

## A Welsh Manuscript in America: Library Company of Philadelphia, 8680.O<sup>1</sup>

Following the purchase of the Boston manuscript of the Laws of Hywel Dda by the National Library of Wales in 2012,<sup>2</sup> the last Middle Welsh manuscript remaining on American soil became Philadelphia, Library Company of Philadelphia, 8680.O.<sup>3</sup> The Philadelphia manuscript is chiefly known for its famous colophon, in which the manuscript's main scribe, Hywel Fychan, dedicates his work to his patron, Hopkyn ap Thomas of Ynys Dawe.<sup>4</sup> Hywel Fychan's hand has now been identified in five Middle Welsh manuscripts, the most celebrated of which is the Red Book of Hergest.<sup>5</sup> The Red Book too seems to have been written for Hopkyn ap Thomas, probably soon after 1382, the year in which the Red Book's text of *Brut y Saeson* ends.<sup>6</sup> One awdl contained within the Red Book might even refer directly to the Philadelphia manuscript; a well-known praise poem addressed to Hopkyn ap Thomas by Dafydd y Coed contains a list of the literary works in Hopkyn's possession, amongst which was a text of the *Yniales*.<sup>7</sup> It has been suggested that this is a reference to Hywel Fychan's portion of the Philadelphia manuscript, which contains *Ystoria Dared* and *Brut y Brenhinedd*.<sup>8</sup> The Philadelphia manuscript is thus the crucial element in a web of links

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<sup>1</sup> I have accumulated a large number of debts during the course of writing this paper. Firstly, I would like to thank Elizabeth Bryan for her encouragement to undertake the project and Brown University's Medieval Studies programme for funding my visit to Philadelphia to see the manuscript. Daniel Huws, Paul Russell, Brynley Roberts, and Natalia Petrovskaia have kindly read through various drafts and I am grateful for their many suggestions for improvement. Generous help has also been given to me by James Quinn, historian of the Gwynedd Friends Meeting in Philadelphia; James N. Green, Librarian of the Library Company of Philadelphia; Annalee Rejhon; and by my mother Carol Guy, whose extensive experience of genealogical research helped to bring Owen Jones of Tan y Foel to life.

<sup>2</sup> Formerly Boston, Massachusetts Historical Society 5; now NLW 24029A.

<sup>3</sup> The manuscript is usually known as 'Philadelphia 8680', but the full reference number, including the shelf-mark, is 8680.O, where the O = 'Octavo', as was pointed out by Gruffydd Aled Williams, 'Mwy am Lawysgrif Gymraeg yn U.D.A.: The Public Library Company of Philadelphia, Llsg. 8680.O', *Llên Cymru* 34 (2011), 248–50, at 248, n. 1. The '8680.O' form is presumably the source of Gifford Charles-Edwards' mislabelling of the manuscript as 'Philadelphia 86800', an error followed by Christine James: Gifford Charles-Edwards, 'The Scribes of the Red Book of Hergest', *NLWJ* 21 (1979–80), 246–56, at 250; Christine James, "'Llwyfyr Wybodau, Llên a Llyfrau": Hopkyn ap Tomas a'r Traddodiad Llenyddol Cymraeg', in *Cwm Tawe*, ed. Hywel Teifi Edwards (Llandysul, 1993), 4–44, at 29–30 and 34–5.

<sup>4</sup> The colophon is printed in full in Brynley F. Roberts, 'Un o lawysgrifau Hopkyn ap Tomas o Ynys Dawe', *BBCS* 22 (1966–8), 223–8, at 227.

<sup>5</sup> The manuscripts are NLW, Peniarth 11; Llyfr Coch Talgarth (NLW, Llanstephan 27 and NLW, Peniarth 12, pp. 77–116 + Cardiff, Cardiff Public Library, 3.242 (Havod 16), pp. 101–12); Philadelphia 8680.O; Oxford, Jesus College 57; and Llyfr Coch Hergest (Oxford, Jesus College 111). See Charles-Edwards, 'The Scribes of the Red Book', 250 (cf. *eadem*, 'Hywel Fychan: Red Book and White Book', *NLWJ* 21 (1979–80), 427–8); *MWM* 60; Daniel Huws, 'Llyfr Coch Hergest', in *Cyfoeth y Testun. Ysgrifau ar Lenyddiaeth Gymraeg yr Oesoedd Canol*, ed. R. Iestyn Daniel *et al.* (Caerdydd, 2003), 1–30, at 1–2 and 12–18. For Hywel Fychan's editorial habits, see Simon Rodway, 'The Red Book Text of "Culhwch ac Olwen": a Modernising Scribe at Work', *Studi Celtici* 3 (2004), 93–161; Peter Wynn Thomas, 'Middle Welsh Dialects: Problems and Perspectives', *BBCS* 40 (1993), 17–50, at 42–3.

<sup>6</sup> For the date see *MWM* 252, n. 54 and Huws, 'Llyfr Coch Hergest', 1–2 and 29, n. 6. For the patron see G. J. Williams, *Traddodiad Llenyddol Morgannwg* (Cardiff, 1948), 11–14 and 147–8, and James, "'Llwyfyr Wybodau, Llên a Llyfrau'", 28–9. For the Red Book's version of *Brut y Saeson*, see *RBB* 385–403; this text still awaits a thorough investigation, but for some preliminary thoughts see Owain Wyn Jones, 'Historical Writing in Medieval Wales' (unpubl. PhD thesis, Bangor University, 2013), 43–4.

<sup>7</sup> Dafydd y Coed, *Moliant Hopkyn ap Tomas o Ynysforgan*, line 95, ed. R. Iestyn Daniel, *Gwaith Dafydd y Coed a Beirdd Eraill o Lyfr Coch Hergest* (Aberystwyth, 2002), 21.

<sup>8</sup> James, "'Llwyfyr Wybodau, Llên a Llyfrau'", 17, 20–4, and 29. Since Hywel Fychan's colophon occurs at the end of *Brut y Brenhinedd* and the remainder of the relevant folio was originally left blank, it is unlikely that Philadelphia 8680.O ever included *Brut y Tywysogyon*, the text that usually follows *Dares Phrygius* and *Brut y Brenhinedd* in copies of the Red Book version of the texts: Roberts, 'Un o lawysgrifau Hopkyn ap Tomas', 226.

that allows us to identify one of the most important and prolific Welsh scribes of the late fourteenth century.

The importance of the Philadelphia manuscript in this respect was first brought to the attention of Welsh scholars by Brynley Roberts in the 1960s.<sup>9</sup> Roberts was unable to view the manuscript directly, and was compelled to rely upon a microfilm produced by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, now housed in the National Library of Wales.<sup>10</sup> Roberts complained about the difficulties of using the microfilm, commenting that ‘y mae’n bosibl y gellid darllen llawer mwy o nodiadau ymyl y ddalen ac archwilio cyfansoddiad y llawysgrif pe ceid ei gweld hi, yn hytrach na gweithio o’r ffilm’.<sup>11</sup> Similarly, the online edition of the manuscript, produced by the *Welsh Prose (Rhyddiaith Gymraeg) 1300–1425* project, was obliged to rely on the microfilm, necessitating the caveat that ‘information on the scribal hands, foliation, accompanying materials, colour scheme and ornamentation should be treated as provisional’.<sup>12</sup> The caveat is borne out by the transcription; significant portions of the text were not legible to the editors, including the fascinating Middle Welsh calendar. Below I therefore offer my own palaeographical and codicological observations on the manuscript in light of a first-hand examination and then attempt to outline what can be known of the manuscript’s history, suggesting in particular the time at which it travelled to America.

### Contents

1. ff. 1r–2v bydant vy6 namyn vij mlyned ereill yssyd yno ... a chaer *constranti†\*†obyl*<sup>13</sup> [*sic*] a 6naeth *constantinus*.

*Delw y Byd* (two fragments: f. 1: 12.6–13.25; f. 2: 19.11–26.2),<sup>14</sup> ed. Henry Lewis and Pól Diverres, *Delw y Byd (Imago Mundi)* (Caerdydd, 1928), 88–94.<sup>15</sup>

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The exclusion of *Brut y Tywysogyon* was probably a conscious choice, since Philadelphia 8680.O’s texts of *Dares Phrygius* and *Brut y Brenhinedd* seem to derive from the same archetype as those in NLW, Peniarth 18 and the Red Book of Hergest, which also contain, alongside *Dares Phrygius* and *Brut y Brenhinedd*, Red Book versions of *Brut y Tywysogyon*: Jones, ‘Historical Writing’, 52. For the Red Book version of this group of texts, see Brynley F. Roberts, ‘The Red Book of Hergest Version of *Brut y Brenhinedd*’, *Studia Celtica* 12/13 (1977/78), 147–86; Jones, ‘Historical Writing’, 51–7.

<sup>9</sup> Roberts, ‘Un o lawysgrifau Hopcyn ap Tomas’; cf. *MWM* 80.

<sup>10</sup> NLW Microfilm 287.

<sup>11</sup> ‘it is possible that one could read many more of the marginal notes and examine the construction of the manuscript if one could see it, instead of working from the film’: Roberts, ‘Un o lawysgrifau Hopcyn ap Tomas’, 225, n. 1.

<sup>12</sup> *Philadelphia 8680: An Electronic Edition*, ed. Peter Wynn Thomas, D. Mark Smith, and Diana Luft, TEI Header, <http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk/en/tei-header.php?ms=Phil8680> (viewed 4<sup>th</sup> May 2013). The TEI header is incorrect to state that the manuscript is deposited with the Free Library of Philadelphia, as has been noted by Natalia I. Petrovskaia, ‘*Delw y Byd*: la traduction médiévale en gallois d’une encyclopédie latine et la création d’un traité géographique’, *Études Celtiques* 39 (2013), 257–77, at 260, n. 16.

<sup>13</sup> I enclose within daggers (††) any letters that are particularly difficult to read. This letter was presumably an *n*, but it is now mostly worn away. Expansions are in italics.

<sup>14</sup> The text missing between the extant two folios would appear to have occupied one other bifolium, which would originally have been slotted inside the extant bifolium. The text on the extant bifolium amounts to approximately 70 lines of text in the edition of Lewis and Diverres, and by the same reckoning there are 71 lines missing between the two folios. Note that Roberts accidentally prints ‘14.26’ for ‘26.2’ for the upper limit of the extant portion of text: Roberts, ‘Un o lawysgrifau Hopcyn ap Tomas’, 225.

<sup>15</sup> *Delw y Byd* is a thirteenth-century translation of the twelfth-century text *Imago Mundi*, written by Honorius Augustodunensis: Petrovskaia, ‘*Delw y Byd*’, 259–60. The two fragments of *Delw y Byd* in Philadelphia 8680.O are closely related to version B of the edition of Lewis and Diverres: Roberts, ‘Un o lawysgrifau Hopcyn ap Tomas’, 225 (confirmed by Natalia Petrovskaia, pers. comm.). Version B of *Delw y Byd* in the edition comprises the text of the White Book of Rhydderch (NLW, Peniarth 5, ff. 2r–4r) with variants from one of the

2. ff. 3r–4v G6yl phylip a ja†ym† ... G6yl siluester pab.

Calendar (Sarum. Incomplete: May–December extant).<sup>16</sup>

3. ff. 5r–20v A gwedy marw y brenhin telepus a beris ... Oddyna y gelwis ef wyr groec.

