "Record of Caernarvon", Page 257, and
"Cyff Beuno", Page 61.

The lands in possession of the Collegiate Church of Saint
Beuno in 1461-83, with the names of the donors.

Clynnog Fawr (given by Gwyddaint).

Graianog—one of the townships of the parish of Clynnog (King
Cadwaladr).

Porthamel—in Anglesey, opposite Portdinorwic (King Tegwared).

Carngiwch—six miles south of Clynnog (Prince Mervyn).

Bodvelion (Bodweiliog?) and Bodfel—in Lleyn (Cadwgan ab Cyn-
felyn).

Deneio—present parish of Pwllheli (Rhodri son of Prince Mervyn).

A third of Maesdref—in Lleyn (Gruffydd son of Tanglwm).

Penrhos—near Pwllheli? (Idwal).

A third of Neigwl—beyond Abersoch (Rhodri).

Derwyn—one of the hamlets in Clynnog parish (Greang).

Botelog or Bodellog—a hamlet in Clynnog (Rhodri son of Idwal).

Llanllyfni and the weir of Abersaint—Llanllyfni is an adjoining
parish, and Abersaint possibly near Caernarvon (Gwyddaint son
of Tridog).

Cilcoed—hamlet near Clynnog (King Cadell).

Clynnog Fechan—near the church of Llangeinwen (Idwal).

The weir of the river Gwyrfaï—the northern boundary of the parish
of Clynnog, and it limits the gift *a silva usque mare* (Tridog).

Aber y Braint—possibly the weir of the river Braint in Anglesey
(Idwal).

Brynhydagen (?)—(Cadell ab Rhodri).

Ysgallen in Creuddyn—the peninsula formed by the Great and Little
Orme's Heads near Llandudno (Anarawd son of Rhodri).

Bottwnog and Llwyndynwal [Eben Fardd suggests Llandudwen for
the latter]. (Cadell).

Pryscol (? Pistyll) and Nant Soch in Lleyn. (Rhodri ab Mervyn).

Ethinog—a township in Llanllyfni. (Cadell).

Llannor in Lleyn (Rhodri).

Bodelias in Lleyn (Cynan son of Hywel).

Bodegwyn (Anarawd).

Dolbebyn (? Dolbenmain)—(Anarawd son of Rhodri).

Dolcoedog (Greax son of Iwon).
 Aber Llisin (? Llyfni)—(Gruffydd son of Llewelyn).
 Maesog, on the boundary of Clynnog parish (Elived son of Madoc).
 Llechedern in Lleyn (Jaco son of Idwal).
 Boderyr (Gruffydd ab Cynan).
 Treffwyn (Trahaiarn son of Caradoc).
 Bryneryr—in the parish of Clynnog (Jaco son of Idwal).
 Y Faenol—(Gruffydd ab Llewelyn).
 Llanfawr in Lleyn—(Cadwaladr).
 Trefriw—(Gruffydd ab Llewelyn).
 Hirdref in Lleyn—(Lunlion son of Llawfron).
 Bodegroes (in Lleyn)—(Ionas).
 Moweddus (in Clynnog)—(Rhodri son of Mervyn).
 Penhyddgen (in Lleyn)—(Cadell son of Rhodri).
 Treflech—(Gruffydd son of Llewelyn).
 Penrhos in Twrcelyn (Rhodri).
 Two parts of Llecheiddior (Hywel son of Cadell).
 Rhoswen Isaf—(Gruffydd ab Llewelyn).

 APPENDIX II.

Cywydd i Beuno Sant, yn Nghelynog.

Beuno gynt yn beua gwr
 Bened ail ben adeiliwr
 Porthi'r oedd pawb wrth raid
 Dri chanwr heb drychweiniaid
 Cynta'n ngwaeth cant yn gweithiaw
 Can-wr llys cawn win o'r llaw
 A thros ben ar a henwynt
 Y porthes dair gormes gynt
 Llowarch Hen a llu menig
 Ag Elen ddwys galon ddiig
 Fe'r Gyndrwyn farchog win-draul
 Fwyd tri yn fyw eu traul
 Gwr o'i fodd fu'n Mangor Fawr
 Yn Ial Wynedd yn flaenawr
 Daw Rhisiart gwr ar deir-sir
 Gyffin hael i'w goffa'n hir

Three Old Foundations.

Sel aur fawr sy ar ei law fo
 Sel bonedd sy ail Benno
 Mae'n gwario mwy na'i geraint
 Mal aur Siob ar demlau'r saint
 Talm yw'r gost talu mae'r gwr
 Draw a chynnal dri chanwr
 A phorthi tri er nad rhaid
 Wr moesol o ormesiaid
 At wr o gler Gutto'r Glyn
 Yw Llowarch i holl Lëyn
 Bwyttawr mawr o bwyty'r meirch
 Bwyd di-ferf, bwyttai for-feirch
 Howel Grythor callor cig
 A'i llai Mon na llu Menig
 Yswr hen ddas o'r henieir
 Ysai ych fel asau ieir
 Gwawr fai o law Gwerfyl wen
 Oleu loer yw ail Elen
 Haela un ferch, hael win fau
 Howel Fychan hael fachau
 Roland wall o chwsg allan
 Oerfel ar wir Werfyl lân
 Y'mhoen a ddaeth mae'n hen ddig
 Yn dilyn y Nadolig
 Lle bo pant rhusiant y rhai'n
 Ddilyd rhif ddiawliaid Rhufain
 Dau remwth a droi amyd
 Dwy ffriw cawr dau Pharo cyd
 Dau'n gwibio dau hen geubal
 Dau Og, Magog, deg mwy gwâl
 Disiau'r gler dau yswr gwledd
 A dyfr gwin dirfawr Gwynedd
 Lluniant i'w tyb llanwant hwy
 Ysu can-ych is Conwy
 Ni allwn ddwyn ei wyllys
 Dawn a rhodd i'r Deon Rhys
 Llawer i'w ford lliw ar fwyd
 Llys seigfawr lliosogfwyd
 Llawer amryw aderyn
 Llawer saig ar lliw siwgr gwyn
 Llawer anrheg o'r gegin
 Llawer rhyw a lliw ar win
 Llawer i bob oferwr
 Llaweroedd gwyl llareiddia gwr

Llawena gwr Lleon gost
Lliwid ofydd llew difost
Llwydo'r gwallt fel callo'dr gwydd
A'r lliw hwn yw'r llawenydd.

Sir John Leiaf ai cant.

From "Y Geninen" for 1900, p. 143. It has a note attached to it that Sir John Leiaf flourished 1450-90.

APPENDIX III.

	Altar	Priest.	Bishop.	Lent.	Easter.	Christmas.	Mattins.	Evensong.
LATIN.	Altar	Sacerdos	Episcopus	Quadragesimae	Pasqua	Dies Natalis Christi	Matutin	Vespertin
GREEK.	Θυσιαστήριον	Ἱερεὺς	Ἐπισκοπος	Νηστεία	Πάσχα	Χριστογεννα	Πρωινή	Ἑσπερινή
WELSH.	Allor	Offeiriad	Esgob	Garawys	Pasc	Nadolig	Pylgwin	Gosper
BRETON.	Aoter	Beleg	Eskob	Koraiz	Pask	Nedeleg	Mintin ---	Gousperou
CORNISH	Altor	Oferiat	Escop	---	Pask	Nadelic	Metin ---	Gorthuer ---
IRISH.	Altóir	Sagart	Easbóg	Carais	Caisg	Nodlog	Madjin	Easpairt
GAELIC.	Altair	Sagart	Easbhuig	Carnhas	Là Caisge	La Nodhlaid	Urnigh Mhaidne	Urnigh Fheasgair
MANX.	Altar	Saggart	Aspick	Kargys	Yn Chaisht	Ollick	Madjin	Aspyrt
FRENCH.	Autel	Prêtre	Evêque	Careme	Pâque	Noël	Prière du matin	Prière du soir

The Celtic Renaissance and How to Forward It.¹

BY THE REV. G. HARTWELL JONES, D.D., D.Litt.
Chairman of the Council of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion.

THE English statesman who coined the memorable and slightly contemptuous phrase "The Celtic Fringe" would, perhaps, have restrained his propensity to cynicism had he lived now. Even in his day and earlier, few would have been found to endorse the taunt, and now fewer still would venture to speak of the Celts in a satiric vein. Listen to what Emerson, the American thinker, says in his work, "English Traits": "The source from which tradition derives this (the British) stock are mainly three. And first, they are of the oldest blood of the world, the Celtic. Some people are deciduous or transitory. Where are the Greeks? Where the Etrurians? Where the Romans? But the Celts are an old family, of whose beginning there is no memory, and their end is likely to be still more remote in the future, for they have endurance. They planted Britain and gave to the seas and mountains names which are poems, and imitate the pure voices of nature. They have a hidden and precarious genius". There is more in this passage from Emerson to a similar purport, and though research has travelled far since Emerson's time, and corrected his estimate of the relative ages of the races in the ancient world, his glowing eulogy on the Celts is substantially true.

¹ An Address delivered before the Gaelic Society, on Thursday, February 20th, 1930.

To come back again to earth after this lofty panegyric : your countryman Lord Balfour was more reasonable and appreciative than his noble kinsman. When the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion entertained him to dinner in 1909 he declared, " I am an immense believer in these separate nationalities " (viz. the Celtic) ; and surely he was right? It savours of a tiresome platitude to remark that the Celts have written their name large on the page of British history and have contributed their share, —nay more, perhaps, than their share in proportion to their number—towards building up the British Empire. Recollect the long line of Viceroy's and the bead-roll of Governors in the British dependencies, or scan the annals of the British Army, down to the Great War. Scotsmen have proved themselves worthy descendants of the knights-at-arms who buckled on their armour, to rescue the Holy Sepulchre from the grasp of the Infidel, or drew their adventurous swords in the service of France. Trace the footprints of lion-hearted path-finders, like the clan-chieftains of 1746, who turned their claymores into ploughshares and their dirks into pruning hooks, founded the county of Picton, in Canada, and gave to that region the name Nova Scotia (New Scotland). Run your eye over the succession of British Premiers within recent memory—Rosebery, Balfour, Bannerman, Macdonald, with another Celt, Mr. Lloyd-George, thrown in, to vary the monotony. Look at the seats of the mighty in the Church of England ; judging by the names Tait, Davidson and Lang, Scotland seems to be establishing a monopoly of the Archbishopric of Canterbury. What with Scottish Prime-Ministers and Primate's, therefore, you seem to take charge of our interests in this world and the next.

For obvious reasons I illustrate this point from the Scottish branch of the Celtic family of races ; but did time

admit of my reciting the achievements of other branches, Ireland would offer to view a similar record ; gallant little Wales would exhibit a constellation of talents ; the Isle of Man, like Ithaca in ancient Greece, would prove to be a rugged isle but nurse of lofty genius and lusty youth¹ ; and if anyone professed ignorance of the exploits of Cornwall, then, in the words of its poet,—

“Twenty thousand Cornishmen would know the reason why.”

Thus the contributory streams which make up the great river of British history spring from different sources, flow through different countries, present to view scenery of very different types fringing their banks ; but none of them can be spared, and a pious investigation of the whole course is surely worthy of all those who claim to belong to one or other of these confluent tributaries.

The present Celtic renaissance is no new movement ; it dates from about the latter part of the nineteenth century, which saw the awakening of a national consciousness among the smaller races, not only in Britain but in Europe generally, and a desire on their part to assert their individuality. Before the dawn of this sentiment (or call it revival, if you will) the constituent parts of the United Kingdom were content to acquiesce, without demur, in the enactments of the predominant partner. Of Scotland I need not speak : its independent position has been secure from immemorial time. Ireland, whose history is one litany of woe, found vocal and vehement spokesmen to assert its rights. Wales, whose institutions, owing to the contiguity of the two countries, were inextricably twined with those of England, remained to a larger extent merged in its powerful associate. Manxland was entrenched in its sea-encircled domain ; it is stated—but I cannot swear to the accuracy of the statement—that on

¹ Homer's *Odyssey*.

the outbreak of war between Prussia and France in 1870, its Parliament, the House of Keys, declared its neutrality. The year 1919 marked a fresh epoch and witnessed a new impulse imparted to national feeling everywhere, when at the making of the Peace the right of self-determination was enunciated, and its repercussions were felt in the British Isles. The recognition of this principle deepened the attachment felt by many leaders of thought among the smaller nations towards the land of their birth, and intensified their desire to develop all the intellectual gifts and rich resources of the several races that compose the United Kingdom.

Let us now turn to some of the aims which we might propose to ourselves. The programme of the Celtic Congress may help us here, for it was to voice the aspirations alluded to above that the Celtic Congress came into being, but, I need hardly add, with no political objective. Some of its avowed objects being rather nebulous and elusive, and a systematic exhaustive enquiry being wholly impracticable, I must confine myself to a few disjointed comments on some of the more tangible and practical aspects of the many-sided question; and in view of the diverse elements that make up this audience I shall illustrate the particular points under discussion, now from one country, now from another.

The Congress places in the forefront of its scheme of operations an effort to promote intercourse between the respective Celtic nations and all Celtic communities or individuals, in whatever region of the globe their lot may be cast. Meetings have been held in Edinburgh, Dublin, Glasgow, and at important centres like Douglas and Bangor. In parentheses I may mention that these visits afford unique opportunities of coming to know the several countries, to form fresh acquaintances and gain a deeper

insight into the life of the inhabitants. In its early stages the Congress was brought into touch with the Eisteddfod, the time-honoured and august institution of the Welsh race. It appears to me that the Congress might take further advantage of these national assemblies in Wales, to which clouds of exiles throng from two hemispheres, but especially from the United States of America. Hitherto, it must be acknowledged (candour compels the admission), sufficient use has not been made of the periodical visits to enlist the interest of Celts among the Dispersion. But we live to learn. The Congress is still in its infancy and has hardly had time to make itself widely known abroad. But whatever attractions it possesses or might possess for our Celtic kinsmen beyond seas, it certainly has gained the enthusiastic support of leaders of thought and action in the United Kingdom and Brittany.

And now let us look more narrowly into some of the subjects which imperatively demand attention.

First, History. I have jotted down a few thumbnail sketches on each head—all that is possible within the limits at my disposal. The history of Wales was written, some years ago, in an authoritative and comprehensive work by Dr. J. E. Lloyd, and in a singularly fascinating style by the late Sir O. M. Edwards. Other authors have contributed valuable monographs on sections of Welsh history. But there are several lacunae or chasms left to be filled up; for example, the period from 1280 onwards calls for further investigation. The University of Wales and the Celtic Board are addressing themselves to the task.

Next among the objects to be pursued is the effective encouragement of current literature, art, the drama, and music. It would take me too far afield to dwell much on Welsh literature, except so far as to tell you that it is

high in quality, if unpretentious in quantity. Among the Welsh poets Dafydd ab Gwilym, the Keats of Wales, would rank high in any Golden Treasury or anthology. Y Bardd Cwsc, or the Sleeping Bard, is an improvement on the Spanish Cwevedo, and comes within measurable distance of Dante. Apart from sacred compositions, in which it abounds, Welsh literature embraces a wealth of poetry which has never been published, but is gradually seeing the light through being set as subjects for dissertations for degrees in the Welsh University. Here the Celtic Congress might perform the function of a whetstone (as Horace says) and stimulate young writers and critics to fresh endeavours, by helping them to publish their literary lucubrations.

In approaching Gaelic literature, I feel like a boy tendering a penny to an elephant, as the Romans used to say, especially before an assembly of experts. So far as I have seen, the poetic material in Scotland comprises an abundant literature of a high order, marked by delicate beauty, exquisite pathos, piercing wit, pregnant thought and intense fire. About the year 1917 Professor Watson of Edinburgh edited 7,000 lines of Gaelic poetry, rich, varied and beautiful in form, saturated with the history of the Gaelic people, hardy and virile. There is twenty times as much material untouched. There exists also a fine prose literature in Gaelic, less in amount than the poetry, but excellent both in form and matter. But the sad fact remains that for all but the initiated few, this splendid native literature conveys no message, because it cannot be widely read. The policy pursued until recently was one of destruction and exhaustion. Is there not here a task ready to the hand of Professor Watson or some other future editor? If a demand for the publication of these unedited manuscripts were created, perhaps some

Scottish millionaire, masquerading under the guise of an ordinary citizen (for fear of the tax-collector), might come forward to furnish the sinews of the enterprise.

And what of Ireland, once the very home and sanctuary of letters? No part of the British Isles can point to a more glorious record,—ascending throughout the centuries in visible continuity to a vast antiquity—from the time when, together with disciples in the Welsh schools, students in Irish monasteries offered an asylum to literature and science. For when culture was chased away from the Continent by the barbarian invader, it was reserved for the Irish and Welsh monks to collect the scattered remnants and make them live again. Nor has modern Ireland degenerated from its former fame; the new school of Irish writers worthily maintain the reputation of their long line of literary ancestors and hand on the time-honoured tradition.

Next, the drama requires fostering. The dramatic instinct is implanted in the Celt. The late Professor Jebb, speaking of a certain Prize Latin essay submitted to him, once told me that he was struck by the power possessed by the Celt of throwing himself into a scene or situation and of bringing rhetoric to bear on a literary discussion. Those who sat at the feet of the old Welsh preachers,—for I myself am too juvenile to remember them!—will not fail to recognise this dramatic gift, of which Christmas Evans was the most celebrated exponent. His published sermons are veritable dramas. Antecedently, therefore, it seemed natural to expect the drama to take root in Celtic countries. So it proved; nowhere did the miracle-plays, mystery-plays, and interludes, which were the forerunners of the modern drama, flourish more than in these regions. Witness the place names like *gwary* (the Welsh *chwaræ*, “play”) which have survived the rav-

ages of Time and the Ordnance Survey, and stud the surface of Cornwall, indicating the open-air theatres and attesting the devotion of Cornishmen to this exhilarating and elevating pastime. Scotland, I understand,—but I speak subject to correction,—possesses a slender dramatic literature, the work of modern times, and it is generally admitted that Scotland lacks but suitable encouragement, to put forth dramatic compositions of enduring merit. For three centuries Protestant reformers and revivalists frowned upon these pursuits, though they were ecclesiastical in origin and had served a useful purpose in instructing the unlettered populace in the cardinal doctrines of the Christian Faith. This opposition retarded the advance and arrested the development of the dramatic art. As Walter Scott said of the *Last Minstrel* :—

“The bigots of the iron time
Had called his harmless art a crime”.

Puritanism dealt the theatre a stroke under which it long reeled, and the ill-repute of the stage in Charles the Second's reign provoked a reaction which lasted far into the nineteenth century. But the irrepressible instinct lived on, and only waits to be fostered in order to arise purified and ennobled, and regain its lost prestige. Already the new movement has made headway in Wales; plays in Welsh and English, dealing largely with the life of the middle class and peasantry, have been placed on the boards in London, and have earned high praise at the hands of critics.

Music is another of the objects which leaves room for expansion. I will not expose my ignorance by launching on the subject of music, where I would soon be out of my depth; but I will refer to one point in which valuable service might yet be rendered, namely, the rescue of folk-song from oblivion. Not but that strenuous and success-

ful efforts have already been made to save them. Madame Mary Davies, Lady Herbert Lewis, Miss Preece, Dr. Lloyd Williams and others have been indefatigable in their endeavours, and the quest continues. But there must still be a store of untouched folk-songs in Wales which would reward the efforts of an investigator. There is a romantic story, which has the merit of being true, that one of our Welsh musicians on tour in America discovered in one of the cities a Welsh tune which soon captivated the ear and became universally popular. He heard it from the lips of an aged exile who had emigrated as a child and had treasured it up in her memory.

Suffice these brief comments on the above-mentioned topics.

Upon one subject I may be permitted to enlarge, viz., language. There is all the more reason for singling this out for special consideration to-day, namely, that the need of coping with the difficulties confronting the Celtic languages is urgent. It will be seen that the phenomena and problems, the obstacles, the insidious influences at work operating to their disadvantage, the remedies employed, the measure of success attending these patriotic efforts to save them, are much the same in all these Celtic countries.

The position of Irish, which, in 1918, was only spoken by one-tenth of the population, has been powerfully reinforced by the advent of the Free State. There was a time when Irish children who ventured to speak their native tongue in school or school precincts had a stick hung round their necks; every time the pupil used an Irish word a notch was cut in the stick and for every notch the child was struck a blow on the hands. A similar badge of dishonour called the *not* was employed in Wales, Welsh being dubbed the "language of servitude" and

held up to ridicule. The outlook is now entirely transformed, thanks to the stimulus and inspiration of men and women of light and leading, who fought for the language when Church and State, Society and Bureaucracy were indifferent or hostile. To them may be applied Dryden's words in "Absalom and Achitophel", where he recites the roll-call of the defenders of the Crown in the Monmouth Rebellion :—

"Some there were even in the worst of days;
Some let me name, and naming is to praise".

In recent years Dr. Douglas Hyde and Miss Agnes O'Farrelly have championed the claims of the mother-tongue and will go down in posterity as its protagonists. The result is that Irish is compulsory in schools, and no one, I believe, can obtain a post in the Civil Service or in schools, without a knowledge of the language. There is, however, another side to the picture; the movement has not passed unchallenged. Two friends of mine who hold high posts in Dublin strongly deprecate it as a retrograde step; and in 1925 an ardent Nationalist was fain to confess that the results of compulsion were disappointing. According to this witness one reason for the failure lay in the fact that many young Irishmen cherished the hope of seeking new homes beyond the Atlantic, and in some cases were warned against learning it by relatives already settled out there. Others, again, are strongly opposed to having their children taught Irish, as being of no practical use and likely to pass out of the minds of the juveniles, when they are let loose on the world. There is a still wider and weightier consideration. Many true-hearted Irishmen view with dismay the unnecessary enforcement of the language upon the people, for fear it may prejudice the future prospects of the race. Irishmen, they argue, have always spread over the world, and count-

less numbers of them live beyond the seas. Anything that would prevent the people of Ireland from taking their due part in civilisation and retard the march of mind is to be deprecated. The language spoken by the majority of the Irish people is not simply an "English" language; it is a language of a multitudinous mosaic of human beings constituting a world-wide Empire. Such is the drift of the objectors' utterances. These reactionaries evidently feel with Hudibras:—

"He that complies against his will
Is of his own opinion still".

Yet notwithstanding these remonstrances, the Irish "patriots" are advancing with no variation or vacillation of purpose, with spirits high, step firm, and banners unfurled towards the Golden Age which, they believe, is already dawning.

Allow me in passing to indicate a signal service which my fellow-countryman, Mr. Lloyd-George, unwittingly rendered to the language movement in Ireland, which was beginning to languish because of the more insistent demands of the struggle for Home Rule. To Mr. Lloyd-George the votaries of the Irish language were indebted for the flood of enthusiasm on behalf of the language that set in from Malin Head to the Cove. It came about in this way. "He publicly taunted us", says an Irish-woman of high ability and wide culture, "with having no claim to nationhood, because our language is not universally spoken in the country; that day, unknowingly he did more for us than crowds of organisers could have done". The reaction was almost instantaneous. A serried phalanx of champions arose, like the crop of warriors in the Greek legend who sprang up from the furrows where Cadmus had sown the dragon's teeth. Teachers, parish priests, University professors, seemingly thought-

less girls and boys thronged to the summer schools held in Irish-speaking parts of the country. "Last week", says the writer above cited, "in County Donegal I met a Dublin manufacturer who had just arrived with his wife and family to learn Irish". "Who induced you to come such a distance, and at your time of life, to start learning Irish?" I asked him. He replied, "Lloyd-George".

The situation in Scotland is in many respects highly encouraging. Whereas twelve years ago Gaelic was taught in less than a score of schools, it is now systematically taught in 315; the number is increasing year by year and the vernacular stands higher than ever in the estimation of the educated classes. Columns written in Gaelic form a feature of the public press in the Highlands, and in church magazines. The *An Comunn Gaidhealach* issues a monthly magazine in Gaelic. Societies, social, literary and historical, are continually springing up in the cities, the provincial towns, and even in the country districts. If, then, the Gaelic-speaking area is less extensive, owing to depopulation and other causes, the cultivation of the language is more intensive.

So far as Wales is concerned, opportunities for acquiring Welsh in school have for some years been provided, not only in purely Welsh districts, but in such centres as the border town of Wrexham, Anglicized Newport and cosmopolitan Cardiff, and, significantly enough, this was done by the request of parents. In some districts Welsh is compulsory, and therefore teachers must know the language. But here again opinions are sharply divided, both as to the results and the expediency of resorting to compulsion. No doubt my views on this subject will dispose some of my Welsh hearers to homicide; they will see red, and whet their knives, in order to waylay me at

the exit of this hall. But it does appear to me injudicious and impolitic to force Welsh on the children of "alien immigrants" (as hot-heads have ere this, but perhaps not seriously, dubbed English settlers in Wales) against the wishes of the parents. The case is otherwise in a town like Swansea, where the English and Welsh elements are equally balanced and there is ample choice of schools. In such a centre Welsh might be emphasized in one or two of them. To enforce it on all would provoke antagonism; so let us not sacrifice the attainable in pursuit of the visionary. At the same time, is there any injustice in asking a monoglot teacher, who is ignorant of Welsh, but who wants to settle in a Welsh district, to qualify himself for the task by learning Welsh? The same remarks apply to teachers in Scotland and Ireland; we have a right to say to them, either acquire the vernacular or seek a' post elsewhere. After all, the schools exist for the sake of the children, our most valuable national asset, and not the children for the teacher. Happily, a generation of teachers is arising in Wales who realize this and throw themselves with enthusiasm into the movement in favour of Welsh.

The root of the matter and the main lever is to get the parents to range themselves on our side, and prevail on them to speak Welsh in the home. For, as your Gaelic proverb runs, "The life of a language is in the speaking of it". To enlist the mothers' interest is of supreme importance, and happily the annals of the Celtic race furnish inspiring examples of patriotic spirit displayed by their women, even in adverse and chilling conditions, under the heavy Saxon yoke or the more genial sway of the Normans. When, for instance, Welsh women, alert and quick-witted, married their alien conquerors—whether Saxons who were almost illiterate with but a

slight tincture of letters, or Normans who stood on a somewhat higher plane of culture—they took care to teach their children Welsh and told them tales of the Round Table, of Merlin and Uthr Bendragon and Excalibur, which could not fail to fire the enthusiasm and wing the imagination of their youthful auditors. Nor perhaps was the recital lost upon their scarred spouses, who listened leaning on their spears, better skilled in the science of war than arts of peace, in handling weapons than cultivating the mind. Such loyalty on the part of these women to the traditions of their country contains an element of pathos and did not pass unrewarded. Arthurian lore and other marvellous stories, unfolded by the hearth on lazy-pacing winter nights and drunk in with avidity, gradually produced in the minds of the dominant nation a revulsion of sentiment in favour of the subdued race that had thus continued to cherish its ideals in the darkest hour of its history, and this change of attitude eventually helped to rear aloft its fallen greatness. These precedents strike deep, and should afford an incentive to modern mothers, Welsh, Scottish, Irish or Breton. Unless they realize their responsibility in the matter, we must resort to the precautionary measure adopted by Cynon, the Welsh Prince, who figures in the Mabinogion. After espousing the cause of his fellow-countryman, the Emperor Maximus, in the contest for the Imperial Purple, and crowning his arms with victory, Cynon and his comrades settled down in Gaul, and married native women. For fear of the children's Welsh being corrupted and their speaking *llediaith* (viz., Welsh with a foreign accent) the husbands cut out their wives' tongues. But as such a method might entail inconvenient consequences, were it inflicted on mothers in our age, we must content ourselves with pointing out their duty and

hand them over to the retributive reproaches of their own consciences.

The churches in Wales have in the past exerted a profound, beneficent, and far-reaching effect on the development and fortunes of the Welsh language, but that influence is now waning. The Bible fixed the standard of literary Welsh, and within the pale of the Church of England the Anglican Prayer Book, equally with the Bible, long served to perpetuate the Welsh language unalloyed. Now, owing to the rapid extension of English, the substitution of English for Welsh services in church and chapel, and the growing use of slipshod language, the pulpit cannot be regarded as the impregnable stronghold of Welsh that it once was. But this desertion of the language will be swiftly avenged and recoil on the craven deserters' heads; the pulpit will forfeit much of its spiritual power.

Ireland has a lesson to teach us in this respect. The Roman Catholic Church, which seldom fails to read signs of the times, has accommodated itself to the changed conditions. Time was when it viewed the revival of the Irish language askance; but now Irish finds some of its most ardent advocates among the priesthood. Caught by the enthusiasm of the hour, the younger priests, and some bishops too (like the prelates in Kerry and Raphoe), give it the utmost encouragement. Thus, for example, in the diocese of Raphoe ninety per cent. of the population can speak Irish, and no schoolmasters are employed unless they know it. The position in Scotland, if it does not present a precise parallel to the case of Ireland, exhibits similar tendencies.

The situation in Brittany is far from reassuring. Successive French governments, mostly imbued with a secularist bias, have forbidden the teaching of Breton in

state schools, and lend the movement no countenance whatever. Rather they place obstacles in the way, ostensibly, no doubt, for fear of the development of a cramping particularism, and the separation of Brittany, in thought and feeling, from the rest of France, for the political union is irreversible; but it may be shrewdly suspected that its opponents vividly remember the unwavering Royalist sympathies of the Bretons in the past, and resent their Catholic convictions and devotion to the Roman Church down to this day. However that may be, the priesthood has come to the rescue. When, for example, Combet, prime-minister and ex-priest, attacked the Church, it put the Bretons on their mettle. Laymen now vie with priests in rallying to the support of the ancient tongue, which, carried across the English Channel from Cornwall, Devon and Wales in the fifth and sixth centuries by refugees fleeing before the face of the Yellow Plague, and the no less pestiferous Saxon, has nobly held its own down to this day.

To sum up the present position of the Celtic languages: Cornish did not disappear a century ago, as is usually supposed; it lingered on in remote districts even into the twentieth century, and I know personally two scholars who speak it, but its days are probably numbered, and it is destined to fade away for ever. Manx is spoken by about a hundred islanders, and Gaelic services are held once a year, at which an Archdeacon preaches in the vernacular. Many of my countrymen, as has already been said, view the future of Welsh with gloomy forebodings.

It may not be easy to keep the surviving languages afloat on the bosom of this materialistic twentieth century. But let us not give way to a limp fatalism. Let the pessimists take heart from such a fact as the following.

Lord Bacon apparently in the seventeenth century was not confident of the enduring stability of the English language. If a book was to "live and be a citizen of the world, as English books are not", he wrote, "it must be translated into Latin". He meant to say that Latin, being the medium of intercourse in the Commonwealth of Science and the Republic of letters, would ensure him a hearing throughout Europe. "These modern languages", he proceeded, "will at one time or another play bank-rowte with books". So when he began to write his famous Essays, he hesitated whether he should employ Latin or English. Yet we know that the English language is becoming more and more the *lingua franca* of the world, and bids fair to become the chief medium of communication among the nations of the globe.

Such are some of the subjects on which public opinion might be focussed; and if the Celtic world or its intellectual aristocracy were unanimous, its demands would be irresistible. We could then urge desirable reforms, press for amendment, and rouse the official conscience (if such a thing exists) in various departments of unsympathetic Administrations; it is said to awake into life, and function immediately before a General Election.

Before I conclude, let me forestall an objection, and, at the same time, sound a note of warning. Two rocks, two dangers lie ahead of us; like the Symplegades in Greek story, the fabled clashing cliffs at the entrance to the Black Sea between which few ships could pass and live, the local claims of a section or district may come into collision with the claims of the nation as a whole. You sometimes find people holding extravagant views, who advocate purely Scotch, purely Irish, purely Welsh, literature, music, art, or whatever it may be. That is not the way to do it. It is not the way it was done in the

palmy days of literature. It is not the way it was done when Scotland, as Scotland, contributed its quota to British literature. All must lead up to the greater and fuller national life, in which the particular is not forgotten, indeed, but joins in the full and harmonious chord, in which the notes may be different but in which the effect is unity. Loss also would ensue—perhaps even more serious loss would ensue—if each community should say, “I will not join in the common chorus of civilised humanity, but I will sing my own tune in my own way, and I will take no share in the common work of literature and imaginative development”. On the other hand, if Britain possessed an absolute, flat, unvaried plane of culture, each nation being a mere replica of every other nation, the world would greatly lose. Happily, there is no disagreement between the two principles; the local patriotism and the larger patriotism, instead of intersecting and conflicting, may intermingle and coalesce for a common end.

At any rate, we cannot contemplate with equanimity the Celtic races reduced to an arid, unfruitful, colourless uniformity, nor sacrificing their individuality at the altar of the Moloch of Utilitarianism. In the words of the American poet Lowell:—

“ All nations have their mission from on high,
 Each the Messiah of some central thought
 For the fulfilment or delight of man ”.

Mabon vab Modron.

BY PROFESSOR W. J. GRUFFYDD, M.A.,
University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire.

THIS paper does not pretend to be an exhaustive treatise on the place of Mabon in Arthurian tradition, as I hope to deal with the subject in greater detail in a work on the whole tale of *Culhwch and Olwen* which I have for some time been contemplating. Here I shall confine myself to the legend of Mabon, and attempt to outline its significance as part of what, for lack of a better name, must be called the "mythological" tradition in Wales. In the past, critics whose chief concern is the Arthurian legend in its later developments have been at pains to emphasise the meagreness of the Arthurian tradition in Welsh; now it is becoming clear that this meagreness is only apparent, and that even the appearance is due to the critics' ignorance of the obscure and involved material found in Welsh. The conclusion of this paper will suggest that in the myth or legend of Mabon son of Modron is embodied a substantial portion of the oldest Arthurian tradition in a form which has remained comparatively pure and uncontaminated.

Before coming to Mabon himself, one or two preliminary considerations will be helpful. In the first place, it is well to stress a point which is often forgotten by workers in this field, namely, that the adjective "Arthurian" is used in two senses. It denotes, first, those things which concern the person of Arthur himself, legends, traditions, written tales and poems about an individual person called Arthur; and it denotes, secondly, legends and other traditions concerning those persons,—Gawain, Lancelot, Per-

ceval and others,—who came to be regarded as members of his court; in other words, the term “Arthurian” has to do first with Arthur, and, secondly, with Arthurian people. At first sight, the distinction may appear unimportant, but no writer has so far shown himself aware of it, and it is possible that much profitless argument about Arthurian origins might have been spared if critics, particularly Continental critics, had kept it in view. In brief, it is of the highest importance to the British claim if it can point to *definite traditions about Arthur himself* which shall be more weighty than those of definitely and demonstrably Continental origin; but it is of little importance that Wales has no traditions connected with the names, say, of Galahad or Lancelot. In the later stages of Arthurian literature Arthur’s entourage came to include nearly all the great names of romance of whatever origin, and the absence of British traditions about them should not, of course, be regarded as adding to the onus of proof required of us.

What, then, in brief, is Arthur’s position in Welsh tradition as preserved in literature? Here he is neither the world-emperor nor even the pattern of a courtly prince; he is the leader of men who makes raids upon his enemies, mortal and immortal, the performer of feats against the powers of the Other-world. The primitive Welsh traditions come from three sources: (1) historical and pseudo-historical references by Nennius and others; (2) certain portions of the Welsh tale called *Culhwch and Olwen*; (3) certain portions of the ancient Welsh manuscripts which describe his feats. In this paper I propose to examine briefly an incident in Arthurian tradition represented in (2) and (3), and to suggest that it is possible that this constitutes the remains of a genuine myth of Arthur, using the word “myth” in its usual

meaning of a tale dealing with an other-world personage. For our present purpose, it is beside the point to inquire whether that "myth" was *originally* a story of Arthur; it is probable that it was not.

Culhwch and Olwen is the most interesting monument preserved in Welsh literature of the *cyvarwydd's* art. In my opinion, it is chronologically later than the *Four Branches*; that is to say, it was finally set in its present frame in a later year than the archetype of the *Four Branches*, but that in itself means nothing. The important fact is that, *structurally*, it is more primitive than the *Four Branches*, and therefore its constituent parts are in a less manipulated state, and more clearly represent the original forms. Indeed, to use a grammatical simile, the *Four Branches* are like a vast complex sentence; as if a person had taken a long passage of prose containing a large number of simple, compound, and complex sentences and, with much labour and skill, welded the whole into one sentence with only one subject and one main verb. *Culhwch*, on the other hand, is like a compound sentence consisting of a great number of co-ordinate clauses; this will be made clear when we examine the actual form of the tale. The main frame-work which binds the whole together is the usual almost world-wide tale of the Giant's Daughter and the tasks set the Suitor at the risk of his head. *Culhwch* goes to claim Yspyddaden Pencawr's daughter, and that giant sets him a series of *anoethu* or tasks. Arthur's presence in this part of the story is purely factitious; *Culhwch* goes to Arthur's court to seek his help *before he has been set the tasks*, which proves to any student of folk-lore that Arthur's presence here is due to the redactor, the *cyvarwydd*, and is not a part of the original structure of a tale of this type; in other words, on these and on other grounds, he is not

the Helping Companion of the folk-tales; he is there, in fact, in order that two or three important Arthurian episodes may be introduced, because, possibly, tales about Arthur were already popular. The rest of the story is taken up with the *anoetheu* and their performance, which may be described in short as a collection of folk-tales of diverse origins squeezed more or less skilfully into the frame-work of the *Giant's Daughter* theme. In illustration of the diversity of origin, two of the *anoetheu* may be named: first the purely Celtic (whether Welsh or Irish or both) saga of the Hunting of the Other-world Boar, the *Twrch Trwyth*, by Arthur; and secondly, the exquisitely related Finding of the Flax-seed, a tale which is found all over Europe, particularly in the Slavonic countries.¹

A word on *anoetheu*, plural of *anoeth*. It is used in the narrative by the speakers themselves to describe the feats which they have to perform in order to help Culhwch. It is found, in the singular, in the verse on Arthur's grave in *Englynion y Beddau*:

Anoeth bid bet y arthur,

“an *anoeth* is a grave of Arthur”, or, perhaps, “the *anoeth* of the world is Arthur's grave.”²

I am of opinion that *anoetheu* was a technical term meaning “marvels”, and applied in particular to the marvels performed by Arthur, and that in the verse quoted it is used in a secondary sense, i.e., the grave of Arthur being unknown and undiscoverable is one of the marvels of the world. We get further help to fix the meaning by the Cornish proverb, quoted in the fifteenth century cartulary of Glasney College:

¹ The general type is Aarne-Thompson's No. 554. The particular form approximates closely to the incident of the Helping Ants in *Goldenhair* (Wratislaw, *Sixty Folk-Tales*, pp. 29 ff.), where the detail of the Lame Ant is given in full.

² I owe this suggestion to an old student of Aberystwyth.

*In Polsethow ywhylyr anethow, in Polsethow habitaciones seu mirabilia videbuntur.*¹

Here the translator gives two meanings, *habitaciones* and *mirabilia*, because he hesitates between the common Cornish word *annedh*, "house", and the uncommon *aneth*, corresponding regularly to the Welsh *anoeth*.² (Compare Cornish *haneth*, "to-night", and Welsh *henoeth*.) We can now see why the word is applied to a tradition of Arthur in the tract attributed to Nennius :

Est aliud *mirabile* in regione qui (*sic*) dicitur Buelt. Est ibi cumulus lapidum, et unus lapis superpositus super congestum, cum vestigio canis in eo. Quando venatus est porcum Troit, impressit Cabal, qui erat canis Arthuri militis, vestigium in lapide, et Arthur postea congregavit congestum lapidum sub lapide in quo erat vestigium canis sui, et vocatur Carn Cabal.³

It is not within the terms of this paper to deal with the probability that *Carn Cabal* means not "the cairn of Caval the hound", but "the hoof of Caval the horse". I merely wish to point out that *anoethou* meant such *mirabilia* as Nennius mentions, and that it was this meaning which was present in the cyvarwydd's mind. He is concerned to fit such Arthurian traditions as he knew into the frame-work of *Culhwch*, and he knows of Arthur as having left traces of himself as part of the *mirabilia* of the Island of Britain. "Which of the *anoethou* shall we perform next?" ask his warriors in the tale; that is, translated back to the words of the cyvarwydd, "which of the *mirabilia* shall I bring next into the story?"

Two of the *anoethou* are, as I have said, the Hunt-

¹ Jenner, Handbøok of the Cornish Language, p. 10.

² Polsethow is in the parish of St. Gluveas, near Penryn. It was the actual site of Glasney College, and it is therefore easy to see why the writer gave *habitaciones* as an alternative meaning of *anethow*. He wanted to make the prophecy refer to the College itself.

³ Nennius (Stevenson), p. 60. I quote from the inferior Stevenson because it is the only edition I possess.

ing of the Boar Trwyth, a story well attested from other sources, and the finding of Mabon son of Modron, the great prisoner. The setting of these two performances and their position in the structure of Culhwch and Olwen are so important that I must spend a little time in describing them, paying special attention to the Mabon episode, with which alone we are now concerned.

Yspyddaden Pencawr, first of all, names the tasks which Culhwch must perform, and here the skill of the cyvarwydd is strikingly illustrated. He does not string together a series of fortuitous and disconnected tasks, such as we often find in the more unsophisticated folk-tale. All the anoetheu are made *necessary*, (1) in order to furnish the wedding feast, and (2) to enable Yspyddaden to shave his beard and comb his hair on the night of his daughter's wedding. Thus a wooded hill must be cleared so that wheat may be sown in it to provide bread and ale for the wedding feast. This land cannot be ploughed without the oxen of Gwelwlwyd, and he therefore must be found; the plough cannot be held by anyone but Amaethon, and so he too must be found. Then after a long enumeration of similar anoetheu the performance of which will supply the food and drink, the second element is introduced, namely, the shaving and the combing of the Giant, in these words:

“There are not in the world comb and scissors wherewith my hair may be dressed, because of its great stiffness, except the comb and scissors between the ears of Twrch Trwyth, son of Tared Wledig; he will not give them of his will, and thou canst not constrain him”. “I deem that easy to get, though thou deem it not easy”. “Though thou get that, there is that which thou shalt not get,—Twrch Trwyth may not be hunted till thou get Drudwyn the whelp of Greid son of Eri. . . . There is no huntsman in the world that can work huntsmanship on that hound but Mabon, son of Modron, who was taken from his mother when he was three nights old. It is not known where he is, or which he is, dead or living. . . .

Mabon can never be found, since it is not known where he is, till Eidoel son of Aer, his kinsman, be found first, because he will be tireless (?) in searching for him; he is his cousin ”.

And so the anoetheu mount up, 42 in all, and Culhwch's friends set out to perform them. I cannot here enter into the all-important question of the discrepancy between the Naming of the anoetheu and their Performance; I can only state that it is the performance stories which came first,—that is to say, it is here that we find preserved the original form of the unrelated tales of prowess which have thus been ingeniously strung like beads on the thread of *Culhwch and Olwen*. The majority of the tasks named by the Giant are not found in the list of the performances, and the order of the performances bears no sort of relation to the sophistically logical order of the naming. Here is a rough account of the series, in the sequence in which the items occur:—

(1) Arthur's men without Arthur find the Sword of Wnach Gawr. This account is very detailed and polished, but in the list of tasks it comes last, and is obviously a later addition. It is a tale of the type of the Irish “Sword of Light”. It fills $2\frac{1}{2}$ folios.

(2) The finding of Eidoel son of Aer by Arthur, and consequently,

(3) The finding of Mabon son of Modron by Arthur's men, and his rescue by Arthur. $3\frac{1}{2}$ fos.

(4) Arthur goes in his ship Prydwen to hunt the two whelps of the bitch Rymhi, and captures them. $\frac{1}{3}$ fo.

(5) Gwythyr son of Greiddawl finds the lost flax-seed. As I have already pointed out, this is a well-known European folk-tale. $\frac{1}{2}$ fo.

(6) Cei and Bedwyr kill the giant Dillus, and bring away his beard. 1 fo.

(7) (8) (9) The story of Creiddylad interposed in

the middle of a farrago of three performances culminating in the capture of the boar White-Tusk. The writer comments at the end of this: "It was not the hounds that Yspyddaden had noted on [demanded of] Culhwch that killed the boar, but Kaval, Arthur's own hound". 1½ fos.

(10) The Hunting of the Boar Trwyth by Arthur. 7 fos.

(11) The killing of the Witch Gorddu on the bounds of Hell by Arthur's men, with Arthur himself looking on. 1 fo.

It will thus be seen that of the 42 anoetheu, only 11 are mentioned in the second part, and of these three are passed over perfunctorily. Of the remaining eight, three, namely, Nos. 1, 5 and 6, are not performed by Arthur himself. They are, in fact, ordinary non-Arthurian folktales current in other countries. The importance of the incidents of the Boar Trwyth and of Mabon is thus seen to be paramount.

Before we go to Mabon in detail, we must note that the cyvarwyddon had sometimes before them differing traditions of the same incident. In such a case, they generally resort to two main devices in order to be synoptical; either they frankly admit the discrepancy, as in the instance quoted above of the killing of the Boar by the hound Caval, or they duplicate the narrative, using different names for persons and places. A good instance of this latter device is found in the Mabinogi of *Branwen*, where the original banquet in which the Irish are placed in the bags (*bolyeu*) took place at Tal y Bolion and not in Ireland. But since that explanation of the place-name by the incident was forgotten, a new onomastic tale of the *ebolion* (foals) was invented, and a second feast was described; consequently we have in the final version

of *Branwen* two banquets, one in Môn and one in Ireland. In *Culhwch* we have two examples of this duplication, namely, the hunting of the two boars, Ysgithrwyn and Twrch Trwyth, and the delivering of the two prisoners, Eidoel son of Aer and Mabon son of Modron; as to the former it is instructive to notice the consequent inartistic duplication in the list of the anoethu. The Eidoel and Mabon incidents are as follows, (I translate literally) :

. . . They told Arthur how it had befallen them. Arthur said, "What thing is most proper to be sought of those (*hynny*) anoethu?" "It is most proper", said they, "to seek Mabon son of Modron, and there is no getting him till Eidoel son of Aer, his kinsman, be gotten first". Arthur arose, and the warriors of the Island of Britain with him, to seek Eidoel. And they came till they were before the *caer* (castle or "*dun*") of Glini, in the place where Eidoel was in prison. Glini stood on the rampart of the *caer*, and he said, "Arthur, what claim hast thou against me that thou dost not let me be in this mound? Not well is it for me in it and not joyful. Nor wheat nor oats have I, though thou mayest not seek to do me harm". Arthur said, "It is not to do thee evil that I came here, but to seek the prisoner whom thou hast". "I will give thee the prisoner, and I had not intended to give him to anyone, and with that my strength and help thou shalt have". The men said to Arthur, "Lord, go thou home, thou canst not take thy men to seek a thing so petty as these [things] are". Arthur said, "Gwrhwr Gwalstawd Ieithoedd [G. Interpreter of Tongues], it is for thee that it is right to go on this errand, thou hast all the tongues, and thou art versed in the language of some of the birds and animals. Eidoel, it is for thee that it is proper to go to seek him—he is thy cousin—with my men. Cei and Bedwyr, the errand that you go on, I have a hope of getting it. Go me on this errand".

They travelled onward as far as the blackbird of Gilgwri. Gwrhwr asked her. "For God's sake, dost thou know aught of Mabon son of Modron, that was stolen when three nights old from betwen his mother and the wall?" The blackbird said, "When I came here first, there was a smith's anvil here, and, as for me, I was a young bird; no work was wrought on it, except while my beak was on it every evening. To-day, there is not as much as a nut of it that is not worn away: the punishment of God be upon me if I have heard aught of the man of whom ye ask. That which is right however and fitting

that I should do to Arthur's envoys, I will do. A generation of beasts there is that God created before me, I will go as a guide before you there".

They came to the place where the stag of Rhedynvre was. "Stag of Rhedynvre, here come we to thee, envoys of Arthur, since we know of no animal older than thee. Say, knowest thou aught of Mabon son of Modron, that was stolen when he was three nights old from his mother?" The stag said, "When I came here first, there was only one antler-branch on either side of my head, and there were no trees but one oak sapling, and that grew to be an oak-tree of a hundred branches and the oak-tree fell afterwards, and to-day there is nothing of it but a red stump. From that time to this day have I been here. I have heard nothing of the one of whom ye ask. However, I will be your guide—since ye are Arthur's envoys—to the place where there is an animal that God created before me.

They came to the place where the owl of Cwm Cawlwyd was. "Owl of Cym Cawlwyd, here are the envoys of Arthur: knowest thou aught of Mabon son of Modron, who was stolen when three nights old from his mother?" "If I knew it, I would tell it. When I came here first, the great valley which ye see was a wooded glen, and a generation of men came to it, and it was destroyed, and the second wood grew in it, and this is the third wood; and as for me, the roots of my wings are stumps. From that time till to-day, I have heard nothing of the man of whom ye ask. However, I will be a guide for Arthur's envoys until ye come to the place where is the oldest animal that is in this world, and that goes about most, the eagle of Gwernabwy".

Gwyhyr said, "Eagle of Gwernabwy, we have come, envoys of Arthur, to thee to ask thee if thou knowest aught of Mabon son of Modron, that was stolen from his mother when he was three nights old". The eagle said, "I came here a far time ago, and when I came here first, I had a stone, and from its top I used to peck the stars every evening; now it has not a handsbreadth of height. From that time till this day am I here, and I have heard nothing of the man of whom ye ask, except on one journey when I went to seek my food as far as Lake Llyw. And when I came there, I struck my talons into a salmon, since I thought there was food for me in it for a long time. And he dragged me into the abyss, so that I hardly escaped from him. And this is what I did, I and all my kin,—I made a raid upon him to seek to destroy him. He sent envoys to make peace with me, and he came to me to take out ten gaffs and two score from his back; if he knows not aught

of what ye seek, I know not anyone who knows it. However, I will be your guide as far as the place where he is ”.

They came to the place where he was. The eagle said, “ Salmon of Lake Llyw, I have come to thee with the envoys of Arthur to ask if thou knowest aught of Mabon son of Modron, who was stolen when three nights old from his mother ”. “ As much as I know, I will tell. With every tide I go up the river above, until I come under the lee of the wall of *Caer Loyw* [Gloucester], and there I found evil greater than any evil that I ever found in my life; and so that ye may believe, let one of you come on my shoulders here ”. And those who went on the salmon’s shoulders were *Cei* and *Gwrhryr Gwalstawd Ieithoedd*.

And they travelled till they came to the other side of the wall from the prisoner, so that they heard lamenting and groaning on the other side of the wall from them. *Gwrhryr* said, “ What man laments in this house of stone? ” “ Ah, sir, he has cause for lamenting who is here. Mabon son of Modron is here in prison, and no one has been so cruelly imprisoned in a prison house as I,—neither the prison of *Lludd Llaw Ereint* nor the prison of *Greid* son of *Eri* ”. “ Hast thou hope that thou mayest be released for gold or for silver, or for the world’s wealth, or for battle and fighting? ” “ As much of me as may be got will be got by fighting ”.

They returned thence, and came to the place where Arthur was. They told him of the place where Mabon son of Modron was in prison. Arthur summoned the warriors of this island, and went as far as *Caer Loyw*, where Mabon was in prison. *Cei* and *Bedwyr* went on the shoulders of the fish, while the warriors of Arthur were fighting against the caer. *Cei* rent the wall and took the prisoner on his back, and fought with the men as before. Home came Arthur, and Mabon with him free.

It is unnecessary to waste much time in proving that the two prisoner-stories here joined together are a duplication, due, I suppose, to the existence of two differing accounts of the same incident which the *cyvarwydd* could not harmonize. The former of the two stories, that of *Eidoel*, was probably of literary origin, that is to say, it had been committed to writing at one period in its development. I make no pretence of understanding the name of *Eidoel* son of *Aer*, but the place of his imprisonment is, I think, fairly obvious. The narrative describes

him as being imprisoned in *Caer Glini*. This is, I suggest, due to the reading of an account of his captivity in a place called by its Roman name, *Castra Glevi*, misread or misheard as *Castra Glini*, and rendered in Welsh as *Caer Glini*, "the caer of Glini", whence came the owner Glini who stood upon the rampart, genitive and all! Now *Castra Glevi* is Gloucester, a part well within the locale of the early traditions of Arthur, and definitely named in the Mabon incident as being the place where *he* was in prison. I assume, therefore, that Eidoel and Mabon are two names of *one* famous prisoner, whose prison came, in time, to be located in Gloucester. I mean that the usual transference has taken place from the Other-world to an actual locality approached over the water.

