Cymmrodorion
CV

The Transactions

of the Honourable

Society of Cymmrodorion.

SESSION 1905-06.

LONDON:
ISSUED BY THE SOCIETY,
NEW STONE BUILDINGS, 64, CHANCERY LANE.
1907.

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Subscription to the Society, entitling to copies of all its publications, and admission to all meetings:—One Guinea per annum.

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LIST OF PUBLICATIONS.

Y Cymmrodor, Vols. ii, iv, v, vi, vii, viii, ix, x, xi, xii. New Series, Vols. xiii, xiv, xv, xvi, xvii, xviii, and xix. 10*s.* 6*d.* per volume. [Vols. i and iii, out of print.]

The History of the Cymmrodorion. Out of print.

A Dictionary in Englyshe and Welshe, by Wyllyam Salesbury (1547). Facsimile, black letter. 4 parts, 2*s.* 6*d.* each.

The Gododin of Aneurin Gwawdrydd, by Thomas Stephens, Author of *The Literature of the Kymry.* 6 parts, 2*s.* 6*d.* each.

An Essay on Pennillion Singing (Hanes ac Henafiaeth Canu gyda'r Tannau), by J. Jones (*Idris Vychan*). 1 part, 2*s.* 6*d.*

Ystorya de Carolo Magno (from the "Red Book of Hergest"). 1 part, 2*s.* 6*d.*

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Gweithiau Iolo Goch: Gyda Nodiadau Hanesyddol a Beirniadol, gan Charles Ashton. **The Works of Iolo Goch.** Price 10*s.* 6*d.*

The Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion for 1892-93, 1893-94, 1894-95, 1895-96, 1896-97, 1897-98, 1898-99, 1899-1900, 1900-01, 1901-02, 1902-03, 1903-04, 1904-05, 1905-06. 10*s.* 6*d.* per number.

IN THE CYMMRODORION RECORD SERIES.

The Description of Penbrokshire, by George Owen of Henllys. Edited by Henry Owen, D.C.L. Oxon., F.S.A. Being No. 1 of the *Cymmrodorion Record Series.* 2 parts, 21*s.*

The Court Rolls of the Lordship of Ruthin or Dyffryn-Clwyd, of the Reign of King Edward the First, preserved in the Public Record Office. Edited, with Translations, Notes, etc., by R. Arthur Roberts, of H.M. Public Record Office. Being No. 2 of the *Cymmrodorion Record Series.* Price 21*s.*

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The Black Book of St. David's. An Extent of all the Lands and Rents of the Lord Bishop of St. David's, made by Master David Fraunceys, Chancellor of St. David's in the time of the Venerable Father the Lord David Martyn, by the grace of God Bishop of the place, in the year of our Lord 1326. Edited by J. W. Willis-Bund. Being No. 5 of the *Cymmrodorion Record Series.* Price 21*s.*

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THE

TRANSACTIONS

OF

THE HONOURABLE

SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION.

SESSION 1905-6.

LONDON :

ISSUED BY THE SOCIETY,

NEW STONE BUILDINGS, 64, CHANCERY LANE.

1907.

DEVIZES:
PRINTED BY GEORGE SIMPSON.

CONTENTS.

REPORT

OF

THE COUNCIL OF THE

Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion,

For the year ending November 9th, 1906.

PRESENTED TO THE ANNUAL MEETING HELD AT THE SOCIETY'S ROOMS, ON THURSDAY, THE 22ND DAY OF NOVEMBER, 1906.

THE Council deeply regret to report that during the last year the ranks of the Society have been sadly thinned by death. Many old and valued members who zealously supported the aims and objects of the Cymmrodorion Society for more than a quarter of a century have passed away. In particular, they would mention the loss of two of their colleagues on the Council, Mr. W. Cadwaladr Davies, whose services to Welsh Education and Welsh Literature gained for him a distinguished place in the history of his Country, and Mr. H. Lloyd Roberts, who for a considerable number of years acted as the Society's Honorary Treasurer. The list also includes two of the Society's Vice-Presidents, the late Judge Gwilym Williams, of Miskin, a warm-hearted Welshman, and Sir Walter Morgan, who for many years upheld the reputation of Wales in the Judicial Courts of the Indian Empire. In addition to these the Society has lost the services of Mr. Humphreys-Owen, the late Parlia-

mentary representative of the County of Montgomery, whose unstinted labours in the cause of Welsh University Education cannot be forgotten, Mr. Charles E. Howell, of Welshpool, a generous supporter of the literary work of this Society, Mr. Edward Morgan, one of its oldest members, the Venerable Archdeacon Thomas Williams, Dr. Whitaker, of Shrewsbury, Dr. Thomas Evans, of Newcastle Emlyn, and Mr. Llewelyn Edmunds. These and other losses have caused a great gap in the membership of the Society—a gap which the Council trusts every member will do his utmost to fill.

They are glad to be in a position to report that during the year 57 new members were elected.

In the course of the year the following meetings have been held in London :—

1905.

Nov. 16.—ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MEMBERS.

Dec. 5.—ANNUAL DINNER. Chairman, The Right Hon. the Lord Mayor.

1906.

Jan. 17.—Paper on "Ancient British Coinage", by P. W. Carlyon-Britton, Esq., F.S.A. *(President of the British Numismatic Society).*

Feb. 23.—Paper on "Dafydd ap Gwilym", by the Rev. J. Machreth Rees.

May 10.—Paper on "Italian Influence on Celtic Culture", by the Rev. G. Hartwell-Jones, M.A.

May 23.—Paper on "Walter Map", by Prof. W. Lewis-Jones, M.A.

July 10.—ANNUAL CONVERSAZIONE, at the Mansion House, by kind invitation of the Lord Mayor (Sir Walter Vaughan-Morgan, Bart.) and the Lady Mayoress.

At Carnarvon, in the *Cymmrodorion Section* of the National Eisteddfod, meetings were held :—

On Monday evening, August 20th, 1906, in the County Hall, Carnarvon, when addresses (followed by a discussion) were

delivered on "The Eisteddfod and the Colleges" (Yr Eisteddfod a'r Colegau), by W. Llewelyn Williams, Esq., M.P., and Professor John E. Lloyd, M.A.; Chairman, J. Ernest Greaves, Esq. (Lord Lieutenant of Carnarvonshire).

On Wednesday, August 22nd, at 9 a.m., in the County Hall, A. Perceval Graves, Esq., and Principal Reichel, M.A., read Papers on "Folk Song" (Cân Gwerin); Chairman, Sir William H. Preece, G.C.B.

As a result of the meeting last referred to, it is gratifying to note that a Society has been formed, with a representative Committee, for the purpose of making a systematic collection of the Folk Songs and the Folk Music of Wales.

During the year the Committee have issued:—

Y Cymmrodor, Vol. XIX, containing an "Ode on Laying the Foundation Stone of the Sanatorium for West Wales by H.R.H. the Princess Christian, 26 April, 1905", by Sir Lewis Morris, M.A.; "The Vandals in Wessex and the Battle of Deorham", by E. Williams B. Nicholson, M.A.; "The Brychan Documents", by the Rev. A. W. Wade-Evans; "Two Charters of Henry VII", by Alfred Neobard Palmer; "An Episode in the History of Clynnog Church", by Edward Owen; "The Selby Romance", by Francis Green; and signed Reviews of Books of special Welsh interest.

The Council deeply regret that the Volume of *The Transactions* which should have been published some months ago is still unissued owing to the delay in obtaining two of the papers which form part of the contents. They are glad to report that the difficulty is now largely at an end, and they hope to issue the number before the close of the year. It contains: "Appreciations" of the late Mr. Stephen Evans, by Sir Lewis Morris and Sir Marchant Williams, and a Portrait of the late Chairman of the Council; the paper of Sir D. Brynmor-Jones on "The Brehon Laws"; Mr. R. A. Griffith's paper on "The Welsh Epic"; Mr. Robert Bryan's paper on "The Melodies of Wales"; and the Rev. T. Shankland's record of "The Life and Work of Sir John Philipps of Picton."

It is a source of the greatest satisfaction to the Council to be able to announce the publication of Part iii of Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, gratuitous copies of which have been placed at the disposal of members through the generosity of the Editor, Dr. Henry Owen. The Council gladly record the fact, that in appreciation of Dr. Owen's generous gift and his services to the cause of Welsh History, one of the members of the Society (Mr. Simner) has made a substantial contribution to the Record Series Fund. They desire to recommend so excellent an example to the consideration of other members of the Society.

The Transactions for the current year are in the Press, and it is hoped to issue them early next year. The volume contains the Papers on "Ancient British Coinage", "Dafydd ap Gwilym", "Italian Influence on Celtic Culture", and "Walter Map", read before the Society in the course of last Session. Vol. XX of *Y Cymmrodor* is also in the Press, and contains the Rev. Robert Williams' "Criticism and Translation of the *Ystorya de Carolo Magno*". For the sixth number of *The Record Series* the Council have selected the Early Diocesan Records of St. Davids. These are now being transcribed by Mr. J. Vasey Lyle of the Public Record Office, and will be edited and translated by Mr. Willis Bund, who will furnish the work with an historical introduction. The Council, with the view of securing, if possible, the publication of the work of the Rev. S. Baring Gould and the Rev. John Fisher on *The British Saints*, have authorised the circulation of a prospectus of the work, and if a sufficient number of subscribers is obtained the publication will be proceeded with at an early date.

The arrangements for the coming Lecture Session include promises of papers on subjects of special Welsh interest. Mr. Richard S. Ellis, M.A., will speak on "Edward Lhuyd"; Professor Ffrangcon-Davies, M.A., on

"The present position of Music in Wales"; The Rev. John Fisher, B.D., on "Welsh Saints"; and Mr. Ivor B. John, M.A., on "The Welsh National Emblem".

The Annual Dinner of the Society will be held on Monday, the 10th of December, 1906, at the Whitehall Rooms, Hôtel Mètropole, and the Council are pleased to announce that the Right Hon. D. Lloyd George, M.P., President of the Board of Trade, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society, has promised to preside. They have also pleasure in announcing that Sir John H. Puleston, who occupied the chair at the preliminary meeting that led to the re-organization of the Cymmrodorion in the year 1873, has accepted an invitation to the Dinner as the guest of the Society.

Under the Society's Rules the term of office of the following officers expires, viz. :—

THE PRESIDENT,
THE VICE-PRESIDENTS,
THE AUDITORS,

and ten members retire in accordance with Rule 4, viz. :—

MR. R. HENRY JENKINS,
MR. W. GOSCOMBE JOHN,
REV. G. HARTWELL JONES,
REV. H. ELVET LEWIS,
MR. T. E. MORRIS,
MR. ALFRED NUTT,
MR. EDWARD OWEN,
DR. HENRY OWEN,
SIR ISAMBARD OWEN,
PRINCIPAL RHŶS.

A vacancy has also arisen through the death of Mr. H. Lloyd Roberts, and Mr. Francis Green having gone to reside in Pembrokeshire desires to tender his resignation of his seat on the Council.

THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION.

Statement of Receipts and Payments.

FROM 9TH NOVEMBER, 1905, TO 9TH NOVEMBER, 1906.

Cr. *Dr.*

	£	s.	d.
To Balance in hand, November 9th, 1905 ..	83	6	5
„ Subscriptions received	400	0	0
„ Sale of Publications	15	15	6
	£499	1	11

	£	s.	d.
By Rent of Offices, Fire, and Lighting ..	74	12	0
„ Publications: Cost of Printing and Distribution, *Y Cymmrodor*, Vol. XIX £81 7 11; Circulars *re The British Saints* 4 7 0	85	14	11
„ General Printing	28	2	6
„ Cymmrodorion Record Series: Donation towards Cost of Printing	50	0	0
„ Lectures, Meetings, and Conversazione	24	9	2
„ Eisteddfod Section Expenses ..	16	13	1
„ Library Expenses		14	5
„ Stationery, Postage, and General Expenses	33	2	8
„ Commission on Publications Sold and Subscriptions Received (1905) ..	19	16	0
„ Secretary's Remuneration	50	0	0
„ Balance in hand	115	17	2
	£499	1	11

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THE

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FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF

Literature, Science, and Art, as connected with Wales.

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(Corrected to 31st March 1907.)

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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion.

SESSION 1905-1906.

THE SAXON, NORMAN AND PLANTAGENET COINAGE OF WALES.[1]

By P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A.,

President of the British Numismatic Society.

Coinage of Howel Dda, 913-948.

An account of the coin of Howel Dda, the obverse of which figured so prominently at the head of the Prospectus of the British Numismatic Society, has been awaited with much interest. This silver penny, with two others of the Saxon King Eadmund, formed Lot 1 at the sale of a collection of coins and medals, "The Property of a Nobleman," by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge, on 29 June 1903, just after the foundation of the Society. The following are the descriptions from the catalogue of the three coins:—

> Lot I. Penny of Eadmund—*Obverse.*—+EADMUND REX. Small cross pattée. *Reverse.*—MELPOMNE in two lines, divided by crosses; above and below, rosette (Ruding, xviii, 4).

[1] Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion at 20, Hanover Square, on 17th Jan. 1906. Chairman, Sir Owen Roberts, D.C.L., LL.D.

Another similar, King's name retrograde, moneyer AFRANDER. Another of Eadgar (?), same type, King's name blundered, moneyer GIL + SVL +, letters in field (Ruding, Plate xxi, 10), well preserved.

The late owner of the coins, the pleasure of whose friendship the writer has had for a number of years, relates that the coins were taken by him to the British Museum, and that one of the officials in the coin and medal department undertook the cataloguing of the collection. To the want of perception on the part of this official, and of the numerous other persons who had the opportunity of seeing the lot, the author is indebted for the acquisition, at a nominal figure, of three very interesting coins.

As the catalogue description is in material respects inaccurate, the correct descriptions of the three coins constituting Lot 1 will now be given, although it is only with the last of them that this paper is immediately concerned.

1. *Obverse.*—EADMYND REX, between two circles; in centre, small cross pattée.

   Reverse.—MÆLD in the upper line, OMENĒ (the ME in monogram) in the lower line, divided by three crosses; above and below, ornament composed of six pellets around a central pellet. Plate, Fig. 2.

2. *Obverse.*—+FAdbdAИDƄE+ (retrogade and reading outwards) between two circles; in centre, small cross pattée.

   Reverse.—AFRA in the upper line, ĪIDER in the lower line; above, ornament composed of seven pellets around central pellet; and below, ornament composed of eight pellets around a central pellet. Plate, Fig. 3.

3. *Obverse.*—+HOƤÆL REX⁘E between two circles; in centre, small cross pattée.

Reverse.— GIL+∴ in the upper line, ∞ ZYL+ in the lower line, divided by three crosses; above and below, ornament composed of six pellets around a central pellet. Plate, Fig. 1.

As regards (1), the almost classical MELPOMNE (MELPOMENE!) of the cataloguer is really the well-known moneyer of Chester MÆLDOMEN followed by what is probably intended for the monogram LĒ of the mint name LEIGECEASTER (Chester). This specimen has additional interest in that it is over-struck on a coin bearing a bust, or portrait, but whether of Eadmund or of his immediate predecessor, Æthelstan, is uncertain.

Concerning (2), instead of the moneyer ΛFRANDER we have the moneyer ΛFRΛ, followed by an abbreviation II_{o} for monetarius or moneta, and the mint name DER for DERBY. This is the only coin hitherto noted of Eadmund bearing the name of Derby as its minting-place.

As regards (3), one of the most important coins which has come to light in recent years, the obverse reads with absolute clearness +HOPÆL REX∴Ɛ for Howel Rex, the last letter is probably Ɔ with a mark of contraction through the upright stroke, for the mark cuts right through the upright, and is intended for Cymriorum, or whatever the Latin equivalent for Cymri in the genitive plural then was.

The reverse discloses the name of the moneyer GILLYZ, *viz.*: GIL (forward) and LYZ (retrograde), the ∞ (= S) above the Z signifying the possessive case, MOT for MONETA being understood.

The three coins, when they came into the possession of the writer, were coated with the green deposit so usual in the case of coins of the period, and, in addition, No. 1 had some rusty spots and a dark tone, but looking to their general appearance they may well have been discovered

together. After cleaning, Nos. 2 and 3 disclosed white silver, but No. 1 still retains a slightly darker tone. These indications, coupled with the fact that the three coins are of the not far distant mints of Chester and Derby, raise the inference that they were probably found together in north-west Mercia. The coin reading HOPÆL REX is the first coin found or identified bearing the name of a King of Cymru (the land of brothers), or, as the country is called by those not inhabiting it, Wales (the land of strangers). The name Howel is one frequently occurring in the annals of Cambria, and it is now proposed to consider to which of the kings of this name the piece in question may be reasonably attributed.

The types of the obverse and reverse of the coin are common to the Saxon Kings Eadmund, Eadred, Eadwig, and Eadgar, and, like certain types of the Northumbrian Kings Anlaf and Eric, were imitated from those of the neighbouring Kings of Wessex and Mercia. A moneyer Ingelgar, for example, coined for Anlaf, Eric and Eadred at York, as did the moneyer Hunred at the same place for Eric and Eadred.

In like manner the moneyer GILLYS coined for Eadred (no mint specified), and for Eadgar at Chester, and also for Eadgar, in his last type, at Hereford. The following are descriptions of coins by this moneyer:—

1. EADRED 946-955.—*Obverse:* EADRED REX. Small cross pattée. *Reverse:* GILLE, S MOT, ꝏ++, in three lines; above and below, rosette of pellets. Plate, Fig. 4. *P. Carlyon-Britton.*
2. EADGAR 957-975.—*Obverse:* EADGAR REX. Small cross in centre. *Reverse:* GILLYS MO.OL+EO for GILLYS MO LE in three lines; above and below, rosette of pellets. Struck at Chester. Montagu Sale Catalogue, Lot 713.

3. *Obverse:* Same. *Reverse:* GILLYS MOL+EO, same type. Struck at Chester. Plate, Fig. 5. *P. Carlyon-Britton.*
4. *Obverse:* +EADGAR RE+ *Reverse:* GILLYS OL+EO, same type. *British Museum Catalogue*, vol. ii, No. 28.
5. *Obverse:* +EADGARE. *Reverse:* GIL LYS O+O, same type. Weight, 22·9 grains. *British Museum Catalogue*, vol. ii, No. 157.
6. *Obverse:* +EADGAR RE+. *Reverse:* GILYZ MŌ O+O, same type. Weight, 23·5 grains. *British Museum Catalogue*, vol. ii, No. 158.
7. EADGAR.—*Obverse:* +EADGAR REX ANGLOW. Filleted bust to left. *Reverse:* +GYLLIS M⁻O HEREFO. Small cross pattée. Struck at Hereford. *Hildebrand*, No. 16.

The coin of Howel bears a nearer resemblance in workmanship to the pennies of Eadmund, 939-946, than to those of the other Saxon kings of about the period when it was presumably struck, the triangle of pellets on both the obverse and reverse, and the extra cross in the upper line of the reverse, being characteristic features of some of Eadmund's coins.

The most celebrated Howel was Howel Dda, or Howel the Good, son of Cadelh, son of Rodri Mawr, or Roderic the Great. From the *Annales Cambriæ* we learn that King Cadelh (Catell, Catel), the son of Rodri, died in A.D. 909, and that Anaraud (Anaraut), King of the Britons (Welsh), died in A.D. 915. The date of Howel's death is given in the *Annales Cambriæ* as occurring in A.D. 950, but in the *Brut-y-Tywysogion* the entry is

> "948. And Howel the Good, son of King Cadell, chief and glory of all the Britons, died."

The years of the *Annales Cambriæ* appear to be always

two in advance of those of the *Brut-y-Tywysogion*, so that the date of the death of King Cadelh would, according to the latter reckoning, be A.D. 907, and the death of King Anaraud, A.D. 913. It is presumed, therefore, that the reign of Howel Dda extended from A.D. 913 to 948 or from A.D. 915 to 950, a period of thirty-five years.

During some of these years Eadweard, the son of Ælfred the Great, was King of Wessex, while Æthelflæd, daughter of Ælfred, was Lady of the Mercians until her death in 922, when Eadweard became King of Wessex and Mercia until his death in 925. He was succeeded by his son Æthelstan, who ruled until the 27th of October, 939, when he was succeeded by his brother Eadmund, who reigned until assassinated by Leofa, at Pucklechurch, in Gloucestershire, on the 26th of May, 946. Eadmund was followed by his brother Eadred, who in his turn died on the 23rd of November, 955.

The reign of Eadweard was one of constant strife with the Danes; and in subduing them he was most ably assisted by his equally warlike sister Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians. They adopted the system of raising burhs, or fortifications, over against the strongholds of their enemies. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* abounds with accounts of the erection of burhs and with stories of the submission, and rebellion anew, of the Danes and their allies, the Irish-Danes, Scots and Welsh. The Welsh, or Cymri, conscientiously believing in their ancient rights, were always willing to assist a new invader in harassing the older Angle and Saxon usurpers. Under the year 907 in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, we learn that Chester was then renovated, a place, which, in 894, had been described as a desolated city called Legaceaster in Wirrall. In June, 916, Æthelflæd sent a force into Wales and took Brecknock by storm, and there captured the King's wife with four-and-

thirty persons; that she was the wife of Howel Dda is usually accepted, and, in any case, this discloses a state of unfriendly feeling between the Mercians and their more anciently established neighbours in Cymru. In 922 all the people in the Mercians' land, who had before been subject to Æthelflæd, submitted to King Eadweard, and the kings of the North Welsh, *Howel* and Cledauc and Jeothwel, and all the North Welsh race sought him for lord. This submissive attitude seems to have been chiefly dependent on the warlike king's near presence, as in the year 924, when King Eadweard had nearly completed his victorous career, the *Chronicle* again recounts that he was chosen for father and for lord by the King of the Scots and King Ragnald (who had won York in the previous year), and the sons of Eadulf, and all those who dwelt in Northumbria, as well English as Danish and Northmen, and others, and also the King of the Strathclyde Welsh and all the Strathclyde Welsh.

In this connexion *William of Malmesbury* tells us that King Eadweard, after many noble exploits, both in war and peace, a few days before his death *subdued the contumacy of the City of Chester, which was rebelling in confederacy with the Britons*, and placing a garrison there, he fell sick and died shortly afterwards at Fearndun.[1]

The "subduing" was not, however, very lasting, as in the next year we read that the new king, Æthelstan, subjugated all the kings that were in this island, Howel, King of the West Welsh, and Constantine, King of the Scots, and Owen, King of Gwent, and Ealdred, son of Eadulf, of Bamborough; and with pledge and with oaths they confirmed peace in the place which is named Eâmôt on the twelfth day of July, 926, and renounced every kind of idolatry, and after that departed in peace.

[1] Probably Farndon in Cheshire.

In the year 926 (924) we find from the *Annales Cambriæ* that Howel Dda, the son of Cadelh, went to Rome, and Elen, his mother, died. He seems to have taken the opportunity afforded by the conclusion of peace with King Æthelstan to have gone to Rome to obtain the sanction of the Pope to the celebrated code of laws, more fully referred to hereafter, in respect of which his reputation has been chiefly preserved to this day. In 937 he is believed to have been one of the kings defeated by Athelstan at the great battle of Bremesburgh.

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, during the reigns of Æthelstan, Eadmund and Eadred, contains no further direct reference to Wales, though, under the year 944, it is recorded that King Eadmund harried over all Cumberland, a province then still claimed by the Welsh, and gave it up to Malcolm, King of the Scots, on the condition that he should be his co-operator both on sea and on land. Eadmund and his brother Eadred seem to have been chiefly occupied in wars with Northumbria and its Hiberno-Danish rulers. The *Chronicle* records the history of successive battles, peaces and renewals of strife, ultimately terminating in Eadred's possession of the Northumbrian realm.

Let us now consider when the coin of Howel Dda is likely to have been minted.

In the preface to the *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, 1841 (Aneurin Owen), it is stated that "about the commencement of the tenth century we find Howel Dda, or Howel the Good, a conspicuous king in South Wales, in the government of which he succeeded his father Cadell. He inherited from his mother Elen possessions in Powys, and his influence appears to have been powerful throughout North Wales." As we have seen above, Howel went to Rome in 926, and in the same year his mother Elen died.

The reign of Æthelstan seems to have been one when

the strength of the King of Wessex was fully felt, but, on his death in 940, when his brother Eadmund, a lad of 18 years, succeeded, it may well be that Howel Dda, then in the height of his power, tried to put into execution the Cymric ideal of a ruler of all the Britons, the wearer of Arthur's crown. For this purpose Chester was the best available capital, uniting as it did the land of Cymru and the territories of the Strathclyde Welsh, situate in the fairest vale of the land and commanding the seas leading to and from Ireland, the land of the foes to English rule and the constant invaders of Northumbria.

No coin of Eadweard, Æthelstan, or Eadmund bearing the name of Howel's moneyer, Gillys, has yet been recorded, but as we have seen, the name occurs on those of Eadred and Eadgar, and in the case of the earlier coins of the latter king, in conjunction with the mint of Chester. It is therefore suggested that the coin of Howel Dda is of Eadmund's reign, soon after his accession, and that Gillys continued to coin at Chester for Eadred and Eadgar, just as Ingelgar coined at York for Anlaf, Eric and Eadred.

In the laws of Howel Dda he is styled "Prince of Cymru" and "King of all Cymru". There are three versions of the code, one for Venedotia, or North Wales, a copy being deposited at the King's Court at Aberffraw; one for Demetia, or South Wales, a copy being deposited at Dynevor; and the third for Gwent, or South-east Wales. The laws show that the king had a proper conception of his dignity. In his great hall at Aberffraw, in Gwynedd, the King was inviolable; the violation of his protection, or violence in his presence, could only be atoned for by a great fine—a hundred cows and a white bull with red ears for each cantrev, or hundred, he possessed, a rod of gold as long as himself and as thick as his little finger, and a plate of gold as broad as his face and as thick as a ploughman's nail.

His sons, nephews and any relatives he chose to summon, surrounded him, and could make free progress amongst his subjects. Of the great officers, the chief of the household came next to the King: he was the executive officer of the Court. The chief judge occupied at night the seat occupied by the king during the day, so that justice should always be obtainable. The duties and privileges of all the members of the king's retinue are minutely described. (*Wales*, by Owen M. Edwards, 1903.)

But, like all other men, whether good or bad, Howel the Good departed this life, and his dreams of British unity and one king for all Cymru were dissipated by the quarrels of his sons. Thus we learn that in the year 973 Eadgar brought all his naval force to Chester and there came to meet him eight kings, viz. (according to *William of Malmesbury* and others), Kinad, King of the Scots, Malcolm of the Cambrians, that prince of pirates, Maccus, and all the Welsh kings, whose names were Dufual, Giferth, Huval (Howel ab Howel Dda), Jacob and Judethal. These, being summoned to his Court, were bound to him by one, and that a lasting oath. He exhibited them on the river Dee in triumphal ceremony; for, putting them on board the same vessel, he compelled them to row him as he sat at the prow,[1] thus displaying his regal magnificence, who held so many kings in subjection; indeed, he is reported to have said that his successors might truly boast of being kings of England, since they could enjoy so singular an honour.

The selection of Chester for this ceremony of homage is significant when we now know that it had been chosen by Howel Dda for the exercise of his royal prerogative in the issue of a regal coinage.

[1] According to *Florence of Worcester* he took the helm.

Notes as to Howel from Dr. Birch's "Cartularium Saxonicum."

No. 663. Witenagemot at Exeter. Grant by King Æthelstan to Frithestan, Bishop of Winchester, of land at Stoke, co. Hants. 16th April, A.D. 928.

Witnesses. Next after Athelstanus.

Ego Howel subregulus consensi et subscripsi.

No. 675. Witenagemot at Worthy, co. Hants. Grant by King Æthelstan to the thegn Ælfric of land at Wæclesford, or Watchfield, co. Berks. 21st June, A.D. 931.

Witnesses. Fourth (after the King and the Archbishops of Canterbury and York).

✠ Ego Hupal subregulus consensi 7 subscripsi.

No. 677. Witenagemot at Luton. Grant by King Æthelstan to the thegn Wulfgar of land "at Hamme", or Ham, co. Wilts. 12th Nov., A.D. 931.

Witnesses. Fourth (after the King and two Archbishops).

✠ Ego Hopæl subregulus consensi et subscripsi.

No. 689. Witenagemot at Middletun. Grant by King Æthelstan to the thegn Æthelgeard of land at Meon, co. Hants. 30th August, A.D. 932.

Witnesses. Fourth (after the King and two Archbishops).

Ego Hopel subregulus consensi et subscripsi.

No. 697. Grant of privileges by King Æthelstan to Chertsey Abbey. 16th of December, A.D. 933.

Witnesses. Second (next to the King).

Ego Hupol subregulus subscripsi ✠

No. 702. Witenagemot at Winchester. Grant by King Æthelstan to the thegn Ælfwald of land at Derantune, near Canterbury, co. Kent. 28th May, A.D. 934.

Witnesses. Fourth (after the King and two Archbishops).

✠ Ego Hopæl subregulus consensi et subscripsi.

No. 703. Witenagemot at Nottingham. Grant by King Æthelstan to St. Peter's Church, York, of

land at Agemundernes, Amounderness Hundred, co. Lancaster. 7th June, A.D. 930 for 934 (?).

Witnesses. Fourth (after the King and two Archbishops).

✠ Ego Howæl subregulus consensi et subscripsi.

No. 1344 (703B) is another form of No. 703.

No. 705. Grant by King Æthelstan to Winchester Cathedral of land at Enedford, or Enford, co. Wilts. 16th December, A.D. 934.

Witnesses. Second (next to the King and before the two Archbishops).

Ego Hupal subregulus.

No. 706. Anglo-Saxon form of No. 705.

Witnesses. Second.

Hupal Vnder cyning.

No. 716. Witenagemot at Dorchester. Grant by King Æthelstan to Malmesbury Abbey of land at Broemel, or Bremhill, co. Wilts. 21st Dec. A.D. 937.

Witnesses. Fifth.

Ego Howel subregulus consensi et subscripsi.

No. 718. Witenagemot at Dorchester. Grant by King Æthelstan to Malmesbury Abbey of land at Wdetun, or Wootton, co. Wilts. 21st Dec. A.D. 937.

Witnesses. Fourth.

Ego Howel subregulus consensi et subscripsi.

No. 719. Witenagemot at Dorchester. Compound Charter of King Æthelstan, embracing the grants in Nos. 671, 672, 716 and 717, etc. 21st December, A.D. 937.

No. 721. Grant by King Æthelstan to St. Peter's Church, Exeter, of land at Topsham, co. Devon. A.D. 937.

Witnesses. Sixth.

✠ Ego Hopel regulus.

No. 815. Poetical grant by King Eadred to Wulfric the "Pedisequus" of land at Workingtone, co. Cumberland (?) A.D. 946.

Witnesses. (After the King, Archbishops, Bishops, and "*pontifices*".)

✠ Hopæl regulus.

No. 882. Grant by King Eadred to Wulfric, "*miles*", of land at Burgtune, on the River Wenris, or Bourton-on-the-Water, on the River Windrush, co. Gloucester. A.D. 949.

Witnesses. Sixth in the first column (or seventh including Eadred).

Hopæl rex.

No. 883. Grant by King Eadred to Æthelmær, "*præses*" of land at Cetwuda and Hildesdun, or Chetwood and Hillesden, co. Buckingham. A.D. 949.

Witnesses. Twelfth in first column.

✠ Hopæl regulus.

No. 1350 (1044c). Record of the dispute between Huwel Da[1] and Morgan Hen as to the descent of the Cantreds of Glamorgan, settled by King Edgar in Council. About A.D. 959 (*sic*).

Coinage of William I, Richard I and John at Rhuddlan.

We must now pass to the consideration of the Norman coinage of Wales, or rather *for* Wales. This consists of very few pieces, the only coins hitherto described being two, from the same dies, of the last issue (the Paxs type) of William the Conqueror of the Rhuddlan mint. These appeared in the great Beaworth hoard, and were originally attributed by the late Mr. Hawkins to Huntingdon, but are now included in the British Museum cabinet as to one specimen under *Huntingdon* and as to the other under *Romney*.

The two coins are read in Mr. Hawkins's list, ELFPINE ON HVDIN, and the following footnote is given:—

> "This letter as much resembles R as H, and the coin may read RVDIN for Rhuddlan, but the name of the moneyer makes H the more probable reading."

What is said as to the moneyer has reference to the coins of the same type reading IELFPINE ON HVT (Huntingdon).

[1] Probably Howel the son of Howel Dda.

The Rhuddlan coins, however, really read **+ÆLFPINE ON RVDILI**, Plate, Figs. 6 and 7, and there can be no reasonable doubt of the Welsh mint being the correct attribution, indeed it was so appropriated by Mr. Brumell as long ago as in 1838. The name IELFPINE occurs on coins of many mints of the pax-type issue, amongst them, of Hereford, a city on the Welsh border.

From *Domesday Book*, vol. i, folio 269, we learn that Rotbert de Roelent or Rodelend (Rhuddlan) held North Wales of the King at farm for forty pounds. The following entries concerning Rhuddlan also occur in vol. i, folio 269:—

> "CHESHIRE.
>
> "IN ATISCROS HUNDRED.
>
> "Earl Hugh (of Chester) holds of the King ROELEND (Rhuddlan).
>
> "There in the time of King Edward ENGLEFELD lay, and all was waste. Earl Edwin held it. When Earl Hugh received it, it was in like manner waste. Now he has in demesne the half of the castle which is called ROELENT, and is the *caput* of this land. There he has eight burgesses, and the half of the church and of the *minting rights*, and a half of the iron ore that may anywhere be found in this Manor and a half of the water of Cloit (the river Clwyd) and of the Mills and fisheries that may be there, that is to say, in that part of the river which belongs to the fee of the Earl, and a half of the forests which pertain to any vill of this Manor, and a half of the toll, and a half of the vill which is called Bren, &c. &c. . . . . ."
>
> "ROTBERTVS de ROELENT holds of Earl Hugh a half of the same castle and borough, in which Rotbert himself has ten burgesses, and a half of the church and of the *minting rights* and iron minerals there found, and a half of the water of Cloith and of the fisheries and mills there made and being made, and a half of the toll and forests which belong to any vill of the above-said Manor, and a half of the vill which is called BREN, &c.

"The lands of this Manor, Roelend and Englefeld, or of the other bailiwicks pertaining to it, were never gelded or hided.

"In this Manor of Roelend there is made a new castle likewise called Roelent.

"There is a new borough and in it 18 burgesses between the Earl and Robert as above said, and the burgesses themselves have the laws and customs which are in Hereford and in Bretuill, that is to say, that for the whole year for any forfeitures they owe nothing except XII pence for homicide and theft and premeditated Heinfar.

"In the very year of this description toll is given to the farm of this burgh for three shillings.

"The rent of Earl Hugh out of Roelent and Englefeld is worth 6 pounds and 10 shillings. Robert's part is 17 pounds and three shillings."

Turning to Hereford, therefore, we find that, according to the survey, the moneyers paid eighteen shillings for their dies and twenty shillings within a month after receiving them: that when the King came into the city they had to mint as much money as he required, and upon their death the King received a heriot of twenty shillings, or if they died intestate a forfeiture of all their goods. It would seem, however, at Rhuddlan, that the Earl and Robert de Rhuddlan stood in the place of the King.

The Rhuddlan mint was again in operation in the reigns of Richard I and John, when short-cross pennies still bearing, as was usual, the name of Henry II, were issued.

These are of Class II, (1189-1205).[1]

✤ ÞALLI ON RVLA, *retrograde, British Museum.*

✤ ÞALLI • ON • RVLA, *retrograde,* Plate, Fig. 8. *P. Carlyon-Britton.*

✤ ÞALLI ON RVLA, *British Museum. P. Carlyon-Britton.*

[1] See *British Numismatic Journal,* i, p. 365.

✠ ÞALLI • ON • RVTLAN, Plate, Fig. 9. *W. Talbot Ready.*

✠ SIMOND ON RVLA, *British Museum.*

✠ SIMOND ON RVLA, *British Museum.*

✠ TOMAS ON RVLA. Plate, Fig. 10. *P. Carlyon-Britton.*

✠ TOMAS • ON RVLAN, Plate, Fig. 11. *P. Carlyon-Britton.*

Class III (1205-1216).

✠ ÞENRICVS ON RVLA.

✠ ÞENRICVS • ON • RVTN, Plate, Fig. 12. *P. Carlyon-Britton.*

✠ ÞENRICVS • ON RVLTN, Plate, Fig. 13. *P. Carlyon-Britton.*

✠ SIMOD ON RVLA, *retrograde.*

✠ SIMOND ON RVLA. *P. Carlyon-Britton.*

The reading of the mint names RVLAN and RVTLAN in Class II are fuller than those usually found, and the latter reading has not hitherto been published. In Class III the readings RVTN and RVLTN are also unpublished. After the fresh light these coins throw upon their attribution, the mint need no longer be followed by the query we so often see after it, for the readings can leave no reasonable doubt as to Rhuddlan being indicated.

Rhuddlan was a borough and formerly a seaport in the present county of Flint, its name being supposed to be derived from the red colour of the soil of the banks of the river Clwyd, on which it is situate. The adjoining marsh, called Englefield or "Morfa Rhuddlan", was the scene of a great battle in 795 between the Mercians under Offa and the Welsh under Caradoc, King of North Wales, who was there defeated and slain. In 1015 Llewelyn ab Sytsyllt, King of North Wales, erected (or restored) a fortress and

palace here, which, after his assassination in 1021, continued to be the principal residence of his son and successor, Grufydd ab Llewelyn. In the reign of Edward the Confessor the castle was captured by Harold. According to the *Domesday* entries, the castle at the close of Edward's reign was possessed by Edwin, Earl of Chester. A new castle was erected, as we have also seen, by Robert Fitz Umfrid, surnamed from this place "de Roelent", who was a cousin of Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester. In 1109 Grufydd ab Cynan attacked the castle, burnt the outer ward and killed many of the garrison.

Henry II in 1157 advanced to Rhuddlan, repaired the castle, and garrisoned it with a strong force. This King was again here in 1165, but for a few days only. In 1167 the castle of Rhuddlan, after a gallant defence of two months, was taken by Owain Gwynedd, and later we find it given by Henry II to Davydd ab Owain Gwynedd on his marriage with Emma, natural sister of that King.

Towards the close of the reign of Richard I, Ranulph, Earl of Chester, was besieged in this castle by the Welsh under Llewelyn ab Iorwerth, King of North Wales in succession to Davydd, but after a long siege he was ultimately relieved by Roger de Lacy, the Earl's Lieutenant. King John, in 1211, advanced through Rhuddlan into Carnarvonshire. In the following year the castle was unsuccessfully attacked by Llewelyn, but was captured by him in 1214.

The short-cross coins of Rhuddlan correspond with the events recorded in the reigns of Richard I and John, on occasions when the privilege and duty of minting the king's coins, existing in the Conqueror's reign, would be revived and enforced. The reference previously given to the custom at Hereford, and therefore also at Rhuddlan, of a special coinage whilst the King was there upon an expedi-

tion, may account for these particular issues at Rhuddlan. These pennies are, as is apparent to anyone who examines them, of rougher workmanship than those of other mints issued at the same periods, so that at a glance, and without reading the inscriptions, those having experience can allocate them to Rhuddlan, just as one can in like manner detect the coins of Edward I and II struck at Berwick-on-Tweed.

It is probable, therefore, that in each case the dies were of local manufacture, the reason in the case of Rhuddlan being the special circumstances attendant on the issue of the coins, and in the case of Berwick the remoteness of the place from the die-issuing centre, at that time London. These remarks will equally apply to the next section of the coinage of Wales described—namely, the coinage of St. David's.

The period assigned to the issue of the various classes of short-cross coins are those suggested by Mr. H. A. Grueber in his account of the Colchester find,[1] being, with a slight modification, the classification arrived at by Sir John Evans many years before. The date 1208, however, is corrected to 1205.

In his account of the Rhuddlan mint contained in the same paper,[2] Mr. Grueber remarks that "the absence of any record of a grant of a mint to the place is due to the exigencies under which the coins were struck". He seems, therefore, to have been unaware of, or to have forgotten, the important entries in *Domesday Book* relating to the "moneta" of Rhuddlan and its ownership, which may also account for the allocation of the Rhuddlan coins of William I to the mints of Huntingdon and Romney, in the trays of our National collection.

[1] *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th Series, vol. iii, p. 156.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 173.

The short-cross coins of Henry II, and his immediate successors, reading **LAR** and **LARD**, formerly attributed to Cardiff, have been rightly corrected to Carlisle (Carduil), and Wales was thus left mintless until a short time since.

