



*Dafydd ap Gwilym.net*

## The Manuscript Tradition

*Dafydd Johnston*

Thomas Parry gives valuable notes on the main manuscript collections in GDG<sup>1</sup> cix–clxix, including a table showing the relationships between them. Our understanding of the transmission of the poems took a major step forward with the publication of Daniel Huws's article, 'The Transmission of a Welsh Classic: Dafydd ap Gwilym' (MWM 84–103), which discusses the tentative beginnings of the written tradition in the middle of the 15th century after a period of oral tradition, and the growth of the Renaissance collections. Many of the manuscripts are described by J. Gwenogvryn Evans in his *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language* (1898–1910), but the discussion which follows is indebted most of all to the descriptions by Daniel Huws in his *Repertory of Welsh Manuscripts* (forthcoming).

When the manuscript tradition is viewed as a whole the importance of certain regions becomes apparent, and the main focus of activity is seen to shift over time, broadly encompassing the four corners of Wales. As might be expected, the few texts which have survived from the 14<sup>th</sup> century belong to Dafydd ap Gwilym's own region of Ceredigion. Three of the earliest manuscripts from the following century can also be located in the south-west, Pen 57 (part i), Pen 48 and Pen 52, but the main activity in the second half of the 15th century took place in the south-east. Pen 54 is the most important manuscript which has survived from the south-east, and the lost collections in the White Book of Hergest and the Book of Wiliam Mathew also belonged to that region. By the 16<sup>th</sup> century the focus had moved to the north-east, and the Vale of Clwyd in particular, due to the strength of the bardic tradition in that part of the country from the time of Dafydd ab Edmwnd onwards. It appears that the large collection referred to by John Davies as the 'vetustus codex' was brought together in that area (although the related texts in Pen 48 perhaps suggest that at least one layer of the collection derived from the south-west). This is what Thomas Parry called 'cynsail y gogledd' (the northern archetype), but in fact that term is too crude. Independent textual traditions come to light in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century in the north-west, and the Conwy Valley in particular, and it is likely that these derive to some extent from oral transmission, which is known to have survived longer in that area than in other parts of Wales. Some of the Renaissance Humanists drew on both northern streams for their collections, as seen in those of

Thomas Wiliems (H 26) and Jaspar Gryffyth (G 3 and LI 120), but John Davies, Mallwyd, was the only one who managed to combine the traditions of south and north Wales in Pen 49, the most important of the Renaissance collections, and also the only one who provided information about his sources.

### *14<sup>th</sup>-century manuscripts*

Only three poems have survived in manuscripts from Dafydd ap Gwilym's own period, two in the Hendregadredd Manuscript and one in the White Book of Rhydderch. All three are secondary texts written in empty spaces in the manuscripts. It is likely, however, that no. 171 was also originally in the Hendregadredd Manuscript, in a section which is now lost.

### **The Hendregadredd Manuscript**

The main content of this manuscript is a collection of the work of the Poets of the Princes, put together most probably at Strata Florida Abbey at the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (see Daniel Huws, 'The Hendregadredd Manuscript', MWM 193–226). It appears that the manuscript came into the possession of Ieuan Llwyd of Glyn Aeron during the second quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, and a number of contemporary poems were added at that time. One of those is Dafydd's poem in praise of the Carmarthen Rood (no. 1) which was written in empty space over three pages (ff. 120r, 120v, 121). The title of the poem in the manuscript is 'Eglynion a gant dauid llwyd uab gwylim gam yr groc o gaer' (*Englynion* which Dafydd Llwyd son of Gwilym Gam composed to the rood of Caer), and that is the only example in the manuscripts of the poet's full name with the epithets for both himself and his father. The script is *textura*, as would be expected of one who learnt to write at Strata Florida around 1330. The handwriting is rather inconsistent and stiff, and is clearly not that of a professional scribe. The elegies to Angharad, Ieuan Llwyd's wife, and their son Rhydderch (nos 9 and 10) demonstrate that Dafydd had a connection with the court of Glyn Aeron. Of the three contemporary texts this is the one most likely to be in the poet's own hand according to Daniel Huws (MWM 221–2). The matter cannot be proven, but it remains a strong possibility. Since this is the only copy of the poem it is difficult to judge the quality of the text, but it appears to be excellent on the whole, although it is difficult or even impossible to read in places (see further the notes to no. 1).

The other poem in the Hendregadredd Manuscript is the elegy to Angharad, Ieuan Llwyd's wife (no. 9), which was written on the last page of the manuscript (f. 130v) in cursive script by an experienced hand of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. It is possible that Angharad was still alive when the elegy was composed (see notes to the poem). No title or attribution is visible, but it is possible that they were originally at the top of the page. The poem has survived in a number of later independent texts, and comparison shows that the Hendregadredd text is complete (although very difficult to read in places), and that it has preserved several unique readings.

There is good reason to believe that the 17<sup>th</sup>-century text of an anonymous poem lamenting loss of hair (no. 171) derives from a lost gathering of the Hendregadredd Manuscript (see notes to the poem). If this poem is the work of Dafydd ap Gwilym then it increases the number of his poems known to have survived in contemporary copies to four.

### The White Book of Rhydderch

This compendium of early Welsh literature was made for Rhydderch ab Ieuan Llwyd (subject of a pseudo-elegy by DG, no. 10) about 1350 (see Daniel Huws, 'Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch', MWM 227–68). 'Englynion y Cusan' (no. 84) was written in empty space on f. 65v in cursive script during the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. This is the only surviving copy of the poem.

#### *Oral transmission*

After the small number of texts belonging to the poet's own period, there is a gap of about a hundred years without any written texts of DG's poems. One might have expected to find some of his poems in the collection of 14<sup>th</sup>-century poetry in the Red Book of Hergest, made about 1400, since it does contain some of the work of Gruffudd Gryg, Iolo Goch and Llywelyn Goch, but there are none. Did Hopcyn ap Tomas perhaps have a collection of DG's work in a separate manuscript (one which might have been the source of the collection in the White Book of Hergest if it went into the hands of the Vaughan family with the Red Book)? But in any case, apart from one highly elaborate *cywydd* by Iolo Goch, the Red Book contains only *awdlau* and *englynion*, and copies of *cywyddau* are very scarce until the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup>-century (see Johnston, 2005, 104–5). It is possible that some manuscripts containing *cywyddau* may have been lost, but a more convincing explanation for the absence is that *cywyddau* on the topics of love and nature belonged primarily to the field of oral tradition during this period because of their informal and popular character. Although oral performances are essentially ephemeral, the following evidence for the existence of oral tradition can be noted (see further Johnston, 2003):

- i) references in DG's own work to the practice of disseminating poems by listening, learning by heart and repeating (24.9–10; 107.21–3);
- ii) scattered references to recording of poems from dictation in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, e.g. this by David Johns c. 1587 (BM 29, 262v): 'Nis gwyddai'r dyn ai dyfod i mi ar dafod leferydd pwy ai cant' (The man who recited it to me orally did not know who composed it); see further Bowen, 1964, 29 and Huws, MWM 91;
- iii) the extreme scarcity of written texts of *cywyddau* before the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century;

iv) examples in manuscripts from the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century and the 16<sup>th</sup> of writing only the first words of the line of a *cywydd*, or sometimes even only the first words of the couplet (e.g. the text of no. 67 in Pen 55);

v) the substantial variation in line order in different versions of some *cywyddau*, variation which could not have occurred to the same extent in a purely written tradition.

### 15<sup>th</sup>-century manuscripts

DG's *cywyddau* first appear in manuscripts around the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The only manuscript which might be earlier than 1450 is the first part of Pen 57, which was possibly copied in the 1440s. There is reason to believe that that manuscript, and also perhaps Pen 48 and Pen 52, derives originally from the south-west, but the majority of manuscripts written in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century are from the south-east (gw. MWM 93–7). The second part of Pen 57 is the only one with definite northern connections. The earliest collections are small and piecemeal, as one would expect if they derived from oral tradition (but it should be borne in mind that Pen 57 and Pen 48 are incomplete). The only substantial collections known to have existed in the 15<sup>th</sup> century are those in Pen 54 and the White Book of Hergest. It seems that a number of 15<sup>th</sup>-century copyists were poets themselves, including Hywel Dafi (Pen 67), Huw Cae Llwyd (Pen 54 and Pen 189), and Gwilym Tew (Pen 51 and probably Pen 54).

### Peniarth 57 (Hengwrt 261 and 262)

**Paper.** 146 x 102 mm. 88ff.

The two parts of this composite manuscript are quite distinct in both date and provenance, and only came together in the National Library of Wales. A diplomatic edition of both parts was edited by E. Stanton Roberts, *Peniarth MS. 57* (Cardiff, 1921).

(i) pp. 1–78. *Cywyddau* from the 14<sup>th</sup> century together with some from the 15<sup>th</sup>; the most recent are three by Guto ap Siancyn in praise of Rhys, Abbot of Strata Florida (1433–41). Pp. 1–63 were written by two hands working together, and the evidence of water-marks and handwriting is consistent with a date in the 1440s for both. The occasional Latin word (e.g. *Idem dauydyd*) suggests an ecclesiastical context, and it is reasonable to assume that this part of the manuscript was copied at Strata Florida. But it appears to have migrated to the south-east soon afterwards, where other hands added *cywyddau* by Guto'r Glyn and other poets to patrons from that region. The first section contains five *cywyddau* by DG, four of them together at the beginning (nos 91, 122, 141, 136), and one further on (no. 101). The first poem lacks its opening lines, and the attribution 'dauydd heuyd' (Dafydd also) suggests that more of DG's poetry preceded it.