Many years ago, in an article contributed to the *Revue Celtique* (Vol. xxxiii), I showed, at least to my own satisfaction, that two famous prisoners of Welsh story, namely, Pryderi (Gweir, Gwri) son of Rhiannon, and Mabon son of Modron, were one and the same person. I pointed out that *Rhiannon* comes from an older **Rigantona*, "the great queen", that the name of *Teyrnon*, Pryderi's foster-father, was derived from **Tigernonos*, "the great king", and that we had therefore a trinity of Father, Mother, and Son; that *Mabon* came from a well-authenticated form *Maponos*, and *Modron* from an equally authentic *Mâtrona*, the one meaning the Great Son and the other the Great Mother. Many dedications are extant to *Maponos* in which he is identified with Apollo, and his mother's name is found in Gaul in the old form of the name of the river Marne, *Mâtrona*. It is curious, however, that the Latin form of the name, with short a and long ô, is found in the name *Madrun*, in Carn Vadrûn, "the cairn of Madrun", in Lleyn. *Madrun* is duly recorded among the Welsh saints. She is described by one of the sources

of Baring Gould and Fisher's *British Saints* as daughter of Gwrtheyyr Vendigaid and wife of Ynyr Gwent ; another source of the same work calls her husband Gwgan *Gwron*. I do not wish to lay too much stress on hagiological details of this kind, but one often finds that under them lies a stratum of genuine tradition. It is certainly significant that her husband is described as Ynyr *Gwent*, seeing that Teyrnnon, the father in the trinity mentioned above, and originally (if I am right) Rhiannon's husband, is described in *Pwyll* as " lord of Gwent is Coed " ; and, further, that the other name of her husband should be *Gwron*, from **Vironos*, " the Great Man ", or " the Great Hero ".

The family composed of these personages may be set out as follow :

FATHER.	MOTHER.
Teyrnnon (Tigernonos).	Rhiannon (Rigantona).
Gwron (Vironos).	Modron, Madrun (Matrona)
SON.	
Mabon (Maponos).	
Pryderi.	
Gwri.	
Gweir.	

The story of the Delivering of the Great Prisoner is found in *Culhwch* and in the mabinogi of *Manawydan*, the third of the *Four Branches*. The *Culhwch* account, which I have given above, is composed of (a) a duplicated story of a raid by Arthur and his men upon the prison of Eidoel and of Mabon, and (b) the folk-tale of the Oldest Animals which Professor Cowell¹ showed to be a close counterpart of an ancient Indian tale and to be certainly cognate to, if not derived from, it. Now since the Legend of the Oldest Animals has been introduced from the outside into the narrative, we must ask what fact in the original account provided the nail on which it is hung.

¹ *Cymmrodor*, V., 169.

That fact, obviously, is that Mabon was not only the Great Prisoner, he was also the Immemorial Prisoner, the Great Son who has been lost for aeons and is at last found.

Another point in the narrative deserves close study, namely, the cyvarwydd's difficulty with his sources. Arthur, of course, was not concerned in the conference with the Oldest Animals, since it was not an Arthurian story, but he was, traditionally, closely concerned in the delivering of Mabon. So the narrator very naïvely excuses him from the preliminary part, the conference with the Oldest Animals, by putting these words, already quoted, in the mouth of his men: "Lord, go thou home, thou canst not take thy men to seek a thing as petty as these things are", and so Arthur entrusts the search to the Interpreter of Tongues. All this manipulation of the material by the cyvarwydd shows his faithfulness to the tradition; if Arthur was not in the Legend of the Oldest Animals, he must be got rid of, but he must at all costs be brought back to deliver Mabon, because that is a traditional Arthurian feat.

Let us now turn to the account of Pryderi found in *Manawydan*. I do not intend to repeat what I have already said in my previous article, and I would beg to refer the reader to that work; it is necessary, however, to recapitulate the tale as briefly as possible. Already in *Pwyll*, Pryderi (or Gwri, as he is at first called) had been lost from his mother's bed when he was a few nights old. In *Pwyll*, he is restored by Teyrnnon, but the restoration episode has been hopelessly confused and submerged by the introduction of the well-known European tale of the "Wife Wrongly Accused". In *Manawydan* a different account is given. Pryderi, hunting a snow-white boar, is enticed to an obviously other-world caer, and is there kept prisoner. Rhiannon, his mother, goes to seek him, and

she meets with the same fate. In the meantime a great desolation has befallen the country, all living things have disappeared, and Manawydan's crofts are shorn of their corn as soon as the ears are ripe. In the end, Manawydan threatens to hang the wife of the wizard who has caused all the trouble, and in exchange for her life, the wizard delivers Pryderi and Rhiannon, and promises that there shall never more be enchantment upon the land. At the end of the account, the cyvarwydd, again faithfully following tradition, says that the original name of this story was *Mabinogi Mynweir a Mynord*, which, as I have already shown in the previous article, is a corrupt development of *Gweir a Modron*.

Now, any experienced student of legend reading *Manawydan* for the first time will notice at once the clumsy efforts of the cyvarwydd to make Manawydan the step-father of Pryderi. He is nowhere else in Welsh or Irish tradition the kind of person described here, and I have no doubt that he and not Llwyd vab Cilcoed was, according to his traditional character, the original wizard. Why then take all this trouble to make the Deliverer marry Rhiannon? Because, of course, the Deliverer had to be the father of the Prisoner. And here I must confess that I cannot account for the fact that the paternity of Pryderi-Mabon is so doubly and trebly involved in all the accounts. I only know that in *Pwyll* the result has been to relegate his father Teyrnnon to the position of foster-father, and in *Manawydan* to make his deliverer to be his step-father. Was it because in tradition Mabon was only known as the son of his mother Modron, and because, as in the cognate myth of Demeter, the important figure was originally the Seeker, namely, the Mother?

At the beginning of this paper, I mentioned other raids on the Other-world by Arthur. They are contained in

one or two poems in the *Book of Taliessin* and the *Black Book of Caermarthen*. Unfortunately, Welsh scholarship, though it has made great progress during the last fifty years, is still insufficiently equipped to deal with this material adequately, and I wish in passing to warn foreign students, in particular, against relying on the translation supplied by Skene's collaborators in the first volume of the *Four Ancient Books of Wales*. It is now possible, however, to see that most of the "mythological" poems are really "boasting songs", i.e., a kind of inventory by the bard of the different items in his repertory, in which a short, but too often obscure, indication is given of the traditional lore at his command. For our purpose three of these poems are important, namely, *Golychaf wledig* on fo. 25b, and *Golychafi gulwyd* on fo. 16a of the BT, and *Pa gur* on fo. 47b of the BBC. In the first, traditions, with differences depending on the various caers attacked, are given of an Other-world raid by Arthur in the ship Prydwen thrice filled with his men, of whom only seven returned,—a detail repeated, it will be remembered, in the mabinogi of *Branwen*, where an existing tale is named of *The Seven Men who returned from Ireland*. In this poem,¹ it is said :

Prepared was the prison of Gweir in Caer Siddi,
according to the Tale of Pwyll and Pryderi.
No one before him went into it,
into the heavy dark chain that held him, the trusty wight ;
and before the cruel spoils of Annwvn (Other-world) he sang
and till the day of doom he remained a bard afterwards.
Three loads of Prydwen were we when we went to it,
only seven returned from Caer Siddi.

Later on in the poem comes a reference to the *pair*, "cauldron", of the Head of Annwvn, and it seems as if the object of the raid was to deliver Pryderi from prison

¹ Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, II., 181.

in Annwvn, and to bring away the spoils, namely, the cauldron. Arthur is mentioned as the leader in l. 22 :

Tri lloneit prytwen yd aeth gan arthur.

“Three loads of Prydwen went with Arthur”.

In the body of the poem we have a reference to the usual conference with the Keeper of the Prison, as already described in the story of Eidoel son of Aer :

“Three score times a hundred men stood on its rampart,
it was not easy to have speech with its keeper”.

In *Golychafi gulwyd*,¹ Caer Siddi is no longer a prison, but the delectable Other-world surrounded by water, as so often and so beautifully described in early Irish literature and in the mabinogi of *Branwen*. It is significant to notice the similarity between

Ys kyweir vyg kadeir ygkaer sidi,

“Prepared is my chair in Caer Siddi”.

of this poem and the line in the other poem just quoted,

Bu kyweir karchar gweir ygkaer sidi,

“Prepared was the prison of Gweir in Caer Siddi”.

It will be noticed, too, that Manawydan has supplanted Pwyll here, as in the *Third Branch*.

It is not possible now to trace the history of Mabon (Mabuz, Mabonagrain) in the later French Romances ; it is sufficient for our purpose to say that his general character is that of an Enchanter, like Eder (Edern vab Nudd). It is easy to see how the Great Prisoner became the Enchanter who keeps men in durance in his hold. There was no difference in Welsh between the two meanings of *Carchar Mabon*, “Mabon’s Prison”. Though it meant, of course, the prison in which Mabon was confined, it suggested, when translated into French or English, the prison which Mabon guarded, and so he became the captor instead of the captive. It would be interesting

¹ Skene, F.A.B., II., 153.

to trace, as I hope someone will, the result of the same confusion in the history of the greatest enchanter of all, Merlin, who was famous both as captive and as captor.

And now I come to my conclusion, which I frankly admit to be only partly based on deduction from the facts which I have collected, and partly on what, for lack of a better word, may be called intuition. But intuition, if it is really intuition, is of course as valuable as deduction; its chief disadvantage is that it must always await further proof. I am convinced, from a fairly wide amateur's study of the development of modern scientific research, especially in the field of biology, that some of the most important new truths have been seen emerging from the facts, before the facts themselves were complete. I have emphasised this point because I believe that any new facts relating to the mythical figures dealt with in this paper cannot possibly change the direction in which those already ascertained seem to converge, and which I shall now briefly indicate.

Maonos (Mabon) and Matróna (Modron) were, on the evidence of the dedications, mythological figures with a definite history, which, though meagre and confused, is represented in the legends which we have been studying. I suggest that our forefathers spoke of a trinity of father, mother, and son, of whom the most important was perhaps the son. The mother, Modron, lost her son, Mabon, as soon as he was born; he had been snatched away by the powers of the Other-world; to use an apocalyptic phrase, he descended into Hades, and was there kept a prisoner. Meanwhile, a great desolation had come upon the upper world, all animal and vegetable life had withered away. The Mother, distracted with grief, wandered all over the creation to seek him, and at last, after aeons of searching, had news of him in Annwvn where she followed

him, probably becoming the unwilling wife of the King of Annwvn, in order to secure some arrangement by which her son might visit the world. I am inclined to think that the primitive myth ended here, and that a later development represented the father also as taking part in the search, descending into Annwvn, and bringing up his wife and son, together with the spoils of Annwvn,—not only the treasures of the Prince of Annwvn, but all the prisoners held in durance by him. In time the Ravisher of Annwvn naturally became identified with the greatest figure in British legend, King Arthur, who sailed in his ship Prydwen to the water-girt realm of the Other-world, and brought back the prisoners and the spoils. If, as some of us suppose, Arthur's story was mainly developed in the greater Cornwall, namely, the South-West of Lloegr, Gloucester would inevitably be chosen as the site of the prison.

It is outside my present purpose to suggest analogies, but the myth of Demeter and Persephone will be seen to bear a striking likeness to the myth of Modron and Mabon. I would call special attention to two points: (a) Demeter gave birth to the horse Arion just as Rhiannon is accused of giving birth to the foal of Teyrnnon which the *cravanc* exchanges with Pryderi; (b) an essential part of the two myths is the desolation which descends upon the land while the stolen child is away in the Under-world. It might be profitable, too, to compare the account of Christ's Descent to Hell and his delivering of the Saints of the Old Dispensation as related in the apocryphal gospels.

A Caernarvonshire Inventor :

A NOTE ON THE WORK OF JOHN WILLIAMS (*Ioan Madog*).

BY IORWERTH C. PEATE, M.A.,

*Assistant Keeper, Department of Archæology, the National
Museum of Wales.*

THE development of mechanical power and of specialized methods in industry in Wales during the nineteenth century coincided to a high degree with the rise and extension of those major trades which were subsequently to change the character of a large proportion of Welsh life. In areas unaffected by those changes, where the woollen, iron and coal industries did not exist, the evolution of manufacturing methods was naturally slow and often dependent upon the genius and initiative of individual craftsmen. In the study of the progress of local industries in Wales from primitive to modern methods, the work of these men is therefore of importance; they illustrate an interesting stage in the development of modern methods and represent the complete attempt, in isolated communities, to advance from primitive hand—to machine- and man-made power.

i.

The small harbour-towns of Eifionnydd and Llŷn in the nineteenth century were not only fishermen's centres but were also engaged in ship-building on a small scale, the "blockmaker" and the smith being important factors in the trade. Portmadoc especially was such a centre and from its harbour, too, was exported much slate from the quarries of the North. Here, in Tremadog and Portmadoc John Williams (*Ioan Madog*) spent the greater part of his

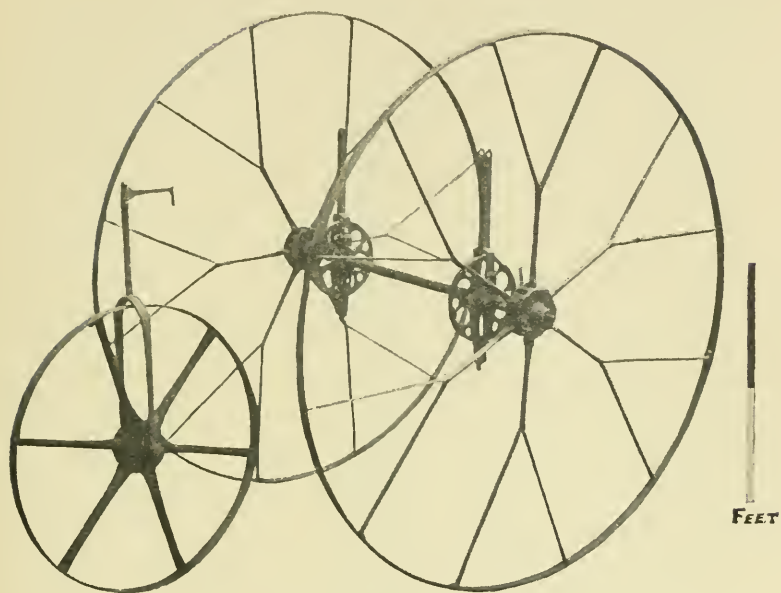


Fig. 1—*PEDFUANYDD* or Velocipede.

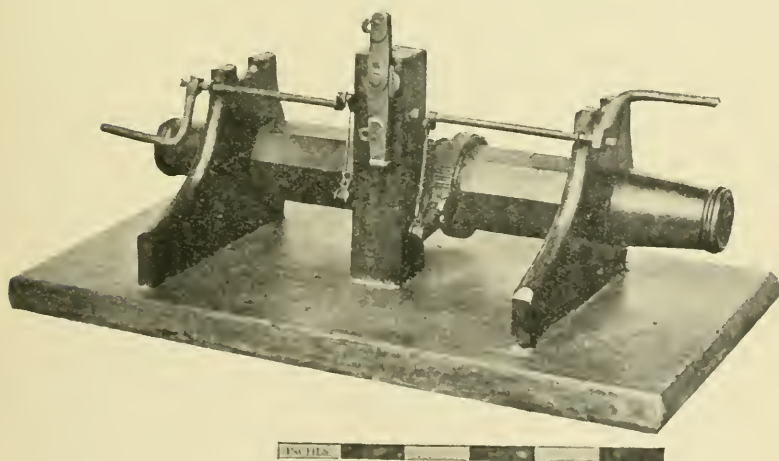


Fig. 2.—Revolving Windlass.

life. His father, Richard Williams of Tremadog, was a smith by profession and the son followed in the same tradition. Richard Williams spent some years at Y Bontnewydd, Ruabon, and his son, John, was born there on the 3rd of May, 1812. When he was about nine years of age, the family returned to Tremadog, where John Williams spent his youth. He moved to Portmadoc in the thirties, and lived there for the remainder of his life. He died on the 5th May, 1878.

Ioan Madog, to use his pen-name, was nurtured in a virile bardic tradition and it is as a bard that he is best known. Eifionnydd was famed in the nineteenth century for its bards and *Ioan Madog* was a contemporary of *Dewi Wyn o Eifion*, *Robert ap Gwilym Ddu*, *Eben Fardd*, *Emrys* and *Ellis Owen*. His literary work, like that of most nineteenth century writers, manifests that extreme departure from true emotion and faithful depiction which was characteristic of his period and his poems on "The Saviour and his reign", "The Power and Goodness of God", "General Eliott's Defence of Gibraltar", etc., are extremely tedious and of little literary value. As a metrist he was at times exceedingly successful, possessing much of the epigrammatic genius so well represented in the work of *Robert ab Gwilym Ddu*. *Ioan Madog's*

"Gwaed y Groes a gwyd y graith
Na welir moni eilwaith".

is well known. His "Poetical Works" have been published.¹

ii.

Ioan Madog was actively engaged throughout his life in the invention of mechanical devices for the saving of human labour and the production of more efficient work,

¹ *Gwaith Barddonol Ioan Madog o dan olygiaeth Cynhaiarn*, Pwllheli, 1881.

but his achievements in this direction have hitherto remained unrecorded.¹ Naturally most of his work is re-

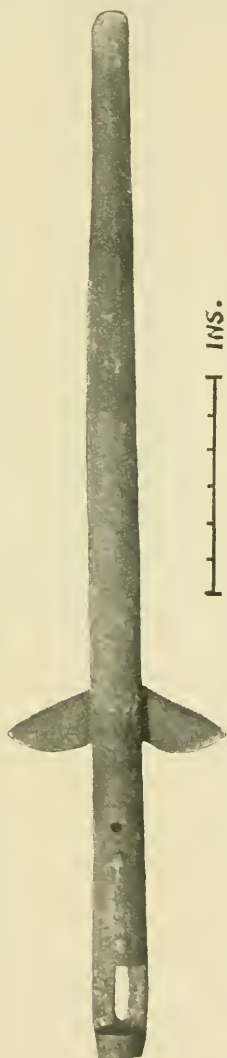


Fig. 3.—Expanding Jumper.

lated to the slate and shipping industries. In 1929 the

¹ But see *Gwaith Barddonol*, p. xv.

National Museum of Wales acquired the type-specimens of three of his inventions and the writer is indebted to Mr. Owen Williams, grandson of *Ioan Madog*, for permission to examine two other devices which he designed and executed.

In 1856 he completed his *Pedfuanydd* or velocipede, the existing parts of which are now in the National Museum of Wales collections (see fig. 1). This machine bore little resemblance to the velocipede invented by Blanchard and Magurier¹ or to the *draisine* of Freiherr Karl Drais von Sauerbronn (1817) for it was a tricycle, not a bicycle. It consisted of two wheels 48 inches in diameter and a small wheel 24 inches in diameter. The larger wheels are wrought in iron and bear evidence of good craftsmanship. As far as can be gathered from the remains of this machine, the velocipede was driven by two levers attached to the main axle. These levers were designed to make contact with the periphery of two small wheels fixed on the axle: a forward push established the contact and drove the machine forward, while a backward pull freed the levers. Motion was sustained by a regular to and fro movement of the levers.

In 1849 he invented his Revolving Windlass, which would probably have been patented had not some personal misunderstanding arisen, of which the details are not clear. A model of this windlass is still in existence (see Fig. 2). It is of the hand type for use on ships. The windlass has three sets of pawls worked by levers fitted into crosshead sockets. A winch-handle is also fitted for light work. The mechanism of the pawls is ingenious and the complete device reflects great credit upon the inventor.

In 1870 he completed his "Expanding Jumper"

¹ *Journal de Paris*, 27th July, 1779: see *Encycl. Brit.*, 11th Edition, *sv.* Cycling.

(Fig. 3), a rock-drill for use for blasting purposes. This consists of a steel rod, with a loose end working in a slot.

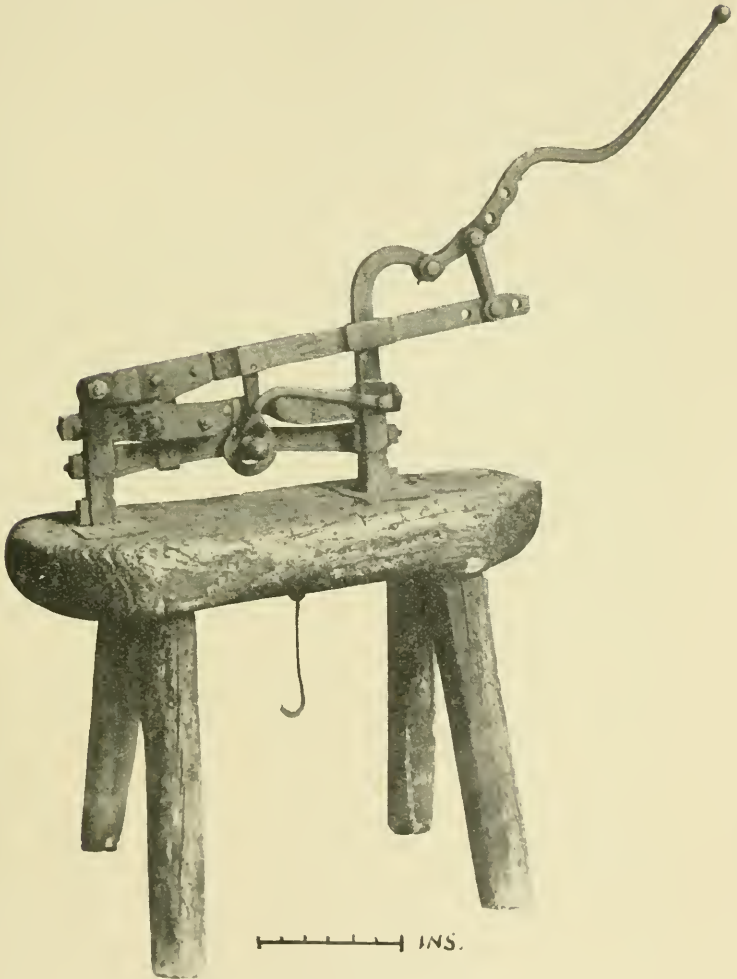


Fig. 4.—Rope-thimble machine.

When the end is pushed in (through contact with the rock) two steel “wings” open out, about seven inches

from the end, and the "jumper" being inserted into a drilled hole of uniform dimensions serves to enlarge the hole, at its base, the charge of gunpowder thus being given a better opportunity of operating. A wooden handle was probably fitted to this drill: this is now missing. The drill itself is in the National Museum.

Another machine designed and made by *Ioan Madog* was a bench-machine for the manufacture of rope-thimbles (see Fig. 4). A thimble is a circular piece of iron of a width of not less than one inch, grooved centrally to receive a rope or steel cable. *Ioan Madog's* machine, fitted in a strong four-legged bench, is worked in lever-fashion and has fittings for the making of thimbles of varying widths and sizes. It is also fitted with an appliance for cutting the metal into the required lengths. The machine is now in the National Museum of Wales.

In 1873 *Ioan Madog* invented a self-acting sandbox for use on the locomotives of the Ffestiniog railway. I have not seen this invention, but it is mentioned¹ that it worked "with much success". *Ioan Madog's* smithy on the quay at Portmadoc bears witness to his ingenuity to this day, one of its most interesting fittings being an invention for opening and closing the windows, made (as were naturally most of his inventions) of wrought iron.

NOTE.—The Illustrations are produced by courtesy of the National Museum of Wales.

¹ *Gwaith Barddonol*, p. xv.

Phylipiaid Ardudwy—A Survey and a Summary.

BY WILLIAM LL. DAVIES, M.A.,

Librarian, National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.

A.

By Phylipiaid Ardudwy¹ is meant that group of Welsh poets—John, Richard, Gruffydd, Phylip John, and William Phylip—who lived in Ardudwy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Their period ranges from 1543, in which year John was probably born, to 1678, when probate was granted of the will of Phylip John Phylip, the last of the group. The Royalist poet William Phylip, though he was no blood relation to the other Phylipiaid and was in several respects different from them, is usually accounted of the group.

The literary, historical, and religious associations of Ardudwy, particularly during the seventeenth century, were admirably described by the late Principal Davies in the introduction to the second volume of *Gweithiau Morgan Llwyd o Wynedd*. This,² and the works listed

¹ Ardudwy—which comprises thirteen parishes on the western or sea-girt side of modern Merioneth, from Barmouth and Dolgelley on the south, to Beddgelert and Festiniog on the north—has not been without its roll of celebrities. Huw Llwyd o Gynfal, poet and warrior, who saw service in Elizabeth's wars in the Low Countries; Morgan Llwyd, probably his grandson, mystic and poet, one of the pioneers of Welsh Nonconformity; Edmund Prys, archdeacon and poet, whose Welsh metrical version of the Psalms is still sung of a Sunday in every Welsh-speaking district; Colonel John Jones, the regicide, whose name the curious will find on King Charles's death-warrant; Elis Wynn, the author of the famous "Gweledi-gaethau y Bardd Cwsg"; and Dr. W. Owen-Pughe, bibliophile and lexicographer;—these are but a few from this neighbourhood famed in the annals of Welsh history and letters.

² Bangor. Jarvis and Foster . . . 1908. See also *Ardudwy o'i Gwron* [=Colonel John Jones], by David Davies . . . 1914; 'Asaph', *Edmund Prys* . . . 1908; and the more scholarly work by the Archdeacon of Bangor, called *Edmund Prys*, published in "The Transactions of the Cymmrodorion, 1922-23; Dr. Thomas Richards's books dealing with the seventeenth century; and the first of three articles by the present writer in "Y Beirniad", 1913, entitled *Phylipiaid Ardudwy*.

below, will give those readers who are not familiar with this part of West Merioneth some idea of the 'atmosphere' of the district and the age in which the Phylipiaid lived and wrote. The purpose of the present article is to present a sketch only of the lives of the Phylipiaid and of what they wrote about—a 'tafell i aros pryd' until such time as more of their poems can appear in print. John Phylip, the oldest of the group, was born *circa* 1543 and died 1620; his younger brother, Richard, died in 1641. John Phylip had two sons, Gruffydd Phylip, who died 1666, and Phylip John Phylip. The two brothers, John and Richard, and John's two sons, Gruffydd and Phylip John, wrote mainly in the 'cywydd' metre. John, Richard, and Gruffydd have between them about 370 'cywyddau' and 'awdlau'. John's output is the greatest, and that of his son, Phylip John, the least, namely, four poems. There is abundant evidence that John, Richard, and Gruffydd were professional bards and paid visit after visit to houses of note, mainly in North Wales, receiving hospitality and payment for their poems. There is, for example, a record of a payment of ten shillings to Gruffydd Phylip for a 'cywydd'.¹ Phylip John Phylip, however, does not appear to have written to any but his immediate neighbours; there is no evidence that he was a 'clerwr'. William Phylip, who wrote more in the free metres than in 'cynghanedd', was a 'gŵr bouheddig tiriawg' who, like Rowland Vaughan, Edmwnd Prys, Thomas Prys, and others, wrote poetry as and when inspired and not to the order of any particular patron. John wrote several poems to members of the Vaughan family of Corsygedol, as did his son Gruffydd, a generation later, whilst Richard was 'bardd teulu' to the Vaughans of Nannau. But not one of the three confined the range of his 'social' poems to these Merioneth families. Gruffydd, for example, wrote much in praise of the Ellis family of Ystumllyn and Bronyfoel in county Caernarvon, whilst there is hardly a county family of note in North-West Wales, Montgomeryshire, and Denbighshire, to some member of which they did not sing at some time or other. This 'social' poetry constitutes the bulk of the poetical work of these three bards—'cywyddau' or 'awdlau' sung in praise of a patron, elegies, poems

¹ See *Chirk Castle Accounts* by W. M. Myddelton (1908), p. 46.

to commemorate a marriage, or the birth of an heir, and requests for particular objects or animals—swords, horses, etc. Their value as literature cannot always of necessity be high—the poems are mostly too full of flattering epithets to be trustworthy; nevertheless such poems have their value—they mirror to some extent the life of the age as it was lived in the larger houses, and they provide a ‘Who’s Who’ of the landed gentry and the ecclesiastics of the period. To the genealogist they are of considerable importance, whilst to the social historian they provide in many cases the only data available for reconstructing the every-day life of the period. Occasionally one gets echoes of events and movements of more than local interest, as when John and Richard write ‘englynion’ referring to a Spanish ship which found its way to the estuary of the Dyfi in 1597. William Phylip lived through the Civil War and his works derive additional importance from that circumstance. Moreover, the Phylipiaid must not be looked upon as mere local poetasters. John, Richard, and Gruffydd had been through the established course of training for bards of the time, each had had his bardic teacher, and John had ‘graduated’ at the second Caerwys Eisteddfod, 1568. Only by remembering this can one realise where, to mention one aspect of their work, they had obtained their knowledge of classical and other allusions, and their stock of similes and other figures of speech. Moreover, they were trained in other than bardic lore in the narrow sense of the term; they were, for example, expert genealogists, whilst John is said to have been also a good botanist. They were, in short, among the last of the professional bards, for although it is recorded that the late seventeenth century bard Owen Gruffydd of Llanystumdwy received money payment for some of his work, it may be said that Phylipiaid Ardudwy were almost the last of the ‘clerwyr’. The person who wrote elegiac ‘englynion’ on the death of Gruffydd (1666) describes him as ‘y diweddaf or hen feirdd’.

B.

JOHN PHYLIP.

John Phylip lived in the farmhouse of Mochres, the only tenement on the isthmus of the same name. His family was descended from an ancestor named Palgus

2 pabwas maffis asse gigan

tais came pabalhastz & full mid
augen ynghen ynwellaq ag
wellaq! te dab ezu ynghen & full mit
augen psoft ag brudell! tei ezew
brudell full brudell brudell brudell
ag brudell choca! ynghen brudell huan
A beppisiz o lloq fillaf asse gigan fof
bu as brudellz ag & pabate a pabate
lloq yn & pabam! A gwan a seag
wan yn & e all guntaf, fof te ne
fillaf in dsi dsi dsi dsi in dsi dsi dsi
dsi dsi dsi dsi dsi dsi dsi dsi dsi
A gwan ezew fof te dsi dsi dsi dsi
ag of dsi dsi dsi dsi dsi dsi dsi
fillaf dsi dsi dsi dsi dsi dsi dsi
dsi dsi dsi dsi dsi dsi dsi dsi
dsi dsi dsi dsi dsi dsi dsi dsi

af. dsi dsi dsi dsi dsi dsi dsi dsi
dsi dsi dsi dsi dsi dsi dsi dsi
dsi dsi dsi dsi dsi dsi dsi dsi
dsi dsi dsi dsi dsi dsi dsi dsi

brudell ezew a pabate o ryzs fof dsi
asse gigan as fillaf dsi dsi dsi dsi
dsi dsi dsi dsi dsi dsi dsi dsi
dsi dsi dsi dsi dsi dsi dsi dsi
dsi dsi dsi dsi dsi dsi dsi dsi

John

1. 11111111

To face p. 159.

A page in the autograph of John Phylip from Peniarth MS. 89.

Phylip and Sion Tudur in particular. Both unite in speaking of John as a "byrddu bach". John Phylip admits the correctness of his brother poets' description, but reminds them of an old adage:—

Od wy fychan du fuchudd
Nid fy maint ydyw fy mudd.

("Though I be short and dark of the colour of jet, yet my strength is not in my stature").

Before 'graduating' at Caerwys John was the pupil of Wiliam Llŷn, on whose death in 1580 he wrote an elegy. Whether Wiliam Llŷn taught him anything besides the rules of verse and poetic diction it is difficult to say, but John Phylip the disciple knew three languages, probably Welsh, English, and Latin; was well versed in British and classic mythology; was skilled as a chronicler and preserver of pedigrees; was a botanist, and could also boast of an exceedingly good memory. Furthermore, he wrote a grammar of Welsh metrics (*See Appendix VI*),¹ and was in his turn the poetic teacher of his brother Richard, and probably also of his sons, Gruffydd and Phylip John, though the last-named does not appear to have written anything until after his father's death.

A very general division of the works of all the poets of this period would be the following:—

- (1) 'Social' poetry.
- (2) Poetry of a miscellaneous character.

The first section includes elegies and eulogies, requests and begging poems, satires, and congratulatory poems. The miscellaneous section includes, among many others, love poems, nature poems, and 'cywyddau ymryson'.

John Phylip wrote at least 195 'cywyddau' and 'awdlau' and numerous 'englynion'. The 'cywyddau' and 'awdlau' may be roughly classified as follows:—

Marwnadau (Elegies)	... .. 66
Moliant (Eulogies)	... .. 44
Serch (Love)	... .. 26
Gofyn, Diolch, etc. (Requests, etc.)	24
Duwiol (Religious or didactic)	... .. 19
Ymryson (Bardic Controversies)	... .. 10
Amrywiol (Miscellaneous)	... .. 5
Priodas (Marriage)	... .. 1

¹ Peniarth MS. 89 contains a copy in his own autograph, and Mostyn MS. 144 a transcript by Wiliam Phylip of Hendre Fechan.

It is impossible within the compass of an article which aims only at presenting a general survey of the works of the Phylipiaid to give details about the work of each of the five bards. In the case of John Phylip such a task would be formidable, and is to some extent unnecessary, as a full list of his poems is printed in Appendix I. to this article.¹ Moreover, it is obvious that full justice cannot be done in an article to a bard who wrote, for example, nearly seventy elegies. All that will be attempted here therefore is a general and superficial account of each class of poem, with occasional quotations.

Of the elegies, some are on brother poets (e.g. Wiliam Llŷn, Sion Tudur, Simwnt Fychan, Morys Dwyfach); two to Royalty (Queen Elizabeth and Prince Henry, elder son of James I.); some to prominent churchmen (Richard Vaughan, Bishop of London; Nicholas Robinson, Bishop of Bangor; Dr. Gwynn, a member of the Gwydir family, and Dr. Wiliam Gruffydd); there is also a little-known one on the death of Catherine of Berain.² The remainder are to members of well-known county families in Merioneth (Corsygedol, Hengwrt, Rhiwaedog, etc.), Anglesey, Caernarvonshire, and Denbighshire. Nothing would be gained by quoting from this class of poem. The local historian and the genealogist will find the 'marwnadau' a good quarry whence much 'building' material can be hewn. The poet will find in them much repetition, much flattery, features which are common also to the eulogies—the 'cywyddau' and 'awdlau moliant'. John Phylip well knew how to eulogise his patrons, among whom were several people of note, such as Dr. John Davies of Mallwyd; Theodore Price, Principal of Hart Hall, Oxford; Sir John Salusbury of Lleweni; Sir John Wynn of Gwydir and his eldest son John Wynn, who died at Lucca, Italy, in 1614; Simwnt Thelwal of Plâs y Ward; the Vaughans of Corsygedol; William Maurice of Clennau; the Gruffydds of Caernarvon; and several others—all of whom played their part in the history of Wales and, in some cases, of the Britain of their time.

What surprises one in reading these poems is the

¹ Reference may be made also to articles by the present writer contributed to *The Nationalist* ("An Island Poet") and *Y Beirniad*, 1913 ("Phylipiaid Ardudwy")—both of which should, however, be regarded as preliminary surveys.

² Christ Church (Oxford) MS. 184.

width and variety of the range of acquaintances possessed by a bard like John Phylip, at the homes of all of whom he was a welcome and, it must not be forgotten, a paid guest.¹ Though he had a home of his own, we must conclude that he did not spend much time in it, for many of the poems he composed were written when he was visiting the homes of patrons.

John Phylip wrote one 'cywydd priodas'. The occasion was the marriage of Sir Roger Mostyn to Mary, daughter of Sir John Wynn of Gwydir.²

The 'cywyddau gofyn' and 'cywyddau diolch' are closely related to the elegies and the eulogies, inasmuch as they contain much eulogy of the persons of whom objects or animals were requested. From an examination of the list of these poems given in the Appendix it will appear that the bard was often commissioned by one person to address a cywydd to another person, requesting some animal or object. It was essential that the poet should possess the gift of 'dyfalu'—that is, describing carefully in verse the object desired as a gift or a loan. Usually it was a horse that was required, but other creatures were in demand—a bull, a stag, a pair of swans, whilst among the objects were books, a horn, a gun, and a pound of tobacco, the last necessarily a new request.

Some of these 'cywyddau gofyn' are highly interesting as records of some of the customs prevailing in the bard's corner of Wales during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. Thus he asks the then incumbent of Llanaber, near Barmouth, to give his graduate gown to a fisherman burgess of Harlech so that it might keep him warm whilst sailing over Cardigan Bay in the winter. But, he takes care to add, the reverend gentleman must not be surprised if he hears of its being worn in the kitchen of a certain tavern at Harlech! Another request our poet made was for a "telyn rawn" (horse-hair harp).

Of the love poems, the best known is the ode to the sea-gull, "Cywydd yr Wylan". This has been printed more than once.³ The poet's lady-love lived across the ferry from Barmouth, and owing to a storm he was

¹ For some particulars concerning the payment to bards for their poems see (1) an article by J. Morris Jones on Tudur Aled in *Transactions of the Cymmrodorion*, 1908-9, and (2) the Introduction by T. Gwynn Jones to *Gwaith Tudur Aled*, 1926.

² Cardiff MS. 83 (249). ³ e.g. in *Cymru*, Vol. III., p. 136.

detained and could not keep the promised tryst. The poem opens with a vivid address to the sea-gull; then follows a request that the bird should acquaint the fair one of the cause of her swain's absence:—

A dywed lle'm dalied i
Wrth Aber nid tyner tonn,
Bermo arwdaith byrm oerdon.

(“Tell her where I am detained, near the estuary at Bar-mouth, by the cruel wave, with a cold sea seething”).

Then follows the bard's description of the storm:—

Mann trist yw bob munud draw
Môr duoer yn mordwyaw
Dyddhau a wnaeth ar draeth drain
Dydd oer o'r deau-ddwyrain.
Nithio gro a wnaeth hagr wynt
Nithio cerrig nyth corwynt.

(“'Tis a sad spot, every instant, whilst the murky sea rides high. There has dawned on the rough sea a gloomy day from the south-east; the cruel wind has winnowed the gravel, has rendered bare the crags, the home of the whirlwind”).

The tradition in poems of this type was due mainly to Dafydd ap Gwilym, whose own ode to the sea-gull John Phylip very probably had in mind when writing. The theme is the same in almost all the 'cywyddau serch'—a description of the lady and her tresses (more often than not she is a blonde), and, to make the antithesis the more striking, a very vivid description of the lover's sorry plight because he has to love in vain. One poem ends with the resolution:—

Cara'r fun er nas ceir fyth.

(“I shall love the maid though she may ne'er be mine”).

Another is to a lady whose beauty surpassed that of Venus, Juno, and Pallas. These and other poems are interesting for many reasons. The phraseology repays study—it is remarkable in what different ways the bard can express the same thought or idea. They prove also that John Phylip had gifts other than in the field of eulogising or mourning the death of male members of North Wales county families. Here are a few lines from “Cywydd merch yr hon ni fynnai un gwr a wisgai lifrai”¹:—

Y fun eurbleth lywethau,
Ai maen grisial yw'r tal tau?

¹ Cardiff 19 (361); Llanstephan 122 (213); Cwrt Mawr 10 (306); Peniarth 198 (88); B.M. Add. 12230 (394).

Dywed Wenn, nid wyd anhael,
 Ai ede aur yw dy ael?
 Ai asur lain ias oerlwyr
 Yw'r olwg is yr ael gwyr?
 Tebig yw'r grudd o rudd wisg
 I gŵyr sel mewn grisialwisg.

One notes in reading these poems a wealth of metaphor and simile, and an abundance of felicitous expressions.

"Marwnad morwyn Ifank"¹ forms one of the group of love poems.

One would expect from a member of the reformed Protestant Church some poems of a religious, theological, or didactic character, more especially on the question of doctrine, and of such poems John Phylip has written his share. Of them again it may be said that they are of more value to the historian of religion than to the literary critic. For instance, he tells the story of the good Samaritan, and then proceeds to give the allegorical meaning attached to every little detail in the story! In company with Captain William Myddelton, Sion Tudur, Edward Kyffin, and James Parry, who essayed a Welsh metrical version of some of the Psalms, probably with the view of their being sung in the service of the reformed Church, John wrote a paraphrase of the first psalm, but the masterhand at this was destined to be his near neighbour, Archdeacon Edmwnd Prys.

The religious and didactic group contains some interesting poems. One of them, "Cywydd y ffenics", appears very often in the MSS.² In it John Phylip tells the story of the phoenix, that fabulous bird which was said to be unique, and to live a certain number of years "when it makes in Arabia a nest of spices, sings a melodious dirge, flaps its wings to set fire to the pile, burns itself to ashes, and comes forth with new life, to repeat the former one . . .". The "Cywydd ar y ddegfed bennod o Luc" tells the story of the Prodigal Son. "Cywydd duwiol ar ddydd Nadolig . . ." is closely related to "Y Psalm gynta ar gân", as also "Cowydd ar ddygiad dyn i fyny", "Awdl gyffes Sion Phylip ar ei glaf wely", "Cywydd yn erbyn carowsio", "Cywydd yn erbyn balchder", "Cywydd yn erbyn anudon". In the same class are "Cywydd i Bacchus duw'r gwin ac i'r meddwyn", "Mawl i'r gwin drwy ymddiddan ychydig ag ef,

¹ Mostyn 145 (253). ² I have a note of twenty-three copies.

ar ol bod yn ffair y medd'dod o'r blaen", "Cywydd i ymliw a'r gwin", and "Gogan i'r cryd pan oedd y bardd glaf ohono".

In a group which can be termed miscellaneous are the following:—

- (a) "Moliant i'r parlwr newydd ym Mhlas y Ward".
- (b) "Cywydd i'r tai coed ac ir herber¹ yng Ngwedir".
- (c) "Cywydd i Ddoctor Lewis".
- (d) "Cywydd i dref Conwy pan oedd y nodau² yno, gan weddio drosti".

But perhaps the most interesting of these poems of a miscellaneous character are the 'cywyddau ymryson'—poems written in bardic controversies, with his own brother Rhisiart Phylip for precedence at Nannau near Dolgelley, with his uncle Sion Dafydd Siencyn, with Archdeacon Edmwnd Prys, with Captain Thomas Prys of Plas Iolyn, privateer and poet, and, most interesting of all, with Sion Tudur of St. Asaph.

The poems written in the controversy with Edmwnd Prys were printed³ by Asaph in his life of Edmwnd Prys.⁴ At the close of the 'ymryson' John Phylip wrote a "Cywydd i ofyn cymod Masdr Edmund Prys", full of eulogistic terms:—

Mae awenydd mwy ynod
Nag a wyr byth wyr i bod
Homer ydwyd y Mrydain
Ne Ofydd corff iownfodd cain
Tydain gall Tad Awen gynt
Tydain wyd o down atynt. . .

He hopes to see the Archdeacon becoming a bishop:—

D'aros yr ym dros yr iaith
Wisg ban yn esgob unwaith.

The poems written in 'controversy' with Sion Tudur are among the most interesting 'cywyddau ymryson' in Welsh literature. Humorous and satiric elements are profuse and there is, incidentally, a pen picture of the dress of a bard of the period and his accoutrement when he went visiting the homes of patrons. The palace of the Bishop of St. Asaph was in the 'zone' of Sion Tudur, but Sion Phylip went thither and was entertained by the bishop. Sion Tudur, upon hearing of this, sent a magpie

¹ = harbour.

² ? plague.

³ From a late text.

⁴ Published in 1908.

to the usurper with a message. The messenger is duly sent back by Sion Phylip. Four times did it come and four times did it return. At the end, however, Sion Tudur is left in authority at St. Asaph and Sion Phylip has to seek for patronage elsewhere.

The poems are interesting for many reasons. They give, for example, one bard's opinion—real and satiric—of the other. They also enable us to decide which is the better poet—the laurels go to Sion Tudur in this instance.

Sion Tudur tells the magpie :—

A dywed fo'th wrandewir
Drwg iawn i hwn drigo'n hir
Y mae orig ym Meirion
Hiraeth ysywaeth am Sion
Morwynion yn Meirionydd
Yn bruddion am Sion y sydd. . .
Aed adre i'w gynefin
Aed a'r gais o deiau'r gwin
Er Duw aed i Ardudwy
Na ddeled i 'mweled mwy.

But Phylip will not go :—

Gannem yn hawdd o gwnaem hedd
Yn dau yn i dy annedd
Onid e fyth nid a' fi
O blas hwn bu les imi.

In his next Tudur speaks of Phylip as

Y bardd o bell, byrddu, bach,
Sion Phylip oes un ffelach?

The magpie says that Phylip will go in May. If he does not :—

Onid el pan ddel ei ddydd
Tro'r min at wr o'r mynydd.

Phylip now vituperates the messenger, which he describes as

Y cyw callddadl cycyllddu

and

Creglais edn afednais floedd.

Tudur is like that dog in the manger of Aesop's fable :—

Cyffelyb i'm tyb tybus
I'r ci drwg wyr cadw'r us
Nis bwyty us be tai wall
Gi dewr nis gad i arall
.....
Od wy fychan du fuchudd
Nid fy maint ydyw fy mudd
.....

Troed fin t'rawed a fynno
Tro fin ac anturia fo
Gwylled fo mor galed fydd
Arfer min arf o'r mynydd.

In his next cywydd Tudur describes with much humour the sad fate that overtook Phylip in a snowstorm and how he lost his bread and cheese, and what damage befell his clothing—"ei het a'i simmwr".

Het Sion ond da wasanaeth
I wneuthur im' nyth yr aeth
Ei gochl ar frig uwchlaw'r fron
Crim ydoedd fel croen eidion
Mwydodd ag oerodd ei geg
Mwydodd ei lyfr gramadeg
A'i lyfr croen hyfr anhyfryd
Gradd y gwr a'i gerdd i gyd
A phwrs dill o leder ffris du
Criw bach wedi crybychu
Ag yn hwn ugain annerch
Ac arwyddion mwynion merch
Rhoi fflog i Sion Phylip
Draian grod a darn o grib
Och o'i bod l a chae bedwen
A charai Sal a chroes hen
A hen gowntrysen traserch
Er ys mis a roesai merch.

Phylip then tells the magpie that she had told Tudur :—

Doedaist o for di dyst fu
Ofer hanes fy rhynnu
A'm cael oer gamp o'm clergwrs
I'm poem heb geiniog i'm pwrs

whereas he was in St. Asaph enjoying the hospitality of the bishop. It is now Phylip's turn to describe the imaginary sorry plight of Tudur :—

I iawn wyllys ni allai
Ddeunaw dyn ei ddwyn i dai
Ni thorrai fyth wŷr ei fedd
Gan ddurew o gynddaredd
Diosg heb wad wisg y bardd
Dyna gelfyddyd anhardd
A'i lyfr hir meddir i mi
A'i bricsiwn oedd a'i bracsi
A'i blaensong hen dorr blingsor
Er pan fu'n canu'n y côr
Oes uwch y glyn sachau gwlan
Dda hyswi o'i ddwy hosan
A'i lwdr ddibl a'i ledr ddwbled
Weithiau swrn aethon yn sied
A'i gap mydr gopa mwdwl
A'i ffon a roddwyd i'r ffwl

A'i geffyl wyll a gaiff les
Barnwn hwn i'n brenhines
.....
A'i gorff blin min y mynydd
Gargantua fawr gwyr Gwent fydd

It is now Tudur's turn to address the magpie :—

Mae it' deuliw meteloedd
Du a gwyn godidog oedd
Dy grys fel y serplys sydd
Du danyn yw d'adenydd
.....
Dwg annerch a mwynserch mawl
Dos yn herod synhwyrawl
Dos o Wiccair dwys acen
Dod hynt i Ardudwy hen
.....
O gweli fab gwyla fu
Eginyn bardd gwnn byrddu
Siwr gau dadl saer gwawdodyn
Sion Phylip ddi enllib ddyu
Eos gwylwawd os gweli
Annerch Sion a erchais i
.....
Arch i Sion wawd firwythlon ffraeth
Drigo yn i diriogaeth
A charu merch o chair mwy
A chloi cân uwch law Conwy
Caned lawer pwnc enwir
Clod i fursennod y sir
Tariad i'w wlad naturiol
A'i gan iawn nes gyrru i'w nôl.

Sion Phylip says to the magpie :—

Seiniau tidau Sion Tudur
Sy'n dy ben llysenwawd bur
piwtial fry potel o fraith
pwt y gwenwyn pot gweniaith
.....
Dos at hwn dewiswawd da
A dwys ateb di swta
Arch iddo na phoeno'n ffest
A'i anerchion wan orchest
Dithau na ddyg daith neu ddwy
Er dadel i Ardudwy.

Sion Dafydd Siencyn's "Cywvdd i daro ymharti y Bermo" was written to reply to Sion Phylip's attack on Barmouth in his "Cywydd yr Wylan". A few extracts will suffice :—

Gwrthneddaist gwarth aneidil
Gwarthruddio'r Bermo mae'r bil
Am na chaid fad hu brad brau
I'th raid fel wrth yr edau

Seuthost ar saeth ystori
 Saethau tân a seuthit ti
 Satan ddiawl os wyt yn ddig
 Ynnod aeth yn adwythig
 Trech yw natur trwch neitiad
 Drwy derfysg na'th ddysg i'th iad

.....
 Naws deddfol mewn eisteddfod
 A ddysgaist rhyglyddaist glod
 Gradd chwip a gyrheuddech chwi
 Gwylwch wall gael ei cholli

If Barmouth deserves censure, what of Mochres?

Mochres wag mwy echrus oedd
 Chwerwach dwr a chrach diroedd
 Os gwag iawn nis goganwn
 Duw a wnaeth y traeth a'r trwn
 Duw ordeiniodd dwr dinas
 Duw fyn bod dwfwn a bas

.....
 Bermo fawr a'i byrn a fydd
 Ebron burion aberydd

.....
 Yr Iarll gynt a'r llu gantaw
 A'i fwyd yr ŵyl a fu draw
 Penfro yn y Bermo i bu
 A'i geraint yn i garu

.....
 Fy nai Sion anafus oedd
 O tariech yn y tiroedd
 Oni ddoi i'r iawn adde'r wyd
 Anedwydd o ddyd ydwyd
 Cudd dy gywydd awen
 Iawn dwits coch y pwits o'ch pen.

In his "Ateb" Sion Phylip greets his uncle kindly,
 and then proceeds to remind him :—

Tri pheth rhag ofn torri ffydd
 Weddol bryd a ddylai brydydd
 Iawn ddysgu iawn ganu'n gerth
 Ag iawn farnu gan fowrnerth

.....
 E fu'r amser fawr ymserch
 Ystyriau Sion ystyr serch
 Ni feiais yn i fowyd
 Na dyn byw na da'n y byd
 Canodd a barnodd heb wall
 Càn a wnae cyn 'y neall
 Os i farn a fydd arnaf
 Barn y byd i gyd a gaf
 Ni chollir gwr uwch llawr gwal
 Er un cwest a'r enw cystal

As for Mochres :—

Mae Mochres ym mynwes mor
 Mal Rhufain am ael rhiwfor
 Mae yno dda mewn y ddau
 A thiroedd o'r fath orau
 A beldir mewn braentir bro
 A chwning a gewch yno

Uncle and nephew are both to blame :—

Mae'r un bai hyd ym marn bedd
 Myn Duw arnom ein deuwedd
 Beio dim o'r byd yma
 A greodd Duw mewn gradd da

He ends like this :—

Rhyw ddiwrnod os cymodaf
 Cywydd o newydd a wnaf
 Ag och iddo gwych weddi
 A guddio'i hen gywydd hi.

The eagle sent by Thomas Prys of Plas Iolyn to visit some score of his fellow bards and to get their advice concerning the 'Eiddig' who hindered the course of his love affair came to John and Richard Phylip. John did not advise killing Eiddig,

Di achos im heb rym braw
 gassau Eiddig ai suddaw
 Am gadw mewn rran ddi anun
 i rodd hardd ar eiddo i hun . . .
 ni byddaf anwybyddwaith
 un oi ladd anuwviol waith.

The 'controversy' with his brother Richard Phylip was concerned with John's attempt to oust his younger brother from his position of 'bardd teulu' at Nannau, 'Nanna' lle glana'n ein gwlad'' as John describes it. John claims that he had been "set aside" because of old age for the sake of a younger brother whom he had brought to Nannau with him :—

. . . brawd iau na mi
 brydydd heb i briodi
 Risiard am air saerwawd merch
 Phylip un ffol heb annerch
 Yfwr tablerwr blowrwyn
 Bwngler ar dabler yw'r dyn
 Glan oedd y fan glynodd fo
 Glynai fal mewn magl yno . . .
 Od a'i Fon ney hyd Fanaw
 Yn un dydd i Nannau daw

Od a i'r deau drwy dywydd
 Yn Nannau y borau y bydd
 Os i'r Mars yr a a mawl
 Try i Nannau taer anianawl . . .
 Gwae'r seler ber lle y bo
 Gwae'r faril a gyfeirio

.....
 Ifanc ifanc a ofyn
 Henaint at henaint y tyn

.....
 Aed mab nid unoes a mi
 Coeshir i hel llancesi
 Aed yn ei stad nos a dydd
 At yr yfwyr i'r trefydd
 Dof innau wedi f'annerch
 I'w dy mawr nid a gwawd merch
 Difyrru gyda'i fawredd
 Ddydd a nos o ddiddan wedd
 Canu salms o cawn oes hen
 Canu i Dduw cynnydd awen
 Cyd adrodd a'm cyd oedran
 Hen ystoriau onest ran
 Cofhau dyddiau da oeddynt
 Gwiw som gwrs a gowsom gynt
 At Huw y dof i'r tai da
 Os Annes a gyd synia

Richard in his reply reminds his brother what evil has been caused by jealousy :—

Y genfigen gwan fagiad
 Oedd o hen Adda a'i had
 A yrrodd Gain oerddig waith
 I ladd Abel dda'i obaith
 Felly gwna'r ddig gynfigen
 Ferch y sarff arw frochus hen
 Gyrru brodyr gair bradawl
 I 'mgashau ddirmygus hawl.