NOTES ON RHUDDLAN FROM THE PIPE ROLL,
14 HEN. II, P. 199, A.D. 1167-1168.

Windlesores. (Richard de Luci renders the account.)

Gaufrido de Ver. c li. ad custodiendā March Walie.

* * *

Et Comiti Cestr̃ .xx. m̃ ad muniēd Castell de Ruelent.

* * *

Et Gaufr̃ de Ver. .iiii. li. * * s ad ꝑficiendā libaț seruentū ī Discessu ex̃citu[9] de Ruelēt.

Anglicized.

To Geoffrey de Ver £100 for the guarding of the Marches of Wales.

* * *

And to the Earl of Chester 20 marks for the strengthening of the defences of the Castle of Ruelent [Rhuddlan].

* * *

And to Geoffrey de Ver £4 in the furnishing of payments to servants in the marching off (? retreat or withdrawal) of the army from Ruelent [Rhuddlan].

COINAGE AT ST. DAVID'S, IN THE TIME OF WILLIAM I.

Among the coins of William I discovered at Beaworth in 1833, there are enumerated, in the account by the late Mr. Edward Hawkins of that find printed in *Archæologia*, Vol. 26, and reprinted in Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage*, five specimens bearing on the reverse the inscription:

+ TVRRI ON DEVITVN.

These are placed under the head of "uncertain", in lieu of being assigned, as are the bulk of the coins, to some definite place of mintage.

By way of an explanation of the uncertainty, the following footnote is added.

> "These pieces are probably forgeries, and the names of the mint and moneyer factitious. See the account of some barbarous coins at the end of the catalogue."

Following the direction contained in the footnote we find, not quite at the end of the catalogue, but mixed up with the coins of York:

> "16.[1] The workmanship of which is exceedingly bad, and of a peculiar character; on three only of them the King's name is intelligible, and none of the reverses are so, except perhaps one, viz., NVTIVED NO IIVT, *i.e.* TVRRI ON DEVITVN, written retrograde: and it is remarkable that the five coins inserted in the foregoing list, with this legend, are the only ones which resemble these barbarous pieces in workmanship."

To this description is appended another footnote, in the following words:

> "It is difficult to ascribe a probable origin to these coins; the workmanship is so bad and so different in style, the inscriptions so entirely without probable interpretation, that they can scarcely be considered to have been struck under the royal authority; and yet the weight and fineness of the metal, equalling that of the authentic coins, seem to take away the great temptations to forgery."

The inconsistency between the first and last footnotes is too obvious to render comment desirable or necessary. The uncertainty and want of logical thought, unhappily so usual in the case of the official numismatist, are here displayed, but fortunately clothed in language too honestly

[1] The number 16 refers to the number of specimens discovered.

simple to disguise the facts. We are able to extract the following points :—

1. That twenty-one coins of this "uncertain" class were examined by Mr. Hawkins.
2. That they came from the great Beaworth hoard in company with thousands of undoubted coins of William I.
3. That six bore the inscription + TVRRI ON DEVITVN, which, in one case, was retrograde.
4. That the remaining fifteen "uncertain" specimens resembled the six "Devitun" coins in being of "bad," "exceedingly bad," "different" and "peculiar" workmanship, character and style.
5. That the weight and fineness of the metal of the whole twenty-one "uncertain" coins were equal to those of the undoubted and authentic examples.

The facts that the coins under consideration are of the weight and fineness of the last issue of the reign of William I, the Paxs-type (Type VIII),[1] and were found with a great deposit of money chiefly of that issue, which presents none of the peculiarities alluded to by Mr. Hawkins, should have enabled him to finally dismiss the theory of these pieces being forgeries.

The circumstance of the "uncertain" coins having been found with many others of the same type of good workmanship, precludes the idea of their having been of the later manufacture, and mere degraded reproductions through the faulty copying and recopying over a long period of a well executed original pattern.

It must therefore be concluded :

1. That the "uncertain" coins are genuine, and con-

[1] These numerals refer to the order of types in the writer's *Numismatic History of the Reigns of William I and II*, commenced in Vol. ii of the *British Numismatic Journal*.

sequently not forgeries of their period of issue or of any subsequent time.

2. That they are of the same issue and period as the other coins of the Paxs-type.
3. That they were current coin, and, like the remainder of the Beaworth coins, had stood the test of, and had been deposited in, the Royal Treasury at Winchester.[1]

Having deduced these definite conclusions, it is now proposed to closely consider the coins and the inscriptions borne upon them.

The mint named Devitun was for a long time referred to Devizes, in Wiltshire, apparently because of the similarity of the first two syllables. There seems to have been no substantial ground for this attribution, because, as *Domesday* shows us, at the time of its compilation, which was immediately prior to the period of issue of the Paxs-type coins, Devizes was called "Theodulveshide". The present writer, early in 1901, suggested Downton, in Wiltshire, as the place of mintage of the Devitun coins, but was chiefly influenced in that view by the attribution to Shaftesbury of a remarkable penny of the moneyer Godesbrand, more particularly referred to hereafter.

At the time of the attribution of the Devitun coins to Downton it must be remembered that the subject of a Welsh coinage had not received any consideration, or to be more correct, it was then thought that there was no Welsh coinage to be considered.

The Devitun coins consist of several groups, all intimately connected.

1. *Obverse.*—**✠PILLEIM REI✠**; similar to the ordinary design of Type VIII—the Paxs-type—but a

[1] *British Numismatic Journal*, i, p. 27.

large annulet intersecting the arches of the crown and a cross pommée on the King's right shoulder.

Reverse.—✠GODESBRAND ON SI; ordinary design of Type VIII, but of rougher workmanship. Plate, Fig. 14.

2. *Obverse.*—From the *same* die as No. 1.

Reverse.—✠TVRRI ON DEVITVN; similar to No. 1. Plate, Fig. 15.

3. *Obverse.*—✠PILLELM REI✠; ordinary design of Type VIII, but of rougher workmanship.

Reverse.—✠TVRRI ON DEVITVN; from the *same* die as No. 2. Plate, Fig. 16.

4. *Obverse.*—Blundered inscription, three pellets on the King's right shoulder (as is usual).

Reverse.—Blundered inscription. Ordinary type but of rough workmanship. Plate, Fig. 17.

5. *Obverse.*—Similar, but cross pommée on the King's right shoulder.

Reverse.—Similar to No. 4. Plate, Fig. 18.

It will be noted that Nos. 1 and 2 are from the same obverse die, and that Nos. 2 and 3 are from the same reverse die, so the three pieces are indissolubly connected.

The large annulet which cuts the arches of the crown on Nos. 1 and 2, and the cross pommée forming the ornament on the right shoulder of the King on Nos. 1, 2 and 5, are unmistakable signs of the ecclesiastical origin of the pieces bearing them, although the cross pommée has not hitherto been noticed in this significance on coins earlier than some of the short-cross series of the reigns of Henry II to Henry III.[1]

The conditions require, therefore, the attribution of the Devitun pieces to an ecclesiastical mint situate in a remote

[1] *British Numismatic Journal*, i, p. 38.

district where the coins emanated from dies of local manufacture, and did not possess the good work and neat design existent in the case of coins issued from mints to which dies were supplied from the great centre of London.

St. David's, in the remote west of Wales, the site of an ancient episcopal, if not an archiepiscopal See, the resting place of the Patron Saint of Wales, a celebrated shrine of pilgrimage visited by William the Conqueror himself, seems to fulfil all the conditions required by the money under consideration. *Dewi* is the Welsh for David, and one of the four townships or "cylchs" (= circles, or courses), into which the parish is divided, is even now called Dewiston, just as the peninsula on which St. David's is situate is known as Dewisland. Dewiston and Oppidum Sancti Davidis are the recognised equivalents to St. David's.

To a Norman moneyer DEVITVN was the obvious rendering of Dewiston.

Having now dealt with the mint, let us see what light is thrown upon the matter by the name of the moneyer, Godesbrand, which occurs on No. 3.

The earliest coin known to the writer bearing this name, and having sufficient of that of the mint to definitely determine the place, is one of Type VII[1] (A.D. 1055-1057) of Edward the Confessor, which reads on the reverse, +GODESBROND ON SCR=Shrewsbury.

It is therefore probable that the coins of Type VI (A.D. 1053-1055) and Type IX (A.D. 1059-1061), Nos. 1164 and 1173 in Vol. ii of the *British Museum Catalogue*, must be removed from Shaftesbury to Shrewsbury, together with the writer's coin of Type X, reading +GODE ꝺBRAND only,

[1] These numerals, when they refer to coins of Edward the Confessor, are the order of his types in the writer's "Eadward the Confessor and his Coins", *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1903.

and the remarkable "mule" reading +GODEƧBRAND ON Ƨ which is No. 1175 of the *British Museum Catalogue.*

The problem is, however, to some extent complicated by reason of the facts that the name Godesbrand, or Godsbrand, occurs at Shaftesbury on coins of Types VI (Hks. 243), VII (Hks. 239), and VIII (Hks. 241) of William I; on an Exeter coin of Type VII (reading not authenticated); at Malmesbury on the mule VII–VIII (Hks. 240) and Type VIII (Hks. 241); also on coins of Type VIII of BA (probably Barnstaple) and C (Cricklade?); and on coins of Type VIII reading SRI and SI hitherto attributed to Shaftesbury, but which probably ought to be removed to Shrewsbury.

There seem, therefore, to have been more than one moneyer of the name of Godesbrand, but it is at least worthy of note that the name does not appear again after the issue of the last type of the Conqueror's coins.

The Godesbrand who struck at Malmesbury probably exchanged towns with Seword, of Barnstaple, during the issue of Type VIII of William I, as both names occur at each town on coins of that issue, and the last named continued to strike at Malmesbury during the issue of Types 1 and 2 of William II.

Godesbrand of Shrewsbury seems to have gone to St. David's, probably by the direction of Roger de Montgomery, as lord of both Shrewsbury and Pembroke, taking with him, at any rate, his movable upper or reverse die.

His mission there was, we may infer, to instruct Turri, the moneyer of Sulien, Bishop of St. David's, in the art of coinage.

His first act would therefore be to engrave an obverse die and to use it in conjunction with his imported Shrewsbury die. Then came the engraving and use of the die which produced the reverses of Nos. 2 and 3, first with the

obverse die of No. 1, and then with a new obverse die, or, it may be, with the obverse die properly belonging to the reverse of No. 1, as it bears no distinctive ecclesiastical mark and may well have been brought by Godesbrand from Shrewsbury.

Godesbrand seems soon to have left his pupil Turri to do his own work, and coins Nos. 4 and 5 and some variants are attributed to this stage of the proceedings.

Turri would appear to be a form of name derived from Thurgrim, other forms of which are Turgrim, Thurrim, and Thurrin, just as Terri came from Tierri, Thidric, and Theoderic.

We have now shown that there is nothing suspicious about the name of mint or moneyer. The issue of coins at St. David's arose, it is confidently suggested, out of the visit of William I to St. David's, an event which is generally assigned to the year 1081.

The English chroniclers attribute a military motive to the expedition, while those of Wales assign to it a religious character. The actual truth seems to be that William went into Wales to inspect, and, if need be, conquer the land by the sword, but, finding no opposition, he went peacefully to St. David's and gave his action a politic turn in gaining the goodwill of the inhabitants by an act of devotion to their patron saint.

Tribute had been exacted from Wales by Harold on behalf of Edward the Confessor, then his king, and the observance of this financial duty, touching as it did both the pocket and dignity of William I, was one that he doubtless provided should be renewed or continued as a condition of his peaceful withdrawal from the land of Cymru. In this connection it must be remembered that, when in England, the Conqueror's custom was to keep his Christmas at Gloucester, and there he kept his last in the

year 1086. Gloucester was conveniently situate as regards South Wales, and thence any neglect to render tribute could have been speedily punished.

It is possible that coins of Type VI (Hks. 243) and Type VII (Hks. 239) may yet be found of the St. David's mint. Type VI was current at the date of the Conqueror's visit to St. David's in 1081. It is, however, probable that the issue of coins began and ceased with those of the Paxs-type (Michaelmas, 1086, to September, 1087).

The death of William I occurred on the 10th of September, 1087, and Bishop Sulien died in the following year, whilst in that year also St. David's seems to have been utterly destroyed by a foreign foe, probably Danes or Hiberno-Danes.

The following entry is taken from Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, ii, p. 649.

> "Anno MLXXXVIII. Sulgenus Episcopus lxxv. ætatis suæ anno moritur, Menevia frangitur et destruitur a Gentilibus."

Before concluding these remarks on the Mint of St. David's, it is the writer's pleasant duty to acknowledge the co-operation of his colleague, Mr. W. J. Andrew, in the search for a satisfactory attribution of the Devitun coins. Although the likelihood of Devi and Dewi being identical had occurred to the writer during the preparation of the other sections of this paper, the actual crystallization of the idea took place in the course of a discussion with Mr. Andrew on this and other subjects. In making this acknowledgment it is not the writer's wish to burden his friend's shoulders with the arguments adduced in support of the main proposition that the hitherto mysterious Devitun is really no other than the far-famed St. David's of Wales.

It must be remembered that at this period the Bishops

of St. David's still exercised independent archiepiscopal powers, but, under Norman influence, these were waning, and Bishop Bernard, who was elected to the see in 1115, submitted his diocese to the jurisdiction of Canterbury. Upon this event it seems not improbable that the minting rights of St. David's were transferred to the *caput* of the district—Pembroke Castle, the Norman stronghold of south-west Wales.

Coinage of Henry I at Pembroke.

The remaining discovery to be recorded is that of coins minted at Pembroke in the reign of Henry I.

Pembroke (in Cymric "Penvro", signifying a headland or promontory) is situate in the south-westernmost part of Wales, but a few miles from St. David's and near to Milford Haven, where a find of coins of Henry I occurred. Arnulf, son of Roger de Montgomery, Earl of Shrewsbury, entrusted the original fortress, or mound with stake palisade, to Gerald of Windsor, who made it an almost impregnable stronghold. During the reign of William Rufus and the revolts of Gruffydd and Cadogan, Pembroke, under Gerald, was the only castle in the west that held out against them. Early in the reign of Henry I, on the fall of Robert de Belesme, his brother Arnulf de Montgomery and Pembroke also fell, and he was sent into exile. *Orderic* twice styles him an Earl, evidently assuming that he was Earl of Pembroke, but he was probably mistaken, although Arnulf's position in South Wales, as Lord of Pembroke, was but secondary in name to that dignity.

Gerald of Windsor, who married Nest, daughter of Rhys ab Tewdwr, according to Caradoc of Llancarvan (a contemporary of Giraldus Cambrensis) rebuilt the castle of Pembroke in the year 1105 on a stronger site, called

Congarth Vechan. The marriage of Gerald of Windsor with Nest, constituting as it did a tie with the princes of Wales, aroused the jealousy and suspicion of Henry I, who used all means of reducing his authority and influence.

We find, therefore, that in 1138 Gilbert de Clare was created, by Stephen, Earl of Pembroke, and thus became possessed of the castle and extensive territories, and that the Earldom received the privilege of *jura regalia*, so that Pembrokeshire became a County Palatine.

The only three known coins of Pembroke are of Mr. Andrew's Type XIV[1] (Hawkins 262), and are in the cabinet of the writer of this paper. This type was current from 1128 to 1131. They may be described as follows:

Obverse.—✠ hENRICVS RE. Crowned bust facing; sceptre fleury (held in the King's right hand) to the left, and a star to the right of the head; suspended from either side of the crown three pellets. All within a circle springing from the shoulders.

Reverse.—✠ GILLEPATRI : ON : PEI. A large quatrefoil enclosing a star upon a cross of pellets, each foil surmounted by three annulets conjoined; opposite each spandrel, a fleur-de-lys inwards springing from an inner circle. Plate, Figs. 19, 20, 21.

The Pipe Roll of 1129-1130 records that Hait, the Sheriff, rendered an account of the firma of Pembroke, and that he had paid into the treasury £58 18*s.* 9*d.* and owed £1 1*s.* 3*d.*, thus showing that Pembroke paid a firma of £60. A little lower down is another entry bearing directly on the Pembroke coins just described.

[1] *A Numismatic History of the Reign of Henry I.*

> "Gillopatric *the moneyer* renders an account of £4 for a forfeiture in respect of the last year's money. He pays £2 into the treasury and owes £2."

This entry on the Pipe Roll of the very period of the issue of the coins described, containing, as it does, the name of the moneyer, whose name also appears on the coins, is conclusive evidence of their being of Pembroke, and is only one more instance of the value of Numismatic science as a handmaid to historical research.

DAFYDD AP GWILYM A'I GYFNOD.[1]

Gan y Parch J. MACHRETH REES.

Mi gymeraf yn ganiataol fod aelodau Cymdeithas Anrhydeddus y Cymmrodorion yn gydnabyddus a chymaint o hanes personol Dafydd ap Gwilym ag y sydd ar glawr. Fel y mae gwaetha'r modd nid yw hynny yn rhyw lawer, ac nid yw yn agos mor ddiamwys ag y buasid yn dymuno. Anodd dwedyd faint sy'n wir o'r traddodiad am ei eni mewn lle oerach na lletty'r anifail, ac am ei fedyddio ar arch ei fam yn Llan Dâf. Mae'r holl stori honno braidd yn rhy ramantus i fod yn wir llythrennol i gyd.

Ac nid yw terfynau blynyddoedd Dafydd yn glir chwaith. Y cwbl ellir ddwedyd yn sicr ydyw iddo ddechreu a gorffen anadlu o fewn y bedwaredd-ganrif-ar-ddeg. Tueddir fi i gredu mai yn y rhan gyntaf o'r ganrif honno y blodeuai, ac iddo farw cyn 1370. Cafodd noddwr caredig yn Ifor Hael o Faesaleg, crwydrodd drwy Gymru o Went i Wynedd dan farddoni ac yfed gwin a mêdd, a chwedleua ag adar a blodau a rhianedd. Nid oes dim sicrwydd lle y bu farw na pha le y gorphwys ei lwch, er yr ymddengys y dystiolaeth yn troi yn ffafr Talyllychau yn hytrach nag Ystrad Fflur.

Mewn ysgrif a ymddangosodd yn un o'r cyfnodolion ychydig dros ugain mlynedd yn ol, dywed y diweddar Ioan Ddu o'r Coedllai:—"Mae enw Dafydd ap Gwilym yn glodfawr yng Nghymru hyd y dydd hwn, a diau y pery felly tra y pery y Gymraeg. Ond eto ychydig o honom a ŵyr

[1] Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion at 20, Hanover Square, on 23rd February 1906. Chairman, W. Llewelyn Williams, Esq., M.P.

ddim, neu y nesaf i ddim am dano, heblaw ei enw yn unig." A'r dystiolaeth hon oedd wir. Wedi iddo fod yn dyddori ac yn diddanu gwerin ei wlad drwy'r canrifoedd, pan ddibynnai poblogrwydd ar gôf a llafar, ac ambell lawysgrif, mor fuan ag yr argraffwyd ei waith fe aeth Dafydd ap Gwilym yn "enw yn unig" i'r mwyafrif. Ac nid yw hynny i ryfeddu ato, oblegid dim ond dau argraffiad o'i waith a gyhoeddwyd yn ystod cant a deg o flynyddoedd—y cyntaf o dan olygiaeth Owen Jones a William Owen yn 1789, a'r ail o dan olygiaeth Cynddelw ymhen pedwar ugain a phedair o flynyddoedd wedyn. Ac yr oedd pris y naill a'r llall o'r argraffiadau hyn yn rhy uchel i'r werin fedru ei gyrhaedd. Erbyn heddyw y mae pethau dipyn yn wahanol. Ysgrifenwyd cryn lawer am Dafydd i'r gwahanol gyfnodolion yn ystod y chwarter canrif, a galwyd sylw at doraeth o'i ganiadau, a chyhoeddodd yr Athro O. M. Edwards hefyd ddetholiad bychan tlws o'i waith yng "Nghyfres y Fil" ryw chwech neu saith mlynedd yn ol. Fel drwy'r cwbl y mae'r

"Prydydd a'i gywydd fel gwin",

wedi dod eto yn rhywbeth "heblaw enw yn unig" ymysg ein cenedl. Y darganfyddiad llenyddol pwysicaf yng Nghymru ynglŷn a'r deffroad diweddaraf yn ddiau fu darganfod Dafydd ap Gwilym. Ni allwn ddwedyd, o ran hynny, mai gyda'r darganfyddiad y daeth y deffroad, ac y mae delw y naill yn amlwg ar y llall.

Ond nid yw y deffroad hyd yma wedi gwneud yr hyn y buasid yn disgwyl iddo ei wneuthur yn gyntaf oll—rhoddi i ni argraffiad newydd cyflawn o farddoniaeth Dafydd—argraffiad y gellid dibynu ar ei gywirdeb. Gwn y cytunwch a mi mai dyna angen llenyddol penaf Cymru heddyw, ac nis gall yr ieithyddwr, hanesydd llên, na'r beirniad wneud ei waith yn effeithiol hyd nes y bo'r angen hwn wedi ei gyflawni. Ni raid wrth nemawr o graffter i weled fod yr

argraffiadau presenol ymhell o fod yn gywir. Argraffwyd y rhan fwyaf o un 1789 oddiwrth gasgliad o lawysgrifau oedd ym meddiant Lewis Morris, Môn. Mae'r casgliad hwnnw yn awr yn yr Amgueddfa Brydeinig. Dywed Dr. Gwenogfryn Evans, yr hwn sydd wedi bod ers blynyddau yn copio ac yn cymharu y gwahanol lawysgrifau sydd ar gael, mai llawysgrif ddiweddar ydyw, aï bod y fwyaf gwallus o'r holl lawysgrifau o waith Dafydd a ddaeth o dan ei sylw ef. Ond mae'n sicr fod y gwaith fel y ceir ef yn argraffiad Owain Myfyr yn debycach i'r hyn a drôdd Dafydd ap Gwilym allan nag yw yn argraffiad Cynddelw. Cywiro i anghywiro a wnaeth Cynddelw, hynny yw, cywirodd lawer o'r cynghaneddion yn ol y rheolau diweddaraf, a defnyddiodd ffurfiau geiriol nad oeddynt mewn arferiad yn y bedwaredd ganrif ar ddeg.

Ond er mai argraffiad 1789 yw y cywiraf, mae yn hwnnw, yn ddiddadl, lawer o gymysgedd. Rhaid i efrydydd na ŵyr ddim am y llawysgrifau, ac na fedd ond gwybodaeth amherffaith o ieithwedd chwe chanrif yn ol, farnu pethau wrth safon syniadau, awenyddiaeth, a dull y crefftwaith. Cymerer y syniadau i gychwyn. Mae'n amlwg fod pwy bynag a gyfansoddodd gorff y casgliad yn meddu syniadau penodol am fywyd, am grefydd, ac yn enwedig am Eglwys Rufain, a'i hoffeiriaid, a'i hathrawiaethau—yr unig eglwys y gwyddai Cymru ddim am dani yn y canrifoedd hynny. Ond ceir ynddo rai darnau sy'n cynwys syniadau gwahanol am y pethau hyn, mor wahanol nes ei gwneud yn anodd iawn, os nad yn amhosibl credu mai o'r un meddwl y deilliasant.

Cymerer yr awenyddiaeth drachefn. Mae toraeth y gwaith yn wir awenyddol, mor awenyddol a dim barddoniaeth sydd yn ein hiaith, a dweyd y lleiaf am dano. Ond ceir ynddo ddarnau pur ddiawen hefyd, darnau na rydd eu darllen unrhyw fwynhad. Mi wn yn dda mai ofer

disgwyl i unrhyw fardd ganu cystal a'i oreu yn wastad. Ni ddaw yr hwyl bob amser, ac y mae anghyfartaledd mawr yng ngwaith yr oll o'r prifeirdd. Ac eto ni fedr y gwir awenydd ganu llawer iawn o linellau heb brofi i ni fod ysbryd y peth byw ynddo, serch nad yw amgen na hanner effro ar y pryd. Gan gadw hyn oll mewn côf, a eill unrhyw un gweddol gyfarwydd a barddoniaeth gredu mai yr un awen a ganodd y caniadau i Ifor Hael ag a ganodd yr awdl Folawd i Ddeon Bangor (Rhif 228 yng nghasgliad 1789)? Nid wyf yn tybied. Ac fe wêl y cyfarwydd fwy nag anghyfartaledd cydrhwng yr awdl farwnad i Ifor Hael a Nest ei wraig (Rhif 13) a'r cywydd olaf a gant y bardd (Rhif 16, Ychw.) yn yr hwn y ceir y llinellau ymofynol:—

> "Mae Ifor am cynghorawdd,
> Mae Nest oedd unwaith i'm nawdd."

Tarewir nodyn yn y cywydd na fedrodd awdwr yr awdl erioed ei gyffwrdd.

Pan y trown i edrych ar ddull y crefftwaith yr ydym yn gweled mwy fyth o amrywiaeth ac anghyfartaledd. Daw perthynas Dafydd ap Gwilym a datblygiad y gynghanedd a'r mesurau o dan sylw ymhellach ymlaen: yr hyn y dymunwn ei bwysleisio yn y fan hon yw nas gall yr oll sydd yn y casgliad fod yn gynnyrch yr unrhyw grefftwr. Ni gymerwn y cywyddau yn unig, gan adael y darnau eraill o'r naill du. Mae mwyafrif mawr y cywyddau yn dwyn ôl llaw y crefftwr celfydd, y priod-ddull yn naturiol, yr arddull yn loew, a'r gynghanedd yn rheolaidd, ac yn aml yn gywrain. Wrth ddweyd ei bod yn rheolaidd, ni olygaf ei bod yn dilyn rheolau manylaf Dafydd ap Edmwnd, ond ei bod yn dilyn rheolau sy'n glir i bob efrydydd. Yn wir, gellir dwedyd rhagor am lawer o'r cywyddau—na cheir ynddynt nemawr linell y buasai beirniaid manylaf Eisteddfodau diweddar yn eu condemnio. Dyna'r cywydd i wallt Morfudd (Rhif 25)—cywydd o 28 llinell. Nid oes yn

hwnnw ond rhyw dri gwall, a rhyw hanner gwall yw pob un o'r tri. Yng Nghywydd y Fynaches (Rhif 8)—cywydd o 60 llinell, nid oes ond pedair llinell wallus, a digon dibwys yw'r gwall mewn tair o'r pedair. Mae cywydd y Banadl-lwyn (Rhif 47) a chywydd gwahodd Morfudd i'r Deildŷ (Rhif 83) yn gwbl ddiwall. Ond mewn rhai cywyddau, megys y cywydd i'r Wydd (Rhif 106) mae'r llinellau anafus yn amlach na'r rhai di anaf, a rhai ohonynt yn hollol ddigynghanedd, ac yn afrwydd a chlogyrnog yn ogystal. Cyfeiria Owain Myfyr at y beiau a'r anafau hyn yn ei nodiad "at y Beirdd ac eraill", a sylwa "fod yn ddiamau i lios o naddynt ymlithro i'r gwaith wrth ei amlddadysgrifennu". Diau fod llawer o wir yn y sylw. Ond â Owain Myfyr rhagddo i wneud sylw pellach, fod yn y gwaith "rai beiau cynhenid hefyd, nid o anwybodaeth y Bardd, ond gwamalrwydd a diofalwch yn y cerddi masw caruaidd, weithiau yn dibrisio cynghanedd, yn enwedig y braich cyntaf". Dyna fel yr esbonia ef yr anghyfartaledd. Nid wyf yn meddwl y cytuna odid neb sydd wedi astudio'r gwaith yn drwyadl ag ef. Mae'r gwahaniaeth yn rhy fawr i gyfrif am dano yn y ffordd yna. Os Dafydd ap Gwilym a ganodd Gywydd yr Wydd ynghyda rhai eraill a briodolir iddo, yna nid ei waith ef yw y cywyddau i Ifor Hael, a Dyddgu, a Morfudd. Ond hyd nes y ceir argraffiad o'r gwaith fo'n gynyrch astudiaeth gymharol o'r holl lawysgrifau, nid yw'n bosibl penderfynu faint a gyfansoddodd Dafydd, nac ychwaith a yw y gwaith argraffedig wedi ei drwsio gan ryw law ddiweddarach.

Yn gymaint ag i mi son am y gynghanedd dichon mai yn y fan hon y byddai'n briodol cyfeirio at berthynas Dafydd ap Gwilym a'i datblygiad. Mae'r pwnc hwnnw yn teilyngu ymdriniaeth llawer helaethach a manylach nag a gafodd hyd yma, ac na fedraf finnau roddi iddo yn awr. Cynnyrch y bedwaredd ganrif ar ddeg ydyw y gynghanedd

fel yr adwaenir hi gennym ni. Mae geiriau Stephens o Ferthyr ar y pen hwn yn werth eu dyfynnu, Dyma fel y dywed: "Our literary history, from the death of Llewelyn to the time of Dafydd ap Gwilym, shows, in the department of poetry, a most striking feature. A complete revolution had taken place; and a period usually considered to be barren was one of earnest cogitation, zealous reforms, and diligent cultivation. In this period was born the incubus of Welsh poetry; those days of silent gloom, and impenetrable darkness, were pregnant with *cynghanedd*."[1] Mae'n awlwg oddiwrth y paragraff yna, yn ogystal ag oddiwrth aml baragraff arall yn ei waith, na feddai awdwr galluog *Llenyddiaeth y Cymry* fawr o hoffter o'r gynghanedd, os oedd, yn wir, yn ei deall yn drwyadl. *Incubus* y geilw hi. Heblaw hynny, y mae, mi gredaf, yn amseru Dafydd ap Gwilym hanner canrif o leiaf yn rhy ddiweddar. Nid wyf yn deall yn glir beth a olyga wrth ddweyd mai yn y cyfnod hwnnw y "ganwyd" yr *incubus* hwn. Os mai yr hyn a feddylia ydyw nad oes dim cynghanedd o gwbl yng ngweithiau beirdd boreuach, yna y mae'n cyfeiliorni. Tyfiant graddol yw'r gynghanedd, ceir ei blagur yng nghaniadau y Gogynfeirdd, megis Gwalchmai a Chynddelw, heb son yn awr am neb arall. Ond y mae'n berffaith gywir i ddwedyd mai'r cyfnod rhwng cwymp Llewelyn a marw Dafydd ap Gwilym oedd "Mis Mai" y gynghanedd. Dyna'r pryd y blodeuodd hi, ac y daeth, nid yn *incubus*, ond yn un o neillduolion prydferthaf ein barddoniaeth. Ac hyd y medraf fi farnu, Dafydd yn fwy na neb arall biau y clod am hynny. Yr oedd ef yn ddigon o grefftwr ac awenydd i ddarganfod fod yr arfer o ddechreu pob llinell o englyn neu awdl gyda'r un llythyren, a gwneud i ugaiu neu ddeg ar hugain o linellau gydodli, nid yn unig yn caethiwo'r bardd, ond hefyd yn gwneud ei waith yn

[1] *Literature of the Kymry*, p. 226.

undonog ae amhersain. Gwelodd, os oedd ffurfiau felly yn briodol i alarnad neu gerdd ogan, na wnaent mo'r tro i ddesgrifio Anian, ac i ganu rhamant serch. Ac eto yr oedd yn rhaid cael rhywbeth yn eu lle, ac mi welodd y prydydd craff y gallesid gwneud llawer mwy nag a wnelsai neb hyd hynny o odlau amrywiog ac o gyd-darawiad sain a chydsain. Wedi dechreu ymarfer a'r ffurfiau hyn swynwyd ef yn fwy gan eu naturioldeb, a'u tlysni, a'u perseinedd, a gwelodd yn gliriach eu bod yn hollol gydnaws ag ieithwedd Gymreig, yn ogystal ag yn caniatau pob rhyddid priodol i'r awen. Defnyddiodd hwy yn ddibetrus, a dilynwyd ei esiampl gan y rhai a ddaethant ar ei ol. Fel y dywedwyd eisoes y mae ganddo gannoedd o linellau hollol reolaidd yn ol y deddfau manylaf. Am y llinellau eraill yn ei waith y mae'n amlwg eu bod yn ol rheolau a droed heibio yn ddiweddarach. Mewn cynghanedd groes neu draws gadewir yr *f*, er engraifft, weithiau heb ei hateb. Y mae'r *rhagwant* mewn cynghanedd sain yn deirsill ganddo yn lled aml hefyd, a dim ond y sillaf gyntaf a groesgynghanedda a'r gobenydd, megis—

"Caru dyn lygeid-du lwyd".

A gwna cynghanedd lusg y tro ganddo os bydd yu odli gyda'r sillaf olaf ond un, serch i'r sillaf olaf fod yn dechreu gyda chydsain, megys,

"Oni'th gaf er cerdd erddrym".

Hyd y sylwais i, dyna y gwahaniaethau o bwys cydrhwng cynghaneddion Dafydd a chynghaneddion beirdd yr oes hon, heblaw ei fod ef yn llai manwl, hwyrach, nag ydym ni ynghylch yr hyn a elwir yn "rhy debyg" ac yn "dwyll odl". Gesyd ef saiu *y* pan y bo'r llafariad olaf mewn gair, i odli hefo sain *u*, a dyna ddylid wneud eto o ran hynny. Yn ol sain gair y barnai Dafydd ei le priodol mewn cynghanedd.

Yn nyddiau Dafydd ap Gwilym yr oedd prydyddu yn

grefft yng Nghymru. A phennod ddyddorol anghyffredin yw hanes y bardd wrth grefft,—bardd yn byw i ganu a dim byd arall. A all rhywun ddwedyd pa mor fore y dechreuodd barddoni fod yn grefft ymysg ein cenedl? Yr oedd felly yn y ddeuddegfed ganrif beth bynnag, oblegid cawn son am y "Bardd Teulu" yr adeg honno. Ac fe barhaodd i fod yn grefft am rai canrifoedd wedi marw Dafydd ap Gwilym. Fe ddywed William Cynwal yn un o gywyddau cyntaf yr ymryson rhyngddo ag Edmund Prys—

"Pregethwr wyd, pleidiwr plwyf,
Parod ddadl, prydydd ydwyf."

A cheir cyfeiriadau cyffelyb yn aml yng nghywyddau dilynol y ffrae. Nid dadleu y mae William Cynwal na feddai Edmund Prys mo'r ddawn brydyddol, ac nid dadleu chwaith ei fod ef ei hun yn well prydydd na'r Archddiagon, ond pwysleisio'r ffaith ei fod ef yn fardd wrth grefft, ac nad oedd yn foddlawn fod offeiriad wrth grefft yn ymgymeryd a chrefft bardd hefyd. Daw hyn yn bur amlwg yn y llinellau

"Cymer y maes, laes lwyswar,
Ddwg gamp wych yn ddigompâr;
Maes rhan cerdd, mesur yn cau,
Yma unwedd i minnau."

Chwi welwch mai tipyn o *Trade Unionist* oedd William Cynwal, yn eiddigeddus dros safle ei grefft a'r gydnabyddiaeth a delid iddi. Ond y mae'r bardd wrth grefft wedi diflannu o Gymru ers llawer blwyddyn, neu'n hytrach mae'r grefft wedi mynd, ysgwaethyroedd, yn un mor sâl i fyw arni fel na cheir neb o dalent yn ddigon rhyfygus i geisio.

Yn nyddiau Dafydd ap Gwilym, fodd bynnag, yr oedd crefft y bardd yn un anrhydeddus, yn dwyn bywoliaeth dda gyda hi, ac yn sicrhau iddo yntau edmygedd a gwarogaeth gyffredinol, ond yu enwedig edmygedd a gwarogaeth yr uchelwyr. Ac mi gredaf, pe buasai pob un ymgymerodd a'r grefft mor fedrus ynddi ag oedd Dafydd,

y cawsid y bardd wrth grefft yng Nghymru hyd heddyw. Serch i rywun ysgrifennu ar ddiwedd y copi o'r argraffiad cyntaf o'i waith sy'n llyfrgell y Cymmrodorion—"Gwir enw'r llyfr hwn ydyw Pentwr y lol"—serch i Oronwy Owen feio ar ei iaith oherwydd ei fod yn defnyddio cymaint o eiriau estronol ac achwyn arno na chanasai ar destynau mwy dyrchafedig,—a serch i Wilym Hiraethog roddi sel ei gydsyniad wrth feirniadaeth lem Goronwy—y mae'r ddedfryd heddyw, os nad yn gwbl, bron yn unfrydol fod Dafydd, a dweyd y lleiaf am dano, y crefftwr barddonol medrusaf a ganodd yng Nghymru erioed. Gwyddai i'r dim sut i lunio brawddegau naturiol, celfydd, a chain odiaeth, a cheir yn ei waith—a chymeryd yn ganiataol mai efe biau a briodolir iddo—gannoedd o linellau nas gellir gwella dim ar eu mireinder llenorol. Llinellau fel y rhai a a ganlyn er engraifft:—

"Gyda Gwen wy'n ddibenyd,
Gwna hon fi'n galon i gyd."

"Gofyn oedd gyfion iddi,
Ddyn fain deg, ddwyn f'enaid i."

"Beth a dâl anwadalu
Wedi'r hen fargen a fu ?"

Ac y mae ei awenyddiaeth pan ar ei oreu, yn deilwng o'r crefftwaith. Nid âf i ddadleu dros gywirdeb llythrenol datganiad George Borrow, "Dafydd ap Gwilym, since the time I first became acquainted with his works, I have always considered as the greatest poetical genius that has appeared in Europe since the revival of literature,"—oblegid ofnaf mai nid gwir ragoriaethau Dafydd a ennillodd iddo gamoliaeth Borrow. Ond yr wyf heb ddim petruster yn cydsynio a theyrnged Llewelyn Ddu o Fôn: "Those poems he has taken pains with are inimitable; his images full of life; his language pure and nervous; his prosody unexceptionable according to the new rules then adopted."

Mae'n debyg mai'r hyn a ddengys y gwir awenydd a'r gwir grefftwr barddonol oreu yw gallu i ganfod ac i drin ffigyrau. Meddai Dafydd y gallu hwn tuhwnt i odid neb o'r holl feirdd Cymreig. Cymerer ychydig esiamplau wedi eu dewis megis ar antur. Dywed am wallt melyngoch merch Ifor Hael ei fod

"Fel goddaith yn ymdaith nos."

"Lliw'r mellt goruwch y gelltydd,
Lliw tân y gad Gamlan gynt."

Desgrifia ddwyfoch wridog fel

"Dwy sêl o liw grawn celyn,
Dagrau gwaed ar deg eiry gwyn."

A gwefus a boch Morfudd,

"A'i chlaerwin fin chwerthinog,
A'i grudd fel Rhosyn y Grog."

Gwelodd ferch lygatddu deg rywdro, ac eb ef—

"Amrant du ar femrwn teg,
Mal gwennol ym mol gwaneg."

Yr oedd yr un mor hapus yn y ffigyrau a ddefnyddiai pan yn duchanu. Clywodd floeddiwr aflafar yn rhywle, a dyma ei ddesgrifiad ohono:—

"Gwr yn gwaeddi, gorn gwaddawd,
A'i gân fel bran am ei brawd."

Anaml ryfeddol y deuir o hyd i gymhariaeth anhapus yng nghaniadau goreu Dafydd. Mae un felly yng Nghywydd y Daran lle y cyffelyba swn y daran i swn

"Tarw cryg yn torri creigydd."

Pan welais y llinell yna fe gofiais am linell yn un o awdlau'r gadair yn Eisteddfod Genedlaethol Aberystwyth a wnaeth i Galedfryn wylltio nes tywallt ar ben ei hawdwr truan raiadrau o wawdiaith frwmstanaidd. Yr Apostol Paul oedd testyn y gadair honno, ac wrth ddisgrifio yr apostol yn ymladd ag anifeiliaid yn Ephesus, fe ddywedai

y cystadleuydd anffodus y cyfeiriwyd ato, fod y llew ymysg yr anifeiliaid hynny yn cwrcydu

"Fel cath fewn pumllath i Paul."

Bron na theimlwn innau nad oedd fawr o wahaniaeth cydrhwng trwstaneiddiwch cyffelybu llew i gath a thrwstaneiddiwch cyffelybu rhuad taran i adsain rhuad tarw yn y graig, serch iddo fod yn "darw cryg". Ac y mae afledneisrwydd y ffigiwr yn fwy amlwg oherwydd ei fod yn dod i mewn ynghanol ffigyrau urddasol a gwir awenyddol, megys—

"Taran a ddug trinoedd yn'
Trwst arfau wybr tros derfyn,—
Tân aml a dŵr tew'n ymladd,
Tân o lid, dŵr tew'n ei ladd;
Clywais fry, ciliais o fraw,
Cawrlais udgorn y curwlaw;
Creglif yn dryllio creiglawr,
Crechwen o'r ffurfafen fawr."

