THE VIEW FROM THE FOUNTAIN HEAD: THE RISE AND FALL OF JOHN GWENOGVRYN EVANS

Angela Grant
Jesus College

Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Faculty of Medieval and Modern Languages
University of Oxford

2018

SHORT ABSTRACT

The View from the Fountain Head: The Rise and Fall of John Gwenogvryn Evans
Angela Grant, Jesus College, University of Oxford
Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

John Gwenogvryn Evans was an important figure in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Welsh Celtic Studies, because he published accurate diplomatic editions of medieval manuscripts that are still used today. He also compiled an important and detailed Report on Welsh Manuscripts for the Historic Manuscripts Commission that was of significant utility to scholars of his day, and still has uses for its detailed description of manuscripts.

His extraordinary talent for accuracy in the reproduction of medieval script came to the attention of John Rhŷs, then Professor of Celtic at Jesus College, Oxford. Through Rhŷs he was exposed to the best scholarship of his day, and with the assistance of scholars such as Egerton Phillimore and John Morris Jones, he was enabled to produce work of enduring value. Due to his limited training in Welsh linguistics, and in research methodology, there were, from the start, serious flaws in his interpretation of early Welsh. Later, on losing contact with academic influences due to unwise actions, he fell into a pseudoscientific mentality more common earlier in the 19th century, seeking to find historical fact in poetry of legend and prophecy. Major errors arose from his later inclination to consider the date of a manuscript and the date of the content to be identical, and the ridicule that resulted from his 'amendments and translations' to early poetry so undermined his credibility that he never completed the full range of his intended series of texts.

This study traces the origins, manifestations, and consequences of his dual nature through seven chapters. It considers the value of his solid earlier work, and balances it against the follies of his later translations, and seeks to give a fairer view of the value of his work to his own generation, and to those that followed on from him.

LONG ABSTRACT

The View from the Fountain Head: The Rise and Fall of John Gwenogvryn Evans
Angela Grant, Jesus College, University of Oxford
Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

John Gwenogvryn Evans was an important figure in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Welsh Celtic Studies, because he published accurate diplomatic editions of medieval manuscripts that are still used today. He also compiled an important and detailed Report on Welsh Manuscripts for the Historic Manuscripts Commission that was of significant utility to scholars of his day, and still has uses for its detailed description of manuscripts.

His extraordinary talent for accuracy in the reproduction of medieval script came to the attention of John Rhŷs, then Professor of Celtic at Jesus College, Oxford. Through Rhŷs he was exposed to the best scholarship of his day, and with the assistance of scholars such as Egerton Phillimore and John Morris Jones, he was enabled to produce work of enduring value. Due to his limited training in Welsh linguistics, and in research methodology, there were, from the start, serious flaws in his interpretation of early Welsh. Later, on losing contact with academic influences due to unwise actions, he fell into a pseudoscientific mentality more common earlier in the 19th century, seeking to find historical fact in poetry of legend and prophecy. Major errors arose from his later inclination to consider the date of a manuscript and the date of the content to be identical, and the ridicule that resulted from his 'amendments and translations' to early poetry so undermined his credibility that he never completed the full range of his intended series of texts.

This study traces the origins, manifestations, and consequences of his dual nature through seven chapters. It considers the value of his solid earlier work, and balances it against the follies of his later translations, and seeks to give a fairer view of the value of his work to his own generation, and to those that followed on from him.

Chapter 1: Introduction ~ Welsh Celtic Studies before Gwenogvryn.

The purpose of this initial chapter is to discuss the state of Celtic Studies, and, in particular, Welsh Celtic Studies, immediately prior to Gwenogvryn Evans

appearing on the scene in the 1880s. It seeks, in addition, to explain the lack that Evans's contribution supplied, and to show how much it was a case of 'came the need, came the man'. It looks at the scientific work done by Zeuss and his successors, including Whitley Stokes, and how and why this was primarily on early Irish due to the paucity of early Welsh material. It considers the lithographic facsimiles produced by Gilbert's team at the RIA in Dublin from O'Longan's transcripts, with a discussion on the drawbacks of that methodology. It explores the difference proposed by Henri Gaidoz between scientific *celtologie*, and unscientific, sometimes crazy, *celtomanie*. It looks at the productions of the celtomanes from the earliest days, from Geoffrey to Iolo. It considers the useful work done by less well-trained writers such as Lady Charlotte Guest and Aneurin Owen. Finally, it explores how John Rhŷs was only recently beginning to apply to Welsh language and literature the scientific study that Zeuss and his successors had already brought to the more archaic material to be found in Irish. It asks how the work produced by Evans fitted into the context of a relatively new 'Celtological' discipline growing out of German philology and Indo-European studies. The overall purpose of the chapter, therefore, is to lay the preliminaries for as deep a reading as possible of Evans in the context of developing Welsh scholarship at the end of the 19th century.

Chapter 2: The Early Years ~ 1852-1883.

The main purpose of this chapter is to examine Evans's early upbringing and education, and to answer what the influences were that acted upon the growing youth that were to drive his future actions. It examines the loss of his father in his first year, his upbringing in a matriarchal farmhouse, and his overwhelming desire for education. It also looks at the influences brought to bear by his raising within and his admittance to the Ministry of the Unitarian Church through the curiously misnamed Presbyterian College, Carmarthen (that taught only Unitarians and Independents), and how the Unitarian Church stood within the intellectual life of Wales. This chapter also examines the significance of his attachment to Stephenson Hunter, principal of PCC, as a replacement father figure, and Gwenogvryn's subsequent marriage to his daughter Edith. It looks at the serious deterioration in his health that ended both his career in the Ministry, and all chance of matriculating to Oxford University. It details his attempts to

treat the illness, pulmonary tuberculosis, by both the sea cure and the cold cure. It explore his financial situation and how that was to affect the course of his future life.

Chapter 3: Oxford and the *Old Welsh Texts*.

This chapter shows that Evans came to medieval Welsh scholarship by accident, guided by John Rhŷs, whilst seeking a method of earning a living, given his frail health, rather than relying on his mother-in-law's annuity. It explores how he came to study medieval script through compiling a list of proverbs for an Eisteddfod competition. It notes that the classes he attended under Rhŷs's influence at Oxford University, into which he never matriculated, were suited to enable him to read and copy the manuscripts, but insufficient to fully analyse them against their historical and linguistic background. It considers his work on the series of Welsh Texts, including his copying methodology, the difficulties with the University Press, and his decision to do the compositing himself, whilst still employing the Press as printers. It contemplates the inception and collapse of Gwenogvryn's plans for a series of *Welsh Classics for the People*. It explores the refusal of the Press to print the Book of Llan Dâv and his moving the printing to Gloucester. It examines how his collaboration with Rhŷs, given Rhŷs's position in Welsh and Celtic Studies, gave Evans the status he needed, and guided him towards those manuscripts most needed by scholars. The chapter also shows that the income Evans sought never materialised until Rhŷs engineered a Civil List pension, and discusses the award of the Hon MA to Evans. Finally, it points to the first signs of serious flaws in his thinking, primarily his unwillingness to fully acknowledge help given, and his tendency to see history where there was only legend.

Chapter 4: The Historical Manuscripts Commission ~ 1893-1904.

This chapter explores Evans's position, as a fluent, if colloquial, native speaker who rarely wrote in his native language, alongside the growing cultural nationalism and the advancement of that language. In connection with this it examines the influence of his friendship with Owen Edwards, which lasted until Edwards's death. It looks at how this led to his championing the cause of cataloguing Welsh Manuscripts held in private hands; a subject hitherto neglected by the overwhelmingly English language HMC. The chapter traces the

events that led up to his appointment as an Inspector by the HMC and notes his subsequent difficulties with that body. It questions what service this work was to Welsh scholarship. It also considers his relations with the owners of manuscripts, and how he proceeded with his task. It examines, through his HMC reports, Evans's methodology in dating the manuscripts themselves, and relates any patterns that emerged from this to his understanding of palaeography. It notes the founding of the National Library and Evans's part in siting it in Aberystwyth, and in the negotiations over the purchase of the Peniarth collection. It considers the causes, and the problems that arose from, the awards of honorary DLitt degrees by both the Universities of Oxford and Wales. It discusses the souring of Evans's friendship with John Rhŷs after the Oxford award. It describes the purchase of the farm at Llanbedrog that became Tremvan, and the history behind the name. It explores the reasons why Evans was forced to leave Oxford for Llanbedrog after he failed to gain the Oxford fellowship that he needed to replace the income from the HMC. It also notes an increasing tendency on Gwenogvryn's part towards paranoia, misapplied humour, and irascibilty, none of which helped his relationship with his friends and helpers.

Chapter 5: Gwenogvryn Evans and John Morris Jones ~ 1884-1909.

This chapter examines the friendship between Evans and Morris Jones from its beginnings at Oxford, tracing its deterioration, to its ending after the disastrous court case of Evans v. Tout. It looks at the various altercations between the two: the friction over Morris Jones's diplomatic version of *Llyfr yr Ancr*, the interchanges over Welsh orthography (*Yr Orgraff*), and the disagreements over the Notes to Evans's diplomatic edition of the *Black Book of Carmarthen*. It details how academic rivalry, mutual paranoia, and accusations and counter-accusations, weakened the friendship until it reached a point of collapse. It explains the background to the case of Evans v. Tout, and how it came about through Kuno Meyer's attack on W. R. M. Wynne, over Prof. Strachan's untimely death. It examines the progress of the trial, and how Evans's dismissal of Rhŷs's contribution to his texts led to a withdrawl of academic assistance. It asks what effect this friendship and the events connected with its deterioration had on Gwenogfryn's contribution to Welsh scholarship.

Chapter 6: Taliesin ~ 1902-1930.

This chapter looks at Evans's private press and attempts to deconstruct some of the myths that surround it. The chapter also examines Evans's rejection of a sixth for a twelfth century date for early Welsh poetry, and the Old North for locations in North Wales and the Marches. It explores the basis of that obsession, arguing that Evans's upbringing, and his lack of understanding that the date of a MS did not dictate the date of its contents, inclined him to see historical narrative instead of prophecy and legend, thus rendering him determined to read Welsh literature against the grain of contemporary scholarly research. It examines Evans's 'amendments and translations' of the Book of Taliesin and discusses their validity, or lack of it. It discusses Morris-Jones's *Taliesin*, accepting that it was at the same time both a considerable contribution to the scholarship of the poetry, and a skilful and clinical demolition of Evans's 'amendments and translations', full of personal invective. It examines Evans's response to these criticisms, which was both from his direct acquaintance with the manuscripts, and his knowledge of history and geography, and was equally personal in nature. It discusses why the adverse reaction to his translations caused the collapse of Evans's publishing business and meant that he never finished his planned design of producing a comprehensive set of diplomatic texts, and the ambitious task of creating a Dictionary of the Welsh Language. It considers the significance, if any, of that loss.

Chapter 7: Tailpiece.

This chapter draws conclusions concerning the overall contribution that Evans brought to Welsh Celtic Studies. It looks at the positive side, in the lasting benefit to and gratitude of scholars for his diplomatic texts, done at the suggestion of and with guidance from John Rhŷs, and the monumental Report on Welsh Manuscripts, equally of importance at the point in time that they were written and done within parameters dictated by his agreement with the HMC. It also examines the negative side, in that the controversy surrounding the 'amendments and translations', done from his own wish to appear more than a 'mere mechanic' of a copyist, and, because he had antagonised both Rhŷs and

Morris Jones, under no guidance whatsoever, considerably decreased his influence and belittled his contribution. Nonetheless I conclude that his overall contribution to medieval Welsh scholarship has been so important that he deserves better recognition for it, and that the work he did made it much easier for others to build on the foundation he laid and work towards a completion of that design that he himself left unfinished.

DEDICATION

To Rachael, for opening the door . . .

To Mark, for showing the way . . .

To Thomas, for guiding my steps . . .

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I must first thank my supervisor, Professor Emeritus Thomas Charles-Edwards, without whose help, support, knowledge, time, enthusiasm, and generosity this thesis would never have been completed.

I must also thank the person who first shared his knowledge of Middle Welsh and Old Irish with me, Dr. Mark Williams. I thank him for his patience, his willingness to give time he can ill afford, his knowledge, and his expertise in dealing with bulls.

Thanks must also go to those who have helped me find the information that I needed. These must include Dr. Maredudd ap Huw, T. J. Cutts, and the very patient staff in the South Reading Room of the National Library of Wales, who managed to find me papers they didn't even know they had. Also Einion Thomas at his very helpful staff at Bangor University Archives. Thanks are also due to Owen McKnight, Jesus College Librarian, to the late Chris Jeens, former Jesus College Archivist, and to Dr. Robin Darwall-Smith, who currently holds that office. I must not forget Dr. Bruce Barker-Benfield of the Department of Special Collections and Western Manuscripts at the Bodleian Library, and also all those staff at the Bodleian who have helped me over the years. Special thanks are due to Janet Foot at the Taylorian Institute.