*Ystorya Dared* (RBB 16.34–32.9).<sup>17</sup>

4. ff. 21r–25v yn achelar6y. ac achelar|wy yna or bratheu hynny ... ac a | edewis troea ef ae niuer.

ff. 30r–30v a diomedes ac aiex. a lotri|cus a llawer o wyr ereill ... pan ueynt h6y ar y s6|per yd erchis priaf y am.

*Ystorya Dared* (Red Book of Hergest version. Ff. 21r–25v: RBB 31.33–39.3 (excl. 34.22–35.31); ff. 30r–30v: RBB 34.22–35.31).<sup>18</sup>

5. ff. 25v–68v (excl. 30r–30v) Brytaen oreu | or ynyssed yr | honn ... y prydereis | ynneu y ymchoelut ef | yn lladin.

*Brut y Brenhinedd* (Red Book of Hergest version. Ff. 25v–32v, excl. 30r–30v: RBB 40.1–48.25; ff. 33r–68r: RBB 194.33–256.11).<sup>19</sup>

6. ff. 69r–70r Ac yna y daũth kadwaladr vendigaid | vab kadwallawn yn vrenhin ... pann vynno dũw y wared oi †\*\*wr† | garedd.

*Brut y Brenhinedd* (summary).

### *Scribes and Texts*

The manuscript as extant is composite. The text on ff. 21r–68v was written *s.* xiv/xv in gothic textualis by Hywel Fychan, who identifies himself in a colophon at ff. 68rb21–68va10 (see plate 4).<sup>20</sup> Hywel Fychan’s folios contain *Ystorya Dared* and *Brut y Brenhinedd*, the Welsh translations of *Dares Phrygius* and Geoffrey of Monmouth’s *De gestis Britonum* (i.e.

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two versions of *Delw y Byd* copied into the Red Book of Hergest (Oxford, Jesus College 111, cols. 502–16). The work of Petrovskaia supports this pairing: she argues that *Imago Mundi* was translated into Welsh twice and that one of these translations (her recension B) is witnessed by the White Book and the Red Book cols. 502–16: Petrovskaia, ‘*Delw y Byd*’, 271.

<sup>16</sup> For a list of Welsh calendars, see *LBS* I, 66–9, to which should be added the calendar in Philadelphia 8680.O and the sixteenth-century Llanbadarn Fawr Calendar: Silas M. Harris, ‘A Llanbadarn Fawr Calendar’, *Ceredigion: Journal of the Cardiganshire Antiquarian Society* 2 (1952), 18–26.

<sup>17</sup> See B. G. Owens, ‘Y Fersiynau Cymraeg o Dares Phrygius (*Ystorya Dared*)’ (unpubl. MA thesis, University of Wales, Aberystwyth, 1951); Helen Fulton, ‘Troy Story: The Medieval Welsh *Ystorya Dared* and the *Brut* Tradition of British History’, in *The Medieval Chronicle VII*, ed. Juliana Dresvina and Nicholas Sparks (Amsterdam/New York, 2011), 137–150. The section numbers refer to the pages and lines of the edition of *RBB* itself and not to the sections of the Red Book, which are also noted in *RBB*. Roberts prints ‘32.8’ for ‘32.9’: Roberts, ‘Un o lawysgrifau Hopcyn ap Tomas’, 225.

<sup>18</sup> Roberts, ‘The Red Book of Hergest Version’, 177–8.

<sup>19</sup> Roberts, ‘Un o lawysgrifau Hopcyn ap Tomas’, 225–6; *idem*, ‘The Red Book of Hergest Version’, 177–8. See *idem*, *Brut y Brenhinedd. Llanstephan MS. 1 Version* (Dublin, 1971), xxviii–xxxii.

<sup>20</sup> *MWM* 79–83; Charles-Edwards, ‘The Scribes of the Red Book’, 250.

*Historia regum Britannia*) respectively, but the text of each is incomplete and a number of folios are missing.<sup>21</sup> The first two quires of Hywel Fychan's original manuscript, which would have contained at least the opening portion of *Ystoria Dared*, must have been either damaged or missing by the second half of the sixteenth century, when somebody, called here scribe E, undertook to restore much of the beginning of the *Ystoria Dared* by adding sixteen folios of text to what remained of Hywel Fychan's copy. It is likely that the original first two quires had been damaged as a result of the manuscript having been stored face down, and that scribe E copied the beginning of *Ystoria Dared* from the damaged remains of the original second quire.<sup>22</sup> As is explained below, the first extant quire written in the hand of Hywel Fychan comprises ff. 21–32 of the present arrangement, and it may be observed in the list of contents given above that these folios contain text equivalent to *RBB* 31.33–48.25, i.e. almost seventeen pages of the printed edition. The sixteen replacement folios written by scribe E comprise *RBB* 16.34–32.9, which similarly equates to around fifteen pages of the printed edition. Scribe E presumably copied his text from the original quire that had once immediately preceded the quire now forming ff. 21–32. But since scribe E begins his text at *RBB* 16.34, it is probable that there once existed another quire before the one that he copied, which would have again contained the text of around seventeen pages of the printed edition. It is therefore likely that the quire copied by scribe E was in fact the second quire of the original manuscript. The original first quire must have been either missing or illegible by the second half of the sixteenth century.

Scribe E's text is written on ff. 5r–20v in a hand of s. xvi<sup>2</sup> that employs mainly gothic letters, but which shows the occasional influence of secretary script through its looped ascenders for **l** and **b** and through its secretary **w**.<sup>23</sup> This text ends half way down f. 20v with a mark at the equivalent of *RBB* 32.8 (see plate 3). The same mark is placed in the corresponding position in Hywel Fychan's text, which begins on the opposite folio (f. 21r) with the text at end of the previous section, *RBB* 31.33. The hand of scribe E appears to be identical to that of ff. 69r–70v, the last two folios of the manuscript, which append to Hywel Fychan's copy of *Brut y Brenhinedd* an abbreviated version of the ending of the same text (see plate 5).<sup>24</sup> In order for the extra folios written by scribe E to have been added, the manuscript must have been rebound, and so it may have been during this rebinding that the four folios now positioned at the beginning of the volume (evidently taken from one or two separate manuscripts) were inserted. The parchment of these four folios is particularly tough and they were probably intended as a protective cover for the new first quire.<sup>25</sup> The first two folios were certainly a part of the volume by the seventeenth century, when a cursive hand

<sup>21</sup> See the summary of the contents of the manuscript at <http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk/en/tei-header.php?ms=Phil8680> (viewed 3<sup>rd</sup> May 2013). Geoffrey of Monmouth's work is usually referred to as *Historia regum Britanniae*, but Michael Reeve has now shown that Geoffrey himself called his work *De gestis Britonum*: Michael D. Reeve and Neil Wright, *Geoffrey of Monmouth, the History of the Kings of Britain: an Edition and Translation of De gestis Britonum [Historia Regum Britanniae]* (Woodbridge, 2007), lix.

<sup>22</sup> A directly analogous situation is presented by the Book of Llandaf. During the second re-binding of the manuscript in the fifteenth or sixteenth century, the original first quire, which must have been damaged or missing, was replaced, and four leaves were added to the front of the new quire for protection. During the medieval period, the extant gilt-bronze statuette of Christ in Majesty (or else its forerunner) would have been mounted on the back cover, so the book must have been kept face down. *MWM* 131 and 147; cf. E. D. Jones, 'The Book of Llandaff', *NLWJ* 4 (1945–6), 123–57, at 127.

<sup>23</sup> This hand is very close to that which wrote the medical texts in London, British Library, Add. 14913, ff. 68–103, and which appears again in a stray bifolium in NLW, Llanstephen 38, pp. 187–90, and in NLW, Llanstephen 171. A comparable, though more angular, hand is that of Huw Llŷn, who wrote the fragmentary bardic grammar on ff. 6–10v of Add. 14913 and who died c. 1600. I am indebted to Daniel Huws for this information and for the dating of the hand.

<sup>24</sup> Roberts, 'Un o lawysgrifau Hopcyn ap Tomas', 226.

<sup>25</sup> Again, the Book of Llandaf provides an instructive analogy: see above, n. 22.

copied into the upper margin of f. 1r the first line of a verse that appears at the end of the volume on f. 70v (see plate 1). The latter was written by a hand resembling that of a fifteenth-century scribe, but, considering that it occurs on one of the folios of scribe E, who is unlikely to predate the mid-sixteenth century, it must have been written by a deliberately archaizing scribe. The first two of the opening four folios (ff. 1–2) each contain a fragment of *Delw y Byd*, the Welsh translation of *Imago Mundi*, and the second two folios (ff. 3–4) contain part of a calendar. I designate the scribe of the first two folios scribe B and the main scribe of the second two folios scribe C. Both scribes were probably active in s. xiv/xv, around the same time that Hywel Fychan was writing.<sup>26</sup> Scribes B and C used gothic textualis. In the spaces between the original entries in scribe C’s calendar a number of additions were later made by an annotator [= scribe D] writing a secretary script influenced by Anglicana, probably in s. xv<sup>2</sup>/xvi<sup>1</sup> (see plate 2). Since many of the notes provide astronomical and astrological observations for particular points in the year, the annotations were probably made when the calendar was complete and more amenable to active use, and thus before the two surviving folios were added to the present manuscript.<sup>27</sup> This deduction is supported by one of scribe D’s additions. Scribe D wrote *thomas verthyr*, ‘Thomas the Martyr’, against the calendar entry equivalent to 7<sup>th</sup> July, which was the date of the translation of Thomas Becket.<sup>28</sup> This presumably indicates that scribe D was working before the destruction of Becket’s shrine in 1538, and thus before the floruit of scribe E, working sometime in the second half of the sixteenth century, whose activity should probably be associated with the insertion of the first four folios of the present arrangement into the manuscript.<sup>29</sup>

The breakdown of the main scribes is therefore as follows:

Folios	Texts	Scribe	Script	Date
1r–2v	<i>Delw y Byd</i>	B	Gothic textualis	s. xiv/xv
3r–4v	Calendar	C	Gothic textualis	s. xiv/xv
		D (Annotator)	Secretary	s. xv <sup>2</sup> /xvi <sup>1</sup>
5r–20v	<i>Ystorya Dared</i>	E	Gothic inf. by secretary	s. xvi <sup>2</sup>

<sup>26</sup> The hand of scribe B shares a number of the palaeographical traits of Hywel Fychan: both use a two-compartment **a**; both use the 2-shaped **r** after **h**, **v**, incurling **v** [6], and **y**; both display the biting of bows after **d** and **b**; both use a **t** with a prominent shaft rising above the cross stroke; and both use the **ll** ligature for /l/. So far as can be discerned, scribe C displays similar traits, though analysis is hampered by the limited number of words extant in his hand. Unlike Hywel Fychan, scribe B does not employ *w*, though scribe C does. These features are consistent with those of scribes writing in the second half of the fourteenth century, or a little later. See *MWM* 233.