He relates what welcome he receives at Nannau from Hugh.¹ John is jealous of this :—

Am faint im mentimie fo
 Mae un yn ymwenwyno
 Fy mrawd yn fy mwrw ydoedd
 F'athro dig yn f'athrod oedd
 Sion a droes yn i dresi
 Ffylib fardd ffel beiai fi.

John also can drink :—

Un wy fi a y'n fuan
 Ond da yr y yntau i ran

¹ *i.e.*, Hugh Nannau.

John is reminded that he is old and that he has duties to perform at home :—

Fo droes Sion draw ers ennyd
 Drwy enw beth i drin y byd
 Hen yw'r gwr hy'n euro i gan
 Nid a hen o'i dy i hunan
 Od a unoed i Nannau
 I gael rhodd i eglurhau
 Gwartheg sied yr holl wledydd
 A'u gormes ar Fochres fydd
 Rhaid a brys ganu'n rhwydd
 Mynd adre mewn diwidrwydd
 Yno y bydd lawer dydd da
 Heb gael onid bugeilia
 Troi y lloi at war y llaid
 Trwy y dwfwr troi defaid
 Cywyddwr i'w cae a ddring
 Acw i anos y cwning
 I Nannau deg ni wna'i daith
 Hyd yr wyl i daw'r eilwaith
 Dra bo Sion gwr a bon sur
 Yn i ofal anifyr
 Yn ymofyn mwy afael
 Am yd i werth amod wael
 Mae'n Nannau seigiau a sir
 Ag arian i wr garhir
 A Huw'n lan hoen lawenydd
 Ag Annes deg nos a dydd

But John's attempt to oust him had not succeeded :—

E fynnai Sion f'annos i
 O lanerch yr haelioni . . .
 Er i ddrygair ddarogan
 A'i athrod goeth euraid gan
 Af i Nannau fan enwawg
 Ni wna' i'r hynt o Nannau rhawg.

John Philip was also associated with three other 'ymrysonau', viz., the two which Edmwnd Prys had with Wiliam Cynwal and Huw Machno respectively, and one with Gruffydd Hafren, Richard Philip, and Ieuan Tew.

Reference can be made to a few only of the many 'englynon' which John Philip wrote. Mention has already been made of the following: "Englynon i'r llong yn Nyfi 1597".¹

Yn Duw ynn Kyn hyn Kynhenwyr trowsion
 Treisiawg Anffyddlonwyr
 heb fawr gad heb friwo gwyr
 a roes bennau / r / ysbaenwyr

¹ Cardiff 19 (747); Cwrt Mawr 25 (7).

Duw / r / owron or Donn er i Du falais
 ai rhyfelawg Allu
 llai camrwysg yn llaw Cymru
 a ddyru / r / llong dderw ar llu
 Torrog llong foliog Afaelion Taerwaith
 Twred y gelynion
 Trais a gar twrr ysgyrion
 y nyfi safn a fo son
 Sion Phylip ai Kant.

This ship was, no doubt, one of the ships sent by Spain in connection with a projected second Armada.¹ Richard Phylip and one Robert ap Howel ap Morgan also wrote 'englynyon' on the same episode. The following is a list of some groups of 'englynyon'.

(a) Three "Ynglynyon i Rissart fychan o Gors y Gedol. . . ."²

(b) Two 'englynyon' in Cardiff 63 (38), followed by an 'englyn' "i ofyn saeth i Edward wynn . . .".

(c) Two "Englynyon ir ty yngwedir yn amsser Mr Morus Wynn" in Cardiff 83 (464).³

(d) Four "Englynyon aniweir" in Cardiff 13 (105). Others of the same kind are "3 Englyn dychan ir Goch o Ruthyn" in Cwrt Mawr 25 (130); "I dafarnwraig . . . a orchmynodd ei merch i Sion Phylip" in Cwrt Mawr 25 (123).

(e) Seven "Englynyon i ofyn Ceiliog ag Iar"⁴

(f) Two 'englynyon serch' in Cardiff 19 (l.) and Peniarth 198 (D); two others in N.L.W. 2691 (86).

(g) "2 Englyn i ann Glyn or Gwynfryn"⁵

(h) "2 Englyn [i Farged aeres Mysoglen]"⁶

(i) Two 'englynyon'⁷ which are often found following one by Wiliam Phylip which begins "A wnel dau wyneb mewn rawlieu o'r un". John Phylip's second ends thus:—

Dau wyneb sydd yn diwyno
 Y byd ble bynnag i bo.

(j) Three "Englynyon i'r Achau"⁸

¹ See *Hist. MSS. Commission Report on MSS. of the Marquis of Salisbury*, Part VII., pp. 466 and 485.

² Cardiff 19 (670).

⁴ Cardiff 84 (954).

⁶ Cwrt Mawr 25 (28).

⁷ Cardiff 19 (765).

⁸ Llan. 145 (f. 28).

³ With two englynyon by R. Phylip.

⁵ Cwrt Mawr 25 (61).

(k) "Englynon duwiol",⁹ etc., of which the following in Cardiff 63 (278) is an example:—

Tir a roddir i rywddyn ac aur
 Ae arian i gannyn
 Yn tad uchod da dichyn
 A rydd ssydd well ras i ddyn.

(l) Two 'englynon' in Mostyn 144 (563) to one Richard.

Examples of single 'englynon' are:—

- (a) "I'r Oen".¹
- (b) "I fwyn ei gwg".²
- (c) "I sion ap Rys Dai",³ followed by an 'ateb' by Richard Phylip.
- (d) "I Ymwlech".⁴
- (e) "I Wenffrewi".⁵
- (f) "I'r Gwin".⁶
- (g) "I wraig gwr priod".⁷
- (h) "I felinydd o ddyn siaradus".⁸
- (i) "I Evan Griffydd a wnae Englynon serthedd i ferched".⁹
- (j) "I ofyn kyngor W[iliam] llyn am ganu".¹⁰
- (k) "Englyn Dydd Iau Derchafael".¹¹
- (l) "I Elsbeth Bodwrda".¹²
- (m) "I Tomas Derwas".¹³ Often followed by two by R. Phylip.
- (n) "Ir tu yn nanney".¹⁴
- (o) "Englyn i'w roi ar ei fedd".¹⁵

⁹ Cwrt Mawr 23, i. (38); Cwrt Mawr 5, i. (69).

¹ N.L.W. 643 (f. 69).

² Llan 145 (f. 28).

³ Mostyn 144 (339).

⁴ Mostyn 144 (in two places).

⁵ Llan, 120 (No. 25) and Cardiff 63 (282).

⁶ Mostyn 144 (488).

⁷ N.L.W. 2691 (f. 86).

⁸ Mostyn 144 (21).

⁹ Peniarth 198 (H.); Cardiff 19 (536).

¹⁰ Cardiff 19 (744) and Peniarth 198 (84).

¹¹ Peniarth 124 (233).

¹² Cwrt Mawr 25 (108).

¹³ Cardiff 19 (769).

¹⁴ Mostyn 144 (558).

¹⁵ Mostyn 144 (805); N.L.W. 2691 (f. 111); Llan, 145 (f. 28); Cwrt Mawr 25 (19, 137). In Peniarth 124 (266) are the following 'englynon' by R. C. (? Robin Clidro. They have been attributed to Rhys Llwyd o Gynfal).

Dau englyn wrth fedd Sion Phylip.
 Dyma fedd gwrda oedd gu Sion Phylip
 Sein a philer Cymru
 Cwynwn fod athro canu
 Cerddgar dan y ddaiar ddu.
 Cerais meddyliais i ddilyn bob awr
 Bu burach nag undyn

In Cwrt Mawr MS. 25 this is the version :—

Na agor fy nor faen wryd gogo
 gad ir gwiwgorff llychlyd
 gael gorwedd dan gil gweryd
 sy'n glo gwart nes yn galw i gyd.
 Sion Phylip.

ATTEB.

Er symyd y marw mud or amodawl hwl
 I amal ball daiarawl
 daw'r corph i gyd hyfryd hawl
 fry'n ebrwydd i farn wybrawl.
 Edm: Prys.

(p) One of three “Englynion I roi Dydd Da ir prydyddion ond chwaen”¹ The others are by John Mowddwy and R. Phylip.

The above gives the reader a faint idea of the works of a very prolific poet. His staple form is the ‘cywydd’; what ‘awdlau’ he has written are not in his best style, while he wrote nothing at all in the freer metre of the carol which became fashionable in the seventeenth century in the hands of Wiliam Phylip, Gruffudd Phylip, Huw Morus, Edward Morus, Owain Gruffudd, and others.

To the last John Phylip went the round of North Wales, and he had just completed the circuit of Anglesey and Caernarvonshire and was preparing to be ferried across from Pwllheli to his island home of Mochres, when he met his death by drowning at Pwllheli, in 1620, in the seventy-seventh year of his age. He left a widow and six children. His death was bewailed by the poets Edmwnd Prys, Rhisiart Cynwal, Ieuan Llwyd, Gruffudd Hafren, by the Royalist poet Rowland Fychan, and by his own son, Gruffudd Phylip. The bard was buried close by his home in the parish church of Llandanwg, which a hundred years later formed part of the charge of Elis Wynn, the author of “Y Bardd Cwsg”. The bells of that church have not been heard for three-quarters of a century; sheep and sea-gulls are the sole visitors to the church-yard with the exception of an occasional litterateur

yn iach weled na chalyn
 fath wr ag ef f'athro gwyn.
 R: C ai cant.

The first was inscribed on John Phylip's gravestone some time in the nineteenth century.

¹ Mostyn 144 (212).

who may journey thither to see the poet's gravestone, on which are inscribed his initials and metrical effusions by Robin Clidro and a kindly publican of Harlech.

C.

RICHARD PHYLIP.

John Phylip's younger brother,¹ Richard Phylip, who died in 1641, was writing as early as 1587. He confined himself to 'cynghanedd', being responsible for 105 'cywyddau' and 'awdlau', and over 50 'englynion'. Like his brother, who was his bardic teacher, he was a professional bard, and wrote to many North Wales families, composing poems in many instances to the same persons as John, as is shown by the list of his poems given in Appendix II. As will appear later, he had two or three controversies with other bards, notably with his brother, John, and with Richard Cynwal. He does not appear to have written an elegy on his brother, who died in 1620; and it is rather singular that when he himself died in 1643, it was not his nephew, Gruffydd Phylip, who wrote his elegy, but Wiliam Phylip of Hendre Fechan. Though he became 'bardd teulu' to Nannau, hardly any poems by him to members of that family are extant in the better-known manuscript collections. He lived at Llanuwchllyn just before his death, for Wiliam Phylip says that he died at Prys and was buried in Llanuwchllyn.

The following is an analysis of his poems.

'Cywyddau' and 'Awdlau'.	{	Marwnad (Elegies)	32
		Moliant (Eulogies)	33
		Gofyn, Diolch (Requests, etc.)	13
		Serch (Love)	5
		Ymryson (Bardic Controversies)	11
'Englynion'	{	Nannau	7
		Amrywiol (Miscellaneous)	7
			53

The thirty-two elegies listed in the Appendix are mostly to members of North Wales families, but there is one to Dafydd Llwyd ab Ifan of Aber Maed, Cardiganshire. A little-known 'cywydd' bemoans the death of Catherine of Berain,² and one elegy was composed when Queen Elizabeth died. The following extracts from his "Marwnad

¹ John was probably much older than Richard—John was born circa 1543 and Richard died in 1641. ² Christ Church MS. 184.

Catherine o'r Berain " may be of interest, especially as Sir John Ballinger wrote an account of this remarkable woman in a recent number of *Y Cymmrodor*.

Mae r wylaw hallt marwol hwyl
 Mae oer gŵyn am wraic annwyl

 Braw sowaeth fal briw ssaeth fain
 Yw r ias bwrw Aeres berain
 Meistres Katrin gwin a gaid
 Oi llaw gwyr holl gowiriaid
 Os dodwyd Aeres Dudur
 Mewn arch koed mae n oerach kur
 Gwelwn bun galon bonedd
 Gwel oer boen oi galw ir bedd

 Digonol fwyd a gwinoedd
 Daionus kroessawus oedd
 Rhowioç oedd rhai ai gwddiad
 Rhannui n rhydd rhoe win n rhad.

Then follows a reference to her four husbands—John Salusbury, Rhissiant Clwch [i.e. Clough], Morys Wynn, and Edwart Thelwal o Blas y ward who survived her :—

Edwart i ffrïod ydyw
 Thelwal o bur reial ryw

Her virtues were many and varied :—

Pob noeth fo wyr pawb i nad
 A ddiwallodd o ddillad
 Ni bu ddyn a newyn awr
 Wrth i drws diwarth dryssawr
 Ni chafodd iawn i chofïaw
 Ginio n wir ddigon i naw
 Gwnaeth i feirdd nid gweniaith fu
 Draul o win drwy lawenu
 Llawenydd da r lle yno
 Y trwn fyth i gatrïn fo

Of Thomas Penllyn, who died in 1623, he says :—

Dug i'w fron awen deg frau
 Dudur un o'i hen deidiau
 Awdur gwawd eurawg ydoedd
 Awdurdod cerdd dafod oedd

 Bardd oedd ni bu awr ddiiddawn
 Bardd Sion Llwyd¹ burddwys enw llawn
 Bardd Margred¹ brudd i mowrgri
 Llwyd o'i fyd colledai fi

 I'w briod saif braw dwys iawn
 A'i blant arab lwyn tiriawn.

¹ i.e., Sion and Margred Llwyd of Rhiwedog.

His "Cywydd marwnad Mallt vz. Rydderch ap Dafydd o Fyfyrian gwraig Sion Wyn ap Ifan ap Sion o Hirdrefaig", who died in 1593, begins thus :—

Ba wylaw sydd heb le sych
 Ba ryw gŵyn braw a gwaywnych
 Gwelwn o oerddig alaeth
 Gŵyn am wraig o enw mawr aeth
 Y weddw irfun ddiweirfoes
 A roe'n hawdd aur yn i hoes.

Of Sr Wmffre Llwyd, Rhosdyrnog (died 1608), he writes :—

Af i wylaw am filwr
 A fu'n wych yn ei fyw'n wr
 F'w fyw eiliais ei foliant
 O'i farw gwn afryw gant

 Llawen fum yn llunio'i fawl
 Llew dewr Édwart Llwyd radawl.

There is a marwnad "Edwart Prys o'r Llwyn ynn Esq.", in Cardiff MS. 84, in a group of marwnadau to the same person by R. Cynwal, Sion Clywedog, Watcin Clywedog, Sion Cain, Huw Machno, and Gruffydd Phylip.

The 'cywyddau' and 'awdlau moliant' are, like those of other bards, full of genealogical particulars and of eulogy. Among the persons eulogised are Sir John Wynn of Gwydir, Gruffydd Fychan of Corsygedol, John Salusbury of Llewenni, Sir William Glynn of Glynllifon, Sion Llwyd of Rhiwedog, and Sir William Morys of Clennau. There are four 'cywyddau' eulogising Dr. John Davies of Mallwyd, the title of one¹ being "K : moliant ir dcor dafis". Dr. Davies is described as :—

Y dyn a'r ddysg dyner ddoeth
 Drwy Dduw cefaist wraidd cyfoeth.

In another cywydd to Dr. Davies the bard says :—

Duw a alwodd duwolion
 Drwy fyw / n / hir i drefnu hon²
 Doethion, wedi / i bendithio
 Dy ras duw / n / fawr drosdyn fo
 A droeson, fal aml dresawr
 Dy air inn mysg drwy enw mawr
 Un o rhain, yn ŵr hynod
 Waith eurglo / n / iaith ywr glain nod
 Krisd Wynn, da / i kreusd / i / wedd
 Kadw / r / un doctor o wynedd

¹ N.L.W. MS. 5269 (a Dingestow Court MS.), p. 389.

² i.e., the Welsh language.

Aur ym Mallwyd, yw / r / meillion
 Oi fin fydd y defein Sion
 Doctor ai ragor ir ai
 Dafis ym mhob chwedl difai.

.....
 Da i roi i fwyd ai aur faeth
 Da nuw ydyw / r / dyn odiaeth
 Os da i weled gosd wiwlawn
 Yn rhannu lles yn rhoi / n / llawn
 Gwell ir enaid gall rannwr
 Glowed na gweled y gwr
 Bwyd o nef rhag bod yn wall
 Yw dy bregeth bor wiwgall.

Another “Kywydd ir doctor dafis o fallwyd yn ol iddo droi / r / Beibl a llyfrau eraill yn gymraeg” was written in 1627.¹ After referring to the one-time fame of the Welsh language the poet describes its plight in his time:—

Weithian oer a thenau wyd
 Iaith ddisdor foth ddisdyrrwyd
 Ath blant di waith blina tón
 Aeth i sisial iaith saeson
 Ath wadu di waith du dig
 Ath adael yn fethedig
 Gan hir oed gwanbau ir ydwyd
 Galw dduw di ymgeledd wyd
 Dywaid ym nid wyd amur
 Di gywaeth barn deg ieith bur
 A oes yn fyw gwrs iawn fod
 Oth waed neb ith adnabod?

‘Yr Iaith’ answers:—

Oes un hiroes iw wyneb
 Onid un ni m edwyn neb
 Ar un a bair win a bwyd
 Yma well well ym Mallwyd
 Doctor gwyr ragor groegydd
 Dafis im difeio sydd
 Da i kafodd o waed kryfion
 Deg hyder sant Doctor Sion

 Y mab hwn grym pennaig rodd
 Am gloewddoeth ym goleddodd
 Ag am rhoes bo /i / gymru hedd
 Ar fy nrhaed brif anrhydedd
 Oni bai help wyneb hwn
 Yn byw eisoes ni baswn

Then follow complimentary references to the Doctor’s wife, to his knowledge of languages, and to his learning generally.

¹ N.L.W. MS. 5269 (429).

I bregeth drwy bybyr eigiawn
Berw y ddysg sy' beraidd iawn

.....
Arno idd aeth ai rinwedd oedd
Ail droi r beibl draw ir bobloedd
Ag ynod gymraeg union
At ras a hap i troes honn

.....
Bu / n / ddau well byw n dda allwn
Braint y tir o brintiad hwn.

A "Cywydd canmoliaeth i Mr. Griffith Williams person Llanaber" begins :—

Y gwr eiddo r goreudduw
A egyr dysg o Air Duw.¹

Sir William Morys of Clennau is addressed as :—

Marchog brau enwog gyda'r brenin sydd
A'i orseddawg fyddin
Mwy na'r ieirll i bedeirllin
Mal yr haul am olau'r hin.

The bard begins his praise of Antoni Stanley with these words :—

Af a'r gair o fawr gariad
I foli dyn fal i dad
Wyllysgar rodd llaw wisgi
I wau dy fawl ydwy' fi.

An Arudwy man who had gone to London is described in a 'cywydd' of which these are the opening lines :—

Mae dyn i mi adwaenir
O fron Sieb² i Feirion sir
Dyn ifank diwann afael
Downus hydd daionus hael
Aethost os aethost i Sieb
Aeth yno ras i'th wyneb
Yno ir wyd yn wr odiaeth
Mewn gwychder a mwynder maeth
Ninnau oll oedd yn un llu
Dy geraint yn dy garu
Hir gŵyn fod hynod hydd
Hebod Ifan ab Davydd
Carw ifan cei oreufawl
Ab Ithel mab wythelw mawl
Dydi ddyn da dy ddeunydd
Cair it' serch yn y cwrt sydd
A'th geraint ddyn doeth gwrawl
Yn Arudwy fwyfwy fawl.

An example of ingenuity is a "Cywydd Moliant i'r anrhydeddus Bendefig Sion Llwyd o Riwedog, Yswain.

¹ Cwrt Mawr 10 (536) and 27 (66).

² Cheapside.

Yr hon sydd o Groes Gynghanedd ymchweledig drwyddo, ac a ellir ei ganu wyneb y gwrthwyneb, fel y mae y Penhillion wedi eu sgrifennu ddwy waith".¹ It begins :—

Y rhyw odiaeth i'w rhydyd
 Rhoi a eill faeth i'r holl fyd ;
 I'w rhydyd y rhyw odiaeth,
 I'r holl fyd rhoi a eill faeth.
 Rhyw dda i Feiriawn rhydd fawredd
 Rhiwedawg lawn, rhadau gwledd ;
 Rhydd fawredd rhyw dda i Feiriawn,
 Rhadau gwledd Rhiwedawg lawn.
 Rhiwiog aelwyd hwyr gelu,
 Rhyw Siôn Llwyd rhosyn y llú ;
 Rhyw William aer hŷ Elis
 Rhyw ddi gam hwyr iddi gis.
 Rhyw Morys sydd, Aer mawr Siôn,
 Rhyw Mredydd, rhoi 'mwardion.

Christ Church MS. 184 has " Moliant i Mr John Salbri esgwier o gorff y frenhines elsbeth ". The following are extracts :—

Ir un fann ir a n fynych
 Err dwyn y gair ir dyn gwych
 Yfonydd beunydd lle i bon
 Lown a treigl ant ir eigion
 Awn innau oll yn un wedd
 At enaid gwlad dwy wynedd
 Awn awn oll iawn a wnawn i
 Ol ynol i lyweni

.....
 Llys ail sieb lle i solas oedd
 Llyweni ai holl winoedd
 O brif ranniad tref tadaeth
 Berain gynt ni bu rann gaeth

.....
 Hirlew sad rreiol yw Sion
 Hyd troulys at yr alon
 Samson a chalon wych yw
 Sawden neu herkles ydyw

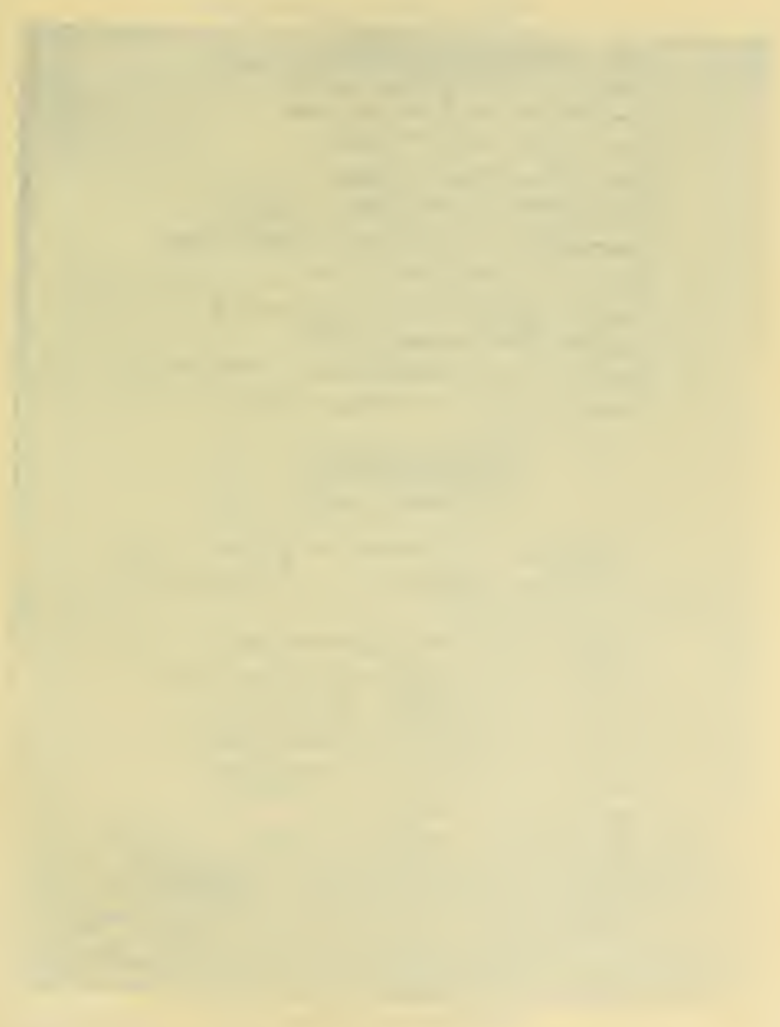
In the same manuscript is a cywydd " Moliant i Syr Sion Salbri o lyweni marchog urddol " beginning :—

Sel dda ir corff grassolddewr cu
 Syr ag emrys arr gymru
 Syr troelus yr campus cain
 Syr predur dros wŷr prydain

 Iechyd da i gler yw ch teg lys
 A ch dylyn rhwng ych dwyls
 O lyweni lawenwerdd
 I ferain kaf arwain cerdd.

¹ Cwrt Mawr 11 (197).

130'



170
 all yuo i saw m/ (p/ 15) ar
 saw m/ i saw m/ i saw m/
 yu daf yu fof di' d'ram f'afel
 yu y'f'ed / b'ownd by'w'it
 (p/ 15) i' saw m/ i' saw m/
 i' saw m/ i' saw m/ i' saw m/
 i' saw m/ i' saw m/ i' saw m/
 i' saw m/ i' saw m/ i' saw m/
 i' saw m/ i' saw m/ i' saw m/
 i' saw m/ i' saw m/ i' saw m/

Richard philip

at kent 16 19

Kyroudd i' m/ William philyp
 o' Eng' philyp
 Rich. Philyp L.

Eng' o' landy' i' qualodvud
 y'f'ed / fof' o'z' w'od / as' d'x' y'f'ed
 as' w'at' h'iz / y'uo i' h'iz' h'iz'
 as' y' y'g' w'od / yu' h'iz' g'yn't
 as' w'at' as' y'ua' i' w'at' am
 as' a' d'x' i' h'iz' / all' i' w'at' am
 fof' w'at' am / f'z' f'z' w'at' am
 f'af'el' g'w'od / f'af'el' w'at' a' g'w'od
 f'af'el' i' w'at' am / f'af'el' h'iz' w'at'
 f'af'el' i' w'at' am / f'af'el' h'iz' w'at'
 f'af'el' i' w'at' am / f'af'el' h'iz' w'at'

Richard

To face p. 181.

A page in the autograph of Richard Philyp N.L.W. Additional MS. 278 (formerly a Cefn Coch MS.).

There is also an 'awdl moliant' to the same person.¹ Llewenni is described thus:—

Llyweni inni yw annedd beirddion
 Bo i hurddas heb ddiwedd
 Llannerch orau / n / holl wynedd
 Lliwgaer gaer lle gorau gwledd.

Of Salusbury himself many fine things are said, including the following:—

Gwahoddaist noddaiſt awenyddiaid
 Gwahoddwr byrddiwr wyd ir beirddiaid
 Ag urddas wyd Sion i geirddiaid bob gant
 Y mawl ywch dodant mal ich deudaid.

A "Kywydd i Mr Wiliam Sa[l]bri o Rug esgwier" in Cefn Coch MS. B² was printed by Chancellor Fisher in his edition of the two Cefn Coch MSS. That the poet could exaggerate is shown by "Cywydd i Tudur Trefor o Groesoswallt", which opens:—

Tydi rwyddwaleh tid ryddaur
 Drysor ym wyd rhoi i swrn aur
 Tair mil a gaent d'aur melyn
 Teiroes ith gorph trasyth gwyn
 Tudur gwisg to duriawg wald
 Trefor rās tre fawr oswald.³

On page 96 of Mostyn 144 is a "Kowydd annerch I Mr Richard pugh persson fu yn aros yn Willsir ag i ddymun arno ddowad unwaeth yw wlad".

Mal llen ymhell o wynnedd
 Mawr i glod am aur a gwledd
 Mawr yw son am yr un sant
 Mae'n wilssir ym anwylsant
 Mae'n i galon ffynon ifydd
 Mae hiraeth im o'i herwydd.

To the eulogies group belongs a "Kywydd I masdr Wiliam Dd. Lloyd o benniARTH yr hwn a wnaed i ofyn cymod am drigo yn hir heb ddyfod yw lys. Ag yn gellweirus hefyd".⁴

Hir oedd fod heb un rhodd fawr
 Hytid ym hyd Dau Dymawr
 Hiraeth am fy maeth ym oedd
 Hwya blwyddyn heb wleddoedd

¹ Christ Church MS. 184.

² Now N.L.W. Add. MS. 278. The poem is in the autograph of Richard Phylip.

³ Cardiff 84 (922).

⁴ N.L.W. 2691 (157).

Er daed fewn Ardudwy faith
 Oedd fy sir ddi fas araith
 Chwith oedd ym fry am dy da
 Chwemis ni'm gwelsoch yma
 Hiraeth drwy gydoliaeth dydd
 Oedd am benniarth ym beunydd
 Wylo'i bum fal ar aë bedd
 Am lys Wiliam lysseuwledd.

Richard Phylip wrote over a dozen 'cywyddau gofyn' or 'diolch'. Of poems requesting animals three ask for horses and two for hounds. There are three to ask for swords, one for a sword and a dagger, one for a rapier and poniard, one for a gun, and one for a bow. In one the request is for a harp. In another Hugh Nanney and Ellis Lloyd of Rhiwgoch are asked to provide a horse for one Hugh Gruffydd who is described thus:—

Di rym at y byd ir aeth
 Diog yw a di gywaeth
 A thrwm at dreigl a thramwy
 A chrwm iawn ni chwery mwy
 Bu hylwydd ymhob helynt.
 Bu'n dailiwr benn gweithiwr gynt
 Er maint lle dwg henaint cyd
 A fu i ynnill fo ennyd
 Ni chadwodd rhag nych oedau
 Werth grod wrth y cefn cau
 Ar hwn i gwelir heno
 Arwydd faint a wariodd fo.

"Cywydd i ofyn newid milgwn" is addressed to Rowland Vaughan of Caergai, the Royalist poet who translated *The Practice of Piety* and other works into Welsh. In another poem John Vaughan of Caergai is asked to give a hound to Lewis Gwynn of Dolau Gwyn.

The rapier and poniard which Owen Poole of Llandecwyn wanted from Owen Ellis, Ystumllyn, are described thus:—

Dewlawn awch del yw nol
 Dwy arf fal gwydr y deiol
 Rapier a gais wr pur gwyech
 Rwydd ganaid am gerdd genych
 Hon o ty braw hwnt eb rus
 I'w ddeheulaw fydd hwylus
 Ag i'w law myun am gloi mawl
 Aswy bwynadwy nodawl
 Par ynt hwy pura'n y tir
 Pwyll rwyfnerth pell ir ofnir
 Gwae i nenn y sawd ai gwna'n ser
 Gloywon fal dreigiau lawer
 Gleision wiberon gloywsias
 Glan rhag ofn gelyn rhy gas

Gwylled aliwns gael dolur
Gann a ddwg Owen o ddu
Os lliw'r nos hyll erwin wau
I tynnuir hwynt o weiniau
Goleuan dan fal y dydd
Gelestr yn helpu i gilydd.

Of Richard Hughes of Cefn Llanfair a bow is asked. The poem begins :—

Y durgrys Gymro dewrgraff
O dy'r prins a geidw aur praff
Wyt agos iawn mewn teg swydd
At ei gras fraint goreuswydd
A'i ffrwythlan was ffraethlan wedd
A'i ffwrtman hoff wyt mewn hedd
Rhoes i'th warr ras a'th eurawdd
Rhisiart Huws rhosau aur tawdd.

The ' bwa ' is described thus :—

Efo a gais fwa gwych
Ac union saethau gennyh
Ysbyrsen deg ddifreg dda
Yw plann o Apolonia
Pren gwastad o dyfiad yw
Parchedig pur iach ydyw
Tegan hoywlan i heliwr
Tryssor a ddaeth tros arw ddwr
Cyleh hir a gedwir yn gu
Coed heb lwgr yn cydblygu
Cloc lan lle clywch ei liny
Croch hirdant cowarch ar dynn
Cras a dai gwyr cwrs di gel
Cloccaidd ysponge loyw uchel
A'i annel yn dynn iownwych
Ac yn ei gefn egni gwych
Asseth gam saeth a gymell
A grym hwn a'i gyrr ym mhell.

The last example to which we shall refer is " Cywydd i ofyn cleddyf gan Gruffydd Huws tros Huw ap Wiliam ". The following lines¹ are addressed to Gruffydd Huws, a native of Ardudwy :—

A phan aethost bellgost bur
Gyd ag Essecs gyd gysur
Drwy Spaen i bell dros ben byd
Da i llwyddaist llew oeddyd
Mae ar Gals lle i bu'r mur gwynn
Ol d'arf hyd y wal derfyn
Pan sonier bell hyder llu
Am yr iarll mawr a'i eurlu
Son taered Huws yn tiriaw
Sydd dros yr ynysoedd draw

¹ Llanstephan 133 (No. 521).

Gwyaist lu dan Grist lawen
 A gwaliau holl Bortingal hen
 Curaist i lawr cwrs da les
 Arw lu cantre'r low cwntres
 Dragwn mawr drwy ugain mil
 Draig oeddid ar y gwyddil
 Trafaeliaist tynnaist i'r top
 Traill aruthr trwy holl Ewrop
 Clod Cwrtwyr eryr irwych
 Cair yt' ar goedd cwrtiwr gwych
 Arfer y cwrt eurfawr eu
 A'i ordr oll wr dewr allu
 A'i wasanaeth a sonni
 Ddwysgost Ieirll a ddysgaist di
 Ynnill gair hyn oll gwiriwyd
 Gyda'r Ieirll a'i gadw'r wyd
 Ni wnair hyn Duw gwyn a'i gwyr
 Ond drwy sein mentr a synwyr
 Gwyr dy wlad Dugiaid digoll
 A'th geraint a'th garant oll.

Richard Phylip has not so many love poems as his brother John, only five being listed in the Appendix. Of these the best known is "Awdl o foliant i ferch o Dywyn" from which the following are extracts:—

Gwenddyn o Dywyn sy'n diwedd f'ainioes
 Gwnaeth f'wyneb o' agwedd
 Gwnaed iawn haul gannaidd wynedd
 Gwenn acw i mi cyn cau 'medd.

Dan geuedd oer fedd yr af i—dan lawr
 A dyn lan iw beri
 Dinerth wy'n marw am dani
 Dyn hardd o Dywyn yw hi.

I'm rhan y delych gwelych fyd gwyn
 Em eirddoeth ydwyd myrdd a'th edwyn
 Drych i ferched cred cair hyn yn olau
 Yw'r arferau tau harddwawr Towyn.

Oes dâl am ofal i'w ymofyn
 I ŵr aeth erod yn ferthyryn
 Onid oes f'ainioes a fyn roi ffarwel
 I chwi y dawel ferch o Dowyn.

He describes a maiden "a welsai'r bardd yn myn'd i gysgu":—

Y cnawd fel y kann ydoedd
 Cymhares i santes oedd
 Pan welais pwy un ole
 Gnawd y ferch a gwnned fae
 Tybiais weled pais alarch . . .
 Ail yw o dan olau dydd
 I eira mân ar y mynydd

Ai gwlan gwyn yw ei glan gorff?
 Ai mangalch yw ei meingorff?
 Ai distrych ton yw honno?
 Ai efri tan hyfryd to?
 Gwyn yw'r cnawd lle'i gwel gwawdydd
 Os gwyn y carlwm is gwýdd

 Ar y gwallt fo a'i gŵyr Gwen
 Mae lliw aur i'm lloer irwen.

He bemoans the death of another lady-love in these words :—

Er yr awr yr ae'r wawr wen
 Oedd iraidd i'r ddaiaren
 Ni cherddais yn iach harddwaith
 Ni wenais ni chenais 'chwaith
 Galw'r wyf yn gul yr ais
 Gweno! erglyw gŵyn oerglais

 Er a alwyf oer eilun
 Uwchlaw ei bedd ni chlyw bun.

“ Mawl merch a'i gwallt ” is also a good example of a love poem :—

Tygaswn pan welwn wawr
 Am dy loweth oleuwawr
 Tro dy iad cofiad cur
 Felen wrth felin Arthur
 Hon felin hen a falai
 Aur teg y milwyr a'u tai
 A'r aur hwn gwirier hynny
 Fyth a drig ar dy frig fry

 Cymru llawen ddiweniaith
 A gerddais a gwirddwys iaith
 Cerddais a gwelais i gyd
 Lundain yn i holl lendid
 Gwelais yno glwys anian
 Er lles gwledd ieirlesau glan
 Ag ni welais gynhilwen
 Gymhares iwch Gymraes wen

There are some excellent lines also in the “ Cywydd i'r ty'n y coed ”,¹ another love poem.

Reference has already been made to Richard's controversy with his brother John about Nannau. Another 'ymryson' which Richard had was with Richard Cynwal. Cynwal pretends that he has heard of the death of Richard by drowning at Dolgelly, and that the drowned bard had said before his death that he had been recognised as 'bardd teulu' to Sion Llwyd, Rhiwaedog, near Bala.

¹ Cwrtmawr 324 (144); Peniarth 99 (61).

Difyr frawd i'r dwfr aeth
 Diweddwyd y brydyddiaeth
 Fy mrawd ffydd oedd brydydd brau
 A gollais yn Nolgellau
 I feddwl cyn ei foddi
 Fu at hael wr f'atal i
 Wedi 'farw groch arw o gri
 Gwae'r tefyrn hyd gwrr Teifi

There is no more any need to brew ale—

A'r mwyn yfwr mewn afon.

Cynwal adds :—

Mwy ni raid a maint a rêd
 Un nos achwyn gan syched
 Mae 'fo a'r gro am ei grib
 Y ffela' Risiard Phylip

And yet he wishes him well in the 'other world'.

Na ato Duw iddo ar daith
 Fyn'd i uffern fan diffaith.

It is now Richard's opportunity to retort. He says that Cynwal had drunk too freely of ale, had slept, and had dreamt that Phylip was drowned. He warns and threatens him, saying :—

Aed Cynwal Dic hy anian
 O deg lys Rhiwedog lân
 Onid a'n rhwydd er llwydd llawn
 Af i'w yrru o 'Feiriawn.

Phylip was one of those bards who wrote replies to the "Cywydd yr Eryr" sent by Thomas Prys, Plas Iolyn, to ask their advice as to what to do with Eiddig, the jealous one who stood in the way between Prys and his mistress. Phylip's counsel is that 'Eiddig' be not killed :—

Na ladd medd Moesen lwyddol
 A laddo ni lwydda'n ol
 Iesu ag wrth ei was gynt
 A ddyfod lle'r addefynt
 Na ladd â chledd hoewedd hir
 A laddo ef a leddir.

Another 'ymryson' of a kind was that in which he, his brother, John, Gruffydd Hafren, and Ieuan Tew were associated.¹ Gruffydd Hafren sent a "Cywydd i yrru'r ceiliog bronfraith i annerch Mr Lewis Gwynn o'r Dole

¹ Llanstephan 133 (Nos. 506, 507, 497, 498, 500, 501).

Gwynn". Richard Phylip wrote another 'cywydd' to the thrush, reminding it that it had acted as 'llatai' for Lewis Gwynn before he was married to Sian Nannau and telling it and Gruffydd Hafren to leave Dolau Gwynn. To this Hafren replied, and Phylip retorted. It was John Phylip's turn to intervene, praising Lewis Gwynn and upbraiding the two other bards. Ieuan Tew then follows on much the same lines as John Phylip. Richard Phylip then replies to John Phylip and Ieuan Tew, reminding his brother that he had previously tried to send him away from Nannau, even as he was now attempting to bring him to discredit at Dolau Gwynn.

Richard Phylip had an encounter with Sion Mawddwy also. Sion attacks drunkenness in his "Kywydd yr hobi kwttaf",¹ in which he describes the habit as if it were a horse:—

Yr hobi a ddiarhebwyd
I dynnu rhai dano'i rhwyd
Yw'r march ni wna barch i'w bwn
A yr kost arwa kwestiwn

The effects of riding too far on this mount are portrayed:—

Y nos marchogaeth yn iach
I gatea yn gwit hauach
Ag o iownllwybr i ganlle
Oera plug ni wyr pa le
Siarad heb i ramadeg
Syrthio a'i ben dano'n deg
Oer drin edifar drannoeth
Ar ddewr yw mynd yn rhy ddoeth
A marchogaeth gwaeth nid gwell
Ar i hobi yn rhybell

Sion advises all to avoid riding this horse, and advocates selling it at Chester fair:—

Ag felly yr holl gyfeillion
O wyr sydd yn yr oes hon
Awn i wrthod meddwod modd
Amarch y ffolfarch ffaelfodd
A ffeidiwn gwelwn nad gwaeth
Arch hygwbl a'i farchogaeth
.....
Gyrrwn y march dibarch don
Garllaw i ffair Gaerlleon
Gwerthwn farch gwarth a wna fo
Garw drwst er a gair drosto.

Richard Phylip, in his "Atteb ir kowydd a wnaeth

¹ Mostyn 144 (387).

Sion Mowddwy ir keffyl kwttaf yr hwn yw medd-dod",¹ defends the 'horse'. He begins by exalting the muse of his contemporary :—

Tydi'r bardd wyt awdur byd
 Triagl fodd tu'r gelfyddyd
 Tadawl uwch cerdd brintiedig
 Tydain iaith brydain a'i brig
 Tirion ffrïw twr awen ffraeth
 Tarian diddan brydyddiaeth

 Os itti'r brawd sad dewr brau
 Y mae gair am y gorau
 Un wyd i'w ddwyn yn dy ddydd
 Ni fu un fwy i awenydd
 Heuwyd gyda hun awen
 Do ynod had dwned hen

and then expresses surprise that Sion, who is himself so fond of drinking, should adopt such an attitude :—

Ond rhyfedd Sion gallfron gu
 Oedd iwch hyn i ddychanu
 Ni fedrwech i gwedi gwyl
 Nag yn deg yn un digwyl
 Mo eiriach brig y march brau
 Mewn mannoedd mwy na minnau
 Ai teg oganu bwyd ta
 O arw fater a'i fwyta
 Goganu hwn gwn mae gwaeth
 Gofïwr chweg a'i farchogaeth

He then praises the drinking habit, and mentions its beneficial effects :—

Rhown fowrglod i'n medd-dod mwys
 Rhwyddlan fab cwrw hyweddlwys

 Fo dry hwyl fo dewr rhylew
 Fo wna i'r llwfw'r nad ofno'r llew
 Y gwr gwan egr i gynnydd
 O'i garu fo yn gawr fydd
 O fwyn rin fo wnai'r anoeth
 Fowyd iawn ddull fod yn ddoeth

Its fame and honour are world-wide, in every age :—

Mab yr hops aeth i bobsir
 Mae bywyd hwn ymhob tir
 Gwelwch faint parch y march mau
 Gyda gwyr o'r gwaed gorau
 Nid gwroldeb ddim hebddo
 Nid llawen byd ond lle bo

¹ Mostyn 144 (390).

Kanmolynt kyd folynt fo
Kwttun er yn oes Katto
Aeth i haelwaith a'i helynt
At sel a gwaith Fyrgil gynt

Let not the bards therefore banish it from their midst :—

Ninnau feirdd union fowrddysg
Nadwn y march naid o'n mysg
.....
Modd chwerw iawn mi a ddychrynais
Wrth son am i werthu i sais
Yno deliais yn deilwng
Oedd lana modd law'n y mwng
Ag eraill o'm hun goror
A'i deil y min dwyael môr

He ends by advising Sion to adhere to it, also, or death will soon overtake him :—

Dithau garwr doeth gwiwriw
A'i deli o byddi byw
.....
Os gedi farch esgud fu
Yn iach einioes na chanu
Ni wiliaf it yn ol fawr
Oes ond gwaewloes ag elawr
Gwae fi trossod gof trassyth
Gwae'r beirdd am i gorau byth
Galw gymun gwilia gamwedd
Gwyl dy fod ar gil dy fedd
Galw Dduw Sion kofion kyfarch
A gad i mi gadw y march.

Richard Phylip was 'bardd teulu' at Nannau, near Dolgelley, for some time, and in that capacity had to produce elegies, eulogies, and poems on special occasions. He wrote an elegy when Annes verch Rhŷs Fychan, wife of Hugh Nanney, died. On the same occasion Rowland Vaughan of Caergai wrote some elegiac 'englynion'¹ in memory of Annes and her husband, who are described as his grandparents. Elin Nanney, who died in 1617, and whose death is mourned by R. Phylip,² was the wife of John Vaughan of Caergai. This is how Richard begins this 'cywydd' :—

Aeth llawn adwyth lle nodai
Angau hir gŵyn Ynghaergai
A'r un cŵyn fal môr yn cau
A droe'n unwedd drwy Nannau.

¹ Mostyn 165. Much of this MS. is in the hand of John Davies, Sion Dafydd Lâs, of Llanuwchllyn, who also was 'bardd teulu' at Nannau some time after R. Phylip's death. ² Mostyn 165 (110).

There are also 'englynon marwnad'¹ written when Huw Nannau died in 1623, an 'awdl' composed on the same occasion,² and poems to other members of the family.³

In the miscellaneous group come some interesting 'cywyddau' and 'awdlau'. Among them are two to a "ffiol frech" or "ffiol oddfyn", a drinking vessel which belonged to Lewis Gwynn of Dolau Gwyn, near Towyn, Merioneth. The title of one, in Cwrt Mawr 206 (356),⁴ is:—"Mawl ir ffiol Frech, o ba un y byddyd yn yfed, o'r eiddo un Lewis Gwynn, or Dolau Gwynn, Tywyn". This begins:—

At aur bren tynna o'n bro
Llestair wydd lles da'r eiddo
Herwydd daued hurdded hyn
Hoff lwyddfawr ffiol oddfyn.

The poet expresses the great superiority of this vessel:—

Dilys odiaeth dlws ydyw
Dedwydd o'r diodydd yw
Ni roi neb wiw ran obaith
Welai ei gwych liw a'i gwaith
Ffiol Sian hoff lwys wyneb
Nannau o'r trysorau sieb
Er y sydd ym mwtri Sian
Aur blad hir o blads arian
Ni thalan' sw'n etholwyc
Ben bran wrth y cwpan brych
.....
Pendefig fab coedwig cau
Peniaeth yr holl gwpanau
.....
Gwn na bu ag wyneb iach
Gar bron duc un bren decach

Never was the cup empty:—

Llynn dyfn bair yw'r meddgrair mau
Llynn bir yn llawn y borau
Canol dydd wedi ciniaw
A phrynawn llawn fydd i'm llaw

Nor did its generous owners wish it so:—

Tra byddo llwyddo mae'r llys
Yn y Dolau Gwynn dilys
Ni sych hon os iach hynny
Nis mynn gwr talwyn y ty

¹ B.M. Add. 14935.

² Mostyn 165 (41).

³ See list in Appendix II.

⁴ Other copies in Peniarth 244 (53); Cardiff 64 (426).

.....
Llyna'r cip llenwi'r cwpan
Llenwch na sefwch medd Sian

The poet regards the cup as a beloved maiden :—

F'anwyl yd trwy wynfyd traw
Fun olwen rhwng fy nwyllaw
Llawer cyss moethus fum i
Orau swydd a rois iddi
Nid adwaen fun didwn fawl
A'i chusan mwy iachusawl

and longs to be in its company :—

Hiraeth i'm lladd o'i herwydd
Agos er ys wythnos sydd
.....
Tair blynedd difaswedd fawr
Tairnos heb ferch y turnawr
I chael yn llawn wiwddawn waith
Ddydd a nos dda ddinaswaith
Oedd ddau gwell i ddiiddig wr
Na chael un ferch uchelwr.

He ends by expressing the wish :—

Cael hon gar fy mron yw 'mryd
Yn nhy'r Gwynn awr ag ennyd
A chael fy nhraul yno rhawg
A chynnydd i'w pherchennawg.

A variant form, which is sometimes called "Cywydd y Phiol frech" and at other times "Cywydd ir Ffiol oddfyn o'r Dolau Gwyn",¹ begins with another couplet :—

Hawddamor hoff oror ffawd
I'r ddiowdlestr fawr ddiidlawd

and the order of the lines differs in several places.

The other poem is an 'awdl', the copy of which in Cwrt Mawr 206² is preceded by this note :—

"Erbyn i ddyfod yno'r tro nesa, roedd rhiwn gwedi dwyn y ffiol frech, yna fe ganodd owdl iddo fal i canlun".

Andras i'r lleidrwes llowrwan—hyll driniad
Neu'r lladrones gefnwan
A ddug lle roedd gwall i'w ran
Anial gip f'anwyl gwpan

¹ There are numerous copies, e.g., Mostyn 144 (407); Peniarth 99 (133); Peniarth 241 (155); Llanstephan 118 (259); B.M. Add. 14888 (89); B.M. Add. 12230 (386); Cardiff 84 (78); Cwrt Mawr 40 (27, 59); Cwrt Mawr 342 (148); N.L.W. 2692 (112).

² cf. also Mostyn 144 (411); Peniarth 244 (57); N.L.W. 2692 (116); B.M. Add. 12230 (387).

Hardd gwpan brychlan braichlwyth—im' ydoedd
 Ei mudai grog olwyth
 Hwn a'i dug a fo'n nhan diawl
 Hawl blaenedawl blin adwyth.

The poet thinks of the enjoyment he has so often derived from the cup and its contents :—

Pan oedd hon gar bron y brau—Lewys Gwyn
 A glwys ganwyll Nannau
 Gwn fod o ddiad y ddau
 Yn aml iawn im alwynau.
 Galwyni ohoni fy hunan—yfais
 Heb ofal am arian
 Gwelais anrheg lwys unrhan
 Gaffael sek o ffiof Sian

But now it is gone :—

Diffrwyth wy'n deffroi weithian
 Dygaf haint o gofio hyn
 Dygwyd fy anwyl degan
 Deiliog aur o'r Dolau Gwyn

He utters fierce imprecations against the unknown thief, hoping he or she will soon be imprisoned :—

Y dyn diawledig heb fendigo
 A'i dug i'w gysgod geuawg osgo
 Dynion a'i rhegon' nes rhwygo'i berfedd
 Dygnedd dialedd fal i dylo
 Sal yw a diles siel a'i dalio
 Sieler a weler yn i wilio
 A heuyrn kedyrn yn kydio i ferau
 I aros angau fyroes wingo

At the end of the 'awdl' the "light-fingered one" is compared with notorious Bible characters :—

Un a llaw ysgafn tân a'i llosgo
 A'i dug o syrthwaith digiais wrtho
 Un agwedd fuchedd oedd fo a Barabas
 Un air a Suddas anras iddo.

A "Cywydd i'r Cwrw", beginning "Y cwrw rhudd câr yr heidden",¹ was printed by Thomas Jones in his Almanac for 1706.

¹ Numerous copies are extant, e.g., Peniarth 241 (160), 104 (97), 243 (20), 73 (43); Llanstephan 133 (200), 156 (335); Mostyn 144 (559), 130 (482); Cwrt Mawr 324 (144), 11' (643), 484 (165); N.L.W. 2692 (102), 3487 (43), 668 (139), 5390 (195); N.L.W. Add. 162 (30), 428 (137); Cardiff 64 (112), 48 (47), 57 (31); B.M. Add. 14874 (159), 12230 (390), and 14888 (87).

Of religious poems Richard Phylip has but two. One, "Cywydd i Dduw" beginning "Duw Ior llywiawdr y lluoedd" is printed on pages 426-9 of *Cefn Coch MSS.*, edited by J. Fisher, 1899. There are copies in Mostyn 165 (210), and in B.M. Add. 12230 (403). The second is "Cywydd o waith pechadur yn cyffesu ei bechod ag yn dymuno ar dduw râs a maddeuaint, a'i gadw rhag ei elynion, ysbrydol a chorphorol".¹ It begins:—

Duw dy nawdd da wyd i ni
 Duw ne gwyddost ein gweddi
 Duw'n awdur a'n dawn ydwyd
 Duw'r gwir nerth da i'r gwirion wyd
 D'enwi'n un Duw Iôn a wnafl
 Duw tri wyt Duw tro ataf
 Dod ym' nawdd dad mwya' ner
 Duw nef am rodio'n ofer
 Dyn wyf erioed yn i frau
 Dan bechod yn ebychiaw

.....

The bard has been a great sinner and now craves forgiveness:—

Golch fi fal i'th weddiais
 A gwaed yr Oen o'i gadr ais
 Dod ym' o'th rym dadmaeth rhad
 Edifeirwch da fwriad

.....

Duw gwyn os dy rad a gaf
 Dewis fodd dy was fyddaf
 Dy fawl ar fy nhafod fydd
 Difyr fal Psalmau Dafydd
 Dy glod ar bob nod a wnafl
 Dy ogoniant a ganaf.