Giving thanks to everyone who has given help to a greater or lesser degree over the years is going to be a difficult thing as age affects the memory. If I have forgotten anyone I ask them to forgive me. I will however mention (in alphabetical order) Corinna Arndt, Dr. Jaqueline Bemmer, Dr. Alderik Blom, Rachael Bulla, Simon Chadwick, Dr. T. Robin Chapman, Prof. Thomas Clancy, Roger Clive-Powell, Dr. David Cram, Dr. Matthias Egeler, Dr. Ben Guy, Prof. Marged Haycock, Hanna Hopwood, Llewelyn Hopwood, Kristoffer Hughes, Dr. Lowri Hughes, Nicholas Jacobs, Dr. Rhianedd Jewell, Dr. Owain Wyn Jones, Dr. Kathy King, Dr. Rhiannon Marks, Dr. Morfydd E. Owen, Stephen Phillips, Dr. Sue Pritchard, Prof. Huw Pryce, Prof. Hywel Roberts, Dr. Sara Elin Roberts, Prof. Paul Russell, Yvonne Noble Scott, Prof. Richard Sharpe, Prof. Patrick Sims-Williams, Dr. Fozia Tahir, Dr. Patrick Wadden, and Dr. Mark Zumbühl.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Short Abstract	ii
Long Abstract	iii
Dedication	ix
Acknowledgements	x
Table of Contents	xi
List of Illustrations	xiii
List of Tables	xiii
Author's Note	xiii
Abbreviations	xiv
Quotation pertaining to the title of the thesis	xvii
Chapter 1 ~ Introduction ~ Welsh Celtic Studies before Gwenogvryn	1
Celtology	2
Celtomania	4
Lady Charlotte Guest	13
William Owen Pughe	15
Palaeography	17
The Cynfeirdd	17
Concluding Observations	26
Chapter 2 ~ The Early Years ~ 1852-1883	28
Llanybydder	28
Llanwenog	29
Lampeter and after	31
Carmarthen	32
Preston	40
Oxford	42
Gwenogvryn's Health	43
Voyage to Australia ~ The Sea Cure	46
Davos-Platz ~ The Cold Cure	54
Gwenogvryn's Financial Situation	55
Concluding Observations	59

Chapter 3 ~ Oxford and the *Old Welsh Texts* ~ 1883-1893 62
Proverbs 63
Rhŷs's Mabinogion Class 72
The White Book of Rhydderch 76
The 'Old Welsh Texts' 78
The Facsimile of the Black Book of Carmarthen 91
Welsh Classics for the People 97
The Bruts 98
The Welsh Readers 108
The Book of Llan Dâv 110
Ordnance Survey of Wales 119
The Civil List Pension 120
Closing Observations 124
Chapter 4 ~ The Historical Manuscripts Commission ~ 1893-1904 126
Dafydd ap Gwilym and other poets 126
Campaigning for an HMC Welsh Commissioner 129
Gwenogvryn and the HMC 138
The Dating of the Law Manuscripts 139
The DLitt (and one to spare) 149
The National Library and the purchase of the Peniarth MSS 154
Tremvan 154
The Oxford Fellowship 157
Concluding Observations 159
Chapter 5 ~ Gwenogvryn Evans and John Morris Jones ~ 1884-1909 160
Friendship 161
The Elucidarium 165
Yr Orgraff 167
The Notes for the Black Book of Carmarthen Diplomatic Edn. 184
Strachan's Grammar and his Death 187
Evans v Tout and Others 192
Concluding Observations 204
Chapter 6 ~ Taliesin ~ 1902-1930 207
The Private Press 208

Gwenogvryn and the Old North 214
Taliesin 217
Concluding Observations 236
Chapter 7 ~ Tailpiece 238
The Value of his Work 238
The Nature of the Man 239
The Errors of the Exile 241
Coda 242
Bibliography 244
Primary Sources: JGE's Own Publications 244
Primary Sources: Manuscript Sources 246
Primary Sources: Other Printed Sources 250
Secondary Sources 257

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. John Gwenogvryn Evans in 1893. xvii
2. Page 58 from the Black Book of Carmarthen facsimile of 1888. 61
3. Page 58 from the Black Book of Carmarthen diplomatic edition of 1907. 61
4. The Device of the Texts (first version). 91
5. Kemp Hall. 210

LIST OF TABLES

The Dates of the Law Manuscripts 148
The Sources for *Welsh Orthography* 173

AUTHOR'S NOTE

All translations in the text are my own unless otherwise indicated.

ABBREVIATIONS

AP	IW, *Armes Prydein: The Prophecy of Britain From the Book of Taliesin, English Version by Rachel Bromwich* (Dublin, 1982).
ArchCam	*Archæologia Cambrensis.*
BA	JGE (ed.), *Facsimile & Text of the Book of Aneirin* (Pwllheli, 1908) (Issued to the public in 1910).
BBCDipl	JGE (ed.), *The Black Book of Carmarthen* (Pwllheli, 1906) (Issued to the public in 1907).
BBCFacs	JGE (ed.), *Facsimile of the Black Book of Carmarthen reproduced by the Autotype Mechanical Process* (Oxford, 1888).
BBChirk	JGE (ed.), *Facsimile of The Chirk Codex of The Welsh Laws* (Llanbedrog, 1909) (Issued to the public in 1921).
BLlD	JGE (ed.) with JR, *The Text of the Book of Llan Dâv Reproduced from the Gwysaney Manuscript* (Oxford, 1893).
Bruts	JR & JGE (eds.), *The Text of the Bruts from the Red Book of Hergest* (Oxford, 1890).
BT	JGE (ed.), *Facsimile & Text of the Book of Taliessin* (Llanbedrog, 1910) (Issued to the public in 1916).
BWP	IW, *The Beginnings of Welsh Poetry* (Cardiff, 1972).
CBT	*Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion,* 7 vols. (Cardiff, 1991-96).
CLlH	IW, *Canu Llywarch Hen* (Cardiff, 1953).
CMCS	*Cambridge/Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies.*
DWB	*The Dictionary of Welsh Biography down to 1940* (London, 1959).
EE	Edith Evans (née Hunter).
EGBP	Egerton Grenville Bagot Phillimore.
EH	Edith Hunter.
EHR	*English Historical Review.*
GPC	*Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru.*
GRO	General Register Office.
HMC	Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts (Historical Manuscripts Commission).
HMCLet	NLW, TL papers, Supplement, Letters from HMC.
HMCPap	NLW, TL papers, Supplement, Papers relating to JGE's work for the HMC.
HMCS	Her Majesty's Courts Service.

HSC	The Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion.
IW	Ifor (later Sir Ifor) Williams.
JGE	John Gwenogvryn (or Gwenogfryn) Evans.
JMJ	John Morris Jones (later Sir John Morris-Jones).
JR	John (later Sir John) Rhŷs.
LPBT	M. Haycock (ed.), *Legendary Poems in the Book of Taliesin* (Aberystwyth, 2007).
MWM	D. Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts* (Cardiff, 2000).
NLW	National Library of Wales (Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru).
NLWJ	*National Library of Wales Journal (Cylchgrawn Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru*).
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: OUP, 2004). Also online http://www.oxforddnb.com/.
OME	Owen (later Sir Owen) Morgan Edwards.
ONS	Office for National Statistics.
OS	Ordnance Survey.
OUP	Oxford University Press (The Clarendon Press).
PBT	JGE (ed., amended & trans.), *Poems from the Book of Taliesin* (Llanbedrog, 1915) (Issued to the public in 1916).
PCC	Presbyterian College, Carmarthen.
PT	IW (ed.), *The Poems of Taliesin, English version by J. E. Caerwyn Williams* (Dublin, 1987).
RBM	JR & JGE (eds.), *The Text of the Mabinogion and other Welsh tales from the Red Book of Hergest* (Oxford, 1887).
RBP	JGE (ed.), *The Poetry in the Red Book of Hergest* (Llanbedrog, 1911) (Issued to the public in 1921).
RC	*Revue Celtique*.
Report	HMC (JGE ed.), *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language*, 2 vols. (London, 1898-1910).
RJJ	Rees Jenkin Jones.
RPW	David Jenkins, *A Refuge in Peace and War: The National Library of Wales to 1952* (Aberystwyth, 2002).
SH	Stephenson Hunter.
THSC	*Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*.
TL	Timothy Lewis.

WBM	JGE (ed.), *The White Book Mabinogion: Welsh Tales & Romances Reproduced from the Peniarth Manuscripts* (Pwllheli, 1907) (Issued to the public in 1909).
WMH	*Welsh Music History / Hanes Cerddoriaeth Cymru.*
WRMW	W. R. M. Wynne of Peniarth.
WVBD	O. H. Fynes-Clinton, *The Welsh Vocabulary of the Bangor District* (Oxford, 1913).
YC	*Y Cymmrodor*



J. GWENOGFRYN EVANS, M.A.,
(O photograph gan Barraud).

Fig. 1. John Gwenogvryn Evans in 1893

Cymru 4/18 (15 Jan. 1893), 77.

'I have spent forty years examining, copying, studying our oldest MSS. I have gone to the fountain head for my facts, and seen everything for myself, while my critic has been content to see everything at second hand. Whether my method or his is the better I leave others to judge.'
J. G. Evans, 'Taliesin, or The Critic Criticised', *Y Cymmrodor* 34 (1926), 5.

CHAPTER 1:
~ INTRODUCTION ~
~ WELSH CELTIC STUDIES BEFORE GWENOGVRYN. ~

> ... we lay no claim to absolute accuracy, but as compared with the Welsh texts hitherto published, we venture to regard our volume as the fruits of the first sustained effort to meet, in point of accuracy, the requirements of modern philology; ...[1]

The purpose of this initial chapter is to discuss the state of Celtic Studies, and, in particular, Welsh Celtic Studies, immediately prior to Gwenogvryn Evans appearing on the scene in the 1880s. It seeks, in addition, to explain the lack that Evans's contribution supplied, and to show how much it was a case of 'came the need, came the man'.

0n 18th March 1852 somewhere in or near Llanybydder in Sir Caerfyrddin, a certain Margaret Evans, *née* Rees, presented her husband Thomas with a son, to be named John.[2] The name Gwenogfryn or Gwenogvryn was to come later.[3] The following year, in 1853, in two volumes, in Leipzig, and in Latin, Johann Caspar Zeuss, born in 1806, published his monumental *Grammatica Celtica*, a book that was to take the study of the Celtic languages to a scientific level.[4]

Surprisingly Zeuss and Gwenogvryn shared a few things in common. Both were the sons of stonemasons, although Gwenogvryn was to lose his father in his first year. Both had worked, as children, on the family farm. Both had sought

---

[1] JR in his 'Preface' to *RBM*, vii.
[2] E. D. Jones, 'Evans, John Gwenogvryn (1852-1930)', *DWB*, 245-6, 245; Birth Certificate, Llanybyther, 20 Mar. 1852, 1am.
[3] Throughout this thesis I have used the spelling Gwenogvryn as this was used in his publications. He often used the spelling Gwenogfryn when writing, and this form was also used by others. When quoting from sources I have used the spelling found in the source.
[4] J. C. Zeuss, *Grammatica Celtica*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1853).

education through the study of Theology, Gwenogvryn in Carmarthen and Zeuss in Munich. Both suffered from ill-health throughout their lives, though Gwenogvryn was more fortunate as he completed his three score years and ten, whereas Zeuss died, aged only fifty, in 1856, three years after seeing the publication of his *magnum opus*.[5]

CELTOLOGY

Zeuss's scientific work was extended and consolidated in the publication of a second edition of his work by Hermann Ebel in 1871.[6] Both Zeuss and Ebel had given equal weight to the Brittonic and Goidelic branches of the Celtic language family, but their main successors on the continent were primarily interested in accessing the oldest material readily available to them, and that, due to the sparsity of Old Welsh and other materials, was mostly Old Irish Glosses. As a result, their successors, Windisch, Zimmer, Stokes, and Thurneysen in Germany, and Ascoli in Italy, inevitably concentrated firmly on the Irish language. The only work of this nature on Old Welsh was done by Whitley Stokes. He worked on the glosses in the Cambridge University Juvencus, and in the Corpus Christi College Cambridge copy of Martianus Capella, producing two slim volumes.[7] His was noticeably the only work on these more sparse materials.

A series of facsimiles of Irish documents had been produced by the Royal Irish Academy in Dublin, namely Gilbert's edition of *Leabhar na h-Uidhri* published in

[5] Details of Zeuss's life are from: Francis Shaw, 'Johann Kaspar Zeuss', *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 43/170 (Summer, 1954), 194-206.
[6] J. C. Zeuss, *Grammatica Celtica. Editio altera Curavit H. Ebel* (Berlin, 1871).
[7] W. Stokes, 'The Glosses and Verses in the Cambridge Codex of Juvencus', *Miscellanea Celtica* ([London], [1864?]); W. Stokes, *The Old-Welsh Glosses on the Martianus Capella, with some notes on the Juvencus-glosses* (Simla, [1872?]).

1870, Ferguson's edition of *Leabhar Breac*, in 1876, and Atkinson's edition of the *Book of Leinster*, in 1880.[8] All three were copied by a lithographic process from Joseph O'Longan's transcripts rather than the originals. Lithographic copying of the originals would not, at that time, have produced a usable facsimile as can be seen from the one page of the *Book of Leinster* reproduced by this means as a frontispiece to the facsimile of that manuscript. Although O'Longan's transcription of the manuscripts was remarkably faithful to the originals in the style of the script and capitals, this methodology was of necessity subject to errors both in transcription, and in the preparation of the lithographic plate before printing, but it was the best system that could practically be used at that time. Atkinson states honestly:

> I have not collated the MS., for whose accuracy I am not therefore responsible; but I have compared so much of the text with the original as to satisfy myself that great care has been taken in the reproduction of this invaluable MS. It is not, of course, free from errors, ... but I do not believe that their number or their nature is such as seriously to impair the value of the work.[9]

Nonetheless, Atkinson's edition was adequate enough for Whitley Stokes to produce from it an edition of *Togail Troí*, The Destruction of Troy, in 1881 in Calcutta.[10] No facsimiles of Welsh manuscripts had, however, been published before Evans's *Black Book of Carmarthen*.[11] The accuracy of the process used there was to be preferred, being produced by a direct photographic process from the original manuscript, rather than from a transcript.

---

[8] J. T. Gilbert, ed., *Leabhar na h-Uidhri* (Dublin, 1870); Sir S. Ferguson, ed., *Leabhar breac, the speckled book, otherwise styled Leabhar Mór Dúna Doighre, the Great Book of Dún Doighre* 2 vols. (Dublin, 1872-76); R. Atkinson, *The Book of Leinster: sometime called the Book of Glendalough* (Dublin, 1880). Gilbert effectively had overall editorship of all three.
[9] Atkinson, *Book of Leinster*, 13.
[10] Whitley Stokes, *Togail Troi, The Destruction of Troy* (Calcutta, 1881).
[11] J. G. Evans (ed.), *Facsimile of the Black Book of Carmarthen reproduced by the Autotype Mechanical Process* (Oxford, 1888).

Certainly it is reasonable to conjecture that Evans may have seen O'Longan's transcripts in these three volumes, and that that example encouraged him to copy manuscripts using the original style of script. This can be seen particularly in his surviving transcript of the *White Book of Rhydderch*.[12] The main difference between them is that, whereas O'Longan left gaps where he could not read the original, Evans filled the gaps by examining other manuscripts of the same text and filling in the missing parts, basing his choice of words on the space available. These additions are clearly marked as such in the diplomatic edition.

CELTOMANIA

I have so far emphasised the comparatively small amount of scientific work that had been done on Welsh material, but this does not mean that no work of any sort had been done. Henri Gaidoz, the first editor of *Revue Celtique*, had coined the term *celtologie*, Celtology, for the scientific study of the Celtic languages, which the *Revue* was founded to assist, as opposed to *celtomanie*, Celtomania, the acceptance of anything that looked even remotely Celtic in origin, despite the fact that it was often fake or invented.[13] Zeuss's *magnum opus* can be said to be the foundation stone and beginning of Celtology, whereas Celtomania has much older and much deeper roots. It might be said that Caesar contributed to it, as did Pliny, but they were writing for their own audiences, and it was rather the interpretation of their words by later writers that could be considered Celtomanic, but the arch-contributor *par excellence* to Celtomania has to be

[12] NLW JGE Papers Group II, 16.
[13] H. Gaidoz, 'Adieux au Lecteur', *RC* 6 (1883-1885), v-vi, v.

