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Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch

Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch, the White Book of Rhydderch, came to prominence at the end of the nineteenth century. The manuscript, prized but without scholarly acclaim, had long rested in the privacy of the Hengwrt and Peniarth libraries. Part 2 of J. Gwenogvryn Evans's first volume of the *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language* in 1899, in which he calls the White Book 'one of the most important and valuable MSS. in the Welsh language', provided the first detailed description; his *The White Book Mabinogion* in 1907, in which he claims with justice to be 'the modern discoverer of the extent and value of the texts here printed for the first time', made available its most important texts.¹

The White Book, or what survives of it, is today Peniarth 4 and 5, in the National Library of Wales. It has suffered rather like many a medieval church, both from dilapidation and restoration. What was once a single volume is now two, last bound in 1940; leaves and whole quires are now missing; use has been heavy and many leaves are badly worn; interposed among the parchment leaves are blanks, to represent missing folios, added probably in the nineteenth century, and, inserted in 1940 with the strangely

¹ *RMWL*, I, pp. 305–16. This remains the only full guide to the contents of the White Book. The dates of publication of the products of Gwenogvryn Evans's private press are open to question; *The White Book Mabinogion* (henceforth *WBM*), published in Pwllheli in 1907, according to the imprint, has a preface dated 1909. Gwenogvryn Evans's White Book texts had been in circulation as early as 1886; see the preface, pp. vii and ix. His proprietary feelings about his texts led in 1908–9 to a lawsuit for breach of copyright against the publishers of John Strachan's *Introduction to Early Welsh* (Manchester, 1909); see NLW, Timothy Lewis Papers 840–975. *WBM* was reprinted as *Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch: Y Chwedlau a'r Rhamantau*, with a valuable new introduction by R. M. Jones (Cardiff, 1973). Thomas Jones published in 'Nodiadau testunol ar Lyfr Gwyn Rhydderch', *BBCS*, 12 (1946–8), 83–6, a list of corrections to Gwenogvryn Evans's diplomatic text; see also R. M. Jones's introduction, pp. xviii–xix. For editions of White Book texts in general see *Llyfryddiaeth Llenyddiaeth Gymraeg*, ed. Thomas Parry and Merfyn Morgan (Cardiff, 1976), and *Llyfryddiaeth Llenyddiaeth Gymraeg: Atodiad 1976–86*, ed. G. O. Watts (Aberystwyth and Cardiff, 1993).

conceived idea of making good the lacunae in the manuscript text, printed leaves from Gwenogvryn Evans's *White Book Mabinogion*; and the margins of the leaves of what must originally have been a handsome and well-proportioned book have been ruthlessly cropped by its binders, so that the pages now have a cramped and mean appearance.²

Only the Red Book of Hergest can be compared in importance to the White Book as a repertory of medieval Welsh prose. Unlike the Red Book, about whose date and unity of concept there has never been much room for disagreement, the White Book, as a consequence of the dates given by Gwenogvryn Evans to the several hands which wrote its text ('first quarter of the XIVth century', 'second quarter of the XIVth century', 'end of the XIIIth century', and 'a little later'), has acquired, by implication, a complex origin, one which neither Gwenogvryn Evans nor, apart from Morgan Watkin, any of those who accepted his dates ever attempted to relate to the physical make-up of the book.³ My contention is that the origin of the White Book is fairly simple, that it is more or less all of a piece, and that it was all written about 1350, probably for Rhydderch ab Ieuan Llwyd of Parcrhydderch, Llangeitho, the Rhydderch whose name the book still bears.

Reconstruction

We first need to try to reconstitute in our minds the original White Book. While no quire signatures survive to guide us (they may well have been cropped) and only one of the five scribes (E) provided catchwords (again, other catchwords may have been written lower on the page and subsequently been cropped), what we do have as a guide, a rarity in medieval Welsh manuscripts, is early foliation, probably of the fifteenth century.⁴ Foliation, unlike signatures or catchwords, was something provided to help the reader, something which carries with it the suggestion of the existence of a contents list; one may conjecture that the White Book, with its miscellany of texts, may once have included a contents list such as

² The leaves now measure about 210 × 150 mm., leaving less than a centimetre for some margins.

³ Watkin, *YBH*, pp. xxii–xxxiii, gives a valuable but in places misguided description of the White Book.

⁴ The medieval foliation, in roman numerals, is written in the centre of the upper margin. The blackish ink is now only to be seen here and there; mostly it has flaked off, leaving a pale image. On some leaves the number has been cropped by a binder. In Peniarth 5 the foliation was repeated in black ink, again in roman numerals, in the top right-hand corners. This renumbering was done after the parchment repair of the leaves, therefore probably after 1859 (see below, p. 263), perhaps by W. W. E. Wynne.

that provided by the scribe of its contemporary, the Book of the Anchorite, a manuscript to which we shall return.⁵ While the reason for the foliation is in itself a matter of interest, its present bearing is on our attempted reconstruction of the White Book: we have a record of the order of the leaves of the White Book in probably the fifteenth century, at a time which surely must have fallen within the lifetime of the first binding. It is in terms of this order that our discussion will proceed.

Reference to the White Book has been inconvenienced by the lack of any complete modern foliation.⁶ This was provided in 1990.⁷ It is shown in the second column of the table (p. 231), which offers the fullest reconstruction of the White Book that is possible. The first column shows the quiring. Quires now missing but whose existence can be inferred have been given the number of the last preceding surviving quire, followed by a letter. The medieval foliation (given here in arabic numbers rather than the roman of the original) is shown in the third column; square brackets indicate numbers inferred but now cropped or no longer legible. Robert Vaughan's foliation of Peniarth 4 is shown in the fourth column; note that Peniarth 5 precedes Peniarth 4.

Our earliest description of the contents of the White Book is that in NLW 4973B, fols 406^v–7, made sometime after 1634, by Dr John Davies of Mallwyd.⁸ This list is of some importance as evidence that the losses from the White Book all occurred before this date, and is printed as Appendix I to this chapter.

⁵ Oxford, Jesus College 119, *Llyfr yr Ancr*. The contents list in the hand of the scribe is on fol. 3^v. Fol. 3 is part of a quire of preliminaries which the scribe must have added after completion of the text of the book. The folio numbers on fol. 3^v, beside the contents list, and the foliation of the leaves are in a darker ink and probably by another hand. On the manuscript see *Elucidarium* and I. Ll. Foster, 'The Book of the Anchorite', *PBA*, 36 (1950), 197–226.

⁶ For Peniarth 5, scholars have used the now imperfect medieval foliation; for Peniarth 4, either Robert Vaughan's also imperfect foliation or Gwenogvryn Evans's column numbers. These column numbers are printed in the diplomatic text of *WBM*. A word of warning is due. Gwenogvryn Evans in the first place numbered the columns of Peniarth 4 as cols 1–348. He used these numbers in his description in *RMWL*. In *WBM* he followed these numbers up to col. 192. Here he encountered the first lacuna in his White Book text, filled it with text from the Red Book of Hergest, and continued his numbering of columns from 193, therefore from this point diverging from his original numbering in the White Book. He returned to Peniarth 4, erased the column numbers after 192 and wrote in instead the column numbers which appear in *WBM*. The manuscript was subordinated to the printed text.

⁷ The 1990 foliation omits the printed leaves from *WBM* but includes all previously supplied blank leaves and all flyleaves.

⁸ On NLW 4973B, see Gerald Morgan, 'Testun barddoniaeth y Tywysogion yn Llsg. N.L.W. 4973', *BBCS*, 20 (1962–4), 95–103.

There are a number of irregularities and difficulties, real or apparent, in the reconstruction, where the evidence seems contradictory. We examine them here, quire by quire.

Quire 1. Fol. 1 was wanting in John Davies's time. The present fol. 1 is a blank leaf added probably in the nineteenth century.

Quire 4 was one of sixteen. It now wants leaves 4 and 11–16, while 9 and 10 are stubs. There are blank replacements probably of the nineteenth century. The last leaf should have been numbered 58 by the foliator, but he gives this number to the first leaf of quire 5. We have to suppose either that the last leaf of quire 4 had been removed before foliation (quite possible, since this quire evidently closed the text and the last leaf may have been blank), or else the foliator may have skipped a leaf or repeated a number.

Quires 5A and 5B. Nineteen leaves, according to the medieval foliation, already missing in John Davies's time.

Quire 7A, so the medieval foliation implies, consisted of a single leaf. The present fol. 90 is a modern blank leaf. The text, supposing that it corresponded more or less to that of the Red Book of Hergest, demands about ten leaves. Scribe B's habits lead us to expect a quire of twelve. A tempting explanation is that the quire was one of twelve, wanting one leaf (the scribe had perhaps botched one), and that the foliator by mistake slipped back ten in his numbering. Or one could simply accept that all but a single leaf of the quire had gone astray before the foliation was made.

Quire 15. The last leaf of quire 14 is numbered 171. The number on the first leaf of quire 15 is illegible; that on the second is 172. It looks like a clear case of error by the medieval foliator.

Quire 21. Robert Vaughan's foliation has been erased and written over, by Gwenogvryn Evans, to make the numbers run on into those of quire 23. Whatever Robert Vaughan's numbers may have been, it is hard to explain the gap between his 48 in quire 20 and 62 in quire 23. John Davies shows that the present losses must all have occurred before the book reached Robert Vaughan. We are left with a worrying puzzle.

Quire 22. A quire which had strayed before John Davies saw the book and was restored to Peniarth 4 in 1940; see below, p. 259.

Quire 22A. Not known to have been seen since 1573, when Richard Langford transcribed it; see below, pp. 258–9.

Quire 26. The first two leaves of a quire. The remainder of *Culhwch ac Olwen*, to judge by the Red Book text, would have been completed within this quire of eight. Whether the White Book contained further quires there is no telling.

While the medieval foliation of the White Book may provide the means to reconstruct the order of the book in its original binding, it does not necessarily tell us what order was intended by the scribes or their director.

TABLE

Quire	Foln	Med. foln	RV foln	Contents	Scribe
1 ¹²	1–12	[1]–12	—	<i>Delw y Byd . . . Pr. Sibli Ddoeth</i>	A
2 ¹⁴	13–26	13–26	—	<i>Pr. Sibli Ddoeth . . . Apocrypha</i>	A
3 ¹⁶	27–42	[27]–42	—	<i>Apocrypha . . . Gwyrthiau Mair</i>	A
4 ¹⁶	43–57	43–[57]	—	<i>Gwyrthiau Mair . . . Efengyl Ieuan</i>	A
5 ⁸	58–65	58–65	—	<i>Purdan Padrig</i>	B
[5A]	—	—	—	[?]	—
[5B]	—	—	—	[?]	—
6 ¹²	66–77	85–96	—	<i>Ps.-Turpin</i>	B
7 ¹²	78–89	97–108	—	<i>Ps.-Turpin, Otuel</i>	B
[7A]	90	—	—	[Otuel]	—
8 ¹²	91–102	110–21	—	<i>Pélerinage, Càn Rolant</i>	B
9 ¹⁶	103–17	[122]–37	—	<i>Càn Rolant</i>	B
10 ⁸	118–24	138–45	—	<i>Bown</i>	C
11 ⁸	125–32	146–53	—	<i>Bown</i>	C
12 ⁶	133–38	154–59	—	<i>Bown</i>	C
13 ⁸	139–46	160–67	—	<i>Bown</i>	C
14 ⁴	147–50	168–71	—	<i>Bown</i>	C
15 ⁸	1–8	[171]–78	1–8	<i>Pedair Cainc</i>	D
16 ⁸	9–16	179–86	9–16	<i>Pedair Cainc</i>	D
17 ⁸	17–24	[187]–194	17–24	<i>Pedair Cainc</i>	D
18 ⁸	25–32	195–202	25–32	<i>Pedair Cainc, Peredur</i>	D
19 ⁸	33–40	[203]–[210]	33–40	<i>Peredur</i>	D
20 ⁸	41–48	[211]–218	41–48	<i>Peredur, Macsen, Lludd</i>	D
[20A]	—	[219–26]	—	[Lludd], [?], [Owain]	—
21 ⁸	49–54	[227]–234	?–?	<i>Owain</i>	D
[21A]	—	[235–42]	—	[Owain], [?]	—
[21B]	—	[243–50]	—	[?], [Trioedd]	—
22 ⁸	55–62	251–58	—	<i>Trioedd, B. y Saint, Hengerdd</i>	D
[22A]	—	[259–266]	—	[Hengerdd]	—
23 ⁸	63–70	[267]–[274]	62–69	<i>Geraint</i>	E
24 ⁸	71–78	275–282	70–77	<i>Geraint</i>	E
25 ⁸	79–86	[283]–[290]	78–85	<i>Geraint, Culhwch</i>	E
26	87–88	[291]–292	86–87	<i>Culhwch</i>	E, D

Foliation does not have the authority of signatures or catchwords. Binding and foliation can impose unity on a composite manuscript of diverse origins. We must try to look back beyond the foliation and first binding of the White Book.

The quires of the White Book cohere in nine units defined by continuity of text: quires 1–4, 5, 6–7, 8–9, 10–14, 15–20, 21, 22 and 23–6. But given the identities of hands, it would be quibbling to argue that quires 5–9 and 15–26 did not constitute units from the beginning. What must be examined to see how much they have in common are the four units represented by quires 1–4, 5–9, 10–14 and 15–26. The constant question will be whether they were made with the intention of their being parts of a single book.

Each unit except for the last, quires 15–26, is the work of a single scribe. In the last, scribes **D** and **E** collaborated closely, as is evident from **D**'s taking over from **E** within a quire.⁹ Our first examination should be of the practice of the five scribes in preparing their quires, the pre-writing stage.