Though it is generally believed that Richard Phylip wrote nothing in the free metres, Dafydd Evans of Llanrwst, from whom Principal J. H. Davies acquired several books and manuscripts, has, in one of his manuscripts,² "Dau Bennill ar y Mesur 'Gwel yr Adeilad'" which he says are by Richard Phylip. It is doubtful whether they are his work; they do not appear in any other manuscript seen by the present writer. These are:—

Trwy genad Duw fi gana'
 Ar gynnydd hyn om gena'
 Gan ddyweud y'm cwynion
 Trwy ffydd ni ro'i fy mron yn brudd
 Gan yr Arglwydd Iesu y caf fi letty

¹ Mostyn 165 (208).

² Cwrt Mawr MS. 117.

A Grym i gredu gael llwyr ymroddi'n rhydd
 Yn ddiiddos i myfyrio ddwys dano nos a dydd
 O Dad a ddo'i di'n glau i'n gwlad
 Yr ym ni'n greulon fel gelynion
 Mewn cam ddibenion er moddion rhwyddion rhad
 'Rol gwadu ein gwir grefydd anedwydd fydd y nad.
 O brysia ddyn considra
 Tra byddech ar dy siwrna
 Mae'r odfa'n adfur
 Rwy't ti yma er ys dyddiau o dan Efengyl olau
 'N ddiamau yn ammhur
 O ddyn Pa'm y gwnei di hyn dy hun?
 Rhoddi'th amser mewn anghyfiawnder
 I fyn'd ar wasgar mal llawer drwg eu llun
 Heb feddwl am dy ddiwedd
 Mae bedd yw annedd un
 Ai ni thro'i or ffaidd ffordd a ffoi?
 Ond cadw'n greulon yr hyll ddichellion
 Yn oer rwyddion heb ymroi
 Yn tafu'th gorph a'th enaid
 Mewn dwnad cyn y doi.

Like John Phylip, Richard wrote several 'englynion'. Among them are:—

(a) Two 'englynion merched' in Llanstephan 133 (No. 682), following four "Englynion i Sion Phylip pan oedd glaf" by Rhys Cain, with a fifth by Edmwnd Prys.

(b) Three in a group of fifteen, the others being composed by Rhys Wynn, Huw Machno, and Richard Cynwal.¹

(c) An 'ateb' to John Phylip's 'englyn' to Sion ap Rys Dai.²

(d) An 'ateb' to an 'englyn' by Rowland Vaughan of Caergai.³ The two are:—

Ow Philip oerwib i wirrio / n / fwyneb
 Yr annardd fardd Degllon
 Ydwyt ti heb newid tōn
 I bara ath garnboirion
 Row. Vaughan.
 Arwydd henaint baint a bri afiechyd
 Yw fy achos i boiri
 Ni rown gwnn erwin gyni
 Boyryn am ych englyn chwi.
 Rich: Phil.

(e) Four 'englynion aniweir' entitled "Ar garn cylllell".⁴

¹ Llanstephan 124 (5-8).

² Mostyn 144 (339).

³ Peniarth 239 (240).

⁴ Cwrt Mawr 25 (25).

(f) Three 'englynion' to the east wind,¹ written in 1619.

(g) Two to Thomas Derwas. In Cardiff 19 (769) they follow an 'englyn' by John Phylip to the same person.

(h) Two 'englynion' "Gwŷr Dolwar".²

(i) Four 'englynion ateb' to two 'englynion brud' written by Robin Ddu.³

(j) "Englyn I bibell Dobako".⁴

Rhown gusan diddan i'r deth—o fanbridd
Fal i fwynbryd geneth
O chawn tyfiad chwant difeth
Yn honno Dobako beth.

(k) Another "I Dabacko".⁵

Os hwnn yw gelyn y golwg ar pen
Ar poenau mor Amlwg
Par Arfer poeri Oerfwg
Sy genym i i sygno mwg.
Dick huwes ai kât.
Nid Drwg naws mwg nis maga ddolur
O ddilin kymwystra
Gormodd at yn modd nit ta
O ddim a roe dduw yma.
R: Ph. ai kant.

(l) Englyn "Ar y newydd fod mr Rowlant fychan wedi cael barn gidag ef am Gaer Gai"⁶ (1637).

Newydd da dedwydd didwn a gowsom
oedd gysyr i filiwn
mwy lywenydd molianwn
dduw hael am y newydd hwn
llys Caer Gai ai thai ai thir a ranwyd
ir inion aer cowir
duw mynodd rhag dim anwir (*er*)
drwy iawn ar gwest ranu'r gwir.
Ris. Phylip.

(m) Three 'englynion' to reply to three written by Rowland Vaughan "i Richard Phylipp am na adowse fe goppi oi Gowydd yn Rhiwedog".⁷

(n) Two out of the three which follow⁸ :—

¹ Mostyn 144 (525).

² Peniarth 245 (4).

³ B.M. Add. 14891 (56).

⁴ Peniarth 241 (1); Cwrtmawr 206 (101).

⁵ Mostyn 144 (518).

⁶ Cwrtmawr 25 (135); Peniarth 198 (c).

⁷ Peniarth 245.

⁸ Peniarth 151 (77).

Dos di i rewi ar wib o ddiyna
 ddanedd yr hen frasgrib
 wyneb gwan baban ar bib
 was hurt Richart phylib
 Rowland vychan.

Yn nhy Sion dirion caf dario i ochel
 drwy iechyd a chroeso
 odid fyth er daed fytho
 i { rhodiai } fawr oi dai fo
 { Deuau }

Rissiart Phylib.
 Y mrig nadolig mwyn deulu ceisswyn
 o ceissiwch iawn ganu
 ewch obry dowch a bir du
 llawn iach in llawenychu.
 Rhissiart phylib.

(o) Three to answer three by Sion Cain¹ concerning Rhiwedog.

(p) One to answer a stanza by Robin Maelan which ended :—

Y cene sur o ceri'r siad
 Mi a gynghorwn beidio a'nghariad.

ATEB.

Ai Robin dewfin a fu'n deifio bagad
 A'm bygwth am Wenno
 Oerfel i'r siad a wado
 Irfain ferch er i ofn fo.²

(q) The first of the two which follow, the other being by Sion Clywedog.³

Gan Mr. Edm: Prys yr oedd kannwyll-bren pres
 o lun Gŵr yn dal canwyll ym mhob llaw pan oedd
 llawer o feirdd gidag ef, a phob un a wnaeth ei
 englyn iddo, ac llymma 2 o honynt.

Dau faich ddeufraich ddfri deg iawn
 Dwy ganwyll a ddeli;
 Dull rhyfedd yw d'agwedd di
 Delw gul yn dal goleuni.
 Byrr lun o eulun, ni welais ei bath
 Mewn unfan y rhodiais
 Bolfyrr ai glun ai balfais
 Braich syth mab eurych o Sais.

(r) Englynion ir llong yn Nyfi 1587.⁴

Dyro duw heno dy henwi sy bwyll
 wyr ysbaen i cosbi
 duw nefol cadw yn Nyfi
 unig ior nerth yn gwŷr ni

¹ Mostyn 144 (517).

² Peniarth 198 (73) and 239 (291).

³ B.M.Add. 14891 (1).

⁴ Cwrtmawr 25 (8); Cardiff 19 (747).

Digllon elynion i oleuni dair
 a dirient or weilgi
 dynion heb ddim daioni
 delon oll in dwylaw ni
 Mil chwechant rhwyddant yw rhoddi ond tair
 yn oed duw / n / goleuni
 ban ddoe long bo / n / ddrylliau hi
 fawr dewfol i far Dyfi.
 Risiart Phylip.

[*Followed by*

Duw ner ai faner i gyfiowni
 rhown ar hwn yn gwed . . .
 na allo Sbaen oll ai sbi
 nai dynion niwed ini.

Robt. ap Howel Morgan.]

(s) " I grydd oedd a gwraig lan . . . " ¹

" I wr oedd yn gwneyd ty newydd . . . " ²

(t) Various 'englynion' in *Mostyn 144*, e.g. pp. 199, 225 (cf. also *B.M. Add. 14888*, f. 38), 244, 369, 432 (cf. also *Cardiff 66*, p. 240; *Cwrtmawr 206*, f. 47), 547, 564.

(u) Two "ir ty ynghwedir yn amsser Mr. Morys Wynn" ³

(v) The following in a group of 'englynion beddau'.

Englyn Richard Phillip.

Moeswch amserwch lyfr mesurau cerdd
 Yn i cwrs a'u hodlau
 A mowrchwart a godart gau
 Modd iawn ar fy medd innau⁴

(w) The following in *Cardiff 66 (241)* :—

Richard Phylip pan roed ef i gadw gwenyn ynghorsygedol
 ag fe gollodd haid.

Dyn jach wyf bellach a baid a deubeth
 Nid ae byth yw giliaid [? for gwiliaid]
 Y lodes gynes ganaid
 Geinwen hyf a gwenyn haid.

(x) An 'englyn' printed on p. 256 of Chancellor Fisher's edition of the *Cefn Coch MSS.*

(y) The following curious example :—

¹ N.L.W. 2691 (86), followed by one on the same subject by John Phylip; Margaret Davies MS. in Swansea Public Library, p. 73.

² Margaret Davies MS., p. 73. It is followed by an 'englyn serch' by R. Phylip.

³ *Cardiff 83 (465)*.

⁴ *Mostyn 144 (674)*; N.L.W. Add. 431 (5); *Cwrtmawr 169 (150)*.

Da o had diwad da wedi dy waed
 Da ydwyd i oedi
 Da deidiau da dydi
 A da da yn dy dŷ di¹

(z) Two in Peniarth 198 (70) :—

Rhy lan { dy } anian rhy dyner deiriau
 Rhy dirion bob amser
 Rhy wych wyd Wenn burwenn ber
 A rhy onest or hanner
 Moliant gogoniant gwiw gynnydd i dduw
 Am ddawn tragowydd
 Y fo roes y fo a rydd
 Yn ddiboen yn dda beunydd.
 Rh Ph: ai Cant.

There are also miscellaneous 'englynion' in Cwrtmawr 70 (18); N.L.W. Add. 16 (286); N.L.W. 643 (69); B.M. Add. 14891 (56); Jesus 18 (14) 'A gentlewoman to one striving for a kiss or two'; Jesus 18 (58) 'When John Griffith of Llyn was sick'; and Cwrtmawr 25 (35).

As already mentioned, Richard Phylip died in 1641 and was buried at Llanuwchllyn. The following extracts are from the elegy to him by Wiliam Phylip of Hendre Fechan :—

Risiart a gae o'r oesoedd
 Athrawon henyddion oedd
 Sion Phylip rwydd gyf¹ rwyddydd
 Oedd athro bardd aeth o'r byd
 Gorau deufrawd gair difrwyg
 I ganu rhawg yn eu rhwysg . . .
 A roen addysg rinweddawl
 Seiri main mesurau mawl
 Yn iach awen a chowydd
 Yn iach owdl fwyn hen chwedl fydd
 Y gerdd bwyll gorwedd bellach
 Poetri canwn ni yn iach
 Collais gresynais yna
 F'ewythr y dysg f'athro da

 Athro pur aeth o'r Prys
 I Lanuwllyn lan wyllys

 Gorffwys ei gorff haeach
 A'i dalent i'r fonwent fach
 Canu'n fwyn yn ei fywyd
 Canu wrth derfynu'i fyd
 Duw i'w law fawr diwael fu
 Ato'i cym'ro poet Cymru
 I wlad nef ail Selef sant
 I ganu i dduw ogoniant.

¹ Cwrtmawr 25 (112). In Cwrtmawr 70 (15) the last line reads "A da da iw dy du di".

D.

GRUFFYDD PHYLIP.

The poems of Gruffydd Phylip seen by the present writer are as follows :—

I.—Cywyddau and Awdlau			
(a) Marwnadau (Elegies)	...	...	26
(b) Moliant (Eulogies)	...	...	25
(c) Gofyn (Requests)	...	...	4
(d) Priodas (Marriage)	...	...	6
(e) Amrywiol (Miscellaneous)	...	...	2
II.—Barddoniaeth Rydd (Poems in free metre, ... 3			
III.—Englynion.			

Of the elegies the best known are those on the death of his father, John Phylip ("Hir i mi draw gerllaw'r llan"), and of Richard Hughes¹ of Cefn Llanfair, Lleyn ("O Duw Ior beth ydyw'r byd"). Not so well-known, but interesting because of its subject is the elegy on John Williams of Gloddaeth, Archbishop of York ("Marw nenn dysg mawr wae'r un dydd"). Reference is made later to the elegy to his patron, Wiliam Fychan of Corsygedol, and to another patron, Owen Elis, Ystumllyn (died 1622), a member of a family to which Gruffydd wrote many poems and 'englynion'. Here are a few couplets from his elegy to John Williams² :—

Marw nenn dysg mawr wae'r un dydd.
 Marc cryfaf mur y crefydd . . .
 Arglwydd Kiper amser oedd
 Sail dryd y Sel fawr ydoedd . . .
 Yr Eglwys drwy oerbwys draw
 Am Sion Wiliams sy'n wylaw . . .
 I Deyrnasoedd drwy nasiwn
 Mwy bu son am bwys hwn
 Ym Mrydain enw mawr ydoedd
 Nesa i Siarls yn ei oes oedd . . .
 Marw Arglwydd sel hylwydd Sion
 Mae'r ieithioedd yn marw weithion.

Of the 'cywyddau gofyn' two are to ask for horses, one for a gun, whilst a fourth asks Humffre Davies of Llandyfyrydog to give a hundred of Dafydd ab Gwilyn's 'cywyddau' to Richard Vaughan of Corsygedol.

More than half of the eulogies are in praise of Wiliam

¹ Many of Richard Hughes's poems were collected by the late Principal Davies; see the first volume of the "Cyndeithas Llên" series.

² Peniarth 197, p. 71, in the autograph of Dafydd Elis o Griccieth.

Fychan of Corsygedol (see pp. 201-202), but there are others of equal interest. Such, for example, are two composed to the Reverend Dr. John Davies of Mallwyd, contained in N.L.W. MS. 5269 (formerly a Dingestow Court MS.). As these are not well-known a few lines from the beginning of each are given :—

- f. 408. K: MOLIANT I DCOR DAFIS.
 Y Doctor at act a rydd
 dysg yn i dewis gynnydd
 Dyn yw, mewn daioni maith
 a dwf yn y defeinwaith
 Tyf ffydd nid a n, nydd yn is
 trwy dyfiad Doctor dafis
 A soniwn am ras enwawg
 son yw/r hynn sy iawn y rhawg
 Sion Dafis hynod wiwfawl
 sy un hap oll a sain pawl
 Mae/n / golau/r / mann / i / gwelaf
 o ddafydd haul hirddydd haf
 O Sion a rhys imi rhoed
 sant tirion seinied hiroed
 Rhoed at hwn, rhediad da hawl
 rhyw ednyfed, rhad nefawl . . .
- f. 441. K: MOLIANT I DOCTOR DAFIS.
 Duw kynnal / i / deg kynydd
 y duwiol sant haela sydd
 Dafydd beunydd bob unawr
 dyfu inn mysg defein mawr
 Doctor / a / rhagor mawrhad
 dafis duwiolaf dyfiad
 Sion Dafis / i / enw dwyfawl
 sy iawn / i / feirdd seinio / i / fawl
 Dilys enwog waedoliaeth
 o dyfwydd ach dafydd aeth
 Ar un heniach frenhinol
 o Sion a Rhys sy/n / y rhol
 Hil burwych iach howlbwrch oedd
 hil uchaf o hael iachoedd.

In this particular manuscript several eulogies of the Doctor are collected together, transcribed by one of his scribes.

The only 'cywydd merch' by Gruffydd Phylip is that entitled (in Peniarth 241) "Cywydd Marwnad a wnaeth In o ymddyddan rhwngtho ai gariad y rhon y fase farw fel y calyn" and beginning :—

Digus wyf nid agos iach
 Di nwyfiant yw dyn afiach¹

¹ There are several copies of it extant, e.g., Peniarth MSS. 198, 239, 241; Cardiff MSS. 47, 64, 66, 84; Cwrt Mawr MS. 40; N.L.W. Add. MSS. 672, 799; B.M. Add. MS. 14888 and others.

Among his poems is a group of seventeen written to William Vaughan of Corsygedol¹ who married Ann Nannau in 1649. With one exception, an 'awdl marwnad', they are 'cywyddau'. Naturally there is much repetition—the same sentiments, the same thoughts appear in 'cywydd' after 'cywydd', though there is much ingenuity shown to vary the phraseology. When one has been read the reader knows what to expect in the others. William Vaughan's ancestry is given and praised, Corsygedol is described in eulogistic terms, the other houses belonging to the family are described, the virtues of the Vaughans are sung, and then, when Vaughan marries Ann Nannau, the bride and her ancestry, her beauty and her generosity have to be eulogised. Gruffydd Phylip had been bard to Wiliam's father, grandfather, and great-grandfather :—

Bardd oeddwn ebrwydd wedi,
Yn y gaer hon a'i gwyr hi;
I'ch hendaidd i'ch daid i'ch dad,
I chwi heddyw wych haeddiad.

All had been patrons of bards and minstrels :—

Cynnal cerddwyr a'u caniad,
Eich hendaidd eich taid a'ch tad;
Cynhalio Crist ddidrist dawn,
Teiroides dy hardd bryd tiriawn.

Other bards know not where to go, but Gruffydd knows :—

Beirddion digion bob dygwyl,
Ni wyddant ple'r ant yr wyl;
Mal dewis fy mlodeuyn,
Y mae'n hawdd i minnau llyn;
Af i'r llys fawr 'wyllysiad,
At yr aer glan trwy wyr gwlad.

To the same group belongs "Cywydd priodas Mr. Wiliam Fychan a Mrs. Ann Nannau". Bridegroom and bride are profusely eulogised. Of Ann the bard says :—

Gwn na 'dwaenir gnawd anian
Gymraes sydd gymhares Ann.

Then follows "Cywydd ar enedigaeth Mr. Gruffydd Fychan", heir to Wiliam and Ann :—

Rhown ddiolch mewn rhin dduwiawl
I Dduw mewn gweddi a mawl

¹ They are listed in Appendix III

Ganwyd da aer o gnawd teg,
 A'i gu radau goreudeg;
 Aer y Gors oreurog yw,
 Y Gedol glandeg ydyw. . . .

The series ends with an 'awdl marwnad' composed when Wiliam Fychan died:—

Marw glendid y byd i'r bedd, mawr wae bro,
 Marw brig holl Wynedd,
 Marw ein top, marw enaid hedd,
 Yw marw Wiliam wrolwedd.

Gruffydd Phylip wrote several poems to members of the family of Ellis of Ystumllyn and Bronyfoel, Eifionnydd, particularly to two members named Owain Elis and to Marged Elis. Of the 'cywyddau' one is a "Cywydd Priodas Owen Ellis [ac Elisabeth Bodwrda]"¹, beginning "Dau law, aeth a'u dwylaw'n un"; another a "Cywydd ar anedigaeth Mr. Owen [Elis]"²; a third is an elegy to Owen Elis who died in 1622.³ The 'englynion' are numerous, many of them being to Marged Elis, the three which follow being typical examples⁴:—

I FARGED ELLIS YSTYMLLYN.

Angyles gynnes deg union deilwng
 Marged Elis rasslon
 Yn dyfod hynod hinon
 A bir iw bardd hardd yw hon.
 Gwybodaeth odiaeth heb oedi y L. . .
 Addas iawn oll iddi
 Ni anwyd enw iw henwi
 Na i glanach na i haelach hi.
 Y meistress gynnes i gu ennyn gras
 A geiff greso i Stymllyn
 Glendyd cred medd ai hedwyn
 Goleuad a lleyad llŷn.

There are others to the same lady in Cardiff MS. 37 and in Cwrt Mawr MS. 25.

But perhaps the most interesting of the Ystumllyn poems is the one in ballad form contained in Cardiff MS. 37, and printed by the late Principal Davies in *Caniadau yn y Mesurau Rhyddion*.⁵ It is called "Hiraeth y Bardd

¹ Cardiff 37 (41); Peniarth 124 (192); N.L.W. Add. 18 (173).

² Cardiff 37 (62); Cardiff 47 (120); Peniarth 124 (197).

³ Llanstephan 124 (486).

⁴ Cwrt Mawr 169 (55, 60), copied from a British Museum MS.

⁵ "Cymdeithas Llên" Series, V-VI.

am Ystymlyn". There are ten stanzas of four lines each, of which the following are the sixth and seventh :—

Mae fo yn hysbys ym hob lle
 Drwy birion iache downys
 Parch yn ifank ag yn hen
 Ai ffrins iw Owen Elis.
 Mae yno baenes gwyr Duw nef
 O burion waed yr ynys
 Yn rhagori ar ferched chred
 Ai henw Marged Elis.

Another of his poems in the same metre is printed in *Blodeu-Gerdd* . . . 1759, entitled "Dirifau'r Coler du" and beginning :—

Er pan ydwyf yn y Bŷd
 O'm dechreu hyd yr wau
 Mwya niweid i mi a wnaeth
 Fy meddwl caeth fy hunan.¹

The poem was reprinted in *Caniadau Cymru* . . . 1897.

The following poem may well be put here, though it is not certain that it is the work of Gruffydd Phylip. This version appears in Peniarth MS. 245 and was transcribed *circa* 1716.

CAN GWIROD NEU WYL FAIR.

Roedd yn ddefod, mynd a gwirod
 Gwyl fair forwyn ddechre Gwanwŷn.
 Pob dyn dedwydd, trwy lawenŷdd
 A garo goffa Mair merch Anna
 Am Iddi hi ddwyn, a hi'n forwyn
 Y mab gore a sugnodd fronne.
 Rhaid yw canŷ, clod ir Iessŷ
 A Mair buredd forwyn sangctedd.
 Fe Aned i hon, fab Duw Cyfion
 Ddydd Nattolig Gwyl barchedig.
 Gwyf [*sic*] fair hefyd, sydd wŷl hyfrŷd
 Mair yn gymwys aeth ir Eglwys.
 A gwryfon, or cwmpason
 Ai canhwylle i gyd yn ole.
 Puredigeth, Mair yn odieth
 Pawb ai wirod yw chyfarfod.

¹ In Cardiff 37 (91) this stanza reads as follows :—

Arr a dreiais or holl fyd om
 dechre hyd yr Aoran
 mwya niwed imi wnaeth fy
 meddwl kaeth fy hunan.

See also Cwrt Mawr 216 (136).

Os rhydd Duw tad, ini genad
 Ni yfwn wirod hyd y gwaelod.
 Ni yfwn Iechyd, haelion hefyd
 Heb fod mor sôn am gybyddion.
 Awr ôch mwynwedd âch holl faswedd
 Awr ôch mwynder a dûrr brydd-der.
 Ag a wna afiâch, yn llawenâch
 Lle bo mwynder ni bo diegter.
 Na thristwch dwl, na thrwm feddwl
 Llawen fo ch byd trwy gael Iechyd.
 Yn yr unlle hyn o willie
 Dwedwn i Gŷd Amen hefyd.
 Griphydd Phyllipp
 ai cant.

Some account of this type of writing is given later, in the section dealing with Wiliam Phylip.

Like Wiliam Phylip, Gruffydd Phylip wrote numerous 'englynion' on a variety of subjects.

The following "englynion pan oeddynt yn bwrw Castell Harlech i lawr"¹ may be compared with those by William Phylip (see pp. 232-3).

Torrason gar bron garw bryd / irhain aed
 Yr hen adail hyfryd
 Torrwn o gofion gofyd
 Tros y gwaliau i gyddfau i gŷd.
 Creulon anunion wenwynig ddyinion
 O ddeunydd cythreulig
 Creulon i caid diawlaid dig
 Yn briwo adail buredig
 . . . y trethi ar trwutho ar llid
 . . . lladd ar ysbeilio
 . . . campys ydyw cwympo
 . . . frig cestyll y fro.
 Bwrw i lawr yn awr . . .
 Chwalu gwasgaru gwisg wrol gostiad
 Gastell Harlech siriol
 Hwyr weithio mae'n hiraethol
 Fyth ini i fâth yn ôl

In the same MS. are three Civil War 'englynion'. These are :—

YN AMSER RHYFEL
 Ynys y Cedyrn gü union grefydd
 Oedd gryfa dan haul gron
 Ai gwyr a'r lidia'r goron
 Ag ynddi hün gwanhadd hon.

¹ Peniarth MS. 124.

Gwae frydain gowrain dda ragoriaeth fŷd
 Addfedu pob bariaeth
 Gwae weled gan alaeth
 Y goron ai gwyr yn waeth.
 Rhŷ greulon dynion na' dwaenant i bái
 Ba beth a obeithiant
 Rhŷ brysur i bwriasant
 Brenin Siarls hür union sant.

Then there are two in *Cwrt Mawr MS. 206 (f. 153b)* which have also been attributed, probably wrongly, to *Wiliam Phylip*. These are :—

Englyn a ddywedodd Gr. Phylip wrth yr ustusiaid
 y nolgelle yn amser Cromwel
 pob tynged galed, heb gel, a gaffo
 ag uffern ddi dawel
 Cryman am wddw Cromwel,
 A chrocpren iw ddiben a ddel.
 ar hyn fo i gyred i garchar,
 yno fe ganodd.
 Dyweda fynaf fi, or dwedyd
 ond odid fy ngweddi,
 goreu dim gwyr Duw imi,
 wnio fy safn yn f'oes i
 yno fo gafodd ei rydd-did.

There are many religious and didactic 'englynion'. Such are :—

(a) "Englynion cyffes hen bechadur"¹—a series of nine of which the last is :—

Gweddiaf byddaf bob awr i ddeysyf
 Ar Iesu'n ddirfawr
 Na ddel trwm ddial tramawr
 Am bechod fy medd-dod mawr

(b) Another series of eighteen, in which he refers to departed friends and to old age, and bemoans his sins.² The first begins :—

Duw farglwydd hylwydd im gwylio beunydd.

To the same class belong six 'englynion' prefaced to Rowland Vaughan of Caergai's translation, first published in 1630, of Lewis Bayly's *Practice of Piety* ("Mawl i'r Cyfieithydd o waith Gry: Philip"), and another set of six printed at the beginning of *Ystyriaethau*

¹ Peniarth 124 (257).

² Peniarth 239 (9). See also *Madryn MS. (N.L.W. MS. 799)*, p. 192.

Drexelius ar Dragwyddoldeb . . . 1661 (“ Ar y llyfr hwn o ystyriathau ar Dragwyddoldeb ”).

Some ‘ englynion ’ on miscellaneous subjects are :—

- (a) “ Englynion i fab a merch or Deheudir ”.¹
 (b) “ Englynion annerch at Freddydd Llwyd wrth glywed son am dano. 5to July 1640 ”.² The poet describes him as “ pen saer y gerdd dafod ”.
 (c) “ Arr sychder mawr ”.³
 (d) “ Dau Englyn . . . ir pysgodyn a ddoeth i dir yn Ardudwy ”.⁴
 (e) “ Ar Briodas Mr Jno. Hwcks a Mrs. Marg. Owen yn y Penrhyn yr Ynyd Chwef. 11. 1650 ”.⁵
 (f) “ 4 Englyn i Gorsygedol ”.⁶
 (g) “ 4 Engl : i Lowri Saethon ”.⁷
 (h) “ 2 Engl : i Ifan Gwyn a Gwen Elis o Saethon ”.⁸
 (i) “ 6 o Englynion i Sion Saethon ”.⁹
 (j) “ On A Souldier of Capt. Hugh Prices . . . att Red-Castle ”.¹⁰
 (k) “ I Rich. Phylip ”.¹¹ One englyn beginning—

Wrth geisio mwyno a meinwen—loywdrem.

- (l) “ I Robin Maelan y tylyniwr ”.¹²
 (m) “ Dau Englyn. Pan wnaethpwyd Clochdy Gwrecsam ”.¹³ These are of doubtful attribution.
 (n) “ Englyn i Robin Dyfi ”.¹⁴
 (o) “ 6 Englyn i Gaptan Will : Herbert ”.¹⁵
 (p) A number in Cardiff MS. 37 (pp. 102, 151,¹⁶ 178) ; Mostyn 144 (125) ; N.L.W. MS. 643 (75) ; Cwrt Mawr 206 (59) ; Llan. 145 (No. 78).

Gruffydd Phylip died in 1666.¹⁷ British Museum Additional MS. 14983, which belongs to the third quarter of the 17th century, has two sets of elegiac ‘ englynion ’

¹ B.M. Add. 14983 (27).

² Llanstephan 156 (242) and 145 (No. 79) ; Aberdar 1 (125).

³ Madryn MS. (N.L.W. 799), p. 197.

⁴ Peniarth 151 (79) ; *cf.* a cywydd by Wiliam Phylip, *see* pp. 221-2.

⁶ Cwrt Mawr 25 (165).

⁵ Peniarth 197 (168).

⁸ Cwrt Mawr 25 (164).

⁷ Cwrt Mawr 25 (163).

¹⁰ Mostyn 129 (325).

⁹ Cwrt Mawr 25 (133).

¹² Peniarth 198 (E) ; Cwrt Mawr 206 (101).

¹¹ Mostyn 144 (352).

See also three ‘ englynion ’ in Cardiff MS. 37 (155).

¹³ N.L.W. 671 (17) ; Cwrt Mawr 21 (31).

¹⁴ Mostyn 144 (365).

¹⁵ B.M. Add. 14892 (26).

¹⁶ Including the one to Hendre Waelod, which may have been the bard’s home.

¹⁷ But see Havod MS. 12 (11a, 15a).

written respectively by E.W. (? E.W. Dr o theologydd-iaeth mentioned on f. 55b of the same MS.), and J.G., possibly John Griffith of Llanddyfnan, some of whose work was published by the late Principal Davies.¹ As these 'englynion' have not appeared in print before, they are given here. It will be noticed that Gruffydd Phylip is described in both as the last of the (old) bards.

(a) "(A)r farwolaeth Gr. Phylip y diweddaf or hen feirdd 1666".

[Gut?]yn or dyffryn oer, deffro, tyred
 fardd tirion digyffro
 odd i dan graian a gro
 (h)enwr pam wyt yn huno?
 . . . ch huno, a chwynaf, hunfawr
 mae'r henfardd diweddaf
 . . . ae'n oleu mwy ni welaf
 . . . dydd, a chywydd ni chaf
 . . . fydd dan sias o dristwch
 . . . drosti am henwas
 . . . iaeth parod addas
 . . . g loywdeg a las

E.W.

(b) "Englynion ar farwolaeth y diweddaf o'r beirdd Gryff : Philip".

Darfu'r henfeirdd beirdd au hurddas eu gyd
 aeth y gerdd yn ddiflas
 troi'n briddyn Guttyn oedd gas
 torri awenydd tirionwas
 Prydyddiaeth sywaeth y sydd yn ei fedd
 un a fu mor gelfydd
 oer wy yno'r awenydd
 arwyl beirdd ar ei ol bydd
 J : G : ai cant.

E.

PHYLIP JOHN PHYLIP.

Phylip John Phylip was a son of John Phylip and brother to Gruffydd Phylip. Little is known of his life. His will, preserved at the Probate Registry, Bangor, was made on September 9th, 1676, and probate granted July 5th, 1678. In his will he describes himself as:—

"Phillip Jou. Phillip of the p.ish of Llandanock in the County of Merioneth".

¹ *Hen Gerddi Gwleidyddol* (Cymdeithas Llên Cymru, II.).

He left twenty shillings each to certain nephews, nieces, and a godson (all of whom are named). "I nominate and appoint my Nephew Morgan Jenkin my sole executor".

Compared with the other Phylipiaid he was not a prolific writer, only four 'cywyddau' by him being extant as far as is known. These have not appeared in print. They are :—

I.—*Cowydd i Mr. Gruffyth Van o Gors y Gedol yw groesawu Adref or ysgol* (Peniarth MS. 239, p. 254).

Croeso lain cu rassol wedd
aer cynnes i frig gwynedd
oth ysgol lanwych wisgiad
ith dyrau teg ath dre tad.

Gruffydd Vaughan's ancestry is then given in verse—Gruffydd ap William ap Rhisiart ap William up to Iarll Desmwnd, and the houses from which his stock derived or was connected are named—Bodsilin, Talhenbont, Llwyndyrys, Clennau, Penrhyn, Gwedir, Nannau, Rhiwlas, and Ynysmaengwyn. The "school" whence he had returned was Oxford :—

Ystudent gwrs da ydych
dichwyn o Ryd-ychen wych
honn ywr ffynnon hoff feinweth
o hon i daw hynod wedd
nefol deg iownol di gaeth
a bydol wir wybodaeth
da ysgol o freiniol fri
i landdyn a ddeil ynddi
er Cimaint i fraint ai fri
bo dyn ymhob daioni
hardda dim dan euraidd do
dasg addas yw dysg iddo
pan ddelych pen y ddwywlad
i drin swydd mewn oedran sad
cei weled hardded yw honn
ut downus enaid dynnion.

II.—*Marwnad Mr. Moris Wynn o Faesyneuadd Esquier Enwog* (Peniarth MS. 196, p. 39).

According to the Reverend William Wynn, the copy in this MS.¹ is in the autograph of the bard. It begins :—

Marwolaeth ai mawr waywloes
Mewn Prudd-der trymder ann troes
Mawr yw alaeth rhygaeth rhawg
Merionydd am wr enwawg.

¹ There is another copy, by W. W. E. Wynne of Peniarth, in Peniarth MS. 202.

The pedigree of the deceased is traced :—

Mawr eussiau am Aur Rossyn
Mawr wae sydd marw Morys Wynn
am lew wiliam aml wylant
o forys hael fu war sant
Anap oerddig ddwyn purddyn
o burwaed hen Robert wynn

and so on to “Iarll Dessmwnt”.

His wife was Sian, “Santes gynnes ei gwedd”, daughter of Gruffydd Llwyd of Rhiwgoch and Nannau.

Moris Wynn had been Sheriff of Merioneth.¹

Ni bu n honn o union iach
Syrf oedd gymessurach
heddychwyr a dyddiwr da
yn ddi Amur oedd yma . . .
Maer tlodion ai Cwynion caeth
ar i ol mewn mawr alaeth.

He died on Bartholomew's Day, 1673.

III.—*Cowydd Moliant i Owen Wynn o'r Glyn, Esq. pan oedd ef yn Sirif yn Sir Feirionydd* (Peniarth MS. 202, p. 88—a 19th century copy by W. W. E. Wynne).

Af ar gerdd fyfyrwng wedd
i lys gynnes lles Gwynedd
Llys y Glyn nid llysiaw gwlydd
Llys glod yn lleshau gwledydd
Llys Sirif call lwys Eryr
Llys ddigau gorau or gwyr
or llysoedd da hanoedd hen
dilys yw dy lys Owen

Eulogistic terms are then used by the bard, who refers also to his wife, Elsbeth Mostyn

a merch aeres cynnes caid
cain yw o waed Conwyaid.

IV.—*Marwnad W.Ph. Hendre fechan* (B.M. Add. MS. 14890, p. 374).

This elegy on the Royalist poet Wiliam Phylip of Hendre Fechan is Phylip John Phylip's most interesting poem. Gwilym Lleyn in his *Llyfryddiaeth y Cymry* quoted a few couplets from it and subsequent writers have quoted his extracts. The only copy of it known to the present writer is a transcript by Iago ab Dewi preserved in the British Museum. The following are extracts :—

¹ In 1670-71.

Ardydwy fawr a daed fu
 Dy fwyngerdd difai iawngu
 Duw ith les gwan wyt a thlawd
 Am awenydd a mwynawd
 Heddiw yn ol marwolaeth
 Hynod Wr o honod aeth
 Lliw Nywl sy llawn wylō sad
 Llwybr cŵyn lle bur caniad
 Cwyno Wiliam cawn Alaeth
 Cau ar ddyn gwych cerdd ain gaeth . . .

Wiliam Phylip's ancestry is briefly described :—

Iawnwych rym Awen ai chrib
 A'i phaladr oedd Aer Phylip
 A'i wyr Sion y mawr sonian
 Tomas gwiw urddas a gan.

His virtues :—

Ei groeso clau gwressog glan
 fy wych yn hendre fechan
 Syber fu n rhanu wrth raid
 A thyner oedd wrth weiniaid
 Dyfyr oedd da fawr addysg
 cwmpeini hwn ddi-dwn ddysg.

The loss to his son, etc., :—

Chwithder ac oerder a gaf
 Ar ei ol lle'r oer wylaf
 I aer Wiliam maer Alaeth
 yn ei ol Wr anwyl aeth
 Harry' gwr mawr ei Gariad
 A ddeil dir ei dduwiol Dad
 Rhad Duw iw fraint rhoed Duw fry
 Ai gu wiwlan gywely.

Though his rent-roll was a good one, yet he wished to be considered a poet first :—

Er bod gan hwn in bro-dir
 fawr Ardreth a difeth dir
 Daionus ac nid anhardd
 gantho fu ei farnu n fardd
 Nid clerwr chwant cael arian
 ydoedd y glwys wawdydd glan
 Ond Bardd o hynod burddawn
 gwrdd ryw da y gerdd rad iawn
 Ni chanai o chai hen-oed
 Ddichwyn ryw ddychan erioed
 Cerdd dduwiol cwyreidd Awen
 iraidd bur a ddoi o'i Ben.

¹ Henry Williams, Hendre Fechan. Mostyn MS. 144, which is in the autograph of his father, belonged to him at one time.

He gave us :—

“ in lles ar bob Messur ”
Cynghorion purion heb pall
Ddwys iawn eur-ged synhwyrall.

He had composed a well-known elegy on King Charles I. :—

Gwnai Farwnad wiwrad ar ol
Ein brenin uniawn breiniol
Ei gwyn am Siarls genym sydd
yn brintiedig¹ Braint dedwydd
Teilwng oedd lan bentalaith
yn brint ro'i holl iawn bur waith.

And then we have one bard's opinion of another bard's work :—

Holl Gerdd hwn gwelwn ar goedd
Nithiedig iawn waith ydoedd
Awen rwydd o iawn roddiad
Dysg gyda llwyr synwyr sad
A gwir rylwydd gyfrwyddydd
Oedd yn ei fron addwyn fryd
y rhai'n mewn dyn fryn ddifreg
yw growndwal cerdd giwrein deg
Difai organ difyngerdd
Oedd enwog wr ddiwan gerdd.

Many were the good qualities of the deceased :—

Llawer iawn lle r ai yna
Oedd o deg Rinweddau da
y scrythyr bybyr ddi ball
lan dduwiol oi hiawn ddeall
yn bur y caid heb Air cam
Ras dilwgr ymrest Wiliam
A byw n ol drwy reiwl Ras
Hono r oedd henwr addas
di chwant ir Byd ffuantus
fu i fron dda union ddi rus
Cynghorwr dyddiwr diddan
Iach glau oedd diragrith glau
Cymdeithgar hoyw-gar oedd hwn
Cariadus hyny credwn
Ni bu absen oi Enau
Enwog wr gwych na gair gau
Da Air i bawb rhoi drwy bwyll
O'i ddedwydd galon ddiwyll
Triniodd y Byd tra enwir
Trwy iawn hap iw oedran hir
Mewn glau fuchedd rinweddawl
Hyd ei fedd wr hynod fawl

¹ This reference has made some bibliographers think that the elegy was printed in the author's lifetime. It may have been issued as a broadside.

Lastly we are told the date of his death :—

Oedran Iesu Deyrn oesoedd
 yn dwyn Gwr da enwog oedd
 Mil chwechant wylant alaeth
 Chwe deg a naw¹ och dygn aeth
 yn Chwefror y llwyr dorrwyd
 pen Awen gymen i gyd
 Ai gorph hwn y gwr hoff hael
 I Lan Ddwywe lan ddiwael
 Y Bedd lle mae'i orweddiad
 Wrth glun sydd y dedwydd dad.

F.

WILIAM PHYLIP OF HENDRE FECHAN, DYFFRYN ARDUDWY.

“ Sion Phylip had a brother, Wiliam Phylip, who was also a bard, and the latter in one of his poems, an elegy upon his father, gives their parent's name as Phylip Sion ”. (J. C. Morrice).²

“ Mab i Phylip Sion o'r Hendre Fechan ym mhlwyf Llandannwg, Dyffryn Ardudwy, oedd Sion Phylip ”. (Arthur Hughes).³

Were Sion, Rhisiart, and Wiliam Phylip brothers? It has generally been agreed that Sion and Rhisiart Phylip were brothers, but was Wiliam Phylip a brother to the other two? If Wiliam Phylip was related at all to the other two brothers, the relationship was one by marriage only.

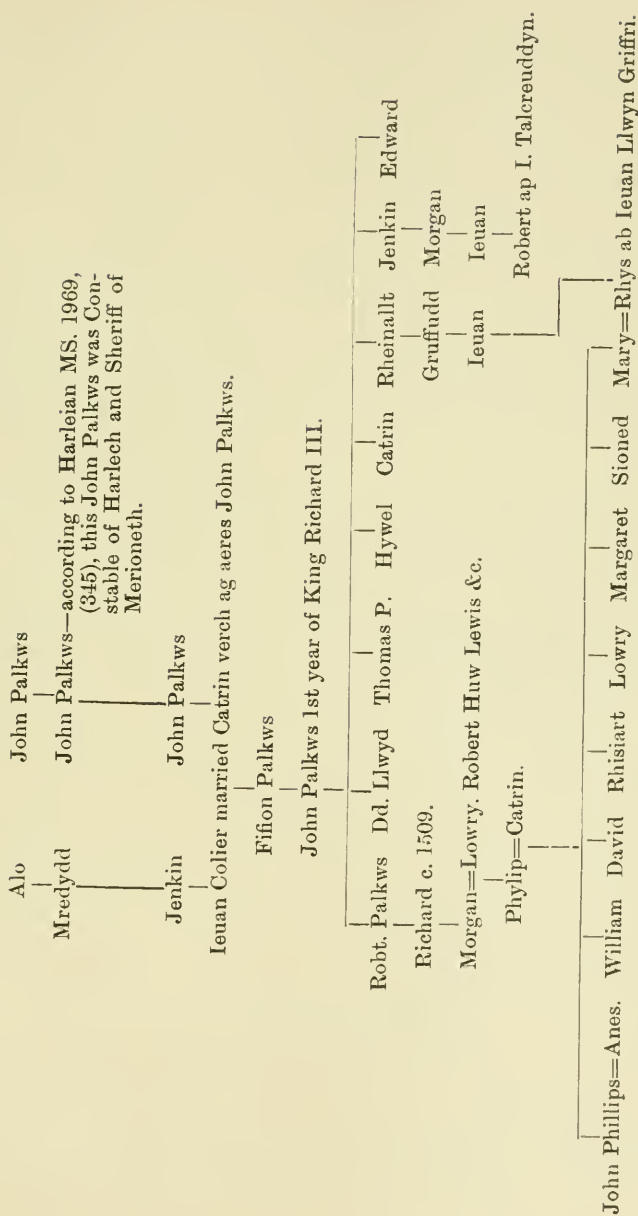
Sion Phylip's pedigree, as given by Lewis Dwnn in *Heraldic Visitation of Wales*, is printed on the opposite page.

The pedigree is signed “ Pr me John Phillips ”, who elsewhere (p. 226-227) is described as “ John Phylip dysgybl Pencerd ”.

¹ i.e., February, 1669 O.S., 1670 N.S.

² *A Manual of Welsh Literature.*

³ *Cywyddau Cymru.*



From this table it is clear that there were four brothers—John, Wiliam, David, and Rhisiart, and four sisters—Mary, Margaret, Lowry, and Sioned—the eight being the children of Phylip ap Morgan. It has been thought from a perusal of this pedigree that Wiliam Phylip the poet was this Wiliam, son of Phylip ap Morgan and brother to Sion, Rhisiart, and David. Another consideration is that Sion Phylip's mother was named Catrin (L. Dwnn : Catrin v. Ieuⁿ ab D^d ab Ieuⁿ ab Morys) and that the poet Wiliam Phylip's mother was also called Catrin. (This is proved by Wiliam Phylip's 'marwnad' to his mother.)

On the other hand there are the following reasons for believing that Wiliam Phylip the poet and Wiliam the son of Phylip ap Morgan were not one and the same person.

1.—Wiliam Phylip in the elegy written on his mother's death says that her name was Catrin, that she died in 1651 at the age of 88, and was buried in the same grave with her husband (who had predeceased her) at Llanddwywe. Now this Catrin cannot be the same as the one who is mentioned by Lewys Dwnn in 1588 as the mother of Sion Phylip, Wiliam, David, Rhisiart, Lowry, Margaret, Sioned, and Mary, as in that year (1588) she would be 25 years old only.

2.—Lewys Dwnn gives the names of the father and grandfather of Sion and Rhisiart Phylip as Phylip and Morgan respectively. Wiliam Phylip in an elegy composed after his father's death gives his father's name and lineage as Phylip Sion ab Thomas ab Robert. The same pedigree is given in Sion Phylip's "Kywydd i erchi March i Philip ap Sion Thomas".¹

3.—Wiliam Phylip in his 'Marwnad' to Rhisiart Phylip says :—

Collais gresynais yna
F'cwylthyr y dysg f'athro da
Aeth ein car i'r ddaiar ddwys
I brydu'r gerdd baradwys.

4.—Wiliam Phylip's father (Phylip ap Sion ap Thomas) died in 1625/6 at the age of nearly eighty years. He was born therefore about 1545, whereas Sion Phylip

¹ Cardiff 19 (566). Mostyn 144 (361).

had been born in 1543 and was therefore two years older than the man some persons name as having been his father! Not only was Sion Phylip too old to be William Phylip's brother but he was two years older than William Phylip's father.

5.—The persons to whom William Phylip, as also Gruffudd Phylip, sang, were of a generation younger than those to whom Sion and Rhisiart Phylip sang. Furthermore, Sion and Rhisiart have no poems in the 'Vicar Prichard metre' which had become popular before the end of the first half of the seventeenth century, whereas William Phylip has several poems in this metre. Both of the poets first named composed elegies upon the death of Queen Elizabeth; but it was to the personages and events of the reign of Charles I., the Commonwealth, and the Restoration that William devoted his muse.

Sion and Rhisiart were amongst the last of the 'clerwyr', whereas William, though he has sung several poems of a 'social' character (elegies, eulogies, requests, etc.), never did the circuit of the bards, and we have no evidence that he was a 'bardd teulu' to any of the county families.

Such details as we have of William Phylip's life are mainly derived from his poems and a few references in the work of contemporaries. His father, Phylip ap Sion ap Thomas ap Robert of Hendre Fechan, died February 25, 1625/6, when he was close on eighty, and was buried at Llanddwywe, where many members of the Vaughan family of Corsygedol lie buried. His mother, Catrin, who lived to be 88, died in 1651, and was buried at Llanddwywe. William's wife, Ann, died in 1653, and his daughter, Elizabeth, about the same time. Wife and daughter were buried at Llanaber, but William, who died February 11, 1669/70,¹ was buried at Llanddwywe.² William mourned the death of his father, mother, wife, and daughter; copies of these elegies have survived. He left a son, Henry Williams of Hendre Fechan, who in 1678 presented Mostyn MS. 144, which is in the autograph of his father, to Griffith Vaughan, Esq., of Corsygedol.

¹ See his elegy by Phylip John Phylip, pp. 209-212

² A stone, supposed, locally, to be his gravestone, and said to be inscribed "W. Ph. F. E. XI. 1669", *i.e.*, William Phylip, (died) February 11, 1669, I find is not William Phylip's at all, but is a foundation stone, and is inscribed "W. W. 1668".

It is not known when Wiliam was born, but we shall not perhaps be far wrong if we give *circa* 1579-80 as the year. It is generally thought that he lived to be ninety.

In May, 1670, three months after his death, an inventory was taken of his "goodes, Cattells and Chattels . . ." ¹ The "Sum totall" of his belongings comes to £20 4s. 0d.; this sum includes "Old bookes" valued at £10. These "Old bookes" may be presumed to be manuscripts, some of which in his own writing have survived to this day. ²

Wiliam probably spent his whole life at Hendre Fechan. ³ His father was living there before 1620—a reference in a poem to him by John Phylip proves this—and his son, Henry Williams, lived there as late as 1683. Parts of the old house survive, but later additions have been made and it is now a substantial residence occupied by a Mr. Bickerstaff. One of the Cefn Coch MSS. (ed. by Chancellor Fisher) refers to Wiliam Phylip as one of those "yn canu ar ei bwyd ei hun (mal i mae y ddihareb) yn fonheddigion ac uchelwyr da". He was a farmer who spent, however, much of his time composing poems, and transcribing poetry and prose written by others. Unlike the other Phylipiaid he was not a professional bard, though it is stated in Cardiff MS. 47 that for writing the elegy to Charles I he was given a cap of gold ("cap o aur pur"), but by whom is not stated!

As many of his poems show, he was a staunch Royalist, and it is said that he suffered persecution in the

¹ Preserved in the Probate Office, Bangor. See Appendix VII.

² e.g., Mostyn 144; N.L.W. 2691; Peniarth 155; Llanstephan 119; Bangor 401; B.M. Add. 14943. Cardiff MS. 19 was at one time his property (see note in Cwrt Mawr MS. 10).

³ A branch of the Phylipiaid is said to have lived at some time or other at Hendre Waelod. The following oft-quoted 'englyn' inscribed on a stone there is often said to be by Wiliam Phylip, but I have never seen it so ascribed in any manuscript.

Plennais, gosodais dew gysgod—ith gylch,
Ie, gwedi dy gael yn barod,
Yma yn Hendre Waelod
Byddi di, a m'fi heb fod.

Possibly John and Richard Phylip were natives of Hendre Waelod. John Phylip's pedigree as given by Lewis Dwnn does not connect the family with any particular house. Possibly John Phylip was the first and only member of the family to live at Mochres. The families mentioned in deeds relating to Hendre Waelod that I have seen are not Phylipiaid.

10
101

Wiliam Phillip
John Phillip

Crait bunt p...
 angtu ynghon...
 Deto... ynghon...
 ag brode...
 Frintgino...
 ag brode...
 a feth...
 feth...
 yn yr...
 nepor...
 ar b...
 wastad...
 ail oed...
 o fath...
 o b...
 o hon...

feth...
 yn...
 ynghon...
 ynghon...
 ynghon...

brode
 hon

brode...
 ar...
 is...
 ag...

Siborn

Cromwellian period because of this elegy, his known advocacy of the Royalist cause, and his hatred of the new politico-religious sects. His opinions on political and religious questions during these troublous times he gives succinctly in the following stanzas :—

Os dwedai'r gwir gwaetha'r sir
 Rwy'n Gafelir o'r pura,
 Ac a fyddaf tra f'wyf byw
 Drwy nerth y Duw Gorucha.¹

Ni chaiff gwir Gafelir le i aros—yn brin
 Nag ond braidd ymddangos,
 A'r Rowndiaid glowniaid yn glos
 A'r llogwyr yn ieirll agos.²

Yn lle mawl dwyfawl difeth—i'r unduw,
 Neu wrando'r iawn bregeth,
 Waith trablin boenblin benbleth
 Medd'dod a thrallod a threth.³

Gwallter Mechain in his introduction to the works of the Royalist poet Huw Morus⁴ tells the following story, without, however, giving his authority for it :—

“Huw Morus, during the ascendancy of democracy, had the prudence to declare his sentiments in allegorical visions, the moral of which might be clearly understood by his countrymen. But his co-adjutors in Merionethshire were less fortunate. Rowland Vaughan, Esq., of Caer Gai, had his mansion burnt to the ground, and part of his estate confiscated, the recovery of which cost him many years of expensive and vexatious lawsuit. William Philip of Ardudwy, near Barmouth, for writing a pathetic elegy on the death of Charles I., fell under the violent resentment of the ruling power; his property was alienated—and himself, in his seventy-third year, was compelled to abscond and take refuge among the furze bushes and clefts of the rocks of the mountains of Ardudwy. His deplorable situation and the cause of it he deploras in the following lines :—

- 1.—Ni feiddiaf llechaf ar fyd lychwin—'rhawg
 Gwae ni rhai cyffredin
 Am gellwair un gair mewn gwin
 O fawr anhap am frenin.
- 2.—Gad ymaith fwyniaith a fo—bur union
 Fe ddaw brenin eto
 A gad fod ei glod tan glo
 Ust! Wiliam onis delo.

¹ Peniarth 115 (32). The original is in his autograph, but the version above is modernised.

² Cardiff 37 (42), also in the autograph of the poet.

³ Peniarth 115 (1).

⁴ *Eos Ceiriog*, 2 vols., published in 1823.