<sup>27</sup> The notes are of a common kind and might have been copied from another calendar. Some of the more legible notes include the following: 8<sup>th</sup> May: *lloer vai a enir yr a6r cyntaf or dydd*, ‘the May moon is born on the first hour of the day’ (f. 3ra9–10); 13<sup>th</sup> June: *lloer vehevin a enir y drytedd awr or dydd*, ‘the June moon is born on the third hour of the day’ (f. 3rb14–15); 12<sup>th</sup> July: *xvi a6r yn y dydd viij yn y nos llew*, ‘16 hours in the day 8 in the night of the lion’ (f. 3va13–15); 18<sup>th</sup> July: *yr hayl yn y llew*, ‘the sun in the lion’ (f. 3va19); 18<sup>th</sup> August: *yr haul yn y vor6yn*, ‘the sun in the maiden’ (f. 3vb19–20); 13<sup>th</sup> October: *lloer hydref a enir rwnc nawn a phryd Gosper*, ‘the October moon is born between noon and evening time’ (f. 4rb14–16); 7<sup>th</sup> November: *viij yn y dyd ƒxviƒ yn y nos ar lloer a enyn aƒr bƒryd gosber*, ‘8 in the day [16] in the night and the moon is born [in] the evening’ (f. 4va8–11). Scribe C has mislabelled the column for November *mis racuyr*, ‘December’ and the column for December *mis tachwed*, ‘November’.

<sup>28</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> July: *thomas verthyr* (f. 3vb8). David Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. (Oxford, 2003), 505–6; Donald Attwater, *A New Dictionary of Saints*, ed. and rev. John Cumming (Tunbridge Wells, 1993), 307–8; John J. Delaney, *Dictionary of Saints* (Tadworth, 1982), 553.

<sup>29</sup> Frank Barlow, ‘Becket, Thomas (1120?–1170)’, *DNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27201>, viewed 3<sup>rd</sup> March 2014].

21r–25va9	<i>Ystorya Dared</i>	A (Hywel Fychan)	Gothic textualis	s. xiv/xv
25va10–68v	<i>Brut y Brenhinedd</i>	A (Hywel Fychan)	Gothic textualis	s. xiv/xv
69r–70v	<i>Brut y Brenhinedd</i>	E	Gothic inf. by secretary	s. xvi <sup>2</sup>

### *Physical Production*

The manuscript is written on parchment with wove paper flyleaves of s. xix: ff. ii + 70 + ii. Folio numbers have been written in pencil on the top-right corners of the rectos of each folio. This was done at the request of the Librarian of the Library Company of Philadelphia by Annalee Rejhon during her inspection of the manuscript in 2001.<sup>30</sup> The manuscript was rebound by the Library Company in the first half of the nineteenth century, probably when the manuscript was accessioned. The Library Company's accession record for the manuscript is not precisely dated, but, considering the publication dates of the new printed books accessioned by the Library Company at the same time, it would seem to be dateable to 1832.<sup>31</sup>

Pricking and ruling differs for each scribe:

Scribe	Pricking	Ruling		
		Medium	Columns	Ruled lines
B (ff. 1–2)	Not visible	Pencil	1	24 horizontal lines bounded by 2 vertical lines
C (ff. 3–4)	Not visible	Pencil	2	7 vertical lines dividing the columns of the calendar and 34 horizontal lines bounded by the outer vertical lines
E	Visible in outer margins	Drypoint	1	2 vertical lines and 23/24 horizontal lines running to the edges of the leaves.
Hywel Fychan	Not visible	Pencil	2	2 columns bounded by 4 vertical lines. 26–28 horizontal lines within writing space, most bounded by the outermost vertical lines but with the top and bottom two running to the edges of the leaves. Pairs of closely spaced horizontal lines in the lower margins and closely spaced vertical lines in the outer margins.

The sizes of the leaves vary a fair amount; this is the product of parts of different manuscripts having been combined together and trimmed imperfectly. Roughly speaking, the sizes of the leaves and of the writing spaces (height × width in millimetres), along with the numbers of lines of writing per page, are as follows:

<sup>30</sup> Consequently, the folio numbers do not appear on the microfilm held in the National Library of Wales.

<sup>31</sup> I owe this information to James N. Green, Librarian of the Library Company of Philadelphia. Unfortunately, no information has been preserved about the state of the former binding.

Folios	Scribe	Leaf Size	Writing Space	No. of lines per page
1–2	B	208 × 140	165 × 111	22/23
3–4	C	208 × 140	165 × 111	31/32
5–20	E	219 × 138	159 × 102	23/24
21–32	Hywel Fychan	225 × 144	170 × 115	25
33–55	Hywel Fychan	225 × 144	170 × 115	26
56–68	Hywel Fychan	225 × 144	170 × 115	27
69–70	E	200 × 130	147 × 108	21/22

The four folios of scribes B and C consist of two separate, adjacent bifolia. That they were added to Philadelphia 8680.O from the same manuscript is suggested by their identical leaf sizes and writing spaces, as shown in the table above. Ff. 5–20 of scribe E comprise a single quire of sixteen leaves, the central folios being ff. 12 and 13. Scribe E's second addition (ff. 69–70) forms a single bifolium. The quiring of the remains of Hywel Fychan's original manuscript is difficult to establish because of both loss of quires and misplacement of folios within the current arrangement. A hint is provided by the number of lines ruled for each page. Hywel Fychan increased the number of written lines per page incrementally as he copied, presumably in order to ensure that he could fit the entire text onto the desired number of quires. The increments correspond with catchwords in the lower margins of ff. 32v (*nos*) and 55v (*kanys*), and therefore also with particular quires. The relationships between the bifolia of the first of Hywel Fychan's quires, quire 4 of the present arrangement, is relatively straightforward to establish because the connections between the pairs of leaves of many of the bifolia are still visible. Quire 4 comprises six bifolia, presently arranged as follows:

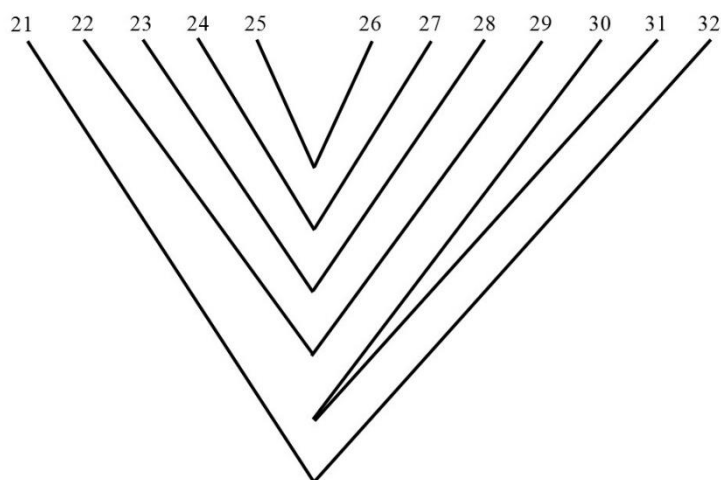


Figure 1: The present arrangement of quire 4

The original central bifolium consisted of the present ff. 25 and 26, between which the original threads of the binding are still visible. The bifolium now forming ff. 30 and 31 has been misplaced, as indicated by textual discontinuity. This bifolium should be positioned as the third to outermost bifolium, meaning that f. 30 should be placed between ff. 22 and 23 and f. 31 should be placed between ff. 28 and 29 (see fig. 2). After this bifolium fell out, it was evidently slotted into the gathering between the final two leaves, now ff. 29 and 32.



Several quires are missing between this quire and the following one, as is implied by the lack of concordance between the catchword *nos* on f. 32v and the first word of f. 33r.<sup>32</sup>

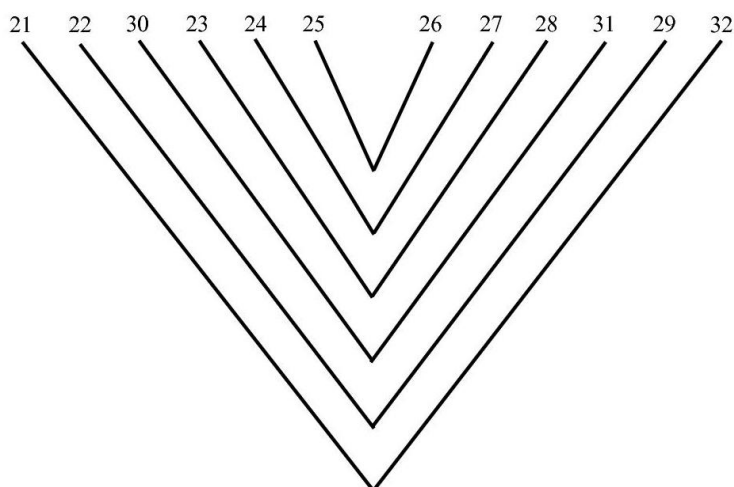


Figure 2: The original arrangement of quire 4, with present folio numbers for reference

The fifth and sixth quires, each with 26 lines per page, would appear, like the fourth quire, to have been originally formed from six bifolia. The central bifolia of these two quires were certainly ff. 38–9 and ff. 49–50, and many of the connections between the leaves immediately surrounding these two central bifolia are still visible. Given that one folio is missing between ff. 43 and 44, as shown by textual discontinuity, there are precisely the right number of leaves remaining to allow for two quires of six bifolia, the second of which ends at f. 55v with the catchword *kanys*. This catchword matches the first word of f. 56r, the first leaf of the seventh quire. Quire 7 appears to consist again of six bifolia, encompassing ff. 56–67, centred on ff. 61 and 62, between which the original threads are still visible. The remains of a mostly illegible catchword at the bottom of f. 67v indicate that the following quire did not begin with f. 68, meaning that an unknown number of folios must have been lost from the beginning of the following quire.<sup>33</sup> F. 68 now stands alone; all that can be said is that it was probably the final leaf of the original manuscript, since it contains the final portion of *Brut y Brenhinedd* followed by Hywel Fychan’s colophon.

Quire	Foliation	Central Bifolium	Catchword		Note
			End of Quire	Concordance?	
1	1–2	1–2	N/A	N/A	
2	3–4	3–4	N/A	N/A	

<sup>32</sup> The missing text is equivalent to *RBB* 48.25–194.33. If all of this text was included in Hywel Fychan’s original manuscript, then a substantial number of quires are now missing. The pages of the present quire 4, ruled for 25 lines, each contain about 23 lines of the text in the printed edition *RBB*. If the missing folios were ruled for the same number of lines, then the missing text would fit almost exactly onto nine quires of six bifolia. If the missing folios were ruled for 26/27 lines per page, as are the folios of the present quires 5–7, then the missing text could fit onto eight quires of six bifolia.

<sup>33</sup> It is stated that there are two folios missing between ff. 67 and 68 in the contents table at <http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk/en/tei-header.php?ms=Phil8680> (viewed 11<sup>th</sup> January 2014). F. 67 finishes at *RBB* 252.10 and f. 68 begins at *RBB* 255.20, meaning that approximately 109 lines of the printed edition are missing. The pages of Hywel Fychan ruled for 27 lines per page contain about 27/28 lines of the edition’s text, and so the missing text would probably have fit onto the four sides of two folios.



3	5–20	12–13	N/A	N/A	
4	21–32	25–26	<i>nos</i>	No	ff. 30–31 displaced
5	33–43	38–39	[folio missing]	N/A	One folio missing between ff. 43 and 44.
6	44–55	49–50	<i>kanys</i>	Yes	
7	56–67	61–62	†*****†	No	
8	68	N/A	N/A	N/A	Unknown number of folios missing before f. 68.
9	69–70	69–70	N/A	N/A	

Rubrication varies by scribe. Scribe B's text is not rubricated. Scribe C used red for the calendar. Scribe E did not rubricate. Hywel Fychan followed the fashion of the age by using red and blue alternatively for the *litterae notabiliores* at the beginning of each of his sections. Most of his rubricated letters are only one line in height, though some are two lines. Major sections of the text are marked with three-line initials combining red and blue ink. These rubricated letters follow tiny pencilled guide-letters, many of which are still visible. Hywel Fychan himself is probably responsible for the doodles in the margins of his text, which often extend from the ascenders or descenders of his letters (as in the Red Book of Hergest).<sup>34</sup> These drawings often depict bearded faces, as, for example, does the one accompanying the opening initial of *Brut y Brenhinedd* on f. 25v. Also noteworthy is the drawing of a scribe's arm and hand, depicted writing the final word of a line on f. 39v.