Script and Scribal Practice

All five scribes use parchment typical of Welsh manuscripts, neither fine nor white. All but scribe **A** write in two columns, in a space which is noticeably constant, varying within fairly close limits: 175–85 × 115–25 mm. (with no significant variation between the four scribes). Scribe **A**, on the other hand, writes long lines within a space which varies within 180–200 × 125–30 mm. Scribes **A** and **B** rule only by hard point; **C**, **D** and **E** use both hard point and plummet. Ruling is all to the same pattern except that scribe **C** makes only a single ruling for the outer margin whereas the other four make a double ruling. All scribes, except probably **A**, in his thicker quires, appear to have pricked their bifolia by the quire (one cannot be sure because of the severe cropping of the book), and are therefore generally consistent in the number of lines to the page within each quire; but, apart from **B**, they are not consistent from quire to quire any more than they are with each other, as the following figures show: **A** 46–51 lines to the page, **B** 42 (quire 5) and 36 (quires 6–9), **C** 30–5, **D** 36–40 and **E** 39–42. Scribe **A** favoured unusually large quires, of twelve or more leaves; **B** seems to regard twelve as a norm, while **C**, **D** and **E** aim at eight. All in all, the degree of consistency between the four scribes **B**, **C**, **D** and **E**, given that none of them, except perhaps **B**, is given to strict self-discipline, seems to me to carry weight. We have in each case a two-column page to a

⁹ On fol. 87, in col. 1. When he reached the end of the *Pedair Cainc* on fol. 28^v, in quire 18, **D** left the remainder of the page and the whole of the following two pages blank, beginning *Peredur* on fol. 30^r. There is no obvious reason for the gap.

more or less standard module. Scribe **A**'s quires, in contrast, are single-column and have a larger written space.

The earliest surviving Welsh manuscripts – manuscripts written primarily in Welsh – date from no earlier than the middle of the thirteenth century; that view is probably now unquestioned. The earliest dated manuscripts in Welsh are NLW, Peniarth 9 (the Welsh Charlemagne cycle), with colophon dated 1336, and Oxford, Jesus College 119 (*Llyfr yr Ancr*, the Book of the Anchorite), with colophon dated 1346.¹⁰ The hundred years between about 1250 and 1350 left incomparably precious literary monuments; most of our early Welsh literature has reached us in manuscripts written during those years. Some forty are probably earlier than 1336. Their dating is mostly at the mercy of palaeography. There are in this period some developments in the handwriting of Welsh manuscripts which offer guidance in dating script and which can be described fairly simply in words. Between 1250 and 1350, in Welsh manuscripts, I find that the following letters provide useful criteria.¹¹

a: at first open, with a single compartment; then closed, as the upper arm bends down enclosing a second compartment; then, by rationalization of this form, the two-compartment letter comes to be formed by two parallel vertical strokes.

r: at first the round form of *r* (the '2' form) occurs only after the letter *o*. It then came to be used after other letters which showed a convex curve to the following letter: firstly *b*, *d* and *p*, and later *h*, *v*, *6*, and *y*, and even *a* and *e*. Examples of all these appear by 1350, though consistent practice by any single hand is rare.

s: long *s* regularly at the end of words; then the intrusion of round *s* in this position, at first mixed with the long form; then round *s* regularly.

t: a *t* in which the shaft does not rise above the cross-stroke (so that *c* and *t* may be hard to distinguish); then a tendency for the shaft to rise above the cross-stroke; then a regular crossing of the two strokes.

u/v/6: *u* representing *w*; then the introduction of a form of *v*; then the development from the *v* of a new letter-form, the *6*.

w: a four-stroke form of the letter (one which may give the appearance of a three-stroke form); then rationalized into a three-stroke letter, the '113' form.

It may be worth saying that the presence or absence of a dot above the *y* (a feature by which Gwenogvryn Evans may have set too much store), or

¹⁰ For facsimiles from Peniarth 9, see Plate 6 and Marged Haycock, 'Llyfr Taliesin', *NLWJ*, 25 (1987–8), 357–86 (386); for Jesus 119 see Plate 5 and *Elucidarium*, facing pp. 22 and 164, Denholm-Young, *HEW*, plate 19a, and Watson, *Dated MSS Oxford*, II, plate 190.

¹¹ See also p. 212 above.

of a ligature on *ll*, I do not find to be very helpful for purposes of dating within this period. The chronological trend is against the dot and for the ligature, but the incidence is too erratic. The point also needs to be made that all the developments I have mentioned, with the exception of the 6, are common to book-hands in France and England (and elsewhere) and that, generally speaking, they occur in these countries a generation or two earlier than in Wales.¹²

With regard to each of the developments noted above, the five White Book hands are at the most advanced stage, allowing for a few old-fashioned survivals – there is the occasional long *s* at the end of a word, occasional loyalty to the straight *r*. A group with which I would compare the five White Book hands is that of the nineteen hands which contributed to the second stratum of the Hendregadredd Manuscript.¹³ These can all be dated with some confidence to the first quarter of the fourteenth century. As a group, the White Book hands look later. They consistently show developments which are to be seen only sporadically among the Hendregadredd scribes. This comparison has a further possible relevance: both manuscripts, I suggest, may be products of the same scriptorium (for want of a less precise word), that of Strata Florida abbey. If this is so, the two manuscripts must be at least a generation apart: they have no hand in common.

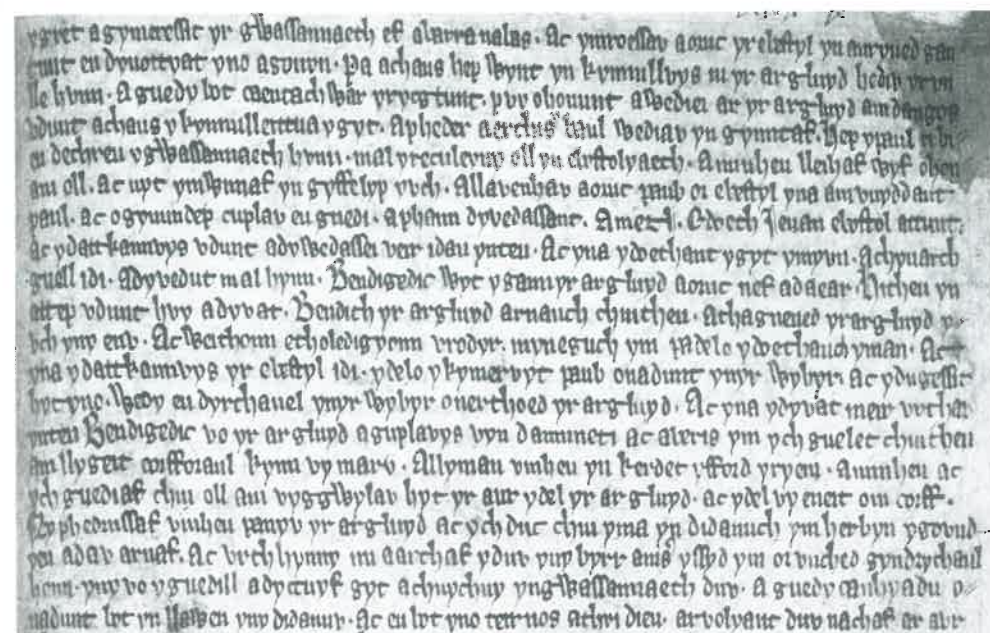
Facsimiles of the five White Book hands accompany this chapter (Plates 31–4). My proposal is that all five should be dated ‘mid-fourteenth century’. While I will not argue the case further, there are some observations other than those relevant to dating which ought to be made about the five hands.¹⁴

The hands of **A** and **B** have very much in common and, as a pair, can be contrasted with those of **C**, **D** and **E**, which in turn are extremely alike. The script of **A** and **B** has taller proportions and fewer elements of cursive. The close similarity of **A** and **B** is a little disguised by the fact that **A** writes smaller than **B** and with a narrower nib. Scribe **B**, more than **A**, has short ascenders and descenders (notably *d*), approaching a two-line script; both have a *g* which is almost a two-line letter, constructed like their round *s*, and a *w* (in the ‘113’ form) whose bottom lobe drops below the line of writing. Neither **A** nor **B** dots his *y*. A third scribe who is to be associated closely with scribes **A** and **B** wrote BL, Cotton Titus D.ix (Welsh law, *Llyfr*

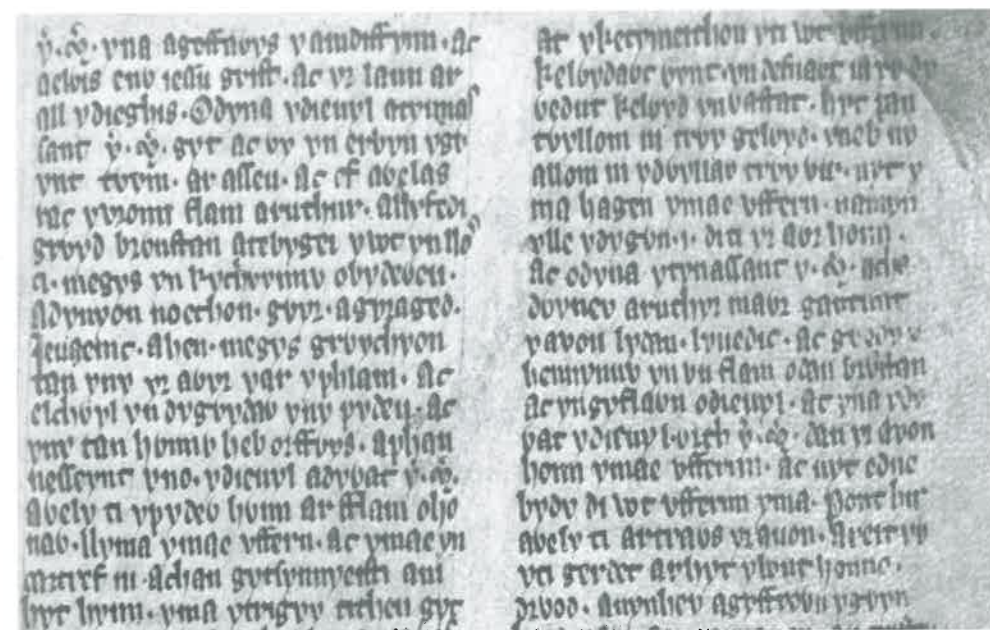
¹² See the remarks by Denholm-Young, *HEW*, pp. 42–3, and, quoted, in Jones, *BT* (*RBH*), p. liii.

¹³ See Chapter 12.

¹⁴ Watkin, *YBH* pp. xxxi–xxxiii, discusses the hand of scribe **C** at some length. His date (last decades of the thirteenth century) is based in part on comparison of the hand with anglicana, or court hand, in archives. Such comparison is misleading. Only slowly did the innovations of documentary script enter the script of book-hands.



31a



31b

Plate 31 NLW, Peniarth 4–5 (the White Book of Rhydderch): 31a, Peniarth 5, fol. 39 (scribe A); 31b, Peniarth 5, fol. 63 (scribe B)

32a

32b

32b

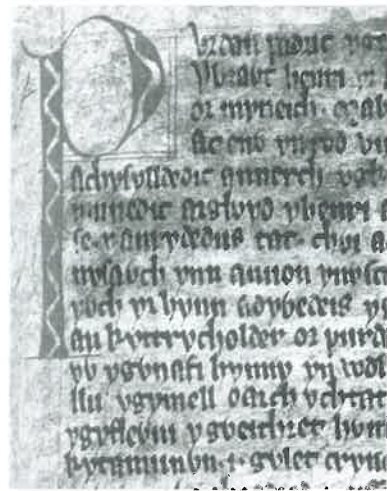
32b

33a

33a

33a

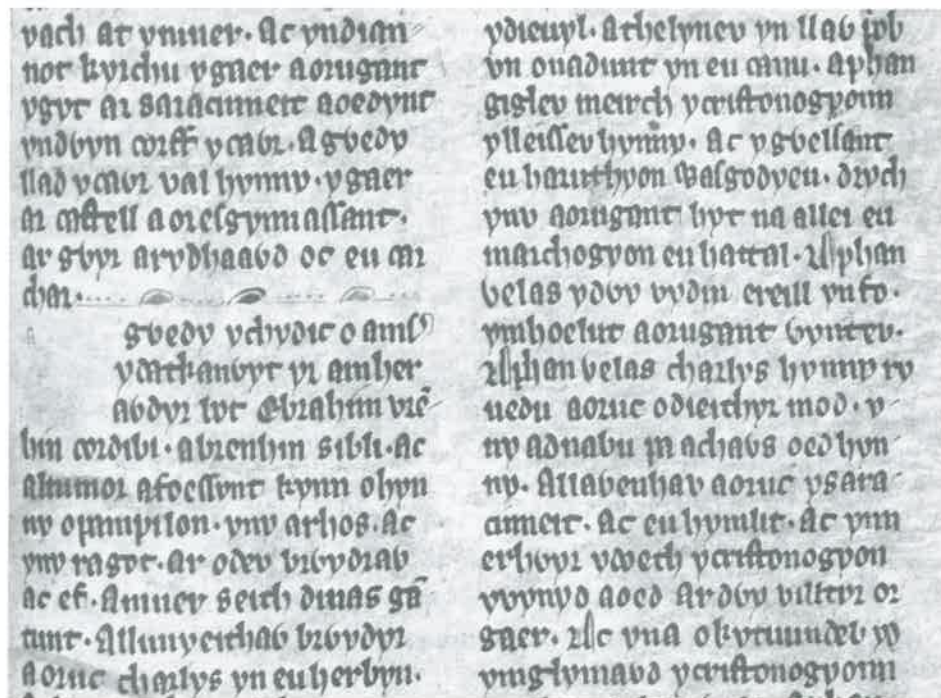
33a



34a



34b



34c

Plate 34 NLW, Peniarth 4–5 (the White Book of Rhydderch):
34a, Peniarth 5, fol. 58 (scribe B); 34b, Peniarth 4, fol. 1 (scribe D);
34c, Peniarth 5, fol. 76 (scribe B)

Blegywryd). His script has a backward slope and, compared with B, to speak in vague terms, some lack of harmony; to be more specific, his ascenders on *d* and *w* are longer and straighter than B's, closer to A's. He is indeed hard to distinguish from A; I am perhaps unduly cautious in not equating these two hands.