Ond fe ddichon mai'r engraifft oreu o'r gallu arbennig hwn yn Nafydd ydyw y llinell honno i'r Llwyn Banadl:—

"Barug haf ydyw brig hwn."

Gwelsoch lawer gwaith lwyn dan farug gauaf a'i frig cyn wynned ag arian. Tybiwch am y byrddydd wedi troi'n hirddydd, gwynder yr eira wedi rhoddi lle i felynder haul, a lle y cewch ymadrodd a ddisgrifia frig y llwyn banadl hafal i'r ymadrodd "barug haf"? Wn i ddim prun ai dieithrwch y cyfuniad neu ynte ei briodoldeb, sy'n fy swyno i fwyaf.

Y dystiolaeth gryfaf i uwchafiaeth Dafydd ap Gwilym yw y ffaith iddo greu cyfnod newydd mewn barddoniaeth Gymreig. I ychydig y rhodded y ddawn i wneud peth felly —y math hwnnw o athrylith a faidd ado'r briffordd, a thorri llwybr iddi ei hun lle ni thramwyodd neb o'r blaen. Ac oni bae fod Dafydd yn ei meddu ni buasai fawr son am dano heddyw. Fe ganodd rai darnau ar fesurau ac yn arddull ac ysbryd y beirdd a'i rhagflaenasant—o leiaf fe

briodolir darnau felly iddo—ond nid oes dim o nodau na medr arbenig Dafydd ynddynt. Mewn mesur newydd, ar destynau newydd, ac mewn arddull newydd y cafodd ef le i brofi beth a fedrai wneuthur. Mae bron yn sicr mai efe ddyfeisiodd fesur cywydd, y mwyaf persain o'r holl fesurau, a'r mwyaf poblogaidd hefyd yn nesaf ar ol yr englyn. Dywed Dr. William Owen Puw iddo ef fethu dod o hyd i un cyfansoddiad o natur cywydd ymysg cynyrchion beirdd boreuach; ac yn y mesur newydd a ddyfeisiodd neu a ddarganfyddodd, fe roes Dafydd farddoniaeth o nodwedd newydd. Tarawodd dant na chyffyrddasai neb ag ef o'i flaen oddigerth, efallai, Rhys Goch ab Rhicert. Swn gloywi arfau a mynd allan i'r gâd, swn dur yn tincian, swn griddfannau a galar sydd yng nghaniadau ein beirdd hynaf o Aneurin a Llywarch Hen hyd Gruffydd ap yr Ynad Coch a alarnadodd gwymp Llewelyn. Glynai pob un o'r beirdd hynny wrth ryw dywysog neu uchelwr, a'i orchwyl ydoedd rhoi mewn cân gofnodiad o orchestion ei arwr, a'r hiraeth a'r galar am dano ar ol iddo syrthio. A'r canlyniad yw fod yn eu cerddi hwy fwy o hanes nag o farddoniaeth yn ystyr briodol y gair. Ond ganwyd Dafydd pan oedd y mynd allan i'r drin wedi peidio, llewyrch olaf anibynniaeth y genedl wedi diffodd, a *Brut y Tywysogion* wedi ei gau i fynu "o achos dyddiau y dioddefaint oeddynt yn agos". Angenrhaid a osodwyd arno ef i chwilio am destynau newydd, ac fe brofodd pa mor wyryfol ydoedd ei athrylith drwy fyned i fyd rhamant ac anian i chwilio am danynt. Nid byd dieithr i'r athrylith Gymreig mo hwnnw chwaith, er ei bod wedi ei esgeuluso am dymor hir. Dyna fyd y *Mabinogion*, ac nis gall neb efrydu gwaith Dafydd ap Gwilym heb gael ei lwyr argyhoeddi mai cydnabyddiaeth a'r *Mabinogion* a'i dysgodd i adnabod ei gryfder. Rhyfedd mor debyg yw Dyddgu a Morfudd i Blodeuwedd ac Olwen. Cyffelyb yw'r nwyfiant chwareugar, y cyfuniad o wên a

deigryn, yr ymhyfrydiad mewn lliwiau disglaer, a'r ceinder iaith sy'n nodweddu cywyddau Dafydd i'r hyn a geir yn y Pedair Cainc a'r Rhamantau boreuaf.

Gan fod cymaint wedi ei ysgrifennu mewn blynyddoedd diweddar ynglylch hoffder Dafydd o Anian ni fanylaf ar hynny. Ond carwn ddweyd ei fod nid yn unig yn ymhoffi yn ngwedd gyffredinol Anian, ond hefyd yn sylwi yn fanwl ar ei hamrywiaeth diderfyn. Nid yw byth yn ailadrodd ei hun wrth son am dani. Bob tro yr edrychai arni fe welai "ryw newydd wyrth". Ac y mae ei ddisgrifiadau o'i helfenau a'i thymhorau, ei llwyni a'i choedydd, ei dail a'i blodau, ei hadar a'i physgod, yr un mor gywir ag ydynt o farddonol. Ni thery nodyn allan o'i gywair. Pan yng nghymdeithas Natur cadwai ei ddarfelydd ei lygad yn agored.

Ac eto, yr oedd hyd yn oed Anian yn ddarostyngedig i Serch. Carai riain yn fwy angerddol nag y carai fanadlen a bronfraith. Efe yw tâd ein rhieingerddwyr i gyd, ac y mae ei hiliogaeth, megys hiliogaeth Abram, yn aneirif. Ynglŷn a Dafydd ap Gwilym fel rhieingerddwr, haedda un ffaith fwy o sylw nag a roed iddi hyd yma, sef, ei gydnabyddiaeth a llenyddiaeth glasurol ac a llen gydamserol yr Eidal a Ffrainc. Ceir yn ei waith ddigon o brofion o'i gyfarwydd-deb a gweithiau Ovid, a Virgil, a Horace, a Petrarch. Dywedodd un ysgrifennydd flynyddoedd yn ol fod rhai o'i gywyddau, os nad yn gyfieithiadau, eto yn efelychiadau pur hapus o rai o ganiadau yr awduron a nodwyd. Ond tra nad wyf wedi cael allan y gellir cyhuddo y bardd o lenladrad mewn unrhyw fodd, y mae'n ddiddadl fod ysbryd y deffroad oedd eisoes yn gweithio ar y cyfandir wedi ei gyffwrdd yntau.[1] Nid oes lle i ameu

[1] Gofynais farn y Parch G. Hartwell Jones, M.A., Rhiethior Nutfield, gwr sydd mor gyfarwydd a llenyddiaeth glasurol ac Eidalaidd a neb a adwaenaf, am faint dyled Dafydd ap Gwilym i awdwyr

nad oedd Dafydd yn ysgolhaig. Ac y mae'r ffaith hon yn awgrymu yr ynchwiliad hynod ddyddorol, pa fodd y cafodd ei ysgolheigdod? A anfonwyd ef i rywle i'r cyfandir i dderbyn addysg. Yr oedd mynych gyrchu i Ffrainc a'r Eidal yn y ganrif honno. Neu ynte a oedd sefydliadau addysgol o radd uchel yng Nghymru yn y bedwaredd ganrif ar ddeg? A oedd ysgolion ynglŷn a'r mynachlogydd? Tueddir fi i gredu fod, ac mai yn un neu ragor o'r rhai hynny y cafodd y bardd ei hyfforddiant, ac y dygwyd ei feddwl i gyffyrddiad a llenyddiaeth cenhedloedd eraill. Diau fod y mynachod yn ysgolheigion, a llawer o honynt yn dramoriaid o genedl, ac eto anodd synio am danynt yn darllen Virgil ac Ovid a Horace yn gymysg ag astudio ysgrifeniadau Lladinaidd y tadau eglwysig. Ac anaws fyth tybied am danynt yn athrawon i Ddafydd ap Gwilym. Ond sut bynnag y daeth ef yn gydnabyddus a barddoniaeth glasurol ac a barddoniaeth Ffrainc a'r Eidal, fe awgrymodd y gydnabyddiaeth honno iddo faes awenyddol addfed na roisid cryman ynddo eto gan un prydydd Cymreig, ac wrth fedi y maes hwnnw fe enillodd yntau anfarwoldeb.

estronol, ac y mae yntau, yn garedig iawn wedi ysgrifenu y nodiad a ganlyn :—

"The question of Dafydd ap Gwilym's debt to foreign literature is a very interesting one, but requires a more intimate knowledge of both than I possess, and a closer examination than I can devote to it. It seems to me that some Welsh writers have exaggerated the connection between them. Unquestionably there were several channels of communication and not infrequent intercourse between Wales and Italy, but apart from the references to the Papacy, the Roman Catholic Church, and the ecclesiastical organizations, I have not been able to find in Dafydd ap Gwilym's poems more than one direct allusion to Italy. There appears to be no internal evidence to show that he had visited Italy or knew Italian. Many passages, however, prove that he, like several of his contemporaries, was affected by the Revival of Letters and the new spirit which arose in Italy in the Twelfth Century and culminated in the Renaissance. The correspondence between Dafydd ap Gwilym and Italian authors like

Nis gallaf adael Dafydd fel bardd serch heb grybwyll am Morfudd,

"A'i chlaerwin fin chwerthinog,
A'i grudd fel Rhosyn y Grog."

Mae ei henw hi a'i enw yntau wedi eu cysylltu a'u gilydd yn anwahanadwy. Ond pwy oedd Morfudd? Haws gofyn nag ateb. Mae'r oll a wyddis am dani yn y caniadau. Desgrifir ei hymddangosiad a'i hagwedd mor glir a chyflawn fel na cheir dim trafferth i benderfynu pa fath un ydoedd. Ond pan y ceisiwn wneud allan pwy ydoedd yr ydym ar unwaith ynghanol dryswch. Gadawer i ni fwrw golwg dros y cyfeiriadau hynny ati ar y rhai y rhaid seilio pob damcaniaeth yn ei chylch. Mewn un cywydd (Rhif 17) gelwir hi yn "Seren cylch Nant y Seri." Ni feddaf fi ddim dirnadaeth pa le y mae Nant y Seri, ond

Petrarch and Boccaccio, who exerted a profound and far-reaching influence on European literature, seems to consist in general thoughts, and these may well have been derived at second-hand or rather belonged to a common stock-in-trade of the singers of the period, especially in the South of France, between whom and Dafydd there is a close affinity. But when we turn to the Classics, our poets' debt to them is unmistakable. Dafydd ap Gwilym was no slavish imitator. His favourite Latin author was clearly Ovid. He refers to him again and again, and doubtless drew much inspiration from him. His description of *Tadmaeth Serch Morfudd* has been traced to Ovid, but nothing occurs in the *Amores* or the *Ars Amatoria*, nor apparently in any Latin author who would be accessible to him. His adoption of the name Morfudd, to disguise the identity of his ladylove, is thoroughly classical. His poem *Y Drych* is probably a reminiscence, but no copy, of Horace, Epode xv. (*Cf.* Petrarch's sonnet, *Dicemi spesso il mio fidato speglio*). His *Traethodl, Mi a wnaf, a mi a wnaf*, is an expansion of Æsop's Fable *The Ant and the Grasshopper*. A knowledge of Greek was an unusual accomplishment in his day and was practically confined to curious and professed scholars, but our poet was evidently familiar with Greek mythology and story, which reached him probably through a Latin medium. Altogether, there can be no doubt that Dafydd ap Gwilym fell under the influence of the New Learning and the accompanying revival of interest in Antiquity, but it is difficult to trace the influence in detail."

pâr ffurf yr enw imi dybied ei bod yn rhywle ym Mynwy neu Forganwg. Mewn cywydd arall (Rhif 63) edrydd y bardd hanes ei daith i ymweled a hi, ac fe enwa nifer mawr o fannau y bu ynddynt. Y maent oll yng Ngwent yn rhywle, a'r rhan fwyaf o honynt heb fod nepell o Faesaleg. Gellid meddwl, a chymeryd y cyfeiriadau hyn yn unig, mai un o rianedd y parth hwnnw o Gymru ydoedd Morfudd, a'i bod hwyrach yn ferch i Ifor Hael. Ond ni chrybwyllir ei henw yn yr un o'r cywyddau i Ifor a Maesaleg. Mae'n wir y cysylltir hi ag Ifor a Nest yn y cywydd olaf a gant y bardd (Rhif 16 yn y Chwanegiad) :—

"Mae Ifor a'm cynghorawdd,
Mae Nest oedd unwaith i'm nawdd;
Mae dan wŷdd Morfudd fy myd,
Gorwedd ynt oll mewn gweryd."

Ond nid yw y cyfuniad yn profi fod unrhyw berthynas rhyngddynt. Ac eto mae'n bur glir fod un, neu ragor efallai, o gariadon Dafydd yn y Deheubarth yn cael ei chyfarch wrth yr enw Morfudd. Mewn cywyddau eraill, rhy liosog i'w nodi, dywedir yn bendant.

"Hon o Wyuedd a henyw,"

Gelwir hi—

"Y fun glaer fwnwgl euraid,
O Fôn gynt yn fwyn a gaed."

Erfynia ar Dwynwen, nawdd-sant Llanddwyn ym Mon, wneud llateiaeth rhyngddo a hi. Cymerir yn ganiataol mai hi oedd y wenddyn a welodd Dafydd y tro cyntaf yn Rhosyr, pan yr anfonodd ei was a gwin iddi, ac y tywalltodd hithau y rhodd am ei ben ef. Gelwir hi "Y fun o Eithinfynydd", yn ferch "Madawg Lawgam", yr hwn a fynnodd ei rhoddi yn wraig i un Cynfrig Gynin. A gelwir hi hefyd yn "Forfudd Llwyd" droion. Nis gwn i ddim rhagor ynghylch y lleoedd a'r cymeriadau hyn, a thybiaf nas gŵyr neb arall. Dywed Cynddelw iddo ef "fethu

yn lân a chael allan fod y fath le ag Eithinfynydd ym Mon, na'r fath enw a Madawg Lawgam ymysg achau henafiaid yr Ynys". Yr unig gymeriad hanesyddol a nodir yn y cywyddau hyn yw Madog Benfras, ac yr oedd cysylltiad rhyngddo ef a Môn. Mewn dau gywydd (Rhif 41, a 80) lleolir cartre' Morfudd "yng ngoror Dyfi", a'r Forfudd honno a ffodd gyda Dafydd i dir Gwent. Pa gasgliad a ellir yn rhesymol dynnu oddiwrth yr holl grybwylliadau hyn? Ai yr un yw merch Madawg Lawgam a'r "Fun o Eithinfynydd"? Ai y Forfudd honno briododd Cynfrig? Os felly, ai honno breswyliai "yng ngoror Dyfi", ac a ffodd gyda'r bardd? Yn ol traddodiad, ym Mhenllyn, gerllaw y Bala, yr oedd cartre' Cynfrig? Nid yw'n debyg, a dweyd y lleiaf, fod ganddo lys arall yng nghwrr deheuol Meirion. Ond hyd yn oed pe gellid profi mai yr un person oedd y Forfudd a gysylltir a'r holl leoedd hyn yn y Gogledd, y mae'r Forfudd oedd yn "Seren cylch Nant y Seri", a'r Forfudd y bu y bardd yn chwilio am dani ar derfynau Morganwg a Mynwy yn aros wedyn. Deongled arall y dyrysbwnc fel y mynn, ymddengys i mi yn eithaf clir mai *pet name* yw yr enw Morfudd, yr un fath a'r enw Ifor Hael. Mewn geiriau eraill, yr wyf yn gwbl argyhoeddedig na fodolodd y fath bersonau a Morfudd, a Madawg Lawgam, a Chynfrig Gynin ond yn nychymyg ffrwythlawn y bardd. Delfryd (*ideal*) gyffelyb i Laura Petrarch, yw Morfudd Dafydd ap Gwilym, a disgrifiad o'r hyn allasai ddigwydd yw y briodas yn y llwyn, y ffoi i Forganwg, a rhoddi y gariadferch yn wraig i un arall am fod ganddo gyfoeth. O edrych ar bethau yn y goleuni hwnnw y mae y cyhuddiad a ddygwyd gynifer gwaith yn erbyn y bardd o fod yn wamal a thrythyll yn torri i lawr, i fesur beth bynnag. Gwir ei fod o angenrheidrwydd yn benthyca arferion carwriaethol a chymdeithasol ei oes i ddisgrifio helyntion ei ddelfryd. Ond hawdd yw cydsynio

ar hyn a welodd Sion Bradford, medd ef, mewn llyfr ysgrifenedig, gwaith Watkin Powell, "mai er gwyllted a thrythylled gwr y gellid barnu Dafydd ap Gwilym wrth ei gywyddau, ei fod yn ei fywyd a'i ymarweddiad yn ddyn sobr, llonydd, a mwyn iawn oedd; a chyn leied ei siarad, fel braidd y ceid air o'i ben ar un achos; ac mai gwylltineb a chwaryddiaeth awen yn unig yw llawer peth yn ei waith, ac nid effeithiau anian ac anwydau".

Wrth edrych ar Ddafydd ap Gwilym yn ei berthynas a'i gyfnod—a dyna fwriadwn wneud yn benaf pan y dechreuais —y mae un peth yn sicr o daro pob efrydydd, a synnu peth arno hefyd, sef cyn lleied o wladgarwch a geir yn y caniadau. Dyry ryw fonclust neu ddwy i'r Sais megys wrth fynd heibio. Cafodd bâr o fenyg yn anrheg gan Ifor Hael unwaith, ac yn ei ddiolch am danynt dywedodd

"Menig o'i dref a gefais,
Nid fel menig sarug Sais."

Ac wrth son am ei serch at Ifor, a serch Ifor ato yntau, eb ef,

"Serch Ifor a glodforais,
Nid fal serch anfadful Sais."

Ond dyna i gyd. Ac y mae hyn yn rhyfedd pan gofiwn ymha gyfnod yr oedd yn byw. Os ganwyd ef yn y flwyddyn 1300, nid aethai mwy na deunaw mlynedd heibio er cwymp Llewelyn, ac yr oedd yn bymtheng mlwydd oed pan fu gwrthryfel Llewelyn Bren ym Morganwg, ac y llosgwyd Castell Caerffili, lle heb fod nepell o Faesaleg. Gellid meddwl y rhaid fod adlais cryf o'r galar oblegid y darostyngiad yn aros yn awelon y wlad, ac anfoddogrwydd mawr yn y genedl i ddwyn iau orthrymus arglwyddi y goror. Ond nid oes yn holl ganiadau Dafydd na swn galar am anibynniaeth goll na swn gobaith am ei hennill yn ol, na dim byd i beri i neb dybied na buasai'r bardd yr un mor gartrefol a hapus mewn rhyw wlad arall ag oedd

yng Nghymru, dim ond iddo gael gwin a medd i'w yfed, a llwyni a blodau i syllu arnynt, ac adar i ganu o'i gwmpas, a mun deg i ymddiddan a hi. Wrth i mi bendronni i geisio cyfrif am hyn, daeth syniad i'm meddwl a ymddangosai i mi ar y cyntaf yn ynfyd bron, ac a ystyriwch chwithau, mi dybiaf, yn un rhy ynfyd i'w draethu. Bid a fyddo, mi fentraf roi llais iddo; a dyma fo, Ai tybed fod y nodyn gwladgarol yn gudd yng ngwaith Dafydd? A all cywyddau Morfudd fod yn alegori yn ogystal ag yn ddelfryd? A yw'n bosibl mai personoli ei wlad a'i helyntion blin a wna'r bardd yn y cywyddau hyn? Nid wyf yn sicr nad allasai dadleuydd medrus wneud *case* go gryf dros y syniad—hyd nes y deuai'r dadleuydd i'r gwrthwyneb i'w ddryllio. Nid wyf fi ddadleuydd, ond mi dybiaf mai rhywbeth fel hyn fyddai'r ymresymiad:— Yn y lle cyntaf, nid yw llefaru ar ddameg yn beth dieithr i'r awen Gymreig. A'r adeg honno, ni feiddiai neb roi llais i deimlad gwladgarol oddieithr drwy ddameg. Yr oedd yr awdurdod Seisnig wedi deall mai'r beirdd oedd prif symbylwyr cenedl y Cymry i ymladd dros ei hanibynniaeth ac i wrthryfela yn erbyn yr iau estronol. Ymhlith y deddfau a osododd Iorwerth y Cyntaf ar Gymru ar ol cwymp Llewelyn, yr oedd deddfau i gospi'r beirdd os ceid lle i gredu eu bod yn ceisio ail gynneu tân gwrthryfel trwy ganu cerddi gwladgarol. Yn ail, y mae'n glir mai cymeriad dychmygol yw Morfudd. Os mai delfryd serch yn yr ystyr gyffredin yn unig ydyw, paham y lleolir hi yng Ngwynedd, ac ym Môn, yn hytrach nag ym Morganwg neu Geredigion, y parthau yr oedd cysylltiad agosach rhwng Dafydd a hwy? Nid wyf yn gweled cysgod o sail i'r dybiaeth i Ifor Hael anfon ei ferch i leiandŷ ym Môn er mwyn ei gyrru o gyrhaedd y bardd. Ond os yw Morfudd yn cynrychioli Cymru, yna daw ei lleoliad ym Môn yn eithaf naturiol a phriodol. Yno y cyneuodd fflam anibyn-

niaeth Cymru olaf o bob man. Yn ynys Môn y gwnaed yr ymgais ddiweddaf i daflu ymaith iau boenus y Sais, a'r arweinydd yn yr ymgais honno ydoedd Syr Gruffydd Llwyd o Ben-y-Garnedd. A chyda llaw, fe elwir Morfudd yn Forfudd Llwyd droion. Yn ychwanegol at hyn, Beth am y "Bwa Bach"? Paham y rhowd yr enw gwawd hwnnw arno? Dywed rhai mai am ei fod yn hen ŵr cefngrwm. Mynn eraill ei fod yn swyddog milwraidd, ac mai i daflu gwawd ar ei fedr milwrol y creodd Dafydd yr enw. Gwnaethai y naill esboniad neu'r llall y tro yn burion pe meddem ryw sail i gredu fod y bersonoliaeth a anrhydeddwyd a'r teitl yn bersonoliaeth wirioneddol. Ond ni feddwn ddim. Eithr onid yw yr enw yn gyfryw ag y buasai yn naturiol i Gymro o'r oes honno ei ddefnyddio i ddirmygus ddisgrifio y Sais milwraidd? Yn ol yr Athro O. M. Edwards "bwa byr" oedd bwa y Sais. Ar ol iddo orchfygu y Cymro a'i ddarostwng y daeth i adnabod ac i ddefnyddio y bwa hir (*long bow*). Rhodder y pethau a nodwyd oll gyda'u gilydd, ac yr wyf yn credu y cytunwch a mi fod llawer mwy i'w ddweyd ym mhlaid y syniad fod Cywyddau Morfudd yn alegori nag sydd iw ddweyd ymhlaid y syniad mai Bacon yw awdwr chwareu-gerddi Shakespeare. Ond ni fynnwn bwyso y syniad ar neb ohonoch. Nid wyf wedi argyhoeddi fy hunan eto ei fod yn gywir, er fy mod yn gweled mwy ynddo bob tro y meddyliaf am dano.

Ond er rhoddi o'r neilldu bob cyfyw ddamcaniaeth, y mae'r ffaith fod caniadau Dafydd ap Gwilym mor amddifad o'r teimlad gwladgarol yn aros, ac yn gofyn am ryw esboniad. Clywais rywun yn awgrymu y gallai y bardd fod wedi canu llawer mwy nag a feddwn ni o'i gynyrchion, ac mai y darnau gwladgarol a chenedlgarol o'i eiddo sydd wedi mynd i ddifancoll. Nid wyf yn ameu dim nad yw y rhan gyntaf o'r dybiaeth yn gywir, ond wrth ystyried nodwedd y blynyddoedd a ddilynasant ei flynyddoedd ef ni

welaf rithyn o reswm dros y rhan arall o honi. Mi glywais syniad arall sy'n llawer tebycach i fod yn gywir, sef, mai plentyn Anian oedd Dafydd, rhy lawen a nwyfus o ysbryd, rhy lawn o freuddwydiol serch i ofalu dim am bethau mor ddaearol a helyntion cenedl a gwlad. Ac ni fedrai gwladgarwch, yn y bedwaredd ganrif ar ddeg, fod amgen na phruddaidd a thrwmlwythog a hiraethlawn. Eithr ni oddefai ysbryd hoew Dafydd iddo ef fod yn brudd o dan unrhyw amgylchiadau. Digon iddo ef oedd y presennol, heb alaru ar ol yr absennol na hiraethu am ei ddychweliad. Prin y medraf fi dderbyn yr esboniad yna chwaith fel un cwbl foddhaol, serch fod y disgrifiad o Dafydd sydd ynddo yn lled agos i'r nôd. Mae'n sicr na feddai ef ddim cydymdeimlad a phrudd-der trwmlwythog y cynfeirdd a'r gogynfeirdd, a'i fod yn engraifft i brofi nad oedd Renan yn hollol gywir pan ddywedai fod deigryn yn llechu tu cefn i wên y Celt bob amser. Ond mae'r bardd yn anad neb yn gynnyrch ei oes. Ei hysbryd hi sydd yn ei ysbrydoli ef: rhydd ef lais i'w meddwl dyfnaf hi. Mae amddifadrwydd caniadau Dafydd ap Gwilym o'r teimlad gwladgarol yn codi o'r ffaith nad oedd gwladgarwch na chenedlgarwch yn nodwedd arbenig o'r bedwaredd ganrif ar ddeg, yn y Deheubarth yn enwedig. I gael cenedlgarwch rhaid cael cenedl, ac Owen Glyndwr a wnaeth genedl o bobl Cymru. Yr oedd gelyniaeth tywysogion Gwynedd, a thywysogion y Deheubarth a thywysogion Morganwg, a thywysogion Dyfed tuagat eu gilydd bron cyn gryfed a'u gelyniaeth tuagat y Saeson. Er cryfed gwyr oedd y ddau Lewelyn ni lwyddasant i ladd yr elyniaeth honno-gelyniaeth sydd yn profi weithiau nad yw eto wedi cwbl drengu. Anibynniaeth y tywysogion oedd yr anibynniaeth a gollasid ac nid anibynniaeth cenedl. Creodd Owen Glyndwr hwnnw, a chollwyd ef pan syrthiodd, ac y mae swn hiraeth am dano, a swn gobaith am ei adferiad yng

nghaniadau beirdd y bymthegfed ganrif. Ac yn eu caniadau hwy y ceir y teimlad gwladgarol cyntaf. Ni wyddai y bedwaredd ganrif ar ddeg am dano, o'r tuallan i Wynedd beth bynnag. Ac yng Ngwent a Morganwg yr oedd y Saeson a'r Cymry wedi dysgu cydfyw yn bur rhyfedd y pryd hwnnw, yn enwedig yr uchelwyr, a mwy na thebyg fod y naill a'r llall wedi cydgyfarfod mewn heddwch i yfed medd ac i gynnal dawns yn neuadd Maesaleg yn ystod y blynyddoedd a dreuliodd y bardd yno.

Y mae y traethiad hwn wedi mynd eisoes mor faith fel na chaf aros gyda'r goleuni a deifl caniadau Dafydd ap Gwilym ar fywyd cymdeithasol Cymru yn y cyfnod, er mor ddyddorol fuasai hynny. Yr oedd yn bur wahanol o angenrheidrwydd i fywyd yr oes hon, a dylid cadw'r ffaith mewn cof wrth ei feirniadu. Mewn un ystyr beth bynnag yr oedd Cymru y bedwaredd ganrif ar ddeg yn rhagori ar Gymru yr ugeinfed ganrif. Os oedd y tywysogion yn eiddigeddus o'u gilydd, ac yn elynol i'w gilydd, ffynnai y teimladau goreu cydrhwng yr uchelwyr a'r werin. Cadwai pob uchelwr dŷ agored. Felly y gwnai Ifor Hael ym Maesaleg ac Arglwydd Rhosyr ym Môn. Croesawid y teithiwr, a'r bardd yn arbenig, a breichiau agored, a llenwid y neuaddau gan acenion Cymraeg a swn tant a cherdd. Os oeddynt yn yfed ar y mwyaf o win a medd yr oeddynt yn ffrindiau calon, ac os oedd eu hiaith dipyn yn arw ac anghoeth weithiau yr oeddynt yn byw'n ddifyr wrth hela'r carw a chwareu ffristial a thawlbwrdd.

Er fod ysbryd gwrthryfela yn erbyn awdurdod wladol yn bur llonydd, os nad yn hanner marw yn y bedwaredd ganrif ar ddeg, eto yr oedd yr ysbryd hwnnw yn ymysgwyd mewn cyfeiriadau eraill, ac fe roes Dafydd, yn anad neb arall, lais iddo. Mae swn gwrthryfel yn llawer o'i ganiadau. Taflodd ymaith ffurfiau arferedig a feichient gerdd, a lluniodd rai newydd. Gwrthododd

blygu ei awen hoenus i ganu yn y cywair lleddf fel y gwnaethai y beirdd o'i flaen. Ond yr oedd yn fwy o wrthryfelwr na hynny. Fel y dywed yr Athro O. M. Edwards, y peth mwyaf dyddorol yn hanes Dafydd ap Gwilym yw ei berthynas a chrefydd ei oes. Ni raid adgoffa unrhyw efrydydd mai y grefydd Gatholig—crefydd Rhufain—oedd unig grefydd Cymru yr adeg honno. Yr oedd esgobion Cymru yn gwbl ddarostyngedig i'r Pab ers canrifoedd. Brithid y wlad gan fynachlogydd a lleiandai, ac yr oedd y ddwy urdd o fynachod—y mynachod Llwydion a'r mynachod Duon—iw gweled ymhobman. Edrychai lliaws y brodyr hyn ar y beirdd gyda llygaid eiddigeddus, am fod y beirdd yn cael cymaint o nawdd yr uchelwyr, a'r werin yn edrych i fyny atynt. Ond ni fuasai fawr obaith i'r bardd yn erbyn y mynach oni bae fod syniad y wlad am fynachaeth ac am grefydd yn dechreu newid. Diau fod esgymuno Llewelyn yn un achos paham y newidiodd, yng Ngwynedd o leiaf; ond dirywiad yr urddau cardod eu hunain fu yr achos pennaf. Yn Nafydd ap Gwilym mi gafodd y cyfnewidiad hwn yn syniad y wlad enau a llais. Goganodd ef lawer ar y mynachod, fel y dengys ei gywyddau i'r Lleian ac i'r Brodyr o'r ddau liw, a cheir prawf o chwerwder eu teimladau hwythau ato yn y ffaith na roisant le i gymaint ag un o'i ganiadau yn eu casgliadau o lenyddiaeth Gymreig, megys y *Llyfr Coch Hergest*. Wrth ddweyd fod Dafydd yn wrthryfelwr crefyddol, neu eglwysig yn hytrach, nid wyf yn golygu ei fod ef, na bod y wlad yn ymwrthod a holl athrawiaeth eglwys Rufain, er nad yw Cywydd "Buchedd a Dioddefiadau y Gwaredwr" sydd yn y casgliad o'i weithiau yn profi dim, gan fod yn bur glir nad ei eiddo ef ydyw. A chamsyniad fyddai tybied ei fod o ysbryd anghrefyddol ac annuw. Gwir a ddywed un awdwr mai "iaith addoliad yw iaith ei ddisgrifiad o aderyn a llwyn". Yn erbyn gorthrwm y ffurfioldeb anaturiol a gysylltai

eglwys Rufain yn y cyfnod hwnnw a chrefydd y gwrthryfelai Dafydd. Ni fedrai ei ysbryd ymgymodi a'r ffurf o grefydd a gondemniai y byd fel lle pechadurus, a waharddai edmygu tlysni a thegwch, a gauai forwynion prydweddol o fewn muriau diffenestr lleiandai, ac a guddiai eu hwynebau o dan hugan hyll bryd bynnag y caniatai iddynt fynd i olwg y cyhoedd. Dyna gychwyniad cyntaf y deffroad mawr yng Nghymru, dyna yr ysbryd oedd yn ymsymud o'i mhewn yn y bedwaredd ganrif ar ddeg—ysbryd yn hawlio yr hyn sydd naturiol mewn crefydd ac mewn pobpeth arall. Drwy y deffroad hwnnw fe arloeswyd y ffordd i Brotestaniaeth feddiannu Cymru, er na roes Protestaniaeth chwaith yn agos ddigon o le i naturioldeb. Yn llonyddwch cyfnod Dafydd ap Gwilym, ac o dan ei arweiniad ef yn bennaf, wedi colli anibynniaeth wladol, dechreuodd Cymru feithrin anibynniaeth well—anibynniaeth meddwl. Ac wrth feddwl dechreuodd agor ei llygaid i weled fod y goedwig yn gangell gysegredig yn ogystal a'r fynachlog, a bod yr ehedydd a'r mwyalch yn addoli ac yn gwasanaethu Duw wrth delori yr un modd a'r brawd llwyd neu'r brawd du wrth hir-weddio ac ymprydio; dechreuodd gredu nad oedd ymhyfrydu yn nhlysni Anian ac edmygu prydferthwch gwyryf yn bechod yn erbyn Creawdwr pob un o'r ddau.

THE DATE AND PLACE OF BURIAL OF DAFYDD AP GWILYM.[1]

By LLEWELYN WILLIAMS, M.P.

By common consent Dafydd ap Gwilym is not only our greatest Welsh poet, but, with the possible exception of Ceiriog, he is probably the only one destined to take his place, once he has been "Fitzgeraldised", among the world's immortals. Welshmen owe to him a debt which they can never redeem. He not only reduced our poetry to form and order, but he revolutionised its spirit, he widened its range, and he cut it adrift from the conventions which shackled the free expression of early poetical thought. No bard that came after him but was profoundly influenced by that creative mind, that lively fancy, and that sense of the magic of style. In the Miltonic grandeur and austerity of Goronwy Owen, no less than in the easy lyrical grace of Ceiriog, we can trace the inspiration and influence of the Master of Welsh poetry.

With what neglect and base ingratitude has he been treated! He has been the poet's poet; he might be, if he were properly treated, the people's poet as well. We have no adequate edition of his works. Dr. Owen Pughe's Edition of 1789 still holds the field. Dr. Gwenogfryn Evans, we have been told, has collated all the known MSS. of his works, but he prefers to publish reprints of the *Black*

[1] Notes of the Address delivered by Mr. Llewelyn Williams, M.P., as Chairman of the meeting held at 20, Hanover Square (*see* p. 31), on 23rd February 1906.—(E.V.E.)

Book of Carmarthen to earning the gratitude of his generation by presenting to us an authoritative edition of Dafydd. No doubt such an edition would be superseded in time, if, by happy chance, an earlier MS. than that of the middle fifteenth century is ever discovered. But no service that Dr. Gwenogfryn Evans has in his power to render his country could equal that of making Welsh scholars and students acquainted with the authentic poems of Dafydd ap Gwilym. Dr. Pughe's text is obviously corrupt. The veriest tyro in the art of criticism can detect that some of the poems that go by Dafydd's name are not the product of his muse. There must be many genuine poems by Dafydd which have never been printed,—some of them, no doubt, of great interest to those who want to know something of the man, even if they will not enhance his reputation as a poet. Few and futile have been the attempts to render him into English. Hitherto English scholars have been indebted to George Borrow for their knowledge of the most original genius that Wales has produced. It is a matter for congratulation that Professor W. Lewis Jones has in the press a volume,—an amplification of his brilliant essay in the *Quarterly Review*,—which will, it is hoped, introduce our Welsh Dafydd to the world of English letters.

How little do we know of his birth and parentage, of his life, or even of the place of his burial. His poems teem with personal allusions. He was mainly concerned with himself,—his emotions, his loves, his sorrows, his misfortunes, his adventures. If he described the golden hair of Morfydd, or the dark beauty of Dyddgu, it was only because he himself had seen them and delighted in them. If he sang in imperishable words the joys of the woodland in May, or the mystery of the wind, or the cold chastity of the snow, or the inspired passion of the nightingale's song,

it was because they reflected some passing phase of his own emotions. He lays bare his soul, he gives us the frank story of his life. He describes to us, with all the ingenuous simplicity of a child, his own appearance, his thoughts, his actions. He is delightfully unconscious of his faults and weaknesses. He never stopped to analyse his feelings or to sit in judgment over his deeds. He was a man in whom Walt Whitman would have delighted, one of those who

> "Do not sweat and whine about their condition,
> They do not lie awake in the dark and weep for their sins,
> They do not make me sick discussing their duty to God",

but they are of "behaviour lawless as snowflakes, words simple as grass, uncombed head, laughter, and naiveté." He was a "friendly and flowing savage".

With a little care and industry it would be easy to reconstruct his life from his own writings. What patient scholarship has been expended to worm out of Shakespeare's scanty references to himself something that would tell us what manner of man he was, where and how he spent his early days, what were his interests, his ambitions, his real thoughts. If a tithe of the discriminating ingenuity which has been largely wasted on Shakespeare were bestowed on Dafydd, we should soon know more of him than of any other mediæval Welshman. I offer merely a few suggestions, not in a spirit of dogmatism, but in the hope that they may stimulate others, more qualified by knowledge and more endowed with leisure, to pursue the subject, and rid us of the reproach that we, as a nation, are indifferent to the life-story of the most gifted of our race.

What was the date of Dafydd's death? Was it 1368 or 1400? In favour of the latter date, there is, I believe, no contemporary authority. Dr. John Davies, Mallwyd, who, though he flourished *temp.* James I, is entitled to great

respect owing to his vast acquaintance with Welsh literature and traditions, says of Dafydd in his Dictionary that "*floruit anno Christi 1400*". Dr. Owen Pughe improves upon this, and says that he "died, without doubt, 1400". What authority Dr. Davies had for his statement will probably remain undiscovered. Dr. Pughe undoubtedly based his on Dr. Davies. He realised the difficulties that would confront him if Dafydd lived after 1400, the year of Owen Glyndwr's rebellion.

The evidence in favour of 1368 is superficially more satisfactory. According to the *Iolo MSS.* Hopcin ap Thomas ap Einion o Ynys Dawy, who is said to have been living in 1420, wrote in 1380:—

> "Mil meddant trichant trwy ochain—irad
> Wyth ereill a thrigain
> Marw y bu Prydydd mirain
> Mab Gwilym gerdd edlym gain."

This "englyn" was taken by Iolo from a MS. in the Hafod Library, which was afterwards burnt. It is, therefore, impossible now to ascertain, by the judgment of an expert palaeographer like Dr. Gwenogfryn Evans, what was the approximate date of the MS. It may be possible, however, for someone, like Professor J. Morris Jones, versed in the history of the Welsh metres, to determine from internal evidence the date of the "englyn". For my own part, I confess to some scepticism as to the date. The "englyn" seems to me to be too metrically correct for 1380 or even 1420. It is more likely to have been composed after Dafydd ap Edmwnt had stereotyped the metre at the Carmarthen Eisteddfod of 1451. Nor do I know anything of Hopcin ap Thomas of Ynys Dawy; or of his date.

There is, therefore, no satisfactory direct evidence as to the date of Dafydd's death, and we are driven to try and discover internal evidence in his own works or in those of contemporaries or successors.

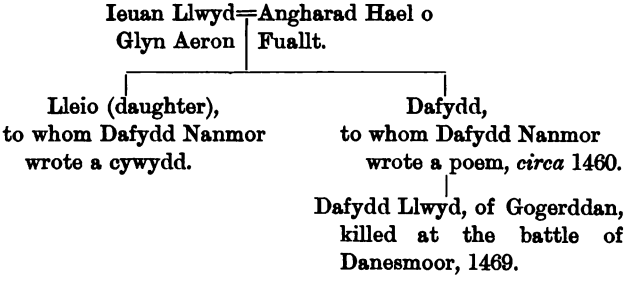
There are many references in Dafydd to contemporaries. Let me name a few.[1] Ifor Hael (poems 1 to 13); Rhys Wgan (99); Rhydderch ap Ieuan Llwyd (234); Hywel ap Tudur ap Ednyfed Fychan, Dean of Bangor (228); Rhys Meigen (230); Llewelyn ap Gwilym Fychan (231-2); Ieuan o Fôn (229); Angharad Hael (233); Madog Benfras (147, 235); Gruffydd ap Adda ap Dafydd (236); Rhys ap Tudur, Harper (237); Morfydd Lwyd, daughter of Madog Lawgam of Anglesea; Cynfrig Cynin, y "Bwa Bach"; Gruffydd Grug; Dyddgu, daughter of Ieuan Gruffydd. This is not an exhaustive list: I have only taken a few at haphazard. If we could only fix the date of three or four of them, we would go some way to solving the mystery which at present surrounds Dafydd's life. Take, for instance, the name of the man whose name is indissolubly connected with Dafydd—Ifor Hael. Who was he? When did he live? We know that he lived at Maesaleg, which was one of the many mansions of the great family of Morgan of Tredegar. Years ago I tried to discover if there was any document at Tredegar which would help us to the knowledge of Ifor Hael's identity. Such a document does not exist. According to the *Iolo MSS.* and G. T. Clark (neither a very trustworthy witness on such matters) Ifor Hael died in 1361. Pughe, in his Introduction, says that "the father of Ifor was Llewelyn ap Ifor ap Llewelyn ap Bledri ap Cadifor ap Gwyn ap Collwyn . . . . The eldest son of Llewelyn ap Ifor was Morgan ap Llewelyn, Lord of Tredegar in the parish of Maesaleg; Ifor, the second son, was the Lord of Maesaleg, y Wenallt, and Gwern-y-gleppa. He died without heirs, and the estate went to his nephew, Llewelyn, son of Morgan ap Llewelyn . . . Ifor's mother was Angharad,

[1] *Barddoniaeth Dafydd ab Gwilym* (Llundain, 1789).

daughter of Sir Morgan ap Meredydd ap Gruffydd ap Meredydd Gethin, the son of Rhys ap Tewdwr Mawr."