(ii) pp. 79–176. *Cywyddau* of the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, written by two main hands and eight others, all fairly awkward. These hands all appear to belong to the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The note on p. 171 which mentions Edward, son of Henry VIII, is a later addition. The poets and their patrons would suggest that this manuscript was copied in north-east Wales. Six of DG's poems were written by the two main hands, nos 109, 116, A25, 54, 4, A70 (but no. 164 is in another hand and was originally anonymous). The texts of nos 4, 109 and 116 are similar to those of the *Vetustus*, and the text of no. 54 is similar to that of H 26. This manuscript should, therefore, be considered with other northern manuscripts from the early 16<sup>th</sup> century which are discussed below in the context of the *Vetustus* collection.

### Peniarth 48 (Hengwrt 450)

Vellum. 146 x 102 mm. 10 ff

A fragmentary manuscript, written in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Pp. 3–18 contain seven *cywyddau* attributed to Dafydd ap Gwilym, nos 83, 22, 144, 117, 60, 147 and 4, and one text lacking its end and therefore unattributed (no. 153). All are in one hand which wrote one or two poems at a time: there are changes of ink and quill on pp. 4, 7, 10 and 14. A diplomatic edition of the text was published by Timothy Lewis in *Aberystwyth Studies* 14 (1936), 35–51. Lewis draws attention to the scribe's unusual habit of distinguishing between final *d* representing -d (without tail) and final *d* representing -dd (with tail). Pp. 1–2 and 19–20 are leaves from another manuscript which were used as covers. The former contain a Welsh text on holding law-courts in Carmarthenshire and Cardiganshire from the reign of Henry VII. That perhaps suggests a location for the manuscript, and there are some dialect features in the texts of the poems which also suggest southern provenance: *disgyblon* (the only example of omitted consonantal *l*), *iown-*, *mowr-*, *huowdl*, *iown*, *gimin*, *dior* (= *dioer*), *eiste*, *doth*, *iewn* (x2), *pynkie*, *thale*, *bie* (these three words in the same poem, 147, and therefore reflecting the exemplar?), *kyredic*, *gore* (x4 in 153). The *cywydd* on pp. 4–7 (no. 22) contains emendations in the hand of the 16<sup>th</sup>-century poet Wiliam Llŷn, some written over the original text and others as marginal additions. The order of the poems and numerous readings indicate that these texts belong to the *Vetustus* tradition (see below).

### Peniarth 52 (Hengwrt 135)

Vellum. 140 x 118 mm. 22ff.

A small manuscript written in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century by four hands, the first and the fourth copying poems by Dafydd Nanmor, and the second and third copying one *cywydd* each by DG (nos 15 and 49). The fourth hand had a connection with Beddgelert (see p. 20), and it is likely that this is Dafydd Nanmor's hand. Beddgelert was in Dafydd Nanmor's native region, but bearing in mind his long-standing connection with the Tywyn family in Ceredigion it is reasonable to suppose that the two texts of DG's work derive from Ceredigion.

**Peniarth 51** (Hengwrt 134)

Paper. 152 x 107 mm. 105ff. The manuscript has suffered badly from damp and text has been lost on numerous pages as a result.

A commonplace book in the hand of the Glamorgan poet Gwilym Tew (his signature is on p. 113), written by him over an extended period, judging by the variations in handwriting, perhaps in his youth. There is no internal evidence to suggest a date, and the only basis is therefore Gwilym Tew's supposed *floruit*, 1460–80. The contents include a grammar on pp. 63-113 (see GP xlvi-xlviii) and poetry (mainly 14<sup>th</sup>-century *cywyddau*) on pp. 46-60 and 127-57, including two poems by DG (nos 135 and 8).

On the manuscript see Ann E. Jones, *Gwilym Tew: astudiaeth destunol a chymharol o'i lawysgrif, Peniarth 51, ynghyd ag ymdriniaeth â'i farddoniaeth* (PhD Prifysgol Cymru, 1981).

**Peniarth 54** (Hengwrt 270 and 368A)

Paper. 240ff. (numbered i, pp. 1-448, ii, 1-32; pp. 1-256 now form the first volume).

A manuscript which was in four parts in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (see RMWL), which is now in two volumes, and which originally seems to have formed one volume. It is a complex manuscript, the earliest large collection of the poems of the *cywyddwyr*. Apart from the *cywyddau* of DG and a few by other 14<sup>th</sup>-century poets, the main content is the work of poets of the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, mostly autograph texts. Of the eighteen main hands in the manuscript, at least eight were poets. There is reason to suppose that the hand which wrote pp. 24-6, 33-112 a 338-51, including two numbered sequences of poems by DG, is that of the Glamorgan poet Gwilym Tew. It is not possible to say definitely that this is the same hand as that found in Pen 51 (see above), but the two share several common features, and it might be suggested that this section of Pen 54 was written by Gwilym Tew in a later and freer hand. A love poem by Gwilym Tew, signed 'GT', occurs in the middle of the first sequence of DG's poems. Note that the two sequences are numbered xiii-xx and i-xx, implying that the beginning of the first sequence is missing. 24 poems are attributed to DG in this part of the manuscript (nos 58, A197, 143, 122, 112, 123, 110, 124, 94, 98, 51, 137, 154, 133, 91, 14, 59, 48, 104, 156, 65, 77, 116, 118), and one (no. 14) on pp. 315–17 is in the hand of the poet Huw Cae Llwyd.

Pen 54 can be located in the south-east, most probably in Breconshire. The most likely patron for the manuscript is Ieuan ap Gwilym Fychan of Peutun near Brecon. Its date cannot be earlier than 1475 (see Huw Cae Llwyd's poem, ii, p. 16). The evidence of water-marks and the dates of those poets whose hands occur in the manuscript suggest that it cannot be much later than that either.

The texts of DG's poems in Pen 54 are independent of all others, although they are sometimes close to those in the Book of Wiliam Mathew. They preserve some

excellent readings (e.g. *ni thechwn* in 98.30), but they also display a tendency to lose lines and to confuse their order, and to substitute minor words. It is likely that the texts are derived from good sources (whether written or oral), but that the copyist was writing from memory.

### **Peniarth 189** (Hengwrt 265)

Part of this composite manuscript (pp. 85–108) was written by the poet Huw Cae Llwyd about 1470. The contents are mostly his own compositions, but on p. 89 he wrote the three *englynion* which form the first part of DG's *awdl* to Llywelyn ap Gwilym (no. 5), without giving any attribution.

### **The White Book of Hergest**

This manuscript along with several others from the Wynnstay library was destroyed in a fire at a book-binder's shop in London in 1810. It is known to have been a substantial vellum manuscript containing a varied collection of poetry and prose (see J. E. Caerwyn Williams, 'Y Llyfr Gwyn o Hergest a Llanstephan 3', B 10 (1939–41), 120–4). Lewys Glyn Cothi wrote four of his poems in it, including ones to Tomas Fychan of Hergest and his son Watcyn Fychan which can be dated after 1469. It was probably Watcyn Fychan who commissioned the collection of DG's poems which was written in the manuscript in the 1470s or 80s. John Davies copied 27 of these texts in Pen 49 and noted variant readings against 11 other texts which he already had. Pen 49 was most likely the source for the four poems in LIGC 5269 (nos 34, 42, 166, 41). 23 of the White Book texts (and also no. 82 as part of no. 92) were copied in Wy 2 later in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and variants were noted against 13 others (see below on Pen 49 and Wy 2). On the basis of these copies it can be deduced that the collection of DG's work in the White Book of Hergest numbered 38 poems. The firmest evidence for the order of the poems in the White Book is the sequence of full texts in Pen 49, as follows:

108, 160, 34, 89, 80, 141, 42, 112, 103, 166, 41, 99, 126, 121, 88, 132, 54, 92, 82, 145, 5, 6, 11, 153, 62, 97, 71

The evidence of Pen 49 is not sufficient in itself to locate the 11 texts from which variant readings only were taken, namely 94, 19, 81, 109, 101, 38, 124, 52, 140, 128, 131. But the evidence of Wy 2 helps to locate some of them. The 23 full texts taken from the White Book in Wy 2 are in the following order (the first four poems at the beginning of the manuscript and the others at the end):

160, 34, 109, 89, 101, 62 [beginning only, deleted], 71, 166, 41, 99, 126, 81, 140, 124, 88, 131, 128, 54, 92, 145, 5, 6, 11

Variants: 42, 132, 112, 141, 80, 108, 97, 103, 52, 121, 94, 38, 19

On this basis the order of poems in the White Book can be recreated as follows:

108, 160, 34, 109, 89, [101], 80, 141, 42, 112, 103, 166, 41, 99, 126, [81, 140, 124], 121, 88, [131, 128], 132, 54, 92, 82, 145, 5, 6, 11, 153, 62, 97, 71 (+ 94, 19, 38, 52)

It is not possible to be entirely certain about the position of those poems whose numbers are given between square brackets, since they could stand either before or after the following poem. And there is no way of ascertaining the position of the four between round brackets at the end, since they have been preserved only as variant readings in Pen 49 and Wy 2.

### **Llansteffan 27** (The Red Book of Talgarth)

A collection of religious prose copied in the same scriptorium as the Red Book of Hergest about 1400. It was in the possession of the Talgarth branch of the Vaughan family near Brecon when three of DG's *cywyddau* (nos 42, 81 and 141) were written on an empty page towards the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

### **Peniarth 67** (Hengwrt 128)

A paper manuscript written by the poet Hywel Dafi of Breconshire in the last quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The main contents are Hywel's own poems, but it also contains a poem by DG (no. 109). E. Stanton Roberts (ed.), *Peniarth MS 67* (Cardiff, 1918) is a diplomatic edition.