Geoffrey of Monmouth.[14] His *Historia Regum Britanniae*, originally known as *De gestis Britonum*, and translated later into Welsh as *Brut y Brenhinedd*, was the foundation of the whole medieval Arthurian *Matter of Britain*, which is well worthy of study in its own right, and has produced some notable Celtic texts, but has also spawned a whole body of literature that can only be termed Celtomanic. An argument has been made for the existence of a Welsh proto-Brut, and Geoffrey, both at the beginning and end of his history, claimed to have in his possession a very old book in the British tongue, which Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, had brought with him from Brittany. What this book was, and whether it ever existed, has been a matter of debate ever since.[15]

It is well to note also at this point the work of various early modern writers, notably Camden, Aubrey, and Stukeley.[16] Their interest was mainly in the Druids, and their alleged connection with Stonehenge and other ancient monuments, and they based their works on the shaky foundations of classical texts, with a sprinkling of medieval writers such as Geoffrey. Since they generally ignored the Celtic languages, Camden being a notable exception, their observations are strictly speaking outside the scope of this work, save to give a popular background to the interest in matters Celtic both within and outside

[14] The historical accuracy of classical authors is discussed by Ronald Hutton in *Blood and Mistletoe: The History of the Druids in Britain* (New Haven & London, 2009), 2-17.
[15] A discussion on Geoffrey's probable sources can be found in M. D. Reeve (ed.), and N. Wright (transl.), *Geoffrey of Monmouth: The History of the Kings of Britain* (Woodbridge, 2009), lvii-lix, 4-5, 280-281. Also see T. M. Chotzen, 'Le livre de Gautier d'Oxford, l'« Historia Regum Britanniae », les « Bruts » gallois et l'épisode de Lludd et Llevelys', *Études Celtiques* 4 (1948), 221-254; E. Reiss, 'The Welsh versions of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia', *Cylchgrawn Hanes Cymru / Welsh History Review* 4/2 (Dec 1968), 97-127.
[16] W. Camden, *Britannia* (London, 1586) (and later translations). John Aubrey's *Templa Druidum* has survived in manuscript: Bod. L., MS Gen. Top. c.24. W. Stukeley, *Stonehenge: A Temple Restor'd to the British Druids* (London, 1740).

those parts of Great Britain that might, allowing for some risk of argument, properly be referred to as Celtic.

One example of Celtomania can be seen in the publication in 1760 by James Macpherson of the 'Ossian' poems, which are, more strictly speaking, rhythmic prose rather than poetry.[17] It is difficult to maintain the charge of mishandling a Celtic language, as, in fairness, it is only right to say that Macpherson, despite being challenged on numerous occasions to produce the Gaelic text from which he 'translated' his material, was never inclined to do so. To call him a forger, even if accurate, seems perhaps a little severe. David Greene points out that there is only a thin dividing line between a *maker* and a *maker-up*, and Mary-Ann Constantine refers to his 'controversial adaptation of native Gaelic tradition', which seems a fairer comment.[18] A more serious charge might be one of cultural misappropriation, since the native Irish, as opposed to the Anglo-Irish ascendancy, were, according to David Greene, not entirely happy:

> In the eyes of the Irish ... the crime of Macpherson was not forgery but simple theft, for he had boldly transferred the whole of the Irish tradition to Scotland. The Irish knew perfectly well that there were no Gaelic speakers in Scotland in the third century AD, ...[19]

Despite this the epics received an attentive audience and went into a number of editions as a result.

---

[17] James Macpherson, *Fingal, an ancient epic poem. In six books: together with several other poems, composed by Ossian the son of Fingal. Translated from the Galic language* (London, 1762).
[18] David Greene, *Makers and Forgers: The G. J. Williams Memorial Lecture* (Cardiff, 1975), 5; Mary-Ann Constantine, *The Truth Against the World: Iolo Morganwg and Romantic Forgery* (Cardiff, 2007), 5.
[19] Greene, *Makers and Forgers*, 11.

In Wales in the late eighteenth century we had another figure, described by G. J. Williams as 'the most amazing figure in the whole history of Welsh literature', that of Edward Williams, better known as Iolo Morganwg, who was, among so many other things, the founding spirit behind the Welsh Gorsedd.[20] G. J. Williams also added:

> ... it may be said that Wales cannot claim a Homer or a Virgil or a Dante, ... but in one field we may claim pre-eminence. We undoubtedly possess the most ambitious, the most gifted, and the most successful forger, if that is the right word, in the history of literature, and yet a man of genius who has greatly enriched our literature.[21]

As well as being a copier of genuine medieval Welsh manuscripts, and an undoubted faker, Iolo could also be said to be an accomplished poet, both in English and in Welsh, a radical in politics, a laudanum-addict, and a hymn-writer for the Unitarian Church, whose hymns in Welsh are still sung today. He wrote so much during his lifetime that it was said that, on his death, one whole room of his little cottage was found to be completely filled with his papers.[22] Very little of this mass of material was published in his lifetime, and, although there has been a recent spate of publication of his work, much still remains only in manuscript form.[23] Three books were produced directly from this mound of paper: firstly, his own book, *Cyfrinach y Beirdd* otherwise *Cyfrinach Beirdd Ynys Prydain* [*The Secret of the Bards of the Isle of Britain*], written, it is said, in 1786-7 whilst

[20] G. J. Williams, 'The History of Welsh Scholarship', *Studia Celtica* 8-9 (1973-4), 195-219, 215.
[21] Williams, 'History of Welsh Scholarship', 215, quoted in Greene, *Makers and Forgers*, 3.
[22] A good deal of this has survived in NLW 13061B-13178B; 21287B-21433E.
[23] A number of titles have been published under the general heading of *Iolo Morganwg and the Romantic Tradition in Wales*, General Editor: Geraint H. Jenkins. This series includes: G. H. Jenkins, *A Rattleskull Genius: The Many Faces of Iolo Morganwg* (Cardiff, 2005) (General overview); C. A. Charnell-White, *Bardic Circles: National, Regional and Personal Identity in the Bardic Vision of Iolo Morganwg* (Cardiff, 2007); M.-A. Constantine, *The Truth Against the World: Iolo Morganwg and Romantic Forgery* (Cardiff, 2007); M. Löffler, *The Literary and Historical Legacy of Iolo Morganwg 1826-1926* (Cardiff, 2007); G. H. Jenkins, F. M. Jones, D. C. Jones (eds.), *The Correspondence of Iolo Morganwg*, 3 vols. (Cardiff, 2007); G. H. Jenkins, *Bard of Liberty: The Political Radicalism of Iolo Morganwg* (Cardiff, 2012).

removed from the laudanum by being in a debtors' prison, and published in 1829, three years after his death, by his son Taliesin Williams, Taliesin ab Iolo.[24] In it, amongst other inventions, he described 24 measures, poetic metres of the 'ancient Glamorgan bards' that he had devised, in the main, himself. Such a creation required tremendous skill and knowledge, and they were devised to reawaken interest in the old Bardic skills that showed signs, even then, of terminal decline.[25] Secondly, in 1848, prepared for publication by the same Taliesin, but published after *his* death, was *Iolo Manuscripts*, a decidedly miscellaneous selection of odds and ends.[26] Thirdly, in 1862, by the Rev John Williams ab Ithel, *Barddas; or, a Collection of Original Documents, Illustrative of the Theology, Wisdom, and Usages of the Bardo-Druidic System of the Isle of Britain*.[27] The title is fairly self-explanatory and wonderfully Celtomanic. The *Iolo Manuscripts* and *Barddas* were published by the Welsh Manuscripts Society, an august body, unfortunately as much inclined towards Celtomania as Celtology.

Iolo also contributed to the already mentioned *The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales*. Its primary author, and funder, was Owen Jones or Myvyr, and a second contributor was William Owen, later William Owen Pughe, of whom more below. It was originally published by the Gwyneddigion Society in three volumes between 1801 and 1807, and subsequently republished as one volume in 1870.[28]

---

[24] H. M. Edwards, 'A Multitude of Voices: The Free-Metre Poetry of Iolo Morganwg', G. H. Jenkins, *A Rattleskull Genius: The Many Faces of Iolo Morganwg* (Cardiff, 2009), 95-121, 107.
[25] C. W. Lewis, 'Iolo Morganwg and Strict-Metre Welsh Poetry', Jenkins, *A Rattleskull Genius, op. cit.*, 71-93, 84-86.
[26] T. Williams (ed.), *Iolo Manuscripts* (Llandovery, 1848).
[27] 2 vols. (Llandovery, 1862 & 1874).
[28] O. Jones, E. Williams, W. Owen, (eds.), *The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales collected out of Ancient Manuscripts*, 3 vols. (London, 1801-1807); O. Jones (Myvyr), E. Williams (Iolo Morganwg), W. Owen Pughe (Idrison), (eds.), *The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales collected out of Ancient Manuscripts* (2nd edn., Denbigh, 1870).

Volume 1 contained poetry and was intended to cover all Welsh poetry up to 1370, with the exception of Dafydd ap Gwilym, and seems to be mostly genuine. However it appears to have been compiled, at least in part, from the transcripts of third parties, and errors of transcription occurred at each stage. Gwenogvryn, at one point, comments that he thought he had found some of the transcripts they used, presumably by comparing the errors.[29] Volume 2 contained prose material, *Bruts* and Triads, and Iolo's influence can be seen in the 'Third Series' of Triads, and *Brut Aberpergwm* and *Brut Ieuan Brechfa*, all of which seem to be of his authorship.[30] Volume 3 (1807) included instructive literature, laws and music and another of Iolo's problem texts, *Doethineb y Cymry*.

Dafydd ap Gwilym had already been covered by a volume published in 1789 entitled *Barddoniaeth Dafydd ab Gwilym*, edited by Owen Jones and William Owen [Pughe], assisted by Robert Ellis, and Iolo.[31] This was mostly genuine, but contained an appendix of 'newly discovered' poems written very skilfully by Iolo, and not unmasked until some time later.[32]

The problem with Iolo was that he was a copyist of perfectly genuine material, but, if he could not find all that he wanted he became a very skilful imitator of the original, so skilful that he fooled many people for quite a time. John Morris Jones wrote a series of articles on the Gorsedd documents for Owen Edwards's journal

[29] JGE to JMJ, [9 Jul. 1896?]. Bangor MSS 3247 19.
[30] Dr. Ben Guy has shown *Brut Ieuan Brechfa* to be an 'improvement' of an existing fragmentary chronicle, rather than an invention of Iolo's. Evidence of this chronicle is to be found in NLW MSS Llanstephan 12 and 100, and BL MS Add. 15031.
[31] *Barddoniaeth Dafydd ab Gwilym, o grynhoad Owen Jones a William Owen* (London, 1789).
[32] G. Carr, 'An Uneasy Partnership: Iolo Morganwg and William Owen Pughe', Jenkins, *A Rattleskull Genius*, *op. cit.*, 443-460, 445-446. See also I. Williams and T. Roberts, *Dafydd ap Gwilym a'i Gyfoeswyr* (Bangor, 1914), lxxxii-lxxxiv; G. J. Williams, *Iolo Morganwg a Chywyddau'r Ychwanegiad* (London, 1926).

Cymru.[33] He divided the material into two groups, the 'earlier' documents that he regarded as genuine, and the 'later' which he thought were 18th Century forgeries, though he did not specify the author. As a result Morris Jones made himself quite unpopular with the supporters of the Gorsedd.[34] Unfortunately, he was not fully correct in his analysis. Later research has shown that both 'earlier' and 'later' documents were composed by Iolo. The fact that he could write well enough to confuse as skilful a linguist as Morris Jones shows the extent of his genius. Iolo did, however, copy perfectly genuine manuscripts, and we are sometimes left wondering whether an item that Iolo produced was really genuine, or whether it came from his laudanum-soaked imagination. A case in point, of which we can have some certainty, is some of the harp music he supplied for volume 3 of the *Myvyrian*.[35] It is in a notation similar to that of the Robert ap Huw manuscript, and the manuscript from whence it comes is unknown to researchers. The notation is difficult and has only been fully understood in recent years.[36] The manuscript consists of four tunes, the first missing its beginning, and the last its ending, so it would appear that Iolo was copying a damaged exemplar. The last tune is known from other sources in normal notation, so provides a useful comparison for understanding the Robert ap Huw style of tablature. We have no reason to think that Iolo understood the peculiar notation, but these compositions are capable of being played, once the errors in transcription are understood, and we do not know whether the errors

[33] 'My articles on the Gorsedd appeared in Cymru for Jan., Feb., March, Apr. and June, 1896', Letter, JMJ to JR, 31 Aug. 1907. NLW JR Papers A1/3/2.
[34] Letter, JMJ to JR, 11 Feb. 1896. NLW JR Papers A1/3/2.
[35] His transcript has survived as BL MS Add. 14970.
[36] S. E. Harper, 'The Robert ap Huw Manuscript and the Canon of Sixteenth-century Welsh Harp Music', *WMH* 3 (1999), 130-61 [Welsh version 162-82].

are Iolo's or his lost exemplar's.[37] We are unaware of the source, and the manuscript may have been destroyed, or simply lost, since Iolo's time. Certainly we know that Gwenogvryn, during his searches for manuscripts, often arrived at houses to be told they once had had manuscripts, but no one could read them so they were thought to be of no use, and were destroyed.[38] So, inevitably, there are a number of cases where we are simply not certain whether one of Iolo's documents is genuine or not.

Another figure, referred to directly by Gaidoz himself as a Celtomane, was Théodore Hersart de la Villemarqué (in Breton: Kervarker) who published in 1839 the first edition of *Barzaz Breiz [Breton Ballads]*.[39] In this book we have the original Breton to compare with the translation. The complaint here was not, as with Macpherson, that there was no original, but that the original Breton was surprisingly pure. It had no corrupting French words in it, that one was apt to find in other published Breton songs. Breton lacked a literature such as that found in Wales and Ireland, and Villemarqué seems to have wanted to demonstrate the connection between the Celtic traditions of Brittany and Britain. To do this he collected together all the old Breton folk songs he could find and, in the words of Per Denez:

> The songs of *Barzaz Breiz* are not verbatim renderings of what the people of the countryside actually sang: such renderings, representing so many different dialects, would have been impossible within the technical resources at his or any of his contemporaries' command, and indeed were outside the scope of what they deemed desirable. Kervarker did ... to his songs, what An Uhel did to his tales, and

[37] This MS is discussed at length in: Paul Whittaker, 'The tablature of the Iolo Morganwg manuscript (British Library, MS Add.14970)', *Hanes Cerddoriaeth Cymru/Welsh Music History* 3 (1999), 252-270.
[38] JGE, 'Welsh Manuscripts' *Wales* 1 (5 September 1894), 205-8, 206.
[39] Gaidoz, 'Adieu au Lecteur', v; T. H. de la Villemarqué, *Barzaz-Breiz: Chants Populaires de la Bretagne* (Paris, 1839).