Mr. J. H. Davies has, I believe, discovered some references in the Record Office which inclines him to put the date of Ifor's birth about 1335. It would be something to the good if Mr. Davies were to publish whatever he has been able to glean on this subject. In my discursive adventures into the unfathomable bog of our Records, I have not happened to come across anything which connects Ifor Hael with Ifor ap Llewelyn, or which helps us in any way in the investigation into Dafydd's date.

Dafydd's Elegy (234) to "Rhydderch" is said to be to "Rhydderch ap Ieuan Llwyd". There is nothing in the body of the poem to bear out the heading. Until we get Dr. Gwenogfryn Evans's edition, we shall not know if the heading was suggested by a late scribe, or even by Pughe's ingenious fancy, or if it appeared in the earlier MSS. If, indeed, it be Rhydderch ap Ieuan Llwyd, it affords a useful clue. We know something of this Rhydderch.



Rhydderch ap Ieuan Llwyd was the owner of *Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch*, the oldest copy of the *Mabinogion*, now in the Peniarth collection. He was alive in 1391 (v. *Arch. Camb.*, 4th Ser., vol. ix, p. 300): he died, according to a note in *Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch*, in 1397. There is this reference to him in Lewys Glyn Cothi (p. 315) :—

"Iolo'n wir yng Nglyn Aeron
A wnaeth wers yn yr iaith hon:
Eithr y mab oedd athraw mawr
Ac i Rydderch yn gerddawr."

If, therefore, Dafydd ap Gwilym wrote the elegy to Rhydderch ap Ieuan Llwyd, it must have been after 1397. But I should like to ask three questions about this "Cywydd".

1. Is it certain that Dafydd is the author? For my own part, I have little doubt that he was.

2. Is the elegy to Rhydderch ap Ieuan Llwyd? He is only mentioned as "Rhydderch" in the body of the poem. "Rhydderch ap Ieuan Llwyd" was a great patron of the bards, and his name was a famous one among the fraternity for generations. May not some copyist of a later age have for the first time suggested that it was to Rhydderch ap Ieuan Llwyd?

3. Who is the "Llewelyn" mentioned in the poem? Can it be "Llewelyn ap Gwilym" of Emlyn, said to have been Dafydd's uncle?

"Pa dwrwf yw hwn, pryderoch?
Pefr loes! Pwy a roes yr och?
Llewelyn, o 'syddyn serch,
A roddes hon am Rydderch
Fychan, gerllaw ei lân lys,
Ffydd-frawd Rhydderch ddiffodd-frys!
Och Emlyn, ei dyddyn dig,
Galaeth mammaeth am ewig!"

But Llewelyn was killed presumably when Dafydd was young (231-232).

"Os marw f'ewythr, ys mawr—o ryfig
Aur aerfa Cymru fawr!
Nad oeddwn, ei nai diddawr,
Nad af y'ngwyllt—Duw fy ngwawr."

Is it not possible to discover when Llewelyn ap Gwilym, of Dolgoch and Cryngae yn Emlyn, flourished?

Another puzzle that confronts the inquirer is, who was Cynfrig Cynin, y "bwa bach", who was married to Morfydd, and who (according to poem 99) went with "Rhys fab Gwgan" to the French wars. So complete is the mystery that envelopes him that some have been driven to conjecture that "Cynfrig Cynin" was not his real name. But who, then, was "Rhys fab Gwgan" who went to the French wars? Is he the same man as the "Rhys Wgawn" who, according to the heading of the first poem ascribed to Iolo Goch in Ashton's collection, was killed at Crecy, and was buried in Carmarthen?

> "Yngo fy nghar yn anghudd
> Yng Nghaer fardd Emrys yng nghudd."

I have found no reference to "Rhys fab Gwgan" anywhere in the lists of the captains who took part in the French wars. "He went to France in 1369" according to Owen Pughe; but Pughe, as usual, gives no data which can guide us to a conclusion. There are two, if not more, men of the name of Rhys ap Gruffydd who figured in the wars. In Rymer's *Fœdéra*, one Rhys is said to have joined the expeditions to France in 1345, 1346, and 1352, and he is mentioned also in 1359. Possibly this is the Rhys ap Gruffydd who is mentioned in Carnhuanawc as helping Edward III against his mother in 1327, and is mentioned in the Patent Rolls, Edw. III, in 1328, as aiding against the Scots. But another Rhys ap Gruffydd, according to Rymer, was appointed to guard the Pembrokeshire coast in 1377, and was appointed to hold the Assize of oyer and terminer in the Midlands in July 1379 (Pat. Rolls). In 1380 he died, and his lands are given to others "during the minority of the heir" (4 Rich. II, pt. i, Pat. Rolls). Rymer describes this Rhys as "of Nerber" (Narberth). If Cynfrig was an Anglesea or Merioneth man, it is hardly

likely that he would have joined the force of a South Wales chieftain.

We are on firmer ground when we come to Hywel ap Tudur (poem 228) to whom Dafydd wrote "awdl o folawd", a "Song of praise". Hywel was Dean of Bangor from 1359 to 1370, and Dafydd refers to him as "gwr henaidd". We have it therefore that this poem was written some time before 1370. If Dafydd "flourished" before 1370, it is scarcely conceivable that he lived till 1400: for life was short in the Middle Ages.

But it is in the "ymryson" between Gruffydd Gryg and Dafydd that we find numerous personal allusions. Gruffydd is said to have "flourished" 1340-1370, but how Pughe was able to fix his date is not apparent. In any event, Gruffydd seems to me to have the better of the poetic tournament, though he was, according to his own confession, Dafydd's disciple.

"Disggbl wyf, ef am dysgawdd,
Dysgawdr cywydd heawdr hawdd."

According to Dafydd, he was a year younger than he "mewn gwaradwydd".

"Gwr iau ydyw mewn gwaradwydd
Mewn difri na'm fi o flwydd."

Dafydd is said to have been born out of wedlock. Is this a reference to the fact that both he and Gruffydd had both been born "mewn gwaradwydd"?

Gruffydd taunts Dafydd that he is not a Rhys Meigen.

"Medra bwyll, a mydr o ben,—
Mogel!—nid wyf Rys Meigen.
. . . . . .
A Rhys Meigen, rhos magawd,
Gwn fo las y gwas a gwawd."

This seems to be an allusion to the tradition that Rhys Meigen was so overcome by Dafydd's satire in the court of

Llewelyn ap Gwilym that he died. Rhys is said to have provoked Dafydd by taunting him,

"Mil trichant, meddant i mi—y ganwyd
Y genaw dan lwyni."

No doubt this is a reference to Dafydd's unhallowed birth, but can it mean that Dafydd was said to have been born in 1300? If so, it can only be the poet's license, in order to make the young Dafydd appear older than he was.

That Dafydd was a "plentyn llwyn a pherth" is almost beyond question. But it is curious that Cynddelw should conclude in his Introduction (p. 39)[1] that in "Cywydd yr Oed" the bard alludes to his own birth "under a hedge at Llandaff".

"Yn wir nos Wener nesaf
Yw nos Wener haner haf,
Genyf y mae, gwyn fy myd!
Ugain haf ac un hefyd.
Y dydd y lluniwyd Addaf
Y lluniwyd oed yn Llandaf:
Dan berth, ni wyr dyn o'r byd,
Yma haner fy mhenyd."

But surely this refers to an assignation which he made with his "mun" at Llandaff when he was twenty-one.

When the "ymryson" between the two bards broke out, Dafydd was no longer young and unknown. He had been hymning Morfydd's praises for ten years.

"Er deng mlwydd i heddyw
Dafydd a ddywawd wawd wiw," etc.

He taunts Dafydd with his loss of popularity in North Wales.

"Hoff oedd y' Ngwynedd, meddynt,
Yn newydd ei gywydd gynt."

The popular idea is that Dafydd, after once meeting Morfydd, remained ever after true "i'r fun o Eithinfynydd". He himself seems to lend colour to the belief.

[1] *Barddoniaeth Dafydd ab Gwilym* (Liverpool, 1873).

"Pryddydd i Forfydd f 'eurferch
I'm hoes wyf a mawr yw'm serch
Mi ai cerais im cerydd
Hoew loer deg er's lawer dydd," etc.

Yet, in the "ymryson", Gruffydd says,

"Trwm iawn yth farnaf Dafydd
Trist a fu Dyddgu o'r dydd."

And in the elegy which he composed on hearing a false report of Dafydd's death, he says,

"A synwyr cerdd naws unud
A gwae Dyddgu pan fu fud."

In his own poem to Dyddgu, daughter of Ieuan Gruffydd, "wyr cyhelyn" (12), he seems to imply that he was an old man.

"Ni'm car hon, fo'm curia haint,
Fe'm gad hun, *fe'm gad henaint.*"

Is it to be concluded that Dafydd came to know Dyddgu after Morfydd? or that "Morfydd" was only a fancy name, like Horace's Chloe or Ceiriog's Myfanwy? This would appear to be his own confession in one of his lightest, liveliest *cywyddau.*

Before closing these haphazard notes, I should like to draw attention to one other vexed question. Where was Dafydd buried? Was it at Talley Abbey, in Carmarthenshire, or at Ystrad Fflur, in Cardiganshire?

Gruffydd Gryg, in his "false" elegy, says:

"Yr ywen i oreu-was
Ger mur Ystrad Fflur a'i phlas
Da Duw wrthyd, gwynfyd gwydd,
Dy dyfu yn dŷ Dafydd."

On the other hand, Hopcin ap Thomas ap Einion in the Hafod MS., which I have mentioned before, wrote (in 1380 according to Iolo):

"Ym medd y gorwedd a'r garreg—arnaw
Mawr ernych gloyw ofeg
Accw yn ynys cain waneg
Lle uwch dwr, Tal-llychau deg."

But, as I have said, I suspect this and the other "englyn" to be of much later origin than 1380 or 1420. Indeed, the allusion to a stone on the poet's grave seems to me to convict it of a late seventeenth or early eighteenth century date.

Sion Bradford (d. 1785) quotes from *Llyfr Achau Thomas Jones, Fountain Gate* (written *circa* 1600) that Dafydd was buried in Talley. *Llyfr Achau* is now in the Cardiff Library. Can somebody who has access to the MS. verify Sion Bradford's extract? If so, it would prove that as early as the time of Thomas Jones, Fountain Gate, there existed a tradition that Dafydd was buried at Talley, and as Thomas Jones was of Tregaron, near Ystrad Fflur, it would afford some proof that there was no such tradition at the time in favour of Ystrad Fflur even locally.

In one of the *Mostyn MSS.* Thomas William (Thomas ap William) gives a "list of bards and their burial places". The MS. was written or copied before 1609, and it gives Talley as the poet's burial-place.

These are some of the questions which occur to one's mind after a cursory glance at Dafydd's poems. At present no final or satisfactory answer can be given to any of them. But enough, it is hoped, has been said to show what a fruitful field of enquiry opens before the Welsh student who is willing to devote some attention to the investigation of the life-story of Dafydd ap Gwilym.

DAFYDD AP GWILYM—A FURTHER NOTE.

By J. H. DAVIES, M.A.

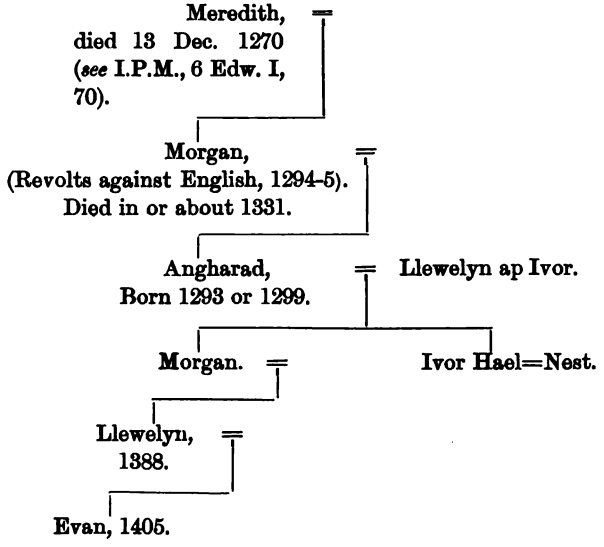
In consequence of the reference[1] made by Mr. Llewelyn Williams in the foregoing Notes to some data bearing on the history of Dafydd ap Gwilym, which I came across at the Record Office some time ago, I have been asked to add a few observations to what Mr. Williams has already written. In dealing with the poetry of the Welsh bards, it is often difficult to assign certain poems to one out of perhaps three or four contemporary poets. Thus many of the poems attributed to Dafydd ap Gwilym in the printed editions of his works were possibly not written by him, and any argument as to his history founded on such poems would be unreliable. As an instance of this let us take "Marwnad Rhys ab Tudur, Telynor", p. 474, in the 1789 Edition. For various reasons, which it is unnecessary to enquire into here, it is fairly certain that Dafydd did not write this poem. If he did write it, then he must have been alive in 1412, the date of Rhys ab Tudur's death. It is therefore of prime importance to ascertain what poems were really written by Dafydd, before we draw inferences as to his personal history and the period in which he lived.

It may be assumed that Dafydd himself wrote the poems which group themselves around the person of Ifor Hael, for not only does every scrap of tradition which we possess support this view, but the poems themselves reveal his master hand.

It is thus important that we should ascertain who Ivor Hael was, and when he lived. From Poem II it

[1] See *ante*, p. 60.—(E.V.E.)

appears that Ifor lived at Maesaleg in the ancient province of Morganwg, and we are thus able to identify him with a certain Ivor ap Llewelyn who lived at Maesaleg during the fourteenth century. This Ivor had an elder brother Morgan, and their father, who in some accounts is called Lord of St. Clears, was married to Angharad, only child and sole heiress of a certain Sir Morgan ab Meredith. I have failed to come across any contemporary reference to Ivor Hael at the Record Office, but there are still in existence numerous records containing references to his mother, his grandfather, and his nephews. The pedigree may be set out in the following way:



In an *Inquisition Post Mortem*, dated 10 Dec. 1331, on the death of Morgan ap Meredith, the jurors "being asked who is the next heir of him Morgan and what age they say that Angharad daughter of him Morgan is his next heir who is thirty-two years of age". In another Inquisition held at Carmarthen in May 1333 the jurors said "that Angharad

the daughter of the same Morgan is his next heir and is forty years of age". In a third Inquisition Angharad is simply said to be of full age. It will be seen, therefore, that Angharad was born either in 1293 or 1299.[1]

There is no reference in either of the Inquisitions to Angharad's marriage, a fact which it might be thought the jurors would be certain to mention. Even if Angharad was married at the time, and if it be conceded that she was born in 1293, her second son Ivor could not have been born much before 1318. If she were not married then he could not have been born before about 1335. Dafydd ap Gwilym was in all probability a younger man than Ivor Hael. If the title of Poem XII is correct, the nun he was accused of courting was Ivor Hael's daughter. If he and the daughter were about the same age, one could not on any hypothesis place Dafydd's birth earlier than 1340.

It will be noticed that according to the above pedigree Ivor Hael's brother Morgan had a son Llewelyn. This Llewelyn ap Morgan is frequently mentioned in records.[2] He was appointed steward of Magor on Oct. 3rd, 1388. He, again, had a son Evan, who witnessed a charter on 21 Oct. 1405.[3] These dates, as far as they go, are an argument for locating Ifor Hael's birth about the beginning of the second quarter of the fourteenth century. As a test of accuracy in pedigrees it is fairly safe to count a generation as thirty years, and applying this to the present pedigree we would find that Angharad, who was born in 1293, should have a son born in 1323, a grandson in 1353, and a great grandson in 1383. These dates fit in

[1] Owing to the distance from London I am not able to give the exact references to these Inquisitions, but they may be easily found by reference to the Calendars of *I. P. M.* for the period.

[2] *Pat. Roll*, 11 Rich. II, pt. 1, m. 7; *P. R.*, 12 Rich. II, pt. 1, m. 16; *I. P. M.*, 10 Rich. II, no. 38; *M. A.*, 1,166, 1.

[3] *Add. Ch.* 20,509.

fairly accurately with the known dates in the above pedigree.

Mr. Llewelyn Williams deals with the points arising out of the elegy written by Dafydd ap Gwilym on "Rhydderch" (No. 234). In Owen Pughe's edition this poem is said to have been written on the death of "Rhydderch ab Ieuan Llwyd o'r Gogerddan". Now this statement is manifestly inaccurate, for Rhydderch ab Ieuan Llwyd, who is frequently mentioned in the records, did not live at Gogerddan. His grandson appears to have been the first of the family to settle there. In the course of the poem the following lines occur:

"Pwy a roes yr och?
Llewelyn, o 'syddyn serch,
A roddes hon am Rydderch
Fychan, gerllaw ei lân lys;
Ffydd-frawd Rhydderch ddiffodd-frys,
Och *Emlyn*, ei dyddyn dig!"

There are two points to note in this extract: in the first place Rhydderch is called Rhydderch Fychan, and this Rhydderch Fychan had a "ffydd-frawd", a "brother in the faith", known as Llewelyn; and secondly the word *Emlyn* is used in Owen Pughe's version, whereas the manuscripts, as far as I have inspected them, invariably have not "Emlyn" but "erlyn".[1]

The word Emlyn was imported into the poem, as the transcriber thought the Llewelyn referred to was Llewelyn ab Gwilym Fychan of Emlyn. There is every reason to believe that this was not so, because, in the first place, if the reading "Emlyn" is inaccurate, there is nothing whereby to identify Llewelyn ab Gwilym Fychan with the Llewelyn of the poem.

In the second place we have a definite statement in at least one Manuscript (Llanstephan 53, p. 124) that the

[1] *Gorchestion Beirdd Cymru* (Edition 1773) has "erlyn".

Llewelyn referred to was one "Llewelyn Fychan ap Llewelyn Gaplan". The question then arises as to the identity of Llewelyn Fychan, and on turning to the *Myfyrian Archaiology* (Gee's Edition), pp. 340, 341, we find two poems addressed to him by Llewelyn Goch ab Meurig hen,[1] a contemporary of Dafydd ap Gwilym. From these elegies it appears that Llewelyn was the abbot of Ystrad Fflur, and that the bard looked upon Llewelyn and a certain Rhydderch[2] as his patrons. Of Rhydderch he says—

"Rhydderch wrth hir-ferch ddigynghorfynt
Rhi deutu Aeron ein rhaid yttynt
Rhwydd rhag Llywelyn fo hyn o hynt
Fychan ddiymgel echel uchynt."

It may be noted in passing that Rhydderch ab Ieuan Llwyd lived at Parc-Rhydderch in the parish of Llanbadarn-odyn, on the banks of the river Aeron. He was "bedellus", or beadle, of Mabwynion in 1387, thus holding the chief official position under the Government in the Crown Manor adjacent to his home. The Welsh poets of the period continually refer to Rhydderch and his family, and his ancestors for many generations had been generous patrons of the bards. Rhydderch was certainly alive in 1392, as he is mentioned in the Patent Roll 15 Rich. II, pt. 2, m. 38. Whether he was the same person as the Rhydderch Fychan of Dafydd's poem it is difficult to say. I have not been able to trace Llewelyn Fychan later than 1381, but references to him will be found in 1369 (Williams' *Strata Florida*, p. 148) and in 1362 (Chamberlain's Accounts 35 Edward III). In the Great Roll of

[1] Iolo Goch wrote elegies on the deaths of Dafydd ap Gwilym and Llewelyn Goch (*Gwiethiau Iolo Goch*, pp. 310, 378).

[2] In the title of the poem Rhydderch is said to be a brother to Llewelyn, but there is nothing in the poem to give colour to this idea, and the titles of Welsh poems are frequently modern additions, and notoriously inaccurate.

Debtors (M. A. 1159, 14) of 23 Richard II (1399) one John was Abbot of Strata Florida, so it is probable that Llewelyn Fychan was dead at that date.

The effect of this evidence is to prove that Dafydd ap Gwilym, who wrote an elegy on Rhydderch ap Ieuan Llwyd, must have been alive in 1392, and if the date of Rhydderch's death as given by Mr. Williams is correct (p. 60), he was alive in 1397.

The other point touched upon by Mr. Llewelyn Williams is far easier to elucidate. In the edition of Dafydd ap Gwilym's poems edited by W. O. Pughe (p. xxxiii) there appear two elegies written by Gruffydd Gryg on the death of Dafydd ap Gwilym. There is a tradition as regards one of these elegies that it was written before Dafydd really died, as the result of a stratagem on the part of one Bola Beuol.[1] The story is set forth in *Llanstephan MS.* 133, p. 1034. After copying all the "cywyddau ymryson" within his reach, the transcriber states:

> "Nid oes gennyf fi ond hyn o'r cywyddau ymryson a fu rhwng Dafydd ap Gwilym a Gruffydd Gryg. Mi ddarllenais fod dau ar hugain o honynt, ac yr oedd pob un wedi rhoi ei fryd na chai'r llall y diwethaf. Ac e ddaeth Bola Beuol ac a ddaliodd gynglwst a gwr bonheddig y gwnai fo hwynt yn gyfeillion ac a ddaeth i Wynedd ac a ddywaid i Ruffydd Gryg farw ei feistr Dafydd ap Gwilym ac a wnaeth ynteu Gywydd Marwnad iddo fo, ac a ddaeth yn ol i Ddeheubarth ac a ddywad farw Gruffydd Gryg ac e wnaeth Dafydd ap Gwilym gywydd marwnad iddo yntau ac yna gwedi deallt gwaith Bola Beuol a chlywed marwnad eu gilydd hwy a aethant yn gyfeillion ac yma y canlyn yn gyntaf Marwnad Dafydd ap Gwilym o waith Gruffydd Gryg,
>
> "Dafydd fab Gwilym ymmy," etc.

From this statement it is clear that the so-called "false elegy" is the one beginning "Dafydd fab Gwilym ymmy". Any person who will take the trouble to read the

[1] *See* 1789 Edition, p. xix.

"cywyddau ymryson" between Dafydd and Gruffydd Gryg will find that the elegy beginning "Dafydd ap Gwilym ymmy" is the natural sequel to these poems. To give a few instances, Gruffydd Gryg states:

"Dewiswn dduchan glanbryd
O ben Dafydd, brydydd bryd,
Cyn prydu ym, gloywrym glod,
O arall, angall yngod."

Again,

"Cyn ei farw bu gyfarwas
Rh'of ac ef i bu rhyw gas
Pwy bynnag, ddinag ddinam
O ferw cerdd fu ar y cam,
Maddau i'r prifardd hardd-faeth
Hoyw Dduw nef heddyw a wnaeth."

I have looked through Dr. Gwenogfryn Evans's catalogues cursorily for the purpose of finding out which of the two elegies follows the "cywyddau ymryson" in the various transcripts, and I find that in every case I have noticed the one beginning "Dafydd ap Gwilym ymmy" is regarded as the "false elegy".[1]

If this is the case, then it surely follows that the other elegy was a genuine one, written after Dafydd's death. This elegy begins as follows:

"Yr Ywen i oreu-was
Ger mur Ystrad Fflur, a'i phlâs
Da Duw wrthyd, gwynfyd gwŷdd
Dy dyfu yn dŷ Dafydd!"

Dafydd ap Gwilym was undoubtedly buried under a yew-tree in the graveyard of Strata Florida Abbey.

If Dafydd was buried at Strata Florida how is it possible to account for the englynion written by Hopcin ap Thomas ap Einion (who was certainly a contemporary of Dafydd's).[2]

[1] *Mostyn MS.* 160, p. 47; *Mostyn MS.* 212, p. 99; *Llanstephan MS.* 133, p. 1034; *Hafod MS.* 26, p. 100; *Cwrtmawr MS.* 5, p. 347.

[2] There are references to him in the first volume of the *Myfyrian Archaiology*, p. 340, etc. Bradley's *Glyndŵr*, p. 198.

The englynion are stated to have been taken from a MS. in the Hafod Library. There is no proof that the MS. has been burnt, for as Dr. Gwenogfryn Evans points out in his preface to Vol. II of his Calendar, twenty-nine of these MSS. are still in existence. The englynion do not occur in one of these twenty-nine MSS. The only suggestion I can make is either that the englynion do not refer to Dafydd ap Gwilym at all, or that they have been fabricated. A great deal of the material relating to Dafydd in the *Iolo MSS.* was undoubtedly fabricated, and it is impossible to draw the line between what is true and what is false in the historical sections of the book.

Mr. Williams lays stress upon the fact that Sion Bradford quotes from *Llyfr Achau Thomas Jones o Dregaron* a statement that Dafydd spent the end of his days at Talley, and was buried there. The *Llyfr Achau* referred to is not in the Cardiff Library. There is a book of pedigrees at the library which has been attributed to Thomas Jones, but it was written after his death.

"The list of bards and their burial-places" given by Thos. Williams may be found in many seventeenth century manuscripts, but it is clearly a late compilation, as it contains the names of bards who died late in the sixteenth century. As regards the latter, it may be admitted as *prima facie* proof, but it can not be considered as an authority of any value with regard to the burial-place of a bard who died two hundred years before it was compiled. The general conclusions I come to are that Dafydd ap Gwilym flourished approximately from 1340 to 1400 and that he was buried at Strata Florida. I hope to have an opportunity soon of publishing a more detailed discussion on the facts of the life of Dafydd ap Gwilym.

BALLADS OF WALES.

THE LAY OF PRINCE GRIFFITH.

BY

LLEWELYN WILLIAMS, M.P.

THE boding clouds hung dark and drear
Above the waves of Llangorse mere,
While two wayfarers hied their way,—
The one a harper, old and grey,
Bearing with him his well-lov'd *crwth*,
The next, a tall and slender youth,
Whose stately mien and comely face
Betokened no ignoble race.

On every hand there met their sight
Grim traces of the Norman's might.
The kindly folk of Brychan's land
Were gripped in Bernard's ruthless hand,
While fair Glamorgan's wide domain
Was mastered by Fitzhamon's train,
And proud Dinevor's youthful heir
Lay hiding in some Irish lair.
The hopes of Wales had fallen low
And no one dared withstand the foe.
E'en Conan's son, Eryri's pride,
In slothful ease had still to bide.

Alone the minstrels fanned the flame
That purifies a nation's shame.
They sang of Arthur's Table Round
And of Avallon's mystic ground,

Where slumbering lay the Hero-King
Ready to life again to spring,
Surrounded by his armed knights,
And deal a blow for Cymru's rights.
They strove in deathless song to teach
The splendour of the Cymric speech.
They tuned their martial airs anew
And from them inspiration drew;
They bade the Cymry lift their head,
To let the dead past bury its dead,
And stand erect, a nation free,
As told by ancient prophecy.
And of the minstrels none so great,
None 'gainst the *estron* nursed such hate,
None strove so hard to lift the ban
As Morgan Hên of Pen-y-van.

Of Morgan's life strange tales were told
That blenched the cheeks e'en of the bold.
His father fell at Harold's hand
What time the Saxon scoured the land.
His mother, reft of home and mind,
Her husband's corse went forth to find,
And in a lone and darksome glen
Where lay the bleaching bones of men,
She died in travail, and her child
Grew up on whom no mother smiled.
No woman gave him of her breast,
With love of maid he ne'er was blest.
Close by his mother's unmarked grave
He found a dank and dismal cave,
Bored in the rock on Merlin's Van
Far from the ken of mortal man;
There he dwelt, a hermit wild,
Alone with nature, nature's child.

Who taught him in his earliest youth
To win sweet music from the *crwth*,
Or weave the songs that make the blood
Course through the veins in surging flood,
No one could tell, and all in vain
The curious asked of Morgan Hên.
He dwelt alone, apart from men,
Nor ever left his lonely glen,
Unless some *estron* lord or knight
Brought in his train war's fatal blight,
Then none so forward in the fray,
So ready with a warlike lay,
Or mix with sound of harp the strain
That lifts the heart as Morgan Hên.

The Van lay hidden 'neath a cloud,
Its glens dripped in their vapoury shroud:
The shivering trees, like spectres gaunt,
The lonesome hillside seemed to haunt:
No cry of beast, no scream of bird,
No voice of man the dull air stirred:
The world in ghastly silence lay
And darkness took the place of day:
The boldest shepherd lurked at home
Nor dared to brave the hideous gloom:
The sullen sun ne'er threw a beam
To gild the greyness of the stream,
Which tumbled down, in angry flood,
Past the cave where Morgan stood.

The harper, wrapped in reverie,
Gazed with eyes that did not see
Into the slowly thickening gloom
Which veiled the wildness of the *cwm*,

When suddenly a bugle-horn
Awaked the echoes of the morn,
And from the mist the lingering strain
On Morgan's ear fell once again.
While silent still the harper stood,
Loth to leave his poor abode,
Attracted by the fire's gleam
The lonely bugler crossed the stream,
And standing, startled and amazed,
Before the cave at Morgan gazed.

No manlier form, no nobler face,
Did ever classic sculptor trace.
The generous look of wholesome youth
Was kindled with the fire of truth;
The thoughtful brow, the stately frame,
The sparkling eye, so quick to flame,
Betrayed, in spite of manner bland,
The lifelong habit of command.
The stranger gazed in dumb surprise
At Morgan Hên's eccentric guise,—
The flowing locks in disarray,
The unkempt beard, long and grey,
The cavernous eye, the withered form,
That bore the marks of sun and storm,
The sheepskin habit, soiled and torn,
The *crwth* across the shoulder borne,—
A stranger figure did he seem
Than e'er was pictured in a dream.

Anon the youth advanced a pace
And spake to Morgan face to face,
"A stranger I", he frankly said,
"Who from my way have blindly strayed,

The mountain mist obscured my road
And drove me loth to thine abode."
Morgan scanned with piercing eye
The stranger e'er he made reply;
"Fair sir, I cannot bid thee share
My poor abode or lowly fare:
A summons came but yester e'en
To call me to a distant scene.
My mission will not brook delay,—
E'en now I should be on my way,—
If thou my lagging steps canst bide
Past Brecon town I'll be thy guide."
"I give thee thanks," the stranger said,
"Sweeter to me than food or bed,
Thy courteous pledge to guide me down
From this wild peak past Brecon town.
I, too, have tarried on this hill
Far longer than has pleased my will."

They started forth, an ill-matched pair,
The labours of the way to share:
The stranger strode with wingèd heel,
Nor seemed the journey's toil to feel;
While Morgan's lithe and lissom frame
E'en put his comrade's youth to shame.

The mist in vapoury circles rose
As if wild nature to disclose,
—The golden gorse of radiant hue,
The heather, fragrant with the dew,
The foxglove, flaming in the shade,
The trefoils carpeting each glade,
The mountain ash, the stunted oak,
Found slender foothold in the rock,

The silver birch and towering pine
Gave shelter to sweet eglantine,
While far below them in the sun
The devious Towy's waters shone;
—The prospect seemed, so wildly grand,
A glimpse at an enchanted land.

Each landmark served to wake some strain,
Some subtle chord in Morgan Hên,
He weaved brave tales around each spot
Of wars and battles long forgot,
Of knights who fought our Wales to free,
And ancient lore of chivalry.
He dwelt on legends that are told
Still by the mountaineers bold.
He told the story, ever new,
Of young Rhiwallon's love so true,
That made the Lady of the Lake
Become a mortal for his sake.
Each place throbbed with some romance
That cause the listener's blood to dance.
The youth in lively wonderment
The tedious hours of travel spent,
Nor recked that night was falling fast
As Brecon town they gladly passed.
Full soon they came to Llangorse mere,
They stood beside its waters clear,
And in the twilight, dim and cold,
This is the tale that Morgan told.

I.

"Savaddan the Golden, walled city of Dyved,
False to Prince Urien, and Arthur his lord,
Bribed by false Modred, third curse of Britain,
Drew on its *T'wysog* a traitorous sword.

Savaddan the Golden, walled city of Dyved,
Woe to thy people, a curse on thy name!

II.

"Merlin enchanter, third wise man of Britain,
Laid on Savaddan a direful spell,
Sunk the proud town 'neath seven fathoms of water,
That sprang at his word from a magic well.
Savaddan the Golden, walled city of Dyved,
Woe to thy people, a curse on thy name!

III.

"Merlin the wizard, third wonder of Britain,
His weird enchantment laid on the men,
Bade them assume the form of the waterfowl
That still haunt unquiet this mere and fen.
Savaddan the Golden, walled city of Dyved,
Woe to thy people, a curse on thy name!

IV.

"Still 'tis decreed by wise Merlin's enchantment
When Prince Urien's *etivedd* passes this lake,
The waterfowl fly, in sorrowful penance,
Around him, their Lord, their homage to make.
Savaddan the Golden, walled city of Dyved,
Woe to thy people, a curse on thy name!"

The minstrel ceased, and turned his eye
In sad and dreamy reverie
Upon the waters of the flood
That marked where once Savaddan stood.
A strange sight met his startled eyes
And turned him stark with dumb surprise.

As when, the sun sunk in the west,
A cloud springs from the ocean's breast,

And mounts aloft the starry sky
And dims the moon's bright ecstasy,
And in its wake its kin appear,
Scudding the sky so lately clear,
And turn it to a murky pit
Where wind and storm enthronèd sit,
Shaking their dank dishevelled hair
And rolling thunder through the air:
So now the fowl with raucous cries
Seemed to the bard's astonished eyes,
To mount like cloudlets 'gainst the sky
And form a moving canopy,
Flapping loud wings, above the head
Of the tall youth that Morgan led,
And high aloft, in azure blue,
The ravens of Dinevor flew!
"My lord, my prince!" old Morgan cried
And knelt in rapture at his side,
"Hail, Griffith, heir to Rhys's sword,
Dinevor's heir, all Dyved's lord,
The spell still works wise Myrddin's will,—
Dinevor is Dinevor still!"
The youth's eyes flashed, and in his mien
An added dignity was seen.
He stood revealed, the worthy heir
Of honours proud beyond compare,—
The heir of Rhys ap Tewdwr Mawr,
Of Howell Dda, and Rhodri Gawr,
Of Urien and of Arthur Great,
Whose sister Urien took for mate.
And as he gazed with love and pride,
His eyes aflame, old Morgan cried,
"To arms! my Prince, let Wales be free
Under her native sovereignty!

No more shall our distressful land
Groan 'neath the Norman's iron hand!
No more the Saxon tongue shall sound,
To our mute shame, on Cymric ground!
Unfurl the Dragon, my liege lord,
Win back our freedom with thy sword!"

And from the depths of Llangorse mere
Savaddan's bells rang sweet and clear.

ITALIAN INFLUENCE ON CELTIC CULTURE.[1]

By the REV. G. HARTWELL JONES, M.A.

The Italian and the Celt, in spite of their separation by so many leagues of land and sea and by nations intervening, in spite of the centuries during which they were estranged, in spite of the mosaic of motley elements that made up these races, and the chequered fortunes that each has experienced, still have, at the various epochs of their career, exhibited common characteristics and sustained a similar *rôle* in the world's history. Let us mention two of these natural qualities common to both. Sentiment is one of them. The Celt has been pre-eminently distinguished by this quality. He has always been marked by a delicate sensibility, a refinement of taste, a quickness of apprehension, a luxuriance of imagination, a sense of proportion, and an appreciation of form, elegance and grace. Such have been some of the plain and unmistakable traits of Celtic character. No less has been the devotion of the Celt to those branches of knowledge for which Nature has fitted him and the impress that he has left on the thought, especially on the literature, of his neighbours. For I suppose no one would venture to deny that the Celt preceded the "Anglo-Saxon", not only in the desire for mental cultivation, but also in the custody of learning and in an eminently characteristic zeal for its diffusion. Hence, Celtic influence, predominant in many direc-

[1] Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion at 20, Hanover Square, on 10th May 1906. Chairman, the Right Hon. D. Lloyd George, M.P. *(President of the Board of Trade).*

tions, is discernible in an alien literature, such as German. Antecedently, therefore, one might conjecture that the Celt, so soon as he found an inspiring teacher, would become at once an apt disciple, a ready instrument, and an ardent missionary of the knowledge that he had acquired. Such a teacher and such a field for his enthusiasm he found in Italy.

To say that Italy was a teacher of the nations savours of a truism. Through a happy combination of events Italy became a foster-mother of culture, and many causes combined to render her a centre of enlightenment and a metropolis of knowledge. Her geographical position, her proximity to the Mediterranean (ever the seat of culture), her extent of seaboard opening Italy to every foreigner, her heirship to the treasures of Greek intellect, her constant communication with the mysterious East,—all these circumstances conspired to make her permanently a depository of literary tradition and canons of taste and the starting-point of more than one Renaissance.

Next, it may be observed that the Celt and the Italian carried these above-mentioned qualities into the province of religion. This point is specially relevant to our purpose to-night. A close connection has ever existed between mental and spiritual refinement, and herein the histories of Italian and Celt present parallels to each other. Thus, just as an Italian Bishop, and indeed a long line of Pontiffs, felt a watchful and earnest solicitude for the welfare of the pagan Saxon, so the Celtic missionaries at a later time reciprocated the feeling and repaid the debt by their missionary enterprise in the Italian peninsula. Just as Monasticism, in the early epoch of Christianity, played a principal part in the religious developments of Italy, and the monastic idea passed from the Valley of the Nile, the land of its birth, to Italian soil and there germi-

nated and throve, so in like manner, although quite independently of Italy, Monasticism spread to Celtic Britain and assumed a like form in the Northern regions as previously in the Southern. Just as Pope Gregory despatched from the steps of St. Andrew's on the Coelian Hill in Rome an Augustine, so, long before this, a galaxy of luminaries—Patrick, Columba, and Dewi and their attendant satellites—had been engaged in evangelising the North and the West.

Yet, after all, the resemblances existing between the mind and the mission of the Italian and the Celt respectively, need not excite surprise, for these were due in a great measure to kinship. Kinsmen the Italians and Celts were, who in a era beyond definite historical investigation, had broken away from the parent-stem, who after an estrangement extending over a thousand years and after being moulded by a hundred races, intersecting and conflicting with some, intermingling and combining with others, yet had succeeded in living on and preserving the characteristics that they both inherited from one and the same source. So true are the words of a Latin poet that though "you may drive out Nature with a pitchfork, she will ever come running back again".

But while we recognize in both Italian and Celt the presence of inherent and inborn instinct operating in the same way, Italy enjoyed greater advantages than her sister country in the North, and was peculiarly favoured by a fortunate combination of qualities and concurrence of events. Italy was the spoilt child of Nature, and History co-operated with Nature in lending her importance, in transforming her into a centre from which artistic and æsthetic influence radiated. She has cast her spell upon various conditions of men in various ages, and the enchantment has remained undissipated to this day. The reasons

are not obscure. Her salubrity, her equable climate, the fertility of her soil, the richness of her products, the material splendour of her cities, the majesty of the Imperial organization,

"Qua nihil in terris complectitur altius aether,"[1]

the beauty of her scenery, the legendary associations that gradually gathered around her, the art of which she was the cradle, the literature that she nursed, the hallowed associations that clustered around many spots—all these considerations have united to invest Italy with a glamour calculated to attract and arrest as well the barbarian, the soldier, the scholar and the saint; in short, to make her at once a battlefield, a pleasure-ground, a resort for the pilgrim and a university for the world. The Celtic countries fared differently. High up in the misty North, within their sea-encircled domain, far distant from the Mediterranean, on whose shore the stirring drama of Man's history has been enacted, unaffected by the epoch-making events, but also secure from the succession of convulsions that were shaking the old world to its foundations, the Celtic races, thanks to their very secluded situation, were able to repay Italy in a tumultuous time and dark hour for benefits previously received, and to come to the rescue of a crumbling civilization. But this was as yet hidden in the future.