### **Peniarth 55** (Hengwrt 271)

Paper. 149 x 102 mm. 116ff.

A manuscript similar to Pen 54, containing a good deal of the work of contemporary poets in autograph texts. An unidentified hand occurs in Pen 54, 55 and 60; could this be the hand of the owner and patron? This manuscript has clear connections with Breconshire. Several of the poems provide evidence for dating: that on pp. 6–7 cannot be earlier than 1494, nor can that on pp. 145–8 be earlier than 1492, nor that on pp. 176–7 earlier than 1497. On the other hand it cannot be dated much after 1500 considering the poets who contributed to it, including Rhys Brychan, Huw Cae Llwyd and Dafydd Epynt. An incomplete text of no. 67 (first words of each line only) is written in an anonymous and rather awkward hand on p. 40.

### *Manuscripts of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century*

The piece-meal copying in commonplace books seen in the 15<sup>th</sup> century continues with copies of three of the poems to Ifor Hael and 'Yr Adfail' (nos 11, 12, 16 and 151) in **Peniarth 182** written by the poet-priest Sir Huw Pennant of Flintshire about 1514. This manuscript and the second part of Pen 57 are the earliest containing poems by DG which can definitely be connected with the north-east. There are other northern manuscripts from the first third of the 16<sup>th</sup> century to be considered, but in order to fully appreciate their place in the tradition it will be helpful to look first

at two large collections which are now lost, one of southern origin and the other northern. The two can be identified thanks to John Davies's careful recording of his sources in Pen 49.

### Llyfr Wiliam Mathew (LIWM)

We know of the existence of this lost manuscript thanks to John Davies's note in Pen 49 which records the source of the first 43 poems thus: 'Hyd hyn allan o lyfr M<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Mathew o Landâf' (so far out of the book of Mr Wiliam Mathew of Llandaf). John Davies referred to this book again in a letter to Owen Wynn of Gwydir in 1639, and described it as follows:

Concerning dauid ap Gwillms workes, I have begonne such a collection of them as ye write of, but could not perfecte it, because I knowe I wanted many of his poemes. Mr Willm Mathewe of the Castle of Landaffe had a booke written in paper wth an ould hand wh had many of them, whereof I gotte copie of the one half when I dwelt in those parts. About december was twelueth moneths, I writte to Mr Michael Robt a Bachelor in divinitie & an anglesey man that dwelled in those parts to gette me ye loane of that booke; & he writte vnto me that Mr Mathewe was dead at Allhallowestide before, & that his Ystate was not then settled, that he was promised ye booke when ye state was settled. I heard not from him since; I meane shortely to write to him. Your servant leuan Jones hath some three or 4 things of his that I have not. Yf he would send me a copie of ye first verse of eny poeme he hath, I would tell him wh' of them I have not, that I may have copies of them; & he shall have the like of me, & have copies of what he hath not. (LIGC 14529, 12-13)

Llandaf castle was in the possession of the Mathews family who dwelt at Brynygynnen adjacent to the castle, so Wiliam Mathew was probably one of that family.<sup>1</sup> But in any case the manuscript was clearly much older than the period of Wiliam Mathew himself. According to Daniel Huws (MWM 98), 'written in paper wth an ould hand' suggests a date before 1550. But on the basis of some features of Middle Welsh orthography (*t* for /d/, *c* for /g/, *ei* for /ai/, *eu* for /au/) in the copy in Pen 49, the book could have been as old as the last quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the same period as Pen 54, another paper manuscript.

John Davies probably copied part of the Book of Wiliam Mathew when he was secretary to Bishop William Morgan between 1595 and 1601. He did not manage to copy all the contents of the manuscript, as seen above, but the evidence of related manuscripts suggests that 'the one half' should not be understood literally, and that

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<sup>1</sup> The book may have belonged to the Wiliam Mathew who was born in 1574 or 1575 when John Davies saw it in the 1590s, but the reference in the letter quoted above is probably to the death of his son, another Wiliam Mathew. The will which the son made on 24 Ionawr 1636 [1637] is preserved in the National Library of Wales (LL / 1636 / 31), but there is no mention of any book in it. On the family see C. N. Johns, 'The Castle and Manor of Llandaff', in Stewart Williams (ed.), *Glamorgan Historian* 10 (Barry, 1974), 177–95.

John Davies did in fact copy the greater part (remember that the letter was written some forty years after he copied the manuscript).

The earliest manuscript associated with LIWM is **Llansteffan 6** (c.1525), which contains 45 poems attributed to DG.<sup>2</sup> It is not certain that DG's poems in LI 6 derive directly from LIWM, since their order corresponds only occasionally to that of the other copies. But the texts are very close to those of Pen 49 and Llywelyn Siôn's manuscripts, and differences can be explained as carelessness or whim on the part of the LI 6 copyist (or occasionally as hypercorrection on the part of John Davies). It is of course possible that LI 6 is earlier than LIWM, and if so then DG's poems must have derived from LIWM's exemplar. (It is hardly likely that LI 6 was one of the sources for LIWM, since it contains too many minor errors.) Another indication of close relationship are the titles to the poems deriving from LIWM in Pen 49 and to those in LI 6, such as 'Y Seren', but it is possible that these were in LIWM's exemplar.

It can be more confidently asserted that LIWM was the source for the blocks of DG's poems in Llywelyn Siôn's manuscripts, since their order corresponds closely to that of the first section of Pen 49. Llywelyn Siôn of Glamorgan was a poet and professional copyist active in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>3</sup> His working method seems to have been to take one master copy from whatever exemplar he was using, and then recopy that in a number of manuscripts commissioned by patrons, namely **Llansteffan 47**, **Llansteffan 48**, **Llansteffan 134**, **Caerdydd 5.44** (Llyfr Hir Llanharan), **LIGC 970** (Merthyr Tudful) and **LIGC 21290** (Iolo Aneurin Williams 4). Due to some differences in readings Parry was of the opinion that Llywelyn Siôn's source was a copy of LIWM, or perhaps a copy of its exemplar (see GDG<sup>1</sup> cxlvi), but such a theory is unnecessary.

Comparison of Pen 49, LI 6 and Llywelyn Siôn's manuscripts enables us to recreate the contents of LIWM fairly confidently as follows:

Y Lleuad (58)  
 Y Seren (50)  
 Morfudd fel yr Haul (111)  
 Y Gwynt (47)  
 Y Niwl (57)  
 Mawl i'r Ceiliog Bronfraith (159)  
 Yr Eos a'r Frân (154)  
 Yr Euryches (94)  
 Anrhegion Dafydd, Madog ac Iorwerth (19)  
 Y Don ar Afon Dyfi (51)  
 Breichiau Morfudd (93)  
 Dan y Bargod (98)

<sup>2</sup> Published in a diplomatic edition by E. Stanton Roberts, *Llanstephan MS. 6* (Cardiff, 1916).

<sup>3</sup> See G. J. Williams, *Traddodiad Llenyddol Morgannwg* (Caerdydd, 1948), 157–60; Daniel Huws, *Cynnull y Farddoniaeth* (Aberystwyth, 2004), 28, 34.

Merch Fileinaidd (144)  
 Siom (107)  
 Saethu'r Ferch (81)  
 Merched Llanbadarn (137)  
 Canu'n Iach (104)  
 Penwisg Merch (156)  
 Dewiniaeth (A163)  
 Bargeinio (142)  
 Y Mwdwl Gwair (66)  
 Hwsmonaeth Cariad (109)  
 Nodwyddau Serch (100)  
 Y Galon (102)  
 Yr Uchenaid (101)  
 Merch, Aderyn a Bedwen (38)  
 Campau Merch (124)  
 Y Wawr (69)  
 Rhagoriaeth y Bardd ar Arall (123)  
 Ymddiddan â'r Cyfflog (52)  
 Y Serch Lladrad (133)  
 Y Llw (140)  
 Y Bardd yn Onest (125)  
 Gwawd Morfudd (106)  
 Serch fel Ysgyfarnog (75)  
 Telynores Twyll (135)  
 Sarhau ei Was (74)  
 Erfyn am ei Fwyd (128)  
 Amau ar Gam (117)  
 Llw Morfudd (105)  
 Yr Adarwr (131)  
 Y Mab Maeth (77)  
 Y Ffenestr (65)  
 Llychwino Pryd y Ferch (115)

Apart from the first two poems this order is based on that of Pen 49. 'Y Lleuad' is first in Llywelyn Siôn's collections in LI 47, LI 134 and C 5.44, and 'Y Seren' is second. 'Y Seren' is first in LI 6, but it stands at the end of the group in Pen 49 (and only one part of it derives from LIWM). And before his copy of 'Y Seren' John Davies wrote, 'ymofyn am gywydd y llevat hevyd val hyn pynkev afrwydd drwy /r/ flwyddyn' (seek *cywydd y llevat* also like this *pynkev afrwydd drwy /r/ flwyddyn*). The change in orthography suggests that the title of the *cywydd* was taken from LIWM. It appears, therefore, that the first pages of LIWM were loose and perhaps damaged when John Davies saw it.

'Gwallt Morfudd' (114), 'Chwarae Cnau i'm Llaw' ((95) and the *awdl* to Ifor Hael (11) are together in the first part of LI 6, and it is possible that they were on other pages

lost from LIWM by the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>4</sup> LI 6 and Llywelyn Siôn probably had a common source for nos 68, 112 and 153, but there is no reason to believe that LIWM was that source. Llywelyn Siôn has important texts of 'Marwnad Llywelyn ap Gwilym' (6) and the bardic debate (23–30), but his source for them is not known, nor his source for the large number of apocryphal poems attributed to DG throughout his manuscripts.