- 3.—Am ddywedydd hoff fryd wir ffri—ar gan
Mae drwg anhap imi
Bygwth y maent heb wegi
Y cledd ar fy nannedd i.
- 4.—Fe ddaw byd asdud di-dostach—didwyll
Haws dywedyd cyfrinach
A'm calon union yn iach
A nhafod beth yn hyfach.
- 5.—A ddaw byth dybiaw obaith diben—mwy
A mi yn iach lawen
Y gallwyf a'm ffonn gollen
Ddweyd taw wrth Rowndiad hen.
- 6.—Daw etto wrido trwy wadu—amlwg
Ac ymliw tost oerddu
Achosion i rai chwysu
O daw fyth y byd a fu!
- 7.—Llechu, nid canu, cwynais—oer wewyr
A'r awen a gollais
Braidd fyw—ac yn brudd fy ais
Wylaw am fyd a welais!
- 8.—Oer i'm gilio, ffo, rhag ffin—neu gerydd
Am garu fy mrenin
Gorfod o blith garw-fyd blin
Gael weithiau gwely eithin.
- 9.—Ni chaf ddol, maenol, na mynydd—dof
Na dyfais awenydd
Na rhoi 'mhen ar obenydd
Na'r coed led fy nhroed yn rhydd!

Wm. Philip, at length growing tired of the life of an outlaw, made his appearance, compromised matters with his persecutors, and returned to his house at Hendre. Upon this occasion the following verse was composed by him:—

- 10—Na ffo, dan wylltio, o'r nailldu—i'r grug
Nac i'r graig i lechu—
Wyr tonog—o's rhaid hyny
Hwy'm can wrth y tan yn ty.

This effusion showed clearly that his loyal spirit was yet unsubdued by affliction; therefore, to provoke him still more, he was appointed tax-gatherer over a certain district to his highness the Protector; an office of all others the most galling to him. However, in going his rounds as a collector, he took care to let his countrymen know that he still adhered to the good old cause—that his motto as well as that of his royal master was “*Semper eadem*”, by rehearsing at each house he went to the following verse:—

- Am frad i'r hollwlad, wyr hyllion,—a'u trwst
Codi treth anghyffion
Hwy gant dal a gofalon
A chas hir o achos hon.

Then on producing his official warrant he added:—

- Dymma Warrant sant dan sel,—attolwg
Telwch yn ddiogel
Rhag i'r Sant (ei chwant ni chel)
Ymgethru a mynd yn Gythrel”.

The “Englynton Ffarwel i Hendre Fechan”¹ are as follows:—

Yn iach gyfrinach y gan—wych iowndrefn
 yn iach Hendre fechan
 Ar llyfrau cerdd loewgerdd lan
 i chwithau yn iach weithian.
 Kefais dy i gysgy yn gysgod—i fyw
 Kefais fwyd a diod
 am hannedd hyd fedd i fod
 a than (bendith dduw) ynod.
 Yn lle fy hendref hyndriol—ar boen
 yma ir byd dayarol
 Mi gaf hendre wlad nefol
 gann dduw Nef ag ni ddoi n fol.
 ffarwel goed glwysgoed glwysgerdd—man adar
 mwyn odiaeth gowirgerdd
 ffarwel pob llwyn gadwyn gerdd
 y llwybrau i gyd lle bu'r gerdd.

To what extent Wiliam Phylip suffered persecution it is difficult to say. The “Englynton ffarwel i Hendre Fechan” will be better understood if taken to refer to his approaching death, and to his hope of having a “hendre wlad nefol gan Dduw nef”.

His work as tax-collector fell to his lot as a parishioner. In his time and until 1834 the parish was the unit of local government. Many a man in his position had in his turn to serve as constable,² appointed by the justices in Quarter Sessions. Wiliam Phylip was high collector in 1653, and possibly in other years, of an assessment ordered by Commissioners under the Commonwealth to be levied in his district. Bangor MS. 401³ contains copies of the tax warrants issued in connection with assessments and taxes levied for various purposes. Some of these copies are in the hand of Wiliam Phylip. The following is an example:—

to Robert ap Edward ap Robert and Robert Morgan
 Apointed collectors of llanaber uwch y mynyth for the
 six mon[eths] assessments Endinge the 24th of June
 1653.

By vertue of A warant vnto me direct[ed by] the
 Comission's whose names are vnder written Therefore these

¹ Peniarth 115 (23).

² The duties were, of course, not quite those of a modern police constable.

³ I am indebted to my friend, Dr. Thomas Richards, M.A., for much kindness when I was examining this MS., which up to a few years ago was in a private house not far from Wiliam Phylip's home.

are in the names of the Keepers of the liberties of the Comon wealth of England and by vertue of ane act of parlament in that Cause made and provided to Apoint yow and [an]y of yow vpon the first Receipt hearof without any delay ymeadiatly to gatter and leavy the sev'all sumes of Moneyes Apeeringe at the na[m]es in the Extract anexed being by Sessors assess . . . upon the Inhabitants of your p'ish and township of llanaber vwch y mynydd being the assessments of sixe monethes viz from the five and twentie daie of december last 1652 to the foure and twentie daie of June Next Ensuinge towards the maintenance of the armise Rayseed by Authoritie of Parlament for the service of the Comon wealth in England Irland Scotland and alsoe fore the navy you are likewise Requir to leavye the said sumes in Curant money befor the tenth daie of this Instant moneth of marche first by way of demaund and in default of payment by way of distresse and sale of goods Rending the over plus to the owner or owners therof and the said sumes to xvj^{li} iiij^s iiij^d yow are to leavy or cause to be leavyed and gathered and yow are to make undelayed unto my hands whearby I may paye them ov' as by warant I ame Re[qui]red but if any p'sone or p'sones will Refuse to pay his or her Assessments and [con]vey or soe hyde his goods to defraud the pay[men]t thereof yow ar hearby authorized to breake doores lockes Chests trunckes Coffors or other places wheare such Conveyed and hiden goods shall or be suspected to be therby to come by distresse and in cause that noe distresse at all to be found then yow are to bringe the p'sone or p'sones soe Refusing Conveying or hidinge his her or their goods before the said Comission's to be dealt with as in such Causes they are directed and Comaunded hearof, fayle yow not as yow shall answeare the contrary, at yo^r vttmost p'ills and Incurre the penally [*sic*] of the said act dated [blank]

the Comissioners names

Wm Wynne

Robert Wynne

yo^r ffr

Wm Phyllip

high Collector of Issatro

It will be noticed that the levy was "towards the maintenance of the armise Rayseed by Authoritie of Parlament for the service of the Comon wealth in England Irland and Scotland and alsoe fore the navy . . ."

The list of William Phylip's poems given in Appendix V shows that he wrote twenty 'cywyddau', one 'awdl', and about thirty-five poems in the carol and 'dyri' metres; that is to say, his output in the free metres is greater than in 'cynghanedd'. In addition he wrote a very large number of 'englynion'.

Of his 'cywyddau' the two best known are the elegy on Charles I and his "Cywydd y Bedd"—Ode to the Grave,¹ a subject on which he appears to have medi-

¹ These two have been several times printed. See, for example, *Cymru* (ed. O. M. Edwards, Vol. I., p. 61) and *Bloedd-Nad Ofnadwy* . . . 1704.

tated often, possibly owing to his bereavements and the troublous times through which he lived. Most of his 'cywyddau' are elegies. He composed elegies on the deaths of his father; his mother; his wife and daughter; Richard Phylip the poet; Robert Ffoulke, incumbent of Llanfechain; Huw Nannau; and Gruffydd Vaughan of Caergai, who died in 1638. Of the miscellaneous poems some three or four are political, *e.g.*, one on the coming of Charles II in 1660, another in praise of Colonel John Owen of Clenenny, who fought for the king in the Civil War, whilst a third is a reply to a "Cywydd yr Adar"—Song of the Birds—which was written by John Vaughan of Caergai. The title to these two in Cardiff MS. 64 describes them as "Cyfarchiad ne ymddiddan rhwng yr erur a William Phylip yn amser Cromwel am fod yr adar heb ganu". A 'cywydd' called "Cynghor i Mr. William Vaughan hen o Gorsygedol yr hwn oedd oddi-wrth ei ewythr ef iddo; sef Sion Brynkir" is said to be the joint composition of Sion Brynkir and William Phylip, as the subscription to it in some copies reads:—

John Brynkir ai Kant drwy gymorth William Phylip.

Two copies at least survive (in Peniarth MSS. 241 and 251) of a 'cywydd' which describes a very large 'fish'—probably a whale—thrown up by the tide between Llanaber and Barmouth on March 10, 1637/38. It is entitled (in Peniarth 251, a copy by Edward Lhuyd) "Kywydd i dhyw yn bennaf gan draethy am y Pysgodyn a dhoeth i dir rhwng Lhan Aber a'r Bermo yn swydd Veirion A D 1637 March 1[0]". The following extracts describe the occurrence and the 'fish':—

Ar ddeg o fawrth hardd gof wart
Doe in golwg dan Geilwart
Ar y tyfod ar grodir
O for dwys yn farw i dir
Anghenfil di eiddil don
Y milrhith meist'r y moelrhon
Edrych ar greadur chwyn
Morwaisewr mawr i eseyrn
Cawr tynn yn curo tonnau
Mawr yw corph mab y mor cau
Marchogwr moriwr mawr iawn
Marchogwr mor uwch eigiawn
Meistrol'i ar weilgi yr oedd
Wr mawr monster y moroedd
.....
O daith faith y doeth y fo

A gwlad yn ei gowleidio

 A gyrru o bob goror
 Wyr a meirch at wr o'r mor
 Bu'n drallod bawb yn dryllio
 A gwlad fu'n i gludo fo
 Bu arogl cas berigl certh
 Wrth ddanfon y mirth anferth

 Y gwyr fu'n i gario fo
 Ai bwyll fu'n i bwyo

Then follows an account of how the carcass was disposed of and what it yielded—in oil and fat. We are told that it measured twenty yards in length. Its head must have been enormous :—

Teirllath or top i bob parth
 Oedd lled siad yr anfad arth.

The monster had been harpooned but its captors had lost it :—

A bach o haearn ai big
 Oedd i'w ffwrn a'i wddw ffyrnig.

Of this “bach o haearn” Edward Lhuyd has made a sketch in the margin which he called—“Llun y ddart neu'r bach”.

In an amusing ‘cywydd’ Wiliam Phylip gives Gruffydd Phylip some advice on the choice of a wife. He mentions several types of women. One short extract may perhaps be permitted :—

Gad weithian dy ffwdan ffol
 Siwtia at wraig weddw sitiol
 Ne dreia sport dy ffortyn
 A dwg i'r gell ambell un
 Hawdd gan fardd rhwydd i gwna fo
 Tynu at y siort honno . . .

Some extracts from his elegy to Richard Phylip have already been given. (See p. 198.)

The only ‘awdl’ by Wiliam Phylip noted by the present writer is the one beginning¹ :—

Pob gwibleidr coedneider anedwydd ai rasgal.

It is an attack upon persons who maliciously destroy trees.

¹ Cardiff MS. 37 (156).

Thomas Jones in his *Carolau a Dyriau Duwiol* published in 1696 included four poems¹ by Wiliam Phylip, whilst Dafydd Jones o Drefriw in the first edition (1759) of *Blodeu-gerdd y Cymru* prints five,² although one of these—"Carol ir Gwirod", beginning "Dyma Wirod Mair yn dyfod", is probably not by Wiliam Phylip. These nine poems are listed in Appendix V, and as they are available in print we need not stop here to refer further to them, beyond saying that they are religious and didactic poems. Besides these, there are twenty-four poems mainly of a similar nature which are attributed to Wiliam Phylip and a few others of doubtful authorship, including those beginning:—

Gwrandewch fy myfyrdod a dyfodd ar dyfod
(? by Huw Morus.)

Pa fyd a gawn weithian sy'r awydd sy'r owan
(? Rowland Vaughan. In *Mostyn* 130 (p. 434) the title of this is:—"Carol a wnaed yn amser y Protector 1651.)

Och na styriai ddyn yn dda (=Ysturieth ar y 7 o Eecl.
a'r 35 Adn. ar "Leave Land".)

Fel roeddwn ar fore o Ddofor i Fon.

Anwylyd gwynn am cariad ag eto ni wn i pam (=Dyrie ar
y mesur hir ar duwn "the p[ar]son of the p[ar]ishe".)

A glance down the list of titles and first lines of the carols and others listed in Appendix V gives the reader some idea of the nature of the poems. Some are religious and/or didactic; some consist of a series of counsels for right living and admonitions to do good; others are political, e.g., "Histori y Bruttaniaid". A few fall roughly into the category of politico-allegorical poems, and are somewhat akin to the 'cywyddau brud' of which so many were written in the fifteenth century. Not all are 'full-length' carols—if one may be permitted such a term; some of the 'dyriau' consist of two or three stanzas and a few of only one, but they are classed in this group because of their metre and subject. The love theme is not very prominent in them, but it exists. Examples are:—

¹ One, "Gwrandewch ar gynghanedd gerdd euraid gyfrodedd" . . . appears in Thomas Jones's *Almanac* for 1691.

² "Achau Mair", which begins "Yngwledydd Judea yr oedd Zacharia", had appeared in John Rhydderch's *Almanac* for 1735.

(a) " Dyrie i ganmol glendid merch ". (Bangor MS. 401 ; N.L.W. Add. MS. 9).

(b) " Cerdd Siani " (See *Blodeu-Gerdd* . . . 1759).

The following are typical stanzas from (a) :—

3. bu venws a phalas a juno dann sel
a pharis ar unty yn barny am y bel
pei gwelse r duwiesse dywissol y mun
ni basse mor ddadal nar afal i run
4. Venws or wybren iwr seren y sydd
yn rhoddi r goleuad ar doriad y dydd
Venws ddayarol iw gweddol i gwawr
fynhynged iwr blaened a lunied ar lawr
5. Olwen fynyglwen Ireiddwen yr ioed
y meillion a dyfe llei sange hi ai throed
lle i rhodio r winwdden ar ddeupen y ddol
y meillion pur wnion a dy' ar i hol
9. Merddin Taliessin pei gwelse fyng Wenn
ar awen fwyn ddigri fy n berwi n i ben
i dreythy holl Rinwedd pei medd[e] benn pres
a thafod o efydd ni bydde fo nes
10. am ddownsio ar y sidan mor ysgafn i throed
y fodrwy ir ddyn feindlws ariandlws a roed
fo'i dygwyd hi fyny ar fonedd a dawn
ond mawr na chawn i unwaith i chanmol hi n iawn
11. yr holant or assia a wnia lloer gain
aur melyn toddedig ar gamrig gwyn main
llun meillion y ddayar llun adar y coed
pob llun a ddyfeisiwyd a brintwyd yr ioed
13. dann sidan a damasgl a dia mwnd a pherl
hi a wedde n gywely i arglwydd ne ierl
llin brutys waed Reiol iach raddol wych Ryw
klo cariad cowirfoes am feinioes i n fyw
17. Kwartiers yswagers a phob Cavelir
yn iownbyll iawn didwyll chwi ddwedwch y gwir
rhowch farn yn naturiol wyr breinniol garr bro [sic]
ple mae n ferch fonheddig yn debig i hon
20. Elusen i feinir wrth fab drigarhau
sy wyl am i neges rhag cael i nagcau
nid ynnill gwas anu er caru lliw r kann
i feistres ai r glwyddes ai galon yn wann.

The following, included because of its references to contemporary history, is found in Bangor MS. 401 and Cardiff MS. 37. The titles are as given in the Bangor MS., but the text followed is that of Cardiff.

PENNILL AR FESUR TRUBAN A WNAETH MERCH.

Oes neb or gwyr sy'n darllen
a wyr pa bryd daw diben
oddiwrth hyn o Ryfel caeth
na phwy a wnaeth y gynnen.

ATTEB A WNAETH MAE.

Maer holl gyfrinach freiniol
am ryfel mawr anianol
yng ngwybodaeth Duw i hyn
nis gwyr un dyn dayarol

Mae yn llyfr Duw yn ddiame
yr hyd i pery r cledde
er cosbi r sawl sydd ar y bai
a thal i rhai syn diodde
yn pechod ni iw r achossion
or cledde a phob ymryson
chwant a balchder ymhob peth
ag anllywodreth dynnion

Ryfedd a rhyfeddol
medd pawb or gwyr synhwyrol
ir post aur ar fyrr na thy
trwy nenbren ty r aniwiol
y Pren ai wraidd yn darfod
pan ddel storm a chafod
fo a syrth i lawr ag yno i trig
pen dyfo r brig yn ormod

Y pren fo da i Rowndwal
er chwthy r gwynt yn anial
ai galon heb na thwyll na thwn
nid traid i hwn mor gofal

Esmwytha ir dderwen ffyrnig
iw plygy yn ostyngedig
bydd ysig Mawrth ir gwraidd 'n llai
pan ddelo r Mai bonheddig

er tori brig brenhinbren
ar fwyall lem yn syden
yn pob kaineck or bone di freg
wall impio deg ar higien
pen ddelo'r chware or ddenty
a phawb ar gwrs yn taffy
pw' un a ddeil ai drws ai traе
ar ddiwedd i mae barny

Ma'r Duw yn diodde yn heleth
ir traws i anllywodreth
er i ddwyn i ddialedd hwy
a mwy o gosbedigeth

am hynny byddwch lawen
ni rhaid i neb genfigen
lwyddo r traws dros amser byrr
hyd oni thyrr yr wden

mae r drogane n doydvd
i cawn i flinder ennyd
fal Ninife o thrown ir iawn
gann Dduw ni gawn esmwythfyd

A Duw an trotho nine
o eigion yn calonne
llei bo wlyys Duw ai ras
att dyrnas yr eneidie

mae gini beth cyfrinach
 ni ddoydai ddim ymhellach
 rhag y tafod da iwr dant
 fo gadwodd gant yn siwrach
 bydded pawb ofalys
 sylfaeny yn gydwybodys
 wrth roi r garreg isa yn sownd
 gocheled Rownd twyllodrys
 Pharwel fy Modryb fwynlan
 ar penill mwyn ar dryban
 chwi gewch dreio peth o hyn
 yn dodid cyn Gwyl Ifan
 ni wyr gwyr o ddysc na llyfre
 ond Duw sy n riwlio r cledde
 nag yn agos nog ym hell
 yspysrwydd gwell na chwithe.

“ Carol at Ruffydd Phylip am Gatëa o waith Wiliam Phylip ” (Peniarth 115) is worth printing in full, although the text is incomplete, the MS. being imperfect. ‘ Catëa ’ probably means ‘ drunkenness ’.

1. Fy frins am Cymdeithion am caro n bur ffyddlon¹
 gwrandewch ar ryw foddion f achwynion yn ch[wyrn ?]
 a d[fo ?] weh gida myfi i gyd yn gwmpeini
 rhaid ichwi bawb godi yn gedyrn
2. Roedd gwlad yn yr Asia, ynghyroedd yr India
 a elwid Catea Cyd tuedd a rhan
 lle i gweries i nghoweth yn Adail yn odieth
 drwy fwynder ag afieth yn gyfan
3. Mae prydydd pencerddiol ag awen Naturiol
 ystyriwch wyr breiniol ai gweddol y gwaith
 I waeth a Chatea foi dygodd hi o ddiarna
 . . . fy ngholled mi gwyna ganwaith
4. Capteinied rhyfelwyr gwyr Ifenge o sawdwyr
 [a] chwithe r Cyfreithwyr Dangoswch y ffordd
 . . . h i geirydd Catea cyn trennydd
 i'w dwyn o ddiar Ruffydd i rywffordd
5. Mi ddygym Anhunedd fo wur tafarnwragedd
 iw wneythyd tai Annedd rhyd hono
 y nos yn pendwmpian o bared i bentan
 ag ar y llawr hepian llei r hapio
6. Mae imi gymdeythion ar fatter cyfreithlon
 wyr haelion a digon o dystion da
 a brow yn bresenol mae fi oedd feddianol
 ynghanol gwlad heol Catea.

¹ Compare the beginning—“ Fy frins am gymdeithion perffeiddlws pur ffyddlon ”—of a “ Carol Cyffesiad ” written in 1666 by Thomas Lloyd of Penmaen, Merioneth. See *Carolau a Dyriau Duwiol* . . . 1696, and Peniarth MS. 153 (11).

7. Nid oedd hi wlad gyfion yr ioed i brydyddion
darllenwch y ganon yn union a wnawd
wrth gyfreith herffeithlan Gruffydd ab Cynan
[y?]twyssog tlws Arian yn eurwawd
8. Ni cholllai Gatea tros fynd i Ryfela
y faner a fynd ne wybod pa ham
mi gura ag Awengerdd eu organ cowirgerdd
y pencerdd ar eurgerdd ddi wyrgerdd [sic]
9. Pan gafodd y prydydd flas ar i llywenydd
ai rhodio hi beynydd yn boenys ir bardd
mi a llynges fy llyged i fynd o cyn belled
Tad Dwned pur addfed pereiddfardd
10. [Tra?] fym i nghatea am harian yn pa[ra?]
[myfi o?]edd y gwcha a mwya fy mawl
pan eithym heb Arian am credyt yn fychan
fo m heliwyd allan yn hollawl
11. [?] O]s ffwl fydd ag Arian ag eisie i rhoi nhw allan
iw Dyblu nhw n fuan nhw dyfan y da
iw cael nhw ar i Canfed ai gadw n ddigolled
na rffwysed ond heued Gatea
12. Y Kybydd Caleta pan el i gatea
i feddwl a newidia fo ne:dia ir nod
pwy goller wlad hono os galle fo i safio
nai dwyn hi o ddiarno fo ddiwrnod
13. Os bydd gan wr byrsed o aur yn i boked
yn drymion i clowed iw cario
Catea wenhiethdeg i rhydd nhw mys mane [g?]
yn ysgafn i redeg ne i rodio
14. Mi waria fy Wenydd rhoi ir affeth ar Ruf[fydd?]
mi ai cura fo r ceirydd ar meysydd yn lan
mi yra drwy Antur gaptenied a sawdwyr
?y prydydd ai hollwyr Allan
15. bu lawer ag Arfe ar gwaed am i pene
a ffawb am a alle a gure fel gwr
a Nine n Dau n llawen yu ymladd ag Awen
heb wneythyd na chynen na chynwr
16. Mi brofa gyfrwyddydd a chlyme Cylfyddydd
Pwy ddyle Derm bowyd Catea
Mi goda gymhissiwn mi ai dyga hi ar lexiwn
ni examiwn ni drychwn pwy n drecha.

The poem entitled "Histori y Bruttaniaid" and beginning "Hil Brutys o droya kenhedloedd plant Adda"¹ relates the story of Brutus and his coming to Britain:—

fo landiodd i lundain kin seilio mo rufain
i osod i sylfain yu gowrain a gaid
a henwi honyma troya newydd or weha
gorseddfa tu hyna yr Bryttaniaid.

¹ See Cwrt Mawr MS. 24 (29); N.L.W. Add. MSS. 434 (269) and 436 (100).

The history of Britain¹ is then given in resumé—the coming of the Saxons and then a Welshman becomes king :—

doeth Cymro o lin bryttys caredig caria[dus]
 Harry seithfed ir ynys downys fu yr d[ydd]
 yn deilwng aer cyfion in gollwng yn [rhydd]ion
 i ynill y goron ai geirydd.

And then the poet has his opportunity to refer to his beloved Charles :—

Charles heddiw ydiw.n. llowydd iach hARRY wyth irwydd.

Of Charles and of the troubles caused by sectaries and others before and during the Civil War he says :—

16. fo roes ini barlament da gynydd digoniant
 i geisio ini lwyddiant a ffyniant in ffydd
 a nhwythe trwy ymgodi a wnaythonn ymnoethi
 i goethi arglwyddi ar i gilidd
17. Roedd cymmyn o ffyddiau ag amal binionau
 nes dowad dialeddau an dialedd ni gyd
 a myned j ynladd hawb hyd yr Iselradd
 ag gwrthladd ag adladd gwaedlyd
18. Na allo arglwyddi wyr kedurn er kodi
 gwaith rhyfel na threfi na fflwyfi na flfai . . .
 fyth niwed in brenin nai hepil lin o lin
 gweddiwn ar ddeilin j ddeiliaid
19. A phawb oi elynion traetyriaid tra taerion
 yn ofer ir elon ai dvnion ie dant
 duw a wnel iddo allu fel blagyr i plygu
 ai chwalu nhw ai trechu bob trychant
20. A chadw dduw yr prynces clay enfog calonys
 gwaed reiol lin bryttys o droya
 i ynnill hollt drefi lloegar ai arglwyddi
 ai cospi nhw ai dofi ne j difa
21. duw gatto yn hir hoedlog bob curnel calonog
 pob capten pawb enfog pwy bynnag a fon
 . . . mladd dan gassill yr ynnion efengil
 yn gowyr o gweryl y goron
22. Lleger oedd fwtrri a gwleddoedd arglwyddi
 gwiw lannerch goleini iw hoffi oedd hon
 mae heddiw iw neyaddau yn amlach na seigiau
 bwledau trwy firian tai mowrion
23. Yr ynys bradwyswen oedd megis gardd Eden
 dda jraedd ddayaren ai seilwen y sydd
 mae yr trwpers yn plyndrio mae yr ydkyrm yn sowndio
 mae yr kannans yn kuro y keyrydd

¹ Besides writing his own poems Wiliam Phylip must have spent much time in transcribing poems and prose passages by other writers. Of the prose passages he copied several are of a prophetic and historical character, which is perhaps very natural in a man who took such a keen interest in the momentous events happening in his time.

24. Saethy bryttaniaid / r / wan yn ddwyblaid
a ffawb or bigeiliaid ar defaid ar dan
ar meibion mewn arfau yn erbyn i tatau
ir cleddau rhyd angay nhw a dyngan
27. Yr arglwydd tragwyddol eill achyb y diwiol
su nerthol anfeidrol i allu
ddiffoddi yr ymryson aeth rhwng kristnogion
duw kyfion a dichon heddychu
28. Dyma yr amser i chwilio yr srythyrau
troi yn forau ir gore rhag ofn y dydd du
mae arwyddion yn dangos fod dydd brawd yn agos
mae achos ddechreynos ddechrynnu
29. Ewel trojans yn yndydd art troya wych newydd
yn llawen ych llowydd i geirydd y gwin
e aedio ych grasusol bron hynod brenhinol
Waed reiwl jach freiniol wych frenin
30. Rhai ofyn ond antur pwy liniodd y messur
ai osod mor eglur ar bappyr a ffin
mab sydd ai galon yn gowyr ir goron
yn ffyddlon bur junion ir Brenin.

There are several English examples of 'carolau' and 'dyriau' in Bangor MS. 401, most of them in the handwriting of Wiliam Phylip, but many of them are not signed and as they do not occur in other manuscripts it is difficult to decide how many of them are by him. The following three stanzas, which are not signed, may possibly be his work :—

The grace of god and quiet life
Contented minde ane honest wife
The good Reporte of ffrinds instore
Whate neede a man have any more.

The Cabalirs is a gentlmen
the Rowndeads is a scrubs
the Cabalirs will goe to church
the Roundeads preach in tubs.

Prins Rubert wrote a letter
and send it into hell
and there to wish the devils
to use the Roundeads well.

Of the three 'dyriau' which follow the first is said to be by Huw Llwyd o Gynfal, but the others are by Wiliam Phylip.¹

Pan ddelo r dydd yn fy ngolwg
hir iw genni am y twllwg
pan ddel nos maen hwy hwy genni
eisie gweled y golevni.

¹ Peniarth 115 (22).

ATEB.

felly rydym bawb or dynion
 yn y byd yn byw n anfedlon
 am bob peth a Ro duw ini
 i mae n Anodd yn bodloni
 Dod ym iechyd Duw gorucha
 ith folianu tra fwy yma
 a dwg fenaidd ith lywenydd
 gida Christ i fyw n dragowydd.

Celynnog MS. 32 (now N.L.W. MS. 558) has this stanza on p. 35 in an eighteenth century hand :—

Mynd yn heullwyd fullwyd fant,
 Mynd ar goll y mwynder gynt,
 Mynd yn farcud braenllwyd brwnt
 a mynd o Amnes yn fraenes front.
 Atteb W^m Phillip am dano ei hun ai hen wraig.

Of the 'carolau' one of the most interesting types is, perhaps, that called "Carol Wyl Fair wrth Wirotta". One of these, beginning

Dyma wirot Mair yn dyfod,

is attributed in *Blodeu-Gerdd Cymru*, 1759, by the editor, Dafydd Jones o Drefriw, to Wiliam Phylip, where it is called "Carol i'r Gwirot, ar Don Deuair". The manuscripts, however, do not agree in attributing this particular example to him,¹ but there is probably no doubt that the following, which is found in Bangor MS. 401 in the autograph of Wiliam Phylip, is by him :—

KAROL WYL FAIR WRTH WIROTTA AR FESUR BYRR.

Kroesso wyl fair forwyn ddiwair
 yr wyl a drig yn barchedig
 mair byradwys aeth ir eglwys
 er cadw, hen gyfraith foessen
 dyma r cyfnod ddeugain nhiwrnod
 yn ol geni, yn goleuni
 Mair Wenn oedd [o?] lwyth Juda
 er cyflowni r holl broffwydi
 hi a ddiig frenin ne i n ym ddiffin
 mam a mameth, iessu o nasareth
 fo roes y tad or dechreüad
 i fab i fair wenn oi gadair
 hi a ddiig nowmis dan i gwregis
 fab achübe yn eneidie
 llywenodd hon yr yngylion
 ar cenedloedd tan i nefoedd

¹ According to Peniarth MS. 173 (21), this is by Edw. llwyd or dderwen. See, however, N.L.W. Add. MS. 434 (32) and N.L.W. MS. 6499 (375), where it is attributed to Wiliam Phylip.

hi a ddewissed ar y merched
 yn flodeuyn i ddiw i hün
 fo ddüg mair wenn, aur winwdden
 y ffrwyth ar brig, bendigedig
 Trwy ferch ir aeth kolledigaeth
 a merch an düg yn gadwedig
 deufraych mair wenn a ddug fachgen
 ar i dwyfron wrth i chalon
 fo ddug yntte yn i freichie
 y byd arno iw gowleidio
 rhowch yn ole y cynwylle
 i gofio mair lan uchelgrair
 hi a ddug Ini heb ddiffoddi
 ganwyll ole ein heneidie
 ynghaer Salem ag y methlem
 i bu n ymddwyn mab y forwyn
 fo gafodd hon barch yngylion
 a ffarch duw ner or uchelder
 iawn i nine sy ag eneidie
 berchi mair wenn dan yr wybren
 pawb or dynion ni ffarcho hon
 nid ydiw r gwas hwn ond diflas
 yfwn wirod mair uchelglod
 i gofio i gras bawb o gwmpas
 poed hir i bo r neb sy n costio
 a Nine a men, iach a llawen
 iach a llawen a nine Amen.

Mostyn 145 has two short examples. These are :—

(a)

CAROL GWIROTTA.

Llyma Wirod Mair yn dyfod
 er mwyn Mair wen byddwch lawen
 agorwch chwi y ffenestri
 fal dyma Fair ai golevni
 agorwch chwi y drws cauad
 fal dyma Fair ai golevad
 agorwch chwi y ffenestr faen
 dyma Fair ai mab oi blaen
 Rownd i ffas a ganwn
 o aungylch tan i cerddwn
 ar dyn ola yn y Plas
 cymred iddo Rownsi ffas.

Diben.

(b)

VN ARALL.

Fo ddaeth Mair wen i dre fethlem
 i dy / r / go dv i ofyn lletv
 yno i doede y wraig ddrwg
 ymaith ymaith om golwg
 Cweiriwyd gwely i Fair wen
 rhwng cor yr ych ar assen
 Yno i gwaeddodd mam Iesu
 ar gael rhyw ferch ei helynt
 Cyrchweh yma ferch y go
 heb na llygaid na dwylo
 dod dy freichie am dana

my fi ath fenegnaetha
 Erbyn i chodi o ddiyno
 ir oedd yn berchen dwy ddwylo
 Ag yn berchen dau lygad
 loywon leision chwerthiniad
 a ffan aned mab Mair wen
 fo a ymperiodd y seren
 a phan aned yr Iesu
 fo ddoeth ir byd olevni.

Diben.

The late Principal J. H. Davies had noted several examples.¹ In one of his MSS. he has this note :—

“The custom of ‘canu gwirod yn drws’ is mentioned by Lewis Morris in his notes on Customs (B.M. Add. MS. 15059) cf., also Ritson, *Ancient Songs*, ed., Hazlitt, 1877, quoted from Brand, *Antiquities*—young women going about with wassail bowl on New Year’s Eve, with some sort of verses sung from door to door. . .”

The following is one of the examples given by the Principal :—

CAROL GWIROD YN DRWS.

1. Sefwch yn eich arfod wel dyma ni yn dwad
i chwi a gwirod yn ol yr hen ddefod
2. Defod ag arfer su lawer o bleser
a phlasoedd i’w rhodio ar gyfan i heno
3. Heno rwi finne yn ol yr hen deidie
yn dwad drwu ych cennad chwi i ganu mesurau
4. Mesura a dadleua carola a chwlyma
a hynna ydi ein ewyllus ni allan or llyfra
5. Y llyfra su yn erehi ar bobl su yn peri
ar gyfraith su yn cynnwus ar gora ini i ganu
Diwedd.

Another example is printed in Appendix VIII to this article.

It is impossible within the compass of this survey to do more than refer to the very numerous ‘englynion’ which Wiliam Phylip wrote, but an attempt is made at classifying them and some examples will be quoted.

The first group comprises those relating to events in the Civil War and Commonwealth periods. Examples are :—

(a) the five series relating to the siege and fall of Harlech Castle, the last stronghold held by the Royalists.

¹ See Cwrt Mawr MS. 167. The example in *Cymru* xviii (130) should be compared with one found in this MS. on p. 141. Lewis Morris in B.M. Add. MS. 14936 (121) gives two examples.

These five series constitute fifteen 'englynon', e.g., in the following and other manuscripts:—

Cardiff MSS. 19 (663), 26 (175), and 64 (166); Llanstephan 119 (190); N.L.W. Add. 262 (15).

(b) Four "Englynon marwnad Coronel Wil: Wyn o Ddyffryn Melai" who was killed in 1643,¹ followed by an interesting anonymous poem of seven stanzas, four lines each, in free metre, on the same subject.

(c) "Englynon o gwyn pan fu Rowlant Fychan Caergai yn y Rhyfel", and three others relating to the fate of Caergai and Ynysmaengwyn.²

(d) Five 'Englynon' "Croeso i Arglwydd Mowddwy".³

(e) "Pan dorwyd pen y brenin" (2 'englynon').⁴

(f) "Englynon ir Rowndied yn amser i mawrhydi" [*sic*].⁵

(g) The following⁶:—

Ni cheiff gwir gafelir le i aros-yn brin
nag o'r braidd ymddangos
A'r Rowndied glownied yn glos
A'r llogwyr yn ieirll agos.

(h) "Dau englyn i'r amser, sef 1647".⁷

(i) 'Englynon' which sometimes follow the 'cywydd' written to welcome the Restoration, of which the first begins:—

Ple'r aeth llywodraeth y llu—o ddynion.⁸

(j) The "Englynon Dolgellau" (Cwrt Mawr 206, f. 153), printed in *Y Brython* 1861, p. 146, and reprinted in the *Western Mail*, October 13th, 1928, are probably not by William Phylip. It has been supposed that they were written by Gruffydd Phylip. The various "englynon y trethi" (with the exception of that beginning "Dyma

¹ Cwrt Mawr MS. 25 (160, 161).

² Peniarth 115 (3); Cardiff 37 (90); N.L.W. Add. 436 (68).

³ Cardiff 64 (280).

⁴ Cardiff 64. See also two 'englynon' in Margaret Davies's MS. in Swansea Public Library.

⁵ Cardiff 66 (169); Peniarth 123 (7). See also Introduction to *Eos Ceiriog*.

⁶ Cardiff 37 (48). In Cwrt Mawr 169 (51) is another 'englyn' beginning:—"Ond trwch oedd gweled mor llwyr—y blagur".

⁷ Llanstephan 166 (246). See also Llanstephan 119 (191).

⁸ e.g., in Cardiff MSS. 64 (277) and 66 (171). The two 'englynon' "ynglylel dyfodiad y brenin William" were obviously not written by William Phylip.

warant sant . . .¹) are possibly not all by him. The commonest of these is the following, which probably refers to some tax levied in 1649 :—

Treth faith treth nawaith treth newydd—treth fawr
treth yfory a thrennydd
trethi fil aeth trwy'i gilydd
treth treth hyd at feth a fydd

This occurs in several MSS. in many of which it is ascribed to Wiliam Phylip. In Cardiff 84, written by Dafydd Jones, Trefriw, it forms one in a chain of “Englynion i’r trethi mawr 1697”, all of which are said, nevertheless, to be by Wiliam Phylip.

See also Peniarth 153 (105)—“treth gofys nid treth gyfion, Ochain sydd o achos hon” (? by W. Phylip); Peniarth 115 (2) where the “englyn treth” follows the following :—

Yn lle mawl dwyfawl difeth—ir unduw
ne wrando r iawn bregeth
Waeth trablin boenblin benbleth
medd’dod a thrallod a threth.

In Cardiff 66 (209) is the following :—

I ymlid addewid ni ddaw—y baili
heb olud ymlaenllaw
gwthia dester gwaith distaw
o gweli le i gil i law.²

From these somewhat lugubrious ‘englynion’ it is a relief to turn to some written to women, such as :—

Kael gwin ar i min meinwen—coel einioes
cael enaint o fethlen
Kael yrddyniant vrddonen
ne fwsq aur ar wefys gwen
Kael eusan glan cael gwledd cael siwgrwr
cael seigie melysedd
Kael ar i min bob rhinwedd
ag yno i mae gwin a medd³

The poet’s sentiments are rather different in the following :—

Nid call un o honyn hoew anerch : gair
A garo bryd gwenferch
Ni ddygmyddan ar lanerch
Duw a wyr synnwyr a serch⁴

¹ N.L.W. Add. MS. 1553 (93). This ‘englyn’ is headed “pan oeddyd yn codi treth argl. St. Paul”.

² Followed by “Englyn arall o waith W.Ph. yn i henaint ag efe yn naddu ffon”.

³ Mostyn 144 (249). ⁴ Cardiff 64 (519); N.L.W. Add. 436 (19).

Chwi'r gwagedd rhyfedd eu rhoch, ysgeler
 Ysgowliwch pan fynnoch;
 E'ch bernir a'ch bai arnoch
 Gyd a'r gair ir gadair goch¹
 Ymafel mewn kornel fel ki a meiniir
 o myni fodloni
 Digiodd merch am i pherchi
 Di gwyn fodd digarodd fi.²

In N.L.W. MS. 5269 are six 'englynion' written on the death of Dr. John Davies, Mallwyd. Two examples will suffice:—

Pan guddiwyd tynwyd ty anedd addysg
 cuddiwyd ilawer rhinwedd
 koffeir fyth mewn coffr o fedd
 am Len, lawer cann mlynedd.
 Dug fwyfwy fowddwy / i / fuddiol-iawn gred
 i ddwyn gras ysbrydol
 dug fal Sionas urddasol
 dafis i Ninifis yn ol.

Some 'englynion' which he wrote when Huw Llwyd o Gynfal died are printed in *Y Brythton*, 1861 (114).³

There is a group of 'englynion' which seems to indicate that Wiliam Phylip spent much time in Llanddwywe and Llanaber churchyards, engaged in deep meditation upon death and the future life. He wrote "Englynion i'w rhoi ar fedd"⁴ and others very similar. The following are typical examples; the two 'dyri' stanzas are worthy of notice"⁵.

Llyma fedd Anedd ddinam—y Llawr oer
 lle r aeth fy nhad A mam
 ag er i mwyn Cwyn nid Cam
 I bydd eilwaith bedd William
 llyma r fann ar llann ar lle ar faenol
 ar fynwent Llann ddwywe
 mewn Amdo main oer wain we
 Ir a William i rywle
 Dymyr fynwent dymyr Eglwys
 y myneg roe fyngorff i orffwys
 oni chodo r cyrff dayarol
 o flaen Christ ir farn dragwyddol

¹ Cwrt Mawr MSS. 210 (3) and 3 (171).

² Mostyn 144 (124). The two 'englynion' in Mostyn 130 (253) may be by W. Phylip.

³ See N.L.W. 672 (182); Cwrt Mawr 467 (57).

⁴ Mostyn 130 (303), 144 (670); Peniarth 241 (377); Cardiff 66 (167, 233, 283, 309); N.L.W. Add. 436 (114); Llan. 165 (163); N.L.W. 1797. ⁵ Peniarth MSS. 115 (20) and 241 (37).

da gan wr o gyfreth Arian
 da gan heliwr filgi buan
 gwell o lawer iw gen ine
 Rodio r fynwent yn llann ddwywe.

'Englynion' of a religious or didactic character are exceedingly numerous. They are found in many manuscripts, a large number in transcripts by Margaret Davies of Goetre, Llanfachreth. The following list is probably not complete:—

(a) "Englynion i Dduw". This is a series of 48 in N.L.W. Add. MS. 436 (74). Some of these appear in other groups or combinations. There is another series (of six) on folio 18 in the same manuscript. Llanstephan MS. 119 has several in William Phylip's own hand, e.g., 3 on p. 184; 3 on p. 185; 2 'englynion' and 1 'dyri' on p. 187; and 3 on p. 191. Mostyn MS. 144 also has a large number in his hand, e.g., pp. 225, 516, 546, and there are some in Cardiff MSS. 53 (113, 114, 115, 309), 66 (166, 209, 219, 283, 309), 64 (181), 19 (765); Peniarth 153 (124, 139), 115 (19), 241 (198); Cwrt Mawr 129 (16, 20, 221), 448 (at end), 169 (24); N.L.W. 2692 (171); B.M. Add. 9817 (262).

Not all the above are "Englynion i Dduw", but most of them are closely related; many are but counsels in verse.

Sixteen 'englynion' "Y Llyfr at y darlleidd" are printed at the beginning of *Ystyriaethau Drexelius ar Dragwyddoldeb . . . 1661*.

(b) "Englynion ffarwel i hendre fechan".¹ These have been taken by some to refer to the poet's enforced hiding in the mountainous district above his home at some time during the Civil War,² but it is very probable that he refers to his impending decease and to his hopes of a "hendref wlad nefol". In some MSS.³ they are included in "Englynion ar henaint".

¹ Peniarth 115 (23).

² There may be a reference to the Civil War in the following, the last of three in Llanstephan 119 (185):—

er Rhyfel pel mel plwm ias—ar brydain
 er bwriadau kwmpas
 gorau trwn a gar tyrnas
 oedd ymroi i weddio am ras.
 i dduw.

³ Cardiff 66 (430); they form part of a series of 18; cf, also Mostyn 130 (426).

(c) "Englynon a wnaeth William Phylip ar ol ei wraig a'i ferch".¹ A series of five, beginning:—

Fy ngwraig aeth helaeth iw r haint—o m hanfodd
A m hynferch i r un-braint
A m gadel ar ffarwel ffaint
Fy hinan yn fy henaint.

"Englynon o waith William Phillipp ar ol marw oi ferch. Coffadwriaeth oi Gwallt".²

Fy ngeneth gainbleth ei gwallt ai chydyn
Dan ei chadwyn aurwallt
minnau yn dwyn ei manwallt
I roedd hyn yn arwydd hallt.
Arwydd caeth hiraeth im hoeri, gefais
o gofio ei daioni
Ai gadw yn anwyl gwedi
yma n hir er ei mwyn hi
Da ganif weled ganwaith, ei llwyn
im llawenu unwaith
ag oi weled gwau eilwaith
Wylo gaf yn ola gwaith.

There remain several groups of 'englynon' or single examples which cannot be classified, e.g. :—

(a) "8 eng : Mol : Beddcelert ag i anerch Morys Wyn".³

Creigiau llun tyrau yn torri gwntoedd
o gyntedd yr Yri
ar Widdfa hen noddfa yw hi
pen gwledydd pinagl udi.

(b) Four "Englynon o'i Tan".⁴

(c) "Englyn a llawer o henway meibion arno".⁵

Koel kynfor ifor ofydd—idwal rhys
eidol rhissiart gruffydd
Iago cynfarch rhun marchydd
Sion meirig huw llodwig llydd

(d) "Englyn a ganodd William Phylip pan wrthododd rhiw wr Bonheddig gyscu gydag ef".⁶

(e) Five "Englynon i gwrw".⁷

¹ N.L.W. Add. 436 (136); Mostyn 130 (253).

² Cwrt Mawr 129 (20)—a Margaret Davies MS.

³ Cwrt Mawr 25 (184).

⁴ Llanstephan 119 (184).

⁵ Mostyn 144 (564).

⁶ Cwrt Mawr MS. 120 (376).

⁷ Peniarth 153 (67). See also Llanstephan 119 (140), and Bangor MS. 401 (131).

(f) Three 'englynion' in Peniarth 115 (30) of which the second is:—

Mae byd oer ar awenydd—dyn
ni cheir dim am gywydd
Mae / n / ddibris nid dewis dydd
Offeiriadaeth a frydydd.

(g) An imperfect englyn on p. 3 in the same MS. followed on p. 5 by these two:—

Mil chwechant Rhedant ar hyd a deudde . . .
oed hoew ddu an gweryd
pan fu bring iawnrawn yr yd
gwir Rhyfedd ai gwair hefyd
Mil chwechant soniant ar sain iw gy . . .
ag onid dwy trigain
pan aeth marwolaeth filain
llwgr gaeth ar feirch gwyr lloegr gain
y gayaf yn y flwydyn hono i dechreuodd y clwy ar y meirch
gore n lloegr a chymry ag yn methu gan neb i helpu.

(h) The following in B.M. Add. 9817 (214):—

Gweithiwch ag na chofiwch chwi: na ch Iachau
na ch uchel Rieni
gwael iawn fodd a gwelaf fi
ben bonedd heb un beni.

(i) "Englyn I Richard Philip" followed by an "Atteb". Cwrt Mawr 129 (65).

Dy fwynder su ber mor barod, ydwyd
o odiaith fyfyrdod
Dy awen glau / n / dwynn y glod
Bur dda onni bae'r ddiod
Pam Wiliam ddinam dda hynod, wawdydd
cu ddadwrdd yn ormod
Cam gymraist clymaist bob clod
ni bydd awen heb ddiod.
Nid Richard ond Griffith Philip.

(j) Two 'englynion' in Cwrt Mawr 169 (24) copied by the late Principal J. H. Davies from B.M. Add. MS. 14891.

Llysu bir Cymru bar coeg a wna'r Sais
wr sosi dihyrgoed
yn uffern arwgern oergoeg
y bo'r Sais yn peri'r soeg.
Pencerdd ar fwyngerdd wy fi ag athro
a wyr wythran Poetri
a yrr gler i fieri
a bwys sal i a.b.c.

In B.M. Add. MS. 14943 is contained a Welsh Grammar and Prosody by Wiliam Phylip. The MS. was owned in 1727 by Lewis Morris, who gave it this title :—

Crynhoad byr o Ramadeg Cymraeg gwedi ei gasglu a'i Gyfansoddi gan Wiliam Phylip prydydd Cors y Gedol yn swydd Meirionydd, ynghylx y flwyddyn mil xwexant a dau 1602. [*recte* 1620.]

It begins :—

Goleunodiad Gramadeg

Gramadeg yw'r gelfyddyd o siarad ag ysgrifennu unrhyw iaith yn lawn-gywir; Hi gymmer ei Henw oddiwrth y gair groeg Gramma: ag sydd yn arwyddocau Llythyren:—oblegid ei bod yn traethu yn dexeulol am Luniaethiad gwneuthurol swm, yr hwn a arwyddoedir ir Llygaid drwy Lythrennau, neu fal y dywaid Sion dd rhys p. 47 vid. ag yn ol Mr. Edward Llwyd, Pum rhyw o Lythrennau sydd

vid Arch
Britt

Then follows the table of

Bogeliiaid	a e i o u w y	
Cydseiniaid	Gwefliaid	p b f ff ph m mh
	Tafodiaid	c g ch ng ngh
	Tafodiaid	t d th dd s
	dyluniaid	l ll n nh r rh.
Y Llythrennau	hyn ydynt hefyd o ddau ryw; sef, mud a thawdd . . .	
fol. 16.	Myfi William p . . .	
	Cynghaneddion.	
	5 rhiw groes gynghanedd y sydd sef	
	croes Rowiog	{ llew yw dy gar } lugh { llwyd a gwyn } penarth
	(roes o gysswllt	{ y gwr rhowiog } Wm. { ar heol } llyn.
	Croes ddisginedig	{ powys lwyd } Tudr { pwy sy wladwr } aled
	Croes / n / goll y cyntaf	{ neu spytty } guto'r { eos buttain } glyn
	
to fol.	Terfyn 1620	
45.	myfi Willhelmus Phillip	
	William Phillip ai ysgrifennodd yr xxi o fis gorffenna ymlwyddyn yn achubwr Iessu grist un fil chwechant ag igain 1620.	
	Gulielmus Phillip est verus po . . .	

Much of the grammar is in the hand of William Phylip, e.g., ff. 16^a to 67^b.

APPENDIX I.

NOTE.—In this Appendix, as also in Nos. II.—V., the title (where it exists) of each poem is given, followed by the first line. The latter is printed as found in the particular manuscript from which I made the basic copy.—W.L.L.D.

JOHN PHYLIP'S POEMS.

MARWNADAU.

1. Wiliam Llyn.
Och feirdd Cymru heirdd y rhawg.
2. Sion Tudur
Gwae fanfeirdd mewn gofynfyd.
3. Simwnt Vaughan bardd Rhuthyn.
Briw sy'n f'ais braw a son fydd.
4. Y frenhines Elizabeth.
Och Brydain awch briw adwyth.
5. Y Tywysog Harri.
Cri'n galw byd cronigl o'i ben.
6. Richd Vaughan Anrhydeddus Arglwydd Esgob Llundain, 1604.
Mawr yw och am wr a wn.
7. Arglwydd Nigolas [Robinson] Esgob Bangor.
Troes Duw awr drom trisd yw'r dreth.
8. Rys Vychan ap W. a gwenn Annwyl o gorsygedol.
Er hyd aml ir had yma.
9. Rissiard fychan Esgwier o gorsygedol.
Kanu bum dwyn co n y byd.
10. Mr. Gruffydd Fychan mab Rhisiart ap Rhys Fychan o
Gorsygedol.
Llyma fydd lle i mofidio.
11. Mr. Morus Wyn ag yn kwyno i golled yn fawr.
Och wyr o daw chwarae dig.
12. Mr. Rys Thomas (1577).
Murmur a braw mawr mor brudd.
13. Mr. William Tomas o Garn Arfon.
Y maes trwm i osod draw.
14. Mr. Edward Owain o'r hengwrt.
Mae pryder ym pair udaw.
15. Sion Wynn ap Huw ap Risiart o fodwrda a Sian ei wraig.
Och wlad Lŷn uchelwaed lwyth.
16. Griffith Glynn or Gwnfryn.
Iesu ne i ras ai nawdd.
17. Owdl Marwnad ir doctor gwynn.
Och fron scyrion os gorfydd doctor.
18. Mrs. Katring Tudor o ferain.
Mawr yw'r kwyn mor oer kanu.

19. I Owen ap Robt ap Sion Wynn o dref [ann].
Gway fionydd gofio unawr.
20. Tri ffenkerdd or un henw.
Kefais I ond kofus oedd.
21. Dr. William Gruffydd.
Llas Gwynedd llai sy genym.
22. Elin Salbri.
Mawr yw ewyn am wraig hynod.
23. Elis Cadwaladr.
Bar trwm yw byrad term oes.
24. Huw Prichart Dd. [1590] ai wraig Annes.
Gwae un fardh ple i gwn fyrdhiaw.
25. Huw Prichart ap Dd. 1590.
Troea fawr tref a fwriwyd.
26. Rhobert Wyn o Benllech, 1592.
Gwae wlad wen gwae lu dinas.
27. Sion Gruffydd o Lyn, 1585.
Gwlad Llyn lle bu r glod lownaf.
28. Thomas [? mab Dd. Llwyd wyr Rhos Wyn].
Angau chwerw ing i chwarae.
29. Antoni ystanle.
Y byd dig somedig serth.
30. Wmffre stanlai.
Och fronn vnychfriw ennyd.
31. Wmffre ap dd. o verthyr.
Y mae ais i mi yssig.
32. Dafydd llwyd ap Richart o Rosgill, 1598.
Beth siwrach beth sy wiriach.
33. Lisse ap Willm llwyd o riw waedog.
Braich a llaw hylaw haeledd a dorrwyd.
34. Mrs: gwen salbrif or berth dduf gwraig Mr. gruffuth wyn
ap John wyn, 1581.
Dwyn enaid a chorff dwyn anedd.
35. Mr. Tomas Owen o Efonydd, 1584.
Bid nâd llu hyd nid llawen.
36. Sion ap hum. ap sion o lanfendigeid.
[Och] och wrth edrych iachoedd.
37. Margared Bilstwn gwraig Lewis ab Owen y Barwn.
Mae glaw mawr am gloi marian.
38. Rolant ap Robert o Fylltheurn, 1610.
Gwae fi wrth gofio awen.
39. Mr. Edwart wmfre o faes neuadd.
Mae n benyd am hen bennaeth.
40. Marwnad.
Mastr Iaith oes gyfraith nas gwyr. (*Fragment of 30 lines*).
41. Mr. Robtt faughan o fionydd.
duw na ellid ynn hollwych.
42. Mr. Gr. o Lyn [=Gruffydd ap Sion Gruffydd, see Llanstephan
123 (48)].
O dduw Iessu ddewisswyn.
43. Morys Owen o Ddolbenmen.
Cwynaf wr tra i canwy fawl.