At ff. 39v and 68r there are signs of the parchment having been repaired. The strip of parchment stitched over the repair on f. 68r slightly overlaps a couple of letters, indicating that the repair took place after Hywel Fychan had written the passage concerned. Perhaps the repairs were made by scribe E during his general resurrection of an appreciably beleaguered manuscript.

### *History of the Manuscript*

It is not known where Hywel Fychan worked, but one may assume that he produced manuscripts for his patron Hopkyn ap Thomas, such as Philadelphia 8680.O, in relative proximity to Hopkyn's residence at Ynysforgan on the river Tawe in Glamorgan.<sup>35</sup> What is less certain is the character of the centre in which he wrote.<sup>36</sup> It is possible that Hywel Fychan worked in a monastic scriptorium, though Gifford Charles-Edwards has argued that certain aspects of his hand indicate that he did not learn to write in a monastery.<sup>37</sup> Compared with many monastic scribes, Hywel Fychan is noticeably inconsistent with regard to his positioning of letters between the headline and baseline, his letter formation, and his ductus.

<sup>34</sup> Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan, *Welsh Manuscripts and English Manuscripts in Wales, An Index of Images in English Manuscripts from Chaucer to Henry VIII 6* (Turnhout, 2011), 68–9.

<sup>35</sup> It was Prys Morgan who first established that the family of Hopkyn ap Thomas was based at Ynysforgan and not, as previously thought, at Ynysdawy (near the modern village of Ynystawe), which is about a mile upstream: Prys Morgan, 'Glamorgan and the Red Book', *Morgannwg. Transactions of the Glamorgan Local History Society* 22 (1978), 42–60, at 46–7.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Marged Haycock, 'Llyfr Taliesin', *NLWJ* 25 (1987–8), 357–86, at 364–5.

<sup>37</sup> Charles-Edwards, 'The Scribes of the Red Book', 251.

However, such habits may tell us more about Hywel's approach to scribal work than about the circumstances of his training. Scribe A of the Red Book of Hergest, who appears to have collaborated directly with Hywel Fychan in the making of that manuscript, wrote consistently with a clear and disciplined hand, and on occasion Hywel Fychan could write in a manner similar enough to render the two scribes almost indistinguishable.<sup>38</sup> The occasional inconsistencies of Hywel Fychan's hand do not eliminate the possibility that he worked in a local monastic house, perhaps as a visiting lay scribe, but other centres are no less probable.<sup>39</sup>

Sometime in the second half of the sixteenth century, Hywel Fychan's portion of Philadelphia 8680.O underwent a restoration associated with the work of scribe E. The original second quire was re-written and replaced and a summarised ending of *Brut y Brenhinedd* was added to the end of the manuscript. It was probably at this time that four folios from a manuscript written by scribes B and C were added to the beginning of Philadelphia 8680.O as a protective cover. The rebinding that must have accompanied this restoration might have been the occasion on which the bifolium now comprising ff. 30–1 was misplaced. Some of the quires missing from the original manuscript may too have been lost at this time, though it seems unlikely that scribe E, a person interested in restoring the text of the manuscript, would have deliberately removed any quires in good condition. Such activity might hint that scribe E was also responsible for the repairs on ff. 39v and 68r.

The provenance of the calendar contained in the third and fourth folios might indicate the location of scribe E's activities. As established above, the calendar was written by scribe C, who appears to have been roughly contemporary with Hywel Fychan, and was later annotated by scribe D in *s. xv<sup>2</sup>/xvi<sup>1</sup>*, probably before 1538 and thus before the extant portion was inserted into Philadelphia 8680.O. The calendar does not appear to have been created for liturgical use, but the saints' days recorded by both scribes C and D may provide an indication of the calendar's provenance.<sup>40</sup> The calendar of scribe C follows Sarum usage and accordingly records mostly universal saints and English 'national' saints, such as Bishop Dunstan and Edward the Confessor.<sup>41</sup> The decision to include two particular feasts might point to a provenance in south-eastern Wales: namely St Kenelm of Winchcombe in Gloucestershire and Thomas de Cantilupe of Hereford (bishop 1275–82, canonised 1320).<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Huws, 'Llyfr Coch Hergest', 12–18 and 20–1.

<sup>39</sup> Other named lay scribes of the fourteenth century include Gwilym Was Da of Y Drenewydd (Dinefwr), Ieuan Ysgolhaig, possibly of Lampeter, and Dafydd Ysgrifennydd: Morfydd E. Owen and Dafydd Jenkins, 'Gwilym Was Da', *NLWJ* 21 (1979–80), 429–30; Huw Pryce, *Native Law and the Church in Medieval Wales* (Oxford, 1993), 20. There is a little more evidence for professional lay scribes in Wales in the fifteenth century, such as Gwilym Tew, Lewis Glyn Cothi, and Gutun Owain: *MWM* 16–17; Charles-Edwards, 'The Scribes of the Red Book', 250.

<sup>40</sup> For a discussion of extant Welsh liturgical texts, see Daniel Huws, 'St David in the Liturgy: a Review of Sources', in *St David of Wales: Cult, Church and Nation*, ed. J. Wyn Evans and Jonathan M. Wooding (Woodbridge, 2007), 220–32.

<sup>41</sup> 19<sup>th</sup> May: *G6yl dynstan escob* (f. 3ra20) and 13<sup>th</sup> October: *G6yl edward confess* (f. 4rb14). Farmer, *Dictionary*, 152–3 and 163–5; Attwater, *New Dictionary*, 88 and 93; Delaney, *Dictionary*, 187–8 and 191. 13<sup>th</sup> October was the date of the translation of Edward the Confessor; his feast day was 5<sup>th</sup> January. For a general introduction to the Sarum calendar see Philip Baxter, *Sarum Use: the Ancient Customs of Salisbury* (Reading, 2008), 63–8; *idem*, *Sarum Use: the Development of a Medieval Code of Liturgy and Customs* (Salisbury, 1994), 45–7. For the saints' days celebrated in Sarum usage, see *The Martiloge in Englysshe after the Use of the Chirche of Salisbury and as it is Redde in Syon, with Addicyons*. Printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1526, ed. Francis Procter and E. S. Dewick, Henry Bradshaw Society 3 (London, 1893).

<sup>42</sup> 17<sup>th</sup> July: *G6yl kenelym* (f. 3va18) and 1<sup>st</sup> October: *G6yl Thomas o henford* (f. 4rb2). For Kenelm, see Farmer, *New Dictionary*, 300; Attwater, *New Dictionary*, 184; Delaney, *Dictionary*, 338; Rosalind C. Love, *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives* (Oxford, 1996), cxiii; David Rollason, 'Cynehelm (*supp. fl.* 803×11), *DNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/39213>, viewed 5<sup>th</sup> January 2014]. The feast of Thomas of Hereford is usually celebrated on 2<sup>nd</sup> October: Farmer, *Dictionary*, 507–8; E. M. Jancey, *St Thomas of Hereford* (Hereford, 1978), 17; Philip Barrett, 'A Saint in the Calendar: the Effect of the Canonization of St

Although the cult of St Kenelm was celebrated widely across England by the later Middle Ages, general devotion to Thomas de Cantilupe seems to have declined after the mid-fourteenth century, perhaps indicating that scribe C was working in proximity to Hereford.<sup>43</sup> An alleged miracle of St Thomas de Cantilupe said to have happened in Swansea in the late thirteenth century might even indicate that there was sufficient devotion to the saint near the home of Hopkyn ap Thomas for the reference to have been produced there.<sup>44</sup> Scribe D, the annotator, displays more of an interest in native Welsh saints, both northern and southern. The saints he commemorates include St Deiniol of Bangor, whose cult was widespread in North Wales;<sup>45</sup> St Curig, whose feast is twice used as a point of reference in *Cyfraith Hywel Dda* and thus was probably well known;<sup>46</sup> and St Melangell of Pennant Melangell, a place located between Bala and Llanrhaeadr-ym-Mochnant in Powys.<sup>47</sup> The last named might be the most significant considering that the cult of St Melangell was the most localised of the three.<sup>48</sup> On the other hand, these three saints are commemorated in the majority of surviving Welsh calendars, so they cannot be used as evidence for the provenance of scribe D's additions to the calendar.<sup>49</sup> On the basis of the locale of Hywel Fychan and of the English saints of the south-west midlands commemorated by scribe C in the calendar, it might be

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Thomas Cantilupe on the Liturgy', in *St Thomas Cantilupe Bishop of Hereford: Essays in his Honour*, ed. Meryl Jancey (Leominster, 1982), 153; R. C. Finucane, 'Cantilupe, Thomas de [St Tomas of Hereford] (c. 1220–1282)', *DNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4570>, viewed 5<sup>th</sup> January 2014]. For reasons unknown to me, some of the dictionaries of saints erroneously place his feast-day on the 3<sup>rd</sup> October: e.g. Attwater, *New Dictionary*, 308; Delaney, *Dictionary*, 553–4.

<sup>43</sup> Love, *Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, cxvii; Jancey, *St Thomas*, 18. Further evidence for a Hereford connection might be provided by a marginal note on f. 37r that reads *Caer ffawydd ydiw East herefford. erail a ddowed mae hwlffordd ydiw yn aber dau gleddau*, 'East Hereford is Caerffawydd. Others say that it is Hwlffordd [Haverfordwest] in Aberdaugleddau [Milford Haven]'. However, the hand is early modern and probably postdates the floruit of scribe C, who wrote the relevant entry in the calendar.

<sup>44</sup> This incident forms the subject of Robert Bartlett's book *The Hanged Man: a Story of Miracle, Memory, and Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ/Woodstock, 2004).

<sup>45</sup> 11<sup>th</sup> September: *G deiniol bancor* (f. 4ra12). Farmer, *Dictionary*, 141; Attwater, *New Dictionary*, 82–3; Delaney, *Dictionary*, 172; Molly Miller, *The Saints of Gwynedd* (Woodbridge, 1979), 52–3 and 82–5; T. M. Charles-Edwards, 'Deiniol (d. 584)', *DNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7110>, viewed 5<sup>th</sup> January 2014].