### **The Vetustus**

We are once again indebted to John Davies for our knowledge of this lost manuscript. The following note in Pen 49, 85a refers to the 60 poems in the last section: 'Quae sequuntur descripta sunt ex vetusto codice membranaceo scripto circa 1526' (Those which follow are copied from an old vellum manuscript written about 1526). John Davies noted variant readings from the old manuscript against 51 poems which he already had in Pen 49, referring to it as 'vetustus'. (In the few instances where he did not note the source of the variants the readings indicate that they derive from the Vetustus.) The precise date suggests that there was specific evidence in the manuscript itself. Vellum was an expensive luxury by that period, and Daniel Huws suggests (MWM 98) that the manuscript was commissioned by a wealthy nobleman who wished to have a complete collection of DG's poems.

Although Pen 49 provides the only direct evidence for the existence of the Vetustus, a number of related manuscripts can assist in establishing its contents. The most important of these is **Hafod 26** (Caerdydd 4.330), the earliest of the Humanist collections, made by the lexicographer Thomas Wiliems of the Conwy Valley about 1574 (including two poems in the hand of a certain 'Lewys o Hiraethog', see notes to no. 12). Establishing the number of poems in the Dafydd ap Gwilym collection in H 26 is no straightforward matter, since some are attributed to other poets as well and there are a number of anonymous pieces towards the end, but discounting the 14 poems which are attributed to other poets only (including Gruffudd Gryg's four contributions to the bardic debate), there is a collection of 165 poems attributed to DG (some tentatively). But it must be borne in mind that poems numbered 5, 6 and 7 and those between 161 and 182 are missing. No sources are noted, and there are no clear sections within the collection, but three parts can be distinguished. The first 16 poems and the last 38 are from unknown sources, probably oral (see further discussion below). But the main body of the collection, that is 112 poems attributed to DG together with 7 by other poets (nos 18–135 in the manuscript, but there are two nos 110), is very closely related to the last section of Pen 49 in terms of order of poems and textual readings. The 60 poems in Pen 49 are found in the same order here, and amongst them are all but six of the poems for which John Davies noted variant readings. H 26 is therefore the principal evidence for the order of poems in the Vetustus collection. The following list can be assumed to represent very closely the contents of the Vetustus:

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<sup>4</sup> The copy of no. 11 in C 5.44 is not in Llywelyn Siôn's hand, and the text is different to that in LI 6.

Y Pwll Mawn (59)  
Basaleg (14)  
Ymadael ag Ifor Hael (16)  
Cywydd Mawl i Ifor Hael (13)  
Awdl i Ifor Hael (11)  
Y Cleddyf (71)  
Marwnad Gruffudd ab Adda (21)  
Trech a Gais nog a Geidw (112)  
Breichiau Morfudd (93)  
Y Llŵ Gau (141)  
Difrawdwr (80)  
Achau Hiraeth (90)  
I Ddymuno lladd y Gŵr Eiddig (116)  
Angof (121)  
Y Cwt Gwyddau (67)  
Merch Ragorol (130)  
Dyddgu (86)  
Taith i Garu (96)  
Merch, Aderyn a Bedwen (38)  
Galw ar Ddwynwen (48)  
Caru Merch Fonheddig (87)  
Dan y Bargod (98)  
Y Wawr (69)  
Ddoe (110)  
Y Mwdwl Gwair (66)  
Llychwino Pryd y Ferch (115)  
Gwayw Serch (127)  
Sarhau ei Was (74)  
Erfyn am ei Fywyd (128)  
Niwbwrch (18)  
Y Cariad a Wrthodwyd (118)  
Dyddgu a Morfudd (92)  
Gwadu iddo fod yn Fynach (106)  
Yr Het Fedw (113)  
Anrhegion Dafydd, Madog ac Iorwerth (19)  
Marwnad Madog Benfras (20)  
Marwnad Dafydd ap Gwilym (Madog Benfras)  
Y Galon (102)  
Merched Llanbadarn (137)  
Merch yn Ymbincio (138)  
Y Drych (132)  
Y Serch Lladradd (133)  
Y Gwynt (47)  
Y Gal (85)  
Lladrata Merch (70)

Y Gainc (91)  
Dewis Un o Bedair (120)  
Dagrau Serch (89)  
Rhag Hyderu ar y Byd (108)  
Y Cyffyllog (53)  
Cyrchu Lleian (43)  
Mis Mai a Mis Tachwedd (33)  
Nodwyddau Serch (100)  
Y Seren (50)  
Merch yn Edliw ei Lyfrdra (72)  
Gwallt Morfudd (114)  
Saethu'r Ferch (81)  
Siom (107)  
Llw Morfudd (105)  
Talu Dyled (99)  
Gwahodd Dyddgu (88)  
Gofyn Cymod (97)  
Y Cloc (64)  
Y Deildy (37)  
Disgwyl yn Ofer (146)  
Cystudd y Bardd (103)  
Offeren y Llwyn (39)  
Y Lleuad (58)  
Y Rhugl Groen (62)  
Serch Dirgel (78)  
Anwadalrwydd (76)  
Gwahanu (139)  
Y Penlöyn (A39)  
Morfudd fel yr Haul (111)  
Cywydd Ymryson Cyntaf GG (23)  
Cywydd Ymryson Cyntaf DG (24)  
Ail Gywydd Ymryson GG (25)  
Ail Gywydd Ymryson DG (26)  
Trydydd Cywydd Ymryson GG (27)  
Trydydd Cywydd Ymryson DG (28)  
Pedwerydd Cywydd Ymryson GG (29)  
Pedwerydd Cywydd Ymryson DG (30)  
Marwnad Dafydd ap Gwilym (GG)  
Marwnad Gruffudd Gryg (22)  
Chwarae Cnau i'm Llaw (95)  
Cusan (83)  
Merch Fileinaidd (144)  
Amau ar Gam (117)  
Y Llwynog (60)  
Hwsmonaeth Cariad (109)  
Cyngor gan Frawd Bregethwr (147)

Lluniau Crist a'i Apostolion (4)  
 Credo (153)  
 Edifeirwch (119)  
 I'r Drindod (3)  
 Merch Gyndyn (143)  
 Y fun a'r wisg fanaur wych (A176)  
 Caru dyn ifanc hirwen (A21)  
 Y Ceiliog Du (162)  
 I Iesu Grist (152)  
 Y Niwl (57)  
 Y Bardd a'r Brawd Llwyd (148)  
 Ymddiddan â'r Cyfflog (52)  
 Yr Eira (A118)  
 Rho Duw hael rhadau helynt (A131)  
 Y Don ar Afon Dyfi (51)  
 Marwnad Dafydd ap Gwilym (Iolo Goch)  
 Tri Phorthor Eiddig (68)  
 Yr Wylan (45)  
 Cyngor y Bиден (36)  
 Yr Adfail (151)  
 Pererindod Merch (129)  
 Y ferch o'r fynachlog faen (A166)  
 Ei Gysgod (63)  
 Y ferch a wnaeth gwayw dan f'ais (A159)  
 Telynores Twyll (135)  
 Gerlant o Blu Paun (134)  
 Y Fiaren (56)  
 Dychan i Rys Meigen (31)

Yr Eos a'r Frân (154)  
 Yr Euryches (94)  
 Yr Uchenaid (101)  
 Canu'n Iach (104)  
 Serch fel Ysgyfarnog (75)  
 Yr Annerch (42)

The only poems in this list which are not in Pen 49 are the eight debate poems and the elegies by GG and DG to one another, and two apocryphal *cywyddau* A176 and A21. It may be that John Davies decided to omit A176 and A21 because he considered that they were not the work of DG, but it may be significant that they follow 'Merch Gyndyn' in H 26, a poem which John Davies included at the end of his collection, and that the three subsequent leaves in Pen 49 are missing. Apart from that, the only differences in order in Pen 49 are that 'Y Gal' and 'Y Ceiliog Du' stand slightly earlier in the list than in H 26 and that nos 95 and 83 are transposed. But the six poems noted separately at the end of the list are ones believed to have been in the *Vetustus*, although they are not found in H 26, because variant

readings from the *Vetustus* are noted against the texts from LIWM and LIGH in Pen 49, and those readings correspond to Jaspas Gryffyth's copies (see below). It is not, however, possible to locate them within the order of poems, or to say why they were omitted in H 26. On the evidence of H 26 and Pen 49 it can be concluded that there were a total of 125 poems in the *Vetustus* collection, of which seven were definitely the work of other poets (Gruffudd Gryg's four debate poems and elegies by Madog Benfras, Gruffudd Gryg and Iolo Goch).

There is very little trace of deliberate arrangement in the collection as it stands in H 26. The poems to Ifor Hael do form a small group at the beginning, and the five religious poems are close together further on, and the debate poems precede the elegies by GG and DG to one another, and the elegy to Madog Benfras follows 'Anrhegion Dafydd, Madog ac Iorwerth'. But on the whole the poems are jumbled together in no particular order, just as they would have been taken from memorial transmission, and in that respect the collection is similar to the one in LIWM.

The order of one part of the *Vetustus* collection is corroborated by M 212 (see below). The first 21 poems in that manuscript correspond in order and texts to a sequence in H 26, from 'Talu Dyled' (99) to Gruffudd Gryg's fourth debate poem (29), omitting 'Gofyn Cymod' (97). The fact that this sequence breaks off before the end of the debate suggests that the source was an incomplete copy of the *Vetustus* or even a stray section of the manuscript itself.