44. Risiart Ffoxys o Garnarfon, 1615.
Mae angau ai rwydau 'rioed.
45. Owdl far: Tomas Madryn, 1600.
. . . ddig yw llewig llŷn wyt yna.
46. Elsbeth Bodfel gwraig gyntaf Robert Madryn, 1589.
Cwmpas oer cwympo seren.
47. Owdl farwnad Dorothi Moston gwraig Sion Gruffyd o Lyn.
Mowredd rhodd a gwledd a gladdwyd n Llŷn.
48. Catrin vz Gruff. Madryn gwraig Gruff. ap Sion Wynn o
Penyberth. 1593.
Gwae Wynedd oll gwanhau ddwyd.
49. Rissiard Fychan o Dalhenbont. 1605.
O duw gwynn ple i do i ganu.
50. Robert Madryn, esq. 1609.
Gwae fi Llŷn gyfle annerch.
51. Dd llwyd o waun eign.
Mae gwae oer am a gerais.
52. Mallt vz Rydderch ap Dafydd o Fyfyrian gwraig Sion Wyn
ap Ifan o Hirdrefaig. 1593.
Ai gwir gair marw gwraig wiwryw.
53. Catrin vz Tomas Gruffydd ap Sienkyn o Glynog . . . gwraig
Sion Wyn ap Robt. ap Mredydd o Glynog.
Mawr cur ing marc yr angau.
54. Robert Wyn or Glyn mab Sion.
llas doe wlad a llys hyd lawr.
55. Mr. lewis ap owain ap Meurig.
Troes duw anap tros dynion.
56. Morys ap Ifan ap Eingan, hwn a elwid Morys Dwyfech. 1590.
Bardd wyf briw a oddefais.
57. Mari gwraig Wiliam Fychan [o Gorsygedol] mab Rhisiart
mab Rys.
Och ddiwedd dyn och ddydd dig.
58. Sr Sion Salbri.
y blaned heb lawenydd.
59. Elin vz Sion Wyn.
Mawr dwr mawr mordwy / r / moroedd.
60. William ap Tudur.
Hawdd gwynwn heddiw gannwr.
61. Syr J. ne Ievan llwyd o fodidrist. 1586.
Krist weled kyrsiaü dil-wydd.
62. Owdl farwnad am Edwart Thelwal.
Dyffryn Klwyd oerwyd hyd Ial: dy hollwres.
63. Ievan Tew Brydydd o Gedweli.
Och wyr hwyr iwch Eirian heirdd.
64. [Wiliam Stanlai.]
Penfardd ydwy'n freuddwydiol.
65. Mred, Lloyd o Fathavarn.
Cyfle rhodd caf wylo 'rhawg.
66. Sr Jon Salbri.
Mae hiraeth trwm wrtho i try.

MOLIANT, ETC.

1. I Mr. Williams person llan Aber mr o Arts. 1606.
Y llen du kall llonaid kor.
2. Mr. Sion gwynn o Wedir.
Yr aer o gorff yr ir gaingk.
3. Mr. Sion gwynn kyn i fynd yn farchoc.
Mawr fawenydd mor fynych.
4. I Syr Sion Wyn kyn i fynd yn farchog baronet.
Kalon yr haelion yn rheoli r wlad.
5. Syr Sion gwynn o Wedir.
Y gwr euwoc ar wynedd.
6. I Sr Sion gwynn ifangk pan aethai i dryfaelio.
Mae-hiraeth trwm wrthi i trig.
7. I mr Wm Gruffydd.
Priifiannol yw pur fonedd.
8. I Mr. Sion Gruffydd pann oedd ef yn siri y mon yn oedran
Christ 1593.
Y siry lles yr holl iaith.
9. I simwnt thelwal fab Edwart thelwal.
Mae tri aer am y tair iaith.
10. Owdl i Ieuan Llwyd ap D. ap John.
Braich Meirion ai bron bur anian, bost ir.
11. Mr. Robt Wynn o gessail gyfarch.
Gwr sy hael gras a helynt.
12. I Ric. Vychan o gors y gedol o groesso adref wedi i restio
am dda r wlad.
Gwynedd a vu wag ennyd.
13. Wllm morus or celynennau.
Yr hudd garw ir howddgar wedd.
14. Ir dcor dafis [o Fallwyd].
Goleuo mae r gwaliau main.
15. Mr. theodor prys prinsipal yn yr hart hal yn rrydychen . . .
Duw or gwirfyd rragorfawr.
16. Shion Salbri Eskwier wyr ac aer Sr Shion Salbri Marchoc
Vrddol o Leweni a Siambrlen Gwynedd.
Yr aer ieuanc ryw reiol.
17. [Rol. Pugh o fathavarn].
Rolant o treiant Reiol eurlew n tir.
18. [Edw. Llwyd o Lanynys].
Y llew rhudd unlliw ar haf.
19. I masdr humffre Huws ar ol fod yn glaf.
Aed chwertthin uwch purwin per.
20. I Wm, ap dd. llwyd o bennarth ag ef yn glaf.
Klwyfais im pais gwnn pa ham.
21. Ir un rhai ag or blaen [=Simwnt Thelwal o Blas y ward yn
ymyl Rhythun ap Risiart Thelwal ap Edward Thelwal ac
i Margred ei drydedd wraig].
Arbennig cynnig cynnal, mal Samwel.
22. I Mr. gruffydd wynn.
Y siry glwys aur i gledd.
23. Robert llwyd o rriw goch.
O bu wlad wenn heb liw dydd.

24. Owen Elis o Ystumllyn.
Dyn a 'ginodd da'n gynar.
25. Mr. William Wynne pan oedd yn Siryf ac yn adeiladu'r Plâs
yn y Glyn.
Y llew o'r Glyn llaw ir glwys.
26. I Sr John Salbri o lyweni marchog urddol.
samson vrddolion rhyw ddialwr cas.
27. [Sir Risiart Gwyn].
y marchog mwya ei orchest.
28. [Gr. Vychan o Gors y gedol].
Proffwyd wyf pur hoff difyr.
29. [Gr. Vychan o Gors y gedol].
Braidd naddiad beirdd ni wyddant.
30. [Gr. Vychan o Gors y gedol].
Y pennaeth happ heno ith wedd.
31. Mr huw gwynn . . . morva mawr.
. ch.
ar un tu Kymru ai kyrch (*the only copy, mutilated*).
32. Sr Wiliam Glyn.
Hael farchog aur glog sy 'nghaer Glyn lliwon.
33. I Sr William Glyn.
Mae un llŷs am iawn wellhad.
34. Gruffydd Fychan [Corsygedol].
Pa le i cerdd purgerdd om pen.
35. Tomas Glyn llifon.
Yr hydd gwngoch rhwydd gwingost.
36. I Risiart Fychan aer Corsygedol pan anwyd. 1602, Awst 22.
Gorawen fu gair yn f'ais.
37. [I Sion Wyn (? o Lyn Lligwy)].
Dechrau ch mawl di chwerw ch maeth.
38. Gr. Vn. o Gorsygedol.
Dechreuais waith diochr sad.
39. Gr. Vn. o Gorsygedol.
Y llew gwineugall llawen.
40. Gr. Vn. o Gorsygedol.
O'r brig ffrwythedig wrth hadu gwnfyd.
41. Gr. Vn. o Gorsygedol.
Calon iach Einion a chynan clod graff.
42. Gr. Vn. o Gorsygedol.
Mae gwr vm hygar yma.
43. Gr. Vn. o Gorsygedol.
Gruffydd galon nudd glain nod, gwyr gwynedd.
44. Syr John Salusbury o Leweni.
Vawenydd a ofynnir.

PRIODAS.

1. Kowydd priodas [Syr Roger Mostyn a Mari gwynn].
Dyma r dydd da mawr diddan.

GOFYN, DIOLCH, ETC.

1. I erchi March i philip ap Sion Thomas o [Hendre fechan].
Un o roddion ryw addas.

2. I ofyn march [brith dros lewis bulyns gan Syr Elis ap Richard ap howel ap Mredydd offeiriad].
Y Prelad hael perl y tir.
3. Hymffre Wynn o Ynus y Maengwyn yn gofyn Telyn rawn i sion ap Richard o Benal.
Y dyn Ir blodau n Iaith.
4. I ofyn Caseg.
Y gwr enwog i rinwedd.
5. I ofyn March dros Huw Penllyn.
Llafurwr di ball fawrwaith.
6. I ofyn gown ffeits dros thomas davyd lloyd o harlech i Mr. Williams person llannaber.
Astud im iw stidio mawl.
7. I Robert Llwyd o Rhiw goch i ddiolch am farch tros huw gruffydd.
Y dyn mal blodeuyn mai.
8. I Sion Roberts i ddiolch am lyfr.
Y gwalch du doeth gylchdid awr.
9. I ofyn Corn i William Cynwal dros Rob. Prys o Eglwyseg.
Y ddau fardd ddiouerddysg.
Cf. Mos. 1, p. 129, Atteb Huw Llyn, W. Cynwal.
10. I John Gruffydd o lyn i ofynn tarw du dros edward prys o blwyf towyn meirionnydd.
mae r son am wr essennyd.
11. I Robert Wynn o bennllech i ofyn casseg winau dros Ric. Owen [ap William o Arduddy].
pwy yw r undyn heb prinnder.
12. I ofyn Karw i Mr. Morys Owen esgwier.
Kyfeiliog oludog wlad.
13. I ofyn alarch ag alarches i Gadwaladr Piers o Faesmor dros Sion Owen ap Sion Wyn.
Pwy byw eryr pybyrwyd.
14. I ofyn pwys o Dobacco i Sion Wynn Owain dros Wil. Morys ap Huw.
Y carw gwyn car i Gynan.
15. I sion wynn or wern fawr i ofyn gwnn tros Robert Owen ap Reinallt.
I mae gwr yma yw garu.
16. I ofyn gwnn i Mr. lewis owen dros dd. llwyd ap huw.
Yr aer glan eurer i glod.
17. I ofyn march gen Wiliam Wyn or Glyn ag Elis ap Robert Wyn or Sylfaen dros Rolant Gruffydd llwyd.
Y ddau benaeth heb anwir.
18. I ofyn march gen ddau wr bonheddig o Uwch-Gwrfai dros Lewys llyn, dylynior.
Dau biler sir dyblau'r serch.
19. I ofyn march.
Y llen ifank llaw nefawl.
20. I ofyn clôg.
Duw yn donio dyn dianael.
21. I ofyn march gan . . . o Sir Fon dros Sion Bibi atwrnai o Garnarfon.
Begins: Atwrnai yw tirion wedd. (Imperfect.)

22. I ofyn march i Owen Niclas.
Y dyn ir hael dawn a rhodd.
23. I ofyn kleddau i dd. llwyd ap huw.
Y milwr doeth mal aur da.
24. I ofyn milgi.
Y gwr da a gair dwyawl.

CYWYDDAU SERCH.

1. Cywydd ir wylan.
Yr wylan deg ar lan dwr.
2. Kywydd y gwalld . . . i Mrs. Eissam Arglwyddes.
Y Rhain wenn hir iawn walld.
3. Moliant i wallt melyn merch.
Lloer gain lliw eirig gweynydd.
4. I ferch .
Siwrneiais er yn Iwange.
5. Kywydd merch yr hon ni fynau un gwr a wisgai lifrau.
Y fun eurbleth Lowethau.
6. I'r gwallt.
Mae llwyn a llu yw annerch.
7. Cywydd i ferch yn pasio mewn glendid ar Fenws Juno a Phalas.
Y duwiesau dewisawl.
8. Cowydd camholieth i ferch.
Y forwyn deg eiriau dal.
9. Cowydd Merch.
Y fun aelgwyr fain wylgall.
10. Cywydd Merch.
Y larieiddferch ael Ruddfain.
11. Cywydd Merch.
fanwyl wen feinael winau.
12. Y lloer gann eirian araul.
13. Gwae ddyn ddigwyddo i eni.
14. Y fun ar ael ychel aur.
15. Cywydd Merch.
Troelus fy yn treilio oes ferr.
16. Cywydd Merch Ieuange.
Y fun addfeingoeth ddoeth ddadl.
17. Yr olau glaer olwg lûs.
18. Cywydd gwraig weddw.
Y ddyn weddw addwyn oeddych.
19. Kofus oedd kefais addaw.
20. Y fun ar iâd o fanaur.
21. Cowydd merch.
Y fun ir wawr fanawr wedd.
22. Cywydd Merch.
Y fun ara fain irwen.

23. Marwnad morwyn Ifank
Af o le a fu lawen.
24. Moliant i ferch.
Y wawr ddwyrain ryddeurwallt.
25. Llattai.
Y gleisiad lliw'r goley ser.
26. Cywydd Merch.
Y wenn fun winau fanwallt.

DUWYOL.

1. Y phenix.
 { Eurwn }
 { Mawrhawn } gerdd o ran gwir dduw
2. Y psalm gynta ar gân.
Gwyn ei fyd ag o iawn fodd
3. Ar y ddegfed benod o Luc.
O frodyr oll fawr rad rym.
4. Cywydd Duwiol ar ddudd Nadolice in Iachawdwr.
Henffych well enw hoff a chu.
5. Yn erbyn balchder.
Och dduw balch heddyw yw'r byd.
6. Awdl Sion Phillip ai gyffes ar ei glaf wely.
Diwedd ein buchedd bob awr a bassiodd.
7. Yn erbyn Anudon.
Band rhyfedd been trwy ofid.
8. I Bacchus Duw'r Gwin ag ir Meddwyn.
Wrth rodio mydr weithredwr.
9. I ymliw ar gwin.
Y gwin tros eigion y trai.
10. Mawl ir Gwin drwy ymddiddan ychydig ag ef, ar ol bod yn
ffair y meddwdod or blaen.
Nos da yt wi nos doti wyr.
11. Yn erbyn Karawsio.
Gwae r hen a gae hir einioes.
12. I ymliw ar pwrs gwag.
Rho i Duw bwrs rhuglgwrs hoglglod.
13. Gogan ir Cryd pan oedd y Bardd glaf o honno.
Gwae fardd claf gyfwrdd clefyd.
14. At ddygiad dyn i fynu.
Dull a thoriad llythyren.
15. Ar y 51 psalm.
Trugarha dduw da ddaed wedd.
16. Ir seguryd.
Mae /n/ rhaid gwrteithiau mewn rhith.
17. I ddysgv i gristion i arfv i hvn yn erbyn y gelyn ysbrydol.
Ystyriwn gwrs dirion ged.
18. Kowydd cariad perffeth.
Och dduw pam fuchedd heb pwyll.
19. Cwupyd.
clywais lef clais wylofain.

AMRYWIOL.

1. Moliant ir parlwr newydd o blas y ward.
Yr edn llaes ar donn y lynn.
2. Ir tai koed ac ir herber yng wedir.
Hyfrydol hoewfawr odiaeth.
3. Cymod rhwng Edmwnd Prys a Huw Machuo.
Y ddeuwr ar ddwy awen.
4. I ddoctor lewis
Doe wylais om dwy olwg.
5. I dref Conwy pan oedd y Nodau yno, gan weddio drosti.
Conwy deg, hynod ogylech.

YMRYSONAU.

I.—With SION DAFYDD SIENCYN.

- a. S.D. Siencyn. Cowydd i daro ymharti y Bermo.
Sion Phylip su'n hoff alarch.
- b. Sion Phylip. Cowydd i ateb y Cowydd uchod.
F'ewythr llwyd f'athro lliwdeg.

II.—With RICHARD PHYLIP.

- a. Sion Phylip.
Oes dihareb a styriais
- b. R. Phylip.
Y Gynfigen gwan fagiad.

III.—With EDMWND PRYS.

- a. Sion Phylip. I ofyn dager.
Rhyfedd oedd rhyw fodd addyse.
- b. E. Prys.
Cefais nis heuddais heddyw.
- c. S. Phylip.
Y gwr du doeth gair di dwu.
- d. E. Prys.
Gwauwyd imi gwawd am arf.
- e. S. Phylip.
Y Prelad gamp Reolwr.
- cf. E. Prys.
Cywydd Moliant gwatwarus i Sion Phylip. Printed in
Enwogion y Ffydd, and in *Edmund Prys*, by Asaph,
1899.
Cerdda gywydd cerdd ganad.

IV.—With TOMOS PRYS, Plas Iolyn.

- a. T. Prys. Cywydd yr Eryr.
Yr eryr is yr yri.
- b. S. Phylip.
Y cryf angel cryfangawg.

V.—With SION TUDUR.

- a. S. Tudur.
Y Biog rowiog reiold.

- b. S. Phylip.
Yr edn flin ar adn flaenwen.
- c. S. Tudur.
Y Bi wrth fol y berth fwyn.
- d. S. Phylip.
Y cyw callddadl eycyllddu.
- e. S. Tudur.
Nos da ir fraith glog Biogen.
- f. S. Phylip.
Pa un liw y pen loyn.
- g. S. Tudur.
Y Bi goeglais bigawglem.
- h. S. Phylip.
Y biog siariadog swydd.

VI.—With GRUFFYDD HAFREN, R. PHYLIP, etc.
See Appendix II, pp. 254-5.

APPENDIX II.

RICHARD PHYLIP'S POEMS.

MARWNADAU.

1. [huw prichart ai wraig annes], 1592.
Llŷn wenn fy n llawen unwaith.
2. Thomas Penllyn, 1623.
Prudd yw fais parai dduw fod.
3. Mrs Katrin tudur o ferain.
Mae r wylaw hallt marwol hwyl.
4. Y Freuhines Elizabeth.
Trwm a fu tro yma far.
5. [Mr. Huw Gwyn o'r Berth ddu, 1614].
Doe tybiais dowad tiben.
6. I Edward Morgan or Plassey . . . 1635.
Mae llefain mwy a llafur.
7. [Doriti gwraig Syr William Williams].
Doe idd oedd uchod ddydd achwyn.
8. [Edwart Wmffre o faes neuadd, 1620].
doe i bu basg o dyb a barn.
9. [Gras gwraig Edmwnt meirig or garth lwyd].
Alar pair lawer oi pwyll.
10. [Gr. ap S. Gr. o Lyn, 1599].
Troes duw i Lyn tristad y wlad.
11. [Edwart Prys or Llwyn ynn, Esg.].
Duw nef cwyned naw can-yn.
12. Timothy Jones, o oedran 13 Mab Hugh Jones o Letty'r
Genedl yn llanwenddwyn, Gwr Bonheddig o Ardudwy.
1627.
Un eginin a gwynir.

13. Richard [? Ifans] o lann ael hauarn yn sir gaerarfon esgwier.
Oer yw gwlad farw i glewdwr.
14. Dafydd llwyd ab ifan o aber maed Esgwier.
Llef oer sydd llafur a son.
15. [Sion Wynn, esgwier, aer W^m Wynn o lanfair, esgwier, 1629].
Mae bar hir yma i barhau.
16. Sr Wmffre Llwyd o Ros dyrnog (1608).
Af i wylaw am filwr.
17. Mr. Robtt Faughan o fionydd (1599).
Braich angau faich ing a fydd.
18. [Syr Risiart Gwyn], 1618.
Mae'r doeth llei caem aur oi ol.
19. [Tomas Madryn], 1600.
Clowais gwyn cleisio Gwynedd.
20. [Margred Salbri, merch Ffowc Salbri etc. gwraig (1) O Gr. o Bencoed (2) Gr. Madryn]. 1592.
Mawr lef a wn mawr lif oer.
21. [Catrin vz. Gruff, Madryn gwraig Gruff. ap Sion Wynn o Benyberth, 1593].
Mae alaeth rhawg aml a thrist.
22. [Syr Wiliam Glyn], 1620.
Gwae ein tir am frigyn teiriaith.
23. [Owen Ellis o Ystumllyn, 1622].
Mae adwyth braw mae'n daith brudd.
24. Sion Edward Llwyd o Lanynys (1597).
Llaw Dduw Wynn lladdai Wynedd.
25. Mrs gwenn gwynn ferch lewis gwynn esq. gwraig mr. lewis llwyd o riwedog, 1637.
Oer ag afiach yw r golyd.
26. [Yr urddasol bendefig Lewis Gwynn or Dolau Gwynn, esquire].
Gwae floedd gofio alaeth.
27. [Mallt vz. Rydderch ap Dafydd o Fyfyrian gwraig Sion Wyn ap Ifan ap Sion o Hirdrefaig. . . 1593].
Ba wylaw sydd heb le sych.
28. [Gaenor gwraig Huw Gwynn Bodfel].
Och gwyn afiach gan ofyd.
29. Robert Madryn, esq.
Un flwyddyn a fu laddiad.
30. Mr. Hari Bodfel, 1631.
Blin i dug un blaned gaeth.
31. Mr. Edward Morgan or Plassey, 1635.
Mae llefain mwya llafur.
32. Huw Owen o Gaerberllan ac Elizabeth Prys. 1628.
Gwiliwn ren gelyn einioes.

MOLIANT.

1. I m^r sion Salbri aer llyweni.
Eurbloid Salbriaidd sail a brig mastr sion.
2. I m^r John Salbri Esgwier o gorff y frenhines elsbeth.
ir un fann ir an fynych.
3. Syr Sion Salbri o lyweni marchog urddol, 1602.
Sel dda ir corff grassolddewr cu.

4. [? huw gwynn or Berth ddu].
Mawr yw r gair am eryr gwyn.
5. Mr. Robert Wynn Esq. [o'r Berth ddu], 1631.
Aer a welwn arr wiwlwydd.
6. [Ir Doctor Sion Dafis o Fallwyd].
Da yw
Duw nef sy'n blodeno'n iaith.
7. Ir deor dafis [o Fallwyd].
Y dyn ar ddysg dŷner ddoeth.
8. Ir doctor dafis [o Fallwyd].
doctor tryssor ty r Iessu.
9. Ir doctor dafis o fallwyd yn ol iddo droi r Beibl a llyfrau
eraill yn gymraeg.
Yr Iaith hygar iw thegwch.
10. I Mr. William Salbri o rug esgwier.
Rug oludog ir gwledydd.
11. I Tudur Trefor o Groesoswallt.
Tydi rwyddwalch tîd ryddaur.
12. Ir urddasol bendefig hwm[ffre Sions] or pennrhyn yr amser
hwnn aer y . . . esgwiair a reser y brenin, 1633.
Rhodd dduw fal y rhwydd awel.
13. [I Edmwnt Meirig Siri gwych Sir Feirion 1632].
Sir feirion sy arr fowredd.
14. I m^r Elysdan Owen o riw r saeson esgwier.
Dyn sy had downus helynt.
15. Annerch I Mr. Richard pugh person fu yn aros yn Willsir ag
i ddymuno arno ddowad unwaeth yw wlad.
Mal llen ymhell o wynedd.
16. [Syr Wm Glyn], 1618.
Salmon Glynlliwon glain llewych siroedd.
17. I Syr William Glyn.
Y marchog gwych enwog chwynn.
18. Ficar Darowen. Cf. Cywyddau Gofyn, etc., No. 12.
Y ddau fonedd fu unoed.
19. [Ifan ab Dafydd].
Mae dyn i mi adwaenir.
20. I m^r Antoni Stanley.
Af ar gair o fawr gariad.
21. [Huw Gwynn o'r Morva Mawr].
Y kwrt rhydd lle kair trwydded.
22. Capten Risiart Gwyn.
Af ir gaer a fawr gerais.
23. Risiart Gwyn o Hirdrefaig pan oedd Siri yn Sir Garnarfon.
Y carw brychwyn cry breychir.
24. [Huw Owain].
Y gwr a wn hygar wedd.
25. I Wm. Prys [o Lanllugan].
Y dyn a gaid yn y gosd.
26. I'r auriheddus Bendefig Sion Llwyd o Riwedog, Yswain, Yr
hon sydd o groes gynghanedd ymchweledig drwyddo, ac
a ellir ei ganu wyneb y gwrthwyneb fel y mae y Pen-
hillion wedi eu sgrifennu ddwy waith . . .
Y rhyw odiaeth i'w rhydyd.

27. [I Mr. Williams, Person Llanaber, A.M.], A.D. 1609.
Y gŵr eiddo'r goreudduw.
28. I masdr Wiliam Dd. Lloyd o benniarth yr lwn a wnaed i ofyn
cymod am drigo yn hir heb ddyfod yw lys. Ag yn gell-
weirus hefyd.
Hir oedd fod heb un rhodd fawr.
29. [Sir Wiliam Morys].
Marchog brau enwog gida r brenin sydd.
30. Gruffydd Fychan o Gors y gedol.
Mynych y bum i anoeth.
31. Mr Sion Gwynn [o Wydir] kyn i fynd yn farchog.
Urddas gwir addas a gaid.
32. S'r Sion Gwyn o Wedir.
F awen gref enwoc ryfic.
33. Moliant Syr Sion Salbri marchog llyweni drwy ymofyn ar pwrs
pann ir oedd yn wag.
Dy di bwrs wedi da bardd.

NANNAU.

1. [Awdl Marwnad Huw Nanney a fu farw 1623].
Aer Gruffydd geinrydd Gymro rhinweddol.
2. Moliant Huw Nanney ap Gr. Nanney ap yr hen huw Nanney
ag ef yn Siryf Anno Domini 1627.
Duw biau'r byd ai bur bwyll.
3. Marwnad i Sion Nanney ail mab Gryff. Nanney Esqr [1632].
Rhywgwyd brig rhywiogwaeu brau
4. Marwnad Elin Nanney gwraig Jon Vaughan o Gaergai Esqr
yr hon oedd drydedd ferch Huw Nanney hen [1617].
Aeth llawn adwyth lle nodai.
5. Marwnad Griffydd Nanney Esqr 1609 (? 1608).
Arwydd meth a roe dduw mawr.
6. Marwnad Annes vz Rys Fychan a gwraig Huw Nanney
Esqr, 1627.
Wylo'r wyf fyth o lawr f'ais.
7. [Marwnad Huw Nanney, 1623].
Dyn wyf ar draeth dan fôr drud.

GOFYN, DIOLCH, ETC.

1. I S'r Siams pris o ynis y maengwyn i ofyn kledde a dagar dros
Sion Huwes o faes y pandy.
Mae n ynis ni myn anwr.
2. I Hugh Nanney ag Ellis Lloyd o Rhiwgoch Esqr^{ts} i ofyn march
dros Hugh Gryffydd.
Y gwyr yn saint gwâr ynn sydd.
3. I ofyn milgi llwyd gan John Vaughan o Gaergai dros Lewis
Gwyn o'r Dolegwyn.
Gweuaf yt hawdd gofiwyd hyn.
4. I ofyn newid milgwn [i Rolant Vaughan o Gaergai].
Yr aer difyr awr dafod.
5. I ofyn bwa [gan Rhisiart Huws Cefn Llanfair].
Y durgrys Gymro dewrgraff.
6. I ofyn Cleddyf i Mr. Sion Llwyd o Riwedog dros Mr. Rees
Lloyd o ddol y Gelynen.
Llaw Dduw gwyn llwydd[a] gynydd.

7. I Mr Sion Llwyd o Riwedog I ofyn March dros Sion Morgan
o Aber llwyfeni.
Sylwedd urddasol ddewrddyn
or Sylwedd urddas hael ddewrddyn.
8. I ofyn telyn i mr Pirs llwyd or deirnon, dros Mr. Gruffydd
Nannau.
Y gwr dilwgr waedoliaeth.
9. I ofyn cleddau gan Hwmffrey Jones or Craflwyn dros Owen
Pwl.
Y sadwalch grymus odiaeth.
10. I ofyn Rapiet a phwynadwy gan Owen Elis o Ystumllyn dros
Owen Pwl ap Ris. Pwl, 1617.
Y dyn mewn daioni mawr.
11. I bendefigol deulu Mathavarn i ofyn march dros shôn harri
relator.
Y genedl a eginawdd.
12. Diolwch am Wn tros Ficar Darowen i Antoni Pwl. (cf.
Cywyddau Moliant, No. 18).
Y llew a wna llu'n ei ol.
13. [I ofyn cleddyf gan Gruffydd Huws tros Huw ap Wiliam?].
Lle ydd wyt wych llwyddid dy wedd.

SERCH.

1. Awdl o foliant i ferch o Dywyn.
gwenn ddyd o Dywyn sy'n diwedd f'einioes.
2. Marwnad a wnaeth Richard Phyllip yw gariad a fyse farw.
Dyd wyf er doe'n i ofid.
3. I ferch wedi priodi.
Gwae a roe serch goris allt.
4. Moliant i ferch.
Doe i gwelais deg wiwloer.
5. Mawl merch a'i gwallt.
Y gangen irwen aurwallt.

AMRYWIOL.

1. I'r cwrw.
Y cwrw rhÿdd car yr heidden.
2. Mawl i'r ffiol frech o ba un y byddyd yn yfed . . . o'r eiddo
Lewis Gwynn o'r Dolau Gwyn, Tywyn.
At aur bren tynna on bro.
3. Ir ffiol oddfyn o'r Dolau Gwyn.
Hawddamor hoff oror ffawd.
4.
Anras i'r lleidrwas llowdrwan.
5. I Dduw, 1618.
duw ior llywiawdr y lluoedd.
6. Cywydd o waith pechadur, yn cyffesu ei bechod ag yn dymnuo
ar dduw rās a maddeuant, a'i gadw rhag ei clyniun.
ysbrydol a chorphorol.
Duw dy nawdd, da wyd i ni.
7. Cywydd i ateb Cywydd yr Eryr (gan T. Prys).
Duw'n rhwydd edn rhydda ydwyd.

YMRYSONAU.

I.—With JOHN PHYLIP.

- a. John Phylip.
Oes dihareb a styriais.
- b. R. Phylip.
Y genfigen gwan fagiad.

II.—With R. CYNWAL.

- a. R. Cynwal.
Tramwyaf at rym awen.
- b. R. Phylip.
I mae unllys y mhenllyn.

III.—With SION MAWDDWY.

- a. S. Mawddwy.
Yr hobi a ddiarebwyd.
- b. R. Phylip.
Tydi'r bardd wyt awdur byd.

IV.—With ROWLAND VAUGHAN. 'Englynion'.

- a. R. Vaughan.
Ni fedd hityn syn na sonied am gof.
- b. R. Phylip.
Am gopi gweiddi mal i gwyddau bawb.

V.—With SION CAIN. 'Englynion'.

- a. Sion Cain.
Y tribeirdd digeirdd. . .
- b. R. Phylip.
Dyfeissiodd keisiodd Sion Kain. . . .
- c. Sion Cain.
Heb ungair kellwair. . . .
- d. R. Phylip.
Os blewyn a dynn. . . .
- e. Sion Cain.
Os estyn a fyn yn faith.
- f. R. Phylip.
Pe im rhwmid mewn tid. . . .

VI.—With GRUFFYDD HAFREN, SION PHYLIP, and IEUAN TEW.

- a. Gr. Hafren.
Cywydd i yrru'r Ceiliog bronfraith i annerch Mr. Lewis
Gwynn o'r Dole gwynn.
Y cyw aur bwngc hir ei big.
- b. R. Phylip.
Atteb i'r Cywydd o'r blaen.
Y blawrgyw a'r drebl eurgerdd.

- c. Gr. Hafren.
Y Trydydd Cywydd . . . Gruffydd Hafren yn ateb Rhisiart
Phylip, 1580.
Mae athrodwyr maith rydyd.
- d. R. Phylip.
Cywydd ateb i hwn o'r blaen.
Gwnn un Bardd mewn gwenwyn beth.
- e. Sion Phylip.
Cywydd i erchi i Mr. Lewis Gwynn na choelïai'r un o'r ddau
Brydydd o'r blaen.
Mae un tŷ ym min Towyn.
- f. Ieuan Tew.
Cywydd i erchi i Lewis Gwyn na chroesawai yr un o'r ddau
Fardd uchod Rhisiart Phylip a Gruffydd Hafren.
Y fronfraith a'r fwyniaith fel.
- g. R. Phylip.
Atteb i'r ddau gywidd o'r blaen.
I'r coed glas frig caudad glynn.

VII.—With DD. LLOYD AP HUGH.

- a. Dd. Lloyd ap Hugh.
Ynghylch dwy dafarnwraig Annes vch. Sr. Griffydd a Gweryl
o Ben y Sarn.
Y llew doniog llydanwyn.
- b. R. Phylip.
Y gŵr da braisg gair di brudd.

APPENDIX III.

GRUFFYDD PHYLIP'S POEMS.

MARWNADAU. *See also* Corsygedol Group.

1. Mr. Thomas Pŵl o Lann Decwyn a fu farw yn oedran yr
Arglwydd 1618.
Ar ol gwr duwiol i daw.
2. Mr. doctor llwyd or berth lwyd.
Briwyd hen lwyth brytain lan.
3. Ieuan Llwyd Rolant o Goed y Pigyn yn Nhrawsfynydd.
Och weled lled ymwarded mwy.
4. Syr Risiart Gwyn, 1618.
Marwolaeth llei mawr ruwliai.
5. Sion Bodwrda a fu farw y 17 o Ragfyr 1647.
Angau diamau dymawr.
6. Sibil Mredydd gwraig gyntaf Robt. Gwyn Saethon.
Mae'r gofyd trystyd hyd tranc.
7. Mr. Thomas Ellis.
Hynod iawn hyn adwaenan.
8. [Edwart Wmffre o Faesyneuadd], 1620.
Y gwanwyn oer gwae nyi.
9. Sian llwyd gwraig Morus Wynn o'r Glyn.
. . . angau trwm i rig—awr.
10. Am Gryffydd Nanney or Dolagwyn Esqr.
Mor hynod y nod a wnaeth.

11. Owen Elis o Ystymlynn, 1622.
Rhyw hudol hwyr ai hedwyn.
12. Sion Phylip, 1620.
Hir i mi draw gerllaw'r llan.
13. Mr. Richard Hughes.
O Dduw Ior beth ydyw r byd.
14. Yr Arglwyddes Dorti Dumock gwraig Syr Wiliam Williams
o'r Faenol. 1624.
Cwynom fod lle i canem fawl.
15. Sian Owain gwraig Sion Gruffydd o Gefnamwlch.
Mawr loes canoes i cwynom.
16. Wiliam Wynne or Glyn Esq. 1658.
Mawr wae sydd yma ir oes hon.
17. Mrs. Sian ach freddydd ap huw o'r plase duon. 1628.
Awn a chwyn fynych yna.
18. Sion Williams Archegob York, a fu farw yngloddait
Mawrth 25, 1650 ac a gladdwyd yn Llandygai.
Marw nenn dysg mawr wae'n un dydd.
19. [Huw Gwynn o'r Berth ddu], 1614 (?)
Awn a chwyn heniach winwydd.
20. Margred ferch ag aeres Robart Edwart gwraig Ruffydd llwyd
o Riw goch.
Rhoi a dwyn erioed yna.
21. Robert Wynn or berth, 23 Feb. 1640.
Doe oer fraw hir drwy / r fro hon.
22. [Edwart Prys o'r Llwyn ynn, 1634].
Duw ni âd y rhai da'n ol.
23. [Huw Machno, 1637].
Cwynwn oll mae canu'n waeth.
24. Marwnad a wnaeth un o ymddyddan rhyngtho ai gariad yr
hon a fuasai farw.
Digus wyf nid agos iach.
25. Ffowc Prys o'r Tyddyn Du.
I wŷr a saif yr oes hon.
26. Ed: Edwards.
Cofiwn gwelwn argoeliad.
27. Lewis Symwnt Owen or Havod tywyll.
Y gwŷn oer a gawn i'w ôl.
28. Gruff. Glyn or Gwynfryn,
Iesu nef i ras ai nawdd.
29. Sian llwyd gwraig Morus Wyn o'r Glyn.
. . . angau trwm.
30. Ievann llwyd o bennmachno. 1626.
Os gwr doeth fraisg euraid wydd.

MOLIANT.

1. Ifan Gwyn Saethon pan oedd sirif. 1636.
Cerais wythwaed caer Saethon.
2. Ir Deor Dafis.
Y Doctor at act a rydd.
3. Ir Doctor Dafis.
Duw Kynnal / i / deg kynnydd.

4. Sion Bodfel a chroeso ir wlad.
Y carw ieuane yreiol.
5. Sr Wiliam Morys.
O rho fawl er rhyw foli.
6. Sion Sions pan oedd yn adeilad yn Nolymoch. 1643.
Y gwr addfwyn gwareiddfawr.
7. I Mastr Edward humffre [o faes y neuadd].
pw yw r dyn pur di weniaith.
8. [Mr: Robert Wynn or Berthu, Esquier].
Y rhoiog lain hir i glod.
9. I mr Morgan Llwyd o Abertrinant pan oedd ef yn yw gader.
Ganwyd aer o gnawd iraidd.
10. Croeso ir gwir urddasol Mr. Sion Gruffydd o Gefnamwlch.
Feb: 10. 1646.
Cefnamwlch ddifwlch ddwyfawl.
11. Kad'r wynn.
Awn i weled anwyl wedd.
12. [Robert Owen, M.A.].
Y defein gwych dyfna i gyd.
13. Awdl [i ddoctor Dafis o Fallwyd].
Top blaidd doctoriaid ur eurir.

CORSYGEDOL.

- 1.—I Mr. William Fychan cyn i briodi.
Mae ini leni lawenydd.
2. Pr un Gwr
Af i'r Gaer o fawr gariad.
3. Pr un gwr cyn ei briodi.
Beirddion digion bob digwyl.
4. Pr un Gwr
Pr un gaer enwog euraid.
5. Pr un Gwr
Dewis ir wyf dwyssair waith.
6. Pr un Gwr
Nid af a gwawd nid wyf gaeth.
7. I Mr. William Fychan pan oedd yn sirif.
Adduned o ddaioni.
8. Pr un Gwr.
Gweithiwn fawl gwaith iawn a fydd.
9. Pr un Gwr.
Mae ungwr glân mewn gwir glôd.
10. Priodas Mr. Wiliam Fychan a Mrs. Ann Nannau (1647).
Awn awn feirdd union fawrddysg.
11. Ar Enedigaeth Mr. Gruffydd Fychan
Rhown ddiolch mewn rhin dduwiawl.
12. I Mr. Wiliam Fychan
Y gaer orau ragorion.
13. I Mr. William Fychan.
Mastr Fychan cyfan y cofir—dy enw.
(C. Mawr 484, p. 73. At the end is this Note: "Gruffydd
Phylip a'i cant wedi adferiad y brenhinol deulu pan oedd y
bardd yn hen").

14. I Mr. Wiliam Fychan.
Y wir glod bob cyfnod caid.
15. I'r un Gwr.
Af i'r Gaer fawr agored.
16. I'r un Gwr.
Mae llys rhydd im lleshau rhawg.
17. I'r vnryw wr.
Sel y gras mewn urddas mawr. . . .
18. Awdl Mar. Wiliam Fychan.
Pob calon a bron bur anian

PRIODAS. *See also* Corsygedol Group No. 10

1. I Owen Wynn or Glynn, Esq.
Awn ar gan erawg yna.
2. I mr Ieuan powel rhydderch pann brioded ai ail wraig
[14 vii. 1629].
lluniwn gerdd llawen ywn gwaith.
3. Owen Ellis o Stimllyn
Dau lan aeth ai dwylaw n un.
4. Sion Owen or Clynenuau a Sioned Fychan. 1616. Apr: 13.
Llawenydd trwy wledydd troes.
5. Mr. John llwyd Aer Hendre/r/ Mur a Jane Williams merch
Morus Williams Nanmor.
llawen im iw llinio mawl.
6. Ymrhiodas Mr. Rob: Owen Mr. o Art a Mrs. Sioned Wenn.
Y prelad gwastad gwestiwn.

SPECIAL OCCASIONS AND OCCURRENCES.

See also Cywyddau Moliant No. 9, and Corsygedol Group
No. 11.

1. Cywydd ar Anedigaeth Mr. Owen [Elis?].
Mae aer inni mawr rinwedd.
2. I groesawu Owen Wynn o'r Glyn Esq. ir wlad pan ddaeth adref
o Rydychen.
Croeso hardd bryd hyfryd bydd.

GOFYN.

1. I ofyn Gwn i Mr. Hugh Morgans Person Llan Enddwyn dros
Mr. Hugh Jones.
Y Prelad pwy wrolach.
2. I Wmffre Davies o Landyfrydog y Mon dros Rich: Vn. o
Gorsygedl i ofyn 100 o gywydde D. ap G.
Y prelad pwy wr haelach.
3. I'r baro[n]et prys i ofyn march [Syr Risiart prys o ogerddan,
marchog].
y baronet doeth or braint hen.
4. I ofyn march i Howel Fychan o llan y llynn dros Thomas Ellis.
yr hudd teg duw'n rhwydd yt el.

APPENDIX IV.

PHYLIP JOHN PHYLIP'S POEMS.

1. I Mr. Gruffyth Van o Gors y gedol yw groesawu Adref or
ysgol.
Croeso lain cu rasol wedd.
 2. Marwnad Mr. Moris Wynn o Faesyneuadd Esgwier Enwog.
Marwolaeth ai mawr waywloes.
 3. Moliant i Owen Wynn o'r Glyn, Esg. pan oedd ef yn Sirif yn
Sir Feirionydd.
Af ar gerdd fyfryiawg wedd.
 4. Marwnad W[iliam] Ph[ylip] or Hendre Fechan.
Ardydwy fawr a daed fu.
-

APPENDIX V.

WILIAM PHYLIP'S POEMS.

MARWNADAU, ETC.

1. Marwnad Siarls y Cyntaf.
Och gred ac angred a gwyn.
2. Marwnad Rhisiart Phylip.
Cwympodd torrodd catterwen.
3. Marwnad fy nhad
Dyn wyf ar gwypm dan for gwyllt.
4. Marwnad fy mam.
Canu'r wyf fi cwyn oer faith.
5. Cwyn yr un gwr etto am ei wraig a'i ferch a gollasau.
Dyn afiach hen dan faich wyf.
6. Cywydd Marwnad am Mr. Robert Ffoulke person Llan fechan
a Bagelr o Ddefinity.
Torrwyd addurn troed addysc.
7. Kywydd Marwnad I huw Nannau Esgwier Lifftenant dan y
goron ac ustus custos Rotulorum ar Sir feirionydd.
Oed Brenin un duw Brynwr.
8. Cywydd marwnad Gruffydd Vaughan o Gaergai Esqr. 1638 (cf.
Sion Phylip, Marwnadau No. 55. See also Cardiff MS.
64, p. 366, for a "cywydd marwnad Gr. Nanney", 1689,
by John Dafydd Las, beginning "Troes Duw niwl trist
anaele").
Troes Duw anap tros dynion
or Troes Duw anwyl tros dynion.
9. Ymddiddan rhwng William Phylip a Griffith Vaughan megis
mewn Breuddwyd ar ol i Vaughan farw.
Mal i roeddwn mawl rwyddwych.

10. Cywydd y Bedd.
Wrth ystyried ystori.
- 10a. Tri dyri i ddilyn [galyn] y Cywydd.
Cerdda dos a rhodia Cymru.
11. Cywydd yr henaint.
Och! fyd tost! Och! fywyd haint.

AMRYWIOL.

1. Cywydd i dduw yn bennaf ag i ddyscreibio y pyscodyn a ddaeth i dir rhwng llan Aber ar Bermo.
Duw a'i air y diwair Ion.
2. Cowydd i ofyn derwen dros Ed, Prys I Ric. Jones o Ddôl y moch.
Y gwareidd-fab gwar addfwyn.
3. Cowydd ar ddyfodiad Charls yr ail Ir deyrnas gyda'r arglwydd Mwnck.
Rhown ogoniant moliant maith.
Followed by two 'englynion':—
Ple'r aeth llywodraeth y llu o ddynion. . . .
Duw Tad da roddiad drwy weddi dynion. . . .
4. Cywydd moliant ir Colonel Sion Owen or Klenennau.
Clowch Brydaun cloch baradwys.
5. Cowydd i Ruffyth Phylip.
Y prydydd pur wowdydd pwyll.
6. Cywydd yr adar o waith Jo^a. Vaughan Esq. [aer Caergai].
Wiliam Phylip lem ffelwawd.
7. Atteb i gywydd yr Adar.
Y gwalch euraid glych arian.
Note: Cardiff 64, p. 272.
Cyfarchiad ne ymddiddan rhwng yr erur a William Phylip yn anser Crownwel am fod yr adar heb ganu, (a) Wiliam Phylip lem ffelwawd ("Mr. John Vaughan"). (b) Y gwalch euraid. . .
8. Cynghor i Mr. William Vaughan hên o Gorsygedol yr hwn oedd oddiwrth ei ewythr ef iddo sef Sion Brynkir.
Y gwalch rhwydd gan gylch rhyddaur.
John Brynkir ai kant drwy gymorth William Phylip.
9. Kywydd i ofyn march i Wiliam Fychan ab Siengcin ab Sion . . . o gathle dros Lewis gwyn Gethin.
Yr aer hoff iawn i goffa.
10. Awdl i'r rhai fu'n dirisglo'r coed, &c.
Pob gwibleidr coedneidr anedwydd ai rasgal.

CAROLAU, DYRIAU.

1. Gwrandewch ar gynghorion i fawr ac i fach.
(Printed 1696).
2. Gwrandewch ar gynghanedd gerdd euraid gyfrodedd.
(Printed 1696).
3. Pob cadarn mawr i allu.
(Printed 1696).
4. Gwrandewch arnai'n traethu'n galed [*sic*—should be 'traethu baled'].
(Printed 1696).

5. Achau Mair.
Yngwledydd Judea yr oedd Zacharia. (Printed 1759.)
6. Cerdd Siani.
Pob pen-cerdd nodedig sy'n canu yn blethiedig. (Printed 1759).
7. Dirifau'r Amser.
Mi rown gyugor i bob ffrind. (Printed 1759).
8. Pedwar peth rhagorol iw cofio. (Printed 1759).
9. Carol i'r gwirod. . . .
(a) Dyma Wirod Mair yn dyfod. (Printed 1759).
(b) Croeso wyl Fair forwyn ddiwair.
10. Mawl i Ferch.
Prydyddion holl Gymru sy'n clymu bob clod.
11. Cerdd.
Glyn glwys glain glan glasglog glog. . . .
12. Carol i'r gwilie.
Su o feibion a merched rhowch glust i gael clowed.
13. Ymddiddan rhwng y prydydd a'r fwyalchen.¹
Fel roeddwn i'n rhodio a'r coed yn blodeuo.
14. Dyriau rhwng yr hen wr ar bachgen, 1646.
Fal ir oeddwn ar foreuddydd.
or Am fi yn rhodio ar foreuddydd.
15. Y Deg Gorchymyn.
Duw wnaeth ddeg orchymyn mawr.
16. Carol Job.
Job oludog yn ei Ddydd drwy gyflawn ffydd a gobaeth.
17. Psalm y 94.9 etc.
Y gwr a wnaeth y llyged.
18. Histori y Bruttaniaid.
Hil Brutys o droya kenhedloedd plant [Adda].
19.
Os dwedai / r / gwir er gwaethe r sir (2 stanzas).
20.
Pan ddelo r dydd yn fyngolwg. Huw Lloyd o Gyufel.
Felly rydym bawb or dynion. W. Phylip.
Dod ym icelyd Duw gorucha. W. Phylip.
21. . . . dyri ir Cariadog . . . the familie of love.
. . . . graig yn chwenych caru (2 stanzas).
22.
Duw miath gyfarchaf fe naf nefol (6 lines).
23. Tri dyri.
(a) Tri pheth ar ddayaren dan haulwen a lloer.
(b) Yr ail ni chae wybod mom hamod ir byd.
(c) ffarwel i bob pleser holl bower y byd.
24.
Galw ar dduw wrth godi r bore.
25. (a) dayar a Rodia ar ddayar fel aur yn disgleirio.
(1 stanza).
(b) Chwyridd wyf yn byw dann obeth. (1 stanza).

¹ An alternative title given in Llyfr Rhys Cadwaladr in Swansea Public Library is "Carol i ofyn ir fwyalchen prun oedd orau iw phiriod [*sic*] ai gwraig weddw ai merch ifange".

26. Karol.
Pob Christian yn llawen ar wyneb dayaren.
27.
Y gwr Ifange gwrando gyngor.
28. Atteb Wm, Phylip am dano ei hun ai hen wraig.
Mynd yn henllwyd finllwyd fant. (1 stanza).
29. Adeilad o fodlonrwydd.
I ddechre mynd rwy mynd yr awran.
30. Carol at Ruffydd Phylip am Gatea.
Fy ffrins am cymdeithion am carau bur ffyddlon.
31. Karol rhwng y galon ar tafod [a chysur?]
pob kydymeth glan or byd.
32. Karol ar y mesur byrr.
Y sawl syn rhoi ar nef i fryd.
33. Karol o gyffes pechadur.
duw greawdwr nef a llawr.
34. [? Dy]rie ar y mesur hir ar down the p[ar]son of the
p[ar]ishe.
[A] nwylyd gwynn am cariad ag eto niwn i pam.
35. Karol o ffarwell ir dafarn.
Mab wy fi a gymerth lw.
36. Pennill ar fesur truban a wnaeth merch [ac ateb a wnaeth
mab].
Oes neb or gwyr sy'n darllen.

POEMS OF DOUBTFUL ATTRIBUTION.

1. Gwrandewch fy myfyrdod a dyfodd ar dafod
[? Huw Morus.]
2. Pa fyd a gawn weithian su'r Awydd sy'r owan
[? Rowland Vaughan.]
N.B.—In Mostyn 130 (434) the title of this reads:—Carol
a wnaed yn amser y Protector, 1651.
3. Ysturiaeth ar y 7 o Eccl. ar 35 Adn. ar Leave Land.
Och na styriai Ddyn yn dda.
4. Fel roeddwn ar fore o ddofor i Fon.
5. Nid ydyw hyn ond cafod.
A 'm fi n diodde yfouydd blin.

APPENDIX VI.

JOHN PHYLIP'S METRICAL GRAMMAR.