> for which he, An Uhel, was never challenged: out of the different renderings of the same, or of related, theme or themes, he made up a text in which he enshrined all the best of his material. ... He had an idea that he could re-fashion a sort of antique, primitive and original version, by working backwards ... from the versions extant in his age, ...[40]

So he removed the borrowed French words he found in the songs he collected and replaced them 'by really Celtic expressions', often borrowed from Welsh where he could find no suitable Breton words, and moulded several songs into one composite whole. This was truly an attempt to apply the methods of philology to a wider Breton culture. Indeed he had done little more than Elias Lönnrot had done in Finland in producing the *Kalevala*, and in displaying the riches of Breton folk-lore, as Denez says: 'Kervarker gave it a glamour which no other painstaking collector was able to impart to it, and an impetus which was never lost'.[41] It is unsurprising, therefore that by 1846 *Barzaz Breiz* had gone into four editions and by 1867, six.

The problems inherent in Celtomania have much to do with the merging of the study of Celtic languages and literature with a whole collection of other things to which the word has been applied, in particular the idea of a Celtic ethnicity, Celtic art, and thereby the concept of a trans-European Celtic civilisation. Patrick Sims-Williams has referred to this as 'the genetic model'. He states that:

> only a small proportion of any real language is inherited from a common ancestor language such as Common Celtic ... Typologically all languages are 'mixed'. Nevertheless Celticists ... have been particularly ready to extend the family-tree model beyond language and to see, for example, Welsh bards and kings in terms of 'Celtic' or even 'Indo-European' panegyric and kingship—especially when related words are used, such as Irish *rí* or Sanskrit *rāj-*. ... Was the Welsh king really closer

[40] Per Denez, 'Modern Breton Literature', in J. E. Caerwyn Williams (ed.), *Literature in Celtic Countries: Taliesin Congress Lectures* (Cardiff, 1971), 111-136, 119-120.
[41] Denez, 'Modern Breton Literature', 120.

> to an Indian *rajah* or Irish *rí* than to the Anglo-Saxon *cyning* next door? Indeed, is it possible to generalize about 'Celtic society' at all?[42]

Indeed it is true to say that the idea of a self-conscious 'Celtic' identity cannot really be traced back beyond the modern age. However useful the term 'Celtic' is within individual disciplines, any attempt to create an overarching idea of 'Celticity', as the Celtomanes have tended to do, needs considerable qualification.

LADY CHARLOTTE GUEST

It is perhaps wrong to label all non-scientific study as 'Celtomania'. A number of authors undertook notable work who were not scientifically trained, for the simple reason that no scientific training was available in British Universities until John Rhŷs was appointed Professor of Celtic in the University of Oxford in 1877.[43] These authors' work falls somewhere between the headings of 'Celtology' and 'Celtomania' and filled a gap that would take some years for scientific study to supplement and eventually fill.

One of the contributors to the Welsh Manuscripts Society was Augusta Hall, Lady Llanover, and it was under her influence that her neighbour Lady Charlotte Guest of Dowlais began the translation of the series of tales that was to become known, from a scribal error in one of the texts, as the *Mabinogion*, which name has stuck, despite the error, to this day. Charlotte Bertie, as she was born, had been a talented linguist from her childhood and had married Josiah John Guest, the ironmaster of Dowlais, in 1833, and one of the first tasks she had set herself, on arriving in her new home, was to learn Welsh with the assistance of the Rev Evan

[42] P. Sims-Williams, 'Celtomania and Celtoscepticism', *CMCS* 36 (Winter 1998), 1-35, 11.
[43] JMJ, *Sir John Rhŷs: The Sir John Rhŷs Memorial Inaugural Lecture* (London, [1925?]), 5.

Jenkins, the local rector. Lady Charlotte had a certain literary attainment, and it is said for this reason Lady Llanover was anxious she should translate the tales, which she did with the assistance of two other clergymen, Thomas Price (Carnhuanawc), and John Jones (Tegid), from transcriptions of the *Red Book of Hergest* made by Mr. Justice Bosanquet. Lady Charlotte had learned modern Welsh rather than Middle Welsh, so part of her collaborators' work was to render the tales in modern Welsh orthography so that she could translate them into English.[44] This double translation, by its nature, had to be a source of some of the errors that appear in her text. Also her translations were somewhat reduced in nature as she was writing for children, and so any matters of an indelicate nature were omitted, making total nonsense of some of the tales. Lady Charlotte's first translation of 'The Lady of the Fountain' appeared in 1838, and the full three volumes of translations and transcriptions, with illustrations, in 1849.[45] Gwenogvryn reports buying at least one of the volumes in a letter to his wife in May 1879.[46] The original volumes contained transcripts of the Middle Welsh texts as well as the translations, although the transcripts were omitted from later single volume editions. These texts were left complete and unexpurgated, but there are a number of errors in the transcripts, as can be seen from Gwenogvryn's report that John Rhŷs's own copy was heavily annotated with corrections and marginal notes. Indeed it was the errors found in these transcripts during Rhŷs's Mabinogion classes in Jesus College, Oxford, that

[44] T. H. Parry-Williams, 'Guest (Schreiber), Lady Charlotte Elizabeth Bertie (1812-1895)', *DWB*, 322; D. Rhys-Phillips, *Lady Charlotte Guest and the Mabinogion: some notes on the work and its translator, with extracts from her journals* (Carmarthen, 1921), 19.
[45] Lady Charlotte Guest, *The Mabinogion from the Llyfr Coch o Hergest, and other ancient Welsh manuscripts*, 3 vols. (London, 1849).
[46] JGE to EE, 9 May 1879. NLW JGE Family papers, 4/4.

showed the need for accurate versions, and started Gwenogvryn off on the publication of the *Old Welsh Texts*.[47]

The only part of Lady Charlotte's work that might be considered 'Celtomanic' was the inclusion of what she called the 'Mabinogi of Taliesin'. This was in fact not a tale included in the *Red Book of Hergest* but came from two separate manuscripts of probably sixteenth century date, a copy of the second part having been supplied by Iolo Morganwg.[48] Most later translators have omitted this tale on the grounds that it is not part of the original collection, and because the manuscripts in which it is contained are no earlier than the sixteenth century.[49] I dare say the attachment of Iolo's name did not help, although his text, in this case, appears genuine, as it is a copy of part of Elis Gruffydd's *Chronicle of the World*.[50] However, the whole is a tale that has been known in one form or another from a considerably earlier date, possibly as early as the twelfth century, as is shown by poetry in the *Book of Taliesin* and elsewhere.[51]

WILLIAM OWEN PUGHE

William Owen Pughe, as well as contributing to the *Myvyrian* and *Barddoniaeth Dafydd ab Gwilym*, also produced an English-Welsh *Dictionary* in 1803 in which

[47] Two draft letters, JGE to TL, undated, but probably written about the time of Evans v. Tout. NLW TL Papers, Box 5, 1870.
[48] Guest, *Mabinogion*, vol. 3, 395.
[49] One notable exception being: P. K. Ford, *The Mabinogi and other Medieval Welsh Tales* (Berkeley CA, 1977).
[50] P. K. Ford, *Ystoria Taliesin* (Cardiff, 1992), 55-57. The William Morris transcript for the first part of Lady Guest's text, now BL Add. MS 14867, dates from the mid 18th century, but the text appears to have originated in NLW MS 1553A dating from 16th/17th centuries. Iolo's transcript is now NLW MS 13131A, and is a copy of Evan Evans's copy (NLW MS2005B) of NLW MS 5276D, mid 16th century, in the hand of Elis Gruffydd.
[51] *LPBT*, 13-14.

the etymologies of words were, at times, to later eyes somewhat odd.[52] An example of this can be seen by pursuing the logic of the following paragraph from his Grammar in volume 1 of the Dictionary:

> The component parts of DERIVATIVE WORDS, or SYLLABLES, are themselves ELEMENTARY WORDS in the Welsh language; and therefore the division of all words longer than monosyllables, is determined in every case by analyzing their combination.[53]

This allowed him, for example, to divide the word *awen*, 'inspiration', into two elementary words: *aw* 'fluid; also a flowing', and *en* 'the source of life; a living principle, or what is immortal; a being; a deity; a soul; a spirit, essence'.[54] So *awen* therefore can be represented as 'a flowing spirit'.[55] Little wonder, then, that Morris Jones refered to 'Pughe's philological idiocy' in a letter to Gwenogvryn.[56] Despite that, Pughe's son Aneurin Owen became a Celtic scholar, and in 1841 produced his monumental and important Records edition of the *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*. Aneurin Owen was the first to recognise the three groups of lawbooks, that he termed Venedotian, Dimetian, and

---

[52] William Owen [Pughe], *Geiriadur cynmraeg a saesoneg. A Welsh and English Dictionary*, 3 vols. (London 1793 [-1803]).
[53] *Ibid.* 1, 26.
[54] *Ibid.* 2, entries under AW and EN. This system has some similarities to the etymologies produced by Isidore of Seville in his *Origines* or *Etymologiae*, such as 'that *vulpes* 'fox' meant 'whirling-foot' (= *volu-pes*)', though Isidore did not insist that each syllable has its own meaning. See Osborn Bergin, *The Native Irish Grammarian: The Sir John Rhŷs Memorial Lecture, British Academy 1938* (London, 1938), 4.
[55] Curiously the poem *Mydwyf merweryd* in the *Book of Taliesin* does speak of *awen* flowing (*echuyd*), though this can be read as a poetic device. *LPBT*, 260, 264-5.
[56] JMJ to JGE, 4 Jan 1894. NLW TL papers, Supplement. To be fairer to Owen Pughe, his theories were based on the so-called Monogenetic Hypothesis of the origin of languages that had previously been pursued for English by Rowland Jones (1722-1774) in a number of publications. This held that all languages were descended from the first language spoken in Eden, and that it was possible to derive the etymology of modern-day words by analyzing them into 'primitive' or 'Adamic' elements. See J. Drucker, *The alphabetic labyrinth. The letters in history and imagination*. (London, 1995), 225-236; U. Eco, *The Search for a Perfect Language* (Oxford, & Cambridge MA, 1995), 73-116.

Gwentian, and this classification and his labelling of the various manuscripts with letters is still found useful and followed to this day.[57]

PALAEOGRAPHY

The basic elements of palaeography had been well defined by the 1880s. The sequence of changes in insular and continental scripts had been established, and approximate dates for those changes had been defined for England, though it was less certain how much later those changes took place in Wales, as Gwenogvryn himself states.[58] It is difficult to be certain what books may have influenced his studies of the subject as I have not been able to trace any comment by him apart from the names of those who taught him the subject. Apart from Gilbert's series of Irish facsimiles already mentioned, the most likely source would be Madden's translation of Silvestre's *Palæographie Universelle*.[59]

THE CYNFEIRDD

It is important also to consider the dating of the poetry of the *Cynfeirdd*, which has been a matter of some controvery over the years. The whole basis for a sixth century date centres on the well-known passage from one recension of the *Historia Brittonum*, the so-called Nennian memorandum:[60]

> [T]unc dutigirn . in illo tempore forcit*er* dimicabat contra gente*m* angloru*m* . Tunc talhaern . tat aguen in poemate claruit . & . neirin . & . taliessin . & . bluchbard . & .

[57] Aneurin Owen (ed.), *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales* (London, 1841).
[58] *BBCFacs,* xiii.
[59] J. B. Silvestre, *Universal Palaeography etc.*, transl. Sir Frederick Madden, 2 vols. (London, 1849).
[60] The primary source being BL Harl. MS. 3859, fol.188v.

> cian qui vocat*ur* guenith [?] guaut . simul uno tempore in poemate brittannico claruer*unt* .[61]

The failure of the rubricator to supply the missing initial letter was to cause Gwenogvryn much trouble later but a discussion on that and other features of this paragraph must wait until Chapter Six. For now it is important to consider how much value was placed on this slender evidence by writers prior to the 1880s.

The earliest reference to the genuineness of the poems that I have been able to trace is a comment by the Rev. Evan Evans in 1764 in his *Some Specimens of the Poetry of the Antient Welsh Bards*.[62] His comments were, in retrospect, perhaps unfortunate, as he states that:

> As to the genuineness of these poems, I think there can be no doubt; but though we may vie with the Scottish nation in this particular, yet there is another point, in which we must yield to them undoubtedly. The language of their oldest poets, it seems, is still perfectly intelligible, which is by no means our case.
>
> The works of Taliesin, Llywarch Hên, Aneurin Gwawdrydd, Myrddin Wyllt, Avan Verddig, who all flourished about the year 560, a considerable time after Ossian, are hardly understood by the best critics and antiquarians in Wales, though our language has not undergone more changes than the Erse ... but that whoever goes about to translate them, will find numerous obsolete words, not to be found in any Dictionary or Glossary ...[63]

---

[61] In writing this passage I have compared the edited version in John Morris's edition with the facsimiles in *YC* 28 and 34. I have indicated where the contractions in the text have been expanded by use of *italics*. I would be happier to read *guenith*, not *gueinth* as it is usually rendered, despite EGBP. Three minims together are always difficult, and this scribe is variable in his spacing and linking, but here the first pair are, to my eye, closer together than the second pair, and the link between the second pair is less than certain. I have been unable to find a digital facsimile. J. Morris (ed.), *Nennius: British History and The Welsh Annals* (London and Chichester, 1980), 78; JMJ, 'Taliesin', *YC* 28 (1918), plate facing title page; JGE, 'Taliesin, or the Critic Criticised', *YC* 34 (1924), plate facing 7; EGBP, 'The *Annales Cambriæ* and Old-Welsh Genealogies from *Harleian MS.* 3859', *YC* 9 (1888), 141-183, 146n.

[62] E. Evans, *Some Specimens of the Poetry of the Antient Welsh Bards.* (London, 1764).

[63] *Ibid.*, ii. Always anxious to quote accurately from original sources, I initially retained the long s (ſ) wherever it was used here, and in following passages from Pinkerton and Turner. On reflection, I came to the conclusion that it was an impediment to comprehension, so converted the passages to modern usage.

Undoubtedly his comment on the difficulty of the language is true, but the linking with Ossian was perhaps unwise in the circumstance, and gave an opening to critics that was bound to be seized upon. Evan Evans made many transcriptions of Welsh poetry over the years with a view to publication, which he never achieved, and, in his old age, he passed them to Paul Panton of Plas Gwyn, Pentraeth, Anglesey in return for an annuity of £20. The *Myvyrian Archaiology*, the first two volumes of which appeared in 1801, used many of Evans's transcripts, which had been loaned to them by Panton's son, also called Paul. They also had access to transcripts from Lewis Morris's collection, as well as the editors' own transcripts.[64]

The next to enter the fray was Sharon Turner who named the poets of the *Historia* as genuine historical figures in the first volume of his *History of the Anglo-Saxons* in 1799.[65] This raised a comment from John Pinkerton, who considered the Celtic peoples to be congenitally inferior.[66] In his Preface to his edition of Barbour's *The Bruce* he made two comments:

> If we pass over ... the Celtic ... concerning whose poetry all we know at present is, that what some regard as ancient is certainly very modern ...
>
> ... they who believe in the riming Welch poetry, ascribed to Taliessin and other bards of the sixth century, may enjoy their own credulity.[67]

---

[64] JMJ, 'Taliesin', *YC* 28 (1918), 11-12.
[65] S. Turner, *The History of the Anglo-Saxons*, 1 (London, 1799), 215-219.
Note: Much of what follows on the dating controversy owes much to the following, with additional material added where appropriate: JMJ, 'Taliesin', *YC* 28 (1918), 11*ff*; P. K. Ford, *Ystoria Taliesin*, (Cardiff, 1992), 4-6; *LPBT*, 3-4.
[66] He expounded the theory in his *A Dissertation on the Origin and Progress of the Scythians or Goths* (London, 1787). See Sarah Couper, 'Pinkerton, John [*pseuds.* Robert Heron, H. Bennet] (1758-1826), *historian and poet*', *ODNB online*
http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22301?docPos=1 (extracted 19 Feb. 2015).
[67] J. Pinkerton, *The Bruce; or, the History of Robert I. King of Scotland. Written in Scottish Verse by John Barbour*, 1 (London, 1790), xi, xiii.