Another manuscript containing a sequence of poems which corresponds closely to one in H 26 is **Caerdydd 2.114** (C 7), a large and varied collection of poetry made at the court of Roland Meyrick, bishop of Bangor, for the Vicar of Woking (Richard ap Gruffudd) in 1564–6.<sup>5</sup> 74 poems attributed to DG are scattered throughout the collection, but between pp. 825 and 870 there is a block of 29 poems (37 if the debate poems just before this block are included, although they are not in the same position in the *Vetustus*) which are found together in H 26, although not in precisely the same order. The texts in question are also very close to those which derived from the *Vetustus*, and differences can be explained as interference on the part of the copyist of C 7. There are other texts in C 7 which are independent of those in the *Vetustus*, and superior to them in places (see below), but this block appears to derive from the *Vetustus* itself or from a collection very similar to it.

Two other manuscripts which show a close connection with the *Vetustus* collection in terms of texts but not order of poems are **Gwyneddion 3**<sup>6</sup> and **Llansteffan 120**, both written by Jaspas Gryffyth between about 1597 and 1607. Between them the two contain a collection of DG's poems in alphabetical order according to their first lines (31 poems in G 3 beginning with the letters A, B, D, E, F and G; 59 in LI 120 beginning with the letters G, H, I, C [occupying the position of K], LI, M, N, O, P, Rh, S, T, Y and U). The *Vetustus* was the main source of this collection, but Jaspas Gryffyth was clearly comparing the texts with those of other manuscripts (e.g. G 4

<sup>5</sup> The preface is printed in *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg*, I, 67–8.

<sup>6</sup> See Ifor Williams (ed.), *Gwyneddion 3* (Caerdydd, 1931).

in the case of no. 66, and possibly some source close to the White Book of Hergest in the case of no. 121), and he took seven poems from C 7 (nos 13, 15, 16, 40, 44, 73, 142). Before the ordered sequence in G 3 there are a number of poems attributed to DG drawn from various sources, namely no. 153 as the first item in the manuscript from an unknown source, ten poems copied from BM 29 (see below), three copied from **LIGC 1553** (Rosier Morris, Coedytalwrn) together with one from an unknown source and 4 copied from **Peniarth 99** (in the hand of William Salesbury), another copy of no. 153, 12 other poems taken from BM 29 (see below), and a copy of no. 12 from an unknown source.

Another manuscript containing poems apparently drawn directly from the Vetustus is **Bangor (Mostyn) 17**, written by a good educated hand of the later 16<sup>th</sup> century. Only five misordered leaves remain of the manuscript, so it is impossible to tell how many of DG's poems were in this collection, but numbers against the poems suggest that there were at least 75 originally. Of the nine surviving poems eight correspond closely to Vetustus texts (nos 39, 42, 58, 97, 101, 103, 104 and 154), and the other is one of the few copies of no. 150 (with H 26 and M 212).

Despite the consistent similarity in their readings, Thomas Parry was not willing to accept that the texts of H 26, M 212, G 3 and LI 120 (he did not know about Ba (M) 17) derived directly from the same source as the final section of Pen 49, namely the Vetustus itself. Because of occasional differences in readings he insisted that there was at least one, and most probably two or three copies between each one of these and their common archetype (GDG<sup>1</sup> cxviii, cxxi). But that assumption is not necessary, because as Parry himself admits (GDG<sup>1</sup> cxvii), differences can be explained as copyists attempts to improve unsatisfactory lines. Where a line was short in the exemplar, Thomas Wiliems, Jaspas Gryffyth and John Davies would often seek to correct it in different ways (see e.g. 58.65). The copies in M 212 are more mechanical on the whole (because they are the work of an amanuensis on behalf of a patron), and therefore probably reflect the Vetustus texts more faithfully. In the case of 64.31, another line which was apparently short in the Vetustus, the same attempt to fill the gap is found in LI 120 and Pen 49, namely *drwy'r gwas*. It is unlikely that the two copyists would have hit upon this reading independently, and the simplest way of explaining the correspondence here and in a few other places is to assume that Jaspas Gryffyth wrote his reading in the margin (or possibly in a gap in the text) in the Vetustus manuscript itself, and that John Davies then adopted it in his own text.

Having broadly determined the contents of the Vetustus collection, it is time to turn back to its predecessors, that is earlier or contemporary manuscripts which derived from the same tradition, a fluid oral tradition of which various parts were recorded in writing at different stages in its development. The earliest of these, and the only one which dates from the 15<sup>th</sup> century, is Pen 48 (see above). As already noted, this manuscript contains eight poems (the last incomplete), and all were also in the Vetustus collection. The order of poems in Pen 48 is nos 83, 22, 144, 117, 60, 147, 4, 153, and these are seen to be together, in almost precisely the same order (but

with two other poems intervening), in H 26. The texts are very close to those of the *Vetustus* on the whole, and where it is possible to compare both with independent versions they are sometimes seen to share common errors (e.g. 144.5, 117.11 and 22). On the other hand, the Pen 48 texts are superior to those of the *Vetustus* in a number of places (e.g. 60.20, 83.4, 117.4), but they also contain a few faulty readings which are correct in the derivatives of the *Vetustus* itself (e.g. 60.3), and it is therefore unlikely that Pen 48 was the source of these poems in the *Vetustus* collection. The most plausible explanation is that the particular oral tradition which produced the *Vetustus* texts already existed to some extent in the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, and that the Pen 48 texts are an early manifestation of that tradition, perhaps in the south-west. The other manuscripts which are related to the *Vetustus* belong to the north-east, and the second part of Pen 57 can be included with these, as noted above.

**BL Additional 14997** (BM 24) is a collection of love poetry by various poets which was copied about 1500, apparently in the north-east, by someone who may well have been a university student judging by the content. Fifteen poems attributed to DG are scattered throughout the collection (nos A25, A185, 75, A3, A187, 74, A160, 139, 80, A39, 130, 108, A149, 45, 153) and no. 158 without attribution. Nine of these were also in the *Vetustus*, and the others are all apocrypha. As in the case of BM 23, the texts are similar to those of the *Vetustus* on the whole, but they often contain superior readings (e.g. 45.9) and some additional lines (nos 74, 75, 80). A connection with BM 23 can be seen in the case of no. A185, and with Pen 76 in the case of nos 74 and A160.

**Caerdydd 3.4** (C 5) was written by the chronicler Elis Gruffydd in 1527, and although Elis was living in London at the time his sources probably derived from his native region in Flintshire. He has 20 poems attributed to DG (nos 169, 54, 127, 59, 130, 116, A119, 106, 53, 133, 60, A152, 105, 47, 22, A76, 25, 26, 27, 28). Of these, apart from no. 54, only the apocryphal poems were not in the *Vetustus*. (And note that no. 54 is in the second part of Pen 57.) There are four of the debate poems, and although these are independent of the *Vetustus* texts they side with that version against that of Llywelyn Siôn in terms of line order (but with some lines missing). Similarly in the case of nos 106 and 130 (a poem of which there are a number of copies in the *Vetustus* tradition and none elsewhere).

**BL Additional 14967** (BM 23) is a large collection of poetry of various kinds, put together in the north-east by one main hand writing soon after 1527. Gutun Owain is the most prominent poet in the collection, and much of the material probably derives from his manuscripts, perhaps via the monastic library of Glyn-y-groes. Of the eighteen poems attributed to DG in this manuscript (nos 47, 20, A185, 75, 9, 7, 90, A76, 62, 106, 56, 13, 87, 133, 115, 128, 3 and 64), fifteen were in the *Vetustus*. The exceptions are two *awdlau*, nos 7 and 9, and an apocryphal *cywydd* (A76). The fact that they are scattered throughout the manuscript suggests that these poems were not circulating as a group. It is no surprise, therefore, that some are closer to the *Vetustus* texts than others. No. 115 displays a close relationship in comparison

to the LIWM version (e.g. lines 1 and 12), but the agreement with LIWM in line 21 shows that BM 23 was independent of the Vetustus text and superior to it in places. The BM 23 texts are inconsistent, sometimes containing lines not in the Vetustus (e.g. no. 87), but also omitting lines (e.g. nos 13 and 75), and in that respect they are typical of oral transmission. The line-order is also different to that of the Vetustus in the case of nos 47 and 75. It appears, therefore, that the poems belonging to the Vetustus tradition were still continuing to circulate and develop orally in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century. But of course these texts could be witnesses to changes which had occurred earlier, perhaps in the time of Gutun Owain.

**BL Additional 14866** (BM 29) is another large and varied collection of poetry, copied by David Johns, vicar of Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd, for a friend in 1586–7.<sup>7</sup> DG's poems are not gathered together in one place since the collection is arranged thematically, but 22 poems are attributed to him at various points in the manuscript (nos 152, 89, A43, 133, 105, 48, A133, 77, 80, 90 (two which were together in the Vetustus), 9, 162, 60, 132, 62, 47, 113, A197, 51, 71, 33, 21). Most of these show a close relationship with the Vetustus texts, but they are also superior to them sometimes (e.g. no. 33 which has two couplets missing from the Vetustus version). They contain a number of unique readings, and it is likely that some of them were attempts by David Johns to correct lines which he considered to be faulty (e.g. 47.63).

These manuscripts show that the Vetustus was just one manifestation of a long and wide-reaching tradition, and by no means the best manifestation. The fact that most of these manuscripts can be located in the north-east suggest that the Vetustus tradition was circulating primarily in that region by the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, before spreading throughout the north as a result of the copying activity of Humanist scholars. The best-known poems within this tradition, judging by the number of independent copies, were nos 47 (BM 23, C 5, BM 29, H 26), 130 (BM 24, C 5, H 26) and 75 (BM 23, BM 24, C 7, LI 120). By comparing texts it is possible to see oral tradition at work, and the deterioration of the text that it caused both by losing lines and by simplifying readings. That is of course a cause for concern with respect to the numerous poems for which there is no source other than the Vetustus itself.