Scribe B deserves special attention because his is the only White Book hand which can clearly be recognized in other manuscripts. He is, if we accept the colophon of Jesus 119 at face value, none other than the Anchorite of Llanddewibrefi who, in 1346, wrote the whole of that manuscript for Gruffudd ap Llywelyn ap Philip 'who had this book written by the hand of a friend of his' (*a beris yscriuennv y llyuyr hwnn o law ketymdaith idaw*).¹⁵ The same hand also wrote, in collaboration with another, NLW, Peniarth 18 (*Brut y Tywysogyon*) and, on his own, NLW, Peniarth 46 (*Brut y Brenhinedd*) and NLW, Peniarth 47 part i (*Dares Phrygius*).¹⁶ Scribe B is uncommonly fond of the round *r* and uses it regularly after *h*, *v*, *6*, *w* and *y*, as well as in the positions that were normal by this date, and even after *a*.¹⁷ Scribe A seldom, if ever, uses round *r* after *a* or *h*. A feature of all scribe B's manuscripts except Peniarth 18 is a three-compartment initial *s*, as a capital, for instance in Peniarth 5, fols 79^v and 120^r. In all except Peniarth 18 we also meet his characteristic line-filling device (see below, p. 242), perhaps an indication that Peniarth 18 was early work.

Scribes C, D and E all write round and very legible hands. All are closer one to another than to any other known scribe. C and D indeed are hard to distinguish from each other, as both Gwenogvryn Evans and Morgan Watkin notice. The hand of C seems to me to have stronger verticality; C is often given to making a marked upward curl from the foot of a final minim

¹⁵ There is always the possibility that a colophon may have been copied *literatim* from an exemplar. The authenticity of the colophon of the Book of the Anchorite has been called into question by D. Simon Evans, in a review of B. F. Roberts, *Gwassanaeth Meir*, in *LIC*, 6 (1960–1), 113–17 (114 and 115–16). To me the colophon has a strong appearance of authenticity. It is written on fol. 4^v (see Plate 5), at the foot of the last page of a quire of four added by the scribe at the beginning of the book to accommodate his contents list, on fol. 3^v, and preface, on fol. 4^v (he probably intended fols 1 and 2 to be flyleaves). Both the nature of this quire and the fact that, unlike the body of the book, it remained unrubricated suggest that these four leaves were added when the rest of the book was complete. A mindlessly copied colophon seems most improbable.

¹⁶ The layout, the dimensions of the written space and the decoration of Peniarth 46 and 47 are all consistent with their having originally been one manuscript. Both lack signatures or early foliation.

¹⁷ Round *r* after *a* occurs seldom in Peniarth 18, Jesus 119 and Peniarth 47, more frequently in Peniarth 46 and quire 5 of the White Book, and regularly in quires 6–9 of the White Book. Since the usage is idiosyncratic, one might deduce that the progression is from the normal to the abnormal and that we have a hint that the White Book quires came towards the end of scribe B's recorded career, and that the White Book is later than 1346.

in a word, not to be seen in the hand of **D** or **E**; **D** writes an open *a* in initial positions, where **C**'s is closed; **D** often makes a terminal downward hook at the end of the cross-stroke of a final *t*, not characteristic of **C**; **D** sometimes ligatures an initial *ll*; **D** and **E** both dot their *y* whereas **C** seldom does so; one could probably go on. Morgan Watkin notes orthographical differences between the texts of **C** and **D**.¹⁸

The hand of **E** is closer to that of **D** than to that of **C** and rather more easily distinguishable, being altogether squatter in appearance. His treatment of initial *a*, round *r* and sometimes *g* and *w*, differs from that of **C** and **D**. He regularly uses straight *r* after *v* and *6* and generally uses it after *d*, where both **C** and **D** use round *r*. The most striking letter-form in the hands of all three scribes is the otherwise rare single-stroke *y*, made without lifting the pen from the parchment (see Plates 32–4). The form is an intrusion from cursive script, though one which achieved respectability at least as early as c. 1284, when it appears in a psalter destined for English royalty.¹⁹

Scribe **D** begins the *Pedair Cainc* writing large (36 lines to the page), reduces the size of his script by half-way through his first quire and reduces still further before finding his norm by about the middle of his second quire (see Plate 33). Perhaps this was for practical reasons, not wishing to make the book too large (or expensive); if so, it suggests an element of experimentation in the project, something consistent with other surmises discussed below, p. 245. Scribe **C** similarly, but less markedly, starts with larger script than that on which he settles, after only a couple of pages in his case.

All five scribes punctuate mainly by the point, with some use of the *punctus elevatus*; use of the latter by **B**, **D** and **E** is rare. Scribes **C**, **D** and **E** all make occasional use at line ends of a sign which in appearance could be a modern exclamation mark.

The ink of all the scribes is mostly of consistent good quality, of varying shades of darkish brown. There are, however, some patches where the ink is now pale, notably a large tract of the text of scribe **C** between fols 137 and 150. These pale patches led to the use of reagent (gallic acid, no doubt) by the antiquaries, in their desire to revivify the ink. The result is that many pages today show darkened stains, sporadic in the work of scribe **A** (e.g. fols 25^v, 26, 28^v, 47^v and 48), rare in that of scribe **B**, who used excellent dark ink (e.g. fol. 58), frequent in that of scribe **C** on fols 137–50, and hardly evident in the work of scribes **D** and **E** (a couple of words on fol. 17). Speaking of stains, one should note that besides those caused by reagent there are a good many around the outer edges of the leaves of the book which must have been caused by damp.

¹⁸ Watkin, *YBH*, p. xxxii.

¹⁹ BL, Add. 24686; see Watson, *Dated MSS BL*, I, p. 67, and II, plate 171.

Pale ink or, in places, the poor surface of the parchment have also led here and there to overwriting of the original text by later hands. Two contributors were Robert Vaughan, using a thicker than usual nib and carefully trying to imitate the original script (e.g. Peniarth 5, fol. 28, Peniarth 4, fol. 55^{r-v}), and Thomas Wiliems, with his usual thin nib and barely attempting to write with care (e.g. Peniarth 5, fol. 6).

One of the questions which must be faced is whether an anchorite could have been a collaborator on the White Book. Scribe **B**'s contributions are on discrete quires. Collaboration need not imply working together in one place; one can cite the *pecia* system in medieval universities, or the arrangements whereby commercial work was parcelled out among scribes in fifteenth-century London.²⁰ I see no inherent unlikelihood in the undertaking of commissioned work (for good will, let us say), even the copying of secular texts, by the well-connected anchorite who could describe himself as a *cydymdaith* of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn ap Phylip and who happened to be an excellent scribe.

The hands of scribes **C**, **D** and **E** are so strikingly similar that I find it hard to avoid introducing the word 'school'. Scriptorium is a word which gets used *faute de mieux* in speaking of many of the Welsh secular manuscripts; some, such as the Hendregadredd Manuscript (perhaps from Strata Florida) or Peniarth 20 (*Brut y Tywysogyon* from Valle Crucis), show evidence of communal scribal activity, while one may vaguely associate others with a known centre of literary activity. 'School' is no more precise. We have the physical evidence that many well-written and well-produced vernacular manuscripts were made in Wales in the period 1250–1350 (more and better than in any other hundred years in the Middle Ages), but where or how their scribes may have been schooled we do not know. Explicit evidence of the existence of schools, whether cathedral or monastic, seems totally lacking for Wales in this period, a period when, generally speaking, the Cistercian monasteries were thriving and the order was particularly alive to educational needs; equally absent is evidence for any other sort of school. We are driven to outright conjecture. The common 'school', or teacher, which seems to me the only way to account for the similarity of the three hands **C**, **D** and **E** (or for **A**, **B** and the Titus D.ix scribe), must remain a very airy one.

²⁰ J. Destrez, *La Pecia dans les manuscrits universitaires du XIII^e et du XIV^e siècle* (Paris, 1935); G. Pollard, 'The Pecia system in the medieval universities', in *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays Presented to N. R. Ker*, ed. M. B. Parkes and A. G. Watson (London, 1978), pp. 145–61; A. I. Doyle and M. B. Parkes, 'The production of copies of the *Canterbury Tales* and the *Confessio Amantis* in the early fifteenth century', *ibid.*, pp. 163–210; C. P. Christianson, 'London's late medieval manuscript-book trade', in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375–1475*, ed. Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 87–108 (pp. 89 and 96).

Rubrication

Illumination or rubrication by a single hand can sometimes give unity not otherwise evident to a book written by several scribes. In the case of the White Book the indications from this quarter are weak but not negligible; the book is not illuminated and its rubrication is unexceptional and incomplete. We had best see first what provision for decoration was made by the five scribes, and what use they themselves made of red ink.²¹

Scribe A provided spaces for two- and three-line initials at the beginnings of his texts, making no obvious distinction in grading. He provided guide-letters for a rubricator, but not consistently. All these spaces remained blank. Not that scribe A had no red ink to hand: he wrote headings in red in quire 1 and at the beginning of quire 2, and in quire 1 and the first parts of quires 2 and 3 he used red for paragraph signs, for deleting and for touching small initials within his text (versals). For line-filling he now and again put in a broken line of dots and dashes in red or black. The latter parts of quires 2 and 3 and the whole of quire 4 are altogether bare of red.

Scribe B provided a four-line space for an initial at the beginning of quire 5 (the *P* of *Purdan Padrig*) and a three-line space for a *Y* on fol. 60^r; both were later filled in (see below). In quires 6–9 he left three-line spaces for initials and one five-line space (for a *P*, on fol. 91^r, at the beginning of the story of Charlemagne's journey to Jerusalem and Constantinople); none of these was filled in. He provided guide-letters, written with an extremely fine nib. He did not provide either headings or spaces for any. He did, however, make free use of red for corrections, additions and deletions to his text (as he does in Jesus 119 and Peniarth 46), and for touching initials within the text. A mark of the work of scribe B (to be seen in Jesus 119, Peniarth 46 and Peniarth 47, as well as in the White Book) is the device which he uses in line-filling (see Plate 34c), something one might call a mouse, either in red or black, or red and black alternately.²² The text on the first page of both quires 5 and 6 has been framed by a double red line, probably by scribe B.

²¹ Denholm-Young's remark, *HEW*, p. 43, that NLW, Peniarth 2, 4, 5, 6, 9 and 32 are 'all rubricated in the same style, presumably in the same scriptorium – ?Strata Florida' does not strike me as helpful, even though in connection with Peniarth 4 and 5 the hesitant naming of Strata Florida (following Gwenogvryn Evans, *WBM*, p. xiii) anticipates my own conclusion. What the manuscripts have in common with each other, and with many other fourteenth-century Welsh manuscripts, are plain initials in red or blue, probably made by the scribe, in the absence of a limner.

²² This device, the mouse, is what J. Morris-Jones calls a curl and takes to be a punctuation mark; see *Elucidarium*, p. xxv.

We might notice in passing what coloured initials were provided in scribe B's other manuscripts. In Peniarth 18 the spaces remained blank; in Peniarth 46 and 47 they were filled with red or blue initials with filigree pen-work, by a single hand; in Jesus 119 there are plain red initials (some of them 'split', that is, with a white seam down their limbs), probably provided by the scribe himself. Only in Peniarth 46 and 47, it seems, did the hoped-for specialist come and do his bit.

Scribe C provided two- and three-line spaces for initials. Alone among the White Book scribes he provided no guide-letters. The spaces all remain blank. Scribe C made no use whatsoever of red ink.

Both scribes D and E provided a mixture of two- and three-line spaces for initials, with guide-letters, all of which, apart from a couple of probably careless omissions, are filled with unsophisticated red initials. The three-line *P* at the beginning of D's text (*Pwyll*, quire 15) is discussed below. The other red initials for the texts of D and E seem indistinguishable from each other in style. Initials within the texts of each are touched in red, though for long stretches the touching becomes scant. Line-filling by D (there is none by E) is by a line simply broken or interrupted in the gaps by three short vertical strokes. D wrote his own headings in red; E wrote no headings.

Scribes A, B and C provided spaces for initials in apparent expectation that someone else would complete the work. In the case of scribes D and E, the two close collaborators, the initials were indeed added, but with no great expertise. We know, from the headings in his hand, that D made use of red ink. My proposal is that his was the hand which provided all the red initials in the quires written by D and E, and also, in quire 5, the large *P* at the beginning and the *Y* on fol. 60^r. This *P* is identical in form with the *P* at the beginning of *Pwyll* (these two *P*'s are the two most ambitious initials in the book; see Plate 34), and the *Y* with those in D's text on fols 48^v and 84^r. We should also note that the *P* in quire 5 was added after the red frame had been drawn round the text (this is clear under magnification) and that the red of the *P* and *Y* in quire 5 – less red, more brick-coloured – differs slightly from the red used by scribe B in his text. One could explain D's having filled in these two initials in the quires written by B (and C), and no others, by the fact that quire 5 would have been the first one in the book had it not been for the addition of what I suggest were the originally unplanned-for quires 1–4 (see below, pp. 244–5). He may have thought that there would be time enough later for him or someone else to return to decorate the other quires written by B and C. The proposal that D's was the hand responsible for the two initials in quire 5 implies that he, if anyone, might be regarded as the editor of the White Book, even though his editorial role may not have amounted to much more than bringing

together the quires produced by the several scribes. It is not inconsistent with this role that he should have been the scribe who contributed the greatest number of quires to the White Book, and those which, to us at least, contain the most precious of its texts.