(Peniarth MS. 89, pp. 136-147.¹)

Y pedwar messur arrhugain.

tair caine prydyddiaeth y sydd nid amgen ynglynion cywyddav
ag awdlav dau ryw ynglyn y sydd nid amgen prost ag unawdl tri
ryw unodl sydd unodl vnion vnodl cyrch ag unodl crwca ynglyn

¹ In the autograph of the poet. There is a transcript by Wiliam Phylip in Mostyn MS. 144.

unodl vnion a vessurir o ddeg silltaf arhugain sef un arbymtheg yn y paladr a ffedair arr ddeg yn y penn a gwan a rragwan yn yr odl cyntaf sef yr ail silltaf neu'r drydedd yn ateb ir bumed ar brif orffwysfa yn y bumed yn wastad a gair cyrch yn arwain ir ail odl ag os bydd yr odl gyntaf o saith silltaf bid y gair cyrch o dair os o wyth bid o ddwy os o naw bid o un ag a genir val hynn

Caf ddrainllwyn yn llwyn llainog curas wyrdd
cryswynn ag ogfaenog
cyntedd ag yn ddannedd og
conglav eos caing liwiog.

vnodl cyrch a vessurir o wyth silltaf arrhugain ar silltaf olaf o'r trydydd bann yn ateb i'r drydedd nev'r bedwaredd o'r bann olaf ag a genir val hynn

diboen verch goel godebog
i gred y dygaist y grog
vgain trychant ai wrantv
oedd oed iessv dduw dwyssog.

unodl crwca a vessurir o ddeg silltaf arrhugain val ynglyn vnodl union ond bod y penn yn gyntaf a'r paladr yn olaf ag a genir val hynn

ir gangen wann arr lannerch
a roddaist i'n arwydd serch
a chudunnau brwyn o chaid annerch hardd
i glaerfardd eglurferch.

dau ryw i brost sydd

{ cyfnewidiog
{ a chadwynog

prost cyfnewidiog a gyfnewidia ymhob odl ag a vessurir o wyth silltaf arr hugain sef saith ymhob vn o bedwar bann ag a genir val hynn

aeth o'r iawn vaeth err yn vab
wres oth enw ras ith wyneb
iawn vt o aur yn ynn tyb
alw am wise wiliam esgob.

prost cadwynog sydd or vn messur ag a gadwyna bob eilodl val hynn

yw tair talaith troed teilwng
at yr heddwch ti yw rrudding
hardd dystod nid rrwydd dostwng
iawn oedd deuro'n ddi daring.

val hynn i terfynaf y pumrryw ynglyn dweter weithion am gywyddav tri rryw gywydd i sydd cywydd deuair cywydd llosgyrnog ag awdl gywydd.

deuryw gywydd deuair sydd

{ deuair vyrion
{ a deuair hirion

cywydd deuair vyrion a vessurir o ddwy odl o iij silltaf bob vn val hynn

gwiwglod gwe glau
gyngan gangau

cywydd deuair hirion a vessurir o bedair silltaf ar ddeg sef dwy odl o saith bob vn ag a genir val hynn

y mae i mi am y myd
wyneb vn yn i benyd.

cywydd llosgyrnog a vessurir o ddau vann nev dri nev bedwar
yn cydodli o wyth silltaf bob vn a llosgwrn yn ol o saith silltaf ar odl
olaf o'r bannav yn ateb ir ail silltaf nev'r drydedd or llosgwrn ag
a genir val hynn

y mae goroff em a garaf
o gof aelaw ag a volaf
o choeliaf gael i chalonn.

awdl gywydd a vessurir yn vnig o bedair silltaf arr ddeg ar ail
nev. . . drydedd or ail bann yn ateb ir olaf o'r llall ag a genir val
hynn

un a dal y nadolig
obr diddig i brydyddion
ag a brynn ddeg o bai raid
llongaid val y gollyngon.

bellach yr hysbysswn o'r drydedd gainc nid amgen awdlau a
ffymtheg sydd o honynt sef

Toddaid
gwawdodyn byrr
gwawd olyn hir
hypynt byrr
hupynt hir
cyhydedd verr
cyhydedd hir
cyhydedd nawbann
byrr a thoddaid
hir a thoddaid
cyrch a chwta
clogwrnach
gorchest y beirdd
cadwynfyrr
a thawddgyrch cadwynawg.

toddaid a vessurir o bedair silltaf arr bymtheg a gair cyrch yn
terfyn y ddegfed silltaf ar odl olaf yn y silltaf ag a genir val hynn

a vynno e vo a vydd yn i fro
a'r hynn a vynno na bo ni bydd

gwawdodyn byrr a vessurir o ddwy sillaf arr bymtheg arhugain
dav vann o naw sillaf bob vn a ffennill o doddaid yn ol o bedair
sillaf ar bymtheg ag a genir val hynn

lle i bu'r gaer vain llwybr gwyr a vynnai
lloegr o dir ffranc yn ieuanc a wnai
llew blin ymyddin maeddai wyr arfog
llym varchog enwog a ddigonai.

gwawdodyn hir a vessurir o bymtheg sillaf a deugain sef
pedwar bann o naw silltaf bob un a ffennill o doddaid yn ol o bedair
arr bytheg ag a genir val hynn

ath hen nablav aur oth win o blad
a ffeiplav yn llawn a ffob penn llad
a than oth ddemaens ath iaenith wad

a gwarrio da'n hawdd ag ordeinhad
ag ith dy nae fry heb frad wyrth wybrlann
i oreuro'r gam wyr i roi'r gad.

hpynt byrr a vessurir o bedair sillaf ar bigain dau bann o
ddeuddeg bob vn a thri phennill byrrion ymhob un o bedair sillaf y
ddav gyntaf yn cyd ateb ar trydydd yn arwain yr odl ag a genir
val hynn

iawn oi berchi
i bawb erchi (o bob archiad
arr y diben oes anniben
i siou abad.

hpynt hir a vessurir o ddeuddeg sillaf ar hugain dav vaun o
vn ar bymtheg bob vn a thri phennill byrrion o bedair sillaf bob
vn ymhob bann yn ateb yw gilydd a bann or vn hyd yn olaf yn
arwain yr odl ag a genir val hynn

mi a baraf }
im gwen araf } gaen o gerydd
gain a garaf }
am lyfassu }
vy nifassu } em lluosydd
am lliassu }

cyhydedd verr a vessurir o ddeuddeg sillaf ar hugain pedwar
bann yn cyd odli o wyth sillaf bob un ag a genir val hynn

arglwydd esgob eurgledd wisgiad
i vainc assaf ifanc wiwsad
ag archddiagon gwirwych ddygiad
ir un gafell err iawn gofiad.

cyhydedd hir a vessurir o ddav bennill o bedair sillaf arr
bymtheg bob un a thri bann byrrion o bump sillaf bob un yn odli a
bann o bedair sillaf yn ol yn cyd yngan ar olaf o'r bannau eraill ag
yn odli n unig ag a genir val hynn

o roes vaes veyssydd
ifor rragor rrydd
ef a roe ddafydd
i veirdd ddeufwy
oes deiroes dirion
a bair mair im ion
i buro canon
aber conwy.

cyhydedd nawbann a vessurir o un sillt arr bymtheg arr hugain
pedwawr bann o naw sillaf bob un ag yn un odl drwyddi ag a genir
val hynn

os gwych enwog vu braise gychwniad
acw a mowredd mewn cymeriad
uwch a gwell gwedi wehgall godiad
o fwrw dyddiau a vo r diweddiad.

byrr a thoddaid a vessurir o lxiiii o sillafon sef pedwar bann o
wyth sillaf bob un a phaladr ynglyn unodl union or blaen ag yn ol
ag a genir val hynn

dy reswm sy drwm rroist rwymiad arr ffydd
a dedwydd ywr dodiad

dagun hir chwyrn dy gynhyrchiad
 da ba ryfedd yw dy brifiad
 da o wreiddyn yw dy roddiad
 a da a chroew vu r dechrenad
 dy bregeth difeth arr dyfiad y sydd
 drwy gynnydd driganiad.

hir a thoddaid a vessurir o drigain sillaf pedaur bann o ddeg
 bob un a ffennill o doddaid yn ol o ugain sillaf ag a genir val hynn

calchaidd wyd balchaidd cylchwedd od hylchau
 cai rad oth gwmpas cariadwaith gau
 caed wniad addwyn cordwe nodwydd au
 cy d vodio n gowair coed y vedw yn gaeau
 cynnyddiad nyddiad rinweddau cariad
 cloi dyfais varriad elwydi vais furiau.

cyrch a chwta a vessurir o lvi o sillafon sef chwe bann yn
 cyfodli o saith sillaf bob un a phennill yn o bedair arr ddeg val awdl
 gywydd ag a genir val hynn

bid dwyneb a r byd danad
 byw wythoes arr obeithiad
 braff anor drwy bur ffynniad
 byw tebig bob atebiad
 beuno ai lu bwyn oleuad
 band ti arglwydd bont teirgwlad
 abl am eissob ail moessen
 brawd silien barod seliad.

clogwrnach a vessurir o ddeuddeg sillaf arr hugain dau vann
 o wyth sillaf bob un yn y dechrau val hanner cyhydedd l verr a ffennill
 yn ol o xvi sillaf ag yn ddau fann vrrion o bump sillaf bob un yn
 cyd odli a bann o chwe sillaf yn olaf yn arwain yr odl ag yn cyd
 odli a r olaf o r ddau eraill a r drydedd sillaf yn ateb i odlau r
 ddau eraill ag a genir val hynn

lle ir wyd beynydd lliwrod banon
 llyma rinwedd llu morynion
 llawenydd llannerch
 llyna sein llawn serch
 lle ith annerch lluwch hinon.

gorchest y beirdd a vessurir o un pennill o bymtheg sillaf a
 thri bann byrrion yntho o bedair sillaf bob un yn cyfodli ag yn
 cynghaneddu ar ail sillaf o bob un yn cyd ateb a bann yn ol o dair
 sillaf yn arwain ir odl ag cyd yngan ar olaf or llail ag a genir val
 hynn

ai gwiw y gwas
 a lliw i llas
 a briw heb ras
 o ddau val hynn
 os bid oes budd
 y llid ai lludd
 a gwridd y grudd
 a braw bronn
 o gred gronn

cad wynfyrr a vessurir o xxxii silaf ar bigain sef dau bennill
 o un sillaf ar bymtheg bob un ar wythfed yn ateb ir ddeuddegfed ag
 a ynganeddir bob bedair sillaf ag a genir val hynn.

gwennfun gwynfawr
 geinfun gynfyl
 gwiriad gweryl
 gwirfydd gyrfau
 gorfydd gwerfyl
 gorug eryl
 guriad gorau
 gwiw ragorau

Tawddgyrch cadwynawg a vessurir o lxiiii sillaf ag yn hwnn y bydd pedwar pennill hirion o xvi sillaf bob un ag yn y ddau bennill gyntaf iiii penill byrrion o viii sillaf bob un ar sillaf gyntaf yn ateb ir odl ar wythfed sillaf yn ateb i r ddeuddegfed ag yn yr unfed sillaf ar bymtheg bod yr odl ar bedwaredd ar ail bann yn ateb ir bedwaredd o r bann cyntaf ar wythfed or ail bann yn ateb ir wythfed o r bann cyntaf a r ddeuddegfed yr un modd o bob un yn cyd ateb ag y ddeuddegfed sillaf arrhugain bob ail odl, ar haunier arall a genir val dau bennill o hupynt hir un gyfochr ai ganu val y mae hwnn

adnabydded un o beiddir
 yn lle i r heyddir ion llaw rroddiad
 ich caer rrydded
 ich cyrheyddir
 ich heneiddir ucha noddiaid
 ach rragorau
 heb gau dorau
 hwyr a borau
 a thyssorau
 uwch allorau
 athro gorau.

err i bwriad
 a thrwy gariad
 ag val hyn i terfynaf
 y pedwar messur arrhugain
 cerdd dafod ai dosbarth
 yn ol rreol yr athrawon.

John Phillip.

APPENDIX VII.

“ A true and p’fect Inventory of all and singular the goodes Cattells and Chattells aswell moveable as immoveable of William Phillip late of Llanaber in the County of Meirioneth and Dioces of Bangor gent deceased made and taken the 30th day of May Ano Reg. Caroli scdi Ang.....Anoq dmi 1670.

		£	s.	d.
Impris	One old	priced to	01	00 00
Itt:	two great Ch.....	priced to	01	00 00
Itt:	fine lesser	priced to	01	00 00
Itt:	three bedsteades.....	priced to	00	12 00
Itt:	one featherbed with sheets blanketts one hilling and one Coverlett And one pillow belonging thereunto all priced to		02	00 00
Itt:	all his weareing apparell priced to ...		00	15 00
Itt:	two brasse pans with the brand Iron pr: to		01	05 00

Itt:	foure platters one pewter flagon and one Tankard one brasse Candlestick priced to	00	15	00
Itt:	two tables two chaires and one fourme pr to	01	00	00
Itt:	one old sword priced to	00	05	00
Itt:	one old breweing vessel and one old Barrell priced to	00	08	00
Itt:	Old bookes priced to	10	00	00
It:	one old Iron barre and one old hatchett priced to	00	04	00
	Sum total	20	04	00

Pricers—

Thomas Williames

Moris Lloyd

APPENDIX VIII.

B.M. Add. MS. 14992 (Copied in Cwrt Mawr 167, p. 117).

Carol gwirod ar gonseat y ddafad ddu.

Rhowch osteg i mi gyndeithion glan
ynghan ar furr o spas
anedd wiwlwus glud
am hyn mewn prud cewch glywed blas
dwsing o ddynton yn flinion mewn lludded
sy'n cnoekio yn eich drysa ai berra gin fudred
yn barod i yfed bob un i gwpaned
a Duw i'ch cadw rhag eich cas

Rhowch danllwuth ar y tan o fawn
gollyngwch ni i mewn i ganu yn glir
ni wnawn ni arnoch i ormes fawr
ond rhodio ych llawr ag yfed bir
pan ddarffo ini hynnu a dechre llawenychu
y bobol su yn costi ymgesglwn i gysgu
ni ddown inne ond hynnu i drwbled moch llethu
Dan ben y flwuddun coeliwch wir

Rhowch atdeb ini ar furr o dro
fe ddarfu imi guro am agorud y drws
ag onite mi a yn wsg ym henn
i chwilio am burwen eneth dlws
ne geisiwch gantorion a fedro roi atdebion
yn gowir ar fesur yn foesol na fision
ni wuawn inne heno ond hunu ymfonyion
trafaeliwn bart tra ddalio yn siws.

Diwedd.

“Beirdd a Bardd-Rin.”

ADOLYGIAD

GAN YR ATHRO IFOR WILLIAMS, M.A.,

Bangor.

YN y gyfrol hon,¹ rhydd Mr. Timothy Lewis ei syniadau am ystyr enwau gwahanol fathau o feirdd, a geffid yng Nghymru gynt, meddai ef; yna eglurir termau cerdd dafod, neu gelfyddyd y bardd; a diweddir trwy esbonio'r beiau y rhybuddid y bardd i'w gochel, beiau ac anafau cerdd dafod. O ran diwyg allanol, print, papur, rhwymiad, cyfrol olygus a thra dymunol ydyw. Ni ellir, fodd bynnag, gannol cywirdeb yr argraffu, canys drosodd a throsodd drwy'r llyfr printiwyd *d* am *dd*, *oi*, *ai*, am *o'i*, *a'i*, yn gymysg â'r orgraff arferol, nes bod fy nghasgliad o feiau'r wasg yn rhy hir i'w chynnwys yn yr adolygiad. Rhoir ar y diwedd restr faith o lyfrau ar y pwnc a welwyd gan yr awdwr, tystiolaeth effeithiol i lêd ei ddarllen. Bydd hefyd yn hwylus i'r neb a fyn weithio yn yr un maes, oherwydd bod ynddi gynifer o gyfeiriadau at drafodaethau ar fydryddiaeth a gyhoeddwyd mewn cylchgronnau ar y Cyfandir, traethodau ac erthyglau gwir deilwng o astudiaeth. Anodd i ni yng nghonglau Cymru gael gafael arnynt, a theg yw llongyfarch Mr. Lewis ar ei lwyddiant ef yn hyn o beth. Casglodd ddefnydd o bob cyfeiriad, ar y pwynt ac oddiarno, a diau fod yma ffrwyth llafur blynyddoedd. Gofid i mi, serch hynny, yw gorfod datgan yn groyw a difloesgni, er ei holl lafur, a'i ymroddiad, a'i ddarllen helaeth, mai cruglwyth o gamgymeriadau

¹*Beirdd a Bardd-rin Cymru Fu*, Timothy Lewis, Gwasg y Fwynant, Aberystwyth. MCMXXIX, t.d. xii. 1—139.

dybryd yw ei lyfr. Gorchwyl poenus yw ysgrifennu hyn, ond dyna fy nyletswydd, gan na ddown byth at y gwir wrth osod ieitheg fympwyol yn lle ieitheg wyddonol, yn y modd y gwna Mr. Lewis.

Un o'n hanghenion pennaf, un o'r pethau a groesewid gynhesaf gan fyfyrwyr yn ein hen farddoniaeth fuasai trafodaeth gyflawn a gwyddonol ar berthynas mesurau cerdd Cymru a rhai'r Cyfandir. Rhoes yr Athro Syr John Morris-Jones i ni yn ei *Gerdd Dafod* ddisgrifiad penigamp yn ei arddull dryloew ef o'r gerdd honno yn nydd ei bri. Ond yr oedd eto waith i rywun drafod yn fanylach broblem y tarddiad. Gwyddys am wasanaeth Dr. Thurneysen i gelfyddyd farddonol y Gwyddel: buddiol fyddai cael peth cyffelyb ynglŷn â'r hen fesurau Cymreig. Y cwestiwn felly yw, a gafwyd cymorth at y gorchwyl hwnnw yn llyfr newydd Mr. Lewis? Ni fedr neb ddibrisio ei gymwynas i ni oll yn ei *Glossary of Mediæval Welsh Law*. Ni waeth pa mor aml y bydd raid i ddyn anghytuno ag ef ar ystyr gair, neu ar gywirdeb ei darddiad ef i air, erys ei eirfa â'i brawddegau cymharol, yn gymorth cyfamserol i bob ysgolhaig. Ac erys felly y rhawg. Yn anffodus, ni ellir dweud dim o'r fath am y llyfr hwn. Yma, nid cwestiwn yw o wrthod ambell esboniad, a derbyn y nesaf ato; rhaid gwrthod y llyfr bron yn ei grynswth, canys ymdriniaeth fympwyol a gawn ynddo ar y termau sy'n sylfaen yr holl gelfyddyd. Nid cam ymlaen sydd ynddo, ond brasgamu yn ôl i'r cyfnod cyn i ieitheg ddyfod yn wyddoniaeth. Ar bwys tebygrwydd damweiniol mewn sain, gwneir dau air yn un, a hynny yn erbyn rheolau cydnabyddedig ieitheg. Pell wyf o ddal nad oes gan Mr. Lewis hawl berffaith i groesddweud Zeuss, Pedersen, Loth, Rhys a Morris-Jones, ond ni fedr ef mwy na neb arall groesddweud a diystyru 'r rheolau a'r deddfau a ddarganfu'r ysgolheigion hyn ym mherthynas ieithoedd

â'i gilydd, ac ynglŷn â thyfiant geiriau yn Gymraeg. Os methodd yrhain—canys terfynol ywgwybodaeth pob ysgolhaig, er rhagored fo—ni chywirir mo'u camgymeriadau drwy dorri deddfau ieitheg yn chwilfriw, ond trwy eu darganfod yn gliriach a'u cadw yn fanylach. Wrth gwrs, addefir nad yw'r hyn a elwir yn ddeddf ieithegol mor ddi-eithriad a rheolau rhifyddiaeth. Serch hynny, anturus fyddai neb a godai ddamcaniaeth ar sylfaen y mae bron bob carreg ynddi yn eithriad i reolau gwyddoniaeth iaith, neu'n gwrthdaro'n bendant yn eu herbyn. Dyna a wnaeth Mr. Lewis yma: llafuriodd yn galed i gasglu defnyddiau, a'u trefnu a'u cysylltu, ond y mae ei seiliau mor fregus fel na saif ei adeilad ddim. Petaswn i'n dweud yn *Y Cymmrodor* fod 21 yr un peth a 12, gan mai 'r un ffigyrau sydd ynddynt, gwyddai pob un o'r darllenwyr ddigon am rifyddiaeth i wybod mai cyfeiliorni yr oeddwn. Petaswn i 'n dal mai 'r un gair yw *gwybed* a *gwybod* am eu bod mor debyg i'w gilydd o ran sain, ac yn cadarnhau hynny trwy gyfeirio at yr hen ffurfiau, *gwyddbed*, a *gwyddbod* ni fedrai neb wadu 'r tebygrwydd, ond chwerddid am fy mhen, serch hynny, a gofynnid cwestiwn cyrhaedgar, "Beth am yr ystyr?" Ond pan ddywed Mr. Lewis fod *Annwfn*, (td. 3) mewn hen orgraff, *Annwfn*, yr un peth a'r Lladin *numina*, mi wrantaf y caiff rai yn ddigon ehud i'w gredu. Ychydig, wedi'r cwbl, sydd yn gynefin â rheolau ieitheg, ac i'r lleill, digon yw'r tebygrwydd arwynebol yn y geiriau hyn.

Gwell aros am funud uwchben y pâr *Annwfn*, *Numina* i weld pa anawsterau sydd ar ffordd y neb a fynno ddal mai benthg yw'r cyntaf o'r ail.

1.—Pa sut y cyfrifir am *an-*? Ar ddelw *anadredd* am *nadredd*, gellid deall *anwfn* fel posibilrwydd, ond ceir tystiolaeth gyson i'r ddwy *n* yn *annwfn*, a rhaid cyfrif am hynny hefyd.

2.—Y mae *u* yn *numina* yn hir, a rhydd hynny *u* yn Gymraeg (cp. *plūma*, plu, *Lūna*, Llun). Pam y rhoes *w* yma?

3.—O *nūmina* disgwyliid *nufen*. Trwy gydweddiad â lluosogion fel *cemmein*, *enwein* (camau, enwau) gellid *nufein*, efallai *nufyn*. Gyda'r rhagddodiad *an-*, dyna air trisill, *anufyn*. Ond deusill yw *annwfn*, a pham felly y cymharodd Mr. Lewis enwau fel *Nwmin*, *Nefyn*, lle mae llafariad rhwng *f* ac *n*? Diau mai am iddo eu cymysgu yn ei feddwl ag *annwfnyn*, lle ceir mewn hen orgraff *y* rhwng *f* ac *n*. Ond nid yw'r *y* yno yn cyfrif i wneud sillaf. Petasai 'r gair yn drisill mewn gwirionedd, afreolaidd fuasai *w* yn *y* sillaf olaf ond un. Ni ddywedwn *cwch-od*, *trwm-ion*, etc.

4.—Petasem yn anwybyddu 'r holl anawsterau hyn yn y seiniau, beth am yr ystyr? Golyga *Annwfn* y byd arall, byd tanddaearol yr hen Gymry, gwlad y Tylwyth Teg; yna uffern: *Nūmen*, lluosog *nūmina*, medd Andrews, 'nod, the divine will, divinity, deity' ac weithiau yn y lluosog fel y dywed Lewis, 'ysbrydion gwŷr ymadawedig'. Unigol yw *Annwfn*, byd neu wlad. Ni ellir ei fenthyca o'r unigol *numen*, gan na cheid o hwnnw ddim ond *nuf*, *nu*. Rhaid felly i Mr. Lewis gydio *annwfn* wrth y lluosog, a dal mai ei ystyr yw 'ysbrydion gwŷr ymadawedig'. Yn ôl y Mabinogi anfonwyd moch o *Annwfn* i Ddyfed. Ai o 'ysbrydion gwŷr ymadawedig' y daeth y genfaint hon? Haws credu i ysbrydion fynd i foch, nag i foch ddyfod allan o ysbrydion. Rhaid i ni, gan hyuny, fynd ymlaen eto, i dybio a dychmygu bod enw lluosog a olygai ysbrydion wedi troi i olygu 'r wlad, y fro, y lle y mae'r ysbrydion yn byw, a chymharu *Cymry* am y wlad a'r bobl, etc. Rhaid treisio a llurgunio 'r ystyr amlwg yn yr hên destunau *Cymraeg* yn ffafr tarddiad i'r gair sy'n taro 'n bendant yn erbyn amryw o reolau sicraf ieitheg. Rhaid gwrthod y

rheolaidd a'r tebygol, a derbyn yr anhebygol, a'r afreolaidd yn safon. Wedyn medrwn innau gynnig bod *englyn* yn debyg iawn i *engyl*, *efengyl*, ac mai enw ydyw ar gân yr *englylion*, a chadarnhau hyn trwy ddyfynnu Dafydd ap Gwilym, "*Englyn aur angel o nef*". Gwyddys mai ffurf ar *Gruffudd* yw *Guto*, a gall *buta* (orgraff arall am *bwyta*) darddu o'r *S. buffet*; heb sôn am *buttery*, *butri*. Medrwn wneud campau o'r fath y faint a fynnom, ond wrth eu gwneud yr ydym yn cefnu ar y golau, ac yn cerdded yn ôl i'r tywyllwch y gwaredwyd ni ohono gan wyddonwyr a weithiai wrth reol, ac a barchai ddeddf.

Arhosais ar gynnig Mr. Lewis ar *Annwfn* gan ei fod yn enghraifft deg o'i ddull o weithio: gwêl debygrwydd mewn dau air i'w gilydd; anwybydda'r anawsterau i'w cydio 'n rheolaidd: diystyra bob gwahaniaeth mewn ystyr, canys digon ganddo os byddant mewn rhyw fath o gysylltiad â'i gilydd. Cyfeiriai yn fwy cryno at ei esboniadau eraill.

Td. 5. *Toddlaidd*, neu *toddiaid*, "*Cyfieithiad llythrenmol o'r gair farce*". Yn ôl td. 87 daw "*farce* 'stuffing' o'r Ll. *farcire* 'to stuff', used metaph. of interludes, etc. season, spice, stuff (in cookery and fig. of literary compositions)". Diau bod sdwffin mewn aml draethawd, ac mewn gŵydd Nadolig, a bod *toddion* rywle yn y cyffiniau, ond ni fedraf weld mai sdwffio yw toddi serch hynny.

Td. 6. Dyfynnir *Clogyrnach*, a'i amryfal ffurfiau, *clogwrnach*, *clegyrnach*; yna heb air o eglurhad, dechreuir ei alw *glogyrnach*, er mwyn ei ddehongli fel ffurf Gymraeg ar *Gregorian song*, neu'r *Gregorian Cursus*! Dyma eiriau Mr. Lewis, "*Os rhoir l yn lle r yn grigor*, ac y mae'r ddwy lythyren hyn yn newid yn fynych, yna y mae *glogyrnog*, yn ymddangos yn eithaf rhesymol i mi fel ansoddair o *Grigor*". Darllenas hyn drosodd a throsodd, ac nid wyf yn deall eto sut y daeth y wningen o'r het.

Troi *grigor* yn *gligor*, gwaith hawdd. Ffurio ausoddair wedyn, dyna *gligorog*. Ond o ble yn yr het y daeth *glogyrnog*? A bydd raid newid y gynffon wedyn i *-ach*. Ac atolwg hefyd, ple mae'r enghreifftiau o'r gair yn dechrau gydag *g*? Yn Llyfr Coch Hergest col. 1133, ceir Clogyrnach; col. 1132, a *chlogyrnach*. Rhydd Gutun Owain yn y bymthegfed ganrif *Klogyrnach* (B.B.C.S. iv. 213). Ond pe gwrthodem dderbyn tystiolaeth y llawysgrifau hynaf lle digwydd y gair, a darllen *Glogyrnach*, rhaid cael angel eto o rywle i gyffroi pob llafariad o'i lle, a phlannu *n* yn sydyn ac yn ddistaw ar ôl yr *r*. Tybiwn iddo ymddangos, a digwydd o'r wyrth. Beth am yr ystyr? Dyfynnaf Mr. Lewis ei hun, "Math o ganu gwerin oedd canu Grigor heb rith rithm na mydr." Ond mesur cywrain caeth yw Clogyrnach, un o'r pedwar mesur ar hugain, ac yn un o'r rhai mwyaf celfydd ohonynt. Dyma batrwm y Llyfr Coch:

Y bareu arneu ar *noloch*.
y bebyll y byll y ball *coch*.
amyl ywech veird y *vud*.
emrych llys nywech *llud*.
emys *rud*, ruthyr gwyduoch.

A yw'n debyg y buasai enw Lladin "ar ganu gwerin heb rith rithm na mydr" yn awgrymu i fardd o Gymro enw ar fesur cyn gywreiniad a chyn gaethed a hyn? Nid *anhebyg* yw'r gair addas yn y cysylltiad hwn, ond *anghredadwy*, neu *annichonadwy*.

Td. 6. Esbonnir *rhupunt* fel "ffurf ar yr hyn a elwid yn Ffr. *Reponds*, *Repuns*, h.y. Responses i'w darllen neu eu canu yn yr Eglwys, ac yr oedd llawer math ohonynt". Diau fod, ond yn mha un ohonynt yr oedd awgrym o'r *Rhupunt* Cymreig ac ym mha ffurf ar yr enw y cafwyd y terfyniad *-unt*? A ellir *rhup-* o'r Ffr. *rep-*?

Td. 8. Dygir *acrostic* i mewn i helpu esbonio *gosteg* fel

term mydryddol. Dyfynnaf sylw Mr. Lewis td. 19, am ŵr arall, “cynneu^o canwyll frwmstan yw hynny, a rhoi mwg yn lle goleu”.—Cymhariaeth dda.

Td. 19-22. Cynigir bod *rheg* yn Gymraeg yn golygu ‘praise’ a’i fod yn ateb i ran gyntaf yr enw Gwyddeleg *reacaire* ar fath o fardd. Y rheol yw mai *ch* sydd mewn Gwyddeleg rhwng llafariaid i ateb i *g* yn Gymraeg. Pam yr eithriad yma? Nid oes air am yr anhawster: a mwy na hynny, nid oes rym yn y ddadl bod *rheg* yn golygu ‘praise’. Eto eir ymlaen i ddadlau bod *rhegofydd* yn tarddu o *rheg* a *gofydd*, ffurf ar y gair gof, ac yn golygu’r un peth a *reacaire*. Eithr ystyr *tolî rheg* (td. 21) yw bod yn gwta gyda rhoddion: a *rheg-ofydd* yw ‘dispenser of gifts,’ fel y dengys yr holl enghreifftiau sydd ar gael. “*Rhegofydd* oeddwn o’i ddaioni” meddai un bardd am ei arglwydd, h.y. myfi oedd yn cael rhannu ei dda (nid fel Lewis, 22 “I used to sing songs of his goodness”). Gelwir Duw ei hun yn rhegofydd, gw. R.P. 37 a 36; M.A. 231 a; hefyd y Forwyn Fair, 227b. Canmolir y Tywysog Llywelyn, (M.A. 239b) “Ef goreu rieu *recouyt* a wn Eryr suawtyn”, ef oedd yr arglwydd gorau, y *rhannwr rhoddion* gorau a wyddai’r bardd; ef oedd Eryr Snawtyn (Snowdon). Beius yw Loth, Anwyl, Morris-Jones am weld *dofydd* yn yr enw, medd Lewis, canys iddo ef llygriad o *ofydd* yw *dofydd*. Onid yw yn rhyfedd ynteu cael yn Llyfr Llandaf tua 1140, yr enw neu’r disgrifiad *rec douid* (gw. L.L. 127)? Rhydd y Llyfr Gwyn (226b) a’r Llyfr Coch (100) ”*rec douyd* ynt y gwraged weithon “fel y rheswm a ddyry mam Culhwch ar ei gwely angau wrth erfyn ar ei gŵr beidio ag ail briodi’n sydyn rhag difetha ei fab. Gwyddai mai’r wraig newydd a fuasai ’n *rhannu rhoddion* dros y brenin ac felly bod perygl na chai ei mab hi lawer o ffafrau. Yn sicr nid oedd yn cynghori iddo ymgadw rhag priodi, oherwydd bod y gwragedd wedi ymollwng i farddoni. Y mae’r enghreifft-

iau i gyd yn glir, ac yn cau allan ystyr Lewis i'r gair, ond ni wiw iddo roi chwarae teg iddynt, neu derfydd am ei ddamcaniaeth, am *rheg, gofreg, rhegofydd*.

Td. 29. Ni raid colli eiliad ar y cynnig mai *brydydd* yw *prydydd*. Mewn geirfa o Hen Gernyweg ceir *poeta-pridit*: prydydd yw'r ffurf yn y llsg. hynaf yn Gymraeg, Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin, yn ôl Lewis ei hun. Ni cheir *brydydd* yn unman ond fel treigliad o *prydydd*; y ferf yw *prydu*, a'r hyn a brydir yw *prydest*. Etyb i'r dim o ran ei wreiddyn i'r Gw. *creth* 'barddoniaeth', lle ceir *c* i ateb yn rheolaidd i *p* yn y gair Cymraeg. Pam ynteu y llurgunio a'r ystumio ar yr enw cyffredin hwn, yn nannedd tystiolaeth gyson y llawysgrifau? Am fod Mr. Lewis yn mynnu gweld *bryd* ynddo, iddo fedru ei gydio wrth yr enw Gw. *brethemon* ar ynad (td. 32). Dywed yn dawel (td. 29) "Ymddengys weithiau fel 'brydydd' ond fynychaf fel 'prydydd'". A gawn ni rywdro eto, tybed, yr enghreifftiau hyn o 'brydydd'? Dywedir wrthym (td. 30) mai *brydu* sydd yn y llinell hon o RBP. II. 177, 11:—

Pe dawant anant na *frydant* wawd.

Troer i M.A. 140 a, a cheir yno'r un llinell wedi ei golygu yn gywir:—

Py dawant anant na *phrydant* wawd.

Diau mai *f* am *ff* am *ph* sydd i'w ddarllen yn y llinell, fel mewn lliaws o rai eraill cp. B.B.C. 39 *pirfeith*; 37, *fruith* a *freu* a *fop amriffreu*.

Eir ymlaen i gymysgu *bryd*, *brud* a *pryd*. Y cwbl a wnaif yma ydyw atgoffa sylw Syr John Morris-Jones (W.G. 13); sef bod tua 140 o eiriau unsill yn *u* ac *y* yn Gymraeg, ac mai'r unig enghraifft o gymysgu orgraff a wyddai ef am dano oedd *cryd* am *crud*. Seinid *u* gyda'r gwefusau 'n grwn (cp. Ffr. *u*) hyd ddiwedd yr unfed gaurif ar bymtheg, fel y cesglir oddiwrth eiriau Dr. Siôn

Dafydd Rhys: ac ni cheid trafferth i wahaniaethu rhwng *u* ac *y*, ag eithrio yn y sillaf olaf ddiacen. Gan fod yr iaith wedi ymgadw mor dda rhag y bai hwn, onid doeth fyddai i Mr. Lewis ail ystyried ei enghreifftiau? Yn arbennig carwn dynnu ei sylw at un ohonynt, sef a gaulyn, td. 31, “Yn *Arch. Lhwyd*, 256c, 257, ceir ‘*bryd* neu amseroliaeth byrr’ a ‘bryt y tywysogion’”. A yw hyn yn deg â'r darlennydd? Gŵyr Mr. Lewis cystal a minnau am orgraff Edward Lhwyd. Wrth ysgrifennu Cymraeg, penderfynodd yr ysgolhaig hwnnw beidio ag arfer *u* o gwbl, eithr defnyddio *y* am *u* ac am *y*, gw. ei Wyddor, td. 2 o'r *Arch. Brit.* Felly cawn ganddo eiriau fel *goley*, *astyd*, *govaly*, *mŷr*, *mŷd*, am *goleu*, *astud*, *gofalu*, *mur*, *mud*. Cyfyngodd *u* i'r Lladin (=w), ond yn Gymraeg defnyddiodd *u* (h. y. *u* â phwynt odani) am *w*. Sut felly y medrai Lhwyd ysgrifennu *brud* ond fel y gwnaeth yn *Arch. Brit.* 256, “*Brŷd* ne amserolieth byr”? A sut y medrai ysgrifennu *bryd* ond fel *bryd*? Nid oedd ganddo ond *y* am *y* ac *u*. Ar y pwynt, gan hynny, o wahaniaethu rhwng *brud* a *bryd*, pa rithyn o fudd oedd dyfynnu Lhwyd o gwbl?

Td. 32. *Bregywryd*. Troeog iawn yw achau hwn! Fel y gwelwyd uchod nid yw Mr. Lewis yn craffu llawer ar orgraff, ac nid yw rheolau iaith yn llyffethair arno, os gwêl ddwy gytsain neu dair yn gyffredin i ryw ddau air y mae am eu huno â'i gilydd. Mewn Galeg yn nyddiau Cesar, ceid *Vergobretos* am swyddog gwladol neilltuol. Rhannwyd y gair i *vergo-* a *bretos*, a'r esboniad gorau hyd yn hyn ar *vergo-* yw 'r glos *guerg* ar *efficax* mewn llsgr. yn Rhydychen (Loth, V.V.B. 136); gwelir yr un gwraidd yn enw Celtic *Vergil*. Os darllenir *Verco-bretos* gyda rhai arysgrifau, gw. ymdriniaeth ochelgar a gofalus yn R.C. xl, 216. Ni welaf ddim yn erbyn deall *bretos* fel perthynas i *bryd* “meddwl, barn.”

Y mae tuedd i *v* ar ddechrau gair i droi 'n *b* mewn Lladin Canol—dyna sut y cafwyd *berf* yn Gymraeg o'r Ll. *verbum*—ac felly ceir *Bercobretos* ar arian bath. Eithr mewn gair o'r famiaith Geltig a arhosodd yn Gymraeg, neu air Lladin a fenthyciwyd yn gynnar i'r Gymraeg, try *v* ar ei ddechrau yn *gw*,—dyna un ddeddf, neu reol a ddarganfuwyd, ac a brofwyd (cp. Ll. *vinum*, gwin). Un arall yw fod hen *-rg-* yn rhoi *rg*, *ry*, *r* (cp. Ll. *virgo*, *gwyry*), ond *-rc-* yn rhoi *rch* (cp. Ll. *arca*, arch; *Mercurii*, Merchyr, Mercher). O *Vergobretos* disgwyliem rywbeth fel *gwerghfryd*, *gwerfryd*, neu *gurfryd*; ond o *vercobretos*, deuai *gwerchfryd*. Y mae dichon i *gwe-* a *gwo-* ymgynnewid, felly rhodder *gorchfryd* hefyd i lawr. O *Bercobretos* ceffid *Berchfryd*. Dyna'r datblygiadau rheolaidd, y gall dyn ddibynnu arnynt. Eithriadol yw *rch* yn troi yn *lch*, ond gwyddys am dair enghraifft go sier (cp. *arch*, *alch*), a gellid cadw hynny mewn cof fel posibilrwydd. Yn wyneb hyn oll, beth a ddywedwn am y gamp o droi *Vercobretos* yn *Bregywryd*? Godidog, ond nid ieitheg!

Onid nid digon yw hyn gan Mr. Lewis: dwg i mewn restr o ffurfiau 'r enw *Blegywryd* o lsg. Lladin a Ffrangeg (td. 34) yn gymysg â *Bledri*, a gwna ail ran *Blegywryd*, sef *cywryd* yn "herald dewisol" neu "pen luydd" (td. 37). Y ffurf hynaf ar yr enw cyntaf yw *bledcjurit* yn Llyfr St. Chad, (L.L. xlvii) cp. *bledcuirit* (L.L. 219, am *bledciurit*?), *bledcuirit* (td. 222). Yr elfen gyntaf ynddo yw *Bled-*, sef *Bleidd* neu *Bledd* mewn orgraff ddiweddar: yr ail yw'r enw *cywryd*, sy'n digwydd fel enw priod ar fardd tywysog o'r enw Dunawd, (a gymysgwyd gan Mr. Lewis, td. 38, â'r gramadegydd Donatus). Yn ôl td. 33, daw *cywryd* o *co-bretos*, a chan mai *bryd* yw *bretos*, rhaid mai 'r rhagddodiad *co-* yw 'r elfen gyntaf. A dyna helynt eto, canys y rheol yw cael *co-* yn lle *com-* o flaen gwraidd yn dechrau gydag *w* (*v*), megis **co-vēr-* yn

rhoi 'cywir'. I esbonio *cywryd* dylid chwilio am y gwreiddyn *-vrit-*. Pan fo gwreiddyn yn dechrau gyda *b*, ffurf y rhagddodiad yw *com-* (cp. **com-bro-* Cymro: **com-ber-*, cymeraf).

I ddychwelyd at *Bledciurit*, gan fod y ddwy elfen ynddo yn bod ar wahan, a bod y gyntaf, *Blaidd*, yn rhan mor aml o enwau personol fel y dengys *Bledbiu*, *Bledgint*, *Bledgur*, *Bledri*, *Bledris*, *Bledud* (cp. *Arthbleid*, *Arthboddu*, *Arthmail*, L.L. 387) yn Llyfr Llandaf, gellir cydio 'r ddwy elfen ynghyd, a'u gadael ynghyd, fel enw dilys. A heddwch i lwch y *Vergobretos*. Ni ellir bardd ohonaw.

Ni wnaaf ond enwi 'r *Alaw* (td. 40) sy'n frawd tybiedig i'r Gw. *Ollamh*, a gofyn am eughraifft ohono mewn hen destun yn yr ystyr o fardd. Ond y mae gweld y Gwyddel *filé* yn troi yn *gwilwr*, *gwilyat*, *gwilliad*, *gwyll*, yn emlyn mwy o chwilfrydedd ynof (td. 42), yn enwedig gan yr awgrymir i mi wneud dylluan ohono! Cyfeirir at fy nodiadau yn y *Bulletin*, i, 228-234, lle dangosais fod canu *Suibhne Geilt* yn debyg i ganu *Myrddin Wyllt*; a chan fod *gwyll* mewn hen lsgr. yn digwydd am *gwyllt*, cynigiais mai pobl wyllt yn y coed, gwallgofiaid, oedd *gwyllon* yr hen farddoniaeth. Yna euthum ymlaen i wahaniaethu y *gwyll gwyllt* hwn oddiwrth enw ar ddylluan, *gúyll*, *úyll*, a cheisiais ddangos mai *úy* sydd yn yr olaf (nid *wj*), ac nad oedd *g* ar ei ddechrau gynt, ond iddi dyfu yno yn ddiweddarach. Oherwydd iddo ddarllen y nodion hyn yn rhy frysioig i amgyffred y meddwl, tybiodd Mr. Lewis fy mod yn dal mai 'r un gair oedd y ddau, er fy mod i â'm holl egni yn eu gwahaniaethu! Ac felly dywed (td. 47), "Nid dynion gorffwyll na lladron na dylluanod ychwaith yw'r 'gwyllon', ond pendefigion yr hen ddiwylliant ar eu goreu." Darllened eto yn araf deg *Buile Suibhne Geilt* (Irish Texts Soc. Vol. xii), ac wedyn ganu *Myrddin Wyllt* yn y Llyfr Du a chaiff hanes y ddau wyllt hyn, nid ar eu

gorau, ond fel gwallgofiaid yn byw gyda gwylltflod yn y goedwig, ac yn canu penillion sydd mor debyg weithiau nes bod lle cryf i ddadlau mai cyfieithu yr oedd un waith y llall!

Gwrthddadleua Mr. Lewis nad yw gwyllt bob amser yn golygu gwallgof. Cytunaf ar unwaith: y mae graddau mewn gwylltineb. Gofyn drachefn (td. 45), "Pa beth rhagorach na hyn ellid ddweyd am neb?" a dyfynna R.P. 1421.

Can hynny kynhennu ny wnant
Can wyllyon kelydon kerdant.

Tybed, mewn difri, iddo ddeall y geiriau hyn fel canmol-iaeth? Sôn y mae'r bardd am y gelynion, yn gweld Llywelyn fel llew, ac yn warant neu amddiffyn i'w wŷr, "Gan hynny nid ymladd a wnant, ond ffoi mewn dychryn gwallgo, i drigo gyda gwallgofiaid Coed Celyddon." Ceir digon o enghreifftiau o *cynnen* am frwydr (gw. B.B.C. 68, 7, *Yg kinhen teir cad*) yn ogystal ag am gweryl.

Ar yr un tudalen (45), cawn a ganlyn, "Fel hyn y disgrifir y 'Tri Llanc' yn y Ffwrn Dan (R.B.P. i, 1411):

Tri meib trwy ymwan rodri n roi oedran
A dorrei allan ynt drwy willieit
Tri meib or triman. Duw uu yny ffwrndan
.....
Rodyon gwwilw gwyllyon dym gwallouyei."

Unwaith eto darllenodd Mr. Lewis ei destun yn rhy wyllt. Sôn y mae'r bardd am dri mab Syr Tomas ap Rossier, sef Rossier, Watgyn, Harri, ac yn dymuno i'r Duw fu yn y ffwrn dân gyda'r tri Hebrewr, noddi y tri hyn hefyd. Torrodd Mr. Lewis y dyfyniad ar ei hanner, a chollodd yr ystyr:

Duw uu ny ffwrn dan
Yw gadu weithian ymysk doethieit.

'Duw fu'n y ffwrn dân, I'w gadu weithian ymysg doethion.'

Sut fechgyn oeddynt? Tri a dorrai allan *drwy willieit*.

Cymerer hyn gyda *trwy ymwan* yu y llinell o'r blaen: medrent mewn sgarmes dorri drwy fagað o *willieit*, neu garn-lladron. Ond beth sydd a wnêl hyn â'r bardd Gwyddelig a elwid *filé*? Anodd dîmad.

Am y llinell olaf a ddyfynnodd Mr. Lewis o R.B.P. i, 1411, chwiliais yn ofer am dani yn awdl Lewys Glyn Cothi i dri mab Syr Thomas. Nid yw yno o gwbl oll, nac ar y tudalen hwnnw, ond daw i mewn ym marwnad Cadwallawn m. Madawc gan Gynddelw Brydydd Mawr dair canrif ynghynt, gw. M.A. 160a, lle ceir gwell darlleniad:

Mordaf heuelyt ryt ym rotei
Rotyon *gwelw gwyllion* dym gwallouyei

Llai byth felly y medrir cymryd hyn fel disgrifiad o'r tri llanc yu y ffwrn dân! Yr ystyr yw fod Cadwallon, gŵr hael fel Mordaf Hael gynt, yu rhoddi 'n rhydd i 'r bardd "roddion gwelw *gwyllion*", sef meirch o liw gwelw, *â digon o fynd ynddynt*, ep. M.A. 149a. Lliaws *gorwyd gwelw* gwalch frowys.

I ddychwelyd at y *filé*. Rhydd Zeuss G.C. 254 *fili*, gen. *filed*: Thurneysen, *Hand.* 197 *fili* yn y cyflwr enwol; *filed*, cyflwr genitif: *filid*, enwol lluosog. Cymbara Pedersen *fili* (gen. *filed*) i *gweled* yn Gymraeg, h.y. *gweledydd* yw ystyr enw'r bardd ganddo ef. Yn ôl yr holl awdurdodau un *l* sydd yn *fili*, ac felly disgwyliem i'r gair Cymraeg, a roir i ateb iddo, gynnwys un *l*. Nid unsill mono chwaith, a gyrr *filed*, *filid* ni i chwilio am air Cymraeg lle bydd llafariad ar ôl yr *l*, ac yna gytsain ddeintiol. Cynnig gorau Lewis i gyfarfod y gofynion hyn yw *gwylyat*, ond cyn i neb gael cyfle i'w longyfarch, â ymlaen i gymysgu *gwylyat* â *gwiliad*, *gwyll*, a *gwyliwr* 'watchman', wedyn daw 'r glosau V.V.B. 138 *guilat* hilaris: *guiliat* tonsa: *guiliatou* tonsuras, a chydîr hwythau wrth y *filé*. Yna cyfeirir at gorun Dafydd ap Gwilym, a'm bod i wedi ceisio profi o'r herwydd iddo fod yn *fynach*. Maddeued i

mi am ei gywiro, ond sôn a wneuthum i am gorun moel yr *eglwyswr*. Y mae gwahaniaeth rhwng dal bod Dafydd yn urddol a dal iddo fod yn fynach. Nid mynaich oedd y *scholares vagantes*. Ond yn ôl at y pwynt: y cynnig gorau o'r fintai gref uchod yw *gwilyat*, a buasai 'n werth ei drafod yn ofalus, petasai gan yr awdwr *un* enghraifft ohono yn golygu bardd. Eithr nid oes un, nid oes gymaint ag un. A phetasai yma lygedyn o oleuni, boddid ef gan fintai 'r *ll*. O ddifrif, ac mewn difrif, sut y mae modd i *l* Wyddelig ateb i *l* Gymraeg ac ar yr un pryd ateb hefyd i *ll* Gymraeg? Onid oes ystyr i *ll*?

Td. 46. Chwaneger *benwyll* Iolo Morganwg at y lleill!

Td. 48-54. *Mebinog a Mebinogi*. Esbonnir *Mebinog* fel prentis Shanachy, neu *Henog* ieuanc, a thybir bod *hinog* yn amrywiad cyfreithlon o *henog*. Yr eglurhad newydd felly yw *mab-hinog*. Gan fod *b-h* wedi rhoi *p*, ym mhob hen air Cymraeg arall lle daethant yn erbyn ei gilydd (W.G. 182), disgwyliem i *mab-hinog* roi *mapinog*, a thrwy affeithiad i ar *a*, *mepinog*. Ac yn sier, cafwyd digon o amser i'r newid ddigwydd yn ôl deddf yr iaith, canys y mae *mepinog* (a *mabinog* hefyd o ran hynny) mor aruthr o hen fel nad oes neb eto wedi darganfod un enghraifft ohono mewn unrhyw lawysgrif Gymraeg o Lyfr Du Caerfyrddin hyd yr adeg y dechreuodd Iolo Morganwg weld llawysgrifau trwy ei hun! Rhaid ei fod yn echryslon o hen,—neu ynteu, yn ifanc ryfeddol, rhy ifanc i droi ymysg pobl. Swil iawn yw 'r *benwyll* ac yntau.

Td. 56. Ar *culfardd*, dyfynnir B.B.C. 102, rhan o ymddiddan Ugnach a Thaliesin. Gwahoddir Taliesin gan y cyntaf i ddyfod i'w lys; addewir iddo win a medd os daw. Etyb Taliesin, "talaw itti *dy gulet*"; yn ôl Lewis, 'I shall requite *thy praise*', gan ddeall *gulet* yma fel treigliad o *culedd*. Gwell gennyf ei ddeall fel *dy wledd*,

canys ar yr un tudalen ceir enghraifft arall o esgeuluso dangos treigliad, sef, *rad y gulad pennhaw*, rhad y *wlad* bennaf. Ac nid oedd Ugnach wedi moli dim ar Daliesin hyd yn hyn, i roi achos iddo *dalu ei fawl*. Naturiol o'r tu arall, ar ôl clywed am y gwin a'r medd, oedd i'r bardd ddweud y talai ef y *wledd* i'r gwahoddwr (nid mewn arian wrth gwrs, ond mewn mawl). A geir *culedd* 'praise' yn rhywle arall?

Ar yr un tudalen, digwydd, "Dios gennyf mai yr un gair yw 'bragad', 'bargad', 'bragod',—a'r gair Gwyddelig *breccad*", enw mesur Gwyddelig "lle ceir mwy nag arfer o odlau yn y llinell". Amhosibl yw hyn, canys rhaid cael *ch* i ateb i'r *cc* yu y gair Gwyddelig, gw. Meyer, C.I.L. 251, *breccaim* 'I variegate, speckle, stud, adorn . . . A technical term for heaping internal assonance': *brecc* 'speckled, variegated, spotted, chequered, freckled'. Dios gennyf innau mai *brych* yw 'r gair Cymraeg a etyb i hwn, a *brychu* fel berf. Etyb yr ystyr, ac ni threisir rheol.

Td. 57-61. *Y Glêr*. Bu llawer tro ar fyd er 1914, pan gyhoeddais fy syniadau brwd ac amrwd ar berthynas Dafydd ap Gwilym â'r *Scholares Vagantes*, ac y ceisiais esbonio 'r gair *clêr* fel benthyg o'r Ffrangeg. Dyma ddywedir gan Mr. Lewis (td. 58), "Dangosodd Dr. Chotzen yn 1927 fod yr athro I. Williams wedi syrthio i amryfusedd ynglyn a'r enw *cler* ond cred Dr. Chotzen fel yntau mai brodyr i *Clerici Vagantes* y Cyfandir oedd 'cler' Cymru". Nid hyn yn hollol a ddigwyddodd. Fy mhroblem i y pryd hwnnw oedd bod *ē* yu y Ll. *clêrus*, a bod *ē* Ladin yu troi 'n *wy* yn Gymraeg: disgwylid *clwyr* yn Gymraeg, a *cliar* mewn Gwyddeleg. Yr oedd y ffurfiau hynny ar gael. O ble ynteu y daeth *clêr*? Tybiais mai o ryw ffurf ar y gair Ffrangeg a darddodd o *clerus*. Ond methwn a deall sut y troesai yu enw benywaidd torfol yn Gymraeg (*Y Glêr*), heb dybio iddo rywsut fynd yu enw ar holl urdd yr ysgol-

heigion crwydraid. Nid yw Chotzen chwaith yn dal bod *clērus* wedi rhoi *clér* yn uniongyrchol yn Gymraeg (gw. *Recherches sur la Poésie de Dafydd ab Gwilym*, 75); ei gynnig ef yw mai benthyc yw o *clér* mewn Gwyddeleg, benthyc cyfochrog â *cliar* o'r Ll. *clerus* (td. 76). Dywed, fodd bynnag, na all wrthbrofi fy nharddiad i i'r gair, fel y cynigiais ef yn yr ail argraffiad. Rhydd ef ystyron *clér* fel hyn; 1, *prêtres*, 2, *officiants*, 3, *troupe de musiciens ambulants*, etc. Yna cyfeddyf (td. 78), fod un ffaith yn eisiau i setlo cywirdeb ei darddiad ef i *clér*, sef enghraifft ohono yn Gymraeg cyn bod modd i'r *clerici vagantes* gyrraedd Cymru, ond methodd hyd yn hyn a chael enghraifft ohono a oedd gynharach na dechrau'r bedwaredd ganrif ar ddeg. Addefiad gonest, ac ysgolheigaidd. Y mae llawer iawn o rym yn nadl Dr. Chotzen, a bydd yn rhaid ail ystyried yr holl bwne yng ngolau ei gyfraniad ef. Eithr nid trafod cynnig yr ysgolhaig hwnnw yw fy ngorch-wyl yn awr, ond ystyried esboniad *Barddrin*. Gwrthyd Mr. Lewis ddilyn Chotzen, a dywed fod llythyr Eisteddfod 1594 yn enwi "loyterers and *drones*" fel pobl wahanol i'r "Masters doctors and other degrees", a chwanega, "Onid y *drones* hyn yw y 'cler'?" Sonia am y cerddorion yn heidio o fan i fan, "yr oeddynt fel pla lindys ar y wlad ac yn colynnu pawb fel y cler llwyd" (td. 60). Prin y mae angen ymhelaethu wrth ateb.