The Vetustus tradition was certainly extremely influential in the 16th and 17th centuries, but nevertheless this was not the only source of DG's poems in north Wales. One type of poem which was rather scarce in the Vetustus was the *awdl*. The *awdl* in praise of Ifor Hael (11) was there with some of the *cywyddau* to him, the *awdl* to Christ (152), and the satirical *awdl* to Rhys Meigen as the final item in the collection, but there is no mention of that in praise of Llywelyn ap Gwilym or the elegy to him, or of that to Ieuan Llwyd, or the elegies to Ifor and Nest and to Angharad, although the latter was particularly popular in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. These *awdlau* are to be found in BM 23 (7 and 9), in **LIGC 17114** (Gwysanau 25), a large anthology copied for one of the Trefor family about 1560 (nos 5, 7, 9, 11), and in

<sup>7</sup> See Huws, *Cynnull y Farddoniaeth*, 23–8.

**Caerdydd 5.167** (Thelwall),<sup>8</sup> another anthology copied for Rhisiart Langford of Trefalun about 1565 (nos 5, 7, 9, 11, 17). Gw 25 also includes copies of *cywyddau* which are independent of the *Vetustus*, e.g. ‘Marwnad Rhydderch’ (10), ‘Y Cloc’ (64), and ‘Yr Iwrch’ (46). Although this is a north-eastern manuscript, it may be that some of its texts derive from the stream which began to appear in the north-west about the same time.

From the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards another textual stream is evidenced in manuscripts from Gwynedd Uwch Conwy, and particularly from the Conwy Valley itself. It is not possible to talk of a textual tradition as in the case of the *Vetustus*, since there is no discernible collection of poems, but rather a number of poems circulating both orally and in writing in the north-west. Some also belonged to the *Vetustus* tradition (including the debate with Gruffudd Gryg, which occurs in Humphrey Davies’s manuscripts and in M 144, BL 14969 and CM 5), and in those cases the texts are clearly independent and of varying standard, often corrupt but sometimes preserving good readings and lines lost in the *Vetustus* (see e.g. ‘Cyngor y Bioden’, 36, and ‘Y Gal’, 85). And this stream preserved some poems which were not in the *Vetustus* at all. ‘Trafferth mewn Tafarn’ (73) is the best example of a poem not in the *Vetustus* which was very well-known in the north-west (see also nos 6, 8, 10, 32, 35, 44, 46 and 150). But on the other hand there are a good deal more apocryphal poems in these manuscripts, and oral tradition was no doubt responsible for misattributing poems to Dafydd ap Gwilym.

The main manuscripts which belong to this north-western stream are listed below, but it should be emphasised that the pattern is not entirely clear, and that some important individual texts come to light apparently quite randomly in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, e.g. no. 36 in Peniarth 82 (in the hand of the poet Huw Arwystl) and in BL 15038 (a manuscript which also contains an important text of no. 60), no. 97 in LI 163 and no. 73 in LI 156. And a complete exception to the geographical pattern is **Stowe 959** (BM 48), copied in Carmarthenshire about 1600 and including texts which are independent of all others (nos 15, 36, 72, 79, 86, 157, A25 and A145).

The earliest manifestation of the north-western stream is **Peniarth 76**,<sup>9</sup> a collection of love poetry made about the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. There is no definite evidence of provenance, but some features may suggest an Anglesey connection. It contains 22 poems attributed to DG (nos 80, 118, 13, 14, 16, 119, 63, A13, A15, 133, 78, 74, A64, 148, 127, A166, 130, A161, A137, A160, 62, 64). Apart from the apocryphal poems all of these were in the *Vetustus*, and three of the poems to Ifor Hael occur together both here and in the *Vetustus*. Some of the texts share errors with the *Vetustus* texts which suggest a common exemplar (e.g. 64.31 where the line is left short as it apparently was in the *Vetustus*). But others are clearly independent and sometimes superior to the *Vetustus* (e.g. 13.31–2, a couplet not

<sup>8</sup> See Daniel Huws, ‘Yr Hen Rhisiart Langfford’, in B. F. Roberts and Morfydd E. Owen (eds), *Beirdd a Thywysogion* (Caerdydd, 1996), 302–25.

<sup>9</sup> See *Peniarth 76*, ed. W. J. Gruffydd (Caerdydd, 1927).

attested elsewhere), although traces of faulty memory and random reworking are often to be seen. A close relationship with M 161 (see below) is evident in the case of nos 133 and 74 (the latter with two unique couplets in common). Some of the apocryphal poems show a relationship with C 7 (A13, A15, A161, A 160).

**Mostyn 161** (1558–63) is a manuscript from the Conwy Valley, a collection of poetry perhaps commissioned by the Gwydir family; by the early 17<sup>th</sup> century it belonged to Robert Wynn of Berth-ddu. It contains 18 poems attributed to DG, consisting of two groups of five (nos 62, A187, 104, 78, 79, and 74, 113, 40, 60, 133) and eight others standing alone (nos 164, 35, A132, 14, 161, 56, 18 and 68). Twelve of these were also in the *Vetustus*, and the M 161 texts are superior to the *Vetustus* ones in places (see above on the relationship with Pen 76). ‘Mawl i’r Haf’ (35) is a rare poem which M 161 has in common with H 26 and LIGC 560.

Another early manuscript from the north-west is C 7 (1565, see above). The group of poems in it which derives either directly from the *Vetustus* or from its exemplar has already been noted. C 7 also contains texts of DG’s poems which are independent of those in the *Vetustus* and sometimes superior to them. There is a group of 12 poems between pp. 343 and 362 (nos 40, 64, 68, 62, A166, 36, A118, 75, 132, 165, 129, 59), another of five between pp. 604 and 611, three of them poems to Ifor Hael (A161, 15, 16, 13, 61), and a group of seven between pp. 719 and 729 (166, 18, 73, A83, A109, A160, 161). Particularly noteworthy are the additional couplets in nos 36 and 129, the excellent readings *eurych* in 64.31 and *diegr yn* 13.2, and the important texts of nos 142, 39, 76, 44, 127 and 148 which stand alone towards the end of the collection. It is interesting to note that the earliest copy of ‘Trafferth mewn Tafarn’ (73) is placed directly after the poem in praise of Newborough (18); might that town have been the ‘dinas dethol’? There are, however, a number of apocryphal poems throughout the manuscript, and the increasing tendency to misattribute poems to DG is very obvious in this manuscript.

**Gwyneddion 4** (G 4) part i was copied about 1575, probably for the Humanist William Middleton (part ii is in the hand of William Salesbury). It contains 11 poems attributed to DG, and the texts consistently show independence of the *Vetustus* (see e.g. 66.16n). The text of ‘Trafferth mewn Tafarn’ (73) is closely related to that found in C 7.

It is likely that Thomas Wiliems drew on oral sources in his native Conwy Valley for some if not all of the first 16 poems in H 26, before he had the opportunity to copy the *Vetustus*, and likewise the last 38 poems. A number of these are apocryphal, but amongst them are important texts of nos 73, 32, 150, 6, 35, 46, 44 and 55.

Another collector who drew on alternative sources was Humphrey Davies, vicar of Darowen in west Montgomeryshire from 1577 until his death in 1635. Poems attributed to DG occur in four of the manuscripts which he copied for friends. His largest collection is **BL Additional 14933**, a manuscript which he appears to have copied in response to a *cywydd* by Gruffudd Phylib requesting a book containing a

hundred poems by Dafydd ap Gwilym on behalf of Richard Fychan of Corsygedol (a copy of that *cywydd* forms the first item in BL 14933). The manuscript is now incomplete and contains only 47 poems. The principal source, as shown by the order of poems as well as the texts themselves, was John Davies's copy of the *Vetustus* in Pen 49. Daniel Huws (2000, 101) has suggested that the source was a draft transcription rather than Pen 49 itself, since some of the gaps in the Pen 49 text are filled in BL 14933. That would explain why Humphrey Davies did not copy the other poems from Pen 49, but the readings which fill the gaps can be explained as guesswork by Humphrey Davies (see e.g. 130.13n.). Only two poems at the end of BL 14933 are not from Pen 49, nos 10 and 79. There is another collection of DG's poems in **Brogyntyn I.2** (Br 2), a manuscript which Humphrey Davies copied for Theodore Price in 1599 (see E. D. Jones, 'The Brogyntyn Welsh Manuscripts', *CLIGC* v (1947–8), 234–6), and although smaller than the BL 14933 collection this is more important because its sources are not known. It contains a group of 21 poems attributed to DG (but nos 11 and 12 are combined as one poem). Although eight of these are apocrypha, the texts are all significant because they are independent of the *Vetustus* tradition and preserve a few valuable readings (see in particular the notes to nos 20, 33 and 86). The same is true of the debate poems and 'Gwayw Serch' which are found together further on in the manuscript, although the texts are generally quite corrupt in comparison with the *Vetustus* (but only Humphrey Davies has 23.1–2 as part of the debate rather than 'Gwayw Serch'). The *awdl* in praise of Llywelyn ap Gwilym (no. 5) stands alone, and the text is similar to that in Gw 25 and Thelwall. The same text is found in another of Humphrey Davies's manuscripts, **Bodewryd 1**, together with two other *awdlau*, nos 7 and 9. Humphrey Davies copied the same texts of the debate together with 'Gwayw Serch' and the elegies to DG and Gruffudd Gryg in **Mostyn 160** about 1600, probably for another member of the Corsygedol family.