While I suggest that scribe **D** may have been the one who brought the White Book together, it has to be said that neither he nor any other scribe appears to have acted as a textual editor; all contemporary corrections to the text appear to be self-correction by the scribes.²³ This is normal in Welsh vernacular manuscripts.

One could, if one chose, look for some dramatic explanation for the incomplete state of the decoration of the White Book, such as the coming of the Black Death to Ceredigion in 1349. But medieval manuscripts in which the rubrication and decoration were left unfinished are too numerous to encourage extravagant speculation.

Nature of the Original White Book

The lack of quire signatures and the absence of an obvious editorial hand in the quires written by scribes **B**, **C**, **D** and **E** must be regarded as neutral evidence. On the other hand, the conformity in preparation of their quires by the four scribes, the close resemblance of the scripts of **C**, **D** and **E**, and the likelihood that scribe **D** added red initials to the text of scribe **B**, all point to an original unity of the quires written by these four scribes. This appearance of unity is reinforced by the nature of the contents of these quires: a collection of Welsh narrative prose to which is added a collection of triads and some early saga poetry. The only text verging on the religious is *Purdan Padrig*. The fact that some of the texts (those copied by scribes **D** and **E**) are of Welsh origin while others are translations is probably not one which would have been of concern to a fourteenth-century compiler.

The quires written by scribe **A** stand apart from the rest of the White Book on account both of the dimensions of their written space and of their long lines. They also stand apart with respect to their contents, which are wholly didactic or devotional. Most starkly different is the fragment of text on fols 51^v–2. Of each of these leaves only an inner strip survives. Folio 51^v preserves about a fifth of its text, at the ends of lines, while the recto of fol. 52 preserves about 1 cm. of text at the beginnings of lines. This text on fols 51^v–2 is written smaller than the preceding one, the opening of the Gospel of St John, but is also, I would judge, by scribe **A**. Gwenogvryn Evans

²³ Many corrections to the text of scribe **B** are made in red. The descender of the letter *y* in the hand of the corrections curl back on itself more than it does in the hand of the text, where a curl is sometimes noticeable but not conspicuous. I do not find this difference sufficient grounds for positing another scribe.

describes it as 'a theological treatise in Latin'.²⁴ It is in fact either an extract from an *ordinale* or a long rubric from a service book relating to the reading of some office or part of an office throughout the liturgical year (see Appendix II to this chapter). Whatever the precise purpose of this text, one unavoidable conclusion seems to be that the quires of scribe **A**, written presumably for use by a cleric, can hardly have been conceived as part of the same programme as those of scribes **B**, **C**, **D** and **E**. It is to the work of these four we now return, to reflect on how it may have compared with other Welsh secular manuscripts of the time.

While scribes **B**, **C**, **D** and **E** all copied secular texts, it is those texts copied by **D** and **E** which make for the most instructive comparisons (they are also of course the most inherently interesting). Texts of single tales of the 'Mabinogion' survive in six manuscripts or fragments which can be deemed earlier in date than the White Book, the earliest of them from the second half of the thirteenth century. They are NLW, Peniarth 6 part i and 6 part ii (one leaf of *Branwen* and one of *Manawydan*, in the same hand and doubtless from the same manuscript), Peniarth 6 part iii (two leaves of *Geraint*), Peniarth 6 part iv (two quires of *Geraint*), NLW, Peniarth 7 (*Peredur*, in association with texts of the Welsh Charlemagne cycle and Apocrypha), NLW, Peniarth 14 (the second part, formerly Hengwrt 13, *Peredur*, in association with Apocrypha and the Prophecy of Merlin), and NLW, Peniarth 16 part iii (*Breuddwyd Maxen*, in association with the Prophecy of Merlin). With the exception of Peniarth 7, a two-columned manuscript with written space *c.* 210 × 160 mm., these are small single-columned books, books whose format would hardly have allowed them to contain more than half the contents of the White Book. Only by the adoption in the White Book of the (by Welsh standards) large page with double columns and fairly small script did the encompassing of so much text in a single book become possible. The Peniarth 7 scribe, although his page is larger than that of the White Book, does not manage to fit any more text onto the page. It is in the White Book that for the first time, so far as we know, these texts come together in one book (I take the *Pedair Cainc* to be a single work). The texts brought together in the quires written by scribes **D** and **E** represent alone a quite unprecedented compilation. The

²⁴ *RMWL*, I, p. 312.

White Book, or a very close antecedent, created the canon which eventually achieved unforseen fame as the 'Mabinogion'.²⁵

Comparison of the White Book texts copied by scribes B and C with the other early manuscripts is less revealing. The Welsh Charlemagne cycle, copied by scribe B, clearly circulated widely in manuscript in the early fourteenth century; there are four manuscripts, Peniarth 7, 8, 9 and 10, which are probably earlier than the White Book.²⁶ The White Book text fits into a well-developed tradition. On the other hand, the White Book texts of *Purdan Padrig* and *Bown o Hamtwn* are both the earliest to survive, and that by about half a century.

The compilation of carefully planned anthologies was not in itself an innovation in Welsh literature. In the Hendregadredd Manuscript (NLW 6680B) we can study the physical evidence of the first putting together of a major anthology of the court poetry of the Welsh princes, while in the Book of Taliesin (Peniarth 2) we have a scribal copy of an earlier anthology of poetry associated with Taliesin, one which must represent a collecting of poetry from a wide variety of sources.²⁷ Nor were anthologies of religious prose unknown. The late-thirteenth-century Peniarth 14 is a collection of pieces similar to that copied into the White Book by scribe A (and is thought to be the source of some of A's texts), while the Book of the Anchorite represents a contemporary anthology of religious texts from the same milieu as the White Book. What is new in the White Book is the bringing together of secular prose, of Welsh *belles-lettres*.

One may wonder whether there may have been a model for the White Book in other literature. Rhydderch, with whom we shall associate the making of the White Book, had, as we shall see, some contact with English circles. He must have known French and no doubt knew English. It does

²⁵ If one accepts the view that the closeness of the texts of the White Book and the Red Book, including shared errors, is best explained by a common ancestor (see below, p. 255), some of the credit for innovation must go to that lost manuscript. The lack of correlation of the order of tales in the two books (the only sequences in common are *Maxen-Lludd* and *Geraint-Culhwch*) speaks against a common ancestor whose order followed any obvious logic. A word is due here about *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy*. Melville Richards, *Breudwyd Ronabwy* (Cardiff, 1948), pp. x-xi, confidently endorses Gwenogvryn Evans's argument in *WBM*, p. x, which 'practically proves' that *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* was contained in the missing quire 22A of the White Book, between the end of *Lludd* and the beginning of *Owain*. The arithmetic which Gwenogvryn Evans offers as proof of this far-fetched fancy is not convincing. By my reckoning, the Red Book *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* text would fall more than two pages short of filling the gap.

²⁶ Annalee C. Rejhon, *Cân Rolant: The Medieval Welsh Version of the Song of Roland* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1983), pp. 2-20, describes the ten early manuscripts. Peniarth 10, which Rejhon chooses as the base manuscript for her edition, has not hitherto been dated earlier than the fifteenth century. I place it in the first half of the fourteenth century. [See now Chapter 4.]

²⁷ Chapter 12; Haycock, 'Llyfr Taliesin'.

not seem far-fetched to suppose that he may have seen manuscript collections of French romances of the sort then fashionable at court.²⁸ Much of the contents of the White Book came from the French or had French vernacular equivalents. And while it seems highly improbable that any manuscript in English influenced the making of the White Book, as a parallel contemporary development we might notice the new popularity of anthologies, exemplified by the Harley Lyrics manuscript (BL, Harley 2253) and the Auchinleck Manuscript of romances (National Library of Scotland, Advocates' 19.2.1), both dating from the 1330s, one representing provincial culture, from the Welsh marches, the other probably a London product.²⁹

In its day the White Book must have been an object of marvel in Welsh literary circles. One would expect it to have had imitators, but perhaps there were never many; the costs and organization involved would have been substantial. The one surviving book which is surely of the same lineage is the Red Book of Hergest, which carried far beyond the achievement of the White Book the aim of including between two boards a major part of Welsh literature, creating a veritable bible of it. Setting aside questions of the textual relationships of the two famous collections, it would be hard to accept that the makers of the Red Book were not aware from the beginning of the existence of the White. The Red Book is the largest by far of the Welsh vernacular medieval books. It is curious to note that the two manuscripts in which the English vernacular medieval book reached its maximum size, the Vernon Manuscript and the Simeon Manuscript, were exact contemporaries of the Red Book.³⁰

Rhydderch

For whom was this book of such remarkably new character put together? It is time to examine the name 'The White Book of Rhydderch'.

The first person known to have referred to the White Book by name is the antiquary Richard Langford. John Jones of Gellilyfdy in NLW, Peniarth 111, p. 117, writing in 1607, transcribes 'an old poem which old Richard Langford of Trefalun wrote out of the White Book of Rhydderch

²⁸ For the sort of book read at court in the time of Edward III, see V. J. Scattergood, 'Literary culture at the court of Richard II', in *English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. V. J. Scattergood and J. W. Sherborne (London, 1983), pp. 29-43 (32-3 and 36), and A. I. Doyle, 'English books in and out of court from Edward III to Henry VII', *ibid.*, pp. 163-81 (164).

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 164-5.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 167-8; *The Vernon Manuscript*, introduction by A. I. Doyle (Cambridge, 1987), where the two manuscripts are shown to come from the West Midlands of England, perhaps from a Cistercian monastery.

in AD 1573' (*hen gerdd a ysgrifennodd yr hen Risiart Langford o Drefalun allan o Lyfr Gwynn Rhydderch yn oed Krist 1573*, and again, on p. 169, *kopi o lyfr gwyn Rhydderch*), while in Cardiff, Central Library 2.633 (= Hafod 23), p. 434, transcribing in 1608, again from Richard Langford, he cites the manuscript 'which he had written out of the White Book of Rhydderch AD 1573' (*a ysgrifennassae ef allan or llyfr gwynn i Rydderch oet Krist 1573*). This 1573 manuscript of Richard Langford is lost. We do, however, have another but undated reference to the White Book by Richard Langford. On a blank leaf at the end of his transcript of the Chester Annals, he writes 'This was in the White Book of Rhydderch . . .' (*hyn oed yn llyver gwyn Ryderch i Ebystyl a gymerassant rannau y byd . . .*; the text follows that in Peniarth 5, fol. 50).³¹ Thomas Wiliems in BL, Add. 31055, fol. 75, writing about 1594, notes that he transcribes *allan or llyver Gw' i Rydd*, and in NLW, Peniarth 225, p. 160, writing in 1602 or later, he copies 'The awdl of St Doged king and martyr as I saw it written in the White Book of Rhydderch' (*Od S. Doget vrenhin a merthyr val y gweleis yn scrivenedic yn y llyver gwyn y Rydderch*).³² In NLW, Peniarth 53, p. 47, Jasper Gryffyth (who died in 1614) notes beside the name of the poet Ieuan ap Rhydderch: 'The father of this man owned the book called the White of Rhydderch which I have' (*Tad y gwr hwn a bieuodd y llyfr a elwir y Gwynn i Rydderch ac y sydd gyda mi*). Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt refers to the White Book in an early notebook as *Y llyfr gwyn i Rydderch* and in his 1658 library catalogue as *llyfr gwyn i Rydderch*,³³ while Dr John Davies of Mallwyd in his list of the contents of the White Book calls it *llyfr gwyn i Rydderch*.

Two things stand out in these early references to the White Book. There is the fixity of the overall form of the name and there is in all the citations

³¹ Cheshire County Record Office D2093, formerly Mostyn MS 157, bought at the Mostyn sale at Christie's in 1974. This unique text of *Annales Cestrienses*, edited from this manuscript by R. C. Christie for the Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society in 1887, is wholly in a hand which I believe to be that of Richard Langford. A facsimile is available in NLW Facs. 498. [On Richard Langford, see my 'Yr Hen Risiart Langford' in *Beirdd a Thywysogion*, ed. B. F. Roberts and M. E. Owen (Cardiff, 1996), pp. 302–25.]

³² The 1602 note by Thomas Wiliems is echoed by the anonymous scribe of Oxford, Jesus College 140, written perhaps about 1630, on p. 497; see RMWL, II, p. 63. But was this *awdl* to St Doged by Ieuan Llwyd Brydydd, a late-fifteenth-century poet, ever in the White Book? Either it was an addition on a blank leaf now lost or there has been a mistake about sources. Thomas Wiliems's text of *Buchedd Fargred*, which also occurs in Peniarth 225, does not represent that of the White Book. Thomas Wiliems, in BL, Add. 31055, also preserved the contents of the lost quire 22A, which he derived from Richard Langford's 1573 transcript; see Ifor Williams, *Canu Llywarch Hen* (Cardiff, 2nd edn., 1953), pp. xii–xiv, and Jenny Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 395.