Meanwhile it is interesting to observe that there were three links between Britain and Italy which had not been severed. The first was the Army. Although Rome, paralyzed at its centre, was obliged to recall its troops, the connection between Britain and the Army did not entirely cease. The profession of arms must even at that early

[1] The Burgundians embraced the Roman religion because they were impressed by the fact that the "God of the Romans is a strong helper to those who fear Him". Socrates, *Hist. ecc.*, vii, 30.

day have possessed an attraction for our ancestors, and the glories of the Welsh Fusiliers at Alma and Driefontein, the renown of the South Wales Borderers at Rorke's Drift, and of the Irish Fusiliers at Quatre Bras and many another battlefield, have been foreshadowed. Many of our countrymen must have served in the Roman ranks, though their names have passed into oblivion. So much we might have imagined, and the facts bear us out. The inscriptions that have come to light from time to time in various parts of the old Roman Empire attest the presence of British contingents serving under the Roman eagle. Thus, Celtic soldiers were quartered in the following garrison towns in Italy, one at Camerinum, another at Firmum, a third at Pisaurum, and a fourth at Ariminum.[1] Nay, they are found further afield in Pannonia and Hungary, North Africa and Pamphylia,[2] where by a curious coincidence they would be brought into contact with their kinsmen the Galatians. Centuries before this time these latter had joined in a Celtic incursion into Europe—a favourite diversion of our ancestors—but, becoming separated from the main host, had settled down in the fruitful valleys of Asia Minor.

Nor Britons alone served. The Irish, or Scots, as they were then called, were distinguished for their fighting propensities, and we possess clear evidence in the form of inscriptions proving their presence also in various parts of the Empire, while St. Jerome is a voucher for the existence of an Irish legion or regiment in his time. The Saint, who is writing from Treves in North Germany, bears unequivocal testimony to their warlike qualities, and adds

[1] Orelli, *Inscr., passim.*

[2] Le Bas and Waddington, *Voyage Archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure*, iii, 332. σπείρας βρεττανικῆς ἰ χειλίαρχον λεγεῶνος ιέ Ἀπολλιναρίας.

that their bravery was popularly attributed to the practice of feeding on human flesh.[1] This testimony is confirmed by witnesses from the Irish side. For when the Empire was in peril, and Aetius was entrusted with the task of defending Gaul against the Franks, Dathi, the High King of Ireland, led an Irish contingent in person to help the Roman general to repel the invaders from the Eastern frontier. He met his death beyond the sea. These circumstances, proved as they are by well-authenticated historical evidence, justify the assumption that in those turbulent times and stirring scenes, when Italy resounded to the tramp of armies marching from one province to another, the sturdy, thick-set Welshman and red-haired Scot fought shoulder to shoulder with blue-eyed Gaul, swarthy Spaniard, and olive-skinned Syrian, against the Goth, Hun, and Frank.[2]

The next link between Britain and Italy consisted in the common use of the Latin language, which was largely due to the diffusion of troops among various nationalities and the existence of a network of colonies throughout the Roman dominions. The Latin language became the vehicle of international intercourse, of the Roman administration, of officialdom, of commerce—not, be it observed, the classical style of Virgil or Cicero, but a lower, debased conversational dialect. There is in language a tendency to "phonetic decay" or corruption, which is

[1] *Epist. II, Adv. Jovinianum* and context. But the Irish had a higher opinion of St. Jerome. So great was his authority in the primitive Irish Church that any who disputed his word on Scriptural questions was regarded almost as a heretic.

[2] The arrival of the captive Caractacus at Rome, and the impression created by his bearing and his speech, are vividly described by Tacitus, *Annals*, xii, 36-38. The story of Claudia (2 *Tim.* iv, 21) and the part supposed to have been played by her in the introduction of Christianity naturally possessed a strong fascination for Welsh historians, and

always operating, and especially active in a state of social chaos or transition, such as ensued upon the fall of the Roman Empire. The dialects of the unlettered classes became predominant. The barbarian intruders carried the process of corruption still further, and introduced a multitude of new words. Ultimately there came into being the *lingua Romanza*, out of which sprang the melodious Italian, the vigorous Spanish and the flexible French. But side by side with this popular *patois*, the masterpieces of Roman genius were passed from hand to hand; the *Georgics* and the Second *Philippic*, Horace's *Satires*, and Martial's *Epigrams*, would be perused and applauded on the banks of the Thames as on the Tiber. The Latin vocabulary also, in its turn, gained something by contact with Celtic tongues. Together with some of the Celtic customs and Celtic objects, the Romans adopted their Celtic names, and even some Welsh words were incorporated into the web and warp of classical Latin. The spread of Latin possesses an historical significance when it is considered that Greek, in which treasures of the intellect are enshrined, was destined to be forgotten during several centuries, and the tradition of intellectual culture to be conveyed through Latin. In this way the world was insured against the consequences of a loss which would have changed the character of civilization. The adoption of Latin as the liturgical language, and its spread into the remotest corners of the West, as for instance to Ireland, strengthened the hold of Italy on

they have woven a tissue of charming idylls around her name. There certainly was a lady of British birth whose gifts and graces were celebrated by the poet Martial in the following epigram :—

Claudia caeruleis cum sit Ruffina Britannis
Edita, cur Latiae pectora plebis habes?
Quale decus formae? Romanam credere matres
Italides possunt, Athides esse suam.

Britain, and contributed largely towards staving off the severance between them.[1]

The third link that bound Britain and Italy together remains to be mentioned, and has a direct bearing on the subject in hand. It formed part of the Roman policy to establish Imperial schools in various parts, and even on the extreme frontier of the Empire. Education was a department of government; schools were set up and professors endowed, just as soldiers were stationed and law courts opened in every considerable city of the East and the West. One was situated at Caerleon, in Monmouthshire. Indeed, respectful mention is made by the Latin writers of the schools in Britain generally, and the popularity of the movement betokens the same aspiration after culture in the Celt at that day that distinguishes him at the present, and has become a permanent Celtic attribute. The withdrawal of the legions from Britain in 407 was a serious reversal of the course of progress, and a blow to the prosperity of Britain, but it would be a mistake to suppose that the connection with Rome ceased altogether. Though denuded of her natural defenders, Britain clung tenaciously and proudly to her Imperial inheritance; in spite of the disintegrating influences that followed, the irruptions of wild hordes, and (worst of all) financial ruin that stared the Britons in the face, it was long before Roman civilization was extinguished.[2]

The series of cataclysms which followed in the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries, undid the work of the soldier and the statesman. Down came the black clouds of wild hordes from the North of Europe, the "Northern

[1] Cf. P. Frédéricq, "Les conséquences de l' évangelisation par Rome," in *Bull. de l' Académie royale de Belgique*, 1903, n. 11, 738-751.

[2] The popularity of Rome as an educational centre is attested by the *Codex Theodosianus*, Liber xiv, Tit. ix, 1 (A.D. 370).

Hive", as it was called on account of the successive swarms that emerged from that quarter of the globe, and swooped upon the plains of the South. Tired of slaying each other out in the dark on the outskirts of the habitable world, they burst into civilized communities like a tempest let loose, and spread havoc and devastation before them. Rome, heaving with internal agitation, was now sufficiently engaged in fighting for her own existence and saving the remnants of a tottering Empire. The outlying portions of that vast organization were left to their fate; adieu to intercourse between Britain and Italy; the very mention of culture was a mockery; the actual aim to exist was occupation enough for mind and body.

So passed away the ancient voices of genius and learning.

The centuries rolled by. After a long period of blank bewilderment in men's minds, so great that they firmly believed that the dissolution of the world was at hand, of widespread ignorance (alike of the clergy, the repositories of knowledge at that age, as of the laity), hope began by degrees to revive. The work of Old Rome was over: her laws had been upset, her civilization quenched, and her Empire torn into fragments. The barbarians had done all in their power to stamp out any element capable of recovery, and destroy every vestige of progress. They felt a joy in their work of destruction. Yet these self-same invaders became both instruments and subjects of a new revival. Under the influence of the Church they unlearnt their former ferocity and were vanquished by the captive of their sword and bow. Thus, after a weary interval, a re-action ensued, not only because of the recovery of the afflicted population, but also by means of the incipient domestication of the conqueror; and the introduction of this new and vigorous element recruited a

decaying civilization. To restore the lost treasures of Greek and Latin literature, and fan into activity the sparks of dormant genius, was no slight task, and in fact occupied generations; monk, clerk and layman entered into the work with rekindled hope and renewed vigour, and co-operated to spread the enthusiasm for antiquity. And what country so suited for a Renaissance as Italy, studded with emblems of past glories, intellectual triumphs, artistic and literary achievements, and strewn with the fragmentary monuments of ancient splendour? It was at this point, namely, the era of slow attempts at reconstruction, that the Celt emerged into prominence. He assisted in rebuilding the social fabric fallen into material and moral ruin.

The evolution of culture appears to have followed a natural law, and to be divided into three stages or periods:—

1. The poetical.
2. The scientific.
3. The practical.

To each of these I shall address myself in succession.

I.

First of all, then, as to the poetical stage. This practically coincides with the period during which the old order was dissolving. As to poetry, in this connection, without committing ourselves here to a definition of it, or trying to state its metaphysical essence, it may be said to address itself to the imagination and affections, and dwell in the realm of the immeasurable, the impenetrable and inscrutable—in a word, the mysterious. Poetry is the attitude or habit of mind that seeks to live in communion with Nature; it is the feeling of the child when he becomes conscious that he knows so little. Such a frame of mind was eminently suited to an age which may be

described as the childhood of that new world already arising out of the ashes of the old. Thus it came about that the care for culture was almost limited to the monks, and the monasteries became a focus for educational effort; so education partook of a monastic complexion. The times were evil. The ideal of monasticism is expressed in the conception of *beata solitudo* and the *sola beatitudo* which, as it was imagined, only the cloister could afford to the mind. The recluse's first consideration was to be quit of the world, to flee from the stagnant mass of squalor, famine and disease, that festered in the towns. He did not permit himself to indulge any dream for a distant day, to make plans for a future which might never come. It was enough for him to provide for his immediate wants, to till the soil, to fell timber, to meditate and pray, to raise solemn chant or soothing dirge, to toll passing bell, to count the monotonous beats of the pendulum of time. Such was the primary notion and essential genius of monasticism.

Let us return to the crisis in the intellectual history of Italy, and indeed of Europe, in the sixth century. Ruin and desolation had overtaken most civilized countries. What refuge was there for the learning, education and culture of the day, when chased away by the barbarian invader? What city or country could afford them the necessary protection, if they were not utterly to perish? Not Antioch, once the seat of a brilliant civilization, for there, too, the enemy was at the gates. Not hostile Constantinople, New Rome, whither the Emperor Constantine had transferred the government and administration. Not Alexandria, prosperous hitherto but soon to fall. But learning and culture did find a refuge, and that in the two sister islands, Hibernia and Britannia (Ireland and Britain). At that time Ireland was the wonder of all

people, by reason of her knowledge, sacred and profane. There, in the great schools of Bangor, Durrow and Armagh, learning had enjoyed an immunity from the havoc and ravages wrought upon her on the Continent, and had flourished. There the fugitive Muses were accorded an asylum. There the tradition of culture was maintained and learning was saved, and what the haughty Alaric or fierce Attila had driven out from the Continent meditative men in British and Irish cloisters collected, housed, and made to live again. This was in the fifth and sixth centuries.

The British monks thus bridged over the abyss: their services to culture did not terminate there. The mission of these two islands came to an end; the peace that they had hitherto enjoyed was not destined to last for ever, and at last misfortune overtook them also. Ragnar Lodbrog with his Danes began his descents on the Irish and British coasts; ruin and bloodshed marked his footsteps. Neither learning nor sanctity afforded protection; libraries and schools were consigned to the flames, yet not before the two islands had, so to speak, made their wills and bequeathed their system, tradition and professors to another rising power and imposing personality, who was destined afterwards by the fruits of his policy to exert so widespread and so beneficent an influence on European culture—that is, Charlemagne.

The interest now centres in Italy and the outburst of activity displayed there. A phalanx of apostles of Christian culture and dogmatic doctors passed over to the Pagan continent, and not only laboured in Gaul and Germany, but also extended their operations south of the Apennines.

At the same time it is not maintained that the inhabitants of these sister islands were at that day all

cultured any more than they were all Christians. The Monastic Schools were as beacons shining in the darkness, and the learned monks as voices crying in the wilderness. A re-action set in, and Ireland was again swept into the spiritual federation of the West, of which Rome was the pivot.

The position occupied by Rome is liable to exaggeration. Thanks to the primacy accorded to that See and the prestige that the church enjoyed as successor to the vast organization of the Empire (the very name of which, as we have seen, had awed the races on the frontiers into submission), she tacitly possessed two prerogatives which in course of time made possible a wider sphere of operations. The first was the *Appellate jurisdiction*. Under Pope Leo it assumed special significance and marked an important stage in the advance to spiritual supremacy.[1] Next, appeals for counsel or applications for advice tended to throw further power into the hands of the Papacy or the Bishop of Rome. Although resting on no "formal enactment" there was a custom, at any rate, of referring any debatable or disputed question of principle to Rome. That See took the precedence in point of age, and, as the church of the Capital of the Empire, served for a model. These formal answers were called *Decretals*. But we must guard against misapprehension. Originally the ruling of the Roman See was not binding, but constituted an expression of opinion, invited for the object of securing uniformity of practice throughout the various provinces of the Western Church. The veneration paid to the resting-places of confessors and martyrs offered another and a powerful inducement to

[1] Valentinian I and Gratian had recognized the Roman see as a court of appeal from other ecclesiastical councils of the western provinces of the Empire. This prerogative went back as far as the end of the fourth century. Cf. Bury, *Life of St. Patrick*, p. 62.

visit Italy, and the prospect or hope of securing relics of the saints nerved the pilgrim to the endurance of any discomfort or danger. Relics were believed to possess a dormant, if not an energetic, virtue of supernatural operation. So much store was set upon the possession of them that the discovery of the tomb of an eminent saint caused far-spread excitement and often controversy, as, for example, the notorious contention that arose over the bones of St. Gervasius and St. Protasius of Milan in the year A.D. 386. Similarly other sacred places, churches, bishops, chapters and whole communities vied with each other for the possession of a fingerbone or cerement-cloth of a lesser luminary in the Church Calendar. What miracle might not be achieved by such media of Divine manifestation and graces! But the acquisition of a relic of the Blessed Apostles, whose remains rested at Rome, was an occasion of loud rejoicing, a badge of distinction and a source of wealth. Induced by so great a hope many cheerfully undertook the journey to the sacred shrines of Italy or visited Italy on the way to the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem.[1] If we are to believe the testimony of ecclesiastical writers a cloud of Celtic saints[2] and confessors of all ranks crossed the Alps and Apennines in the earliest centuries, on their way through to Italy. It might appear from the elaborate details drawn from the imagination of these narrators, that there is a tendency to exaggerate with a view to a controversial triumph, but

[1] "Every man of note in Gaul hastens hither; *the Briton, 'sundered from our world'*, no sooner makes progress in religion than he leaves the setting sun in quest of a spot of which he knows only through Scripture and common report." *Ep. to Marcella*, in the name of Paula and Eustochium, xlvi, referring to Palestine.

[2] The difficulties of such an extended journey were not so great as might be imagined; the means of communication were various. St. Jerome's letters incidentally furnish evidence on this point. Thus in

there are also well-authenticated proofs of many of these pilgrimages at an early epoch. Towards the end of the seventh century the current to Rome set in strongly, the movement had assumed alarming proportions and was even discouraged owing to the dangers and inconveniences that it entailed. The ecclesiastical authorities were obliged to set their face against the rage for pilgrimages. The Anglo-Saxon Apostle of Germany, Boniface, in some of his letters strongly deprecates the exodus. These pilgrims, he urged, "were continually falling victims to the dangers of the journey or a prey to the temptations that beset their path". Occasionally the pilgrims embraced callings very different from what they contemplated in starting.[1] His testimony may be taken as equally true with regard to the Celts, who were not behindhand in devotion, and embarked on such an enterprise with enthusiasm. True, they had their sanctuaries or sacred shrines nearer home, and to these they flocked in large numbers. If we confine ourselves to Wales, Ynys Enlli, the Isle of the Saints, the burial-place of "twenty thousand saints", was one; Ty Ddewi was another; Sant Ffraid a third place of frequent resort; all three were hallowed by immemorial usage. But Rome possessed higher claims, and a pilgrimage thither was the height of the ambition of the faithful, fired with a hope of seeing for themselves the scenes of the charitable deeds of the good and great, their life-long

his *Letter against Vigilantius*, sec. 17, he speaks of his messenger: "My brother Sisinnius, hastening his departure for Egypt, where he has relief to give to the saints and is impatient to be gone." This active intermediary was constantly on the road between Marseilles and Bethlehem, and probably travelled by way of Sardinia, Rome, Greece and the islands of the Adriatic. Sisinnius's love of gossip and clerical news caused an estrangement between Augustine and Jerome.

[1] Boniface to Cuthbert, A.D. 745. Migne, *Ep.* lxiii, p. 765.

penances, the spots where they had sojourned in life and hallowed by their death.[1] Nor were the Irish slow to obey the call to Rome.[2] They flocked in crowds, and, as we shall see, some of them left a deep impress on Italy and memorials of their visit, which are treasured to this day. Usher[3] notices the "inextinguishable desire of the Irish to visit the relics of the Holy Apostles, Saint Peter and St. Paul." Of these was Palladius, the first Bishop in Ireland who betook himself to Rome to obtain consecration.[4] Of these was St. Finnian of Moville, who came over in the sixth century, became Bishop of Lucca and ended his days in Italy.[5] Of these in the sixth century also was

[1] "Roma semel quantum bis dat Menevia tantum," ran the adage.

"Dos i Rufain unwaith ag i Fynyw ddwywaith
Ar un elw cryno a gai di yma ac yno."

The poet Meilir (eleventh-twelfth cent.) in his *Deathbed of the Bard*, reflects the sentiment of his age: Fortune has smiled on him; he has received "heaps of gold and velvet" from princely patrons, but now he feels another impulse:—

"Mi, Veilyr Brydyt, berierin i Bedyr,
Porthawr a gymedyr gymmes deithi."

Still, he chooses as his last resting-place, the sequestered, untrodden, sea-encircled Isle of Saints—

"Ynys Vair Virain:
Ynys glân y glain,
Gwrthrych dadwyrain—
Ys cain yndi."

Stephens, *Literature of the Kymry*, p. 14.

[2] Montalembert says that the journey to Rome or even to Palestine finds a place in the legend of almost every Cambrian or Irish saint.

[3] *Eccles. Antiq.*, ch. xviii, p. 521.

[4] Bury, *Life of St. Patrick*, pp. 54, 298: Prosper, *Epit. s.a.* 431, *ad Scottos in Christum credentes ordinatus a papa Celestino Palladius primus episcopus mittitur.*

[5] His name in religion was Frigidianus, from which is derived the name by which he is known in Italy, Frediano. See G. Fannuchi, *Vita di S. Frediano* (Lucca, 1870); Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, i, p. 794; P. Francatti, *Storia dei Santi di Lucca.*

St. Sillan, known in Italy by the name of St. Silao,[1] who died at Lucca on his return from Rome and was buried there.[2] But none exceed in interest St. Columbanus and his galaxy, like St. Attalus, Dogmael (or as he is called in Italian, Domiziale), Eogain (Egnano), Eunan (Eunoco), and in the century succeeding, SS. Pellegrinus and Cummian. Of these in the ninth century was Donatus, who as he passed through Florence on his way to Rome was taken by force, in obedience to an omen, and elected Bishop of Fiesole, Andrew, Archdeacon of San Martino and Mensola, and the Holy Brigid.

The Welsh, in like manner, were well-represented among the pilgrims. Such zeal might have been expected. A race which has always signalized itself by fervent faith, lively sensibility, an impressionable nature and romantic temperament, would feel drawn to a land around which legendary, historic and sacred associations clustered. The visits of saints, who were born in Wales or were naturalized there, are attested in a variety of ways. "Before all things", says Giraldus Cambrensis, "the Welsh preferred to lay their devotions on the Apostles' tomb." Among these Welsh pilgrims appear some notable names. St. Patrick, perhaps a native of Morganwg, certainly a Briton,[3] contemplated a journey thither in the early part of his life and accomplished his purpose at a later day. St. Cadoc and St. Kentigern, who were closely associated with Wales, both claimed to have made the journey seven times.[4] The visits of Pedrog, Beuno, Brynach, Senan, whose names are enshrined in place-names like Llanbedrog, Llanfeuno,

[1] See E. M. Fiorentini, *Vita di S. Silao, vescovo Irlandese.*

[2] Stokes, *Six Months in the Apennines*, p. 107.

[3] Bury, *Life of St. Patrick*, pp. vii, 17, 322.

[4] Montalembert, *Monks of the West*, vol. iii, p. 63. Bollandists, xiii Jan. Mackinlay, *Continuity or Collapse*, p. 56.

Llanfrynach, Llansannan, are merged in considerable obscurity. St. David is also stated to have visited Rome in the company of Saints Fin Barr of Cork, Aidan of Ferns and Eulogius.[1]

When we turn to ecclesiastical historians, Gildas acquaints us with the fact that he visited Rome "to invoke the merits of the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, that by their intercession he might obtain from the Lord the pardon of his sins".[2] Others were actuated by less pure motives. Gildas throws a lurid light on the objects that induced some of these votaries to embark on this journey. After condemning the practice of installing traitors "in the chair of St. Peter", he proceeds to speak of "unworthy Britons who found a difficulty in obtaining their dioceses at home", because some people protested strongly against the traffic in church livings. He explains that intriguers of this kind, "covetors of such a precious pearl, delighted to cross the seas and travel over extensive countries after they had carefully sent their messengers beforehand". He has doubtless in mind simoniacal transactions countenanced at Rome.[3]

Although we must attribute some of these statements to party zeal and a desire for controversial triumph, it would seem that the description of a palmer in *Piers Plowman* would be equally realized in Wales as in England, and many a Welsh pilgrim might have been seen wending his way to Italy—

[1] Inde cum S. Davide Menevensi eorum se societate jungente Romam ad limina Apostolorum visenda profecti sunt. See Mackinlay, *Continuity or Collapse*, p. 15. A passing notice of St. David's pilgrimage occurs in Colgan, *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. 1, p. 221, xxxi Jan.

[2] Mabillon, *Acta Sanctorum*, O.S.B., tom. i, p. 142, Vita S. Gildae.

[3] Cf. Adam of Usk in the fourteenth century: "Every man who had wealth and was greedy for empty glory kept his money in the merchant's bank ready to further his advancement." *Chronicle* (ed. Thompson), pp. 245-6. (So did Adam himself, see p. 276.)

"He bare him a staff, with a broad stripe bound,
That round it was twined like a woodbine's twist;
A bowl and a bag he bore by his side;
A hundred vials were set on his hat,
Signs from Sinai, Gallician shells;
With crosses on his cloak, and the keys of Rome,
And the vernicle before, for that men should discern
And see by his signs what shrines he had sought."[1]

With such convincing evidence it would be difficult to question his visit to the chief pilgrim-resorts in Christendom—

"Sinai and the Sepulchre Holy,
Bethlehem and Babylon, I've seen them both,
Armenia, Alexandria and other like places."[2]

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[1] *The Seven Deadly Sins*, 524-5 (edited by Skeat). Cf. Prologue, 46.

[2] The pilgrim movement was not confined to ecclesiastics or ecclesiastical writers, and swept in many personages, who, though themselves men of the sword rather than the pen, turned their faces towards Rome. Tradition tells us that from Strathclyde, Dunwallon, the last champion of the independence of the British remnant in that region, went to Rome and received the tonsure. From Wales Cyngen, Prince of Powys, and Howel, lord of Glamorgan, bent their steps in the same direction. Controversy has gathered around the name of another king, who was believed to have laid his bones in St. Peter's, namely, Cadwaladr Fendigaid. This famous but somewhat nebulous personage took part in the ineffectual struggles of the Welsh of the North and Strathclyde against Oswin. Geoffrey of Monmouth states that he took refuge in Armorica, abdicated his throne and retired to Rome, where he died (A.D. 687-9). This story really arises from a confusion between Cadwaladr or Caedwalla of Wessex who, it is historically ascertained, died at Rome about 688. His epitaph in old St. Peter's has been preserved (Fabretti, *Inscrip. Antiq.*, 1702, Rome, p. 735, No. 463) and is couched in laudatory language. There exists in the Vatican Library a protest addressed to the Pope by a Robertus Oënus, who, jealous of his country's honour, remonstrates against the ascription of the epitaph to Caedwalla, and cites a long list of authorities on his side. But our fellow-countryman might have spared himself the trouble, moderated his indignation and consoled himself with the reflection that Caedwalla himself probably had British blood in his veins, as his name *Mul* (half-breed) seems to indicate.

The popularity of these pilgrimages explains the solicitude on the part of English kings and princes to facilitate the passage of pilgrims, ensure their safety, and promote their comfort on their arrival at their destination. The *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales* show that the Roman pilgrimage was recognized by law. Thus it is enacted that "there are three persons against whom, according to law, no-one is to be 'received or heard': the second is . . . a person who might chance to commit some act so as not to be able to obtain the communion of the Church of God, until he obtained absolution from the Pope, and if, after setting out upon his pilgrimage, a claim should be preferred against him, the plaintiff is not to be heard . . . until a year and a day shall have elapsed."[1] Hitherto the enterprising palmer had depended upon the charity of the religious houses on the road. Every monastery was open to him, and its occupants regarded hospitality towards pilgrims as a pious duty and a sacred obligation. A chain of such foundations stretching across the continent linked far-off Palestine with Britain, and the wayfarer lacked no means of entertainment, or the lack would be supplemented by the benevolence of the

[1] Vol. ii, p. 385. The etymologies of the words for pilgrim point in the same direction and bear unconscious testimony to the prevalence of pilgrimages in the Ages of Faith. "Pilgrim" meant originally "foreigner", "traveller", but the original signification of the word was narrowed down. Under the same category fall the Italian *pellegrino*, Provençal *pelegrin*, French *pélerin*, and Welsh *pererin*. Rome has left its impress in the following terms for "pilgrim" and "pilgrimage": Romeria, Romipeta, Romipeda, Romerius, and their derivatives in Old Italian, French and Spanish (*"chiamansi romei inquanto vanno a Roma"*, Dante, *Vit. nuova: "romero quiere decir como ome que va á Roma pora visitar los santos lugares"*. Diez, *Etymol. Wörterbuch der roman. Sprachen)*. So also the Middle English "Romerenner", "a runner to Rome". Even the Modern English word "roam" and its derivatives, though not from the same root, betray the influence of this idea.

faithful. But soon the kings took these travellers under their protection. Special interest attaches to the *hospitium* for housing English visitors at Rome. St. Jerome alludes to Britain and the hospital for strangers at the mouth of the Tiber[1] as existing in his day (the fourth century), and the first monument of diplomacy relates to negotiations for the protection of pilgrims. For at the end of the eighth century the Saxon Offa arranged a treaty with his rival Charlemagne, guaranteeing the safe conduct of merchants, pilgrims and others who were making their way in growing numbers to Rome. Moreover, Offa founded an *hospitium* to accommodate the English sojourners in the city.[2] Under the patronage of the Normans the Latin Church grew apace, and attention was still more drawn to the claims of the Holy See.

By the way, it may be asked, where are we digressing? What connection has this with Celtic culture? But let me reassure you. I have not lost hold of the thread of the subject; the pilgrim movement could not fail to exert

[1] Mackinlay, p. 41.

[2] So we learn from a Latin document in the Vatican, *Brevis narratio de origine ac progressu Collegii Anglorum in civitate Romana ab anno Dom. 1578, usque 1582.* This institution was subsequently remodelled, and dedicated to the memory of King Edward the Martyr. It was located in Trastavere, perhaps for the benefit of English sailors, either because that class especially needed such an institution or because the overland route was often rendered impracticable by disturbances in the countries through which passed the route to Rome. The *hospitium* was placed under the patronage of St. Thomas of Canterbury. It was afterwards transferred to the inner part of the city, near the *Piazza dei Fiori*, and endowed for the entertainment of pilgrims and the support of chaplains whose duty it was to officiate in the church adjoining and minister to the pilgrims' wants. As will appear in the sequel, it assumed great importance in connection with Wales. Here it may suffice to mention that the *Pilgrim Book* of the College records a succession of visitors from Wales. Dr. Croke's forthcoming book on the English institutions of Rome, in which he will deal with the *Pilgrim Book*, promises to be of unusual interest.

a marked influence upon the intellectual advance of Celtic countries by bringing two consequences in its train. Unquestionably these sojourners in Italy, the chief seat of culture and the centre of Western Christendom, according to the ideas of that day, affected intellectual progress favourably. The missionary system of the Celtic Church was a direct development of the pilgrim movement towards the Continent. For many of the Irish saints who set forth as pilgrims for Palestine or Italy, being profoundly impressed by the multiplied miseries to which Italy had been subjected, the moral and spiritual darkness of the regions which they traversed, and the need of religious teachers, either remained in Italy or returned to found schools and churches. Culture and religion then went hand in hand. The enthusiasm that they displayed in the face of formidable difficulties and depressing conditions compels our admiration, and forms a chapter in human history which demands reverential study. For while the surface of Europe was being agitated and sometimes convulsed by wars, invasions, and social disorders, the Celtic saints helped to keep burning the lamp of religion in the darkest day. But another and more direct advantage accrued. Apart from these enterprising spirits who threw themselves with ardour into their missionary labours, the bands of pilgrims who found their way to Italy year by year brought back with them stores of "spiritual treasures" and a mental equipment, in the shape of precious volumes, copies of the Latin Classics and the Fathers, of the Scripture Oracles, of commentaries, and other ecclesiastical gear.[1] But—more important still—they came back with ideas enlarged,

[1] Bede, on St. Augustine's Mission to England, mentions among the indispensable objects that he brought with him "necnon et codices plurimos". *Hist. Eccles.*, i, 29.

horizon widened, a taste for knowledge, a spirit of intellectual adventure, vision cleared by consorting with many minds, richer in experience, in discovery, in information, in the merit of hardships bravely endured and of dangers bravely encountered.[1]

Place beside the above evidence of communication with Italy, the following passage from the life of the Irish saint Senan, which, if it does not prove an intimacy with continental Christianity, adds weight to the evidence already adduced. "While he was on the island of Inis Cara, near Killaloe on the Shannon, there came a ship's crew of the land of Latium (*i.e.* Italy) on a pilgrimage into Ireland. Five decades was their number, all were perfect folk. These pilgrims before starting . . . placed themselves under the protection of one or other of the Irish saints."

The passage does not stand alone. Lives of the Irish Saints afford glimpses of Italy and especially of Lombardy. Thus we read, "Sechnall the companion of St. Patrick, was son of Restitutus of the Lombards of Letha, *i.e.*, Italy." His mother was St. Patrick's sister, Darerca. The passage runs as follows :—

> "A Lombard by race was Sechnall,
> Of a pure fierce race, whiteness of colour,
> Lombards of Italy."

Another passage, from Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, is interesting at the present moment, when the eruption of Vesuvius is fresh in our memory, and further shows that the monks of Iona in St. Columba's lifetime were in active

[1] The name of one of these itinerant monks, Pelagius, summons up somewhat sinister associations. A native of Ireland, or of one of the Irish colonies in Britain, he settled in Rome, and distinguished himself by his knowledge of Scripture and by his sanctity. But he afterwards developed views of his own, chiefly consisting of an assertion of the dignity of human nature, which brought him into sharp

sympathy and touch with their brethren in Italy. Said the Holy Man one day: "'A sulphurous flame from heaven has this hour been sent down upon a city of the Roman Empire, situated within the boundary of Italy, and nearly three thousand men, besides a number of mothers and children, have perished. And before the present year is ended Gallic sailors, coming hither from the provinces of the Gauls, shall relate these same things to thee.' Which words, after some months, were proved to have been true. For the same Lugbe (one of the brothers in Columba's community) going with the holy man to the Land's Head (Cantyre) and questioning the captain and the sailors of a bark that arrived, hears narrated by them all those things concerning the city with its citizens just as they were foretold by the Illustrious Man."[1]

This era of ecclesiastical education witnessed the rise of many stars in the intellectual firmament, of whom it might be interesting to speak in detail. Indeed, never in any age did personality wield so great an influence on human history as at that time. But we are chiefly concerned

conflict with the Church. Never a very active propagandist himself, he found a ready instrument for disseminating his ideas in Celestius, a Scottish monk, whom he attached to his cause. His life was largely spent in Italy. There is an anecdote told by a countryman of his, which throws an interesting light on Pelagius's origin and notoriety. St. Mochta, a "Briton" and a disciple of St. Patrick, had in his early life studied at Rome. It would appear that during his sojourn in the capital city, the quidnuncs of the day taunted him with his British faith and fatherland, because the heresiarch Pelagius had hailed from Britain. To which the saintly Briton retorted: "If for the fault of one man (*i.e.* Pelagius) the inhabitants of a whole province (Britain) are to be banned, let . . . Rome be condemned, from which not one but two, three or even more heresies have started." Pelagius, arraigned before several synods and before the Pope, was finally banished from Rome in 418, and from that date disappears from view.

[1] The reference is to *Citta nuova* (the Alvum of Ptolemy), north of the river Quieto, in Istria.

with movements rather than men, and two movements call for special notice.

The sixth century is remarkable for the rise of two great movements and two great centres of intellectual illumination in Italy at opposite ends of the peninsula. The first will be ever associated with the name of St. Benedict, the founder of Monachism in the West, whose rule, composed in the year A.D. 515, became, subject to modifications, adopted generally in the West. His work started from Subiaco; but it was at Monte Cassino, near Naples, that he laid the foundations of the vast organization that was destined in after ages to exert such a far-reaching influence on religious life in the whole of Western Christendom. The religious aspect of his Mission does not particularly affect us to-night, but the provision that he made for the mental exercises of his monks has a distinct bearing on the subject in hand. Though, strange to say, Benedict was himself so little of a scholar that St. Gregory the Great described him as being "learnedly ignorant and wisely unlearned", yet the provision that he made for giving his monks employment proved the salvation of learning in that age. He strictly enjoined the study of literature and the religious duty of instructing the young. At Subiaco and afterwards at Monte Cassino, the metropolis of the Benedictine name, he began the work which came to be regarded as the peculiar and proper occupation of a medieval monk, namely, that of copying, illuminating and embellishing manuscripts, or writing annals or chronicles of the simplest structure and the most artless composition. The Benedictines of a later day established a printing press and introduced the art of printing into Italy. Throughout the early history of the Benedictines the persistency with which they overcame obstacles, rebuilt their houses, when wasted with fire and sword, and began anew in their old quarters

or sought fresh fields, cannot fail to command admiration. The consequence was that from the century which witnessed the educational endeavours of Charlemagne, to the eleventh, education was practically in the hands of these "Black Monks", and the period has been styled the Benedictine Age. In course of time the Order made its way over Western Europe, and among other places to Wales. Under the protection and patronage of the Normans the Benedictines soon gained the ascendancy, sometimes by harsh measures, ofttimes by the adaptability of the Benedictine Rule, but always persistently advancing, until at last this Latin form of monasticism assimilated or supplanted local Orders of an earlier or an independent foundation. The Rule of the Benedictines received the Emperor's sanction, was formally adopted throughout his dominions, and superseded or coalesced with the Celtic monasteries which were organized on a tribal basis. But though the Benedictines gradually extinguished the native houses, they popularized themselves and gained hold of the inhabitants of the countries where they settled. Their advent was not an evil; they brought with them pictures, manuscripts of the Fathers and the Latin Classics, and founded schools. To them and their offshoots, like the Cistercians, was due the preservation of much of our literary lore.

While the disciples of St. Benedict were extending their operations, another torch was lighted in the North of Italy among the deep valleys and hills of Bobbio. This time it was an Irish monk, who had engaged in a like charitable toil, namely, Columbanus.[1] A pupil of the famous school of Bangor, brought up at the feet of Finnian, he had enjoyed exceptionable privileges. For the Irish schools had originally inherited the Roman tradition. St. Patrick, though unlettered himself, had made Latin the ecclesi-

[1] A.D. 543-565.

astical language of the Irish Church and had brought the Irish mind into contact with Roman thought, thereby opening up an avenue to the products of Roman genius. Columbanus was, therefore, well fitted intellectually for the self-imposed task. But to his mental equipment he added an inextinguishable religious fervour and soon made his individuality felt. Fired with religious zeal he flung himself into the work of restoration with all the enthusiasm of which his Celtic nature was capable. Italy afforded an outlet for his exuberant energies. Tradition records that at the age of thirty, whilst an inmate at the Monastery of Bangor, he received an inward intimation that his lifework lay in Italy, or as the narrators put it, "A voice, that spake to Abraham, get thee up out of thy country, and from thy kindred and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will shew thee". Nor was the Saint disobedient to the heavenly vision. Accompanied by twelve trusty companions,[1] burning with zeal like himself, he set out for the Continent. He established three monasteries in France and Burgundy. Still unsatisfied and unwearied he crossed the Alps, and the year 595 found him at Milan combating the heresy of the Arians and especially bending his energies to the task of recalling to the Faith the Lombards, who were tainted with that pernicious error. His biographer Jonas speaks of a book that he wrote here, a book of "abounding knowledge" (*florentis scientiae*), which had apparently a wide vogue in Italy, but has not come down to us.[2] His efforts were crowned by the conversion of the King of the Lombards, Aigulph by name, who held him in high esteem and desired him to remain and stamp out the expiring embers of Arianism. Columbanus yielded to his importunity and spent the rest of his days in Italy. The King presented

[1] Mabillon, *Annal. Bened.*, annot. 6. [2] C. xxix.

him with the Basilica of St. Peter at Bobbio, high up in the Apennines, which welcomed many a Celtic saint and pilgrim. Some of his original followers were British by birth or naturalisation. As at Bangor-is-y-coed and other monasteries of the ancient Cymric Church, so at Bobbio, in the savage recesses of the mountains, many Welshmen from Wales and Welshmen from Strathclyde, caught by the enthusiasm and fired by the example of Columbanus, came to spend the remainder of their days there.[1] This far-famed house was no exception to the rule that enjoined a strict mental exercise. Of the evidences of their activity displayed there, we have no time to speak in detail. St. Columbanus himself set the example; sermons, tracts, epistles and hymns (a favourite mode of composition with Irish saints) emanated from this source.[2]

The monks were kept "as busy as bees" (says an old writer) and we might try to obtain a glimpse of them. I do not vouch for the historical accuracy of the following description of daily routine in this hive of Christian activity, but it is certainly in keeping with the spirit of monasticism, whether in Wales, Ireland, or Italy. Enter then, in imagination, the *Scriptorium* or writing-room of the monastery of Bobbio or Monte Cassino, and picture the inmates, Irish and Welsh, with a sprinkling of others—for the founders made no distinction of races in their ecumenical work—engaged in copying manuscripts, binding, rubricating, decorating, under the superintendence of the *Cantor*, or librarian, Brother Celestinus; a strict superin-

[1] At Bobbio may be seen frescoes relating to St. Columbanus, and the tombs of Bishop Cummian, Bishop Attala, and other followers of the saint.

[2] *Thesaurus Palaeo-Hibernicus*, by W. Stokes and Strachan, vii, 40. Lovers of romance will remember Barrili's *Le confessioni di Fra Guilberto*, which is based on the supposed discovery of a manuscript at Bobbio.

tendent he was, a very Rhadamanthus and a regular bookworm as well, who would remain in the library for days together. Dead silence reigned while he was there. He used to say "a monastery without a library is no better than a castle without an armoury". No one could escape his watchful eye. He insisted on the copyists taking the utmost care of the manuscripts, because they were more precious than "fine gold", and any maltreatment of his favourites caused him poignant anguish. One day the Cantor came upon Brother Benignus putting straws between the leaves to mark where he was leaving off. The Cantor was appalled. Said he: "That means death to the poor things; the book hasn't a stomach to digest the straws; they swell and rot." He surprised Brother Einion, sleeping with his head on the volume in front of him, and almost danced with rage, as far as it was consistent with the dignity of a Cantor. Just as Brother Seraphinus was reaching a book from the chest, a wasp lighted on his hand, and what should he do but drop the precious manuscript. Meugan was caught cutting the borders of a manuscript to make writing material for a letter. This almost drove the Cantor mad. A brother named Pacifico committed a heinous offence. Actually he had the effrontery to lend a book to a layman, who pretended he could read, and was all the while holding it upside down. Brother Eleutherius sinned grievously. He had been suspected of leanings towards the world outside, and (would you believe it?) one day, forgetting his holy company he swore aloud, saying, "Hang this quill", or something equally shocking, and the words came quite glibly and naturally! The brethren were electrified, and stared at the offender, exchanged glances, then looked towards the Cantor. Thereupon the Cantor was filled with indignation. "O son of Belial", qouth he, "why

swearest thou like a layman? where dost thou expect to go to?" He received pardon this time, but his presumption cost him dear; for soon after he died, and the Cantor said, "*Nid hir y ceidw y diawl ei was.*" There we will leave the monks at their employment, year in and year out, of carefully looping their l's, or shaping elaborate capitals, or embellishing title pages with fantastic figures and grotesque monsters, till at length each in turn is called away from his task, drops his pen and is gathered to his brethren under the shadow of the old abbey.