It was probable Pinkerton was also behind a adverse review of Turner's *History* in the *Critical Review* for January 1800.[68] Turner's response to Pinkerton, Malcolm Laing, 'and some other gentlemen in private societies' was to publish in 1803 his *A Vindication of the Genuineness of the Ancient British Poems*. As well as commenting that the report in the *Critical Review* was 'not distinguished by the urbanity of its style or the correctness of its criticism', he went on to explain his purpose:[69]

> The proposition, which I shall proceed to support is this:
> "That there are poems now existing in the Welsh, or ancient British language, which were written by Aneurin, Taliesin, Llywarch Hên, and Merdhin, who flourished between the years 500 and 600."[70]

He did, however, decide to be selective, although his list does not entirely match more modern ideas:

> I do not propose this work to be a vindication of all the poems that have been generally attributed to Aneurin, Taliesin, Merdhin, or Llywarch Hên, ... My object is to authenticate the genuineness of such of them as I think beyond all dispute; and they are the following:
> OF ANEURIN,
> The Gododin.
> OF LLYWARCH HEN,
> The Elegy on Geraint ab Erbin.
> Ditto on Urien Reged.
> Ditto on Cynddylan.
> Ditto on Cadwallon.
> The Poem on his old age.
> Ditto to Maenwyn.
> Ditto to the Cuckoo.
> OF MERDHIN.
> The Avallenau.
> OF TALIESIN.
> The Poems to Urien, and on his battles.
> His Dialogue with Merdhin.
> The Poems on Elphin.
> And his Historical Elegies.

[68] He was certainly working for the *Review* at the time. Couper, 'Pinkerton', *op. cit.*
[69] Turner, *Vindication*, iii.
[70] *Ibid.*, 12.

> In selecting the above, I do not mean to insinuate that some others, which are ascribed to these authors, may not be genuine likewise. I am satisfied that some are not genuine, and that some have been interpolated.[71]

Thomas Stephens, in his *Literature of the Kymry*, published in 1849, followed Turner in his general conclusions, but disagreed with him in detail.[72] He was also the first to start grouping the poetry into 6th century and later. He accepted Llywarch Hen as early, and he accepted Aneurin as sixth century, identified *Catraeth* as Catterick, and the *Gododdin* as the 'Ottadini'.[73] He then rather spoilt it by saying they were probably fighting the Brigantes.[74] He agreed that Taliesin was a contemporary but that most of the poetry was later.[75] He does, however list twelve poems that he considers to be genuine:

HISTORICAL, AND AS OLD AS THE SIXTH CENTURY.

Gwaith Gwenystrad	The Battle of Gwenystrad
Gwaith Argoed Llwyvain	The Battle of Argoed Llwyvain
Gwaith Dyffryn Gwarant	The Battle of Dyffryn Gwarant
I Urien	To Urien
I Urien	To Urien
Canu i Urien	A song to Urien
Yspail Taliesin	The Spoils of Taliesin
Canu i Urien Rheged	A Song to Urien Rheged
Dadolwch Urien Rheged	Reconciliation to Urien
I Wallawg	To Gwallawg (the Galgacus of Tacitus)
Dadolwch i Urien	Reconciliation to Urien
Marwnad Owain ap Urien	The Elegy of Owain ab Urien[76]

Apart from the reference to a figure in Tacitus, who cannot be the 'Gwallawg' of the poem, these look much more like the list later finalised by Ifor Williams,

[71] Turner, *Vindication*, 33-34. Turner's arguments have been summarised by JMJ in 'Taliesin', 13-16.
[72] T. Stephens, *The Literature of the Kymry* (Llandovery, 1849).
[73] Presumably from Ptolemy's Οταδινοι - Latin *Votadini*.
[74] *Ibid.*, 11.
[75] *Ibid.,* 12.
[76] *Ibid.,* 282.

though not quite the same. Stephens also commented that 'not one of the poems which are attributed to Merddin, is likely to be his'.[77]

A mention must be made here of Edward Davies, who published two volumes in which he expounded his Helio-Arkite theories.[78] This is Celtomania at its most far-fetched. Davies was a clergyman, a learned scholar, and a great believer in the absolute truth of the Bible. Whilst accepting the sixth century date, he also seems to have swallowed a good deal of Iolo's forgeries. According to his theories, Noah and his sons must have brought with them, out of the Ark, a primitive form of the one true religion. So after Babel, the religion that came to Britain, and was adopted by the Druids, with *Hu Gadarn* as its supreme deity, was a corrupted form of that religion, so it followed:

> ... that *Hu* the *Mighty*, the Diluvian god of the heathen Britons, was no other than the patriarch Noah, deified by his apostate descendants, and regarded by a wild superstition, as some way connected with the sun, or symbolized by the great luminary of the material heavens. Hence the *bull*, the *lion*, the *serpent*, and other general elements of the *Heliodæmonic* worship, became his representatives upon earth.[79]

He was also not above the occasional sideswipe at non-Anglican Christianity, whilst on the subject of the corruption of the primitive religion of Noah.

> But, in general, the superstition of most nations must have sprung from the same kind of gradual corruptions of the primitive religion, as produced the present Roman Catholic and Greek Church, fom the pure fountain of the Christian Religion.[80]

---

[77] *Ibid.*, 13; IW, *PT*, 1-15.
[78] E. Davies, *Celtic Researches* (London, 1804); E. Davies, *The Mythology and Rites of the British Druids* (London, 1809).
[79] Davies, *Mythology and Rites*, 117. For a general overview of Davies's theories see R. Hutton, *Blood & Mistletoe: The History of the Druids in Britain* (New Haven & London, 2009), 172-179.
[80] Davies, *Celtic Researches*, 86.

In 1858, somewhat incensed by too often finding the resultant applications of Davies's theories in other literature, D. W. Nash published his *Taliesin; or, the Bards and Druids of Britain*.[81] He dismissed Davies's books as 'two monuments of misapplied learning', and accused Davies of using as his main source William Owen's essay on *Bardism* prefixed to his translation of the poems of Llywarch Hen.[82] This in turn relied on 'the fantastic reveries ... of Iolo Morganwg, and the exaggerations, if not forgeries, with which he pretended to support them'.[83] Having dismissed Davies, he then turns to the date of the poetry. He points out the the only definitely old Welsh poetry is to be found in the margins of the Cambridge Juvencus, and agrees with Edward Lhuyd that it is in a very strange orthography.[84] He is not convinced, therefore, that the poems of Aneirin, Llywarch Hen, and the few poems likely to refer to the historical Taliesin date from the sixth century:

> The materials of these compositions may have, no doubt, and in all probability did exist, perhaps for some centuries before, in the mouths of the professional minstrels and storytellers; but there is no evidence that they were reduced into writing at an earlier period than the twelfth century. Zeuss is of opinion that all the extant poems have been transcribed in a modern orthography, in many instances by persons unacquainted with the meaning of the older forms, and that, in consequence, they have, in the undergoing this change of form, suffered considerable alteration and interpolation, ...[85]

His translations are not without merit, though there are some serious errors only corrected by later scholarship. Nonetheless, his book represents a welcome attempt to bridge the gap between popular Celticism and serious Celtology.

---

[81] D. W. Nash (ed.), *Taliesin; or, the Bards and Druids of Britain* (London, 1858).
[82] *Ibid.*, 7, 16; W. Owen (ed.), *The Heroic Elegies and Other Pieces of Llywarç Hen* (London, 1792), xxi-lxxx.
[83] Nash, *Taliesin*, 16.
[84] *Ibid.*, 20.
[85] *Ibid.*, 60.

Matthew Arnold, in his *On the Study of Celtic Literature* of 1867, made further moves in the same direction.[86] However, he chooses to complain both of Davies's credulity and Nash's scepticism:

> [Mr. Nash's] determined scepticism about Welsh antiquity seems to me ... to betray a preconceived hostility, a bias taken beforehand, as unmistakable as Mr. Davies's prepossessions. But Mr. Nash is often very happy in demolishing, for really the Celt-lovers seem often to try to lay themselves open, and to invite demolition.[87]

However, compared to Davies's translations, Arnold felt that Nash brought 'a flood of the broad daylight of common-sense'.[88] Despite that, Arnold was not happy with Nash and his fellow sceptics, for they:

> ... who say that next to nothing is left, and that the significance of what is left is next to nothing, dissatisfy the genuine critic even more than Edward Davies and his brother enthusiasts, who have a sense that something primitive, august, and interesting is there, though they fail to extract it, dissatisfy him.[89]
>
> The true critic is he who can detect this precious and genuine part in them, and employ it for the elucidation of the Celt's genius and history ...[90]

The following year, the first book to attempt a translation of the wide sweep of the poetry attributed to the early poets was published: W. F. Skene's *The Four Ancient Books of Wales*.[91] He made, with the assistance of his translators D. Silvan Evans, and Robert Williams, at least an attempt to divide the poetry between history and legend. There were still many errors both in transcription and translation, but it was, in many ways, a distinct advance on the *Myvyrian*, and all else that had gone before. His four books are the *Black Book of Carmarthen*,

---

[86] M. Arnold, *On the Study of Celtic Literature* (London, 1867).
[87] *Ibid.*, 34.
[88] *Ibid.*, 36.
[89] *Ibid.*, 45.
[90] *Ibid.*, 47.
[91] W.F. Skene, *The Four Ancient Books of Wales*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1868).

the *Book of Aneirin*, the *Book of Taliesin*, and the *Red Book of Hergest*. In his comments he was dismissive of Davies's theories, and also:

> ... nor do I think that their authors wrote, and the compilers of these ancient MSS. took the pains to transcribe, century after century, what was a mere farrago of nonsense, and of no historical or literary value. I think these poems have a meaning, and that ... meaning is worth finding out ...[92]

Finally I need to return to Celtology and a figure that will loom large in the story of Gwenogvryn Evans, the figure of John Rhŷs. Like Gwenogvryn and Zeuss he came from humble origins, being born in 1840, the son of a lead miner and farmer of Ponterwyd in Ceredigion. He was educated to be a teacher and, after passing through Coleg Normal in Bangor in 1861, he was employed as headmaster at Rhos-y-bol in Anglesey. Whilst there he published 'The Passive Verbs of Latin and the Keltic Languages' in the *Transactions of the Philological Society*. About the same time, 1865, he met Dr Charles Williams, then the Principal of Jesus College, Oxford. This meeting eventually led to Rhŷs being accepted into the college. In 1869, he was elected to a fellowship at Merton College. Then followed several years studying on the continent, mostly in Germany, before returning as an Inspector of Schools in Flint and Denbigh in 1871. He continued writing on the Celtic languages, and, in 1874, he gave a series of lectures in Aberystwyth which were published in 1877 as *Lectures in Welsh Philology*. In that same year of 1877, and very much on the basis of those lectures, he was appointed first Professor of Celtic at Oxford and a Fellow of Jesus College.[93] In the *Lectures* he stated with reference to the *Book of Taliesin*:

---

[92] *Ibid.*1, 16.

[93] JMJ, *Sir John Rhŷs: The Sir John Rhŷs Memorial Inaugural Lecture* (London, [1925?]), 3-5; IW, 'Rhys, Sir John (1840-1915)', *DWB*, 844-845; JR, *Lectures in Welsh Philology* (London, 1877, 2nd. edn., 1879).

> As to the language of this poetry, it is generally not much older, if at all, than the manuscript containing it. I have said the language, for the matter may be centuries older, if we may suppose each writer or rehearser to have adapted the form of the words, ... to the habits of his own time ... without the matter being much tampered with. ... suffice it here to say, that the poems ascribed to the Cynfeirdd or early bards belong, as far as concerns us now, to the Mediæval period of Welsh, though the metre, the allusions, and the archaisms, which some of them contain, tend to show that they date, in some form or other, from the 9th century, if not earlier. ...[94]

By 'Mediæval period', Rhŷs is referring to his own classification of the periods of the language, in which the 'Mediæval period' dates from the latter part of the eleventh century to the Reformation.[95] So Rhŷs appears to be saying that the language of the poetry, as we have it now, can be no earlier than the end of the eleventh century, but that there are markers in it that would lead one to think that the poems could go back to the ninth century, and perhaps even earlier.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

That gives a rough overview of the position when Gwenogvryn arrived on the scene in 1883. In a very real sense he appeared at exactly the right time. Rhŷs was anxious to promote the study of medieval Welsh and he found on his hands a person with a special talent for copying medieval scripts. Reliable copies of Middle Welsh texts, similar to those already prepared on Irish texts, were needed to enable scholars to study the language and set it in its relationship to the other Celtic languages. Rhŷs therefore nurtured that talent by inviting Gwenogvryn to join his Mabinogion class and persuaded York Powell to let him join his palaeography class, despite the fact that Evans was not a member of the University. At this stage also, most manuscripts were in private hands and

[94] JR, *Lectures in Welsh Philology* (London, 1877), 145-6.
[95] *Ibid.*, 143.

access was at the whim of the owner. As well as having accurate copies, students needed to know what materials were available and where they were. Gwenogvryn's *Report* for the Historical Manuscripts Commission was to fill that need as well.

But here we are getting ahead of the story. The next chapter will take Evans from Llanybydder in 1852 to Oxford in 1883, and examine some of the causes and motivations that arose in those years, that would offer an explanation for some of his later actions.

CHAPTER 2
~ THE EARLY YEARS ~
1852-1883.

'... the rustic youth who was serving behind a linen draper's counter ...'[96]

The purpose of this chapter is to examine Evans's upbringing and education, and to consider what were the influences acting upon the growing youth that would drive his future actions. The first stage will be to examine the nature of the family he was born into.