³³ The notebook is NLW 5262A, see below, pp. 299 and 301. Robert Vaughan's catalogue of his library is NLW 9095B; the shelfmark of the White Book is Y.1.4.13.

other than three of Richard Langford's an insistent *i* standing before the name Rhydderch. This use of the preposition, uncommon and unnecessary unless on stylistic grounds, is curious.³⁴ It suggests to me that the form of the name derives from written rather than oral tradition. When Dr John Davies made his list of contents about 1634, the White Book was evidently still a single volume. Given that it was re-bound shortly afterwards, it is most likely that the book was still in its broken original binding in 1634 (see below, p. 261). My suspicion is that the name *Llyvyr Gwyn i Rydderch* (the spelling uncertain) was inscribed somewhere on the book, either on its cover or a flyleaf. While I would not argue that the inscription itself was necessarily medieval (it could have been added on the strength of oral tradition), its authority looks good.

Who was this Rhydderch? Jasper Gryffyth's identification, that he was the father of Ieuan ap Rhydderch, the poet, has never been called into question. On what grounds he made it we cannot be sure. Perhaps again it was traditional. As we shall see below, the White Book probably passed by descent until the last decades of the sixteenth century. Scholars of that time could have picked up family tradition at Rhiwedog. Whatever his reasons, Jasper Gryffyth's identification is one to which other evidence would inevitably have led us.

Rhydderch ab Ieuan Llwyd

Rhydderch ab Ieuan Llwyd ab Ieuan was descended from the Lord Rhys, the last dominant Welsh ruler of Deheubarth and the effective founder of Strata Florida abbey, where generations of his descendants were buried. Rhys's grandson, Maredudd ab Owain, 'chief lord of Ceredigion', died in 1265 and was buried at Strata Florida. He was Rhydderch's great-great-grandfather. It was at the request of Maredudd's son Gruffudd that Madog ap Selyf made the Welsh versions of *Transitus Marie* and Turpin's history which appear in the White Book, and at the request of Maredudd's daughter Efa that Brother Gruffudd Bola translated the Creed of Athanasius which also occurs in the White Book.³⁵ Ieuan Llwyd and Angharad, Rhydderch's parents, were literary patrons as interesting as any in the fourteenth century. Their home in Llangeitho is associated with the first generation of the poets of the *cywydd*, notably Dafydd ap Gwilym, and with the compilation of the bardic grammar of Einion Offeiriad; and it

³⁴ A similar usage of *i* occurs now and again in the 1588 Welsh Bible: 'Llyfr Cyntaf i Samuel', 'Yr Ail Llyfr i Samuel', but then 'Yr Ail Llyfr o Esdras yr hwn a elwir yn gyffredinol y Pedwerydd Llyfr i Esdras'.

³⁵ On these children of Maredudd and their literary associations see J. E. Caerwyn Williams, 'Rhyddiaith grefyddol Cymraeg Canol', in *TRhOC*, pp. 312–408 (331–6).

was there that the Hendregadredd Manuscript received on its blank pages some of the poetry addressed to them.³⁶ This is the home into which Rhydderch was born, about 1325, I reckon.³⁷

Rhydderch himself became the most renowned patron of the bards in fourteenth-century Cardiganshire.³⁸ A poem which probably dates from his early life, the 1340s perhaps, is the mock-elegy by Dafydd ap Gwilym, in the form of a *cywydd* put in the mouth of Llywelyn Fychan, his intimate friend. Rhydderch is praised for his person and his learning and is referred to as *ieithydd* ('interpreter') and *marchog* ('knight').³⁹ Rhydderch and Llywelyn Fychan are again linked as inseparable friends (they were also second cousins) in the *awdl* to them by Llywelyn Goch ap Meurig Hen.⁴⁰ Dr Johnston argues, on the strength of references to legal matters in the poem, that they are in the service of the king (*Gwin y brenin a obrynant*, 'they earn the king's wine') as legal experts, thus resisting previous assumptions (based on *cyffro cad* and *deuflwr*) that their service was as soldiers. He is very likely right, though the poem also probably refers to an earlier period when Rhydderch and Llywelyn served with an English army, perhaps as the interpreters who always had to be provided with Welsh troops. Dr Johnston tentatively proposes 1380 × 90 as the date of the poem; Rhydderch and Llywelyn are known to have been prominent legal officials by that decade. But the emphasis on their friendship and the flattery of their interest in love (*gaethserch*, *brenhinedd serch*) might be taken to suggest an earlier date.

³⁶ D. J. Bowen, 'Dafydd ap Gwilym a datblygiad y cywydd', *LIC*, 8 (1964–5), 1–32; J. Beverley Smith, 'Einion Offeiriad', *BBCS*, 20 (1962–4), 339–47; Rachel Bromwich, 'Gwaith Einion Offeiriad a barddoniaeth Dafydd ap Gwilym', *YB*, 10 (1977–8), 157–80; and above, pp. 208–10 and 216–18. Rachel Bromwich's demonstration of Dafydd ap Gwilym's familiarity with the bardic grammar and with much of the White Book material is also very relevant; see her *Aspects of the Poetry of Dafydd ap Gwilym* (Cardiff, 1986), pp. 105–51.

³⁷ This date is consistent with the references to Angharad in Einion Offeiriad's Grammar, composed, as now seems probable, in the 1320s; with Ieuan Llwyd ab Ieuan's known *floruit*, 1332–44; and with the known archival data and the evidence of poems about him. I imagine Rhydderch to have been a young man when the White Book was commissioned (in contrast to Hopcyn ap Tomas, certainly old when the Red Book of Hergest was commissioned).

³⁸ D. H. E. Roberts, 'Noddwyr y beirdd yn Sir Aberteifi', *LIC*, 10 (1968–9), 76–109 (83–8) and 'Noddi beirdd yng Ngheredigion – rhai agweddau', *Ceredigion*, 7 (1972–5), 14–39.

³⁹ *GDG*, ed. Thomas Parry (Cardiff, 1952), no. 17, pp. 48–9; D. J. Bowen, 'Agweddau ar ganu'r bedwaredd ganrif ar ddeg a'r bymthegfed', *LIC*, 9 (1966–7), 46–73 (60), removed the doubts about the identity of the Rhydderch about whom this *cywydd* was composed.

⁴⁰ Dafydd Johnston, 'Awdl Llywelyn Goch i Rydderch a Llywelyn Fychan', *BBCS*, 35 (1988), 20–8, [and *Gwaith Llywelyn Goch ap Meurig Hen* (Aberystwyth, 1998), no. 4].

Iolo Goch, the poet who raised the *cywydd* to eminence as the chief medium of Welsh praise-poetry, was particularly associated with Rhydderch by later tradition.⁴¹ But the poetry which brought this fame failed to survive, like much of Iolo's work. Rhydderch does, however, figure in Iolo's *Ymddidan yr Enaid a'r Corff*, composed between 1375 and 1382, his imaginary bardic circuit of Wales: Rhydderch's hospitality was expected to break the poet's journey between the abbeys of Whitland and Strata Florida.⁴² Rhydderch is referred to as *probost*, *hoywbost Deheubarth*, a description appropriate to his later years.

Rhydderch certainly became an important figure in the government of the southern counties of the Principality. He was recognized as an expert in Welsh law and employed as a *dosbarthwr* in the period 1380–92, and served as deputy justiciar of Cardiganshire under several justiciars of South Wales around the same period, besides holding various other offices. He was dead by 1398/99.⁴³

Rhydderch's reputation as a man of justice is reflected in an *awdl* to him by Dafydd y Coed (a bard also patronized by Hopcyn ap Tomas), who speaks of him as *cryf Selyf* ('strong Solomon') and *creir geirgall da dyall diduedd* ('a word-wise treasure of good impartial understanding'), but at the same time does not forget his reputation in other fields (*gwir filwr*, *pab geirserch*, 'true soldier', 'pope of word-love').⁴⁴ Gruffudd Llwyd in his *marwnad* to Rhydderch refers to his ability as a lawman: *cyfraith trwy bob iaith o'i ben* ('he delivers law in every language').⁴⁵ Gruffudd's elegy is a tribute to a man evidently as striking in physique as he was in wisdom and learning. Running through the poetry to Rhydderch is an emphasis on his connoisseurship of the bardic art: *deallu barddlyfr da a ellynt* ('a bardic book they well understand', Llywelyn Goch, of Rhydderch and Llywelyn Fychan), *brawdwr cyfiawn ar brydydd* ('a just judge of a poet', Gruffudd Llwyd).

The White Book is the only manuscript for which there is positive evidence of association with Rhydderch. But there is every likelihood that he also owned the Hendregadredd Manuscript (though its later descent

⁴¹ Eurys I. Rowlands, 'Iolo Goch', in *Celtic Studies: Essays in Memory of Angus Matheson*, ed. J. Carney and D. Greene (London, 1968), pp. 124–46 (139); *GIG*, p. 261.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁴³ *PWMLA*, p. 117 and index, for date of death and a wealth of references. The Rhydderch ab Ieuan Llwyd referred to between the years 1417 and 1442 (pp. 504–5) must be a second person of that name.

⁴⁴ *PRBH*, col. 1305.

⁴⁵ *IGE*², pp. 113–15. In BL, Stowe 959, fols 72^v–3, there is an *awdl* by Deio Du addressed (according to the heading) to Rhydderch ab Ieuan Llwyd. I had already dated the *awdl* to 1356 when Dr Dafydd Johnston kindly persuaded me that the Rhydderch in question was Rhydderch ap Rhys o'r Tywyn, over a century later, and the poet Deio ab Ieuan Du.

was different): that it belonged to his father Ieuan Llwyd seems certain and that some of its contents were familiar to the poet Ieuan ap Rhydderch, the son of Rhydderch's old age, is manifest.⁴⁶ One could go on to build more of his imaginary library, beginning with the bardic grammar of Einion Offeiriad and the law of Hywel Dda.

Strata Florida

The Hendregadredd Manuscript was probably written at Strata Florida abbey.⁴⁷ Strata Florida was an abbey of strong literary associations but one to which no surviving manuscript can be attributed. The evidence for linking it with the Hendregadredd Manuscript is circumstantial. There are two main planks. First, the production soon after 1282 by a single scribe of a corpus of court poetry of the recent ruling dynasties of Wales, in a scriptorium in which, within the space of a generation or so, the corpus was systematically added to by nineteen other good hands: this suggests a large and settled community, Welsh in sympathy, one hard to conceive outside the small number of Welsh-aligned Cistercian monasteries. Second, that the third stratum of the contents of the Hendregadredd Manuscript must have been added when it was in the home of Ieuan Llwyd in the second quarter of the fourteenth century. Ieuan's home was some ten miles from Strata Florida.

With the White Book we find ourselves facing rather similar considerations. On the one hand we have the work of five practised scribes, four of them evidently working to a common plan. Scribe A, the odd man out among them, must surely have had connection with a large church, witness the liturgical fragment which he copied with its reference to a succentor (the chanter who responded to the precentor, or the leader of the left choir). Scribe B we take to be the Anchorite of Llanddewibrefi. The milieu of A and B is ecclesiastic and they learnt to write at the same school, or one from the other. Scribes C, D, and E do not present themselves as obvious clerics, but the similarity of their script suggests some sort of community. On the other hand, while the evidence for Rhydderch's ownership of the

⁴⁶ The tradition of the manuscripts and of the pedigree books is that Ieuan ap Rhydderch the poet was a son of Rhydderch ab Ieuan Llwyd, but the sources conflict as to who was his mother: Mawd, daughter of Sir William Clement, Rhydderch's second wife (who certainly had a son Ieuan), or Annes, a third wife, for whose marriage with Rhydderch the evidence is slight; see *IGE*², pp. xxii–xxv; cf. Bartrum, *WG*, VII, p. 640, s.n. Ieuan ap Rhydderch ab Ieuan Llwyd. That Ieuan must have been a late child of Rhydderch is evident from the likely period of his *floruit*, 1430–70; see Thomas Roberts in *IGE*², p. xxviii. Indirect evidence of Ieuan's descent from Ieuan Llwyd is offered by his *cywydd*, *Y Fost*; see above, p. 222.

⁴⁷ See above pp. 213–16.

White Book is, despite its name, not as strong as that which associates the Hendregadredd Manuscript with his father, it is corroborated by such circumstantial evidence as we have. Parcrhydderch, Llangeitho, Rhydderch's home, is ten miles from Strata Florida and six miles from Llanddewibrefi. Rhydderch's family connections with the abbey have already been mentioned. I propose that the White Book, envisaged as a collection of Welsh secular narrative and traditional lore (the work of scribes B, C, D and E), was commissioned for Rhydderch, by himself or someone else. For craftsmen with the requisite skills to carry out this ambitious piece of book-making, one obvious place to turn was the great neighbouring abbey. The abbot of Strata Florida from 1344 to 1380 was Llywelyn Fychan ap Llywelyn.⁴⁸ Llywelyn is the earliest of the Welsh Cistercian abbots known to have patronized the bards; there is an *awdl* to him by Llywelyn Goch ap Meurig Hen, while Iolo Goch in his *Ymddiddan yr Enaid a'r Corff* names the abbey of Strata Florida as his next port of call after Rhydderch ab Ieuan's home.⁴⁹ Llywelyn Fychan may not have been an abbot to discourage his monks, not to speak of lay brethren, from copying secular texts for an influential neighbour who was no doubt also a friend if not a relation.⁵⁰

The presence in the White Book of quires written by the Anchorite of Llanddewibrefi is, however, warning enough against any simple assertion that the book was written at Strata Florida. (But was he always an anchorite? Did he undertake piece-work by the quire? Does that suggest that his exemplar in this case was also in quires?) What about the collegiate church at Llanddewibrefi itself, founded in 1287? The literary associations of the college are few and the situation which is known in 1366, when at least eight of the ten traceable canons lived outside the diocese, does not suggest an active collegiate life.⁵¹ Again, one could envisage an entrepreneurial lay clerk (scribe D perhaps) using such contacts as he had among those who could write well to get the book made. But then, where did D learn to write and to make a book? Where did he get his exemplars? Whatever the answers, I think Strata Florida probably had a vital role: that it was the midwife, if not the mother of the White Book.