A number of other manuscripts in the Mostyn collection contain texts which are independent of those in the *Vetustus*: **Mostyn 129** (Rhisiart Mostyn, 1574), **Mostyn 144** (The Red Book of Nannau, in the hand of William Phylip, c. 1620), **Mostyn 145** (William Bodwrda, 1644–50), **Mostyn 146** (the earliest part a collection made at Gwydir c. 1560–80, with substantial additions by Ifan Siôn and Huw Machno in the early 17c.), **Mostyn 147** (Edward Kyffin, c. 1577), **Mostyn 148** (last quarter of the 16c.), and **Mostyn 212** (see below). Some of the texts in the Bangor Mostyn manuscripts also belong to this stream, e.g. the copy of no. 150 in Ba (M) 17 (see above). 'Cyngor y Bioden' (36) is a prominent poem in the Mostyn manuscripts, and the fact that some of the texts contain numerous additional lines is a clear sign of oral sources.

Another copyist who drew on sources in the Conwy Valley area in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century was the poet Huw Machno. **LIGC 727** contains 7 of DG's poems in his hand, and **BL Additional 14969** contains 19 (including the debate) copied by him and the gentleman-poet Thomas Prys of Plasiolyn. Huw Machno and another hand began the large collection of DG's work in **Bodleian e. 1** (Bl e 1) probably for Owen Wynn of Gwydir sometime between 1612 and 1623. The bulk of the copying was

done by the poet Ifan Siôn (note the reference to a collection of DG's poems in John Davies's letter to Owen Wynn in 1639, quoted above; 'your servant Ieuan Jones' most likely referred to Ifan Siôn). Two poems at the beginning of the manuscript were added later by Benjamin Simon. The two main sources for the collection were M 146 and H 26. Poems seem to have been taken from the two manuscripts alternately to begin with, together with at least one other source which provided a number of apocryphal poems (some occurring for the first time). Some effort was made to arrange the poems thematically, bringing together poems about birds and ones about summer, and towards the end of the collection all the remaining poems to Morfudd from H 26 were systematically copied, and finally four poems to Dyddgu. The copyists seem to have been drawing on more than one source for some poems (a definite example is 'Trafferth mewn Tafarn', the first eight lines of which were taken from an unknown source before turning to H 26 for the rest of the poem). But the two poets were clearly quite prepared to emend lines which they regarded as defective, and the relationship with the source can be unclear at first sight for that reason. Bl e 1 is not often important for establishing the text, but in the case of 'Yr Haf' (34) and 'Y Brithyll' (160), two poems which were not part of the Vetustus tradition, it provides an alternative text to be compared with that of the White Book of Hergest.

**Mostyn 212** is another large collection associated with the Gwydir family, made slightly later than Bl e 1 by three copyists, probably working for Robert Wynn of y Berth-ddu, a cousin of Owen Wynn's. It contains 176 poems drawn from various sources, most of which can be identified. As noted above, the sequence of 21 poems written by the first hand were taken either from the Vetustus itself or from a direct copy of it. The second copyist seems to have sought out DG's poems in manuscripts which he had to hand, copying 15 poems from M 161 (but no. 74 from M 148), then 8 from M 148, and then 10 from G 4. Most of the rest was written by a third hand at various times, and his first source was Bl e 1. He copied a total of 72 poems, omitting those which were already in his manuscript. After the four poems to Ifor Hael he placed the elegy to Ifor (17) and then went on to gather together other eulogies and elegies (nos 9, 10, 5, 6, 8), five religious poems (nos 152, 3, A129, 153, 4), three to other poets (nos 21, 155, 19), and two of the poems to the friars (nos A36 and 150). M 146 or its exemplar may have been the source of nos 17, 5, 6, 8, 152, A129, 153 and 4. The copyist then returned to the task of transcribing Bl e 1, continuing his sequence of poems to the friars. The sources for the poems in the last part of the collection (poems 141–76) are not known, but a number of the texts are of good quality, some closely related to the Vetustus or its source (nos 20, 51, 71, 80, 83, 90, 97, 110, 112, 119, 132, 138, 147, 151), two close to White Book of Hergest texts (124, 126), and one other (50) copied from M 146.

**Cwrtmawr 5** (CM 5) was written for the most part early in the 17<sup>th</sup> century by one hand, namely Ieuan (or Ifan) Tudur Owen of Dugoed, Mawddwy, according to William Maurice (but that is not absolutely certain). That hand copied all but two of the 67 poems attributed to DG (nos A196 at the beginning of the manuscript and

156 towards the end are in a late 17<sup>th</sup>-century hand). The fact that DG's poems are found in four main blocks, with poems by other poets between them, suggests that they derive from various sources. The texts are sometimes close to those of the *Vetustus*, but they consistently demonstrate independence. They have preserved some lines which are not found in the *Vetustus* texts (e.g. 16.17–18 and 30.41–2), and a number of the poems were not in the *Vetustus* at all. Textual relationships are apparent with C 7 (e.g. no. 73), BM 29 (nos 47 and 133), Br 2 (nos 55 and 114), and even the White Book of Hergest (nos 54 and 99).

**Peniarth 49** has been referred to repeatedly above as the source of our knowledge about the lost texts in the White Book of Hergest, the Book of Wiliam Mathew, and the *Vetustus*. This is the most important of the Humanist collections, thanks to John Davies's scholarly approach. Having been rector of Mallwyd from 1604 until 1644, it might have been expected that he would have drawn on the oral traditions of the region as Humphrey Davies and others did. But he preferred to depend on early written sources, and for that reason he did not obtain copies of 'Trafferth mewn Tafarn', 'Morfudd yn Hen' and some other poems which joined the written tradition quite late. Three quite different hands are found in Pen 49, but according to Daniel Huws all three are the work of John Davies himself writing in different styles and at different periods in his life.<sup>10</sup> He began whilst in the service of Bishop William Morgan in Llandaf between 1595 and 1601 by copying most of the Book of Wiliam Mathew (poems 1–43, see above). Sometime between 1600 and 1617 he had the opportunity to copy the collection of DG's poems which was in the White Book of Hergest (poems 44–70). He copied 27 poems in full in the second part of Pen 49 (poems 44–70), and noted variant readings against another 11 which he already had in the first part (see above). His next source was a manuscript which he called 'hên Lyfr arall' ('another old book'), from which he copied eight texts (poems 71–8 = nos 74, 113, 53, 40, 90, 60, 14, 16). Apart from no. 40 all these were in the *Vetustus*, and the texts are very similar on the whole, but obviously corrupt in places. That was perhaps a manuscript from north-west Wales. It may of course have contained other poems which John Davies did not copy because he already had them. The source of the 60 poems in the last part of Pen 49 was the *Vetustus* itself, and variant readings from it were noted against a further 49 poems which were already in the earlier parts (see above). John Davies also noted variant readings in the first two parts of Pen 49 from a manuscript which he called 'alius' against nos 11, 34, 54, 62, 89, 92, 107, 112, 124, 128, 132, 133, 145, 159 and 166. Apart from 128 all these poems are to be found in CM 5, and the readings of the CM 5 texts correspond consistently to those which are noted. Ieuan Tudur Owen of Dugoed, Mawddwy, was the main copyist of CM 5, apparently (see above), and his son Tudur is known to have worked as an amanuensis for John Davies (see Huws, 2004, 100), and it can therefore be confidently assumed that CM 5 was the manuscript referred to as 'alius'. But it may be that 'hên Lyfr arall' was 'alius' in the case of no. 128.

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<sup>10</sup> Daniel Huws, 'John Davies and his Manuscripts', in Ceri Davies (ed.), *Dr John Davies of Mallwyd* (Cardiff, 2004), 88–120 (93).

Another diligent collector from north-west Wales was Wiliam Bodwrda (1593–1660) of Aberdaron.<sup>11</sup> He had two substantial collections of DG's poems made with the help of amanuenses in the mid-seventeenth century, **Wynnstay 2** (Wy 2), which contains 120 poems attributed to DG, and **LIGC 560**, which contains 101. Both manuscripts came into the hands of William Morris in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and he refers to them in BL 14932 (see below) as 'Maes-y-porth 1' and 'Maes-y-porth 2'. William Morris also noted variants from a lost manuscript which he calls 'Llyfr Hir Nyffryn', and the readings noted correspond consistently to those of Wy 2. A remarkable feature of the Wy 2 texts is the large number of additional lines which do not occur anywhere else (apart from the copies of Wy 2), and which are clearly deliberate forgeries (see GDG<sup>1</sup> cxli–ii, and the Wy 2 texts for nos 28, 29, 30, 37, 38, 45, 48, 51, 52, 53, 56, 57, 60, 63 64, 68, 69, 70, 74, 75, 93, 97, 98, 107, 108, 109, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 144, 146 and 147). Since no lines were added to the 23 poems copied from the White Book of Hergest at the beginning and end of Wy 2 (see above), it is reasonable to conclude that these additional lines derive from Wy 2's source. And since William Morris notes some of these additional lines amongst the readings of Llyfr Hir Nyffryn in BL 14932, it is likely (although not entirely certain) that the Llyfr Hir was that source. In any case, the texts of the main body of the Wy 2 collection show consistent similarity to those of the Vetustus, but with frequent traces of adaptation, some of it to simplify the sense or improve the *cynghanedd*, and some apparently quite random. The same is also true of the texts in LIGC 560, although there is no connection at all between the two collections. The Vetustus was the main archetype for both, but there must have been at least one intermediary source between them and that archetype. It seems that the method adopted by William Bodwrda's copyists (or those of their sources) was to begin by selecting poems from the Vetustus at random, and then to go back and work through it more systematically. Because of the extensive adaptation the connection with the Vetustus is not always obvious, but where there is an opportunity to compare with other versions common errors prove a relationship. And the fact that some of the poems in the two collections are found only in the Vetustus and its derivatives (e.g. nos 37, 134, 146) is further evidence that the Vetustus was the ultimate archetype. Nevertheless, a few texts in the two manuscripts do derive from sources independent of the Vetustus, and there are important copies of no. 16 at the end of the Wy 2 collection and of nos 35 and 73 in LIGC 560. The source of these is not known (but it is perhaps worth noting that William Bodwrda's mother was a member of the Berth-ddu family in the Conwy Valley). Two other manuscripts which belonged to Wiliam Bodwrda are **Llansteffan 122** which contains some of DG's *awdlau* and the elegy to Rhydderch ab Ieuan Llwyd (nos 5, 7, 8, 10 and 31), and M 145 (see above).