<sup>46</sup> 16<sup>th</sup> June: *G giric* (f. 3rb17). A. W. Wade-Evans, *Welsh Medieval Law, being a text of the Laws of Howel the Good, namely the BM. Harleian MS. 4353 of the 13<sup>th</sup> Century* (Oxford, 1909), 35 and 71 (transl. 182 and 219). For the use of saints' days as dating points in legal texts, see Huws, 'St David in the Liturgy', 223. St Curig is also associated with the legal tradition in NLW 24029A, formerly Boston, Massachusetts Historical Society 5, which contains the devotional text *Emynau Curig Ferthyr*. The latter occurs on ff. 98–9 as part of a quire separate in origin from the rest of the manuscript, though both this quire and the quires of the original manuscript contain portions of the Blegywryd version of *Cyfraith Hywel Dda*, the medieval Welsh law-code. The poem was published in *LCBS* 276–7. For the manuscript, see Morfydd E. Owen, 'Llawysgrif Gyfreithiol Goll', *BBCS* 22 (1966–8), 338–43 and *NLW 24029 A (Boston 5): Electronic Edition*, ed. Peter Wynn Thomas, D. Mark Smith, and Diana Luft, TEI Header, <http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.cardiff.ac.uk/en/tei-header.php?ms=Bost5> (viewed 4<sup>th</sup> May 2013). The Welsh St Curig is a manifestation of the widely culted St Quiricus, son of St Julietta, both of whom were martyred at Tarsus in 304: Farmer, *Dictionary*, 131–2; Attwater, *A New Dictionary*, 265; Delaney, *Dictionary*, 334. Elissa Henken assumes that Curig was a native Welsh saint who was only confused with Quiricus after the coming of the Normans, but it is at least equally likely that Quiricus was the original saint commemorated at Curig cult-sites, which themselves provided the stimulus for the growth of native 'traditions' surrounding St Curig. Elissa R. Henken, *Traditions of the Welsh Saints* (Cambridge, 1987), 262–8. The cult of St Curig was known across Wales, but in the Middle Ages the most important site was Llangurig in Arwystli: Miller, *Saints of Gwynedd*, 51.

<sup>47</sup> 27<sup>th</sup> May: *G velangell*. Farmer, *Dictionary*, 365; Attwater, *New Dictionary*, 223; Delaney, *Dictionary*, 403.

<sup>48</sup> Huw Pryce, 'A New Edition of the *Historia Divae Monacellae*', *The Montgomeryshire Collections* 82 (1994), 23–40, at 33–4.

<sup>49</sup> See the lists in *LBS* I, 72 and 74.

argued that the restoration of the manuscript associated with scribe E also took place in the south-east of Wales, but the evidence is far from conclusive.

It is possible that the restoration involving scribe E was overseen by one of the people whose names are inscribed in the manuscript. On f. 68v there is an ownership inscription, subsequently crossed through, that reads *lleuryr [sic] dauid lln person Bangor anno dmi 1572* ‘the book of David Llywelyn, parson of Bangor, anno domini 1572’ (see plate 4). Underneath is a second ownership inscription written by *dauide lln*, this time dated to 1573. Roberts was able to locate this man in Bangor Teifi, Ceredigion, where the vicar in 1571 was indeed a man named ‘David Llewelyn’.<sup>50</sup> This would appear to be the same David Llywelyn who is the main hand of NLW 3046D (Mostyn 143), which contains, among other texts, cywyddau and a copy of the Peniarth 20 version of *Brut y Tywysogyon*.<sup>51</sup> David Llywelyn describes himself on p. 328 of NLW 3046D as *o blwy Llanhilar yn sir Aberteivi*, ‘from the parish of Llanilar in Cardiganshire’. This manuscript was probably written between 1568 and 1573. Several of the names inscribed in it have associations with Cardiganshire and Pembrokeshire, strengthening David Llywelyn’s connection with the Teifi valley.<sup>52</sup> Since scribe E was also working sometime in the second half of the sixteenth century, it is possible that it was David Llywelyn himself who commissioned scribe E to re-write the damaged portion of the manuscript. However, it is equally possible that scribe E worked either before or after David Llywelyn’s ownership of the manuscript. The latter’s two ownership inscriptions occur on the last of Hywel Fychan’s folios and there is no sign that he marked the folios of scribe E.

The next identifiable owner of the manuscript is one Owen Jones, who recorded his name, alongside various other details, in a number of places.<sup>53</sup> Jones added ownership inscriptions in Welsh, English, and Latin, and, in different inscriptions, provided two dates: 1675 and 1677. Most usefully, he recorded information about his place of residence in a note on f. 68v that reads *llyfur Owain Jones o tan y foel yn llanrwst*, ‘the book of Owain Jones of Tan y Foel in Llanrwst’ (see plate 4). Tan y Foel is a house in Garthgarmon township located within the bounds of the parish of Llanrwst, situated on a hill overlooking Betws-y-Coed and the Conwy valley.<sup>54</sup> A number of records serve to illuminate the life and family of this Owen Jones. There survives the will of one Owen Jones of Tan y Foel, written in 1679, and the exact correspondence of the signature of Owen Jones in the will with the many signatures in Philadelphia 8680.O proves that the same Owen Jones is concerned.<sup>55</sup> In the will, Jones stipulates that his wife Lowry should take over his estate for five years in order to pay off her

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<sup>50</sup> Roberts, ‘Un o lawysgrifau Hopcyn ap Tomas’, 227, n. 1. This information comes from NLW MSS 1626–7, which contain a list and index to institutions in Wales from the Reformation to 1840 based on the records of the Office of First Fruits and Tenths. My thanks to Daniel Huws for this reference.

<sup>51</sup> Bangor, Mostyn 15 is another manuscript in the hand of David Llywelyn, though it might be a detached portion of NLW 3046D. I am grateful to Daniel Huws for sending me information about the manuscripts of David Llywelyn. For the Peniarth 20 version of *Brut y Tywysogyon*, see Thomas Jones, *Brut y Tywysogyon or The Chronicle of the Princes. Peniarth MS. 20 Version* (Cardiff, 1952); *idem*, *Brut y Tywysogyon: Peniarth MS. 20* (Caerdydd, 1941).

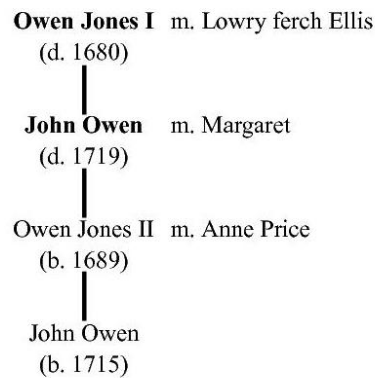
<sup>52</sup> Benjamin George Owens tentatively suggested that this David Llywelyn, who wrote autograph englynion in the margins of NLW 3046D (pp. 252 and 306), should be identified with the contemporary poet Dafydd ap Llywelyn ap Madog. Such an identification is highly unlikely considering that two of the poems attributed to the latter are dedicated respectively to St Dyfnog of Llanrhaeadr-yng-Nghinmeirch and St Mordeyrn of Nantglyn, two relatively obscure saints celebrated near Denbigh: Benjamin George Owens, ‘Dafydd ap Llywelyn ap Madog’, *WBO* [<http://wbo.llgc.org.uk/en/s-DAFY-APL-1500.html>, viewed 3<sup>rd</sup> March 2014]; *LBS* II, 397–8 and III, 502–3. The dedications indicate an approximate provenance for the poet. The Mordeyrn poem in particular implies that Dafydd ap Llywelyn ap Madog was in fact a native of Nantglyn, and similarly the poems of his son Huw ap Dafydd can all be localised in Denbighshire. The two saints’ poems of Dafydd ap Llywelyn ap Madog are edited in Barry Lewis, *Medieval Welsh Poems to Saints and Shrines* (forthcoming).

<sup>53</sup> Ff. 10v, 20v, 68v, 70r, and 70v.

<sup>54</sup> Grid reference: SH 81527 56897.

<sup>55</sup> NLW SA1685-127.

late husband's outstanding debts and to provide for his children, after which time his eldest son John Owen should take over the inheritance.<sup>56</sup> Since the will was proved in 1685, it might follow that Owen Jones died five years earlier; if this is true then he could be the otherwise unidentified Owen Jones buried in Llanrwst on 27<sup>th</sup> December 1680, a year after the will was written.<sup>57</sup> A valuation of Garthgarmon, dated to 1692, shows that his son John Owen was by that date the landowner of *Tai tan y foel*,<sup>58</sup> and he too was buried in Llanrwst on 12<sup>th</sup> December 1719 (see fig. 3).<sup>59</sup>



**Figure 3: Members of the Tan y Foel family mentioned in the text. The names of known owners of Philadelphia 8680.O are in bold**

John Owen must have inherited the manuscript after the death of his father, probably in 1685. This much is made clear by Edward Lhuyd, the great antiquarian, who mentions the manuscript in a note dateable to 1699:

A W[elsh] M[anuscript] of Geoff. written by Hwlkyn ap Thomas in y<sup>e</sup> hands of the John Owen's son to Owen Jones of Tai'n y Voel: now living at Bettws [= Betws-y-Coed] near Lh. Rwst.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>56</sup> The family of Owen Jones still used the Welsh patronymic system. Thus, Owen Jones's son was called John Owen, and John Owen's own son was called Owen Jones. By this time, fixed surnames had become relatively common in Wales, but instances of the patronymic system are still found in the eighteenth and even nineteenth centuries, particularly in the west and north-west: see John Rowlands and Sheila Rowlands, *The Surnames of Wales*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Llandysul, 2013), 50–8; T. J. Morgan and Prys Morgan, *Welsh Surnames* (Cardiff, 1985), 16.

<sup>57</sup> Rhuthun CRO, Llanrwst burials 1615–90.

<sup>58</sup> Rhuthun CRO, DRO NTD/565. According to this evaluation, John Owen maintained two tenants in Tan y Foel in 1692 named Thomas Owen and Lowry ferch Ellis. There is no son of Owen Jones named Thomas Owen mentioned in his will, though it is possible that Owen Jones's wife Lowry was pregnant with Thomas when Owen Jones died. Lowry ferch Ellis is, in all probability, Owen Jones's widow. She may just possibly be the Lowry daughter of Ellis ap Morris Gruffudd Lloyd baptised in Llanrwst on 4<sup>th</sup> July 1634 (Rhuthun CRO, Llanrwst baptisms 1613–1691). If Owen Jones's eldest son John Owen reached the age of majority (21) in 1685, when Owen Jones's will went to probate, then he would have been born in 1664, when Lowry, on this basis, might have been 30 years old.

<sup>59</sup> In the parish register he is called John Owen of *Tai yn y Voile*. It may well have been this John Owen who signed the petition for a new chapel at Capel Garmon (directly adjacent to Tan y Foel) on 27<sup>th</sup> February 1709: Llandudno CRO, Capel Garmon baptisms and burials 1702–1749 (Capel Garmon microfiche 1).

<sup>60</sup> Edward Lhuyd, *Parochialia; being a summary of answers to "Parochial Queries in order to a Geographical Dictionary, ETC, of Wales*, ed. Rupert H. Morris, *Archaeologia Cambrensis* VI.9–11 (1909–11), vol. II, 22 and again in vol. III, 114.