Quires 1–4, I suggest, the part written by scribe A, were not originally intended to form part of Rhydderch's book. Text and layout point in

⁴⁸ D. H. Williams, 'Fasti Cistercienses', *BBCS*, 24 (1970–2), 181–229.

⁴⁹ *GIG*, p. 66.

⁵⁰ The pedigree of Llywelyn Fychan the abbot is not known beyond his father. That he should be distinguished from Llywelyn Fychan ap Llywelyn, the companion of Rhydderch, now seems agreed; see above, p. 220, n.50, and Johnston, 'Awdl Llywelyn Goch i Rydderch a Llywelyn Fychan', p. 23.

⁵¹ Glanmor Williams, 'The collegiate church of Llanddewibrefi', *Ceredigion*, 4 (1960–3), 340–52, and *WCCR*, p. 163.

another direction, despite the close affinity of the hands of A and B. The presence of the liturgical fragment is itself enough to indicate that these quires were first written for use by a cleric, one, however, with a taste for vernacular religious reading. Abbot Llywelyn Fychan himself was very likely such a person, but we have to rule him out, and look perhaps for a secular priest at Llanddewibrefi, since the fragment appears not to represent a Cistercian text.⁵² My suggestion is that these four quires were added to the book as an afterthought. Rhydderch, or someone, decided to mix secular and religious reading in one book (Peniarth 7 and 14 offer precedents). Perhaps the religious texts were placed at the beginning of the book in a spirit of piety. The resulting book, bound I assume in wooden boards covered in whittawed skin (which would have been usual in the fourteenth century), may have acquired its name at a time when there was in existence at least one other book of Rhydderch: 'Llyfr Coch Rhydderch' perhaps – red or pink-stained covers were popular at the time. Alternatively, one could suppose that the name was acquired in a household in which it was helpful to distinguish between 'Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch' and, say, 'Llyfr Gwyn Ieuan'. My conjecture is that the disintegrating White Book which we encounter at the end of the sixteenth century was still in what remained of a binding contemporary with Rhydderch.

Later History and Additions

There are no additions or annotations in the White Book which can with certainty be associated with Rhydderch. There are, however, some additions which are probably contemporary with him. That which has attracted most attention is the contribution to the text of *Culhwch ac Olwen* made by Hywel Fychan ap Hywel Goch, the chief scribe of the Red Book of Hergest. On fol. 83^v of Peniarth 4 (*WBM*, cols 467–8) scribe E left a blank space of ten lines. One has to assume that his exemplar was defective or illegible. The lacuna was subsequently made good (only five lines were in fact required) by a hand which Gwenogvryn Evans recognized as that of the Red Book scribe.⁵³ The writing of the Red Book can reasonably be dated 1382 × c. 1410.⁵⁴ While this repair of the lacuna in the White Book text of *Culhwch ac Olwen* speaks for independence of the

⁵² I am grateful to the Revd Dr D. H. Williams for obtaining for me from Cîteaux the anonymous opinion that the text is not Cistercian.

⁵³ *RMWL*, I, p. 305; *WBM*, p. viii; Gifford Charles-Edwards, 'Hywel Fychan: Red Book and White Book', *NLWJ*, 21 (1979–80), 427–8.

⁵⁴ The Red Book contains annals which run to 1382; Hopcyn ap Tomas, for whom, almost certainly, the Red Book was written, was an old man when we last hear of him in 1403.

Red Book and White Book texts, we should note in passing that the nature of the very close relationship of the texts shared by the two books remains a vexed one. The view used to be that some at least of the Red Book texts derived directly from the White.⁵⁵ The likelier view is that they derive from a common source.⁵⁶ The question is one I shall shirk. The point to make here is that Hywel Fychan, a scribe who is known to have been employed by Hopcyn ap Tomas of Ynysforgan, in Llangyfelach, a close contemporary of Rhydderch and a conspicuous patron of bards and literature, at some point read and made good the text of the White Book.

Another addition to the White Book which, to judge by the handwriting, probably dates from before 1400 is the series of four *englynion* by Dafydd ap Gwilym written in a cursive anglicana hand in blank space in Peniarth 5, fol. 65^v, legible only with difficulty even under an ultraviolet lamp.⁵⁷ The *englynion* are printed in Appendix II to this chapter (p. 266) [and edited by R. G. Gruffydd, 'Englynion y Cusan by Dafydd ap Gwilym', *CMCS*, 23 (1992), 1–6]. Only two other poems by Dafydd ap Gwilym survive in so early a text, both in the Hendregadredd Manuscript: the *englynion* to the rood at *Caer* and the elegy to Angharad, Rhydderch's mother.⁵⁸ We have already referred to Dafydd's *cywydd* to Rhydderch, dating perhaps from the 1340s. It could well be that Rhydderch himself was the person to whom the four *englynion* appealed so much that he had them copied into his book.

Another poem added in blank space in the White Book comes on fol. 29 of Peniarth 4, in anglicana script of probably the first half of the fifteenth century, is also one which reflects credit on whoever decided to include it in the book. Unfortunately, the ends of couplets seem irrecoverable even under ultraviolet light. As much as I have been able to read is printed in Appendix II (p. 266).⁵⁹ Llywelyn Moel, named as the author, could be one

⁵⁵ *WBM*, p. viii; *PKM*, pp. viii–xii, and Ifor Williams, *Canu Llywarch Hen*, pp. xii and xiv; Watkin, *YBH*, pp. xxiii–xlii.

⁵⁶ J. Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, 2 vols (Paris, 1913), I, pp. 17 and 26; R. M. Jones in his introduction to *Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch* (see note 1 above), pp. vi–xii. See also D. S. Thomson, *Branwen uerch Lyr* (Dublin, 1961), p. x; R. L. Thomson, *Owein* (Dublin, 1968), pp. xii–xvi; G. W. Goetinck, *Historia Peredur vab Efwrawc* (Cardiff, 1976), pp. xii–xvi; J. K. Bollard, 'Peredur: The Four Early Manuscripts', *BBCS*, 28 (1978–80), 365–72; Jenny Rowland, 'The Manuscript Tradition of the Red Book *Englynion*', *SC*, 18/19 (1983–4), 79–95 (80–2); *Culhwch ac Olwen*, ed. Rachel Bromwich and D. Simon Evans (Cardiff, 1988), pp. x–xix.

⁵⁷ In 1981 I carelessly described these *englynion* as a *traethodl*. Gwenogvryn Evans had previously referred to them as a *cywydd*, *RMWL*, I, p. 313.

⁵⁸ See above, p. 220.

⁵⁹ The form of this poem is puzzling. The last two lines, the only completely recovered couplet, prohibit our taking it to be a *cywydd*, which otherwise it might have appeared to be. The possibility that we have here three 'penillion proest' (J. Morris-Jones, *Cerdd Dafod* (Oxford, 1925), pp. 326–7) seems excluded by the position of the word *gyveillach*.

of two poets. 'Moel y Pantri', a bard known only by this epithet, flourished about 1385, as we know from his being named in Gruffudd Llwyd's *Cywydd y Cwest*.⁶⁰ His son, Llywelyn ab y Moel, a poet who died fairly young, probably in 1440, has been better served by manuscripts, and his work has been edited by Sir Ifor Williams, who suggests that two *cywyddau* attributed anachronistically to the son are probably the work of the father.⁶¹ If the father's name was also Llywelyn, confusion between Llywelyn y Moel and Llywelyn ab y Moel could easily occur. The *Llen' Moel* of the White Book fragment must remain an ambiguous attribution. None of Llywelyn ab y Moel's surviving poetry is religious, but we know from Guto'r Glyn's *marwnad* to him that he turned to religion before his death and was buried in the abbey of Strata Marcella. The startling paradox of the White Book poem on the incarnation – too much for the fifteenth-century reader who wrote below it, in a better hand than that of the poem, 'Do you laugh, poet?' (*a chwerddi di vardd*) – matches the tone we meet in some of his work. Cledwyn Fychan has shown that, after the collapse of Owain Glyndŵr's rising, Llywelyn probably found refuge as an outlaw (*herwr*) in the wild country of mid-Wales to the east of Ceredigion.⁶² If, as seems likely, the White Book passed from Rhydderch to his poet son, Ieuan ap Rhydderch, the copying into it of a memorable piece by Llywelyn, Ieuan's slightly older contemporary, would not be surprising.

Some other fragments of text added in blank space, probably in the second half of the fifteenth century, are printed, in so far as they are recoverable, in Appendix II of this chapter. There are a few other medieval annotations in margins.⁶³

A stage in the descent of the White Book is represented by a note on fol. 65 of Peniarth 5: 'Obitus Elisse ap Gruff' ap Eignion anno domini millessimo ccccclxxxix et anno regni Henrici VII quarto'.⁶⁴ W. W. E. Wynne of Peniarth saw the significance of this 1489 obit. Elisau was the second son of Gruffudd ab Einion of Corsygedol, in Merioneth, whose

⁶⁰ *IGE*², p. liv.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. lix. [The work of Llywelyn ab y Moel, including the three *penillion proest* from Peniarth 4, has been edited by R. I. Daniel, *Gwaith Dafydd Bach ap Madog Wladaidd, 'Syppyn Cyfeiliog' a Llywelyn ab y Moel* (Aberystwyth, 1998).]

⁶² Cledwyn Fychan, 'Llywelyn ab y Moel a'r Canolbarth', *LIC*, 15 (1987–8), 289–307.

⁶³ In Peniarth 5, fol. 14, at the foot of the page, is a partly cropped line of writing; in the margin of fol. 14^v an addition to the text has been made in good textura; on fol. 35, above the top line, in which the surface of the parchment must have suffered early damage, the reading has been restored. All these, in three different hands, probably date from the fourteenth century. On fol. 120^v, between the columns, is the profile of a man's head drawn in ink, possibly medieval.

⁶⁴ Written by a near-contemporary hand in pale ink which has been overwritten in black ink, perhaps in the nineteenth century.

grandmother was a daughter of Rhydderch ab Ieuan.⁶⁵ Elisau made his home at Plas-yn-Iâl, near Llandegla (between Ruthin and Llangollen), the inheritance of his wife Margred. Elisau would have been a worthy recipient of the White Book from his great-uncle Ieuan ap Rhydderch, who lived until about 1470, if it was indeed Ieuan who inherited the book from his father. Elisau was a patron of the bards, and running through the poetry to him is admiration of his knowledge of traditional learning.⁶⁶ Two particularly suggestive comments on this owner of the White Book are that of Rhys Pennardd in a *cywydd* to Elisau: *Chwedlau a geiriau gwerin / Arthur a gâr wrth roi gwin* ('When giving wine he loves the tales and words of Arthur's men'); and that of Lewys Môn in his *cywydd marwnad*: *A fu i Emrys o femrwn / Ni chaid le i holl chwedlau hwn* ('Though there were as much parchment as [needed] for Emrys there would not be room for all his [Elisau's] tales').⁶⁷

The passage of the White Book through the sixteenth century is obscure. A large number of names dating from this century, all probably from its second half, occur in blanks and margins of the book. They are listed in Appendix II (p. 268) to this chapter. The names are accompanied by all too little indication of place or date or occasion of writing. Given the lack of associated place-names and the not uncommon elements of most of the personal names, identification must be hazardous. The relatively uncommon name Elisau (Elisa, Elise or Elis – the form which came to prevail) does, however, provide a suggestive lead. Elisau ap Wiliam Llwyd of Rhiwedog (in the parish of Llanfor, near Bala) was a notable patron of the bards; he died at a good age in 1583.⁶⁸ Elisau's grandmother was a daughter of the Elisau ap Gruffudd whose 1489 obit is entered in the White Book. It is tempting to identify with Elisau the names *Elisse ap Wil'* (Peniarth 4, fol. 28^v) and *Elis Wiliam* (Peniarth 5, fol. 171), with his third son, Siôn Wyn, who probably died in 1572, the name *John Wyn* (Peniarth

⁶⁵ P. C. Bartrum, *Welsh Genealogies, A.D. 1400–1500*, 18 vols (Aberystwyth, 1983), XIV, 16, s.n. Elise ap Gruffudd ab Einion (Osbwrn 1(A2)).

⁶⁶ On Elisau see Cledwyn Fychan, 'Tudur Aled: ailystyried ei gynefin', *NLWJ*, 23 (1983–4), 45–74 (60–1), where revealing extracts from poems to him are printed. The world chronicle attributed to Elisau (e.g. by NLW 2005B (Panton 37), fol. 1) has been shown by Thomas Jones to be none other than the Chronicle of Elis Gruffydd (*fl.* 1500–52); see 'Chwedl Huail ap Caw ac Arthur', in *Astudiaethau Amrywiol*, ed. Thomas Jones (Cardiff, 1968), pp. 48–66 (51–4).

⁶⁷ Quoted by Cledwyn Fychan, 'Tudur Aled'; see also *Gwaith Lewys Môn*, ed. Eurys I. Rowlands (Cardiff, 1975), p. 245, and pp. 486–7 for comment on the couplet, ambiguously suggesting Elisau's knowledge of tales while referring to tales about his own deeds.

⁶⁸ *GST*, II, pp. 247–52; A. Lloyd Hughes, 'Noddwyr y beirdd yn Sir Feirionnydd' (unpublished MA dissertation, University of Wales, Aberystwyth, 1969), where the works of fifteen poets who commemorated Elisau are gathered, pp. lxxxix–xciii and 642–90.