LLANYBYDDER

At the beginning of the last chapter we left John Evans having just been born on 20 March 1852 in or near Llanybydder, Carmarthenshire.[97] Within a year of his birth he lost his father, Thomas Evans, a stonemason, but whether from death or abandonment is far from clear.[98] This loss at such an early age almost certainly affected him severely. Stern describes the situation succinctly:

> The sense of being with an other with whom we are interacting can be one of the most forceful experiences of social life. Moreover, the sense of being with someone who is not actually present can be equally forceful. Absent persons can be felt as potent and almost palpable presences or as silent abstractions, known only by trace evidence. In the mourning process ... the one who has died almost rematerializes as a presence in many different felt forms.[99]

---

[96] 'No one who ... saw the rustic youth who was serving behind a linen draper's counter at Lampeter would ever imagine that he would become one day an Honorary M.A. of the ancient University of Oxford, and a recognised authority on all matters pertaining to Welsh Palæography.' 'Theodore Dodd' [Llewelyn Williams (with information from RJJ)], 'Open Letters to Welsh Leaders of Opinion. XXV. Mr. J. Gwenogfryn Evans, M.A.', *South Wales Star* 2/14 (1 Apr. 1892).

[97] Then spelt 'Llanybyther'. J. Vendryes, 'Nécrologie: John Gwenogvryn Evans', *RC* 47 (1930), 280-2, 280; X [JMJ (& OME)], 'Cymry Byw: VI. John Gwenogfryn Evans', *Cymru* 4/18 (15 Jan. 1893), 77-79, 77.; GRO, Birth Certificate, 1am, 20 Mar. 1852, Llanybyther. The first two sources state the birthplace to be Fynnon Velved.

[98] The short published biographies fail to mention it.

[99] D. N. Stern, *The Interpersonal World of the Infant* (New York, 2000), 100.

I will argue that his father did indeed rematerialise in his life, at least twice, in the form of authority figures to whom he gave his respect and his friendship. When those persons were challenged by others, Evans was to step forward in their defence with results that were highly detrimental to Evans, though in the first case he was able to rescue the situation. In the second he went too far, and the damage done was irreversible.

LLANWENOG

With the father's income lost, their home situation became untenable, and John and his mother Margaret moved about half a mile from his birthplace to the home of his maternal grandmother, Jane Rees, who ran, with the assistance of her son Thomas, a farm of about 70 acres called Ca[e]dabowen near Llanwenog, Cardiganshire.[100] The two locations were on either side of Afon Teifi, which forms the county boundary at this point.[101] As a result, in later life, Evans always insisted that he was not a *'Sir Gar*', but a 'man of Ceredigion'.[102] This household was clearly Welsh speaking, and he later referred to his mother and step-father as '*mamgu*' and '*ta[d]cu*', and quoted from Welsh poetry, songs or hymns.[103] Despite living on a busy farm, his childhood was a lonely one, as he wrote later:

> In summer evenings my mother w^d^. take me to drive the cows into the "night field" & afterwards she w^d^. stroll with me in the lane, telling me all her store of fairy lore as I jumped & screamed round her, holding tight to her apron while dodging the frogs that came forth with the going down of the sun. These strolls I loved above everything for it gave me the sense of being cared for & tended to

[100] X [JMJ (& OME)], 'Cymry Byw', 77. The farm is described as 'of 74 acres' in 1861 and 'of 67 acres' in 1871. ONS, Census, Cardiganshire, Llanwenog, District 4: 1861, 51 Cada Bowen, and 1871, 7 Cadabowen.
[101] Area round OS grid ref SN525445 at 1:25,000. Note 'Cae-da-Bowen Farm' to the north-west of Llanybydder, and the home of JGE's mother and step-father, 'Dolwlff (Dolwolf)' to the north.
[102] 'Gŵr o Geredigion y myn efe ei fod'. X [JMJ (& OME)], 'Cymry Byw', 77. 'Dodd', 'Open Letters'.
[103] JGE to EE, Jul. 1880-Jun. 1881. NLW JGE Family papers, 5/7, 5/9, 6/9, 6/10, and 6/15; Journal of voyage to Australia, late 1881. NLW TL papers, Box 5, 1031.

> drive away my haunting sense of loneliness, which grew upon me as I grew older: as I began to be interested in books with none near able to give me help I felt all the more keenly how very lonely I was in the best sense of the word.[104]

John's early education was at schools in Llanybydder, Llanwenog, and Llanwnen. The language of that education would have been in English as a result of the Blue Books of 1847 and Matthew Arnold's report as Inspector of Schools of 1852.[105] An aim of teaching after the report was to suppress Welsh, and to shame the pupils into speaking English, and this may have served to undermine his attachment to his native language.[106] Indeed it did with many Welsh people who would not speak to their children in Welsh, thus creating the 'lost generation' of Welsh speakers.[107] Gwenogvryn's language of choice for writing was English. He wrote his major works in English and used Welsh with some reticence, even when Welsh might have been preferred, as, for instance, in writing to the adjudicators of his entry for the Liverpool Eisteddfod in 1884.[108] Nonetheless, Gwenogvryn did occasionally publish articles in Welsh.[109] He spoke Welsh in

[104] JGE to EH, 13 Oct. 1884. NLW JGE Family papers 11/21.
[105] Matthew Arnold wrote in 1852: 'It must always be the desire of a Government to render its dominions ... homogeneous ... Sooner or later, the difference of language between Wales and England will probably be effaced ... an event which is socially and politically so desirable', M. Arnold, *Reports on Elementary Schools 1852-1882* (London, 1889), 13; F. P. Jones, 'The Blue Books of 1847', in J. L. Williams and G. R. Hughes, (eds.), *The History of Education in Wales* (Swansea, 1978), 127-44.
[106] Gwenogvryn's published statement that he could not speak English at the age of 19 (*YC* 34, 69.) has to be regarded with a great deal of scepticism. Had it been so he could hardly have entered PCC the following year. It should be taken alongside his remark from the same late source that he understood Dr. John Davies's *Grammar*, which is written in Latin, whilst working for his uncle in Lampeter somewhat earlier. (*YC* 34, 63.)
[107] R. S. Hodges, 'Towards the Light/Tua'r Goleuni: Welsh Medium Education for the non-Welsh speaking in South Wales: a parent's choice', *ESUKA/JEFUL* 2/1(2011), 303-314, 304-5 & 308-9.
[108] W. R. Owen (ed.), *Transactions of the Royal National Eisteddfod of Wales, Liverpool, 1884* (Liverpool, 1885), 532-3.
[109] JGE, 'Caniadau J. Morris Jones', *Y Traethodydd* 63/281 (March 1908), 106-114; JGE, 'Adgofion am Syr Owen M. Edwards', *Cymru* 60/354 (Jan. 1921), 1-5. There is evidence he wrote religious articles for *Yr Ymofynydd* (the Welsh Unitarian journal), which I have been unable to trace, perhaps because he wrote them anonymously. JGE to EE, 2 Oct. 1884. NLW JGE Family papers 11/9/1.

Wales, and with Sir John Rhŷs and in *Cymdeithas Dafydd ap Gwilym* in Oxford.[110] His language of choice in the home seems to have been English, despite giving his children Welsh names, as his wife knew little Welsh, and it is unclear how much Welsh he taught his children.[111]

LAMPETER AND AFTER

At fourteen, he left school to work for his uncle, David Rees, who had a general store in High Street, Lampeter, where he was 'serving behind a linen draper's counter'.[112] The shop was one of those delightful stores, that regrettably no longer exist, that sold everything from drapery to axes, cheese to paraffin, and nails to potatoes.[113] This life does not, however, appear to have suited his bookish temperament, or his ambition, and, at eighteen years of age, there was an accident that convinced his uncle that John should follow a different trade. After that he returned to school, first at Carmarthen under Alcwyn Caryni Evans and then at the old grammar school at Pont-Siân, Llandysul, under William Thomas, known by his bardic name of Gwilym Marles.[114] Both teachers were Unitarians in religion and Liberals in politics and had a strong influence on the young John Evans.[115] About this time he gained the name Gwenogfryn, at first spelt with an 'f', and later, when he moved to England, with a 'v' to preserve the pronunciation. It was derived from the name of the parish, Llanwenog, in which lay his grandmother's farm. Whether he invented it himself, or was given it at

[110] *Cymdeithas Dafydd ap Gwilym* was, and is, the Oxford University Welsh Language Society.
[111] In the 1901 Census return for Tremvan both Emrys and Tringad are listed as only able to speak English. In the 1911 Census for Tremvan, however, Emrys is listed as speaking both languages.
[112] X [JMJ (& OME)], 'Cymry Byw', 77; *DWB*, 245-246; Dodd, 'Open Letters'.
[113] *Worrall's Directory of South Wales* (Oldham, 1875), 188.
[114] X [JMJ (& OME)], 'Cymry Byw', 77; *DWB*, 245.
[115] *DWB*, 219, 973.

some point to distinguish him from any other John Evans, is not clear, but he made it his own and used it as his primary name for the rest of his life.

CARMARTHEN

His success at school allowed him to enter Presbyterian College, Carmarthen in 1872 to study to become a Minister of the Unitarian Church.[116] Unitarianism is a para-Christian doctrine that arose out of Socinianism in eastern Europe in the mid sixteenth century. Unitarians reject outright the doctrine of the Trinity, and that Christ is God. The belief is expressed by Thomas Evans (Tomos Glyn Cothi) in his 'Datganiad Ffydd' ('Declaration of Faith') of 1794. It may be rendered in English as:

> I believe that there is ONE, and that there is only ONE living and true God ... the Father of all ... In relation to Jesus Christ I believe that he is the one ordained or chosen by God his Father to be the Revealer of his will and the messenger of his grace to mankind ... I believe on the testimony of the Scriptures that Jesus Christ was a *man* like us, possessed of the same nature as the rest of mankind ... No civil authorities on earth have the right to bear upon or interfere in religious matters.[117]

The doctrine lacks any real dogma and allows for a wide rational interpretation of Christian teachings. As it rejects the concept of the Trinity, Unitarianism is considered heretical not only by the Catholic Church, but also by the vast majority of Protestant Churches as well. Indeed, until the Doctrine of the Trinity Act was passed in 1813, Unitarianism was held to be blasphemous.[118] When

---

[116] X [JMJ (& OME)], 'Cymry Byw', 77; *DWB*, 245.
[117] Translation is from Branwen Jarvis, 'Iolo Morganwg and the Welsh Cultural Background' in G. H. Jenkins (ed.), *A Rattleskull Genius: The Many Faces of Iolo Morganwg* (Cardiff, 2009), 29-49, 46. The original Welsh there is quoted from T. Oswald Williams, *Undodiaeth a Rhyddid Meddwl* (Llandysul, 1962), 237.
[118] C. Tywyn (ed.), *Our Faith: Unitarian voices of Wales in 2013 / Ein Ffydd: Lleisiau Undodiaid Cymru yn 2013* (London, 2013), [2]. The Act (53 Geo. III c. 160) amended the Trinitarian provisions of the Blasphemy Act 1697. It was also known as the Unitarian Relief Act. J.F. Maclear,

Thomas Arnold argued in 1833 for the union of the Dissenting congregations with the Church of England he excluded the Unitarians on the grounds of their not being Christians.[119] The sect was established in Wales by the eighteenth century and was and is particularly strong in an area spanning the Carmarthenshire - Ceredigion border known by its opponents as *Y Smotyn Du* (the Black Spot) where Evans was born and spent most of his formative years. Thirteen of the present twenty-two Unitarian congregations in Wales are in a rough triangle between Lampeter in the north-east, Llandysul in the south-west, and Ciliau Aeron in the north.[120] Unitarianism has also encouraged a certain independence and radicalism of thinking that has not always met with the approval of the authorities. Thomas Evans (Tomos Glyn Cothi) was gaoled for singing Jacobin songs, including his own translation into Welsh of the Marseillaise, at a social gathering in 1803. A friend of Glyn Cothi's, Edward Williams (Iolo Morganwg), mentioned in the previous chapter, had republican sympathies and wrote radical poetry.[121] Gwenogvryn's teacher, William Thomas (Gwilym Marles), when Minister of Llwynrhydowen, resisted the maltreatment of local farmers by their landowners through frequent letters to the press, public lectures, and an unremitting stream of sermons. As a result, in 1876, he and his congregation were evicted from the chapel by the local Tory landlord.[122] The nature of Unitarianism, having, as it does, a sceptical and anti-authoritarian quality, regarding the Bible as metaphor to be interpreted by human reason,

Church and state in the modern age: a documentary history, (Oxford, 1995). See: R. T. Jenkins, *Hanes Cymru yn y Ddeunawfed Ganrif* (Cardiff, 1930), 66-69.

[119] T. Arnold, 'Principles of Church Reform 1833', *The Miscellaneous Works of Thomas Arnold, D.D.* 2nd. ed. (London, 1858), 281.

[120] J. E. Jones, *Gardens of Faith / Gerddi Ffydd* (London, 2006). See also http://www.welshchapels.org/nonconformity/unitarian/ (extracted 22 April 2015).

[121] G. H. Jenkins, *Bard of Liberty: The Political Radicalism of Iolo Morganwg* (Cardiff, 2012).

[122] D. J. Davies, 'Thomas, William (Gwilym Marles; 1834-79)', *DWB*, 973. See also http://www.welshchapels.org/nonconformity/unitarian/ (extracted 22 April 2015).

coupled with an inherent stubbornness on Gwenogvryn's part, may well have moulded his character in ways that could produce both good and bad results.