It was probably during John Owen's period of ownership that the manuscript was seen by Bishop Humphrey Humphreys. A note on f. 68v, placed directly above David Llywelyn's inscription and adjacent to Hywel Fychan's dedication to Hopkyn ap Thomas, records that *one Hopkin ap Rees ye grandchild of this Hopkin ap Thomas was put to Death at Chepstow temp Rich 3<sup>a</sup>* (see plate 4). Daniel Huws has identified the hand as that of Bishop Humphreys.<sup>61</sup> Humphreys was Bishop of Bangor from June 1689 until November 1701, when he was translated to the see of Hereford.<sup>62</sup> He died on 20<sup>th</sup> November 1712, seven years before the death of John Owen. Humphreys was a dedicated historian and antiquarian and his familiarity with medieval manuscripts is evident from a remark made by Edward Lhuyd in a letter to John Lloyd of Rhuthun:

My L<sup>d</sup> of Bangor was extraordinary [*sic*] obliging; and is incomparably the best skilld in our Antiquities of any person in Wales. He gave me leave to take a catalogue of his MSS. which thô considerable enough are yet much inferior to the collection at Hengwrt...<sup>63</sup>

It is possible that Bishop Humphreys actually owned the manuscript, but it is equally likely that the manuscript was shown to him by John Owen, perhaps during one of Humphreys' episcopal visitations as bishop of Bangor, the first of which took place in 1690.<sup>64</sup> John Owen was already living in Betws-y-Coed by 1689, as shown by the baptism record of his son Owen.<sup>65</sup> It may even have been Humphreys who notified Edward Lhuyd about the manuscript's existence. It is unlikely that he was connected with the Humphrey family that owned the manuscript in the eighteenth century because he was survived by only a single daughter, Margaret.<sup>66</sup> Margaret married John Lloyd, son of Dr William Lloyd, the deprived bishop of Norwich. The only child of Margaret and John was Ann, who took the surname Lloyd and died unmarried in 1784.<sup>67</sup>

It is necessary to return briefly to Owen Jones, the father of John Owen. Owen Jones seems to have owned the manuscript jointly with one Owen Ffoulke, whose handwriting appears roughly contemporary with that of Owen Jones.<sup>68</sup> On f. 20v, a single hand has written *Owen ffoulke est uerus possessor et Owenus Jones*, 'Owen Ffoulke is the true owner, and/with Owen Jones' (see plate 3).<sup>69</sup> The hand is probably that of Owen Jones, as is implied by the use of his distinctive majuscule letter **J**. It is possible that the note is unfinished; '*et Owenus Jones*' is written below '*Owen ffoulke est uerus possessor*' and might have been intended to start a new sentence. Nevertheless, considering that a single hand is responsible for the note, its implication is clear enough. It would appear that, at some stage, there was

<sup>61</sup> Daniel Huws (pers. comm.).

<sup>62</sup> For the life of Bishop Humphrey Humphreys, see E. Gilbert Wright, 'Humphrey Humphreys, Bishop of Bangor and Hereford, 1648–1712', *Transactions of the Anglesey Antiquarian Society and Field Club* (1949), 61–76. This article is reprinted with a few minor changes as 'Humphrey Humphreys, Bishop of Bangor and Hereford', *Journal of the Historical Society of the Church in Wales* 2 (1950), 72–86. References are to the latter.

<sup>63</sup> The letter is printed in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* III.5 (1859), 166; it is quoted in Wright, 'Humphrey Humphreys', 81.

<sup>64</sup> Wright, 'Humphrey Humphreys', 74.

<sup>65</sup> See below, n. 76.

<sup>66</sup> Wright, 'Humphrey Humphreys', 72.

<sup>67</sup> William Llewelyn Davies, 'Wynn family, of Cesail Gyfarch, Penmorfa, Caerns.', *WBO* [<http://wbo.llgc.org.uk/en/s-WYNN-CES-1500.html>, viewed 4<sup>th</sup> March 2014].

<sup>68</sup> Ff. 8v and 70r. On f. 70r there is an erased ownership inscription that uses the same formula as that of the inscription of Owen Ffoulke on the same folio (see plate 5). The surname of the owner concerned is clearly *ffoulkes* but the first name is not legible. It is certainly not 'Owen' but it might be *dud*, for 'David'.

<sup>69</sup> The use of *et* in the sense of 'with' rather than 'and' might have been encouraged by knowledge of Welsh *a*, which can carry either meaning.

some kind of agreement between Owen Jones and a certain Owen Ffoulke concerning the ownership of the manuscript. Owen Ffoulke was not, in this period, a common name in Llanrwst parish. I have only been able to find a single reference to an Owen Ffoulke active in the area in the latter half of the seventeenth century. In the Llanrwst parish accounts for the township of Gwydir in 1673 there is a record of a payment made to a carpenter called Owen Ffoulke; such a craftsman could, however, have easily travelled to Gwydir from elsewhere.<sup>70</sup> There are no records of an Owen Ffoulke in the registers for baptisms, marriages, or burials in the parish of Llanrwst during the period.<sup>71</sup> There are, however, various records that show that a tanner from Betws-y-Coed named Owen Ffoulke migrated to America in 1682 and acquired lands in Philadelphia.<sup>72</sup> Betws-y-Coed is in fact closer to Tan y Foel than Llanrwst; it lies only a couple of miles down the hill, and Owen Jones would undoubtedly have been familiar with it.

Striking confirmation of the connection between Owen Jones and this Owen Ffoulke of Betws-y-Coed is provided by a document concerning the administration of the estate of one John Ffoulks of Betws-y-Coed, dated to 1692.<sup>73</sup> The administrators of the estate are named as ‘Owen Foulke of the city of Philadelphia in the province of Pennsylvania’ and ‘John Owen of the parish of Betws-y-Coed in the county of Carnarvonshire’. Edward Lhuyd mentions that John Owen, son of Owen Jones of Tan y Foel, was living in Betws-y-Coed in the 1690s; it is almost certain that this is the same John Owen. The document therefore serves to substantiate the connection between Owen Ffoulke of Betws-y-Coed/Philadelphia and the Owen Foulke whose name appears in the manuscript in association with Owen Jones of Tan y Foel. The document is actually signed by Owen Ffoulke, showing that he did return from America to Wales at least once after 1682. He presumably made the visit because the John Ffoulks of the will was a close relative of his, perhaps a brother. Identical ‘Owen Ffoulke’ signatures occur in two other Betws-y-Coed documents dated to 1663 and 1677, showing that Owen Ffoulke had lived in Betws-y-Coed for at least nineteen years before he migrated to Philadelphia.<sup>74</sup> Moreover, the signatures in these documents bear a close resemblance to the ‘Owen Ffoulke’ signatures in Philadelphia 8680.O, ff. 8v and 70r, the only slight difference being the form of the majuscule O used. The form and spelling of *ffoulke* in the wills and on f. 8v of the manuscript are particularly suggestive.

Did Owen Ffoulke collect the manuscript from John Owen on one of these visits from Philadelphia to Wales? If Edward Lhuyd saw the manuscript during his 1699 visit to the Llanrwst area, as his note suggests, then this cannot have happened during Owen Ffoulke’s 1692 visit. On the other hand, Edward Lhuyd might have been informed about the manuscript by Bishop Humphreys and thus might not have seen it himself. Lhuyd’s note mentions that the manuscript was ‘written by [*sic*] Hwlkyn ap Thomas’, a reference to Hywel Fychan’s colophon. The name *Hopkyn uab thomas uab eina6n* is underlined in Philadelphia 8680.O (f. 68v) and on the same line in the adjacent column is Bishop Humphreys’ note, which mentions Hopkyn ap Thomas. It is possible therefore that Edward Lhuyd learned about the manuscript and its supposed relationship with ‘Hwlkyn ap Thomas’ from the notes of Bishop Humphreys, who might himself have seen it before it travelled to America with Owen Ffoulke, perhaps in 1692. Such a convoluted line of transmission for Lhuyd’s information

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<sup>70</sup> Llandudno CRO, CEP 34/4/1 (formerly PD/69/1/75), Llanrwst Parish Accounts 1664–1713.

<sup>71</sup> Two men from Eglwysbach parish, north of Llanrwst, named Owen Ffoulke and Owen John Ffoulke, were having children who were baptised in the 1670s–1690s (Rhuthun CRO, Eglwysbach baptisms 1666–1729), but I have not been able to establish any connection between these men and Owen Jones.

<sup>72</sup> For an account of this Owen Ffoulke, see Walter Lee Sheppard Jr., *Passengers and Ships Prior to 1684* (Baltimore, 1970), 72, n. 4.

<sup>73</sup> NLW B1692-35.

<sup>74</sup> These are the wills of Robert Prees (1663; NLW B1663-36) and Hugh John (1677; NLW B1677-25).



might explain why Lhuud thought that the manuscript was written by Hopkyn ap Thomas rather than for him.

However, it is also possible that John Owen passed the manuscript on to his own son, confusingly named Owen Jones (see fig. 3). In the earliest register for Capel Garmon (the church closest to Tan y Foel in the parish of Llanrwst), the baptisms of three children of one Owen Jones of Tan y Foel and his wife Anne Price are recorded between 1715 and 1719.<sup>75</sup> Given that the original Owen Jones had named his son John Owen, using the Welsh patronymic system, one may suspect that the younger Owen Jones was the son of John Owen. This would appear to be confirmed by the Betws-y-Coed parish register, which records the baptism of one *Owenus filius Johannes Owen* in 1689.<sup>76</sup> It must be this Owen Jones and his eldest son John Owen (b. 1715) who appear as the two freeholders living in *Tâi yn y Voel* in the 1741 list of freeholders.<sup>77</sup> For the sake of clarity, I refer below to this Owen Jones as ‘Owen Jones II’ and the earlier Owen Jones as ‘Owen Jones I’.

Owen Jones II might have been responsible for two of the many ‘Owen Jones’ ownership inscriptions in the manuscript.<sup>78</sup> Both of these inscriptions read *Owen Jones A bia y llyfyr hwn*, ‘Owen Jones owns this book’. Two factors in particular suggest that these were not written by Owen Jones I. Firstly, the signature of these inscriptions appears to be different from the distinctive signature of Owen Jones I found in both the manuscript and his will. In the two ‘*A bia y llyfyr hwn*’ inscriptions, the forms of the **w** in *Owen* and the **J** in *Jones* are noticeably dissimilar to those of Owen Jones I. Secondly, in both the manuscript and his will, Owen Jones I always spells his name as ‘Owain’, rather than ‘Owen’, when he is writing Welsh or English.<sup>79</sup> The ‘*A bia y llyfyr hwn*’ inscriptions might therefore have been written by Owen Jones II. It is probably his signature that may be seen in a Capel Garmon will written in 1718.<sup>80</sup> Numbered among the witnesses are Owen Jones and John Owen. The John Owen signature seems to match the signature of John Owen in the 1692 John Ffoulks document. Considering that Owen Jones II baptised his children in Capel Garmon in exactly this period, it would follow that it was the same Owen Jones who witnessed this will in 1718. Most suggestively, the signature here agrees with the signatures of the two ‘*A bia y llyfyr hwn*’ ownership inscriptions in terms of both the spelling and the forms of **w** and **J**.

If this identification is correct, then the manuscript is unlikely to have left the possession of the Tan y Foel family before c. 1710, when Owen Jones II reached maturity. Owen Ffoulke might have been dead by then. There is a record that one ‘Owen Folk’ was buried in Philadelphia in 1695, though it is uncertain whether or not this is the same man.<sup>81</sup> John Owen and Owen Jones II might nevertheless have maintained contact with the family of Owen Ffoulke in America. ‘Ellinor Fowke’, a resident of New Castle County, Delaware who wrote her will on 14<sup>th</sup> February 1719, was the widow of one ‘Owen Fowke’.<sup>82</sup> Owen Ffoulke of Betws-y-Coed had indeed purchased 400 acres of land in New Castle County in 1686, so the connection is not unlikely.<sup>83</sup> Intriguingly, Ellinor Fowke’s will mentions a certain ‘John

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<sup>75</sup> Llandudno CRO, Capel Garmon baptism and burials 1702–49 (Capel Garmon microfiche 1).

<sup>76</sup> Llandudno CRO, Bishop’s transcripts for Betws y Coed 1679–1718 (Betws y Coed microfiche 1).

<sup>77</sup> Rhuthun CRO, DRO NTD/611.

<sup>78</sup> Those on ff. 69v and 70v.

<sup>79</sup> When writing in Latin he uses the form *Owenus*, e.g. ff. 10v and 20v.

<sup>80</sup> This is the will of one Thomas John: NLW SA1718-22.