5, fol. 171), and with his seventh son, Huw, the name *Huw Elyssa ap William* (Peniarth 4, fol. 29^v).⁶⁹ The identification with Elisau ap Wiliam is corroborated by a manuscript written by William Jones of Llangadfan in 1794, Cardiff, Central Library 4.9. William Jones gives a text of the White Book Creed of Athanasius, copied he says 'from the White Book of Rhydderch which belonged to Elissa ab William Llwyd which was written in a text hand on parchment many hundreds of years ago with a lucid treatise on it. Transcribed about 1582' (*o'r Llyfer Gwyn ei Rutherch a bioedd Elissa ab William Llwyd a ysgrivenassid yn llaw dext mewn pars-mant velum ers llawer cant o vlynyddoedd gyda thraethawd eglur arnaw. Adysgrifenwyd ynghylch 1582*).⁷⁰ Rhiwedog also explains the presence of the otherwise hard-to-account-for *englyn* in praise of the house of Presaeddffed in Anglesey in a late-sixteenth-century hand (see Appendix II), and the name Huw Lewis.⁷¹ Elisau ap Wiliam and Wiliam Lewis of Presaeddffed married two sisters, Sybil and Margaret, daughters of Sir John Puleston of Bersham.⁷² Wiliam's eldest son was Huw. It is not hard to imagine circumstances in which the *englyn* might have been recited and recorded when Huw or another of his family happened to be at Rhiwedog. Another name which offers likely identification in the light of the Rhiwedog connection is that of Elis Vaughan; he is probably Elis Vaughan the third son of Hywel Fychan of Glan-llyn, Llanuwchllyn, a witness of Lewis Dwnn's visitation in 1588.⁷³

Given the identification of Elisau ap Wiliam, the likelihood is that the White Book passed by descent until the last decades of the sixteenth century, the very time at which it came to the attention of the north Wales antiquaries.

The first of the antiquaries was Richard Langford in 1573. Richard Langford transcribed the *hengerdd*, the early poetry, which begins at the end of quire 22 and which continued in quire 22A, a quire of which there is

⁶⁹ See *GST*, I, p. 247, for Elisau's children.

⁷⁰ Page 93. William Jones's exemplar, written 'about 1582', does not appear to survive. His partly modernized orthography does not seem to reveal any idiosyncrasies which the intermediary scribe may have had. The date would fit the known years of Roger Morris's activity as a scribe.

⁷¹ The *englyn* and its companion, written by a single hand, are printed from the White Book in D. W. Wiliam, 'Y traddodiad barddol ym mhlwyf Bodedern, Môn', *TAAS* (1971-2), 52-97 (89-90). The name John Gwyn is written, by the same hand, beneath the first *englyn*. Whether this is meant to imply authorship is uncertain. This first *englyn* also occurs, attributed to Tudur Aled, in NLW, Peniarth 77, p. 318, in the hand of Thomas Wiliems, and anonymously in Cardiff, Central Library 3.37 (*RMWL* 20), p. 319.

⁷² J. E. Griffith, *Pedigrees of Anglesey and Carnarvonshire Families* (n.p., 1914), pp. 95 and 275.

⁷³ Dwnn, *HVW*, II, pp. 229-30; Griffith, *Pedigrees*, p. 253.

no subsequent trace. He named *Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch* as his source. These two quires happen to be two which we know to have strayed, a fact which might arouse suspicion: were they already travelling alone? But at the same time we do have evidence that Richard Langford saw more than these two quires of the White Book (see above, pp. 247-8).

This is perhaps the best point at which to follow the independent history of quire 22. As we have seen, it may have been detached as early as 1573. It bears no tell-tale traces of the hands of Thomas Wiliems, who used the White Book about 1594, or Jaspar Gryffyth, who owned it soon afterwards; both were habitual annotators, as many pages of the White Book bear witness, and both would have found the contents of quire 22 of particular interest. By the time the White Book came into the hands of Dr John Davies, after 1634, quire 22 had certainly gone. It was as part of what became NLW, Peniarth 12 that quire 22 survived.⁷⁴ In 1940 the quire was removed from Peniarth 12 and reincorporated in the White Book, as part of NLW, Peniarth 4. When it formed part of Peniarth 12, quire 22 is said to have been 'rudely stitched in . . . at some period subsequent to binding'.⁷⁵ The binding of this composite volume cannot have been earlier than 1583, the date of part of its contents.

One of the texts of the triads collated by Robert Vaughan in NLW, Peniarth 185, probably in 1652, has been identified by Rachel Bromwich as that of our quire 22.⁷⁶ Robert Vaughan refers to this source as 'llyfr Maredudd Llwyd'. Meredith Lloyd was one of Robert Vaughan's correspondents in antiquarian matters and the source of a number of Hengwrt manuscripts.⁷⁷ Quire 22, perhaps already part of what became known as Peniarth 12, probably entered the Hengwrt library sometime between 1652 and 1667, the year of Robert Vaughan's death. The presence of quire 22 in Peniarth 12 (then Hengwrt 202) is first corroborated in Aneurin Owen's Hengwrt catalogue of 1824.⁷⁸ Sometime in the period 1880-1909, Peniarth 12 was re-bound in half-leather ('W. R. M. Wynne' is stamped at the foot of the spine). At this rebinding all the leaves were cut and mounted singly on guards. Quire 22 alone in the White Book is in single leaves on guards.

After Richard Langford, the next scholar who appears to have used the White Book is Roger Morris of Coed-y-talwrn. In NLW 3043 (Mostyn

⁷⁴ See *RMWL*, I, pp. 323-5. The text of the quire was printed by Egerton Phillimore, 'A fragment from Hengwrt MS. No. 202', *Y Cymmrodor*, 7 (1886), 89-154.

⁷⁵ By Phillimore, *ibid.*, p. 89.

⁷⁶ *TYP*, pp. li-lii.

⁷⁷ See Nesta Lloyd, 'Meredith Lloyd', *JWBS*, 11 (1975-6), 133-92.

⁷⁸ NLW, Peniarth 534. A version of it was printed in *Transactions of the Cymmrodorion*, 2 (1843), 403-16.

135) he transcribed, directly from the White Book it seems, *Peredur*, *Bown o Hamtwn* and the *Pedair Cainc*.⁷⁹ On page 268 is a note of the number of quires and leaves taken by each text; Roger Morris was perhaps working on commission. In NLW, Llanstephan 34, his collection of saints' Lives and other religious texts, Roger Morris again appears to draw material from the White Book.⁸⁰ Roger Morris's scribal activity seems to have been confined to the last two decades of the sixteenth century. Possibly it was a transcript by him which supplied William Jones's text of the Creed of Athanasius in Cardiff, Central Library 4.9.

A sixteenth-century hand which I have not identified is that which, in Peniarth 5, fol. 25, made additions to the text of *Buchedd Fargred*.⁸¹ There are a number of other annotations and pen-trials by sixteenth-century hands to which I cannot put names and may not have done justice. By far the most prolific annotators of the White Book are Thomas Wiliems and Jaspas Gryffyth. Thomas Wiliems's references to it have already been referred to (above, p. 248). His hand may be seen, for example, in Peniarth 4, fols 12, 15, 22 and 23. Examples of Jaspas Gryffyth's even denser annotation can be seen in Peniarth 4, fols 1, 2, 3^v, 4, 10 etc. Jaspas Gryffyth, who died in 1614, had a nose for the best manuscripts, like Robert Vaughan a generation later.⁸² It was probably not long after his death that Robert Vaughan recorded in his notebook: 'Y llyfr gwyn i Rydderch oedd eiddo Mr Jasper Gr.'⁸³ And presumably it was later that he noted in the same book: 'Y llyfr Gwyn o [sic] Rudherch / Jo: Wyn or Twrr'.⁸⁴ The first John Wynn of Y Tŵr, near Mold, died in 1588; his heir, another John Wynn, died in 1592 or 1593,

⁷⁹ Gwenogvryn Evans, *RMWL*, I, p. 118, asserts that the transcription is a direct one. Watkin, *YBH*, pp. xliii–xlvi, after detailed comparison of the *Bown* texts, comes to the same conclusion. If an intermediary were to be sought, Richard Langford would present himself; Roger Morris had access to his manuscripts.

⁸⁰ J. E. Caerwyn Williams, 'Buchedd Catrin Sant', *BBCS*, 25 (1972–4), 247–68 (256) and 'Welsh versions of *Purgatorium S. Patricii*', *SC*, 8/9 (1973–4), 121–94 (139). Allowance is made for a possible intervening manuscript.

⁸¹ The additions are printed in Melville Richard's text of *Buchedd Fargred*, *BBCS*, 9 (1937–9), 324–34 (331–2), but without comment. I have not tried to relate the additions to other manuscript texts of the *Buchedd*. The same hand overwrote some of the original text on fol. 25^v.

⁸² On Jaspas Gryffyth see E. D. Jones, 'Jaspas Griffith (Gryffyth)', *NLWJ*, 1 (1939–40), 168–70. The list of his manuscripts could be extended considerably [see now Richard Ovenden, 'Jaspas Gryffyth and his books', *British Library Journal*, 20 (1994), 107–39]. While the cool scholarly instincts of Jaspas Gryffyth, John Davies and Robert Vaughan responded to the antiquity of a manuscript such as the White Book, they could be ill at ease with some of the contents, witness 'Iudicium I.D. de praesenti auctore' (I.D. is presumably John Davies) written at the end of the *Pedair Cainc* in Peniarth 4, fol. 28^v: 'Hic auctor certat fictis superare Chimaeram / Vel quicquid monstri Graecia tota refert.'

⁸³ NLW 5262A, fol. 67.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 2^v.

leaving a son called John.⁸⁵ Probably it was to this last that Robert Vaughan referred. The family patronized poets but no member is known to have been a bibliophile or scholar. Whether John Wynn owned or had borrowed the White Book we are never likely to know. Whatever the case, the White Book next turns up a few miles away in the hands of John Jones of Gellilyfdy, the most heroic of all transcribers of Welsh literature. The book was 'gan John Jones' in 1634 or soon after, when Dr John Davies made his list of its contents. And as we have already noticed, the White Book, still a single volume, had by then lost what is lost.

After his death, probably in 1658, a large part of John Jones's collection of manuscripts came to Robert Vaughan at Hengwrt.⁸⁶ Most of what Robert Vaughan considered to be the most precious manuscripts in his collection (his judgment was acute) he had re-bound.⁸⁷ The White Book was probably among them. The fullest catalogue we have of the Hengwrt library at this time is that which Robert Vaughan himself made (it is taken to be 1658 or later because of the inclusion of many of John Jones's manuscripts). In this catalogue, Robert Vaughan lists 'Y darn cyntaf ir llyfr Gwyn i Rydderch'.⁸⁸ The second part is not mentioned (a few other manuscripts known to have been at Hengwrt are also unaccountably absent). William Maurice, also in 1658, made his own catalogue of most of the important manuscripts at Hengwrt.⁸⁹ He, too, describes the White Book in two volumes.⁹⁰ If, as seems to me to be likely, it was Robert Vaughan who

⁸⁵ An account of the family, with pedigree, is given in *GST*, II, pp. 343–5 and 348–9.

⁸⁶ See 'A Brief History of the Hengwrt–Peniarth Collection', *Handlist*, I, pp. iii–xiv (iv).

⁸⁷ Among the manuscripts which Robert Vaughan had re-bound were the Black Book of Carmarthen, the Book of Taliesin, the Book of Aneirin, several of the early Welsh lawbooks and the autograph poetry of Lewys Glyn Cothi.

⁸⁸ NLW 9095B, shelfmark Y.1.4.13.

⁸⁹ See E. D. Jones in *Handlist*, I, pp. xvi–xix, for the various copies of this catalogue. NLW, Wynnstey 10 includes a copy by an amanuensis with William Maurice's own annotation.

⁹⁰ In Wynnstey 10, fol. 241, he briefly describes 4 and 5 of the *membranacei* (Maurice's catalogue became the basis of later ones, as the familiar 4 and 5 suggest). 'Membran' 4' is described: 'Darn neu hanner cyntaf y llyfr gwyn Rydderch yn cynwys ynddo ddwy gainc or Mabinogi. Mae'n hên y llyfr ai ddalen yn ddwy rann. In 4^o.' His longer description of 'Membran' 5' has nothing to suggest that it contained anything other than the present contents of Peniarth 5; the puzzling reference to 'dwy gainc or Mabinogi' must reflect careless inspection of the contents. On fols 266^v–7^v of Wynnstey 10, under a heading 'Y llyfr gwyn i Rydderch / Yr ailfed rann', comes a slightly altered copy of Dr John Davies's description of the contents of the White Book. Evan Evans, 'Ieuan Brydydd Hir', in NLW 2037D (Panton 72), made a transcript of William Maurice's catalogue. Misled no doubt by the heading 'Yr ailfed rann' he substituted Dr Davies's description of the whole White Book for William Maurice's short description of 'Membran' 5'. In doing this he omitted the reference to 'Y Mabinogi mewn 28 o ddalennau', either because he assumed that this was a mistake, since *Y Mabinogi* appeared in 'Membran' 4', or because he himself was careless in transcribing (which he

was responsible for the rebinding, we ought to allow that he may have received the book sometime before the death of John Jones, given that it had been re-bound in its two volumes already in 1658. The alternative is that it was John Jones himself who had it re-bound.

There is, so far as I can see, no annotation in the White Book that can be certainly associated with John Jones. With Robert Vaughan I would associate the arabic foliation of Peniarth 4 and some of the overwriting of faded script, such as in Peniarth 5, fol. 28 (also in the once-stray quire 22). Both John Jones and Robert Vaughan are known to have made use of a reagent, no doubt gallic acid, to bring up faded ink. The long-term consequences of this treatment, the darkened patches on many pages (see above, p. 240), are probably to be laid at the door of one or other of the two great antiquaries.