Presbyterian College, Carmarthen, had descended from one of the Dissenting Academies set up after the expulsion of Nonconformists from the established Universities in 1660-2. Its remit was given in a later prospectus:

> The College exists for the purpose of educating young men for the Christian ministry among Protestant Nonconformists. It is open to Students of all denominations without any profession of Theological opinion being required; and the various branches of study are taught without reference to any sectarian distinctions.[123]

Despite this, a check of extant records shows that, where a denomination is given and regardless of the name of the College, the majority of the students were either Unitarians or Independents.[124] Initially Gwenogvryn did well, jointly winning Second Prize in the Junior Class in July 1873.[125]

During his time there, Evans's attention was drawn to the character of the Principal, Stephenson Hunter. In Gwenogvryn's correspondence with him, his mode of address changes from 'Revd Sir' to 'Dear Father'.[126] This appears to be a paternal appellation rather than a religious one as he also says: 'I hope you will

---

[123] NLW Presbyterian College Carmarthen papers: Prospectus Feb. 1897.
[124] Roll of students at PCC, 1704- by W. J. Evans, Principal. NLW MSS 10325 B - 10330 B; 'Why this college is called the "Presbyterian" College passes my comprehension, except on the ground that "*lucus a non lucendo*." And that college may be called Presbyterian because it is made up of Unitarians and Independents. ... the governing body is composed of Unitarians and Independents; and I know that the Principal is an Unitarian, and one of the professors an Independent. However, I suppose they know their own business best.' Dodd, 'Open Letters'.
[125] NLW PCC papers: Attendance Register 1871-1881; NLW PCC papers: Professor [D. L.] Evans' College Diary of Session 1872-3.
[126] JGE to SH, 17 Aug. 1874 to 31 Sep. 1875, NLW JGE Family papers 31. The change to 'Dear Father' occurs in letter 31-3/35, 7 Oct. 1874.

excuse me for addressing you as my Father for such I have experienced you'.[127] This is the first example of Evans substituting an authority figure for his missing parent. Later he was to refer to Hunter after visiting his grave as 'the best man I ever knew'.[128]

Hunter appeared flattered by this attention, and, for a while, all went well. Then, in August 1874, a controversy arose over discipline at the College. Prof. David Evans was a stickler for discipline, whereas Hunter favoured a more modern, looser discipline, and there had been heated arguments between them in front of the students.[129] The students naturally tended to favour the Principal and a letter was sent by one of them to local and regional newspapers criticising the teaching of Hebrew by Prof. Evans.[130] The Secretary to the Presbyterian Board in London that controlled the College, Rev. T. L. Marshall, favoured the stricter line of Prof. Evans, and Hunter was threatened with dismissal.[131] The students were furious with this, petitioned the Board, and went on strike.[132]

As a result of the strike, added to a dislike of Prof. Evans founded on experience of him at Llanwenog, Gwenogvryn made a fateful decision; if the Principal was to go, then so would he. His attachment to the man he regarded as his father was to take precedence over his own advancement. He wrote to Hunter advising him of

---

[127] JGE to SH, 7 Oct. 1874. NLW JGE Family papers 31-3/35.
[128] JGE to EE 8 Sept. 1878. NLW JGE Family papers 3/3.
[129] NLW PCC papers: Professor [D. L.] Evans' College Diary of Session 1872-3; NLW PCC papers: Students' Names, Register, Notes, etc., Session, 1873-4. Kept by David Lewis Evans, Tutor in Hebrew and Mathematics.
[130] T. L. Marshall to SH, 10 May 1875. NLW JGE Family papers 31-3/39; Copy: JGE to T. L. Marshall, 16 Jun. 1875. NLW JGE Family papers 31-3/43.
[131] NLW PCC papers: Students' Names, etc., Session, 1873-4; JGE to SH, 17 Aug. 1874. NLW JGE Family papers 31-3/33.
[132] JGE to SH, 17 Aug. 1874. NLW JGE Family papers 31-3/33.

this and requesting him to find him 'a situation as a teacher in a private family (if possible) or an Assistant Master in a School, where I could devote some time to my own improvement'. He further added 'I intend submitting to be examined in October ... in Classics alone, ... and then resign. All the other Students as far as I know intend doing the same.'[133] As the correspondence progressed he began to show his more vindictive side, which was to prove so disastrous in later life:

> I have been told that Professor Evans has ... painted me as black as the Devil, nothing but a rebel and a Liar. If Mr Evans finds difficulty in leaving me alone I will publish a short Biography of him very soon, not omitting the time he was schoolmaster at Llanwenog and his brutish treatment of his scholars there.[134]

With the Principal's help Gwenogvryn secured a position as Assistant Master at Milton College, a school near Ullesthorpe. He liked the buildings and the wooded setting, but the College's alignment with the established church was problematic, as he was expected to attend the local church with the pupils and other masters. He found the dogmatic approach of the local clergy very far from his Unitarian tastes:

> Sunday is the most miserable day I pass here. ... The present Clergyman & Curate are zealous Ritualists, so I need'nt [*sic*] say I have no sympathy with them. There is only one Chapel in this place and the Sermons preached there smell so strong of brimstone that the air is rendered uncomfortably hot & poisonous to breathe.[135]

The dispute at Carmarthen was resolved over the summer, and Hunter confirmed as Principal.[136] Having signed a contract for a year at Milton, Gwenogvryn was unable to return to Carmarthen with the other students. Furthermore, one of the teachers became ill, loading Gwenogvryn with extra

---

[133] *Ibid*.
[134] JGE to SH, 3 Sep. 1874. NLW JGE Family papers 31-3/34.
[135] JGE to SH, 7 Oct. 1874. NLW JGE Family papers 31-3/35.
[136] JGE to SH, 7 Oct. 1874. NLW JGE Family papers 31-3/35.

work. As a result he did not have time to study to enter a University and 'obtain proper training for the Ministry'. He therefore decided not to renew the contract for a further year, but to seek readmission to Presbyterian College the following October.[137] His return was not to be without opposition. Marshall wrote to Hunter that Gwenogvryn:

> ... broke faith with the Board in leaving the College before the end of his course ... I think he was the student ... against whom Mr. D. L. Evans brought a serious charge in reference to the ... paragraph in the Carmarthen Journal respecting the Hebrew teaching in the College. ... If it can be shown that he did not - as Mr. Evans affirmed - deny the authorship of a paragraph that has proved to be in his handwriting, I think there would be no objection felt to his re-admission.[138]

As Gwenogvryn had not composed the paragraph complained of, he was not, at first, willing to submit. He wrote to Hunter, thanking him for liaising with Marshall, but asking him to let the matter drop as 'I do not think I have so misconducted myself that I must humiliate myself before any of the London Despots - infallible beings', and stating that he had had an offer from Milton to continue there for another year.[139] The religious difficulties resurfaced, however, and wiser thoughts prevailed. He wrote to Marshall, sending a copy to Hunter. He explained his involvement in the controversy and strike, that he had not composed the offending letter, but had made and delivered copies of it to various newspapers, and asked to be allowed to return, promising future obedience and claiming a scriptural precedent:

> Unfortunately I inherited Peter's <u>impulsive nature</u> and on that score I can only trust that the members of the Presbyterian Board will grant me the same indulgence as Christ granted Peter & the other disciples when he was forsaken by them.[140]

---

[137] JGE to SH, 27 Apr. 1875. NLW JGE Family papers 31-3/38.
[138] T. L. Marshall to SH, 10 May 1875. NLW JGE Family papers 31-3/39.
[139] JGE to SH, 14 May 1875. NLW JGE Family papers 31-3/40.
[140] JGE to T. L. Marshall, 16 Jun. 1875. NLW JGE Family papers 31-3/43,

After Hunter interceded, Gwenogfryn received a response from Marshall, promising to present his case favourably to the Board, but warning him to conform to the rules and to complete the remaining two years of his course.[141]

Evans returned to the College in October 1875. Sadly Stephenson Hunter became ill, dying on 6 November at the age of 72.[142] Evans said later that it was when he visited Hunter on his deathbed that he first became attracted to Hunter's daughter Edith.

> You little suspected then what influence & results were to follow on your after experience from seeing me that morning. I, as little suspected it too, but I remember feeling distinctly as you entered the room, how glad I was to see <u>you</u> ... This feeling very much surprized me at the time & haunted me afterwards ... When I returned to the Drawing Room after seeing my beloved & revered old Master in his bed I was struck how very like him you were, and as I loved him more than I had ever loved any other man it was not wonderful I should love his image in you.[143]

Hunter was replaced temporarily, as Principal and lecturer in Classics, whilst a permanent replacement was sought. The man appointed by the Presbyterian Board was Rees Jenkin Jones, a Unitarian divine who was then editor of the Welsh Unitarian journal *Yr Ymofynydd*. He was to be an important influence in Gwenogvryn's life and was later to publish a book on the students of the college.[144] It is during his tenure that Evans apparently had his first taste of editing a book. 'Theodore Dodd' states that:

---

[141] T. L. Marshall to JGE, 21 Jun. 1875. NLW JGE Family papers 31-3/44/2.
[142] NLW PCC papers: Attendance Register 1871-1881; HMCS National Probate Calendar 1875.
[143] JGE to EE, 13 Oct. 1884. NLW JGE Family papers 11/21.
[144] RJJ, *The Unitarian Students at the Presbyterian College, Carmarthen, in the Nineteenth Century (1796-1901)* (Aberdare, 1901).

> ... you showed the stuff you were made of, and brought out an edition of "Telyn Dewis," [*sic*] the poetical works of the great Unitarian bard and preacher.[145]

The second edition of *Telyn Dewi* was published in Lampeter in 1876.[146] The book is silent as to the editor's name. Evans seems to have been very reticent about putting his name to his religious writings, whereas he was very much the self-publicist when it came to his palaeographic tasks. There is evidence that he wrote articles for *Yr Ymofynydd*, the Unitarian journal, but I have been unable to trace them, presumably because he wrote either anonymously or under a pseudonym.

Evans completed only one further year of his course.[147] In August 1876 he was given a year's contract to be Minister of the Unitarian Chapel at Parc y Felfed, Mansel Street, Carmarthen, a position previously held by Hunter.[148] Why he did not complete the other year is not clear, but the College may have considered that a year acting as Minister was sufficient. Evans continued to borrow books from the College library, which does imply a continued association.[149] Edith was Secretary of the Chapel and, despite her being six years his senior, in December

---

[145] Dodd, 'Open Letters'. Llewelyn Williams almost certainly had his information from RJJ. A. Grant, 'Gwenogvryn Evans and the identity of "Theodore Dodd"', *NLWJ* 36/4 (2017), 553-557.
[146] *Telyn Dewi; sef Gwaith Prydyddawl y diweddar Barch. David Davis, gynt o Gastell-Hywel, Ceredigion, Ail Argraffiad, gydag Ychwanegiad.* (Llanbedr, 1876).
[147] Roll of students at PCC, 1704- by W. J. Evans, Principal. NLW MS 10326 B, 271. JGE was one of a number of students who signed a testimonial given to RJJ on his retirement as tutor at the College in 1876. It is stated therein that RJJ was only at the College for a short time. NLW RJJ papers FR7/3. J. D. Jones says that RJJ was a lecturer officiating as principal [after Hunter's death] at PCC in 1876, *DWB*, 503-4, 503. George Vance Smith took over permanently from RJJ in September 1876. *ODNB*.
[148] JGE to EH, 1 Aug. 1877. NLW JGE Family papers 2/13.
[149] NLW PCC papers: List of Books circulated among the Students of the PCC, 1875-6.

1876 he began to court her.[150] She was at first reluctant but by June 1877 she had capitulated.[151]

PRESTON

The letters now turn to where he could secure a living as a Unitarian Minister: 'As to Preston ... The only advantage in going there wd be, getting better known to churches in that district ... & consequently standing a much better chance of getting a good appointment ultimately'.[152] The next letter indicates that he only intended a short stay: '3 years wd be quite long enough to remain there unless it be much better than I have been led to think'.[153] Evans was asked to go for an interview that included taking services at the chapel.[154] He was unanimously elected by the chapel congregation, and asked to commence his duties 'as soon as I can come with convenience to myself & the Carmarthen folk'.[155] So on 1 August 1877 he sent his resignation to his intended bride in her capacity as Secretary of the chapel.[156] He asked to be relieved by 16 September and on that Sunday he conducted his first service as Minister at Preston.[157]

The wedding duly took place on Tuesday 16 October 1877 at the Unitarian Chapel, Church Street, Preston.[158] They set up home with Edith's mother Julia at 2 West Cliff Terrace. In 1878 they celebrated the the birth of a daughter,

[150] JGE to EH, 26 Dec. 1876. NLW JGE Family papers 1/2.
[151] JGE to EH, 2 Jun. 1877. NLW JGE Family papers 1/25.
[152] JGE to EH, 29 Jun. 1877. NLW JGE Family papers 1/38.
[153] JGE to EH, Sunday [1 Jul. 1877]. NLW JGE Family papers 2/1.
[154] JGE to EH, 22 Jul. 1877. NLW JGE Family papers 2/4.
[155] JGE to EH, 29 Jul. 1877. NLW JGE Family papers 2/11.
[156] JGE to EH, 1 Aug. 1877. NLW JGE Family papers 2/13.
[157] JGE to EH, 16 Sep. 1877. NLW JGE Family papers 2/30.
[158] GRO Marriage Certificate, 16 Oct. 1877.

Myfanwy Melrose Evans.[159] She was followed, early in 1880, by a son they named Emrys Hunter Evans.

The matriculation registers at Manchester University show that Gwenogvryn entered Owen's College, Manchester, on 6 January 1880. He attended lectures in Physics, and sessions in the Physical Laboratory, and he may have attended other lectures as he intended to study natural science.[160]. He was there for two terms only.[161] Since Evans wrote to Edith almost daily when they were apart and Edith seems to have retained all his letters, the assumption must be that the course at Manchester was part-time.[162] As Evans had only planned to be at Preston three years, it can be assumed he had decided to improve his education so that he might aim higher. His plans were not to be. Something happened to cause his resignation in February 1880, and it may have been a dispute with the congregation over his studying in Manchester.[163] He continued acting as a supply Minister up to June 1881, but he wrote: 'No, I do <u>not</u> want to supply at Preston ... I hope I never shall preach at Preston again, never, never - if I had no engagement I sh[d] not hesitate to refuse supplying for them'.[164] Exactly what had so offended him is not known. His resignation left him free to seek further education where he wished, and that may well have been the foundation for his 'Oxford Plan'.

---

[159] They had their honeymoon at Melrose Abbey. JGE to EE, 16 Oct. 1884. NLW JGE Family papers 11/23.
[160] X [JMJ (& OME)], 'Cymry Byw', 77; NLW JR papers, A4/9, 5.
[161] Correspondence from Janet Wallwork, Manchester University Archives, 14 Jul. 2011.
[162] D. H. E. Roberts, 'J. Gwenogfryn Evans a Chofnodi a Mynegeio Llawsgrifau Cymru', *Ceredigion* 14/4 (2004), 55-72, 55.
[163] The date of resignation is given in Roll of students at PCC, 1704- by W. J. Evans, Principal. NLW MS 10326B; JGE to EE, 27 Jun. 1881. NLW JGE Family papers 6/16.
[164] JGE to EE, 29 Jul. 1880. NLW JGE Family papers 5/9.