<sup>11</sup> See R. Geraint Gruffydd, 'Llawysgrifau Wiliam Bodwrda o Aberdaron (a briodolwyd i John Price o Fellteyrn)', CLIGC viii (1953–4), 349–50; Dafydd Ifans, 'Wiliam Bodwrda (1593–1660)', CLIGC xix (1975–6), 300–10; Huws, *Cynnull y Farddoniaeth*, 30–32.

*18<sup>th</sup>-century manuscripts*

After the enthusiastic collecting during the Renaissance the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century was a relatively quiet period in the transmission history of DG's poems, and no important collections were made until the two by Samuel Williams of Cardiganshire at the end of the century. The first was **Llansteffan 14**, which contains 163 poems attributed to DG. Samuel Williams's main source was Bl e 1 which he had from his friend Iago ab Dewi. He took five poems to Morfudd and Dyddgu from the end of that manuscript, and the satire to Rhys Meigen, and then copied a sequence of 92 poems. The rest of the poems in LI 14 came from unknown sources, and amongst them are the poems from the last part of Bl e 1 which had not already been copied. The other texts belong mainly to the Vetustus tradition, but they are often corrupt. Bearing in mind that Samuel Williams copied Bl e 1 quite faithfully, it is likely that the corruption in those cases was in his sources. Some apocryphal poems are attributed to DG for the first time in this manuscript.

Samuel Williams made a second collection of DG's work in **Llansteffan 133**, an enormous compendium of poetry copied by him and Iago ab Dewi early in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. DG's poems are found in a group of 187, and there are also four apocryphal poems occurring singly and another small group of six later in the manuscript. The main collection drew initially on various sources, including C 52 and some poems from Bl e 1. Then all the poems in LI 14 were transcribed (apart from those already in LI 133). Four of the group of six were taken from BL 14890, and another seems to derive from one of Llywelyn Siôn's manuscripts.

Margaret Davies of Coetgae-du, Trawsfynydd, made two collections of DG's poems, one about 1736 in **Caerdydd 4.156** (C 64), which contains 51 poems, and the other about 1761 in **Cwrtmawr 129**, which contains 61 with virtually no duplication of the first collection. The sources for C 64 are difficult to identify, apart from three poems clearly drawn from the Tanybwllch manuscript, but a number of the poems are apocrypha and the texts of the canonical poems are mostly corrupt. The texts of the second collection are closer to the Vetustus tradition, and many seem to derive from Jaspas Gryffyth's two manuscripts, G 3 and LI 120, although interference by the copyist often obscures the relationship.

Richard Thomas (1753–80) appears to have used some of the manuscripts which went through Margaret Davies's hands in making his collection of 80 of DG's poems in **Llansteffan 186**, which he copied in 1778, when he was curate of Llanegryn (see BC 902). The copyist states that he took the poems 'allan o amryw Lyfrau' ('from various books'). It is difficult to identify all his sources, since he seems to have combined texts, but a relationship with CM 129 is often evident, and he copied a number of poems from Jaspas Gryffyth's two manuscripts, G 3 and LI 120, and a few from Wy 2.

Dafydd Jones of Trefriw (1703–85) collected DG's work in three of his manuscripts, **Caerdydd 4.10** (C 84), which contains 19 poems, **BL Additional 10313**, which

contains 17, and **BL Additional 10314**, which contains a sequence of 45 poems and 7 others further on. His main source was LIGC 560, one of William Bodwrda's manuscripts (see above), but he also drew on other manuscripts, including LIGC 11816.

The largest and most important 18<sup>th</sup>-century collections are those made by the Morris brothers. William Morris put together a collection of 171 poems in **BL Additional 14932** over a period of fifteen years between 1740 and 1755. His first source was BL 14933 (see above), but he seems to have left four pages empty following the title page of his manuscript which he later filled with additional material. He began by copying Gruffydd Phylip's *cywydd* from BL 14933, and then three elegies to DG by Gruffudd Gryg, Iolo Goch and Madog Benfras, and three of DG's *awdlau* (nos 5, 6 and 11) taken from Wy 2. He then made a second title page (6r) containing the following note: 'Dechrau Gwaith Dafydd ap Gwilym yr hwn a Gychwynwyd ei Sgrifennu allan o Amryw hên llyfrau y 5ed Dydd o Ionawr 1740, a'r Drydedd Flwyddyn ar ddeg o Deyrnasiad y Brenin George yr Ail, Ac a Orphen<sup>d</sup> o Ddeutu mis Ionawr 1755 An 28 Geo. II Gan Will<sup>m</sup> Morris o Gaerdybi. 15 mlynedd y bum yn ei gynull o bell ac agos. W. Morris.' ('The beginning of the work of Dafydd ap Gwilym, the copying of which out of various old books was begun on the 5<sup>th</sup> day of January 1740, and the thirteenth year of the reign of King George II, and was finished about January 1755 An[no] 28 Geo. II by William Morris of Holyhead. Fifteen years I was gathering it from far and near. W. Morris.') There follows a sequence of 46 poems taken from BL 14933, and then 10 taken from BL 14969. The next 35 poems derive from various sources, including CM 125, LIGC 5283, and BM 53, the collection of William's brother, Lewis Morris (see below). In his letters to his brother Richard, William mentions two large manuscripts of DG's poems which came into his possession. The manuscript containing more than 80 *cywyddau* which he obtained in 1750 (see ML i, 162) was probably LIGC 560, and the manuscript containing almost 120 *cywyddau* which came into his possession in 1754 (see ML i, 325) was certainly Wy 2. He only took a few poems from LIGC 560, but he copied Wy 2 more systematically and noted variant readings from both manuscripts against poems which he already had, referring to them as 'Maes-y-porth 1' (Wy 2) and 'Maes-y-porth 2' (LIGC 560). Another manuscript from which variants were taken, and perhaps also full texts, was 'Llyfr Hir Nyffryn', one of the lost sources of Wy 2 (see above). William Morris also has a few poems from unknown sources, and the possibility must be borne in mind that he may have been copying early texts, particularly in the case of 'Trafferth mewn Tafarn' (73).

Lewis Morris's collection is in **BL Additional 14870** (BM 53), a manuscript written between about 1744 and 1748 (mostly by an amanuensis), containing 243 poems (and a further three added later). Most of its sources can be identified, a number of them manuscripts belonging to Lewis himself which subsequently went via the Cymmrodorion Society to the British Museum, and others which belonged to his brother Richard and which then went into the Llanstephan collection. The main sources, in the order in which they were used, were: BM 29 (25 poems), BL 14890 (7 poems), BM 51 (3 poems), BM 31 (8 poems), M 160 (the debate and no. 127),

BM 38 (6 poems), BM 36 (2 poems), LI 169 (2 poems), BM 55 (2 poems), CM 14 (2 poems), BL 14933 (31 poems), LI 122 (5 poems), LI 133 (89 poems), LI 120 (9 poems), LI 47 / LI 134 (18 poems), CM 5 (2 poems), and LI 6 (4 poems). Two or more sources were sometimes combined, and the texts were emended in places (see e.g. 45.23n.).

William Morris raised the possibility of publishing Dafydd ap Gwilym's poems in a letter to his brother Richard in 1750 (ML i, 163), but nothing came of the suggestion until the next generation. In 1768 Owen Jones ('Owain Myfyr') set about combining the collections of William and Lewis Morris, also adding some *englynion* to them. It is natural to assume that Owain Myfyr's manuscript, **Bangor 6**, was the basis for the volume which he and William Owen Pughe published in 1789, *Barddoniaeth Dafydd ab Gwilym*, as Daniel Huws implied.<sup>12</sup> However, Owain Myfyr lent his manuscript to Dr Gruffudd Roberts of Dolgellau, and it is not clear that he managed to get it back before 1789.<sup>13</sup> Most of the editorial work for BDG was done by William Owen Pughe, and it seems that he went back to the Morris brothers' collections, drawing also on other manuscripts available to him in London to create composite texts (e.g. 'Yr Wylan', BDG XXVIII, which combines BL 14932 and BM 53, and 'Trafferth mewn Tafarn', BDG CXLII, which combines BL 14932, BM 53 and BL 10314). Due to the nature of the Morris brothers' main sources, that is BL 14933, Wy 2 and LI 133, most of the BDG texts represent a rather corrupt version of the Vetustus tradition. An entirely new element in that volume was the group of forgeries by Iolo Morganwg, consisting of twelve of the sixteen poems in the 'Chwanegiad' (Appendix) and two in the main body of the collection.<sup>14</sup>



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<sup>12</sup> 'Transmission of a Welsh Classic', 103.

<sup>13</sup> See B vi (1931–3), 240–3.

<sup>14</sup> See G. J. Williams, *Iolo Morganwg a Chwyddau'r Ychwanegiad* (Llundain, 1926), and nos A7, 9, 34, 72, 77, 97, 113, 129, 140, 172, 174, 185, 193, and 197 in the list of apocryphal poems. The only poems in the 'Chwanegiad' which are not the work of Iolo Morganwg are nos VIII, X, XI, and XV.