The White Book was one of the fortunate majority of the Hengwrt manuscripts. It passed with that library first to Peniarth and then to the National Library of Wales.⁹¹ At Hengwrt, it was missed by Edward Lhuys: it does not appear in the list of manuscripts which he made on his hurried visit to Hengwrt, and in his catalogue of Welsh manuscripts in the *Archaeologia Britannica* he had to make do with an adaptation of Dr John Davies's description.⁹² That the White Book seems to have aroused relatively little curiosity in the next 200 years was probably because so much of its contents was known to be in the Red Book of Hergest, a manuscript easily accessible in Oxford.

After Robert Vaughan, the next owner of the Hengwrt manuscripts to be deeply interested in them was W. W. E. Wynne of Peniarth, and it is he who appears to have been responsible for the next rebinding of the White Book, sometime after the collection passed to him in 1859 and before 1869. The whole book was now, once more, bound as a single volume in white vellum.⁹³ Wynne was no doubt moved by an awareness that the book had originally been an entity. But he retained the order of Robert Vaughan's

often was). Evan Evans's copy of the catalogue was copied by William Owen Pughe. This copy became the basis of Aneurin Owen's and W. W. E. Wynne's printed catalogues. All these catalogues perpetuate Evans's misleading version of the description of Hengwrt 5 and (badly translated into English) William Maurice's not very helpful description of Hengwrt 4. Wynne's catalogue was printed in *AC* in 1869–71; see in particular the 3rd Series, 15 (1869), 1–3.

⁹¹ See 'A brief history of the Hengwrt-Peniarth Collection', *Handlist*.

⁹² Lhuys, *AB*, p. 262. 'Hen lyvyr may'n debygol ar vemrwn. Hwn hevyd a dhyle vod yn Hengwrt' is how his description begins.

⁹³ This binding is referred to by W. W. E. Wynne in *AC* in 1869; see above, n. 90. See also *RMWL*, I, p. 305, and Watkin, *YBH*, p. xxv. Tipped onto fol. vii (a flyleaf) of Peniarth 4 is a note of binding instructions by W. W. E. Wynne: 'Had better be bound in white <parchment del.> vellum' and 'To be lettered as below/ Llyvyr Gwyn Rhydderch/ Parts I & II/ Hengwrt M.S.S./ 4 & 5'.

volumes: Hengwrt 4 (which was to become Peniarth 4) was bound before Hengwrt 5 (Peniarth 5). It was probably at the time of this rebinding that parchment repair of many leaves was carried out (and excellently done) and blank parchment leaves inserted to represent missing leaves of the original.⁹⁴

In 1884 Gwenogvryn Evans's involvement with the White Book began. It spent most of 1885 in Oxford, and his lists of contents, written on blank parchment flyleaves, are dated February 1886.⁹⁵ In 1940 the White Book was again divided into two volumes and re-bound, this time by Carl Hanson, head of the National Library of Wales bindery. The two volumes were bound on five bands in natural Levant goat and tooled in blind.⁹⁶ While the skins have changed, the White Book has never been far from being white.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ The parchment repair antedates the repetition of the medieval foliation in the top outer corners of Peniarth 5. This revived foliation in turn must antedate Gwenogvryn Evans's lists of contents written on the flyleaves and dated 1886. The inserted blank leaves are included in this foliation.

⁹⁵ A note on the flyleaves may be useful. Apart from the three blank parchment flyleaves supplied at the beginning and end of each volume in 1940, there are the following: Peniarth 4, fol. iv, an old vellum cover which must come from Robert Vaughan's binding; fol. v, a paper leaf with contents (c.1800) on a guard; fol. vi, a parchment flyleaf, probably from W. W. E. Wynne's binding, on which Gwenogvryn Evans has listed the contents of Hengwrt 4; fol. vii, a blank parchment flyleaf like fol. vi, onto which are tipped a contents list (late-nineteenth-century) and W. W. E. Wynne's binding instructions. Peniarth 5, fols iv, v, vi and viii, parchment flyleaves probably from W. W. E. Wynne's binding – on fols v and vi is Gwenogvryn Evans's contents list; fol. vii, a note on paper by W. W. E. Wynne, concerning the manuscript, on a guard; fol. 151, a modern repair-sheet of parchment with a fragment of a document (seventeenth-century), perhaps binder's waste from Robert Vaughan's binding; fol. 152, an old parchment flyleaf, perhaps from Robert Vaughan's binding; fol. 153, the vellum cover of Hengwrt 5 from Robert Vaughan's binding. Gwenogvryn Evans lettered the flyleaves (see *RMWL*, I, pp. 305 and 306). The order is now slightly different.

⁹⁶ I am grateful to Mr Julian Thomas, chief conservator and binder at the National Library of Wales, for help in identifying the skin.

⁹⁷ The main substance of this paper was delivered in a talk to Cylch Traford Rhyddiaith at Jesus College, Oxford, in November 1979, and in a lecture at the Celtic Studies Conference at the University of California, Berkeley, in March 1985. After the Oxford talk, Gifford Charles-Edwards recognized in scribe B the hand of the Book of the Anchorite, a most valuable identification. My remarks on this scribe are indebted to her observations. I am grateful also to Dr R. Geraint Gruffydd and Dr Dafydd Johnston for helpful comment at several points.

APPENDIX I

DR JOHN DAVIES'S LIST OF CONTENTS OF
THE WHITE BOOK
(NLW 4973B, fols 406v-7)

This description of the contents of the White Book follows an extract from the Red Book of Hergest which we know John Davies to have seen in 1634. Dr Davies died in 1644. His description was copied for William Maurice, with some adaptation, in Wynnstay 10, fols 266^v-7^v; by David Parry in NLW, Peniarth 119, p. 98 (which in turn led to the description in Edward Lhuyd's *Archaeologia Britannica*, p. 262); and by John Walters in BL, Add. 15001, fols 267^v-8^r. On William Maurice's catalogue, see above, p. 261. Dr Davies's description corresponds closely to the surviving White Book. A few times, however, he seems to have counted pages rather than leaves (*Hanes S. Catrin*, *Hanes S. Margaret* and *Credo Athanasius* are all closer to four pages than four leaves). Once, in connection with *Historia Siarlmaen*, he appears to refer to a foliation which is not the medieval foliation. There was presumably a recent arabic foliation to which he could refer, one which must have been entirely cropped at a later binding.

Y pethau hyn a gynnhwysir yn y llyfr gwyn i Rydderch yr hwn sydd gan John Jones o Eskeifiog.

Yn y ddwy ddalen gyntaf y traethir am wledydd y dwyrain a Groeg, ac am y plaenedau.

Yn y ddwy ddalen nesaf y mae Efengyl Nicodemus.

Yn y pedair nesaf, y groglith, ac fal y cafas Elen y grog.

Yn y ddwy nesaf, Hanes Pilatus.

Yn y ddalen nesaf, ugain englyn am ryfeddodau cyn dydd brawd.

Mewn 2 ddalen, prophwydoliaeth Sibli ddoeth.

8 ddalen o fuchedd Mair Wryf.

Hanes S. Catrin mewn 4 dalen.

Hanes S. Margaret mewn 4 dalen.

Fal y daeth Mair Magdalen ac eraill i Marsilia mewn un ddalen. Ac y collasai llawer o ddalennau.

Hanes Mair o'r Aipht, a gwyrtiau rhyw Saint, a chwedlau am Adda ac Efa ai plant, hyd Arch Noe, mewn tair dalen.

Am Grist, a Philatus a'r Iuddewon. Llythyr Pilatus at Claudius am Grist. Chwedlau am grach Tiberius yr ymerodr. Mewn naw dalen.

Llythyr Mileto esgob Sardinia. Mewn 4 dalen.

Traethawd yn dechreu fal hyn, Gerard Archesgob Sans, Bened Esgob Awvern ac eraill &c a scrifennasant y gwrthiau hyn, i bawb ar a fai osodedig yn Archesgobod Caint. Mewn 5 dalen.

Credo Athanasius, a llythyr annerch Gr. Bola y cyfieithwr at Efa ferch Meredydd &c mewn 4 dalen.

Efengyl Ieuan ai hesponiad. Lle y collodd llawer o ddalennau.

Historia Owein farchog ystyphan frenhin yn myned i'r purdan. Mewn dwy ddalen.

Historia Siarlmaen, o'r ddalen 49 hyd 101.

Historia Bown o Hantwn, mewn 34 o ddalennau.

Y mabinogi. Mewn 28 o ddalennau.

Hanes Peredur ap Efrog mewn 15 dalen.

Am Vaxen Wledig 3 dalen, a dechreu hanes Llefelys, Chwedlau milwyr Arthur, mewn deg ar hugain o ddolennau. Ai dechrau ai diwedd a llawer o ddalennau eraill wedi colli.

APPENDIX II

ADDITIONAL TEXTS

Peniarth 5, fol. 51^v. By scribe A. The ends of ten more lines, progressively shorter, survive on fol. 51^v, and a few letters of the beginnings of thirty-four lines survive on fol. 52^r.

super multis articulis
nem certificauit
plenum seruicium
plenum seruicium
seruicium in sabbatis sicut
hystoriam domine
succentor ecclesie
in toto tempore ibidem
die et in vigilia epiphanie
nisi in vigilia epiphanie
omni. Dicitur etiam
ad horum per totum
eadem vigilia nisi
ecclesie. Item in
est in fine rubrice
natal' domini nisi scri
similiter prosa
de sanctis in ecclesia
die sancti Andree
et in festo sancto Katherine
chorum per totum annum
nulla memoria de
infra quadragesima semper
eiusdem post sequenciam
sacerdos uero et ministri
epiphanie. ascencionis
post versum Graduale
nunquam reperitur
est quod nulla
Johannis cuius seruicium
cholai. tunc enim
catur ad missam

Peniarth 5, fol. 65^v. Written in eight lines. Second half of the fourteenth century. See above, p. 255.

Kussan hoen huan henhav yn brudd
ym am lludd am em llu
Klot les dattot lwys deutv
Klo ar vin dyn klaer vu

Ban lwyddeis y gael bonheddic a geis
gussan da kadwedic
Bum ddedyd tragywydd tric
benvar hoedl bun vawrheddic

Dawn ae troes ym dyn trwyadl ae roes
rryssedd tec heb gynnadl
Dywynnic vrddedic ddadl
diwenydd rrwym dau anadl

Gwnn awdlieith ddyscreith wedduscroew ym rrodd
gwell no ruddaur ottoew
Gynnadlwr min haeddwin hoew
Geneudlws bun ganneidloew

Dauyd ap Gwilim

Peniarth 5, fol. 65^v. Below the above, written in eight lines, difficult to read, in a hand of the first half of the fifteenth century, are what appear to be three *englynion*, religious in content, the first beginning: 'Bumoes byd y gyt o gaith yn ryddion'. [A text of these *englynion*, identified as coming from an *awdl* by the fourteenth-century poet Gruffudd Fychan ap Gruffudd ab Ednyfed, is offered by Mary Burdett-Jones, 'A fragment of text in Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch', *CMCS*, 23 (1992), 7–8.]

Peniarth 4, fol. 29. Written in nine lines. First half of the fifteenth century. See above, pp. 255–6.

Ys da verch a ordderchodd
merch anna mair . . .
kael mab . . .rs y arabedd
Ebrin ai . . .
Ar mab or hil bŷgilidd
in kas yn llvdd . . .
Beichioc vv vam heb achos
bvcheddol . . .
Baran Gair Du6 a beris
y bolyo ywr . . .
All . . A blin gyveillach
lys y bv . . .

Mab mair dde6isgrair dd6ysgred
a gavas
Wrth i ddangos ai osod
ar brenn kroes
Weldyna vab da i dad
pan y roes dros bvmoes byd

llen' moel ai kant

Peniarth 4, fol. 29. The ends of the lines of these texts are all lost. The first two evidently represent an *englyn proest*. Second half of the fifteenth century.

Bedyddiodd Ieuann rann rad . . .
Da vydd i grevydd ai gred dedwydd o vedydd . . .

In y decrhav yddoedd gair yn . . . oedd gerbron duw . . .
. . hynn oedd yn y dechre . . .

na chwarddeff os gwir ys gwyr . . .
Am kymydoces nesaf am chwaer wen . . .
Yn wann glaf nid oes mwy amser . . .

Peniarth 5, fol. 150^v. These lines are reproduced as they stand. Second half of the fifteenth century.

Cynnoeth lumyn
Y neb a wnel ni bo annolo val a volo
Vawl i vun vy haint vy hunan drwy
Riain dolevain heb rolav ir vav vun

Peniarth 4, fol. 29^v. Second half of the sixteenth century. See above, p. 258.

Anerch di rydderch dair awr or wythnos
a chwenos a chanawr
da liw wyneb dylynor
gwell dy lun or gwallt i lawr

John Gwyn

Lle mwyn prys addfwyn presaddfed dyrav
daied gwyr a merched
Pawls nefol plas yn yfed
anedd dda gler neuadd gled

Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch

Names (all dating from the mid- or later sixteenth century). See above, pp. 257–8.

Peniarth 4	fol. 9	Jhon ap Elys, Jhon ap Humffry
	fol. 20 ^v	Elis Vaughan (also fol. 21 ^v and NLW, Peniarth 5, fols 75 ^v , 91 and 95)
	fol. 29 ^v	Hugh Elyssa ap Wylliam, Gr' ap Hughe Goch, John Glin [<i>or</i> Gln' <i>for</i> Gwilym], John Glynn, John Gwyn
	fol. 28 ^v	Elissa ap Wil'
	fol. 29	Howell Edmu[n]d
Peniarth 5	fol. 118	John Wyn
	fol. 119	Ieuan Wyn
	fol. 150 ^v	Huw Lewis, Elis William, Thomas Gly[n], William Fowk