<sup>81</sup> W. W. Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, 6 vols. (Ann Arbor, MI, 1936–50), vol. II, 443.

<sup>82</sup> Delaware Public Archives, New Castle County Probates, RG 2545.001. An abstract of the will can be found in *A Calendar of Delaware Wills. New Castle County 1682–1800*, ed. The Historical Research Committee of the Colonial Dames of Delaware (New York, 1911), 22.

<sup>83</sup> *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2<sup>nd</sup> series, ed. John B. Linn and William H. Egle, 19 vols. (Harrisburg, 1874–90), vol. VII, 196; Sheppard, *Passengers and Ships*, 72, n. 4.

Owens' as the recipient of twenty shillings from her estate. Might this be John Owen of Betws-y-Coed, who was to die later that year? And might Owen Jones II have sent the manuscript to Ellinor's son Henry upon John Owen's death in December 1719? Such propositions can be nothing more than speculation, but it is hard to believe that the connection between the Tan y Foel family and Owen Ffoulke of Betws-y-Coed/Philadelphia does not account for the removal of the manuscript to Philadelphia.

The manuscript's migration to America thus cannot be dated with any precision. Edward Lhuyd's 1699 note might provide a *terminus post quem*, though if Lhuyd heard about the manuscript at second hand from Bishop Humphreys then the promotion of Humphreys to the episcopal see of Bangor in 1689 might provide a safer date. This was only four years after Owen Jones I's will went to probate and, presumably, John Owen inherited the manuscript. A *terminus ante quem* of 1738 might be provided by the three latest signatures in the manuscript. The names of three members of the Humphrey family are recorded in five places in three separate eighteenth-century hands: David Humphrey on f. 1r, Benjamin Humphrey on ff. 20v, 30v, and 36v, and Ann Humphrey on f. 68v (see fig. 4 and plates 1, 3, and 4). David and Ann Humphrey were both fairly common names during this period, but Benjamin Humphrey was not. There are only three identified men named Benjamin Humphrey who appear in Philadelphia records before 1800, all of whom were related to one another (fig. 4).<sup>84</sup> Only one of these three, however, is associated with a David and an Ann; the Benjamin Humphrey who died an old man in Philadelphia in 1738 had children called David and Ann Humphrey, in addition to a sister called Anne Humphrey.<sup>85</sup> It was this family of Humphreys who gave their name to Humphreysville in Lower Merion, Montgomery County.<sup>86</sup> Benjamin Humphrey himself was apparently the landlord of the Blue Anchor Tavern near Philadelphia

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<sup>84</sup> Many thanks to James Quinn, historian of the Gwynedd Meeting House, Philadelphia, for providing this information. For a history of the family, see Thomas Allen Glenn, *Merion in the Welsh Tract, with sketches of the townships of Haverford and Radnor. Historical and Genealogical Collections concerning the Welsh Barony in the Province of Pennsylvania, settled by the Cymric Quakers in 1682* (Norristown, 1896), 241–51. The majority of the dates in fig. 4 can be found in *ibid.*, 250–1 and in Margaret B. Harvey, *The Incompleted Burial Records of Merion (PA) Meeting Grave-yard 1682–1848* (1912), a manuscript deposited with the Montgomery Historical Society, Norristown, Pennsylvania, USA and available online from a transcription made in 1982 at <http://files.usgwarchives.net/pa/philadelphia/cemeteries/merion03.txt> (viewed 30<sup>th</sup> December 2013). The exceptions are as follows. For the date of Samuel Humphrey's baptism, see Thomas Allen Glenn, *Welsh Founders of Pennsylvania* (Oxford, 1911–13), 46. For the date of Daniel Humphrey's death, see his will in City of Philadelphia, Register of Wills, Philadelphia County will book E, reference number E.327. The date of death of Ann Humphrey daughter of Benjamin Humphrey and the date of birth of the youngest Benjamin Humphrey were provided for me by James Quinn. The will of the youngest Benjamin Humphrey, written in 1794, survives as City of Philadelphia, Register of Wills, Philadelphia County will book X, reference number X.94. This is the only 'Benjamin Humphrey' will preserved in Philadelphia County archives for the period before 1825 aside from that of the Benjamin Humphrey who died in 1738, for which see below, n. 85.

<sup>85</sup> The same connection was made independently by Brynley Roberts, though he did not know about the signature of David Humphrey on f. 1r: 'The Red Book of Hergest Version', 178–9. The last few letters of David's signature are not entirely clear (see plate 1); the signature might just possibly stand for *Daniel* rather than *Dauide*, in which case Benjamin Humphrey's brother Daniel may be implicated. This Benjamin Humphrey moved from Llanegrin, Merionethshire to Pennsylvania with his mother Elizabeth in 1683, as it stated in the entry for his death in 1738 in Harvey, *The Incompleted Burial Records*. Information about Benjamin Humphrey's parents and siblings can be found in Glenn, *Merion in the Welsh Tract*, 250; *idem*, *Welsh Founders*, 46–8 and 178. His children are listed in his will: City of Philadelphia, Register of Wills, Philadelphia County will book F, reference number F.88.

<sup>86</sup> William J. Buck, 'Lower Merion', in *History of Montgomery County, Philadelphia*, ed. Theodore W. Bean (Philadelphia, 1884), 923–35, at 925 and 930; Perry L. Anderson and Adam Sutton, *A Brief History of Lower Merion Township* (1888), a manuscript now housed in the John Roberts Family Collection of The Lower Merion Historical Society (Accession no. R0101), transcribed and published online at <http://lowermerionhistory.org/dev/sample-page/full-text-resources/a-brief-history-of-lower-merion-township> (viewed 7<sup>th</sup> March 2014); Glenn, *Merion in the Welsh Tract*, 241.

waterfront, and thus lived upriver from Duck Creek, New Castle County, the home of Ellinor Fowke.<sup>87</sup> Might Benjamin Humphrey of Lower Merion and his two children be the book's signatories? If so, then the manuscript must have been in America by 1738 in order for Benjamin Humphrey to sign it before his death. Unfortunately, the signature of this Benjamin Humphrey as preserved in his own will is that of an old man with a shaky hand, and so it is difficult to compare his handwriting with the handwriting of Benjamin Humphrey in the manuscript, which in any case is heavily stylised (see plate 3). The link is nevertheless plausible, especially in light of the manuscript's eventual deposition in the Library Company of Philadelphia.

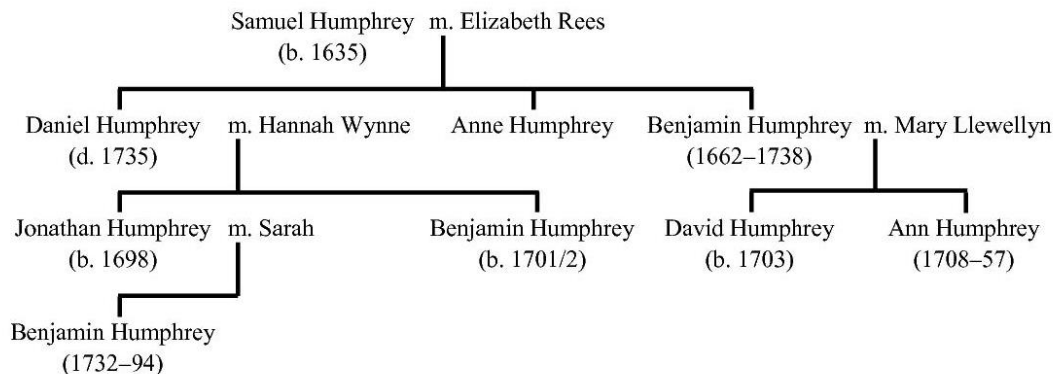


Figure 4: Members of the Humphrey family mentioned in the text

The manuscript was gifted to the Library Company by a certain Henry Cox. ‘*Gift of Henry Coxe Esq*’ has been inscribed on the front fly-leaf of the manuscript in the same form and hand as in other items of the same gift. This was presumably done in 1832 when the manuscript was accessioned and probably rebound by the Library Company. This Henry Cox was an Irish landowner who moved to Philadelphia around 1799 in order to escape financial troubles back in Ireland.<sup>88</sup> His name was actually Henry Hamilton, but he adopted the surname Cox in 1784 upon his inheritance of the Cox estate from his maternal grandfather (see fig. 5).<sup>89</sup> As it happens, the first recorded action of Henry Cox in America is his gift to

<sup>87</sup> See the online summary of Benjamin Humphrey’s burial record from the archives of the Merion Meeting house at <http://www.lowermerionhistory.org/burial/merion/h.html> (viewed 30<sup>th</sup> December 2013) and John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania in the olden time; being a collection of memoirs, anecdotes, and incidents of the city and its inhabitants, and of the earliest settlements of the island part of Pennsylvania, from the days of the founders*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1844), vol. I, 131.

<sup>88</sup> Henry Cox was first brought to the attention of Welsh scholars by Gruffydd Aled Williams in ‘Mwy am Lawysgrif Gymraeg yn U.D.A.’. For accounts of Henry Cox, see Linde Lunney, ‘Cox, Sir Richard (1702–66)’, in *DIB* II, 938–9, at 939; *Pennsylvania Biographical Dictionary*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (St. Clair Shores, MI, 1999), 264–5; Joseph J. Lewis, ‘Henry Hamilton Cox’, in *A History of Chester County, Pennsylvania with Genealogical and Biographical Sketches*, ed. J. Smith Futhey and Gilbert Cope, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1881), vol. II, 505–8. The latter contains a few genealogical errors: it was not Henry Cox’s great-grandfather but his great-great-grandfather who was Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and Sir Michael Cox was not his grandfather but his uncle (see fig. 5). The latter succeeded his father as 3<sup>rd</sup> baronet and is not to be confused with Michael Cox, Archbishop of Cashel, who was the brother of Henry Cox’s great-grandfather and whom Henry Cox must have known. For Michael Cox, Archbishop of Cashel, see Richard Hawkins, ‘Cox, Michael (1692–1779)’, *DIB* II, 935.

<sup>89</sup> G. E. Cokayne, *Complete Baronetage*, 6 vols. (1900–9), vol. IV, 238, n. b; *Pennsylvania Biographical Dictionary*, 264; Lewis, ‘Henry Hamilton Cox’, 505. For the Cox baronets of Dunmanway, Co. Cork, see Cokayne, *Complete Baronetage*, vol. IV, 237–41; John Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerage and Baronetage of the British Empire*, 31<sup>st</sup> ed. (London, 1869), 274. For the family of Henry Cox’s

the Library Company of Philadelphia of his great-great-grandfather's papers in 1799.<sup>90</sup> His great-great-grandfather was Sir Richard Cox, who was Lord Chancellor of Ireland from 1703 to 1707 and who was made a baronet in 1706.<sup>91</sup> Sir Richard Cox's papers constitute important administrative documents relating to Britain's governance of Ireland, as was later realised by William Hepworth Dixon during his visit to the Library Company, and in 1866 the Library Company agreed to return them to the British government.<sup>92</sup> It has previously been assumed that Philadelphia 8680.O formed part of Henry Cox's 1799 donation.<sup>93</sup> However, neither Philadelphia 8680.O nor the two Medieval Greek manuscripts said to have been donated by Cox are mentioned in the director's minutes for March 1799, which list the documents and books presented by Cox to the Library Company at this time.<sup>94</sup> The implication is that these three manuscripts were donated to the Library Company by Cox on some other occasion before his final return to Ireland in 1817.<sup>95</sup> He certainly returned to the Library Company at least once; the Library Company's records show that he donated a collection of coins and medals in August 1806.<sup>96</sup> The absence of the manuscripts from the 1799 minutes increases the likelihood that he acquired the manuscripts whilst he was living in Pennsylvania. Upon his arrival in America he took up residence in York County, where he joined the York Monthly Meeting of Friends and became a Quaker.<sup>97</sup> He later joined the London Grove Meeting of Friends when he moved to Chester County in 1813.<sup>98</sup> The family of Benjamin Humphrey was an active part of the Lower Merion Meeting of Friends, and so it is interesting to speculate whether or not Cox may have acquired the manuscripts through Quaker channels.<sup>99</sup> If so, this is more likely to have occurred while Cox was a member of the Meeting at London Grove, which is closer than the York Meeting to Lower Merion.