The Spirit of the Great Reformer Columbanus lived after him, and of the number of Irish manuscripts which at the end of the dissolution of the establishment were scattered abroad, a remnant now repose in the libraries at Turin, Milan, Vercelli, Florence, Naples, Rome and Vienna. Some of them were written in Ireland, like the ancient Antiphonary of the eighth century from Bangor; others, written or annotated at Bobbio, survive to this day to attest at once the former wealth of the library at Bobbio and the enthusiasm for knowledge which this Celtic scholar had infused into his followers. And the Benedictines had not allowed the tradition to die out; the new comers added to the store of "rich treasures and precious volumes", as an old writer tells us. Of these the most famous was the Muratorian fragment, now preserved in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana at Milan.

The two monastic houses that we have been describing, that is to say, those at Monte Cassino and Bobbio, paved the way for further development, a fresh stage in the evolution of culture, of which the issues were destined to be momentous. The inaugurator was no other than Charlemagne. The movement began in the eighth century. This enlightened and far-seeing monarch, the commanding figure of his age and the subject of a hundred legends,

initiated it at a time when literature was at a low ebb. Though he was not destined to live to see the fruit of his labours, he imparted an incalculable impulse to intellectual progress by establishing a system of schools, which, while retaining their ecclesiastical tone and character—an inevitable necessity at that day—were yet to be an advance on their predecessors. He devoted special attention to Lombardy, and the establishment of public schools in that province was pregnant with results.[1]

The death of Charlemagne, however, which occurred in 814, checked the progress of the movement. Unrestrained barbarity on the one hand and simony on the other succeeded in stifling the spirit of reform and suspending intellectual activity, so that things were at a standstill till the year 825. The Emperor Lothair, true to his great ancestor's ideal, animated by a like desire for the spread of culture, issued an edict to the following purport: "As regards true teaching, which through the extreme carelessness and indolence of certain superiors is on all sides shaken to its foundations, it has pleased us that all should observe that which we have established." He decreed the establishment of a central seat of learning at Pavia, to which subordinate schools at Milan, Vercelli, Tortona, Lodi, Acqui, Bergamo, Novara, Genoa, Asti, Como, should be affiliated. And what better instrument to execute his will than another Celt, Dungal? Under Dungal's rule Pavia became a nurse and training-ground for theology, jurisprudence, literature and medicine, and moreover, an interesting fact, many English of note like Lanfranc,

[1] His earliest educational measures hardly fall within the scope of our enquiry, for though Clemens and Albinus, whom the Emperor employed to further his policy, may be claimed as the joint products of the Celtic and Saxon Schools, their connection with Celtic culture was indirect.

Archbishop of Canterbury, were educated there. The School of Pavia, with its dependencies and institutions, was the forerunner of educational establishments on a larger and more ambitious scale at Verona and Rome in the tenth century, and at Milan, Parma, Modena, Siena and Rome in the eleventh.

The Universities were now at the door, and their entrance marks a momentous stride, viz., the beginning of the scientific period, which forms our second section. Science now supersedes poetry; poetry becomes ancillary to science.

II.

The old educational system, with its usual accompaniments, the unambitious teacher of the Benedictine and Columban type, his undisputatious methods, his unexciting studies, was well suited to its time and place. Excellently did these instructors fulfil their meritorious mission. But the times were changed; the instructors of the future were called by the exigencies of the new age to quit the tranquil creeks and safe waters on the coast for the currents and cross-currents of thought, and steer for the open sea; for new forces had come into being, were making themselves felt, and demanded new methods. The system of studies, therefore, underwent a revolution. The old methods, while not entirely abolished, were subordinated to the new-fangled fashions. Theology and the Philosophy that underlies all religion, rather than the forms in which Theology and Philosophy are enshrined, these now began to engage attention. Scholasticism had come, and soon rose into favour. For a time at least it eclipsed its predecessors, pure poetry and pure literature, in public estimation.

This revival, which began as early as the eleventh century, brought in its train far-reaching consequences.

They will become clearer, as we proceed. Meantime it may be well to point out the causes that contributed to swell the current. Of these causes the Crusades were not the least important. The seventh and last Crusade came to an end in the thirteenth century and was synchronous with the intellectual awakening due to the rapid rise of the new studies. Indeed all the Crusades co-operated in a very direct and decisive manner, since they operated in the direction of an enfranchisement of the human mind from the trammels of traditional principles and methods by opening the gates of the East and familiarizing the Westerns with two civilizations richer and more advanced than their own, namely, the Greek and Saracenic. The Welshmen, not a few, who were swept into the movement, were keenly alive, as will appear in the sequel, to these fresh intellectual influences; these felt their vision widened and their ideas enlarged; even those who remained at home could not remain unaffected; they listened with wonder, and passed from mouth to mouth the tales and traditions of the storied Orient.

Another movement, connected with the Crusades, communicated an immense stimulus to intellectual pursuits and was fraught with far-reaching results. This was due to the rediscovery of the Aristotelian writings, which were introduced into Europe partly through the agency of a monk, a Celtic monk too. These writings had fallen into neglect with the decline and final suppression of philosophy in the time of Justinian. But they found zealous patrons in Persia. Afterwards, the Arab conquerors appointed translators, who rendered the whole works into Arabic. It was in the middle of the thirteenth century, *i.e.*, after the last Crusade, that the Greek philosopher's writings were finished. The year immediately following the translation witnessed an extraordinary revival of interest in Aristotle

and a wide extension of the influence of the Aristotelian philosophy or methods. The subjects that formed the staple of scholasticism have in a great measure lost their interest for us; some of the points of hot dispute then are now viewed as axiomatic truths, or relegated to the limbo of exploded errors. Therefore I do not propose dwelling upon them. The personal element, however, enters here, and I might say something of the Celts that bore a leading part in the controversies that raged for at least two centuries and rent the theological world asunder. The irrepressible Scot (*i.e.*, Irishman) was ubiquitous; lecture halls and other arenas of debate rang with his voice. It has ever been the singular and somewhat pathetic lot of Irish genius, and at the same time it is a tribute to its calibre, to have achieved its most brilliant triumphs outside Ireland. This was the case in the age of which we are speaking, and indeed from the eight century onwards the Scot found fullest scope for his intellectual acumen and subtlety of thought in foreign countries. The Irish Scots are mentioned by an ancient writer as "renowned for wisdom", and by another as a "herd of philosophers".[1] Irish monk was almost a synonym for philosopher, and Ireland the very home of speculation. A natural independence of mind, combined with the seductiveness of the new science, often carried away these Scottish thinkers. They incurred consequently the displeasure or provoked the jealousy of their contemporaries and they were publicly pilloried or censured. What Clement, Samson and Virgil were in the seventh century, that and much more were John Scotus Erigena (a son of Erin, as his name clearly denotes), Mamnon, Macarius and Patrick (presumably another native of the Emerald Isle) in the fourteenth. These wrote their names large in the scroll of Fame.

[1] Heric of Auxerre; Brucker, *Philos.*, t. iii, p. 574.

It is in no degree disrespectful to our Welsh ancestors to assign the palm in this province of thought at that day to the Scots, for, as we have seen, they were pre-eminently the philosophers of the age. But the Scots did not maintain undisputed possession of the Schools; the Welsh were also represented, and well represented, among these intellectual gladiators. Time would fail me were I to enter into particulars regarding their history, and I can only say, in reference to all of them, that I have recently had an opportunity of seeing how widely their treatises or tracts were circulated in Italy during the Middle Ages.[1] Welshmen were not lacking to throw down or take up the gauntlet in debate. Such, in the thirteenth century, was Joannes Wallensis (John of Wales), a celebrated canon lawyer who taught at Bologna and wrote glosses. Such was Thomas Wallensis, the "enemy of monks", a Franciscan, who was well-known on the Continent. Lord Bacon ranks him among the wise men of old, who studied foreign languages and knew the value of philology (*i.e.*, literature). Such was the Franciscan John Waleys. He enjoyed a high reputation, and his works were frequently reprinted at the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth. We have yet another famous Welshman in the person of Thomas Wallensis, the Dominican, a voluminous writer for that age. Though born in London he was a Welshman by descent. In 1305 he was created Cardinal of S. Sabina, and seems to have spent the rest of his life at the Papal Court. In 1310 he was commissioned to dispute with the Franciscan Petrus Johannes Olivi. Another such was his namesake Thomas Wallensis, the Dominican. In

[1] The works of these Wallenses are frequently found in Italy, for example, among the books and manuscripts of the old monasteries of Santa Maria Novella, Vallambrosa, and others, which have now been transferred to the libraries in Florence.

1333 he argued on a certain doctrine before the Cardinals who were then residing at Avignon with the exiled Pope. He was charged with heresy by two Franciscans. This led to his imprisonment in the Inquisitors' prison, and his treatment led to a long correspondence between the Pope, Philip VI, and the University of Paris. Ultimately he was released. He had now gained his point. The Pope had endorsed his view. There is a full account of his trial in the University Library at Cambridge, and in the Vatican there is a document extant in which he speaks of himself as "old, paralysed and destitute". Among his many works is a treatise on the art of composing sermons, addressed to the Bishop of Palermo. The list is not yet exhausted. Laurentius Wallensis or Frater Laurentius Brito, Philippus Wallensis, Frater Johannes Went, were also men of note in the Middle Ages.

We may not suppose that Welshmen resident or sojourning in Italy were entirely taken up with discussions on Nominalism and Realism, all-absorbing and all-important as these disputes were in the eyes of that age; or again with the famous question over which many crossed swords: "How many angels could dance together on the point of a needle?" They were not all of a scientific turn of mind, not all philosophers, not all grammarians. Life had its lighter side. Other arts and sciences, which had risen to notice, gravitated towards Italy and combined to render Italy itself a World's University—for a country, as well as a college or colleges, may furnish all the essential elements of a University. The very word University implies, in its elementary idea, the assembling together of strangers through a wide extent of country, a collection of teachers and learners from every quarter, for the communication and circulation of thought by means of a personal intercourse.[1]

[1] Newman, *Historical Sketches*, iii, 6.

Italy afforded these advantages in an eminent degree. It is in Italy that the interest of that complex movement called the Renaissance, that reached its high-water mark in the fifteenth century, lies in the main. The decline of "New Rome" and the Byzantine Empire generally, the fall of Constantinople before the Turks in 1453, the bequest to Rome of the masterpieces of Greek genius, the rise of various cities and states, like Florence and Venice, to be centres of light and leading, the impulse afforded to the Fine Arts by the munificence of noble families and princely patrons, who vied with each other in the embellishment of their buildings, the competition of craftsmen and the stimulus communicated to talent, the play of genius, fancy, care for physical beauty, the worship of the body, wit, grace and invention—all these considerations co-operated in the result. To Italy, therefore, flocked aspirants after culture from all parts of the civilized world.

The attractions of Italy were reinforced by political events in England. Such an event occurred in the fifteenth century. Owen Glyndwr's negotiations with Charles VI of France and his recognition of Benedict XIII against his rival Innocent, cemented the relations between Wales and Italy. Henceforward the Welsh Bards garnished their war-songs with appeals to St. Peter's Seal to aid their just cause, and invocations of the benediction of the Apostolic See. This organized combination of forces provoked reprisals on the part of the Crown, which, considering the terms of some of Glyndwr's overtures to the French King and the Pope, were not surprising. Thus one proposal ran: "That Henry of Lancaster should be branded and tortured in the usual form" for his acts of sacrilege, and "that full remission of sins should be granted to those who took up arms against the usurper".

Be that as it may, the ill success of Glyndwr's military enterprise dissolved the fair fabric of his dream, namely a National University and a National Church. This reversal of his hopes involved serious consequences to the intellectual life of Wales. Among other projects Owen Glyndwr entertained the idea of founding two universities for Wales, one in the North, the other in the South;[1] but it proved abortive; the hopes raised in that generation were rudely shattered by a stab at the very vitals of Wales. For on the failure of the insurrection Henry IV and his counsellors proceeded to remorseless retaliation. They conceived that the best way of crushing the spirit of Wales was by crippling its youth, thus poisoning the springs of national life, and postponing for generations the realization of Welshmen's educational ideals. Accordingly, in pursuance of his schemes, he denied them the privilege of higher education. The result was that many a young Welshman of the day, who aspired after culture, as all Welshmen do, was compelled to seek it on foreign shores. Then began an exodus towards the Continent which was for a long time uninterrupted.

The upheaval of the Reformation swelled the number of emigrants. Many went into exile for conscience sake. Some of these votaries of knowledge exhibit remarkable instances of a combination of religious conviction, intellectual interest and patriotic zeal.

The name of Gruffydd Roberts, who flourished about the year 1570, is familiar to us. He betook himself to the University of Siena to study medicine. But he did not forget his native land, nor did his departure from Wales diminish his desire to serve it. On the contrary his patriotism was accentuated by exile. In 1567 he published his Welsh Grammar, and those who have seen one

[1] Cf. Wylie, *History of England under Henry IV*, p. 313.

of the two copies extant will recall some of the sentiments expressed in the Preface, where he mentions his reasons for undertaking the task. The whole is a salutary rebuke to the tribe of Dic Sion Dafyddion and ought to find a responsive chord in every Welshman's breast. In 1585 he reappears as the author of another Welsh volume, a Roman Catholic manual, entitled, *Y Drych Christiongawl*, which was published at Rouen under the direction of Roberts's fellow-countryman, Rossier Smith. Sion Dafydd Rhys, another Welshman, found his way to Siena and graduated also in the faculty of medicine there. He afterwards became public moderator of the school at Pistoja, and published two Latin treatises at Venice and Padua respectively. His residence in foreign countries did not cool his patriotic ardour; he also published a Welsh Grammar, which saw the light in 1588. In course of time he returned to his native country and followed his profession near Brecon. These names are comparatively well-known, and therefore I refrain from expatiating upon them, but I may enlarge upon one man who evidently enjoyed a great reputation in his day, namely, William Thomas, Clerk of the Council to Edward VI. He tells us himself that in 1544 he was "constrained by misfortune to abandon the place of his nativity", perhaps on account of his religious opinions. In 1545 he appears at Venice. In 1552 he published a treatise or monograph bearing the title: "*Il pellegrino Inglese nel quale si defende l'innocente e la sincera vita del pio e religioso re d'Inghilterra, Henrico Ottavo.*" In 1548 or 1549 he is found forwarding from Padua to his "verie good friende Maister John Tamworth, at Venice", an Italian primer, which he had undertaken to compose at his correspondent's request. His Italian grammar and dictionary were "the first of the kind published in English", and reveal an intimate knowledge of

Italian literature. Ultimately he returned to England, where he made known the stores of knowledge accumulated during his residence abroad under the title of *The Historie of Italie*. The book was suppressed, but afterwards reprinted. The author perished in the reign of Queen Mary on Tyburn.[1]

There you have some specimens of Welshmen who owed much of their intellectual acquirements to Italy, and whose exile eventually redounded to the benefit of Wales. It would be impossible within the limits that I impose upon myself, to speak of many others, certainly impossible to do justice to their memory. We may notice in passing Giraldus Cambrensis, Gerald the Welshman, that charming, if somewhat egotistical, writer of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. He informs us that his lectures in Paris were so popular that he was credited with having studied at Bologna, pre-eminently the University of Law and the glory of the Middle Ages. Be that as it may, he was, according to his own showing, a frequent and welcome visitor at the Papal Court, and knowing the objects of his errands, we may be sure that he did not let the grass grow under his feet. The indefatigable intriguer, during one of his business visits to negotiate about a benefice or obtain the See of St. David's (a constant bone of contention and theatre of intrigue), presented six copies of his writings to the Pope. The Holy Father was pleased, read them carefully and showed them to the Cardinals; and on the whole was inclined to assign the palm to the *Gemma Ecclesiastica*. The verdict comes down to us on the best authority, Gerald's own, but the *Gemma* did not win the author his suit.

We have again in the fourteenth century that garrulous old divine, Adam of Usk. He also, like the Archdeacon of

[1] See *Dictionary of National Biography*.

St. David's, exhibited an aptitude for wire-pulling and repaired to Rome to push his fortunes. His departure in 1402 was accelerated, if not occasioned, by a charge of highway-robbery, in which he seems to have been implicated,[1] for a King's pardon granted to him is still extant. The existence of a pardon is not absolutely conclusive, for Welshmen were sometimes graciously granted pardons for what they had never done! Still, in the case before us—grievous as it is to relate of a dignitary of the Church and a Doctor of the University of Oxford,—the evidence is awkwardly explicit and circumstantial. However, Adam did not allow these trifles to stand in his way. He succeeded in ingratiating himself in high quarters at Rome, and assures us that he wielded no inconsiderable influence there. Whatever view we may take of his credulity and egregious vanity, certain it is that his Latin *Chronicle,* in spite of all its good-natured garrulity, affords a valuable insight into the social life of the Capital; contains a lively and engrossing narrative of the stirring scenes in which he bore a prominent part; proves him to have enjoyed the favour of the Chief Pontiff, and to have been an acute observer of the progress of events, as well as a consistent place-hunter.

We have yet another Welsh worthy in John Owen of Carnarvonshire, the Latin Epigrammatist of a much later day. He needs no introduction; his epigrams enjoyed quite a European reputation, were translated into several languages, and gave rise to a crop of imitators.[2] But his

[1] The reason alleged for his banishment in 1402 was the boldness with which he criticized King Henry's Government. But it transpires that the real reason was the one stated in the text. (Pardon in 1403 to Edward Usk. *Patent Rolls,* 4 Hen. IV, ii, 22.)

[2] For Owen's influence on German literature see E. Urban, p. 5. "Von diesem Jahre (1606) an ergiesst sich ein Strom von Nachahmungen und Uebersetzungen des Owenus in die deutsche Litteratur:

debt to Italy is unmistakable. For his epigrams are, in their turn, modelled on those of Martial, and he often betrays Italian as well as French influence. He is connected with Italy in another way. A Protestant to the core, he frequently took occasion to gird at the see of Rome, as in the well-known couplet:

"An Petrus fuerit Romae sub judice lis est
Simonem Romae nemo fuisse negat."[1]

His temerity cost him dear, for in consequence a relative of his, who was also a zealous Papist, and had intended making him his heir, cut him off with a shilling.

I now turn to a very interesting point; a point, however, which I have only time to touch upon, namely, whether there is any evidence of reciprocal influence between Celtic and Italian literature.

The Republic of Letters knows no distinction of races, and transcends all limitations of place. It is not too much to assert, though it may sound paradoxical, that the interchange of thought was at that time easier even than now with our improved methods of international intercourse. The reason lies in the general use of Latin by the learned classes at that day, a legacy bequeathed by the Roman Empire and still the medium of communication. Nearly all the disputations of the Schoolmen, to which I referred just now, were conducted in Latin; theological and philosophical theses were written in Latin. The use of Latin ensured for an author or disputant, if not immortality, at any rate a wide circulation of his theories. Through this medium of exchange Briton, Spaniard, Sicilian,

jeder Dichter erachtet es als eine Zierde seines Werkes, Gedanken des gefeierten Epigrammatikers hier und dort einzustreuen, ohne es im übrigen mit der Quellenangabe sonderlich genau zu nehmen." Cf. pp. 6, 8, *et seq.*

[1] Book I, 8. Cf. III, 139, 141.

and Syrian became neighbours in the commonwealth of letters. Even when Dante and Boccaccio had shaped the Italian language and rendered it a vehicle for expression of thought, the scholastic writers retained a faulty form of Latin. Nay, more, the Italian language was cultivated by those who had pretensions to learning, and some Welshmen were evidently well versed in it. The question therefore arises, did Celtic authors, or *vice versa* Italian authors, imbibe ideas from one another?

Let us turn to Dante, the first to bring learning from the retirement of the cloister into the human community. He reveals an acquaintance with the storehouse of legends, secular and sacred, of Celtic countries, and not only of "Hibernia Fabulosa", as Ariosto calls Ireland; these he assimilated and stamped with the impress of his own genius. Among the wealth of floating tales and tradition whispered with awe and wonder at firesides in the Middle Ages was the Western legend of *Purdan Padrig*, or "Patrick's Purgatory". This had a wide vogue in Wales, for our forefathers revelled in the morbid. The scene is laid at Lough Derg in Ireland and the hero's name is Owain Miles, one of King Stephen's knights. Around him a tissue of legends has been woven, and they almost outdo Dante in hair-erecting incidents. The story runs that he descended by a Hell's mouth into the lower regions to do penance for sins of rapine and sacrilege. Entering by this subterranean passage he witnessed a panorama of lurid horrors, but, by dint of certain ceremonies, he came out of the ordeal unscathed.[1] There can be no doubt that the monkish

[1] The popularity of *Patrick's Purgatory* is shown by a letter from Francesco Chieregato, Apostolic Nuncio in England, to Isabella d'Este, Marchioness of Mantua. The writer mentions that "he is going to Ireland to see St. Patrick's Puragatory and all the other wonderful things which are said and written about it". *Mantuan Archives*, July 10th, 1517, p. 399.

composer was influenced by the Tenth Book of Virgil's *Æneid*.[1] On the other hand, there are good grounds for believing that Dante drew from this source.[2] Parallel passages are readily recognizable. In fact we know that the wild old romance *Guerino il mescchino* of the fifteenth century reproduced the main features of *Purdan Padrig* bodily. Eventually the legend fell into disrepute and was suppressed by order of the Pope, but afterwards revived in full force, regained its popularity and enjoyed a long lease of life.

Further, Dante was not insensible to the spell of the Arthurian legends. He introduces the knights of King Arthur's Round Table three times at least. In the exquisite story of Francesca of Rimini and Paolo, who are paying the penalty of their passion as "in a sea in tempest torn by warring winds", Francesca relates that the two lovers at the time they were surprised by the suspicious husband were reading the story of Lancelot's love for Guinever:

"Noi leggevamo un giorno, per diletto,
Di Lancilotto, come amor lo strinse."

Indeed, Lancelot's liaison seems to have seized Dante's fancy, for he returns to it in the *Paradiso*. Mordrec, the King's son, figures elsewhere:

"tutta la Caina
Potrai cercare, e non troverai ombra
Degna piu d'esser fitta in gelatina:
Non quegli a cui fu rotto il petto e l'ombra
Con esso un colpo, per la man d'Artù."[3]

The poet is alluding to the incident in which Arthur, having discovered the traitorous intentions of his son,

[1] And the Necyomanteia of the Cave of Trophonius in Greece. Pausanias, ix, c. 39.

[2] See Labitte, *La Divine Comédie avant Dante*, 1843.

[3] *Inferno*, xxxii.

pierces him through with the stroke of his lance, so that the sunbeams passed through his body. The stern Florentine consigned Tristan himself to the *Inferno*, but we may console ourselves that he is in honourable company, for he is a near neighbour to a Pope.

The Scot fared no better than the Knights of the Round Table. Of the astrologers, necromancers and magic-mongers of the Middle Ages no name possessed greater terror or fascination for the public imagination than that of Michael Scotus. He also finds himself among those who, having "pretended to a skill in forecasting" future events, are condemned to have their faces reversed, so that, being robbed of the power to see before them, they are constrained ever to walk backwards:—

> "Quell' altro che ne' fianchi è così poco,
> Michele Scotto fu, che veramente
> Delle magiche frode seppe il giuoco."[1]

The explanation of the hold that Michael Scotus possessed on the public mind is doubtless to be found in his reputation for mental accomplishments; a penalty attached to intellectual superiority in that age, until advance in knowledge by disclosing the cause dispelled the fear.[2] He was credited with extensive erudition and practised divination at the court of Frederick II. He "feared neither God nor man", was in league with devils, and addicted to judicial astrology, alchymy and chiromancy. He published many

[1] *Inferno*, c. xx. Boccaccio, *Decameron*, says:—"Egli non ha ancoro guari che in questà citta fu un gran maestro in negromanzia il quale ebbe nome Michele Scotto, percio che di Scozia era."

[2] Benvenuto da Imola says that he foresaw his own death but could not escape it. He had predicted that he should be killed by the falling of a small stone upon his head, and always wore an iron skull cap under his hood, but one day on entering a church a stone fell on his bare head. See also Villani, *Hist.*, lib. 10, C. cv, cxli, and lib. 12, C. xviii; Fazio degli Uberti, *Dittamondo*, lib. 2, C. xxvii. For his notoriety in Scotland see Scott, *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, canto ii.

works, but his chief achievement was the translation of the Arabic Aristotle into Latin, with the commentaries of Averrhoes.[1] He undertook this task in Spain, and was much indebted for help to the Spanish Saracens.

The name of Dafydd ap Gwilym is interesting in this connection. The century to which he belonged, the fourteenth, was marked by literary activity, and was lavishly productive of original literary creations. This poet's are in some respects surpassed by none. His frequent allusions to Latin writers, and the standard of culture that he reveals, have lent colour to the theory that he must have studied in Italy. It is quite within the bounds of possibility. As we have already seen, there is no reason, judging from the experience of other Welshmen, why he should not have visited that country, but in the absence of any allusion to such an event, which would probably have left some trace in his writings, and of any direct evidence of an acquaintance with Italian authors, it seems better to account for his culture in another way. The channels by which he may have derived his knowledge were various; for example, the love of travel, which began with the twelfth century and gradually grew in intensity, the Crusades, the constant communications kept up between the various hospitals of the Knights of St. John and the Templars, the frequent tournaments and wars. Commerce was another agency in the dissemination of literary or legendary lore. Moreover, the monks were continually roaming to and fro, and students regularly passed from one School or University to another. Bear in mind Dafydd ap Gwilym's association with the monastic houses at Talley and Ystrad Fflur! bear in mind also that a gallant of his

[1] Renan thought he was the first to introduce Averrhoes into the Latin schools of Europe.

description, welcomed at every castle or mansion, would experience no lack of avenues to the literary harvest that was springing up at that time!

The task of discovering parallels between our poet's writings and others of the confraternity in Italy lies outside the scope of this paper. I hope that Professor Lewis Jones or the Rev. Machreth Rees will undertake the work and give us the results of his research. Meanwhile, there may be room here for one or two observations. The fourteenth century, in which Dafydd ap Gwilym flourished, witnessed an intellectual awakening in Europe which, in the Middle Ages, had gradually slumbered and finally sunk into exhaustion. It saw the supersession of Latin as the literary language, and the rise of Italian literature. It was the age of Francesco Stabile, Cecco d'Astoli, Francesco da Barberino and Cino da Pistoja. Above all, it was the century that produced Petrarch and Boccaccio. In the fourteenth century, Chaucer, "the master of the science, the theology, and the literature of his time", visited Genoa and Florence, where he may have come into contact with the two chief luminaries of the new learning, namely, Petrarch and Boccaccio. This visit proved the turning-point in the poet's literary life. He returned to England enriched with stores of knowledge, ideas and inspirations. Perhaps he had already conceived and adumbrated, in imitation of Boccaccio's *Decamerone*, his *Canterbury Tales*, the magic mirror of the fourteenth century, that stirring and "gaily apparelled time".[1] It would be strange, therefore, if Dafydd ap Gwilym were unaffected by the movement, which was operating far and wide. There is an additional reason for thinking so. Chaucer's voice awoke no echo, and this "first burst of English song died suddenly and utterly away". But it so happened that

[1] Cf. Peter Borghesi, *Boccaccio and Chaucer*, Bologna, 1903.

Wales was well fitted for the reception of these new ideas, and had already shaped and moulded its language. Welsh poets had already arisen, and the relation borne by the poets above mentioned to Petrarch and Boccaccio may be paralleled by the relation of Rhys Goch ap Rhiccert to Dafydd ap Gwilym. There is, therefore, a strong presumption in favour of connecting our poet with this widespread and many-sided movement, which, beginning in a tentative manner, and gradually gathering force, passed out of the winter of the Middle Ages and finally burst forth in the summer of the Renaissance. The supposition derives additional colour from the fact that there was frequent intercourse between England and the Continent. Military expeditions, ecclesiastical errands, and political missions at once made necessary and formed channels of communication between the northern country and the southern. Dafydd ap Gwilym's own writings contain evidence of a cultivation of continental customs in Wales.[1] Nor were political exigencies the only occasions for intercourse. Reference has already been made in these pages to the constant communication between the various branches or provinces of the Church. Whatever the defects may have been which drew down upon it the denunciation of a Petrarch, Rome was still the centre of authority. The mutterings of the coming storm that culminated in the Reformation were as yet hardly audible; the network spread by Rome was unbroken; the machinery rolled on as usual. Learning was still largely in the hands of the monks, though their monopoly was broken down. It is not improbable that our poet may have owed part of his mental equipment to the monasteries, for

[1] References to France occur in XXVI, CXXXVII, CCII, CCXIII, CCXX (Cynddelw's edition, 1873).

"Skilled" were "its holy monks of orders grey
In Latin lore and in poetic lay."[1]

But learning was far from being the exclusive possession of the religious orders. The Bards enjoyed a reputation, and, in fact, combined in their own persons the functions of chroniclers, genealogists, and instructors of youth in music and poetry, thereby intruding on the special province of the monks, which doubtless was one cause of the friction and feud that arose between the two classes.

Further, Dafydd ap Gwilym reveals a knowledge of the classic poets. Whether he knew Greek, as has been asserted, is open to question, for that accomplishment was confined to the curious and professed scholar, but that our poet was imbued with Homeric legend appears from several passages. Comparing Morfudd to three heroines of Greek story, he sings:—

"Cyntaf o'r tair disglaerloyw
A'i cafas ehudwas hoyw—
Polisena, ferch Bria,
Gwaisg o grair yn gwisgo gra;
A'r ail fu Diodema,
Gwiwbryd goleudraul haul ha';
Trydydd fun, ail Rhun y rhawg
Fu Elen felinwen fanawg,
Yr hon a beris yr ha'
A thrin rhwng Groeg a Throia."

But these legends may well have been derived from a Latin source.[2] Of his acquaintance with the poets of the Augustan age there can be no doubt. Ovid, a kindred

[1] *Johnes's translation*, p. 384; compare:—

"A brodyr a wyr brydiaith,
Llwydion a wyr Lladin iaith
O ran mydr o ramadeg."

[2] XXIX. Other classical allusions occur in VIII, LIX, XCIV, CXXXVIII.

spirit in more senses than one,[1] as well in his lays as his loves, would naturally possess an attraction for him, and we find our poet writing to a nun, probably his patron's daughter, who had been placed in a nunnery owing to an attachment that had sprung up between her and the poet, her tutor, and bidding her—

"Forsake the cloister cell,
Dispense with *Pater nosters* and give o'er
The Romish monk's religious lore,"

and—

"Haste to the knotted birchen tree,
And learn the cuckoo's piety.
There in the green wood will thy mind
A path to Heav'n, O lady, find.
There Ovid's volume shalt thou read
And there a spotless life we'll lead.
. . . . . .
Nor is it harder to reach Heav'n
For those who make the groves their home,
Than to the sojourners at Rome."[2]

On the whole the evidence points to a connection between Dafydd ap Gwilym and the revival of learning, as some further considerations may serve to show. The two writers with whom Dafydd possessed the closest affinity are, as it happens, just those who determined the course of the principal streams of poetry in all the languages of Europe for more than two centuries after their lifetime, and in some important respects even to the present time,[3] namely, Petrarch and Boccaccio, who took

[1] It is a remarkable fact that Ovid's *Ars amatoria* was widely read in Wales at a very early period. There is in the Bodleian Library at Oxford a manuscript, belonging to the ninth century, of the first book, with a large number of Welsh glosses or explanations of the words. See Zeuss, *Grammatica Celtica*, p. 1054.

[2] To the above evidence may be added the reputation for knowledge of foreign tongues which earned for him the title of *Pensaer yr ieithoedd*. The phrase occurs in Iolo Goch's elegy on his death. But it is possible to lay too much stress on it.

[3] Cf. W. P. Ker in *Mediæval Literature*, pp. 64, 357.

the lead in emancipating humanity from the superstitions of the Middle Ages—Petrarch,

> "Whose retorique sweete enlumyned
> al Itail of poetrie,"

the creator of Italian lyric poetry, distinguished by his airy grace, delicacy of sentiment, exquisite sensibility and elevation of tone, Boccaccio, the moulder of Italian prose, even-tempered, sanguine, a master of the light and lively tale.

The love of Nature is a marked feature in Dafydd ap Gwilym's poems. He delighted to paint her in all her moods. His appeal to the nun already mentioned, his summons to her to forsake her cell and come with him and worship in the temple of Nature, is one illustration. His commissions to the birds and beasts to act as his *llatteion* and convey messages to Morfudd is another. It is tempting to connect this attitude of mind with the spirit of freedom that sprang up in the Renaissance. This spirit is discerned in the province of the imagination. Art was beginning to display a fearless love of Nature, and was no longer subordinated to human interest. Literature now treated Nature not as a background, as a set-off or setting to the pleasant indolence of man, but for its own sake. The delight in Nature therefore reveals Dafydd ap Gwilym as a forerunner of the Renaissance. But his writings suggest another parallel; the spirit of intellectual liberty, the revolt against the narrowness and limitations of the Middle Ages, the spirit of a large humanity, the freedom from convention and superstition, formed another marked feature of the European movement. This unconventionality shows itself in the writings of several poets long before the Renaissance in the strict sense of the term. Petrarch's sensitive soul relieves itself in the form of righteous indignation against abuses; Boccaccio, tranquil,

comfortable, flippant, ironical, finds food for mirth in the merry jest or scurrilous tale at the expense of a corrupt Church. Langland's *Piers Plowman*, in his passion for reform, avers—

"With the rest and the remnant by the rood of Lucca!
I will worship therewith Saint Truth, while I live,
And at plough be His pilgrim for poor men's sakes."[1]

. . . . . .

"Religion in reason hath somewhat for certain."[2]

Nor is Dafydd ap Gwilym less ready than his contemporaries to throw off the trammels of conventionality and break loose from the fetters forged in days of ignorance and superstition, and rivetted by the custom of ages on the heart and imagination. As an example of his attitude the following lines may be cited.[3] The poet has been taken to task by a monk for his vagaries:—

"Minau atebais i'r Brawd
Am bob gair ar a ddywawd,
'Nid ydyw Duw mor greulon
Ag y dywaid hen ddynion;
Ond celwydd yr offeiriaid
Yn darllain hen grwyn defaid;
Ni chyll Duw enaid gwr mwyn,
Er caru gwraig na morwyn.
Tri pheth a gerir trwy'r byd,
Gwraig a hinon ac iechyd.
Merch fydd decaf blodeuyn
Yn y nef ond Duw ei hun!'"

The thought re-appears in the same poem:—

"Gwir a ddywed Ystudfach,
Gyda'i feirdd yn cyfeddach,—
'Wyneb llawen llawn ei dŷ,
Wyneb trist drwg a ery.'
Cyd caro rai sancteiddrwydd,
Eraill a gâr ganghaneddrwydd;
Anaml a wyr gywydd per,
A phawb a wyr ei bader."

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[1] *The Ploughman and Hunger.* Passus, vi, 103.
[2] *Ibid.*, 153. [3] Traithodl, CXLIX.

The genius of the poet, however, though it burst its bonds, yet carried a few links of the old chains after the spring into liberty.[1]

It might, perhaps, be possible to trace parallels between Dafydd and his Italian contemporaries, but it is certainly difficult to draw out the correspondence in detail. Thus, his escapade, which forms the subject of his poem *Y dyn dan y gerwyn*, might be an echo of a tale in Boccaccio's *Decameron*.[2] But it would probably be nearer to the truth to say that the poets of the day, whether Italian *improvisatore* or Provençal *troubadour*, German *minnesinger*, or Celtic bard, laid under contribution a floating fund of folklore, legend, and tradition, the origins of which may have been various and are now obscure, but that each class of poet moulded them after its own fashion.

So, too, with regard to the relations between Dafydd ap Gwilym and Petrarch. The curious may find scope for speculation and the exercise of their ingenuity in comparing such poems as the following:—

Dafydd ap Gwilym.	Petrarch.
Gorllwyn ydd wyf, ddyn geirllaes.	*Tra quantunque leggiadre donne e belle.*
Dodes Duw, da o dyst wyf.	*L'aura celeste che'n quel verde Lauro.*
Y ferch borffor ei thoryn.	*Quando'l sol bagna in mar l'aurato carro.*
Ni thybiais ddewrdrais ddirdra.	*Dicemi spesso il mio fidato speglio.*
Curiodd anwadal galon.	*Quanto più m'avvicino al giorno estremo.*

[1] Though, for example, he had chafed against artificial religious restraints, he has not given up his belief: CI, CXIX, CXLIX, CCXXXIX, CCXLVIII.

[2] *Giorn.* vii, *Nov.* 11.

Galar ar ol mabolaeth.

Alla dolce ombra de le belle frondi.
Che fai? Che pensi? Che pur dietro guardi.
Tennemi Amor anni ventuno ardendo.

But the parallels were doubtless accidental. While, therefore, it is not difficult to trace general resemblances between the writings of the two poets, these may with more probability be attributed to the similarity of subject or situation. The stages in the advance of the love passion and the accompanying symptoms, the sleeplessness of the distracted lover, the imminent dissolution of the poet unless his prayer be granted, the rapture over the lady's hair, the dialogue between Phyllis and Damon, the lover carried captive by Cupid, the love-god's dart, torch, and the rest of his armoury, the lover's comparison of his divinity to the Sun, the attachment to the spot where the lovers first met, the complaint against fair Inamorata's disdain, the lament over the sear and yellow leaf—all these traits Dafydd possesses in common with Petrarch, and with love poets in general.

Yet again there are certain passages in our poet which are direct imitations or reminiscences of the classic poets of Rome. This interest in the Latin classics was another result of the general excitement and enlightening of the human mind that arose in his day. His Cywydd, called *Y Drych*, or the Mirror, bears a general resemblance to one of the *Epodes* of Horace.[1]

[1] IV, 10. The adoption of the name Morfudd as a disguise (which might be thought an imitation of Petrarch's address to Laura) is really a commonplace of classical poetry: Propertius's divinity was Cynthia, Tibullus's Delia, Ovid's Corinna. Many passages occur which seem to be echoes of the classics. Compare Dymuniad o foddi y Bwa Bach, xcix, Horace *Epodes* x; xxxiv, Morwyn yn pennu oed heb gywiro, Horace, *Epod.* xv, Ovid, *Amores* iii, 3; cviii, Tri phorthor Eiddig, Ovid, *Amores* i, 6, Horace *Odes*, iii, xii. xxxviii, Tadmaeth

The origin of the following light and airy poem, so much in harmony with the subject, is unmistakable. It is an expansion of Æsop's fable:—

"Y ceiliog Rhedyn a'r Grugionyn.

"Mi a wnaf, a mi a wnaf,
I'r wraig aeth i daith yr haf,
Fel y gwnaeth y grugionyn
A'r ceiliog rhywiog rhedyn—
Y ceiliog rhedyn a fu
Yn llemain ac yn llamu,
O wyl Ieuan yn yr haf,
Oni ddaeth dyw-c'langauaf.

"Dyw-c'langauaf, y bore
Fe a droes y gwynt o'i le,
I odi, ac i luchio,
Oddiar lechwedd Moel Eilio,
I luchio, ac i odi,
Oddiar ystlys Eryri.

"Fal yr oedd y grugionyn
Yn ei esmwyth glyd dyddyn,
Wedi cael yn ei gywair,
Ei gynnyd, a'i yd, a'i wair;
A'i *larder* i nen ei dŷ,
A'i farch is traed ei wely;
A'i wraig yn chwilio ei ben,
Yn hyfryd ac yn llawen:
Fo glywai o gil y ddôr
Egwan yn erchi egor.

"'Nid er d'ofn, nid er d'arswyd,
Ond er gofyn pa un wyd?'

"'Myfi sydd redyngar geiliog,
Dy frawd ffydd a'th gymydog,
A'th gâr, a gwr o'th unwlad,
Yn dyfod i west atad.'