1. Ystyr *drone* yw gwenynen ddiog, 'non-working bee' (Skeat). Hefyd rhan o'r bibgod, oherwydd ei sŵn.

2. Ystyr *cler* am wybed yw 'gadflies, stinging-flies' (Silvan Evans); 'flies, gadflies' (Anwyl).

3. Nid y beirdd a elwir yn 'loyterers and *drones*' yn dyfyniad uchod, ond y creaduriaid diog a fynnai freintiau'r glêr heb ddysgu clerwriaeth.

4. Digrif fuasai galw dyn ar yr enw *drone*, a disgwyl i bawb ddeall trwy hynny mai *gadfly* ydoedd.

5. Digrifach byth yw meddwl am feirdd Cymru yn y bedwaredd ganrif ar ddeg yn ymrannu 'u dri dosbarth, prydyddion, teuluwyr, neu feirdd teulu, a 'drones-gadflies', ac yn arddel yr enw olaf arnynt eu hunain.

Rhag ofn i mi ymollwng i gellwair, ymataliaf. Ceir dyfyniad anghyflawn (td. 59) a buddiolach fydd cywiro hwnnw, gan fod Mr. Lewis wedi colli ergyd y darn, drwy adael ei ddechrau allan. Y mae'r bardd, Madog Dwygraig, am deithio o Benllyn i Rydodyn at Forgan ap Dafydd. Rhof ei eiriau mewn orgraff ddiweddar :

Heb fyneigiaid ffyrdd, heb fynegi,
 Mewn ystryw ydd af (= yr af) menestri clodrydd,
 Morgan fab Dafydd rydd rieni.
 Mal Seth fab Addaf ydd af¹ Ddyfi
 Pan aeth i Baradwys, wiwddwys weddi.
 A dilyn² ôl *clêr*—ni wnaeth doli rhag—
 I'w fireinllys deg o Fôr Enlli.

Cymer Mr. Lewis mai dilyn ôl *cler*, "h.y. *clear* (amlwg) sydd yma", yr Hen Saesneg, *cler*, ac felly ôl clir traed Adda a ddilynai Seth i Baradwys, a dywed "Y mae'n amlwg nad 'cler' (beirdd) yw hyn". Deallaf innau 'r geiriau yn dra gwahanol. Y mae'r bardd yn datgan yn groyw ei fwriad i fynd i gyfeiriad Afon Ddyfi at Forgan, fel yr aeth Seth i Baradwys. Dilynai Seth ôl traed ei dad; y mae'r bardd am ddilyn ôl *clêr*, i fireinllys Morgan o Fôr Enlli. Nid oedd raid iddo wrth neb i fynegi'r ffordd iddo (heb vyneigyeit ffyrdd). Ouid oedd ôl y beirdd yn ddigon o arwydd? Soniasai eisoes am groeso Morgan i feirdd yn nechrau'r awdl, "gwerin fyrrd fyddin o feirdd feddwi": soniasai am "hoew-*gler*", ac yn union o flaen y dyfyniad, dywed "llwybr hardd i *brif-fardd* brofi / O Benllyn gofyn Rhyd-odyn. Ai rhaid oedi?" Ei arfeddyd,

¹ Yn R.P. *ylif* uwchben y llinell: yn M.A. 323a, *ydd af*.

² Yn R.P. ac M.A. *dilyn*.

neu ei fwriad yw mynd tuag yno, "heb fyneigiaid, etc". Yr oedd ôl y glêr yn ddigon i fynegi 'r ffordd.

Yma y mae terfyn y Rhan Gyntaf o'r *Beirdd a'r Bardd-rin*, y darn sy'n trafod y mathau o feirdd a oedd yng Nghymru gynt, ac yn egluro eu henwau. Os enwau Cymreig ar feirdd Cymreig, yna yn sier buont yn rhan o draddodiad yr iaith am ganrifoedd, a disgwylid iddynt ddatblygu yn rheolaidd fel geiriau eraill y Gymraeg. A dyma yw hynodrwydd y drafodaeth, sef bod damcaniaeth Mr. Lewis am yr ystyr yn ei orfodi i lurgunio ffurf ac ystyr y gair y mae am ei esbonio, ac ymhellach na hynny i ddiystyru rhai o egwyddorion sylfaenol ieitheg wrth ddadlau dros ei esboniad newydd. Er enghraifft, nid *ofydd* sydd gywir, ond *gofydd*, brawd i'r gair *gof*. Nid *prydydd* sydd gywir ond *brydydd*. Enw dyn yw *Blegywryd*, ond gorfodir ni i wneud enw cyffredin ohono, a'i olrhain trwy gyfres o gyfnewidiadau gwyrthiol afreolaidd i enw swyddustus heddweh, y *Vergobretos*. Enw personol yw *Cywryd*; gwneir yntau yn enw cyffredin, a'i darddu yn erbyn rheol o *co-bretos*. Esbonnir *alaw* fel y term Cymraeg a etyb i *ollav*, *ollamh* y Gwyddel. Ystyr *alaw* yw 'lili' ym mhob hen destun a welais i: ond rhydd Pughe hefyd *alaw* arall, 'the flowing of harmony, music, the term is mostly appropriated to instrumental music. *Bardd alaw*, a doctor of music'. Ond nid oes gan Silvan enghraifft o'r ystyr gerddorol hyd y ganrif ddiwethaf. Ystyr *ollam* o'r tu arall, medd Windisch, oedd yr uchaf ei radd mewn unrhyw gelfyddyd, doctor, a dyfynna *ollamh breitheman* 'the chief Brehon or judge'. Petasai *Bardd alaw* yn ddilys, golygai 'fardd cerddoriaeth' yn ôl eglurhad Pughe ei hun. Pe dynwaredid Gwyddeleg, ceid *alaw-fardd* am brif-fardd, pencerdd. Ond ni ellir derbyn y gyfatebiaeth nes i rywun egluro sut y gall *l* yn *alaw* ateb i *ll* yn *ollamh*: a phrofi hefyd fod *alaw* yn hŷn na Iolo ac na Phughe, fel

teitl ar rywbeth heblaw hili. Felly *benwyll* a'r berthynas a awgrymir a *fili*. Felly *mebinog*; nis ceir, a phe ceid afreolaidd yw'r esboniad. Digwydd *clér* yn Gymraeg fel enw *unigol* benywaidd (*Y Gler*) ar gymdeithas neu radd o feirdd o ryw fath. Ceir hefyd *cler* fel enw *lluosog* ar drychfilod, 'gadflies'. Yn ôl *Bardd-rin*, yr un ydynt. Ystyr *rhin* yw dirgelwch. Ac yn wir y mae yma ddirgelwch na fedraf na'i gredu na'i amgyffred.

Yn yr ail ran o'r llyfr, y testun yw *Hanes Cerdd Dafod a Gramadeg*, ac yn anffodus, ceir yma hefyd yr un math o ieitheg ag yn y rhan gyntaf.

Td. 64-6. Dyfynnir canu Lladin Blegywryd, pan orffen-nodd ysgrifennu'r Llyfr Cyfreithiau i Hywel Dda, lle ceir y llinell (A.L. i, 342):

Cornando cano tunc iudice cotidiano.

Y mae Rhys (*Y Cymmrodor*, xviii, 117) ac Owen (*Anc. Laws*, i, xxxiv) yn darllen *Gornando*, a chan fod y copi Lladin a geir yn y Bodleian (Rhif 280) yn chwaneagu "*Gornerth llwyd mab Gwyberi bach . . erat iudex curiæ de Dinewur in tempore Hywel da, ut praedictum est in versibus,*" a bod *Gwrnerth llwyd* yn digwydd eto (A.L., i, 342) yn y Gyfraith Gymraeg fel un o'r deuddeg "gwŷr llygion" a wnaeth y gyfraith, hawdd yw credu Rhys, "As regards the curious name *Gornandus*, that is merely the result of misreading and misinterpreting an older spelling *Gurnerdus* or *Gornerdus*." Y mae'r sylw *ut praedictum est in uersibus* ('fel y dywedwyd uchod yn y gân') yn profi bod yr enw *Gwrnerth*, mewn rhyw ffurf Ladin arno, yn weladwy a dealladwy mewn copi hŷn a gwell o'r llinellau dyrys hyn. *Gornandus* yw'r unig air ynddynt a ymddengys fel llygriad posibl ohono; a chan fod *Gwrnerth* yn cael ei gyfenwi 'n *llwyd*, a bod *canus* 'llwyd' yn dilyn *Gornandus* yn y testun, ni phetrusaf ddilyn Rhys.

Yn awr, beth yw cynnig Lewis? Deall *Cornandus* fel ffurf Ladin ar *Ceraint*, sef *Ceraint Furdd Glas* yr Iolo MSS. ac ategu hyn gyda'r datganiad syfrdanol, "Wrth gofio am *Ceredig* a *Coroticus*; *Cenfaint* a *Conventio*; *mirain* a *miranda*, gwelir y buasai *Corrandus* yn ffurf eithaf cymradwy am *Ceraint*." Ni fedrir ond rhyfeddu. Gŵyr pawb a astudiodd reolau elfennol ieitheg Gymraeg mai 'r *i* yn y sillaf olaf ond un yn *Coroticus* (*Caraticos*) a barodd i'r llafariad newid yn y sillafau rhagflaenol. Un o reolau cyffredin cydnabyddedig yr iaith yw hyn. Dyna pam y cawn *gardd-i* yn rhoi *gerdd-i*, etc. Gwelir yr *i* effeithiol ac affeithiol hon yn *Corotic-*; fe'i gwelir yn *Conventio* (*i* gytsain y tro hwn); ond ple mae yn *miranda*? A oes unrhyw awdurdod ar yr iaith a dderbynai 'r tarddiad hwn, *mirain* o *miranda*? A geir yn Ewrop ieithegwr a gymeradwyai *Corrandus* fel ffurf bosibl am *Ceraint*? Cymharer am eiliad y ffurf *Geront-ius* a rydd Holder (i, 2014) fel hen ffurf *Geraint*. Yno y mae *i* gytsain yn affeithio *ö* yn rheolaidd i *ei*, a'r *ei* yn lledu wedyn i *ai* mewn orgraff ddiweddar, yn union fel y rhoes Ll. *spolium* i ddechrau *sbeil*, yna *ysbeil*, *ysbail*.

Td. 73. *Cyngogion*. Gwrthodir tarddiad Syr John Morris-Jones i *rhygyngu*; nid gair Cymraeg yw, medd Mr. Lewis, ond daeth o'r Saesneg *ruggen* 'to canter'. "Yr un gair ydyw a *rocking* yn *rocking horse,-chair*, neu *-ship*, h.y. rhywbeth yn symud fel petai 'rocker' o dano." Rhaid i mi addef na wn i ddim am y gair Saesneg hwn, *ruggen* 'to canter'. Rhydd N.E.D. Murray, *rug* fel gair yn Scotland a Gogledd Lloegr, am 'to pull forcibly, violently'. Felly Funk-Wagnall, 'to tug or tear roughly'. Gan nad yw *ruggen* 'to canter' yn y geiriaduron mawr hyn, buasai yn gymwynas pe ceid cyfeiriad at y lle a'r man y cafodd Mr. Lewis enghraifft ohono. "Defnyddid ef, yn Gymraeg a Saesneg yn y canoloesoedd pan ddaeth

angen am wahaniaethu rhwng *trot* a *canter* gan y gwŷr meirch." Mi wn fod y N.E.D. yn dal bod *to rug* yn tarddu o'r un fan â *to rock*, ond buaswn yn falch o gael enghraifft o'r ystyr 'to canter'.

Mewn *cyngogion* cydir penillion ynghyd â chyrch-gymeriad (gw. *Cerdd Dafod*, 290-5), sef, fel rheol, ail adrodd gair neu eiriau o ddiwedd y pennill cyntaf ar ddechrau 'r ail, ac felly ymlaen. Teg gan hynny yw i Mr. Lewis dynnu sylw at enw Gwyddeleg ar nodwedd gyffelyb, sef *conachlonn*, *conachlann* (td. 74). Wedyn â ymlaen i ddwend bod *cyngog* yn ateb o ran ffurf ac ystyr i'r gair Gwyddeleg. Yna daw pang o amheuaeth, "Y mae yn debyg, feallai, mai *cyngog* yn hytrach na *chyngog* ddisgwylid, ond rhaid cofio o hyd nad oes dichon gwahaniaethu rhwng yr *n* a'r *ng* mewn llawer o eiriau fel 'einion' ag 'eingion'." Balch oeddwn pan welais hyn, awgrym o ymgais i gael tarddiad a fai'n gyson â'r rheol, ac i esbonio 'r amrywiaeth oddiwrth y rheol. Rhaid chwaneu, fodd bynnag, nad yw'r esboniad yn gyflawn, na'r enghraifft o gymysgu *n* ac *ng* yn hollol ar y pwynt: yn *einion*, *eingion*, daw *n* ar ôl *i*, cp. *prin*, *pring*, *lladin*, *llading*. Oni ddylid cael enghraifft o *yn* yn troi yn *ynng*? Hefyd, oni ddylid egluro 'r *holl* air, *conachlonn*? Un peth arall, *conachlonn* sydd gan Whitley Stokes, *Felire*, 13, nid *connachlonn*, fel y dywed Lewis: a mwy na hynny, ni rydd Stokes y pedwar pwynt a nodir gan Lewis (td. 74) fel disgrifiad o *Conachlonn* sef (a) Penillion o bedair llinell yr un (b) Pob pennill yn chwe sillaf, etc. Dyfynnaf eiriau Stokes ei hun. Ar ôl disgrifio "essential characteristics" y mesur, â ymlaen:

Furthermore, there are two metrical phenomena, which though not essential, are of constant occurrence in our Calendar. One of these (the *conachlonn* of modern Irish grammarians) is what the writer of the Irish prose preface in Rawl. B. 512 calls *fidrad cubaid* . . .

Felly *metrical phenomenon* yw gair Stokes am y peth. Rhydd Meyer *conachlon* "a metre in which the last word of a verse is the first of the next", yn ei *Contributions* yn 1906 (td. 458): ond yn ei *Irish Metrics* yn 1909, td. 10. n; "Connecting the last work of a stanza by alliteration with the first . . . word of the following stanza, a practice much used in longer poems as an aid to memory, is in Middle Irish technically called *fidrad freccomail*, in Later Irish *conachlann*". Fy nghwestiwn i felly i Mr. Lewis yw, Sut y bu i'r Cymro gael y term *Cyngogion* yn ddigon cynnar iddo ymddangos yn y llawysgrif Gymraeg gynharaf, sef y Llyfr Du, ond i'r Gwyddel gadw at ei *fidrad*, mewn Gwyddeleg Canol, a dyfod i arfer *conachlonn* "in *Later Irish?*" Os "gramadegwyr diweddar" biau 'r term yn Iwerddon, ai doeth ei ddefnyddio i egluro hen derm yn y Gymraeg?

Un peth arall, methaf a deall y rheswm dros lusgo 'r enwau *condacia*, *contakion*, *contacium* i mewn i'r drafodaeth. Eglurir (td. 75) mai enw yw *contakion* ar emyn byr: terddir ef o *kontos* 'byr'. Sylwir mai penillion crefyddol byr yw *Cyngogion* y Llyfr Du a chynnwys y *Félire*. Eithr nid natur eu cynnwys, ac nid hyd y penillion yw nodwedd hanfodol *conachlon* a *chyngogion*, ond yn hytrach yr help a roi'r i'r cof i *gamu* o bennill i bennill. A thra addas yw esboniad Syr John Morris-Jones, pan gyfeiria at y nodwedd hanfodol hon, a chysylltu'r enw *cyngogion* â *rhygyngu* yn Gymraeg, ac â *cingim* 'cerddaf' mewn Gwyddeleg. Heblaw hynny hefyd, y mae anawsterau anorfod o du ieitheg i darddu yr *n* sengl yn *conach-*, a'r *ng* yn *cyngog-ot* neu *nd* yn Lladin.

Td. 75. *Englyn* a'i *Esgyll*. Yn ôl Mr. Lewis etyb y cyntaf i *Aicill*, Aicel y Gwyddel, a'r ail i *Scailte*. Yn ôl Thurneysen (I.T. iii, 130) *Aicclech*, neu *Aichlech*, yw'r ansodda'r a chwanegir at enw mydr pan fo Caesura yr ail

linell hir yn odli â gair yn yr hanner-linell olaf ohoni: oni bydd yr odl hon yno, disgrifir y mydr fel *cen aicill* ‘heb *aicill*’. Felly Meyer (I.M. 9) “A rhyme between the word in *caesura* and some word in the second verse of the couplet . . . The technical name for this kind of rhyme is *aicill* ‘anticipation’”. “When there is no consonance between the verses the metre is called *scâilte* ‘loose’” (I.M. 8). Felly ansoddair yn golygu ‘llac’ yw *scâilte*. Beth yw *esgyll* englyn? Nid ansoddair o gwbl, ond crefftair am y ddwy linell olaf o englyn, fel y gelwir y ddwy linell gyntaf yn *paladr*. Cymharer hyn â’r termau Gwyddelig (I.T. iii. 92). Enw un mydr yw *slat brecht*; amrywiadau *bec arno, slat brecht bec, slat brecht scailti bec, a slat brecht corranach bec*; wedyn y rhai *mor, sef slat brecht mor, slat brecht mor aichleach scailte, slat brecht mor scailte cen aicill*, etc. A fedr unrhyw un heblaw Mr. Lewis gredu y buasai *scâilte* (gydag *a hir*), ansoddair yn golygu ‘llac’, yn debyg o roi *esgyll* yn Gymraeg, enw ar gwpled olaf englyn? Ar yr wyneb, cryfach yw’r ddadl dros ystyried cyfatebiaeth *englyn* ac *aicill*, gan fod Englyn Cyrch yn esiampl o un math o fesur *aiclech*, eithr pan ystyrier nad oes dim tebyg i *aicill* mewn amryw fathau o englyniion hen, daw anghrediniaeth eto i lawr yn gawod ac yn gwmwl.

Cymeraf y gweddill o’r llyfr ar fyr eiriau, canys yr un gŵyn sydd gennyf drosodd a throsodd, ac ni waeth i mi heb a mynychu’r un pwyntiau.

Td. 76-81, esbonnir *cyrch* fel *cylch*, er mwyn dwyn i mewn *Wheel poetry* y Saeson, *circulati*, ac *orbiculares* y Lladinwyr, a *Rondeaux* Ffrainc. Ac ar ôl yr holl drafferth, nid yw’r un o’r rhain yn debyg i’r *cyrch* Cymraeg! Td. 81-85, esbonnir *rhagwant* fel *rotwange* Ffrainc, a *rotruwange*’r Almaen, enw ar fyrdwn neu refrain, neu gân a byrdwn, neu ’n fanylach “pan oedd yr hanner gyntaf i’r llinell yn fyrdwn gelwid hi yn *virelai*, a phau oedd yr hanner olaf yn

fyrddwn gelwid honno yn *rotwange*". Y mae hyn yn ddi-ddorol, ond nid yw'n esbonio rhagwant. *Farce* yw Toddaid medd td. 85-7. Yr *union* yn Englyn Unodl *Union*, yw *Januani*, enw mydr Lladin, sy'n hollol a chwbl anhebyg i'r dywededig Englyn. Daw *proest* o'r Ll. *prosa*, ond wrth gwrs, nid enw ar yr hyn a alwn ni yn broest oedd *prosa*, td. 89-92. Rhoes hefyd *ffrost*, *ym-ffrost* yn Gymraeg, trwy wyrth arall. Yna td. 92, daw'r sylw a ganlyn :

Yn R.B.P. col. 1331, 22, gelwir "Englyn Proest" yn "Englyn Gwynedd", ond nis gwn i ddigon am wahanol ffurfiau'r *proest* i wybod pa un a oedd Gwynedd yn fwy pleidiol iddo na'r De.

Gyrrodd hyn fi at y llyfr a'r lle, ac wele enghraifft arall o gamddeall oherwydd darllen yn rhy wyllt. Yn y Llyfr Coch, ar y tudalen hwnnw ceir cyfres o englynion proest, ac ar y cychwyn, *llyma ēglynion gwyned*, ac nid rhyfedd eu teitlo felly, canys mawl i Wynedd Wen yw pob un ohonynt. Yna daw cyfres arall o englynion proest gyda'r teitl, *llyma ēglynion y pedwar āgel ystor*; eu cynnwys yw mawl i'r pedwar efenglyydd (*euangelystor*), Ieuan, Marcus, Lucas, a Matheu. Gan i'r gyfres gyntaf awgrymu i Mr. Lewis fod englyn proest yn cael ei alw'n englyn Gwynedd, yn ôl yr un dull o resymu onid teg fyddai dal bod yr Englyn hwn yn annwyl iawn hefyd gan y pedwar efenglyydd?

Td. 92-98, *Cywydd*. Cyfeirir at *versus caudati* y Lladinwyr, a *Rime Couwee* y Saeson, ac esbonnir yr enw *cywydd* fel tarddiad o *couwee*. Un math o'r *caudati* yw hwn :

Sermone Marcus Tullius
Fortuna Cesar Julius
Tibi non equantur.

Dyma'n ddiâu yr hyn a elwir yn Gywydd *Llosgyrnog*, canys ceir yn y mesur hwn ddwy linell yn odli, ac yna gynffon, neu losgwrn, sef *cauda* yn Lladin. Enw'r mesur

yn Lladin yw *Versus Caudati*. Enw'r mesur yn Gymraeg yw *Cywydd Llosgyrnog*. Sonia'r Saeson am *Rime Couwée*. Beth sydd yn cyfateb? Onid *Versus*, *Rime* a *Cywydd* ar un llaw, a *caudati*, *llosgyrnog*, *couwée* ar y llall? Pe cymerem *ear-wig* y Saeson, a dyfynnu *pry clustiog* Gwynedd fel yn cyfateb iddo, ni phrofai hynny mai *pry* yw *ear*, nac mai *clustog* yw *wig*.

Td. 99-109, Cynghanedd. Rywsut gwneir i *gynghanedd* darddu o'r un fan a'r Ll. *concinno*. Td. 105, dywedir fod "cynghanedd groes a thraws yn cynnwys tripheth: (a) Cynghanedd, h.y. cydseiniaid wedi eu gosod mewn trefn neillduol ac yn ateb i'r mesur Lladin *Concinantes*. (b) *Croes Gynghanedd* neu'r *Crucifixi*. (c) Trawsganu neu'r *Transformati*". Llwyddodd Mr. Lewis i gymysgu 'n drwyadl yn ei feddwl y gwahaniaeth sydd rhwng mesur ac addurn mesur. Cerdda ymlaen ar hyd yr un llwybr ac yn yr un niwl i wneud *Cynghanedd Lusg* yn gyfieithiad llythrennol o *Stave Rime* (td. 107), enw'r Sais gynt ar "alliteration". Y dull y cyflawnir y gamp yw'r un arferol, sef newid ffurf y gair i rywbeth arall, a dal fod ei ystyr yn rhywbeth gwahanol i'r hyn a dybid ei fod. Newidir *llusg* i *llysg* "staff", yn groes i'r traddodiad: ni roir enghraifft o neb yn galw'r cynghanedd hon yn cynghanedd *lysg*. Rhaid bod rhyw ddylni barnol ar ein beirdd a'n gramadegwyr. *Stave Rime* wrth eu drysau; hwythau 'n cyfieithu hynny i Gymraeg, ac eto, pob un yn mynnu galw'r peth yn cynghanedd *lusg*, er bod *llysg* "stave" yn hollol hysbys iddynt! Tybed nad eu rheswm oedd bod eu Cynghanedd *Lusg* hwy, yn rhywbeth gwahanol i *Stave Rime*? Esbonmir yr olaf (td. 107) fel "a jingle of like beginnings". Dyma ddywed tyst mor ddi-duedd a'r Gwyddionadur, "In Old German, Anglo-Saxon, and Scandinavian poetry, alliteration took the place of rhyme. This kind of verse, in its strict form,

required that in the two short lines forming a couplet, three words should begin with the same letter, two in the first line or hemistich, and one in the second".¹ Dyfynir o *Piers the Plowman*, cân o'r bedwaredd ganrif ar ddeg :

Mercy hight that maid / a meek thing withal,
A full benign burd / and luxom of speech.

Ai peth fel hyn yw Cynghanedd Lusg? Onide, i beth y bu'r helynt?

Yn ôl td. 108, yr oedd *Stave Rime* mor nodweddiadol o farddoniaeth y Saeson gynt nes galw o'r Ffrancwr y math hwn o gynghanedd yn Gynghanedd y *Sais*, "*Rime Senee, Sesne, Saisne*, h.y. *Saxon Rime*". A dyma yw ein Cynghanedd *Sain* ni, yn ôl Mr. Lewis. Digon o wrthddadl gennyf i yw bod pob deffiniad a welais o Gynghanedd Lusg, a Chynghanedd *Sain* (gan gynnwys rhai Gutun Owain² a William Middleton) yn tybio bod odl fewnol yn y llinell, nid *Alliteration* yn unig.

Yn Rhan III o'r llyfr, *Beiau ac Anafau Cerdd*, td. 110-23, gwneir *torr mesur* i olygu bol mesur: *tin ap* yw canu bardd o'r enw *odyn* sydd mor anadnabyddus a'r un a elwir *Anad.* yn y Llyfr Emynau. Gwaith *odyn* yw *odinab, odineb*, meddir, ond llygrwyd yr enw i'r ffurf mwy parchus, *tinab*. Bai yw *gorchan* am *orchan*, brawd i *orcain* y Gwyddel am beth pur wahanol. Daw *Arwyran* o *arwyr* a *ran*: yr un yw *moes, mwys, ymwys* a'r Gw. *amus*. Temtir fi i efelychu sylw Mr. Lewis am rywbeth yn *Cerdd Dafod* (td. 113), "Hawliai'r rhan hon bennod gyfan iddi ei hun, oherwydd nifer y camgymeriadau sydd yuddi, ond nid oes lle i hyuny yma". A bu raid i mi, oherwydd yr un rheswm, adael amryw gamgymeriadau yn y rhannau eraill hefyd, heb eu cyffwrdd.

¹ Chambers' *Encyc.* s.v. *Alliteration*.

² *B.B.C.S.*, iv, 215, Kynghanedd *lusc* yw kynghanedd *modl* ond i bod hi yn *llusgo* val y mae hwnn: *Tra vo vy llygaid haïd hawl*.

Yn ei Ragair (td. viii), cydnebydd Mr. Lewis ei ryfyg yn gollwng llyfr fel hwn o'i law heb ddarllen rhai o'r prif awduron ar y pwnc, ond, meddai ef, "rhyfig mwy fyddai gadael y maes fel yr oedd ar ol 'Cerdd Dafod'". Eithr nid ar unrhyw ddiffyg lled yn ei ddarllen y mae'r bai am y cyfeiliornadau dybryd sydd yn ei lyfr, ond ar ei anallu i wneuthur chwarae teg â'r ffeithiau a gasglodd. Ystumiodd eiriau: ystumiodd ystyron: di-ystyrododd ddedd-fau sefydlog yr iaith. Gwrthododd feddwl yn glir, ac ymfodlonnodd ar debygrwydd niwliog pethau a geiriau i'w gilydd. Y mae troi odliwrth ei lyfr i frawddegau tryloyw, ac ymdriniaeth eglur fy hen athro Syr John Morris-Jones, fel troi o'r gwyll i oleuni dydd.

ATODIAD.

TRAETHAWD LILIENFELD.

Yn ôl Mr. Timothy Lewis (*Bardd-rin*, 97), "y *Gramadeg* goreu at ddeall cywydd Cymru yw *Gramadeg y Brawd Christan* o Abaty Lilienfeld yn Awstria". Rhyfedd felly na fuasai wedi ei brintio. Honnwyd pethau mawr am y goleuni newydd a gafwyd mewn llawysgrif Awstriaidd ddieithr anhysbys, ac oherwydd hynny, tybiais mai buddiol fuasai dwyn y gramadeg hwn i gyrraedd yr ysgolhaig cyffredin, iddo weld drosto'i hun beth yw'r gwir. Nid hawdd iawn yw cael gafael ar y *Wiener Studien*, lle printiwyd yr holl beth, yn 1882, gan Huemer.¹ Dywed ef yno fod y llawysgrif lle digwydd, sef Codex 145, yn perthyn i'r drydedd ganrif ar ddeg neu i'r bedwaredd ar ddeg, h.y. nid yw nemor hân, os dim, nag adeg ysgrifennu gramadeg

¹ *Ein Tractat über lateinische Reimbildung*, sef td. 299-306 o'r W.S. Cyf. iv, Vienna, 1882.

Einion Offeiriad yng Nghymru. Yr ysgrifennydd, meddai, yw rhyw *frater Christian*, na roir manylion pellach amdano, ond ei fod hefyd yn fardd, a'i fod yn egluro'r mesurau weithiau drwy ddyfynnu cân o'i waith ef ei hun, *Zebedides*, a geir yn yr un llawysgrif. Awgryma hyn mai ef yw cyfansoddwr y traethawd yn ogystal a'r copïwr. Ceir casgliad arall o Hexametrau odledig yn Codex 144, f. 8, a chan fod diwedd y traethawd cyntaf yn ddiffygiol, gorffennodd Huemer ef o'r llawysgrif hon.

Dilynais, wrth gwrs, y testun fel y golygwyd ef gan Huemer: rhydd ef ddarlleniadau'r llsg. ar waelod y ddalen, pan newidiai ffurf gair. Hefyd, pan oedd amryw enghreifftiau o'r un mydr, dewisais un fel rheol, a gadael allan y lleill. Ag eithrio ambell enghraifft, gan hynny, y mae'r cwbl o draethawd y Brawd yma. Rhais sylw byr yn Gymraeg ar ôl y deffiniadau a'r enghreifftiau Lladin.

HIC NOTANTUR MULTE DIFFERENTIE ET SPECIES
VERSUUM.

1. *Plani versus* sunt, qui simplicem habent formam, sine ornatu sonorum :

Plus vigila semper, ne somno deditus esto,
Nam diuturna quies vitiis alimenta ministrat.

Llinellau diaddurn yw'r rhain, heb odl o fath yn y byd.

2. *Concinnantes* sunt qui habent in medio versuum in una sillaba concinnantiam cum fine :

Ethiopum terras iam fervida torruit estas,
In canero solis dum volvitur aureus axis.

Odlir un sillaf ynghanol y llinell â'r sillaf olaf.

3. *Transformati* sunt, qui ultimam dictionem versus primi habent in principio secundi :

Rustice, quid queris ut metrum *versificeris* ?
Versificeris ? ita ; de quo ? de paupere vita.

Daw gair olaf y ll. gyntaf ar ddechrau 'r ail. Dyfynna Lewis (B. 104) beth tebyg o Lyfr Taliesin, a'r Llyfr Du.

4. *Leonini* sunt, qui concordant in medio et in fine in duabus (sillabis) :

Ex ope *celesti*, si quid habetur *honesti*,
Et venit a *superis*, ut agas bene vel *mediteris*.

Yn y rhain, ceir odl ddwbl rhwng canol y llinell â'r ddwy sillaf olaf, cp. Rhif. 2, lle na cheir ond un sillaf yn odli.

5. *Crucifixi* sunt, quando medium primi versus concordat cum fine secundi et medium secundi cum fine primi :

Hoc breve do *doctis* mediocribus atque *benignis*,
Ut precibus *dignis* ego liberer a duce *noctis* . . .

Odlir canol ll. 1 â diwedd ll. 2 : a chanol ll. 2 â diwedd ll. 1.

6. *Ludentes* sunt quando cum medio versus in leoninitate concordat sequens dictio et cum fine versus principium sequentis :

Cur, caro, *lascivis*, *civis* baratri *maledicta*,
Icta cadis *leviter*, *iter* est tibi sons in *abissum*.
Bissum *dedisces*, *disces* ibi *tristia*, *fletum* ;
Lethum sic *reperis*, *peris* in luis hoccine *cultro* . . .

Odlir yn ddwbl ganol y ll. â'r gair dilynol ; odlir felly hefyd ddiwedd y llinell â dechrau'r nesaf, ac felly ymlaen.

7. *Retrogradi* sunt, quando unus versus vel (plures) eodem ordine (quo) scandiuntur, sic a fine resumuntur :

Vade retro, *sathana*, numquam suade mihi *vana*,
Vana mihi suade numquam, *sathana*, retro vade . . .

Ail-adrodd y geiriau yn yr un drefn o'r tu chwith, gan ddechrau yn y diwedd.

Retrogradi secundum litteras :

Mane tace, *rix*e si vis exire *catenam* ;
Signa te, *signa*, temere me tangis et *angis*.

Yma ceir yr un llythrennau wrth ddarllen o'r diwedd yn ôl i'r dechrau.

8. *Differentiales sunt, qui habent equivocae dictiones :*

Trans celi *flores*, Agnes sacra, ceu rosa *flores*,
Divinos *rores*, te deprecor, ut mihi *rores* . . .

Yma ceir geiriau mwys, y ffurf yn gyffelyb ond yr ystyr yn amrywio ; e.g. yn ll. 2, *rores* y tro cyntaf, enw, lluosog ; ond yr ail dro y ferf *rores*.

9. *Reciproci sunt, quando eisdem dictionibus, quibus versus incipitur, et concluditur secundo tantum cum primo concordante in fine more caudatorum :*

Sic vitiati fraude notantur, sic vitiati
Tandem noscuntur fiuntque velut reprobati.

Diweddir y llinell gyntaf â'r un geiriau ag y dechreuir ; odli'r diwedd ll. 1 â diwedd ll. 2, yn null y *caudati*, gw. isod, Rhif 21.

10. *Orbiculares sunt, qui eandem dictionem, quam habent in principio, habent etiam in fine :*

Quando rogas Iacobum fidensque manes sibi quando,
Statim suscipiet te sacra dando statim.

Dechrau gyda'r un gair ag y diweddir : nid oes odl fel yn Rhif 9.

11. *Ventrosi sunt, quando dictionem, quae est in medio versus, statim sequitur eadem dictio, vel quando post leonimitatem in medio elevatam statim sequitur eadem :*

Est largus *Iacobus*, *Iacobus* dat munera grata,
Quae rogatus prece *vult vult* et hic esse data,
Poscere qui *tardat, tardat* sacra munera ferre,
Quique preces cito *fert, fert* cito quae petiit.

Ar ôl y gair yng nghanol y ll. daw'r un gair heb gyfrwng rhyngddynt ; neu daw odl ddwbl yn uniongyrchol ar ôl y llall. Ni roir enghraifft o'r ail fath yma, eithr gweler Rhif 28 isod, *dei, fidei : formosa, rosa.*

12. *Peregrini* versus sunt in quibus totidem est vitiosum in quantitativibus, quam vitari potest :

Locuntur prophete, deus, multa de te figuraliter,
Sciunt multa de te, tamen non aperte sed umbraliter.

Pob bai posibl o ran hydau ?

13. *Dactilici* sunt qui dactilis per pedes quinque currunt :

Si mala prodere, crimina rodere vis aliena,
Nil tibi consulis, insuper exulis est tibi pena

Ceir ynddynt bum daetyl olynol.

14. *Paracterici* sunt, quando eadem verba habet finis secundi versus, quae habet primus :

- I. *Flere volo* Iesum : cruciant sputum, flagra, spina,
Clavus, lancea, fel, crux, probra ; *flere volo*.
Flere volo Iesum, passo quia compatiuntur
Sol, petra, luna, solum, tartara : *flere volo*.
Flere volo, fleo flens fleo flebile flebo dolenter,
Pro Iesu passo nil nisi *flere volo*. . . .
- II. *Spiritus alme, veni*, succende cor ad bona nostrum,
Ne pereamus : ita, *spiritus alme, veni*.

Yn y rhain, daw 'r un geiriau ar ddiwedd yr ail linell ag ar ddechrau y gyntaf.

15. *Saltantes* sunt, quando secundus pes et quartus concordant in leoninitate cum fine caudatorum :

Corpore toto cordeque loto qui sacra poscit,
Gaudia letus certa quietus fine suo scit.
Tempore cuncto robore iuncto sic faciamus,
Gaudia celi mente fideli quod capiamus.

Odl ddwbl rhwng yr ail gorfan a'r pedwerydd : odlir y diweddau.

16. *Dependentes* sunt, qui in medio concordant more catenatorum, sed finis secundi concordat cum fine tertii et non primi :

Qui munus stultum petit a sanctis, reputatur
Stultizans multum, quia non dant, utile ni sit ;

Quisque petens videat, quae res poscenda sibi sit,
Ne fructu careat, quem si portaret, ovaret.

Odlir yn y canol yn null y *Catenati* (isod, Rhif 22): ond odla diwedd yr ail linell â diwedd y drydedd, nid â diwedd y ll. gyntaf.

17. *Clausi* sunt, quando duo versus habent easdem dictiones in principio, sed in fine clauduntur more caudatorum :

Corde { petens sanctos fit quaeque petita *secutus*,
 { roget iusta, sic fit de munere *tutus* ;
Ex precibus sanctis multis { dantur sacra *dona*,
 { datur ethre *corona*.

Daw'r un gair neu eiriau ar ddechrau dwy linell: odlir fel y *caudati* ar y diwedd. Y mae *corde* yn dechrau 'r ddwy linell gyntaf: dechreua dwy linell yr ail gwpled gyda'r un geiriau *Ex multis*.

18. *Trudentes* sunt, quando cum medio elevato concordat dictio precedens in sono ita, ut etiam finis sit caudatorum :

Est¹ *sincerus herus abbas Hugo Gluniaci*,
 ¹ Gofyn Huemer, ai *En* ?
Mirum tale sale servavit cordis opaci.
Ire frequenter iter Lugdunensis Zebedide
Suevit luce duce domino vir sic fore fide . . .

Y gair o flaen y canol yn odli 'n ddwbl â'r canol: hefyd y diweddau 'n odli.

19. *Pariles* sunt, in quibus singuli pedes singulas habent dictiones :

Demonis astus pectora vertit, pessimat alma,
Eius fraudes audax animo referit ;
Decipit omnes pectore molles fame demon,
Pectore constans ipsum reputat nichilum.

Gair i bob corfan. Chwe gair mewn hexamet, pump mewn pentamet.

20. *Gradientes* sunt, quando finis primi pedis et principium secundi cum fine tertii pedis et principio quarti

concordat, et hoc fit dupliciter : uno modo more spondeo-
rum, alio modo more anapestorum :

- I. Ecce *ruï*, quae virgo *fui*, quia femina mollis ;
Agne *dei*, miserere *mei*, qui crimina tollis. . . .
- II. *Milleno* quoque *viceno* domini vir in anno
Vestitus simul *ambitus* placido sibi panno. . . .

Diwedd y corfan cyntaf a dechrau'r ail yn odli â diwedd y
trydydd a dechrau'r pedwerydd. Dengys yr enghreifftiau
hefyd fod diwedd y llinellau 'n odli.

21. *Caudati* sunt, qui tantum in fine consonant :

Prosperitas parit invidiam sortesque *secunde* ;
Dum mihi fit bene, livor edax me rodit *habunde*.

Odlir yn unig ar y diwedd, h.y. y mae *cydffonnau* 'r llin-
ellau 'n odli.

22. *Catenati* sunt tripliciter : uno modo quando versus
ligant se tantum in medio et in fine, alio modo quando se
ligant ter, tertio modo quando per omnia :

- I. Pone tibi *frenum*, fugias muliebri *venenum*,
Vas nimis est *plenum* sanie, quod credis *amenum*. . . .
- II. Solus *eris*, deus, in *celis*, si non misereris,
Hinc miseris pius esse *velis*, locuples et *haberis*.
- III. Qu } os { an { guis { d { irus { t { risti { m { ulcedine { str }
H } os { san { guis { m { C } d } 1 } avit

Tri math : 1, Clymir canol â chanol, diwedd â diwedd ; 2,
Clymir mewn tri lle ; 3, Clymir trwodd.

23. *Inflexi* sunt tripliciter, quando dactilum vel quon-
deum¹ vel etiam dictionem, quam habent in principio,
elevant in medio sic tamen, quod semper ad minus duo
more caudatorum terminentur :

- I. *Otia* dant vitia nos quis satagunt *maculare*,
Retia pernicia michi quae voluere *parare*.
Est *opus* illud *opus* mihi quo *suescam* *vigilare*,
Ne *queat* aut *habeat* demon me labe *notare*.
- II. *Patri* seu *fratri* modicum volo *spirituali*
Fari ; *pravari* non debeo *famine tali*.

¹ ? *spondeum*.

- III. *Lucet et elucet multis signis Zebedides,
Crescat et accrescat hinc tua corde fides.
Vertit et avertit Iacobus mala quando rogatur,
Noscit et agnoscit, laus sibi iure datur. . . .*

Tri math; ail adrodd yn y canol ddactyl neu sbonde neu air a geir yn y dechrau. Rhaid odli 'r diweddau, o leiaf ddau ohonynt.

24. *Reflexi* sunt, qui in medio concordant more ceneratorum, sed eandem leoninitatem, quam habent in fine, habent etiam in penultima dictione eiusdem versus :

Qui latrām finit, deus hunc scit amare, iuvare,
Hunc nec fine sinit et ei dat ovare, sacrare.
In domino fidens miser hic si stabit, ovabit ;
Illic cara videns fit quis ibi plenus, egenus.

Y canolau yn odli yn null y *catenati* (Rhif 22): y gair olaf ond un yn odli 'n ddwbl â'r gair olaf yn y llinell.

25. *Stantes* sunt, quando una tantum vocalis est per unum versum :

Sana, Sathan, laxas, sacra vastas ac mala braxas,
Pene mercede geme, de me fede recede

Ceir yr un llafariad drwy'r llinell, fel y gwelir.

26. [Ianuarii] ¹.

Odit amat reprobatur probatur execratur adoratur
Crimina iura nefas fas simulacra deum :
Fas simulacra deum probatur execratur adoratur
Odit amat reprobatur crimina iura nefas. . . .

I ddeall hyn, sylwerau mai cyfres o ferfau sydd yn y ll. gyntaf, a chyfres o enwau yn yr ail, a chyplyser hwy yn eu

¹ Y mae diffyg yn y llsg. a chyflawna Huemer y testun o Cod. 144, f. 70; rhydd ar waelod y ddalen, "*Ianuarii versus* sunt, quando secundi versus media pars prima vel secunda potest esse principium". Nid wyf yn deall y diffiniad; ond yn yr enghreifftiau oll, daw ail enghraifft a roir, ail ddsberthir yr hanner-llinellau, nid fel uchod D B A C, ond fel D B C A; rhoir hefyd rai eraill, lle ceir D B A C deirgwaith olynol, ond D yw'r dechrau newydd bob tro.

trefn, *odit crimina, amat iura, . . . adorat deum*. Wedyn ail ddosbarther yr hanner-llinellau—galwaf hwy A, B, C, D—rhodder D yn lle A; gadael B lle 'r oedd; rhoi A yn lle C, ac C yn lle D, a cheir ll. 3 a 4 uchod fel D, B, A, C. Ni wn sut i'w deall bellach! Os croesir o linell i linell fel o'r blaen, ceir ystyr hollol groes i 'r tro cyntaf, sef *fas odit, . . . adorat nefas*. Ond ni raid croesi o linell i linell bellach, canys gellir synnwyr wrth groesi yn y llinell, sef wrth ddarllen *fas . . . probat; deum . . . adorat; odit . . . crimina*, h. y, yr un cyplysu ag o'r blaen. Rhoes yr ail ddosbarthiad i ni dri enw a thair berf ymhob llinell, a gallwn eu cydio yn eu trefn. Amheuf y darlleniad *Ianuanii*, canys rhydd Huemer *Ianuarii* yn y testun yma, ac isod, Rhif. 27. Onid cambrint yw'r *n*? Sut bynnag, dyna lle cafodd Mr. Lewis awgrym am darddiad *union* yn yr enw Englyn Unodl *Union*! Ac o bob ieuo anghymharus, dyma'r mwyaf felly, cydio symulrwydd ac uniongyrchedd Englyn Unodl *Union* wrth fesur deuben fel yr uchod, lle ceir celfyddyd wedi ymgwreinio hyd ffolineb. Rhoir amryw enghreifftiau o'r peth yn y llsg. ac yna daw 15 ll. wedi eu croesi neu eu crafu allan (“*seq-ras*. 15 vers”), a gorffennir o'r llsg. arall, 144, f. 10.

27. *Diapsides versus et precedentes s. ianuarii possunt scandiri directe vel deorsum sic*:

Celorum	nobis	dans	gaudia	Iacobe	surge,
Nobis	pauperibus	veniam	dans	quippe	venito,
Dans	veniam	culpe	dannosa	piacra	resolve,
Gaudia	dans	dannosa	prius	restringe	piacra,
Iacobe	quippe	piacra	restringe	nocentia	statim,
Surge	venito	resolve	piacra	statim	vitiosa.

Gwelir fod modd darllen hyn ar draws neu i lawr.

28. *Secundo ventrosi sunt, quando leoninitatem in medio elevatam sequitur eadem leoninitas secundum hoc modum*:

Agnes, sponsa dei, fidei tu robore sana,
 Corpore formosa rosa vultu, pectore cana.
 Nomine par agno magno ditaris honore,
 Gaudens in domino gemino fulciris amore.
 Ceu Rachel et Lia dia virtute bearis,
 Hinc celi divis vivis conglorificaris.
 In flammis presto mesto mihi sis vitiorum,
 Terge meam noxam, doxam quia quero polorum.

Gweler uchod, Rhif 11. Dyma'r ail fath yn ôl y deffiniad yno, ac felly, nid 28 yw rhif y mesurau ond 27. Rhaid cywiro 'r sylw yn *Bardd-rin*, td. 5, "yr oedd gan y brawd Christan o Lilienfeld XXVIII [o fesurau] fel Iolo" [Morganwg].

Rhaid cywiro hefyd sylw arall yno (td. 98), "Yn *Nhraethawd* Christan y mae'r *caudati* yn fesur ar ei ben ei hun . . . a'i nod amgen yw cwpled yn odli, fel y dywed Christan ei hun 'qui tantum in fine consonant'." Ni ddywedodd y brawd mai cwpled oedd y *Caudati*: ond esboniodd *Caudati* fel llinellau sy'n odli 'n unig ar y diwedd. Ystyr *cauda* yw 'cynffon', a phan fo cynffonnau; neu sillafau olaf llinellau yn odli, gelwir hwy yn *caudati*, boed dwy neu dair neu bedair neu chwaneg ohonynt. Y 'nod angen' yw tebygrwydd y diweddau, nid rhif y llinellau. Rhoes y brawd o Lilienfeld gwpled i ddangos y math; ni welid y rheol heb gael dwy linell, wrth gwrs, ond nid ynganodd air am nifer y llinellau. Y ffordd orau i setlo 'r pwynt yw dyfynnu awdurdod hŷn na llsgr. Lilienfeld (trydedd neu bedwaredd ganrif ar ddeg), a rhoi deffiniad llawnach.

Printiodd Zarnke¹ draethodau Lladin eraill ar fesurau Lladin odledig. Yn y Codex Admont. 759 (o'r ddeuddegfed ganrif) ceir *Regule de rithmis*, ac ynddynt hwy esbonnir *caudati* mewn modd arall. Dywedir (td. 45)

¹ *Berichte ueber die Verhandlungen der Koeniglich Saechsischen Gesell d. Wissenchaften zu Leipzig*, xxiii, 1871, td. 34-96.

bod dau fath o *rithmi*, sef *consoni* (in quibus due adminus distinciones consonant, dwy linell y fan leiaf, yn odli) a *caudati*, sef rhai â'u llinellau olaf yn diweddu 'n wahanol i'r rhai o'u blaenau (qui ultimas habent distinciones a reliquis prepositis discordantes). Rhennir y *caudati* ymhellach i dri dosbarth, *caudati dissoni*; *c. consoni*, *c. continentes*.

Dyma'r enghreifftiau :

1. *Caudati dissoni*.

Christe, redemptor gentium
et salus te timentium,
fer nobis lucem mentium
ad te uidentium.
Nos fone tuo numine,
nos cerne tuo lumine,
ut in mentis acumine
te fateamur.

Dyma dair llinell yn odli, wedyn *cauda* ; tair yn odli, yna *cauda*. Ond nid yw *videndum* yn odli a *fateamur* (Et sic in reliquis omnes caude discordant, ac felly yn y gweddill, nid odla 'r cynffonnau).

2. *Caudati consoni*.

Sermone Marcus Tullius,
fortuna Cesar Iulius
tibi non equantur.
Tibi summa prudentia,
prefulgens et potentia
celesti dono dantur.

Yn y rhain odli'r y cynffonnau (equantur, dantur), a gellir eu hodli ymlaen drwy'r darn, neu mewn dau bennill neu dri, yn ôl mympwy.

3. *Caudati continentes*.

O Baudine, flos cantorum,
palma, decus, lux bonorum,
te conseruet rex sanctorum
per millena.

Tua uincis cantilena
 pulchra cuncta uel amena
 plus quam filomena
 cum decore

Puichra resonat in ore
 mel quod apes legunt flore
 pangat ergo cum sonore
 tellus tota

Tua facta que sunt nota
 faciant et illi nota,
 corde puro, mente tota
 quos deducis.

Yn y rhain odli'r y llogwrn nid â'r llogwrn nesaf, ond â thair llinell gyntaf y *caudati* nesaf (*millena, cantilena, amena, filomena*); ni chytuna 'r *cauda* nesaf (*cum decore*) â'r un llinell o'i flaen, ond â'r tair sy'n dilyn, ac felly ymlaen.

Wrth edrych ar y tri math hyn, hawdd deall yr enw *caudati* arnynt; chwery y gyffon ran go bwysig ymhob un.

Yn ei Ail Atodiad rhydd Zarnke draethawd arall, *De diversitate versuum*, o lsg. a berthyn i'r drydedd ganrif ar ddeg (MS. 106, llyfrgell Prifysgol Leipzig). Td. 88, ceir a ganlyn:

Caudati vocantur, si duorum pariter vel trium aut plurium finis recta consonantia concordat, hoc modo

Cum rubei pandis conceptam luminis *iram*,
 Threiciam digitis fac resonare *lyram* . . .

Yna ar hexametrau, td. 89.

Caudati sunt, quorum terminationes binis versibus vel trinis vel forte omnibus concorditer statuuntur, hoc modo

Grata Camena veni! cordis mea concipe *verba*;
 Nam parili voto viridi residemus in *herba*.

Yn y naill ddefiniad a'r llall, pwysleisir mai odl ar ddiwedd y llinellau sydd ofynnol. Pa faint o linellau? Yn ôl y cyntaf, dwy neu dair neu chwanneg; yn ôl yr ail,

dwy neu dair neu efallai 'r cwbl. Ac eto cwpled yn unig a roir yn esiampl y ddau dro.

Yn y trydydd Atodiad, dyfynnir argraffiad Wright o'r *Ars Rithmicandi* a geir yn Brit. Mus. *Cleop. B.*, vi, f. 241 b, llgr. o'r bedwaredd ganrif ar ddeg. Yno (td. 94), eglurir bod mewn *cauda* dair sillaf o leiaf, a saith fel y rhif mwyaf posibl. Rhwir enghreifftiau fel yr uchod o'r *caudati consoni* (quorum caudae concordant in fine), a *dissoni* (quorum caudae non concordant).

Ymddengys i mi, felly, wrth fwrw golwg ar y cyfan, fod y Lladinwyr yn arfer *caudati*, (1) am linellau hir, heb odl fewnol o gwbl, ond yn unig yn odli â'i gilydd ar y diwedd; a hefyd (2) am fesurau cyfansawdd o linellau byrion (hanner-llinellau) gogyhyd, weithiau ddwy, weithiau dair, weithiau bedair, ac yna llinell fer â'i diwedd yn wahanol i'r rhain, yn eu dilyn fel cynffon. A dyna 'n union y modd y deffinir *Cywydd Llosgyrnawg* yn y Llyfr Coch:

Kywyd llosgyrnawe a uessurir o deueir, neu dri, neu bedwar, o wyth sillaf bob un ohonunt. A phennill llosgwrn yn y ol, o seith sillaf yndaw. Ac wrth diwedawdyl y pennill hwnnw y kynhelir y kywyd oll.

Gan fod y llosgwrn yn hwn yn odli â phob llosgwrn ar ei ôl, gellid galw 'r *Cywydd Llosgyrnog* yn un o'r *Caudati Consoni*! Y mae'n hollol fel y patrwm. Ond ple mae'r *Caudati* o linellau hir? I ateb hynny, buasai 'n rhaid trafod yr holl gwestiwn dyrys o'r modd y torrwyd y llinell hir yn rhannau, ac odli 'r rhannau. Nid ydwyf yn barod, ac ni byddaf yn barod am flynyddoedd i drin y pwnc hwnnw. Ond printiais y rhestr uchod o fesurau Lladin o lawysgrif Lilienfeld, rhag ofn i neb feddwl am funud awr fod wyth mesur ar hugain Iolo Morganwg yn cyfateb iddynt. Pwy bynnag sydd yn amau, cymhared hwy.





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