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father, Joshua Hamilton, see G. Harvey Johnston, *The Heraldry of the Hamiltons with notes on all the males of the family [and] Descriptions of the Arms, Plates and Pedigrees* (Edinburgh and London, 1909), 28.

<sup>90</sup> Lewis, 'Henry Hamilton Cox', 505.

<sup>91</sup> Ian Montgomery, 'Cox, Sir Richard (1650–1733)', *DIB* II, 937–8.

<sup>92</sup> Lunney, 'Cox, Sir Richard (1702–66)', 939; *Philadelphia Biographical Dictionary*, 264; Lewis, 'Henry Hamilton Cox', 505; Edwin Wolf 2<sup>nd</sup>, with additional text by Marie E. Korey, John C. Van Horne and James Green, "At the Instance of Benjamin Franklin". *A Brief History of the Library Company of Philadelphia*, rev. ed. (Philadelphia, 1995), 41–2; Edwin Wolf 2<sup>nd</sup> and Marie Elena Korey, *Quarter of a Millennium. The Library Company of Philadelphia 1731–1981. A Selection of Books, Manuscripts, Maps, Prints, Drawings, and Paintings* (Philadelphia, 1981), 87. The latter two volumes state that Sir Richard Cox was Henry Cox's grandfather; Henry Cox's grandfather was indeed a man of this name, but the papers had been inherited from his great-great-grandfather. The *Philadelphia Biographical Dictionary* is alone in stating that the papers were returned in 1867 rather than 1866.

<sup>93</sup> Wolf and Korey, *Quarter of a Millennium*, 89. Elsewhere Wolf is more cautious: see his personal communication to Brynley Roberts quoted in Roberts, 'The Red Book of Hergest Version', 179.

<sup>94</sup> James Green (pers. comm.); Wolf and Korey, *Quarter of a Millennium*, 87–8.

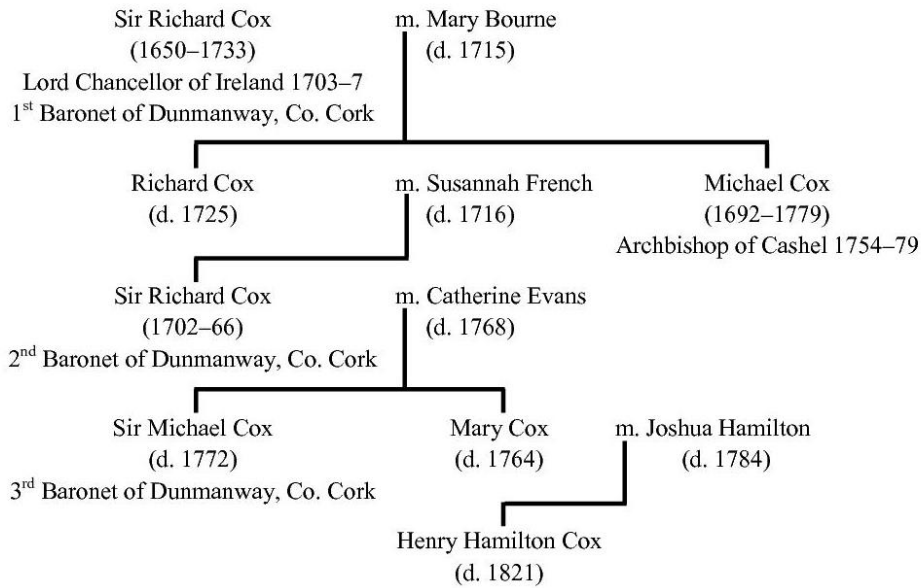
<sup>95</sup> Lunney, 'Cox, Sir Richard (1702–66)', 939; Wolf and Korey, *Quarter of a Millennium*, 88.

<sup>96</sup> James Green (pers. comm.).

<sup>97</sup> Lewis, 'Henry Hamilton Cox', 505–6. It is claimed that Cox only pretended to be a Quaker, but I share Lewis's scepticism that such a pretence could have been maintained for a full nineteen years: *ibid.*, 507.

<sup>98</sup> *Philadelphia Biographical Dictionary*, 264; Lewis, 'Henry Hamilton Cox', 506.

<sup>99</sup> Benjamin Humphrey's father and uncle were active Quakers even before their migration to Philadelphia: Glenn, *Merion in the Welsh Tract*, 248.



**Figure 5: Members of the Cox family mentioned in the text**

The chronological limits for Henry Cox's donation of Philadelphia 8680.O to the Library Company of Philadelphia are 1799 × 1817. The formal limits for the time at which the manuscript travelled from Wales to America are therefore 1689 × 1817, taking for the lower limit the date at which Humphrey Humphreys was promoted to the see of Bangor. If Edward Lhuyd himself saw the manuscript in 1699, then the lower limit can perhaps be raised by a decade, but this is uncertain. If the identification of the Benjamin Humphrey of the manuscript with Benjamin Humphrey of Lower Merion is accepted, then the timeframe can be telescoped to 1689 × 1738. Within this window, the decisive moments might have been either Owen Ffoulke's visit to Wales in 1692 or the death in 1719 of John Owen, the last known owner of the manuscript in Wales.

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## List of Abbreviations for Works Cited

<i>BBCS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies.</i>
<i>DIB</i>	<i>Dictionary of Irish Biography: From the earliest times to the year 2002</i> , ed. James McGuire and James Quinn, 9 vols. (Cambridge, 2009).
<i>DNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , ed. H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison (Oxford, 2004).
<i>LBS</i>	S. Baring-Gould and John Fisher, <i>The Lives of the British Saints. The Saints of Wales and Cornwall and such Irish Saints as have dedications in Britain</i> , 4 vols. (London, 1907).
<i>LCBS</i>	W. J. Rees, <i>Lives of the Cambro British Saints</i> (Llandovery, 1853).
<i>MWM</i>	Daniel Huws, <i>Medieval Welsh Manuscripts</i> (Cardiff and Aberystwyth, 2000).
NLW	Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales.
<i>NLWJ</i>	<i>National Library of Wales Journal.</i>
CRO	County Records Office.
<i>RBB</i>	<i>The Text of the Bruts from the Red Book of Hergest</i> , ed. John Rhŷs and J. Gwenogvryn Evans (Oxford, 1890).
<i>WBO</i>	<i>Welsh Biography Online</i> (The National Library of Wales, 2007). This is an electronic version, with supplements, of <i>The Dictionary of Welsh Biography, down to 1940</i> , ed. John Edward Lloyd and R. T. Jenkins (London, 1959) together with <i>The Dictionary of Welsh National Biography, 1941–1970: together with a supplement to The Dictionary of Welsh Biography down to 1940</i> , ed. R. T. Jenkins, E. D. Jones, and Brynley F. Roberts (London, 2001).



Plate 1: Folio 1r.

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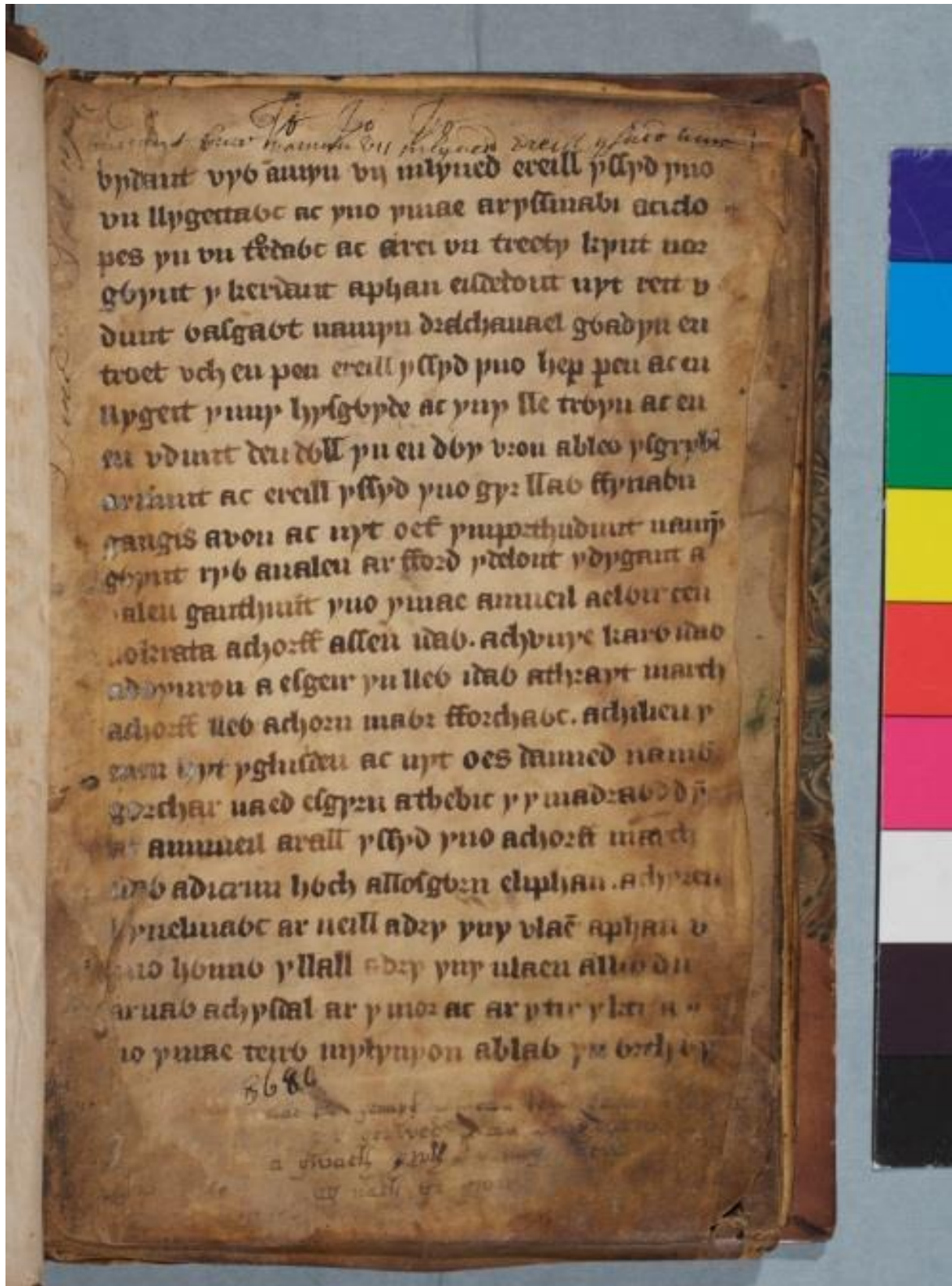






Plate 3: Folio 20v.

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