---

serch Morfudd. I have seen the last-mentioned spoken of as a paraphrase of Ovid, but this must be a mistake, as it does not occur in the lighter poems. The general character of the poem is very Greek, and is not unlike the description of Eros in Theocritus and Bion.

"'Mae yma y grugiogyn,
Dy frawd ffydd a'th gyd-dyddyn;—
Ple buost ti'r haf hirwyn?
Neidio a llamu rhedyn?
Rhodia eto, llama'n dda,
Heno ni ddoi di yma.'

"'Duw bellach a'm cynghoro!
I ble'r af finau heno?
Os myn'd i barc y glyn,
Lle bum gynt yn feistr rhedyn.
Mi daria' yma'n agos;
Ni bydd marw march er unnos!'

"Yna doedai rai doethion,
Pe bai gorphydd oedd galon;—
Yna doedai rai doethiaid,
Pe bai gorphydd oedd enaid.
Dyna gigle, ni cherddodd
Led yr erw oni rynodd!
Fel dyna'r modd y darfu
I'r ceiliog rhedyn cynta' fu.
A phoed felly y darffo
I'r ceiliog rhedyn cynta' fo."[1]

The benefits of education, as we have seen in the case of Michael Scotus, appear not to have been appreciated to the full in the Middle Ages. Indeed, high attainments were sometimes a positive disadvantage. But the populace possessed diversions of their own.[2] To beguile a leisure hour our ancestors had an abundance of material, for instance, *Historia Septem Sapientum Romae*, which was

[1] It is interesting to compare the Welsh version with La Fontaine's, two hundred years later:—*La cigale et la fourmi. Livre* i, *Fable* i.

[2] Landau, *Die Quellen des Dekameron*, p. 2. "So begannen zur Zeit Boccaccio's schon überall in Europa die bürgerlichen Erzählungen in Mode zu kommen, während die ritterlichen Gattungen auch noch eifrig gepflegt wurden. In Italien hatte das Ritterwesen nicht recht gedeihen können, frühzeitig hatte sich dort ein kräftiger wohlhabender Bürgerstand und mit ihm auch eine bürgerliche Literatur entwickelt; in Frankreich aber hatte sich die Chevalerie und die sie begleitende Literatur zur üppigsten Blüthe entfaltet."

accessible in vernacular translations. The argument turns upon the attempt made by a queen, a second Phaedra, on the virtue of her stepson. Unable to convince her consort of the son and heir's guilt, the stepmother poisons his mind and plays upon his weakness by warnings of worse woes to come, if he turns a deaf ear. To this end she speaks in parable and adduces instances of treachery, insisting upon the fatal consequences of cunning on the one hand and credulity on the other. But "the Seven Masters", who are the lad's tutors, reply in turn with a story of the very opposite tenour, to frustrate her designs. The pendulum swings from side to side; the feeble, irresolute king is distracted. For as soon as his trusty counsellors have left his presence, by a strange coincidence his wife enters, and the king's resolution vanishes. One day he vows: "To-morrow he shall die"; when to-morrow dawns he wavers, and pleads: "Indeed, I cannot doom him."

The method by which these strange stories were transmitted is merged in obscurity.[1] Many of them bear evidence of an Eastern origin, a fact which is probably traceable to the Crusades and the Arabs in Spain. But, whatever their precise origin, they filtered through Europe and were acclimatised on European soil. Thus the concluding story in this literary agglomerate, told by the victim of the plot, who has now recovered his speech, appears in the *Cento Novelle* of Sansovino.[2] Compositions

[1] Landau, *Die Quellen des Dekameron*, p. 3. "Der lebhafte Verkehr mit dem Orient, theils durch die Kreuzzüge, theils durch die Araber in Spanien und die Mongolen im östlichen Europa gefördert, brachte orientalische Bildungselemente nach dem Abendlande, und das Christenthum durchdrang wieder mit seinem eigenthümlichen Geiste die Cultur und Literatur Europa's." Cf. p. 4, etc. For the Italian versions, see Landau, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

[2] *Giorn.* viii, *Nov.* 4.

of the same class as "The Seven Wise Masters" were thrown into the form of dialogue or drama. India was the Eldorado of story-tellers, and the wondrous, monstrous legends of that country were in great request. But a remarkable change came about. A distant scene in an Asiatic country was considered to be an unsuitable theatre for the characters represented in such popular dialogues. It was felt that the stage must be laid somewhere nearer home, and what place summoned up such grand and glorious associations as Rome! And what place actually had illustrated the perils encompassing an heir to a throne as Rome!

But another consideration lent importance to Rome. This was the prejudice with which Greece and the Greeks were regarded. The Middle Ages viewed antiquity through a distorting medium. For the Christian nations of that time, engaged, as they were, in a bitter and protracted struggle with the Saracen, included the pagan Greeks, and Romans also, in the same category. The wars between Cross and Crescent found an echo in popular literature. Western races transferred to their writings their rooted animosity against Islam. They pronounced the gods and goddesses of the Greek Pantheon to be devils and demons, and the Greek Olympus, a mountain where the deities "dwelt at ease", to be a hob-goblin. For the Greeks themselves they felt a special aversion, and in the accounts and recitals of the Trojan war, the Christian of the West instinctively took sides with the Trojan against the Greek. On the other hand, the power, majesty, and order of the Roman Empire[1] were fresh in their recollection. Roman institutions had left behind them a deep mark; Roman buildings or their ruins were so familiar to the eye that they moderated their resentment, overcame their prejudice,

[1] Cf. p. 87.

and were proud to claim connection with a power so ancient, so august, nay, almost supernatural. They traced their descent from the ancestors of the Romans, namely, the Trojans. Priam III, a grandson of the Great Priam, becomes the progenitor of the Franks. Dante regards their Trojan descent as established.[1] Boccaccio does not doubt the Trojan origin of the Romans, but questions whether the Franks have the same ancestry, and utterly repudiates the pretensions of the Britons, who tried to embellish and dignify their barbarian origin by smuggling a Brutus into their genealogical tree.[2] Moreover, the heroes of romance and chivalry reminded them forcibly of Æneas, the reputed founder of the Roman line of kings, whose exploits Virgil chronicles. The poet's *Eclogues* were contrasted with Homer's *Odyssey* and *Iliad*, to the prejudice of the latter. He contained so much of the Christian element that he, rather than Homer, became the favourite Christian poet of the Middle Ages. Boccaccio rejects Homer as a partisan of Achilles.[3] Pride and prejudice therefore conspired to attract the Middle Ages to Rome. To Rome the oriental scenes of "The Seven Wise Masters", actors and paraphernalia, were transferred; the simple king of these stories takes the name Diocletianus or Pontianus.

The process of adaptation of these Eastern tales to European surroundings is illustrated in the well-known story of Prince Llewelyn and his trusty hound Gelert, whom he slays under the impression that the hound has killed his son, and is afterwards stung with remorse. It comes from "The Seven Wise Masters". There, however, the aggressor

[1] *Convito*, iv, 4.

[2] *Geneal. Deorum*, vi, 24, 57 (Cf. Spenser, *Faerie Queen*, x, 9). For Boccaccio's ideas of Wales, see *Decamerone, Giorn.* ii, *Nov.* viii.

[3] *Gen. Deorum*, vi, 13.

is not a wolf but a serpent.[1] The frequency with which animals are introduced in these mediæval tales, as endowed with human speech, would in itself indicate their oriental origin, and in matter of fact the original source of the story of Prince Llewelyn and Gelert is the Indian collection of the *Pantchatantra*. But in course of transmission the venue is altered; in the East and in Egypt the aggressor is a snake; in Italy it is a snake also; but by the time the story has reached Wales, the form is again adapted to its new environment. Since Wales is not a land infested with cobras or boa-constrictors, the aggressor is transformed into a wolf.

"Yr oedd marchog cadarn gwych yn Rhufain, a'i lys wrth ystlys y gaer. Ac un diwrnod yr oedd dwrdd mawr rhwng arglwyddi, a marchogion, a gwyr mawr; ac yna myned a wnaeth yr arglwyddes a'i mamaethod i ben y gaer i edrych ar y chwareu, a'r holl ddynion i gyd, heb adael neb yn y palas. Eithr mab bychan oedd i'r marchog llai na blwydd, yn y gadair yn cysgu yn y neuadd, a milgi yn gorwedd ar y brwyn yn ei ymyl. A chan weryriad y meirch ac angerdd y gwyr a thrwst y gwyr yn curo wrth y tarianau, y deffroes gwiber o wàl y dref, a chyrchu tua neuadd y marchog, ac arganfod y mab yn cysgu yn ei gawell, a dwyn hynt tuag ato. A chyn i'r sarph gael gafael yn y mab, bwrw naid o'r milgi, a gafael yn y wiber, a'r wiber ynddo yntau; a chan eu hymladd ill dau, troi o'r cawell a'i wyneb i waered, a'r mab ynddo; a'r milgi a laddodd y wiber, a'i gado yn ddrylliau yn ymyl y cawell. Yna, pan ddaeth y mamaethod i mewn, a gweled y cawell a'i wyneb i waered, a'r gwaed o bob parth iddo, myned a wnaethant dan lefain at eu harglwyddes, a dywedyd wrthi

[1] In the Sindibâdnâmeh the aggressor is a weasel or ichneumon; in some versions the rescuer is a bird, a goshawk, a falcon, or an ichneumon.

i'r milgi ladd ei hunig fab hi, yr hwn oedd yn cysgu yn y cawell. Myned a wnaeth hithau dan lefain at y marchog, gan ffusto ei dwylaw yn nghyd, a dywedyd i'r milgi ladd ei unig fab ef. A'r milgi oedd yn gorwedd yn lluddedig yn ymyl y cawell. A phan glywes y milgi ei feistr yn dyfod i fewn, codi a wnaeth i'w gyfarfod; a'r marchog a dynodd ei gledd, ac a dorodd ben y milgi oddiar ei gorph. O achos cyhuddiad y mamaethod, ac er dyddanu yr arglwyddes, y marchog a droes y cawell a'i wyned i fynu; ac yno yr oedd y mab yn holl iach, dan y cawell yn cysgu, â'r wiber yn ddrylliau mân yn ymyl. Ac yna yr ymofidiodd y marchog ladd o hono ar arch ei wraig filgi cystal â hwnw."

The next specimen that I shall give of legendary lore in the Middle Ages was known as Virgil's Tower, or *Salvatio Romae*, and held rather a prominent place. It is interesting, inasmuch as it gives an insight into the beliefs prevalent in the Middle Ages, the distortion of history, and the disregard of anachronisms in the mediæval mind. Virgil is a magician.[1]

"Yr amser yr oedd Fferyll[2] yn Rhufain, efe a blanodd

[1] Nor here alone. See Arturo Graff, *Roma nella memoria e nelle immaginazioni del Medio Evo*, p. 196. The versions vary; in some of them a statue is substituted for the pillar, images (representing the several provinces of the Roman dominion) for the magic mirror, and Merlin for Virgil. The end of the story seems to be an echo of the history of Crassus, whose head was cut off by the Parthians and treated with indignity. Other stories in this Welsh collection are echoes of the Classics. The *Boar and Shepherd* recalls the Greek legend of the Boar of Erymanthus; *The thieves who slay their father to avoid detection*, appears to be an imitation of the story of Rhampsinitus, King of Egypt. Cf. Pausanias, ix, 37. *The wife confined in a castle*, bears a close resemblance to the plot of the *Miles Gloriosus* of Plautus. *The faithless wife who is locked out and pretends to throw herself into a pond and locks out her husband in his turn*, appears in Boccaccio, *Decamerone, Giorn.* vii, 4.

[2] The Latin poets, from being read in schools, came to be looked upon as scholars rather than poets. Like Virgil, Horace and Ovid obtained a name for science.

golfen yn nghanol Rhufain; ac ar ben hono yr oedd drych o gelfyddyd Igmars;[1] ac yn y drych hwnw y gwelai Seneddwyr Rhufain pa deyrnas bynag a fyddai'n troi yn erbyn Rhufain. Yna, yn gyflym hwy aent am ben y wlad hono, ac a'i troent tan Rufain yr ail waith. A'r golfen hono oedd yn peri i bob teyrnas ofni Rhufain yn fwy na dim; ac am hyny y cynygiodd brenin y Pwyl[2] beth difesur o dda i'r neb a gymerai arno fwrw y golfen hono i lawr, a thori y drych. Yna y codes dau frawd i fynu yn y fan, a dywedyd fel hyn:—'Arglwydd frenin, pe caem ni ddau beth a geisiem genyt, ni a fwriem y golfen i'r llawr, a'r drych a dorem.' 'Beth yw hyny?' ebai'r brenin. 'Nid amgen na'n dyrchu ni mewn cyfoeth ac anrhydedd o hyn allan; a rhaid i ni gael cyfreidiau priodol yr awr hon, nid amgen na dau farilaid o aur; canys chwanocaf gwr o'r byd i aur yw'r ymherawdwr.' 'Hyny a gewch chwi yn llawen,' ebai'r brenin. A'r aur a gawsent, a phen y daith a gyrhaeddasant; ac ar hyd nos hwy a gladdasant y ddau farilaid aur mewn dau fan gerllaw pyrth y dref yn ymyl y ffordd; ac i'r dref yr aethant y nos hono, a lletya. Dranoeth, daethant i lys yr ymherawdwr, a chyfarch gwell iddo, a deisyf cael bod o wasanaeth iddo. 'Pa wasanaeth a fedrwch chwi ei wneuthur?' ebai'r ymherawdr. 'Ni a fedrwn fynegi i chwi a fo aur neu arian cuddiedig yn eich teyrnas chwi; ac o bydd, peri i chwi eu cael hwynt oll.' 'Ewch heno ac edrychwch erbyn yforu a oes aur neu arian i'm teyrnas i; ac o bydd, mynegwch i mi; ac o chaf hwy, mi a'ch gwnaf chwi yn anwyliaid im'.' Ac i'w llety yr aethant y nos hono. A thranoeth y mab ieuangaf a ddaeth ger bron yr ymherawdwr, ac a ddywedodd gael ohono mewn dewiniaeth wybod pa le yr oedd barilaid o aur yn ymyl porth y dref, yn nghudd. Yna y peris yr ymherawdwr fyned i geisio hwnw; ac wedi ei gael a'i

[1] A corruption of *nigromawns* ("necromancy"). [2] Poland.

ddwyn iddo, efe y cymerth y gwas yn anwyl wasanaethwr. A thranoeth y daeth y gwas arall ger bron yr ymherawdwr, a dywedyd gael ohono, ar freuddwyd, wybodaeth pa le yr oedd barilaid o aur yn nghudd, yn ymyl porth arall i'r dref. Ac wedi profi hyny, a'i gael yn wir, credu iddynt o hyny allan, a mawr fu gan yr ymherawdwr am danynt, a'u cymeryd yn anwyliaid iddo. A'r dydd nesaf hwy a ddywedasant fod aur o dan y golfen a gyfoethogai'r deyrnas. Yna y dywed Seneddwyr Rhufain, o ddiwreiddio'r golfen, na byddai cyn gadarned deyrnas Rhufain o hyny allan. Eithr nid adawodd chwant yr aur a'r arian i'r ymherawdwr fod wrth gynghor y Seneddwyr, nes diwreiddio'r golfen a'i bwrw i lawr, a thori y drych yn llaprau. A phan ddarfu hyn, dyfod am ben yr ymherawdwr a wnaethant, a'i ddal, a'i rwymo, a chymhell arno yfed aur berwedig, gan ddywedyd wrtho, 'Aur a chwenychaist, ac aur a yfi.'"

III.

There remains the third period, or, perhaps we should say the third aspect, of culture, an aspect which is in some senses the most interesting of all. This phase dates from the Reformation. Its dominant note is practical sense, and its field pre-eminently ecclesiastical politics. Here we are introduced to the company of Celts, and especially Welshmen, of a different character than have hitherto appeared on the stage, creatures of the age in which they lived. They move in an atmosphere of intrigue, secrecy, and mystery. The Society of Jesus was now called into being by the political and ecclesiastical exigencies of the time to restore the fallen fortunes of the Romish Church. To that monument of religious genius has been assigned, by common consent, the palm of what is technically called Religious Prudence, namely, discretion and wise government.

The Reformation changed for a time the aspect of Welsh education and culture. Recusants withdrew to the Continent. Then began that network of intrigue which Mr. Llewelyn Williams has skilfully unravelled for us.[1] He has brought before us vividly the main actors in the drama. He has reminded us how Roman Catholics were divided into two distinct and antagonistic parties, how the Jesuits realized that Queen Elizabeth, that "infamous Jezebel" as she was sometimes called, would never be dethroned except by the aid of a foreign force, and how the Company accordingly bent their energies to accomplish that object, how the opposite party on the Continent, notably the Welsh, were desirous of bringing England back to the Catholic fold by pacific methods and shrank from subjecting her to a foreign yoke. But into this we need not enter, since as for the Welsh participators in these stirring scenes and all that they did, are they not written by Mr. Llewelyn Williams in the chronicles of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion?

The following extract from a letter[2] of Thomas Morgan to his brother Rowland Morgan, dated 1589, and intercepted by emissaries of the Government, throws an interesting light on the movements of Catholic Welshmen abroad, and bespeaks their activity and influence. I give an extract only. Says the writer:—

> "Lewis Hughes is household chaplain to my Lord of Cassano. His nephew, Mr. Hugh Griffith, is Provost of Cambray. He thinks by this time that he and some others that travel here in England would have sent over some toward youths of that country from Wales for learning; whereof he wills him to confer yet with Mr. Gwinne whose

[1] See *The Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, Session 1901-1902, "Welsh Catholics on the Continent" (p. 46), by W. Llewelyn Williams.

[2] *Cecil MSS.*, iv, 6.

person and merit he honours. If any of their cousins and friends' children be apt for learning, he would have him bring some of them over, where they should edify themselves to their comfort and service of their country hereafter. He thinks there should be some toward youths in Tredegar, the Vanne, Lanternam and Beduelly, the lords of which place he honours and remembers them all to God. He desires Powel the priest try and send Mr. Lewis of St. Por, of that side the seas, well appointed. If he would come and be content to be advised, he might prove a good instrument for his friends; wherefore Mr. Powel being *in vinculis Evangelii* he would have the purpose continued by some other. If Mr. Lewis would come to him he would be glad, so he would conform himself to the Catholic Faith."

The reference in "my Lord of Cassano" is to Owen Lewis, a staunch Catholic, who suffered exile for his faith, devoted all his energies to its restoration in England, rose to considerable eminence, and, first as Archdeacon of Cambray, and afterwards as a trusted agent of the Pope, exerted considerable influence in the councils of the Church on the Continent. What especially concerns us is the share Lewis had in the establishment of the colleges, or at least one of the colleges, set up on the continent for training Roman Catholics, especially priests, who were destined for work in the "English Vineyard". Of these the first in point of time was the college at Douay in Belgium; there were several in Spain also, but the English college at Rome, owing to the prestige attaching to the capital city and the metropolis of Catholic Christendom, eclipsed the others in importance. The English college at Rome, then, was founded at the instance and through the instrumentality of a Welshman. Lewis was fully alive to the necessity of making special provision for the priesthood in England. Cambray was evidently a rallying point for Welshmen who had gone into exile for conscience sake. He proposed that the old *hospitium* or place of entertainment for pilgrims at Rome should be turned into a college,

or, at any rate, that its scope should be enlarged to admit young priests who might be prepared for work in England. The pensioners, he urged, were no students. Though his claim to the initiation of the idea was afterwards disputed, and abuse was heaped on his head, Owen Lewis and no other was responsible for the suggestion, which redounded, for a time, at least, to the benefit of his religious communion. The Pope applauded the Archdeacon's sagacity and foresight; appointed him *Referendarius Apostolicus*, and entrusted to him the management of nearly all business relating to England and Ireland. But he was not allowed to enjoy his preferment undisturbed. He had no sooner gained the confidence of the Chief Pontiff than the cabalting and wire-pulling began. The English college reflected all the bitter controversies and national rivalries that the conflict called into play. The Jesuits were divided against the reactionaries, and the Englishmen against the Welshmen. To illustrate the heat of party passion and racial rancour of the period, I will put together a few extracts from reports, petitions, and counter petitions, which place the situation in a tolerably clear light.

Owen Lewis bore the brunt of the attack. "He and his bosom friend, Dr. Maurice Clenocke, a Welshman of course, were pushing their own fortunes at the expense of the English. He was guilty of the grossest favouritism to Welshmen in domestic details. He shielded Clenocke and played into his hands." Such was the burden of the charge. Complaints poured in from various quarters, and, suspiciously enough, they were couched in similar language. Clenocke had procured the insertion in the college statutes of a clause permitting inmates to remain at college as long as they liked, instead of going to England to face toil and tortures. It is strange to relate, the beneficiaries were all Welshmen! A youth of the name of Price had recently

arrived. He was a person of no culture, yet Owen Lewis and Maurice Clenocke together secured his admission. This was too much for flesh and blood. The Englishmen indignantly protested against the admission of such a man to the company of "learned men" like themselves. Moreover letters from Owen Lewis and Maurice Clenocke were said to have been intercepted, in which Welshmen were urged to come over in shoals and take possession of the college. But that was always the way with Welshmen. It was their nature, when they were isolated and few in number, to be sweet-tempered and submissive towards the English, but let them have an opportunity of attaining to supremacy by hook or by crook, there was no end to their rancour. St. Augustine had made the same remark. The Venerable Bede had expressed a similar opinion in his day, and asseverated that they were always persecuting the innocent English, and even went the length of refusing them the means of salvation. The two doctors were probably thinking of the attitude assumed, and the answer given by the British, when asked to co-operate in the conversion of the Saxons. They replied in effect that they would not help, for if the Saxon got heaven, heaven would be unendurable.

Again, they proceeded, at the English Universities, the founders of some colleges had distinctly stipulated that no Welshmen were to darken the doors of the institutions, not because those holy men (to wit, the founders), who wished to benefit those who were unknown and yet unborn, were at all acceptors of persons, but because Welshmen were always caballing against the amiable and loving Englishman. Had not the same thing been illustrated in connection with the Court of Arches in London? It was notorious that in that august body, which is only open to doctors and canonists and professors of civil law, some

Welshmen had managed to creep in and actually gain the upper hand and exclude the unoffending English. This being the case, every kind of inconvenience was to be apprehended, unless offices were conferred on Welshmen in strict moderation, owing to their rooted malevolence towards the English!

You can well imagine that such taunts were not calculated to soothe the susceptibilities of the choleric Welsh, nor to promote peace. The upshot of the matter was that the English left in a body and said they would walk home across the Continent, and leave the college, as they did, to the unfeigned joy and delight of the Welshmen. The college chronicler relates, that, as they were taking their leave, Hugh Griffith, a fiery spirit and stormy petrel, "gave a leap in the college hall and shouted, 'Who now but a Welshman?'" But they did not quit Rome. Their unhappy condition evoked widespread sympathy, and subscriptions for their maintenance and journey home poured in. Matters had now reached a crisis. The Pope was alarmed. He sent for the English malcontents, and the picture of the interview is too good to be missed. The rebels were ushered into the presence-chamber; they laid their case before His Holiness with a flow of language and a flood of tears, the Sovereign Pontiff weeping with them. He promised to settle everything, and was good as his word. The arrangement, however, resulted in nothing but a truce; for dissension broke out again, in which Welshmen bore no hand.

The best vindication, if it be required, of Owen Lewis's policy and devotion, is the history of the English college itself at Rome. They were never a very happy family, and dissension broke out again. Just as before, petitions and counter-petitions were signed and presented, and the parties bandied mutual and lively recriminations, charges

and counter-charges. Just as before, reports were made by Cardinals and other high dignitaries, and remarks passed to this effect: "This college at Rome enjoys an unenviable notoriety for frequent disturbance." Just as rebellious spirits rose against Lewis and Clenocke, so the English, who had studied at English Universities, assumed airs of superiority over their comrades, lodged complaints against their teachers, and, as the price of their remaining, clamoured for the appointment of an Englishman to act with the Jesuit fathers or the establishment of another college in Italy, to be presided over by another religious Order. The recalcitrants were here hinting at the supersession of the Jesuits and substitution of the Dominicans, their rivals.

Meanwhile, Owen Lewis's career proves that he was not as black as he was painted by contemporary critics. He enjoyed the Pope's confidence, and executed several important commissions on his behalf; he was Cardinal Borromeo's right-hand man; as we have seen, he became Bishop of Cassano, near Naples, and bequeathed legacies to the college. In the chapel of the present English college an epitaph, couched in terms of high panegyric, records the versatile gifts, the Christian graces of the benefactor of the institution, and commemorates the name of Owen Lewis of blessed memory. As each year comes round, October 14th is set apart for a mass in honour of this patron.

So much for the circumstances that led to the foundation of the English College. The motives that prompted the originators, it must be confessed, did credit to their foresight and zeal. The cosmopolitan character of the college is a sufficient refutation of the charges levelled against the first founders. In matter of fact, the majority of the students were English, and, as the Jesuits gained

the upper-hand, the influence of the English became supreme. The Irish Celts were not represented there in large numbers, for the obvious reason that the Irish possessed a college of their own. But their names appear interspersed throughout the college calendar. Thus in 1761 a student, Thomas Plunkett, arrives from St. Omer's and is admitted. He is an Irishman all over; he excels in the knowledge of Latin and Greek, and is a first-rate comic actor. Such is his repute for piety and blamelessness of life, that he has more than once been elected Prefect of the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin Mary. But he does not appear to have stayed within its walls, and was probably sent to the Irish college.

The presence of the Irish lent colour and picturesqueness to Roman life, and the following incident may fitly find a place here, inasmuch as it throws light on the life of the period, and serves to illustrate the racial rivalries which were brought into play in the Eternal City. This time the collision is not between the English and the Welsh, but the Irish and the English. The incident illustrates the amenities of clerical life and the amiable qualities of our Celtic cousins across the Irish Channel. The Irish apparently nourished a grievance against the English, and were not slow to vent their spleen on any individual Englishman. The Dean of Lincoln, an Englishman, happened to be staying in Rome. Certain of the sons of Erin heard of his arrival and thought it an opportunity not to be lost for a manifestation against this representative of a race which had treated the Emerald Isle so ill. Biding their time, they delivered an assault on the Dean's lodgings. The dignitary was in danger and took measures for his defence, drew a knife in the mêlee and stabbed an aggressor. This episode affords us an interesting insight into the habits of the age. Everyone of consequence went

about armed and bore at least a knife, nominally to cut bread.

With the above instances I dismiss the Irishmen.

The traditional connection of Welshmen with the English college was maintained in spite of the practical monopoly of it by the Society of Jesus. This may be explained by the tenacity with which the Welsh people, as opposed to the aristocracy, clung to the Catholic cause, a tenacity which postponed the adoption of the principles and retarded the spread of the doctrines of the Reformation in Wales for many years after the adoption and diffusion of those principles in England. There are to this day traces of their devotion in customs whose origin have long been forgotten. But the association of Wales with the English college was, in a measure, attributable to the activity displayed by well-known Jesuit leaders, who laboured in the Principality or upon its borders. Their enthusiasm and address dazzled some young Welshmen, who had been brought up in the Reformed Faith, and especially those who came of families distinguished by a long line of Catholic ancestors, and were themselves inclined to a religious life by the family tradition. Several Welsh recruits were drafted into the society. Finally, the racial pride in the Tudor strain on the one hand, and the designs of the Jesuits on the other, provoked a reaction, and threw the Welsh into the arms of the progressive party, with the result that Wales became as distinctly Puritanical as she had been previously Catholic.

The number of Welshmen who held offices in the English college and became rectors of it affords evidence of the influence of Catholicism in Wales, and, at the same time, is a curious commentary on the controversies that raged within the college walls. Of Maurice Clenocke, the bone of contention, we have already spoken. He was, according

to the testimony of Dr. Allen, "an honest and friendly man, and a great advancer of the students and seminarie's cause",[1] but these qualities were outweighed by his inexperience. He resigned his post, as we saw, but misfortune dogged his steps; he was afterwards drowned at sea.

Thomas Owen succeeded Robert Parsons in the headship in 1609, but he disappears from view in 1618. His administration was marked by a fact which is interesting in this connection. Under his rule, as we learn incidentally, the last Welsh student entered the Society of Jesus. His original name was Evans, and his birthplace Carnarvonshire. His missionary life was spent in North and South-West Wales. He was twice Superior of that province.[2] A third rector of Welsh origin figures on the list in the person of William Morgan. He assumed the office in 1683, but his tenure was short, for his name does not appear after 1686 or 7. Yet another rector was Francis Powell, who does not seem to have held the post more than four years.

Let us turn to the *alumni* of the English college. The incidental allusions to their experiences bear eloquent, if unconscious, testimony to the disturbed condition of the country, the state of society, and the currents of religious opinion that prevailed from the time of the Reformation onward. The antecedents of the students who sought admission to the Roman college were various, as seen by the *scritture* or applications for admission.

One native of Wales tells us that he had embraced the Catholic Faith at Venice. He came to Rome and was admitted as an *alumnus*. But as he was said to have a wife in Prussia, and he could not deny the impeachment,

[1] In a letter to Dr. Owen Lewis from Paris, May 12th, 1579. Dodd, vol. ii, p. 366.

[2] Foley, v, p. 936.

he was dismissed the college. Roger Says describes himself as a native of Bowton, Llantwit Major, in Glamorganshire. His father was an esquire, justice, and attorney-general to King James. His family had migrated to Swansea, and he received his early education at Catsash in Monmouthshire, and at Swansea. Thence he proceeded to Rupella[1] in France, and continued his studies at Monasterium Enclastrense,[2] near Poitiers. He was an out and out Protestant *(omnino haereticus)*, but was converted at Rupella. His conversion was effected in this way. He lodged with a writer in order to learn to write. It so happened that a young Irish Catholic who also stayed there invited him to come and see the church of St. Margaret's. Climbing over the city walls they found two fathers of the Order of the Oratory walking below. These hailed the Irishman, whom they knew. He explained who he was. The conversation led to a further acquaintance, and they advised him to go to the monastery at Les Chateliers. He acted on their advice, but was robbed on the way and arrived at the monastery almost naked.

William Morgan had already experienced a chequered career. He was a native of the county of Flint, and had been educated at Westminster School, where he was elected King's Scholar, and thence he went to Trinity College, Cambridge, and studied philosophy, "as it is taught there". He had completed two years at Cambridge when the Civil War broke out, and he took up arms for the Royalists, leaving college on the orders of the Earl of Manchester. Under the King's banner he served for two years. Taken by the Parliamentarians at the battle of Naseby he was thrown into prison in London. But in six weeks' time he received permission to cross over to Belgium, where he served in Colonel Cobbe's English regiment and fought

[1] La Rochelle. [2] Les Chateliers.

for His Catholic Majesty. Afterwards he went to Ghent to complete his studies and proceeded to Louvain. He is now in Rome and wishes to embrace the religious life.

The destinies of the *alumni* varied no less than their antecedents. Some of them entered one or other of the religious Orders. David Lloyd, a native of Carnarvon, and an exemplary student, left for Piacenza, where he presided over a college for many years. Ultimately he set out for England to settle business, and was drowned in the "British Sea"; another, John Owen, a native of the diocese of Bangor, lapsed from the Faith and became a schoolmaster; a third, Robert Roberts, did not complete his studies. During his sojourn he had distinguished himself by his seditious behaviour, and, true to himself, was false to the Faith. But such instances were exceptional. Most of them identified themselves with the rising glory, aims, and ascendency of the company which succeeded in enlisting in its services the zealous youth. The monopoly of the English college which the Society secured, and the indomitable energy and statesmanlike sagacity of Parsons, who remained at its head for years, imparted an incalculable impulse to the movement, nor were Welshmen insensible to its attractions.

The best testimony perhaps to the high qualities of the Welsh (in spite of allegations to the contrary) is to be found in the fact that these very Jesuit leaders, no mean judges of merit and capacity, were glad to enlist Welsh adherents, and that their decision was justified eventually. Some of the Welsh Jesuits, like Robert Jones, Charles Baker, and Thomas Pennant, or Conway, occupy a prominent place in the annals of the Society of Jesus.[1]

[1] It is interesting to observe that some of the English authors of the Company hailed from Wales or were of Welsh descent, among them, Michael Alford 1587-1652, vero nomine Griffiths, the celebrated

But while many of the *alumni* espoused the Jesuit cause with all the fervour of which the Celtic character is capable, others shrank from schemes for overthrowing the dynasty. Parsons, for all his insight, had miscalculated his plans and mistaken his men. The scheme for placing a foreign prince on the throne had miscarried, and certainly did not find a ready response. The Welshmen, who had obtained an insight into Jesuit methods and had been repelled by the proposals, threw their weight into the opposite scale and played a prominent part in the developments that followed. Animated, as they were, by a desire to restore the Catholic Faith in their mother country, and reluctant to become tools of a political party, their first step was to break with the prime movers, the Jesuits. But here suffice it to mention one important result that ensued. The triumph of the Jesuits reacted prejudicially against the success of the Roman church in Wales, and issued in the revulsion in favour of Puritanism.

I have now completed my task. Were I given to moralizing I might be tempted to draw one or two lessons from what has been said.

There is much that appears trivial in the academic life of the Middle Ages. It would, however, be wrong to conclude that solid work was not done and valuable results achieved. The chronicles of representative Universities place on record what is palpable, striking, exceptional, but external to the real life of a seat of learning; what they have not recorded is the intangible, the unobtrusive, the inward and the normal employment of seekers after truth; what these chronicles could not record is the elusive

annalist. (See De Backer, *Bibliothèque des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 1869, i, 70.) John Salisbury was another. He translated into Welsh Cardinal Bellarmine's Lar er Catechism, and various other works. See *Records of S. J.*, vol. iv, series x, part i.

atmosphere of a seat of learning, the taste, the stimulus, the incommunicable charm, that is inseparable from such a place and haunts it like a shadow. Granted that many went up to a mediæval university from mere love of adventure or from a desire to see the world, from a social instinct, or even thirst for booty! Granted that many students "went down" as ignorant as when they went up! Granted that discipline was lax and the times violent! Still, this very circumstance affords an indirect proof of intellectual enthusiasm. Could that be languid, half-hearted interest which brought thousands of men and boys over half Europe and nerved them to inconveniences and perils—perils by land, perils by sea, perils from their own fellow men?

The past never returns; times and conditions change; there is one thing that remains unchanged from age to age, namely, the intellectual enthusiasm of Wales. *Gwell dysg na golud.* I cannot forget that the Celt has imparted dash and fire to the character of the British race, fervour to its religious temperament, and a tender, delicate sentiment to its literature. I cannot forget the aspiration after culture that has always characterized Welshmen. I cannot forget the yearning which has possessed the Welsh people, the multitude, for opportunities of self-improvement and enlightenment. I cannot forget the disinterested devotion with which some of their leaders have procured for them the educational privileges on which they had set their heart. This yearning and this endeavour unite the centuries one to another. Such has been the history of Wales, time out of mind, in its steady ascent up the slope of progress. When the mountaineer is bent on climbing one of the Alps, he starts in the evening from the foggy flats below. Night falls; darkness envelops him, but he pursues his way. It is midnight; he has to grope step by

step. Anon he begins the ascent; crevasses offer a treacherous footing; precipices yawn. But lo! a bright light glimmers through the gloom; it is the welcome morning star, the harbinger of day. By and bye the dawn approaches, tinging the landscape with violet and purple, and ushering in the sun, which rises amid a mantling, molten mass of fire and touches the countless cloud-forms with gold. At length the mountaineer's efforts are rewarded. He stands upon the summit. So shall it be with Wales. Hitherto she has climbed through a hundred difficulties, through mists of prejudice, through the darkness of disappointment. So may she continue to rise superior to every obstacle, higher, higher, higher still, until she has surmounted the crest of the hill and planted her banner with the ringing shout: "Who art thou, O great mountain? before a Cymro thou shalt become a plain."

WALTER MAP.[1]

By Professor W. LEWIS JONES, M.A.

Few periods are of greater interest to the student of literature than the twelfth century. Overshadowed though it be in literary history by the age of the great Italian Renascence, the twelfth century it was that witnessed the first real and effectual break with the tyranny of an effete Latin culture, and the birth of the modern national literatures of Europe. It was the age of the Crusades, and they mark the beginning of an international intercourse which influenced the development of art and letters no less profoundly than the fortunes of kingdoms and dynasties. The crusading impulse, writes William of Malmesbury, fell upon "all who had heard the name of Christ, whether in the most distant lands or savage countries. The Welshman left his hunting; the Scot his fellowship with vermin; the Dane his drinking party; the Norwegian his raw fish; lands were deserted of their husbandmen; houses of their inhabitants; even whole cities migrated." Thus under the banner of the Cross there came to be ranged a motley crowd of men drawn from every part of Western Europe, and their contact with each other, and with the rich and strange civilisation of the East, stimulated their imagination and quickened their wit. Their social intercourse led to an

[1] Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion at 20, Hanover Square, on Wednesday, May 23, 1906. Chairman, Professor W. P. Ker, M.A, LL.D.

interchange of the folk-tales of every European tribe, and produced an international stock of lively popular *fabliaux* upon which even great literary artists, such as Boccaccio and Chaucer, delighted subsequently to draw. Oriental tales of magic and wizardry, and the mystic lore of Arabia, of Byzantium and of Alexandria, were diverted into European channels, to become in time the literary capital of a host of lay and clerical scribes.

The intellectual awakening thus caused synchronised with the hey-day of chivalry and courtly knighthood. Hence the most popular and characteristic literary compositions of the time were romances of adventure. The three staple "matters of France, of Britain, and of Rome the great" now came to be exploited by literary craftsmen who were thoroughly alive to the demands of the hour and quick to appropriate for their purposes all the new lore that had come into circulation. Of the various romantic "matters", that of Britain rapidly established for itself an unquestioned pre-eminence. Alexander and Charlemagne were altogether overshadowed by the mighty and mysterious figure of

> "Uther's son,
> Begirt with British and Armoric knights."

"Alexander", writes M. Jusserand, "had been an amusement; Arthur became a passion". Arthurian romance owed its astonishing vogue and supremacy largely to its mystic and symbolical suggestiveness, no less than to the novelty and the strangeness of its adventurous incidents. The ideals both of chivalry and of the church came, ultimately, to be wedded in the Arthurian legend; until—with all its romantic extensions, its varied conceptions of knighthood, its magic tales, its perilous quests, its tragic loves, its mystic Grail—Arthurian story emerges, in Malory, as the most composite aud *bizarre* literary product of the Middle Ages.

Were it possible to accept without question the authenticity of all the works attributed to him, Walter Map would stand unchallenged as by far the most representative writer of this eager and stirring age.[1] His *De Nugis Curialium* preserves for us its courtly gossip and several samples of its popular tales. The Latin poems associated with his name are caustic examples of the satire in which so many mediæval writers indulged at the expense of ungodly priests. The great French romances, which are ascribed to him with even more confidence by many literary historians, constitute a contribution of unique importance to the development of Arthurian story. Thus so far as tradition goes, no writer of the twelfth century is entitled to a more conspicuous place in the House of Fame than Walter Map. To Welshmen, in particular, his repute and actual career ought to be matters of peculiar interest; for he had, almost certainly, Welsh blood in his veins. He is known, at any rate, to have been the intimate friend of Giraldus Cambrensis, and exhibits, in the *De Nugis Curialium*, his close acquaintance both with the Welsh people and with much of their folk-lore. Again, in many literary histories he contests with another probable Welshman, Geoffrey of Monmouth, the pride of place as a contributor to Arthurian literature. At one time, indeed, he was thought to be the very "Walter, archdeacon of Oxford", who instigated Geoffrey to write his *History of the Kings of Britain*, and who, according to Geoffrey's own account, furnished him with that mysterious book in the British tongue which "did set forth the

[1] Miss Kate Norgate (*England under the Angevin Kings*, vol. ii, p. 449), who gives Map the credit of all the works ascribed to him, says that "every side of the intellectual movement which, throughout the latter half of the twelfth century, was working a revolution in English thought and life, is reflected in Walter Map".

doings of them all from Brutus, the first King of the Britons, down to Cadwaladr, the son of Cadwallo, all told in stories of exceeding beauty". It was the sixteenth-century antiquary, John Leland, who started the figment that Walter Map was Geoffrey's archdeacon, and it was accepted as a fact by many reputable literary historians down to very recent times, among them being Thomas Stephens, the author of *The Literature of the Kymry*. Map, as we shall see, was indeed archdeacon of Oxford in his time, but he was probably only some twelve years old when Geoffrey of Monmouth died. His name, however, has always loomed so large in the history of the Arthurian legend that one naturally associates it with that of Geoffrey, although there is no evidence to prove that he was acquainted with Geoffrey's book. It is scarcely credible that he was altogether ignorant of so famous a work; his friend, Giraldus, at any rate, knew it well, and has told us pretty plainly what he thought of it. Geoffrey, Gerald, and Walter Map, together, stand out as by far the most interesting and picturesque literary figures of the twelfth century; and it is significant to note that the three were, if not actually Welshmen, men who lived in close touch with Wales and Welsh traditions.

Geoffrey of Monmouth it was, unquestionably, who first perceived the possibilities of the Arthurian stories as matter of literary entertainment. For English literature, at least, his "History" stands at the fountain-head of Arthurian romance. Those, however, who seek to belittle Geoffrey's influence upon the development of the Arthurian legend point out how crude and elementary, after all, is his presentment of it. Professor Saintsbury, for example, in a chapter on "The Matter of Britain" in his book on *The Flourishing of Romance and Allegory*, bids us "notice how little, if Geoffrey really did take

his book from 'British' sources, those sources apparently contained of the Arthurian Legend proper as we now know it. An extension of the fighting with Saxons at home, and the addition of that with Romans abroad, the Igraine episode, or rather overture, the doubtless valuable introduction of Merlin, the treason of Mordred and Guinevere, and the retirement to Avalon,—that is practically all." Well, in view of the little that was really known about these things until Geoffrey made them common literary property, this would appear to be a good deal. Mr. Saintsbury does, indeed, admit that Geoffrey "set the heather on fire, and perhaps in no literary instance on record did the blaze spread and heighten itself with such extraordinary speed and intensity". Surely, Geoffrey is entitled to his full credit for this admittedly unparalleled conflagration. But Prof. Saintsbury is far more concerned with his deficiencies. Geoffrey gives us, he says, "no Round Table, no Knights", "an entire absence of personal characteristics about Guinevere", "and, most remarkable of all, no Lancelot, and no Holy Grail".

Mr. Saintsbury all but seems to imply that these omissions are due to the fact that Geoffrey was a Welshman; he certainly, and explicitly, attributes his failure to mention them to the poverty of the Welsh, or native British, sources at his command. Mr. Saintsbury is anxious, above everything, to prove that it was neither a Welshman, or one borrowing from Welsh sources, like Geoffrey, nor yet a Frenchman, like Wace or Chrétien de Troyes, who set the seal of consummate artistic achievement upon the Arthurian legend in its early stages, but an Englishman. Now, the Englishman who so succeeded is, according to Mr. Saintsbury, Walter Map. But as Map was almost certainly of Welsh descent, if not an

actual Welshman, Mr. Saintsbury's argument only serves to enhance the glory of "the Celtic fringe" in the exploitation of Arthurian romance. A few more quotations from Mr. Saintsbury are worth giving, as indicating how imposing a figure Map becomes in the imagination of those who are disposed to take all his alleged literary performances as his authentic works:—

> "A consensus of MS. authority ascribes the best and largest part of the *prose* romances, especially those dealing with Lancelot and the later fortunes of the Graal and the Round Table company, to no less a person than the famous Englishman, Walter Mapes, or Map, the author of *De Nugis Curialium*, the reputed author of divers ingenious Latin poems, friend of Becket, archdeacon of Oxford, churchman, statesman, aud wit. No valid reason whatever has yet been shown for questioning this attribution, especially considering the number, antiquity, and strength of the documents by which it is attested. Map's date (1137-96) is the right one; his abilities were equal to any literary performance; his evident familiarity with things Welsh (he seems to have been a Herefordshire man) would have informed him of Welsh tradition, if there was any, and the *De Nugis Curialium* shows us in him, side by side with a satirical and humorous bent, the leaning to romance and to the marvellous which only extremely shallow people believe to be alien from humour. But it is necessary for scholarship of the kind just referred to to be always devising some new thing. Frenchmen, German, and Celticising partisans have grudged an Englishman the glory of exploit; and there has been of late a tendency to deny or slight Map's claims. His deposition, however, rests upon no solid argument, and though it would be exceedingly rash, considering the levity with which the copyists in mediæval MSS. attributed authorship, to assert positively that Map wrote *Lancelot* or the *Quest of the Saint Graal*, it may be asserted with the utmost confidence that it has not been proved that he did not." [1]

Again,—

> "If, as I think may fairly be done, the glory of the

[1] *Flourishing of Romance and the Rise of Allegory* (1897), pp. 99-101.

> Legend be chiefly claimed for none of these, but for English or Anglo-Norman, it can be done in no spirit of national pleonexia, but on a sober consideration of all the facts of the case, and allowing all other claimants their fair share in the matter as subsidiaries. From the merely *a priori* point of view the claims of England—that is to say, the Anglo-Norman realm—are strong. The matter is "the matter of Britain", and it was as natural that Arthur should be sung in Britain as that Charlemagne should be celebrated in France. But this could weigh nothing against positive balance of argument from the facts on the other side. The balance, however, does not lie against us. The personal claim of Walter Map, even if disproved, would not carry the English claim with it in its fall. But it has never been disproved. The positive, the repeated attribution of the MSS. may not be final, but requires a very serious body of counter-argument to upset it. And there is none such. The time suits; the man's general ability is not denied; his familiarity with Welshmen and Welsh tradition as a Herefordshire Marcher is pretty certain; and his one indisputable book of general literature, the *De Nugis Curialium*, exhibits many—perhaps all—of the qualifications required: a sharp judgment united with a distinct predilection for the marvellous, an unquestionable piety combined with man-of-the-worldliness, and a toleration of human infirmities."[1]

No one would quarrel with this estimate of Map's literary genius could it be proved to demonstration that the romances attributed to him are his own genuine productions; but the curious thing about it all is, of course, that Mr. Saintsbury takes every possible advantage of an assumption in order to exalt "the claims of England", as against those of Wales and France, in the artistic development of Arthurian story.

Of the chief incidents of Map's life we possess much more authentic testimony than in the case of Geoffrey of Monmouth; for his own well-known work, the *De Nugis Curialium*—"Of Courtiers' Triflings,"—furnishes us with

[1] *Flourishing of Romance and Rise of Allegory*, p. 141.

several interesting details. Some uncertainty, however, prevails as to his precise origin, and as to the exact date and place of his birth. His name would certainly appear to be Welsh,—Map, as has been pointed out by more than one of his biographers,[1] being equivalent to the Scottish Mack, which is still retained as a surname in the Highlands. The name appears to have been fairly common in the twelfth century, for there are documents which show that in Herefordshire alone there were, in Mr. Ward's words, "a series of Walter Maps of some local importance between 1155 and 1240".[2] There seems to have been no ground at all for calling him "Mapes", as the late Thomas Wright, among others, did in editing his *De Nugis Curialium*, except that "Mapes" is supposed to be an appropriate English equivalent to the Latin *Mapus*; for Giraldus speaks, in his *Speculum Ecclesiæ*, of his friend as *nomine Walterus, cognomine Mapus*.[3] Walter himself, in the *De Nugis*, calls himself Map.[4] Furthermore, in the same work, he describes himself as "a marcher of Wales",[5] and calls the Welsh his "fellow-countrymen".[6] Again, he says in the same book, "Among *our* Welsh people the fear of God is seldom according to knowledge".[7] Dr. Henry Owen, as a loyal upholder of the genius of Pembrokeshire, would claim him for that county.[8] Mr. Kingsford, however, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, rejects the evidence for his Pembrokeshire origin as being altogether

[1] *Dictionary of Nat. Biog.*, xxxvi, p. 109; Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in British Museum*, vol. i, p. 736.

[2] *Cat. of Rom.*, i, p. 738.

[3] See H. Owen, *Gerald the Welshman* (new Ed.), p. 188.

[4] *De Nugis* (Camd. Soc.), p. 235.

[5] *De Nugis*, Dist. i, cap. 23.

[6] *De Nugis.*, Dist. ii, cap. 20.

[7] Dist. ii, 20.

[8] *Gerald the Welshman* (new Ed.), pp. 82, 83.

inadequate. It is far more probable that he was a native of Herefordshire, for he was throughout his life more or less connected with the city of Hereford. One further point may be noticed. Map was an intimate friend of that many-sided Welsh patriot, Giraldus Cambrensis; and Gerald nominated him in 1203 as a possible candidate for the vacant see of St. David's.

The date of his birth is uncertain, but we shall probably not be far wrong in fixing it a year or two before 1140. At any rate, we know from his own testimony[1] that he was a student at Paris between 1154 and 1160, and he relates in connection therewith an incident which throws a lurid sidelight upon the sanguinary riots with which the University youths of those days occasionally varied the monotony of their studies. His parents appear to have been of sufficient position to render substantial service to King Henry II, both before and after his succession. Through their merits, he tells us,[2] he had been fortunate enough to win the King's favour and affection, and we find him, at the threshold of manhood,—certainly before 1162, while Thomas à Becket was still chancellor[3]—attached to King Henry's Court. He was appointed one of the clerks of the King's household, was employed on several diplomatic missions,[4] and in 1173 was acting as a justice itinerant of Gloucester. Later on he frequently represented the King as one of his justices in eyre, or circuit judges of assize. Giraldus, in his *Mirror of the Church*, gives us in his anecdotal way, several scraps of information about Walter's judicial career and his ready shrewdness as a wit and as a manager of men.[5] One

[1] *De Nugis*, v, 5; ii, 7. [2] *Ibid.*, v, 6. [3] *Ibid.*, ii, 23.

[4] *Ibid.*; Giraldus, *Opera*, iv, 229; Eyton, *Itinerary of Henry II*, pp. 176, 223, 265; *De Nugis*, ii, 3; v, 5; i, 31.

[5] See H. Owen's *Gerald* (New Ed.), pp. 188, 189.

example of his wit which Gerald quotes may be given here. When King Henry was once hunting in the Forest of Dean, certain abbots who were quarrelling about some lands laid their claims before him. One of the parties to the dispute, knowing that King Henry desired worldly glory above all things, gave God as their surety that, should the King decide in their favour, his name and fame would be greatly enhanced before the year was out. Map happened to be in attendance, and the King asked him what he thought of this pledge; he replied "My liege, as they offer you a surety, you ought first to hear what the surety has to say for himself!" It is Gerald, also, who tells us that when Map took the oath to administer justice to all men, he expressly excepted Jews and Cistercian monks. Map had a grudge against the Cistercians because of their encroachments upon the lands attached to his living of Westbury-on-Severn, a Gloucestershire vicarage to which he appears to have been presented at a fairly early period in his career. Not only did he visit his vengeance upon them in his capacity as a judge; he became, in his writings, their merciless satirist.

In 1176, Map was made a canon of St. Paul's; he was already, besides being vicar of Westbury, a canon and precentor of Lincoln, and he subsequently became chancellor of Lincoln; so that he seems to have had, during an active lifetime, a very fair share of the good things of the church. With the death of Henry II in 1189, his connection with the Court appears to have ceased. In 1197 he was appointed archdeacon of Oxford, and two years later, when a vacancy occurred in the see of Hereford, the chapter wished to have Map for their bishop. The appointment, however, lay with King John, who, soon after his accession, gave the bishopric to Giles de Braos, a son of William de Braos, of Brecon. In 1203 he was

among those nominated, not perhaps very seriously, by Giraldus as possible candidates for the see of St. David's. He died some time between 1208 and 1210. In the preface to his *Expugnatio Hibernica*, or Conquest of Ireland (1210), Giraldus refers to him as apparently but lately dead. In that preface Gerald quotes Map as having depreciated his own "talk", or *dicta*, as being of little value compared with Gerald's writings, or *scripta*. "I talk", Map is made to say, "in the vulgar tongue",—*i.e.*, in French,—"which everybody can understand, whereas you write in Latin, for learned and liberal princes, and there are not many of them about in these days." In quoting his old friend's words Gerald prays God "to have mercy on his soul". Map doubtless needed all the prayers he could get; for while he was far from being the "jovial", or, in other words, the bibulous "archdeacon" of some people's fancy, there had been much in his conversation—using the word both in its scriptural and in its narrower conventional meaning—that called for a liberal exercise of the divine mercy.

To the student of literature there can be few more perplexing tasks than that of solving the riddle of Map's literary reputation. For a riddle it is, and a riddle in all probability it will long, if not always, remain. If every literary work attributed to him be undoubtedly his, no one will question his claim to rank, in the words of Henry Morley, as "the man of highest genius" in the literature of these islands up to the time of Chaucer. We have already seen how important a place in the development of Arthurian romance Professor Saintsbury assigns to him. But it so happens that nothing is more difficult than to prove his authorship of all the works, and especially of those dealing with the Arthurian legend, which are attributed to him. The only absolutely authentic work of his that we have is

the curious medley from which we derive so much information about his personal history—the *De Nugis Curialium*. To add to the confusion, the *De Nugis*, which palpably embodies the accumulated lore of many years, neither contains a single fragment of Arthurian tradition, nor gives any indication that its author was even remotely interested in Arthurian romance. Again, while Map's close friend, Giraldus, knew Geoffrey of Monmouth's famous History, and took most of it for a bundle of lies, there is no trace of evidence that Map, the presumed paragon of all the earlier Arthurian romancers, knew anything of Geoffrey's exploitation of Arthurian traditions. Map's alleged romances were written in French; but his fame also rests upon the attribution to him of certain poems in Latin. Now, few things could have less in common than the Goliardic poems and the stately romances of Lancelot and of the Holy Grail. The late Professor Henry Morley would indeed bridge the chasm by claiming for the Latin poems a didactic motive which only found its highest expression in the lofty idealism of the romances. "Map's aim", he tells us, "was not more pure when he set the Holy Grail among King Arthur's knights, and placed in the seat perilous, at their table, Sir Galahad for their true pattern, than when he gave a seat on the bench of Bishops to Golias, of whose life it was the crowning hope that he might die drunk in a tavern." This is a somewhat large assumption, and one which it would be difficult, we fear, to establish, by a strictly critical examination of the Latin poems.

Readers of Chaucer's Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*, will be familiar with a line in his description of the Miller, which tells us that that sturdy pilgrim was noted as "a jangler and a goliardeis". Even easy-going students of Chaucer will not need to be told that "jangler" is the

same word as the French *jongleur*, and means a teller of tales, while "goliardeis" is summarily interpreted as "a ribald jester". The term "goliardeis" had, long before Chaucer's time, come to have an almost technical meaning in the heterogeneous artistic world of the Middle Ages. During the thirteenth century frequent mention is found of a class of persons designated as Goliards, or *Goliardi*, and—according to Matthew Paris—*Goliardenses*. They appear to have been, originally, clerics, who among their order performed much the same function as the jongleurs and minstrels did among the laity. By the end of the thirteenth century the name was applied to any jongleur, or teller and singer of more or less unsavoury tales and songs.[1] Even Chaucer's use of the word implies that it was in his day a term of contempt, and the truth is that it was never anything else. In the year 1841 the distinguished antiquary, Thomas Wright, published, under the auspices of the Camden Society, *The Latin Poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes*, and gave to readers of printed books their first opportunity of becoming acquainted with the poetry which furnished the Goliards both with their models and with their name. Map, assuming him to have been the author of these poems, appears in them in the disguised name and character of a bishop called Golias, for the purpose, as his interpreters tell us, of satirising the gluttonous clergy of his day. As an example, once more, of the best interpretation that can be put upon Map's motives and genius, let us hear Henry Morley:—

"As he (Map) had painted in his fiction the purity of a

[1] The name *Golias* was in use as an opprobrious appellation quite three centuries before Map's time; for we learn that during the lifetime of Gautier, archbishop of Sens, who died in 923, a sentence of condemnation was passed on certain *clerici ribaldi, maxime qui vulgo dicuntur de familia Goliæ*.

> Galahad, and spiritualised the King Arthur romance, leaving his wit to do its wholesome work without drawing attention, after the manner of the Pharisees, to the righteousness of his intent, so we find him at court spending his genius on the creation of a fat mock-bishop, who is the familiar pattern of all that is gross and worldly among men professing to be spiritual guides."

Two of the poems bearing the name of Golias have, according to Professor Morley, "by constant tradition been ascribed to him, never to any other writer",—viz., those named, respectively, the "Apocalypse" and the "Confession" of Golias. It is strange, however, that Giraldus, who refers to, and quotes from, the Golias poems in his *Mirror of the Church*, gives no indication that he knew Map to have been their author. Dr. Henry Owen would have us believe that that is only Gerald's "fun", and that he knew only too well who the author was.[1] There is, perhaps, something to be said for this assumption, and, accepting it as at least probable, charity bids us further follow Dr. Owen in the belief that Map is not to be "identified with his drunken bishop", but is "really a temperance lecturer in disguise". In his "Confession" Golias frankly admits himself to have been a notorious evil liver. Among other things, he remembers the tavern which was one of his favourite haunts, "the tavern which he has never scorned, nor ever will scorn, until he hears the holy angels coming to chant over his dead body the eternal requiem". Then, there immediately follow the lines which, taken out of their context, have been made to do duty as a celebrated drinking-song,—one that has been frequently translated into English, and on the strength of which Map has won his not very enviable reputation as "the jovial archdeacon": *Meum est propositum in taberna mori*, etc. Of

[1] *Gerald the Welshman* (new ed.), p. 190.

the English versions of this famous song, that of Leigh Hunt is, perhaps, at once the most spirited and best known. Hunt informs us that his translation aims at reproducing the "intermixture of a grave and churchman-like style" which flavours "this reverend piece of wit". He also quotes the learned Camden's description of the author as one "who filled England with merriments and confessed to his love of good liquor in this manner"—

"I desire to end my days—in a tavern drinking.
May some Christian hold for me—the glass when I am shrinking;
That the cherubim may cry—when they see me sinking,
God be merciful to a soul—of this gentleman's way of thinking.[1]

* * * * *

Every one by nature hath—a mould which he was cast in;
I happen to be one of those—who never could write fasting;
By a single little boy—I should be surpass'd in
Writing so: I'd just as lief—be buried, tomb'd, and grass'd in.

Every one by nature hath—a gift too, a dotation;
I, when I make verses—do get the inspiration
Of the very best of wine—that comes into the nation:
It maketh sermons to abound—for edification.

* * * * *

Neither is there given to me—prophetic animation,
Unless when I have eat and drunk—yea, ev'n to saturation;
Then in my upper storey—hath Bacchus domination,
And Phœbus rusheth into me, and beggareth all creation."

Assuming this poem to be the authentic work of Map, let us hope that it was really meant as a temperance lecture. Satire, we know, has many methods; and temperance reformers in their time have not disdained to gain their ends by burlesquing the utterance and the motions of the drunkard. The greater part of the rest of the Golias poetry associated with Map's name is neither of very great interest nor of a high degree of inspiration. One of

[1] The verse attempts at representing the exact rhythmic movement and the rhymes of the Latin original.

the songs, which appears to have been extremely popular in the Middle Ages, is a caution against marrying a wife,—a poem which connects itself with a well-known prose tract on the same subject included in the *De Nugis*. Another is a rhymed description, in some four hundred short Latin lines, of Wales. A fifteenth-century English version of this poem is extant,[1]—a sorry enough sort of doggrel, but one from which the curious reader may draw some mild amusement. The "mervailles and wonders" of Wales are recounted in the poem after the following manner—to choose an instance which should be of interest to Carnarvonshire folk,—

"At Nevyn in Northwalis
A litill ilonde there is
That is called Bardisey;
Monkes dwelleth there alway;
Men lyve so longe in that hurst
That the oldest deyeth first."

There, men say, lies the grave of Merlin, about whose strange personality the poet theorises thus :—

"Clergye maketh mynd
Deth sleeth no fendes kynde;
But deth slowe Merlin;
Merlin was *ergo* no goblin."

Well, neither this descriptive poem, as may be guessed, nor the Golias songs are of a high order of literature, and to assign them definitely to Map would not greatly enhance his reputation. As it happens, it is impossible to claim them as his authentic productions. In no case are the MSS. which ascribe them to him older than the fourteenth century, and by that time his reputation as a wit and a possible poet had grown to such an extent as to make it quite natural for facile scribes to borrow the authority of

[1] Printed by T. Wright in appendix to his Ed. of *Poems of Walter Mapes*. (Camd. Soc.)

his fame for all the flotsam and jetsam of the Goliardic poetry. We know from the testimony of Giraldus not only that Map was a noted wit, but that he was a writer of verse; for in a long letter addressed to him,[1] Gerald refers to Walter's poetic tastes, and has also preserved for us twelve lines in Latin elegiacs which Map wrote in reply to a poem of his own. The only absolutely authentic poem of Map is this brief effusion vouched for by Giraldus.

Very different in character from his alleged poems, and of far higher argument and literary quality, are the Arthurian romances in French prose commonly attributed to Map. But here, again, the evidence of authenticity is so precarious that no stable conclusion can be built upon it. The problem presented by the authorship of these romances is so complex, and so devious in its ramifications, that I cannot here do more than give a bare statement of its main factors. The romances which, from the thirteenth century downwards, the MSS. explicitly assign to Map are written in French prose, and deal with some of the more picturesque and symbolical developments of the Arthurian legend. A full account of them is given in Vol. I of the late Mr. Ward's *Catalogue of Romances in the British Museum*, and the question of Map's authorship is there discussed by him at considerable length. A shorter account of them will be found in Vol. III of Henry Morley's *English Writers*. Prof. Morley states that Map "indisputably wrote" one of the Grail romances usually assigned to him, and that he "invented the ideally pure character of Sir Galahad". The great Lancelot romance, also, according to Morley, is his; for "where" he asks, "was there an author able to invent it and to write it with a talent so prodigious, except Walter Map?" The romances ascribed to Map centre round the figure of Sir

[1] *Opera*, i, 271-89.

Lancelot, and may be regarded as branches of a great Lancelot-saga. They fall into three clear divisions—the first usually called the *Lancelot* proper, the second the *Quest of the Holy Grail*, and the third the *Morte Arthur*. "The greatest artistic stroke in the whole (Arthurian) Legend," writes Professor Saintsbury, speaking of the Lancelot story—

> "And one of the greatest in all literature, is the concoction of a hero who should be not only
>
> 'Like Paris handsome, and like Hector brave',
>
> but more heroic than Paris and more interesting than Hector,—not only a 'greatest knight', but at once the sinful lover of his queen and the champion who should himself all but achieve, and in the person of his son actually achieve, the sacred adventure of the Holy Graal. If, as there seems no valid reason to disbelieve, the hitting upon this idea, and the invention or adoption of Lancelot to carry it out, be the work of Walter Mapes, then Walter Mapes is one of the great novelists of the world, and one of the greatest of them."

Now, let us see what are the main points of the evidence for and against his authorship. In the first place, in all, or nearly all, the oldest and best MSS. of these romances Map is expressly mentioned as the author. As some of the MSS. date back to the thirteenth century, that is much. Moreover, a poet who wrote at about the close of the twelfth century the romance of *Ipomedon*—one Hue de Rotelande, apparently a native of Herefordshire, and one whose somewhat obscure name has been interpreted as being equivalent to the Welsh "Hugh of Rhuddlan",—apologises for his romance-writing in the following words, "I am not the only one who knows the art of lying, Walter Map knows well his part of it".[1] This would seem to indicate that, by about 1185, Map enjoyed some reputation

[1] "Sul ne sai pas de mentir lart,
Walter Map reset ben sa part."
Ipomedon, fo. 82, ll. 29, 30.

as a writer of imaginative romances or poems, although some people might argue that all Hue meant was that Map was well known—a fact which, of course, Giraldus's testimony supports,—as a first-rate retailer of fancy, or "cock-and-bull", stories. Mr. Ward—and he is one of the most competent authorities—on the strength of a comparison of the passage in Hue de Rotelande's poem in which the reference to Map occurs "with the incidents and rubrics of the prose Lancelot", concludes that Map was "the author of part of that romance". Map's biographer in the *D. N. B.* thinks that "the foundation of the prose 'Lancelot' was an Anglo-French poem by Walter Map". On the other hand, the late Gaston Paris, another eminent authority in matters of this kind, denies Map any share in the composition of any one of the branches of the Lancelot story, on the ground, mainly, that his authenticated works show no trace of interest in the Arthurian legend at all. Mr. Nutt, again, in his *Studies in the Legend of the Holy Grail*, fails to reconcile Map's authorship with his busy public life, especially "when it is remembered how slow literary composition was in those days". An examination of the evidence leads Mr. Nutt to conclude that, "whether or no Map wrote the Lancelot, it may be safely assumed that he did not write the *Quest of the Holy Grail*". "The tradition as to his authorship of these romances", Mr. Nutt continues, may "have originated in Geoffrey's mention of the Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, to whom he owed his MS. of the History of the Kings of Britain."[1]

[1] Miss Jessie L. Weston, who is well known as a learned and suggestive contributor to the critical literature of the Arthurian legend, discusses in a small volume called *The Three Days' Tournament* (Nutt, 1902) the problems raised by the reference in the *Ipomedon*, and, in particular, Map's authorship of the prose *Lancelot*. Miss Weston is of opinion that "it seems impossible to doubt that, when Hue de

The chief difficulty, when all is told, about assigning these romances to Map lies in the utter absence of any indication in his one authentic work—the *De Nugis Curialium*—that Arthurian fable ever had an engrossing interest for him. For, if these great romances are held to be his work, Arthurian story must have been the obsession of a great part of his lifetime, and as the *De Nugis* is a sort of common-place book in which he jotted down at various periods odds and ends of curious lore, some fragments at least of Arthurian tradition must have found their way into it. But there are none; Arthur's name, even, does not once appear in its pages, nor is there the remotest allusion either to Lancelot or to any other knight of the Arthurian court. And yet the book contains a good deal of matter gathered from the "shores of old romance", matter that, sometimes, transports us to the borders of fairy-land or into the misty regions of primitive British legend. Among the "marvels" which he recounts, however, there is one which bears some analogy to a famous element in Arthurian fable, and which is cited as such by Professor Rhys in his *Celtic Folklore*.[1] It is a legend which tells us about the origin, and the end, of a certain

Rotelande referred to Walter Map, in connection with the tournament episode of *Ipomedon*, he had in his mind a version of the *Lancelot*, which also contained such a story, and which was attributed to the latter writer". She also inclines to the belief that, while it was not impossible for Map to have composed a Lancelot poem earlier than Chrétien de Troyes' *Erec*, he might very well have written one before Chrétien's *Cligès*, and thinks it "highly probable that Chrétien borrowed from Map in the latter poem". Towards the close of her book Miss Weston makes a suggestion which all workers upon the origins and growth of the Arthurian legend will do well to note, viz., that "a careful investigation into the literary patronage exercised by Henry the Second, and his interest in Arthurian traditions," is a line of research likely to lead to important results.

[1] Vol. ii, p. 496.

Trinio, who, among other things, fought a battle with the celebrated Brychan of Brycheiniog, presumably in the first half of the fifth century. In this battle Trinio was defeated, and was never afterwards seen, but, as Map tells us, people said that he had been rescued by his mother—a fairy,—and that he still lived with her in a lake which is supposed to be the lake of Safaddon or Syfaddon. Here we have a popular variant,—and folk-lore furnishes many of them—of the legend of the Arthurian lady of the lake. As the story of Trinio embodies traditions which are common to many primitive folk-tales, a portion of it is worth quoting as a sample of the kind of "marvellous" gossip which Map thought it worth while to include in his courtly medley:—

> "The Welsh relate to us another thing, not so much a miracle as a portent, as follows:—They say that Gwestin of Gwestiniog dwelt beside Brecknock Mere, which has a circumference of two miles, and that on three moonlight nights he saw in his field of oats women dancing, and that he followed them until they sank in the water of the mere; but the fourth time they say that he seized hold of one of them. Her captor further used to relate, that on each of these nights he had heard the women, after plunging into the mere, murmuring beneath the water and saying, 'If he had done so and so, he would have caught one of us', and that he had been instructed by their own words as to the manner in which he caught her. She both yielded and became his wife, and her first words to her husband were these, 'Willingly will I serve thee, and with whole-hearted obedience, until that day when, desirous of sallying forth in the direction of the cries beyond the Llyfni, thou shalt strike me with thy bridle'—the Llyfni is a burn near the mere. And this came to pass; after presenting him with a numerous offspring, she was struck by him with the bridle, and on his returning home, he found her running away with her offspring, and he pursued her, but it was with difficulty that he got hold even of one of his sons, and he was named Trinio (?) Faglog."[1]

[1] Rhys's translation.

It was not alone from Wales and the Welsh marches that Map drew his fairy-stories; some of those which follow the one I have just quoted appear to have been fairly common all over Western Europe. These tales, and others of a more or less romantic character, some of them even drawn from the East, were probably garnered from the recitals of pilgrims, minstrels, crusaders and other inquisitive travellers of the time. Map himself was evidently interested in all kinds of folk-lore, and is a remote forerunner of those who, in our time, have made it a subject of systematic and learned study.[1] Included as they are in what purports to be a miscellany of Court gossip, these folk-tales may well be regarded as specimens of the higher order of after-dinner stories with which the travelled courtiers and knights of those days regaled themselves in hall and castle.

The title of the *De Nugis Curialium* is not original to Map. It had been already used by his contemporary, John of Salisbury, a well-known courtier and diplomatic agent of Henry the Second's, as a sub-title to his *Polycraticus*[2]—a work which combined satire of the Court manners of the time with learned disquisitions upon politics and philosophy. Except in its satirical portions, Map's book bears little resemblance to John of Salisbury's, and is what its name implies, a collection of "trifles", grave and gay, including both shrewd comments upon public affairs and characters, and a variety of pleasant anecdotes. Only a brief description of the work can here

[1] Miss Weston not inaptly remarks: "Had he lived in the nineteenth-twentieth centuries, instead of the twelfth-thirteenth, Map would undoubtedly have been a prominent member of the Folk-Lore Society."—*The Three Days' Tournament*, p. 44.

[2] The full sub-title of John of Salisbury's book is *De Nugis Curialium et Vestigiis Philosophorum.*

be given. It was evidently composed by instalments, begun probably about 1180 and put into its final form about 1193. In the First of his five Books,—or "Distinctions", as he calls them,—Map, starting with a comparison between the English Court and the infernal regions, proceeds to tell a number of stories relating to the follies and crimes of Courts. Soon after, he turns to another subject, and gives us an account of the origin of some of the monastic orders, together with severe animadversions upon their growing corruption. This affords him an opportunity for making a violent attack upon his particular enemies, the Cistercians. Then follow accounts of the rise of certain heretical sects, of which the most interesting and important, historically, is that of the Waldenses (ch. xxxi). The First Distinction closes with a short chapter describing the remarkable penitential labours of three hermits. This short summary of the First Book will show that Map has little regard for the orderly arrangement and connexion of his matter. At the very end of his Second Book he expressly claims the liberty of a desultory writer. His readers must, he says, dress for themselves the dishes which he brings them; he himself is simply the huntsman who provides the game.[1] The Second Distinction indeed requires, even more than the First, some such apology; for it is altogether a very odd medley. The first seven chapters contain stories of some pious monks and hermits, and their supposed miracles. In the eighth chapter we are, without any premonition, transported into Wales, and Map's first reflection upon those whom he subsequently calls his "compatriots" is as follows: "Among every people, as it is elsewhere said, he that fears God is acceptable in His sight; seldom amongst

[1] *Venator vester sum, feras vobis affero, fercula faciatis.* Dist. II, ch. xxxii.

our Welsh is the fear of the Lord according to knowledge." This and other chapters in the Second Book, in which Map comments on the Welsh character in a vein that reminds us of Giraldus, require a fuller notice later on. In addition to reflections upon the manners and customs of the Welsh people, we have chapters embodying fragments of Welsh tradition and history. Two (ch. xxii, xxiii) deal with incidents in the life of Gruffydd ap Llywelyn;[1] while others tell us anecdotes of a certain Helias, a Welsh hermit (ch. ix), of Cadoc, king of the Welsh[2] (ch. x), of Conan, a knight of Wales (ch. xxiv), of Cheueslin, a thief of North Wales (ch. xxv). The Book also contains a number of fairy-legends, including the one we have already quoted. The Third Distinction is composed entirely of romantic tales. The Fourth opens with the well-known treatise, long supposed to have been by St. Jerome, called the Epistle of Valerius to Rufinus upon the folly of marrying a wife. This curious tract unfolds, in a long procession of instances from Adam's experience downwards, the dangers and the miseries of the married state. Chaucer was well acquainted with this Epistle, for the Wife of Bath gives us an account of it as one of the favourite books of her fifth husband, the clerk Jankyn. The rest of the Fourth Distinction comprises another series of stories, some of them being lively folk-tales, while others deal with historical incidents and personages. The Fifth, and the last, Book is almost entirely historical, and gives us much valuable information about the Anglo-

[1] By some mistake, Map refers to him as "Llywelyn ap Gruffudd", but there can be no doubt that the prince to whom he refers is Gruffudd ap Llewelyn ap Seisyll, who died in 1023. See Prof. J. E. Lloyd's article on "Wales and the Coming of the Normans", in *Cymmrodorion Transactions*, 1899-1900, p. 127.

[2] This brief chapter ends, curiously, with the words: "Haec de Cadoco *Brenin*."

Norman Kings. It also includes the chapter which furnishes us with all our available autobiographical detail about Map himself.

It remains to give a brief account of the chapters in which Map comments upon the character and habits of the Welshmen of his time, and which suggest many interesting points of comparison with the fuller and the much better known picture of the social and moral condition of Wales given by his friend Gerald in his celebrated *Itinerary*. Despite the manifest interest which Map felt in Wales and in its people and its legends, it must be said that he speaks of his "compatriots" generally with an air of detachment which tends to make us question whether he really considered himself one of them. He stands, at any rate, at such a distance from them in culture, courtliness and worldly wisdom as to indulge in some very frank criticism of their weaknesses. The statement,[1] already quoted, that "seldom among our Welsh is the fear of God according to knowledge", is illustrated by a brief character-sketch of "a certain Welshman of high birth", who belonged to the military entourage of William de Braos. This man's devotion, as certified by William himself, was such that "each night at the first crowing of the cock he would rise from his bed, and naked as he was would kneel on the bare ground and keep vigil and pray until dawn". So abstinent, also, was he in his habits, and so close a guard did he keep over himself, that one might imagine him to be little lower than the angels.[2] "But should you see how foolish this man could be in his conversation, how ready to shed blood, how careless of his own safety, how eager for the death of others, how joyful in committing some crime, even murder,—then indeed you would not

[1] Dist. II, ch. viii.

[2] "*Si cognosceres eum supra hominem angelis putares proximum.*"

doubt that he was wholly given over to iniquity." Such inconsistency of character is, to Map, typical of the man's race; for the chapter closes with the reflection: "So firmly, and as it were by nature, is there rooted in these Welshmen a blunted sense of what constitutes gentle conduct[1] that, if in some things they may appear to be moderate, yet in many do they show themselves ill-tempered and savage."

Here is a general estimate of "the morals of Welshmen", in which the same strange inconsistency is more fully dwelt upon:—

> "Our Welsh compatriots, though they are altogether unfaithful to everyone, as much to one another as to strangers, are yet honest. I do not say that they are good in virtue or distinguished in ability, but in bitterness of fighting and in keenness of resistance they are honest,—honest, that is to say, in their very dishonesty. They are prodigal of life, covetous of liberty, careless of peace, warlike and cunning in arms, quick to revenge; (yet are they) very generous of everything, each most sparing of food towards himself, but bountiful of meat to others, so that each one's food is anybody's. And none among them has any need to ask for bread, but may take without challenge what he finds and whatever victuals he may discover ready for eating. And to disprove the charge of avarice, they hold in such sacred regard the tradition of open-handedness and hospitality, that no one who has entertained a guest asks before the third day whence or who he is."[2]

In another chapter (Dist. II, xxvi) he animadverts severely upon the "fury of the Welsh", and tells a tragic story in illustration of it:—

> "To shew how full of rash and fatuous fury are the fits of the Welsh, a youth of a town called Hay, went out to cross the river Wye: he was carrying a bow with two arrows, and happening to meet two of his enemies he took to flight.

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[1] *Hebetudo mansuetudinis.*

[2] Dist. II, ch. xx.

As he fled, one of them followed so close that he seemed like to catch him. But the youth shot him with one of his arrows in the middle of his breast. The stricken man said to his comrade: 'Follow him, for I am dying, and bring me back my life from him.' The other then pursued the youth towards the next town as far as he could, and then returned to his comrade. But as he made his way back, he in his turn was followed at a distance by the youth, who wanted to know the end of his fellow. The youth then saw that when the man who was unhurt came to his wounded comrade, lying in a thicket, the latter asked him whether he had brought him back his life from the youth. When he replied that he had not, 'Come here,' said the wounded man, 'to take from me a kiss for my wife and children, for I am on the point of death.' While the unwounded man was in the act of kissing his sick comrade, the latter, as he lay beneath him, stabbed him to the heart with a knife, saying, 'Lose thy life, thou who through thy cowardice hast failed to bring back mine!' But the man who was on top cut him, in the same way, with a knife to the heart, saying, 'No boast shalt thou make of my death, and my only misfortune is that the wounds thou hast given me compel me to die before I have passed on such kisses to thy wife and children!' Behold how foolish and unjust is the anger of the Welsh, and how swift they are to shed blood!"

The extracts here given, together with a few other scattered references in the *De Nugis*,[1] would seem to shew that Map held no very high opinion of Welshmen as he knew them. Nor can we make very much, when all is told, of his connection with Wales and Welsh life, apart from his relations with Giraldus. But, like Giraldus and Geoffrey, he undoubtedly belongs to "the Celtic fringe", having, like them, both Norman and Welsh blood in his veins. The three stand together as the most notable

[1] Cf. Dist. II, ch. xxiii *ad finem*. "Ego vobis ex hoc facto notifico fidem Walensium, quod dum tenebitis ensem supplicabunt, cum ipsi tenuerint, imperabunt" . . . . . "In rapina et furto gloria Walensium, et adeo eis utrumque placet, ut improperium sit filio si pater sine vulnere decesserit. Unde fit ut pauci canescant."

figures in the literary history of Britain during the twelfth century, and are typical representatives of the intellectual interests quickened and fostered by the revival of learning under the Norman and Angevin kings, and by the newly awakened zest for romance. Whether Walter Map was the actual author of the Arthurian romances attributed to him or not, his name has been so persistently associated with them from so early a date that he must have had something to do with either their suggestion or their actual compilation. A fuller investigation and, if possible, the determination of this vexed question, is a task—difficult, indeed, but not without many attractive possibilities—which challenges the enterprise of our younger Arthurian scholars to-day. Equally desirable and necessary is an amended text of the *De Nugis* from the solitary known MS. in the Bodleian.[1] It is certainly a reproach to modern scholarship that the writings, actual or alleged, of an author whose celebrity in literary history is so great as Map's should still be awaiting the hand of a critical and competent editor.[2]

[1] Wright's printed text is, obviously, imperfect, and he complains in his preface that there were difficulties in the way of his "collating the text himself with the original".

[2] After this paper had been prepared for the press, a copy of a learned and suggestive Latin thesis on Walter Map and his works was very kindly sent to me by its author, Mons. J. Bardoux of Paris. (De Walterio Mappio: *Thesim Parisiensi Universitati proposuit J. Bardoux. Columbariis: ex typis P. Brodard, 1900.*) It contains by far the most exhaustive account of Map's life and literary labours yet published, and an English translation of it is much to be desired. M. Bardoux is inclined to give Map the full credit of the great literary reputation which is traditionally his, and adduces strong arguments in support of his view.

THE

Cymmrodorion Record Series.

FIRST PROSPECTUS.

THE idea of the publication of Welsh Records, which had for some time occupied the thoughts of leading Welsh Scholars, took a definite and practical shape at the meeting of the Cymmrodorion Section of the National Eisteddfod held at Brecon in 1889. In the papers which were read at that meeting it was shown that a vast quantity of material necessary for understanding the history of Wales still remained buried in public and private Libraries, and also that such of the Welsh Chronicles as had been given to the world had been edited in a manner which had not fulfilled the requirements of modern scholarship.

As it appeared that the Government declined to undertake any further publication of purely Welsh Records, it was suggested by Sir John Williams that the Council of the Cymmrodorion Society should take the work in hand, and establish a separate fund for that purpose.

The Council are of opinion that a work of this magnitude cannot be left to private enterprise, although they thankfully acknowledge the indebtedness of all Welshmen to such men as Mr. G. T. Clark of Talygarn, the Rev. Canon Silvan Evans, Mr. J. Gwenogfryn Evans, Mr. Owen Edwards, Mr. Egerton Phillimore, and Professor John Rhys, and they fully appreciate the valuable work done by members of the various Antiquarian Societies.

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