OXFORD

Gwenogvryn arrived in Oxford on 5 April 1880, and he spent the next few hours walking around the city and expressed his delight in it: 'in the very heart of the city ... there is a rookery! Thrushes too are heard as if one were in the very heart of the country.'[165] 'I like exceedingly the ancient rustic look of the place. The Colleges look magnificently grand and old, ... the ... carved doors of oak, the sculpture & ancient architecture.'[166]

His purpose in this excursion was to find a house in which he and his family could 'pass some four years of very happy life together'.[167] They finally settled on 7 Clarendon Villas in Park Town, an imposing middle class property, and were to stay there much longer than four years.[168] The proposed period of occupation, and the people he sought on his arrival, do indicate the nature of his 'Oxford plan'.[169] First, he visited Prof. & Mrs. Rhŷs, who he described as 'ever so kind & hearty'. John Rhŷs was the first Professor of Celtic and the centre of Welsh academic life. Second, Gwenogvryn tried to contact 'Prof. Thorley'.[170] There was no 'Prof. Thorley' in the University so he was probably seeking George Earlam Thorley, then Sub-Warden and Bursar of Wadham, Curator of the Taylor Institution and Delegate of the Schools Examinations.[171] Gwenogvryn's 'plan' is indicated in a letter he wrote to his wife in which he stated that 'you need never think of moving to Headington as it is outside the boundary for non-resident

[165] JGE to EE, 5 Apr. 1880. NLW JGE family papers 4/7.
[166] JGE to EE, 6 Apr. 1880. NLW JGE family papers 4/8.
[167] JGE to EE, 5 Apr. 1880. NLW JGE family papers 4/7.
[168] Now 35 Park Town.
[169] For his 'Oxford plan': JGE to EE, 27 Nov. 1881. NLW JGE family papers 6/28.
[170] JGE to EE, 7 Apr. 1880. NLW JGE family papers 4/9.
[171] 'Wadham College', *Oxford University Calendar for the year 1880*.

students in the University'.[172] His biographer in *Cymru* stated that 'he moved to Oxford with a thought to graduate in the University'.[173] After Gwenogvryn's death Joseph Vendryes said of him 'He went then to Oxford, burning with enthusiasm for study' and his intention was to join the University as the next important step in his struggle to rise above his comparatively lowly upbringing.[174]

So his visit to Oxford in April 1880 was followed by a brisk correspondence with house agents and by 6 October Gwenogvryn was at 7 Clarendon Villas directing the unloading of the furniture from Preston.[175]

GWENOGVRYN'S HEALTH

It remains to answer why Gwenogvryn failed to matriculate. The problem lay with his health. In the Autumn of 1873, he came down with the first of three bouts of typhoid fever that were seriously to affect his future.[176] He is marked as being absent from Presbyterian College through illness from October to December and he spent most of this period either at his grandmother's farm at Caedabowen or at his step-father's farm at Dolwlff.[177] He returned to College in January 1874 but was excused classes for the majority of the ensuing year.[178]

---

[172] JGE to EE, 13/14 Oct. 1882. NLW JGE family papers 8/18.
[173] '... symudodd i Rhydychen gan feddwl graddio yn yr Athrofa'. X [JMJ (& OME)], 'Cymry Byw', 77.
[174] '... Il se rendit alors à Oxford, brûlant de l'ardeur de l'étude; ...', Vendryes, 'Nécrologie', 280.
[175] JGE to EE, 6 Oct. 1880. NLW JGE Family papers 5/21.
[176] The years 1873, 1875 and 1877 are given in X [JMJ (& OME)], 'Cymry Byw', 77.
[177] Invoice dated Jan 1874 for 10/- to JGE from Herbert Davies, Surgeon of Llanybyther for medicines for Oct. & Nov. 1873. NLW JGE Papers, Group II 124. The uncertainty is due to doubt as to when his mother married David Morgans of Dolwlff. She is listed in invoices from Evan Davies, The London House, Llanybyther, as Margaret Evans on 17 Apr. 1873, and as Mrs Morgans on 22 Jun. 1875. NLW JGE Papers Group II 124.
[178] NLW PCC papers: Attendance Register 1871-1881.

Over the summer of 1875 he was struck down by a second bout of typhoid fever.[179] Either he fell ill at or he returned to convalesce at Dolwlff (Dolwolf) whence he wrote to Stephenson Hunter advising him to expect him on 4 October.[180] In 1877 typhoid fever was to strike him down again. Evans wrote to Edith on 1 March from Dolwlff:

> I suffer from violent coughing night & day & am slightly delirious at times, at others very drowsy, ... I have been confined to my bed since last Tuesday week, & am sorry to think that I shall not be able to resume my duties for some time to come.[181]

The letters of 1875 and 1877 concerning his illness were written from his step-father's farm at Dolwlff. The farm is situated on low-lying ground in a loop of the river Teifi just north of Llanybydder and on the Ceredigion side of the river.[182] Under the wrong conditions it cannot have been a particularly healthy place, but Evans seems either to be there or to go there whenever he is seriously ill from 1875 on. It is impossible to say whether Dolwlff was the *cause* of his illness but he wrote later: 'I have seen Dr Hughes here & he objects to the river & particularly to preaching'.[183] Perhaps it might have been better for his health if he had neglected his filial duties and stayed away from Dolwlff.

By 8 March 1877 Gwenogvryn was out of bed but he wrote: 'I am afraid I shall be some time before I can resume full work for I am terribly weak, reduced to almost a skeleton'.[184] Allowing for the morbid self-pity the phrase reveals, he did

[179] X [JMJ (& OME)], 'Cymry Byw', 77.
[180] JGE to SH, 31 Sep. 1875. NLW JGE Family papers 31-3/47.
[181] JGE to EH, 1 Mar. 1877. NLW JGE Family papers 1/6.
[182] OS grid reference SN523449.
[183] JGE to EE, [28 Jun. 1881]. NLW JGE Family papers 6/17. Hughes was probably his doctor in Carmarthen.
[184] JGE to EH, 8 Mar. 1877. NLW JGE Family papers 1/7.

not recover sufficiently to return to his lodgings at Carmarthen until 8 April.[185] His health problems were not to leave him for long and he feared that the illness might be turning into tuberculosis.[186] By mid June he had decided to take time off from preaching:

> I seriously think of taking Dr Hughes's advice & try a perfect rest for a month as I now find that talking a great deal does me no good. ... He advises ... me to try the sea-side.[187]

He did not follow his Doctor's advice, but, instead, he went to Dolwlff. In the end, he managed to escape anything worse than a heavy cold.

Preston was not without problems, as dense smoke, which irritated his throat and lungs, was present in some areas. He remarked that he detested smoke as much as he did the established church.[188] It has been said that Evans was forced to resign his living at Preston due to ill health.[189] There is evidence that he took time off to rest his throat but no evidence that he was forced to resign because of it.[190] That Evans was certainly not ill at this point can be seen by his touring Wales with his daughter in July of 1880 including climbing to the top of Snowdon.[191] It is clear that the move to Oxford affected him adversely and he soon complained of feeling ill.[192] Despite this, he spent more space writing of his concern for his son Emrys who was ill back in Preston.[193]

---

[185] JGE to EH, 29 Mar. 1877, and 30 Apr. 1877. NLW JGE Family papers, 1/12, and 1/13.
[186] JGE to EH, [31 May 1877]. NLW JGE Family papers 1/22.
[187] JGE to EH, [14 Jun. 1877]. NLW JGE Family papers 1/29.
[188] JGE to EH, 26 Jul. 1877. NLW JGE Family papers 2/8.
[189] Vendryes, 'Nécrologie', 280, &c..
[190] JGE to EE, 8, 14, and 18 Sep. 1878. NLW JGE Family papers, 3/3, 3/6, and 3/7.
[191] JGE to EE, 11 Jul. 1880. NLW JGE Family papers 5/2.
[192] JGE to EE, 7 Oct. 1880. NLW JGE Family papers 5/22.
[193] JGE to EE, [8 Oct. 1880']. NLW JGE Family papers 5/23.

In June of 1881 Evans was once more in Wales with his daughter, firstly visiting Edith's sister Jessy at Aberystwyth, and thence to Dolwlff. He was still acting as a supply Minister though he noticed that his health was deteriorating.[194] Two days later he was clearly not at all well with a pain in his left lung, difficulties in breathing and coughing up blood. At this point he was concerned that he was seriously ill:

> D[r] Hughes seems to think that preaching last Sunday was at the bottom of this ... & he strongly urged me not to preach at all for a long time to come. And I felt on Sunday as if my career in the pulpit was ended at least for some years. ... D[r]. Hughes thinks the river very objectionable here but advised me not to be in a hurry to return to Oxford which he thinks is not very healthy. ... I sh[d]. like to avail myself of Mamma's kind offer last November & go to consult some eminent physician while with Jess in London.[195]

He confirmed that his 'career in the pulpit was ended' by declaring himself a 'Retired Unitarian Minister' when his third child, a son named Tringad Knight Evans, was born at Oxford on 18 July 1881.[196]

VOYAGE TO AUSTRALIA - THE SEA CURE

He did consult an 'eminent physician', Dr Wilks, who diagnosed consumption, that is pulmonary tuberculosis, and said that 'a fatal outcome could be delayed - and only delayed - only if he made a decision to leave for Australia'.[197] So on 19 August 1881 Gwenogvryn boarded the 'Shannon', a clipper ship, bound non-stop

---

[194] JGE to EE, 27 Jun. 1881. NLW JGE Family papers 6/16.
[195] JGE to EE, [29 Jun. 1881]. NLW JGE Family papers 6/18.
[196] GRO Birth Certificate, 18 Jul. 1881. Knight is Julia Hunter's maiden surname. The name Tringad is unusual and appears in *Culhwch ac Olwen*. P. C. Bartrum, *A Welsh Classical Dictionary* (Aberystwyth, 1993), 615. The name is a compound *trin+cad*, so perhaps 'battle-fight'. One is left wondering the reason why the name was chosen.
[197] Vendryes, 'Nécrologie', 280. For TB treatment then see: H. Weber, 'Remarks on Climate and Sea Voyages in the Treatment of Tuberculosis', *British Medical Journal* 1/2005 (3 Jun. 1899), 1323.

for Melbourne.[198] The weather seemed set fair, but, after entering the Straits of Dover, they had nine days of foul weather. Evans was violently sick and wished he had not set foot on board.[199] Once the weather improved, he still had problems. His 'bones ached very badly' and his 'tongue was encrusted with a white coating & diorrhea [*sic*] had set in'. The ship's doctor prescribed 'powders and Champagne', and he gradually improved.[200] Both the weather and Gwenogvryn's health seem to go up and down during September and October.[201] On 6th November the elements made a last effort to sink the ship:

> The night was pitch dark, the rain descended in torrents, a foul wind was blowing very hard ... a very high heavy sea kept constantly breaking over the decks, the ship was "hove to" & all sails, with one or two exceptions to steady the vessel were taken in. ... the ship was rolling & lurching furiously ... the stern cabin's dead lights & gallery door were smashed in & the noise which the sea made ... sounded like the Crack of Doom itself. ... I looked at my "chum" - he returned the look but we spoke not a word ...

Despite the drama the crew soon effected repairs.[202] Gwenogvryn's final comment on the event has a certain wry humour. He noted that Dr Wilks had told him to go on a voyage because he needed '<u>perfect quiet & rest</u>. And alas I ... am well nigh torn limb from limb.'[203]

The 'Shannon' arrived off Melbourne on 25 November 1881. His comment on the trip was: 'I love the sea -------- from Land! I hate to be on it'.[204] He added later: 'I have no faith whatever in the sea since Nov 6<u>th</u> - I feel like a burned child

---

[198] Of 1450 tons. JGE to EE, 19 Aug. 1881. NLW JGE Family papers 6/20.
[199] JGE to EE, 9 Sep. 1881 [from Melbourne]. NLW JGE Family papers 6/24.
[200] *Ibid*.
[201] JGE to EE, 25 Nov. 1881. NLW JGE Family papers 6/27.
[202] Journal of voyage to Australia late 1881 [+ 2 letters]. NLW TL papers, Box 5, 1031.
[203] *Ibid*.
[204] JGE to EE, 25 Nov. 1881. NLW JGE Family papers 6/27.

& shudder at the thought of the return voyage'.[205] Having travelled so far to benefit his health he reported that: 'Four or five of the passengers tell me that "no one has done more credit to the trip" than myself - that I "look quite a different man, so much healthier & fatter".[206] On the next day: 'The ships' surgeon examined me ... & said my chest was much better - that there was no active mischief ... at present ... I hope he is right'.[207] He looked to the future, regretting giving up the Ministry but showing determination to continue with his 'Oxford plan'. However, there are indications that his wife was not so happy about his spending his energy on studying for matriculation: 'I must confess I sh[d]. know more about their contents if you had been considerate enough not to come between me & my books so constantly'.[208]

He intended to make his visit to Sydney brief because of smallpox there, then spend most of the time up to his intended deparature in February in Tasmania.[209] This was not to be. He left on 5 December 1881 by ship to Sydney and arrived two days later. Evans rushed to the Post Office to find nothing awaiting him. Panic set in as he had made the mistake of leaving behind bank drafts to cover his bills whilst in Australia and had arranged that Edith would send one each to Sydney, Hobart and Melbourne. However, she had accidentally sent them the longer route via San Francisco instead of via Brindisi, thus leaving him without funds. He proceeded to make a nuisance of himself at both the Post Office and at the Commercial Bank where his money lay, all to no avail. Luckily

[205] JGE to EE, 2 Dec. 1881. NLW JGE Family papers 6/33.
[206] JGE to EE, 27 Nov. 1881. NLW JGE Family papers 6/28.
[207] JGE to EE, 28 Nov. 1881. NLW JGE Family papers 6/29.
[208] JGE to EE, 27 Nov. 1881. NLW JGE Family papers 6/28.
[209] JGE to EE, 28 Nov. 1881. NLW JGE Family papers 6/29.

he remembered he had a letter of introduction to the Manager of the Bank of New South Wales on the strength of which he managed to secure a loan of £15.[210] Lacking money, he could not leave for Hobart so decided on a week in the Blue Mountains to avoid the smallpox. He scurried back when he heard that the mail boat was due in from San Francisco.[211] The draft had arrived from Edith, but the letters were so short that he fell into a deep fit of depression.[212] He returned to Melbourne and his next letter, on Christmas Day 1881, was full of complaint.[213] There were problems at home and Edith wanted to spare him but Evans did not know this.[214]

Vendryes implied that Evans intended to stay in Australia and only returned on a sudden impulse because his health had not improved.[215] The letters tell a different story. First, his health *had* improved. Second, he stated his intention to return via Cape Town before he even set foot in Australia.[216] It is true that he toyed with the idea of returning via San Francisco, but he decided against this as the journey would have cost far more by that route.[217] On Boxing Day 1881 he went on board the 'Sobraon', which was a much larger clipper ship.[218] He wrote that it stopped at Cape Town and St Helena, which would be advantageous if his health should worsen as it would mean he could return by steamer from Cape Town. He feared the thought of dying alone and far from home.[219] On 28

[210] JGE to EE, 9 Dec. 1881. NLW JGE Family papers 6/34.
[211] JGE to EE, 15 Dec. 1881. NLW JGE Family papers 6/36.
[212] JGE to EE, 19 Dec. 1881. NLW JGE Family papers 6/37.
[213] JGE to EE, 24/25 Dec. 1881. NLW JGE Family papers 6/39.
[214] JGE to EE, [9 Apr.] 1882. NLW JGE Family papers 7/13.
[215] Vendryes, 'Nécrologie', 280.
[216] JGE to EE, 25 Nov. 1881. NLW JGE Family papers 6/27.
[217] JGE to EE, 28 Nov. 1881. NLW JGE Family papers 6/29.
[218] Of 2131 tons.
[219] JGE to EE, 26/27 Dec. 1881. NLW JGE Family papers 6/40.

December he took ship to Launceston in Tasmania, and thence by train to Hobart. He had to retrieve the bank draft that Edith had sent there, but also felt it would be cooler than staying in Melbourne whilst waiting to sail. On his arrival in Hobart he collected two letters from Edith and these cheered him considerably.[220] He went to New Norfolk from Hobart and commended the scenery and climate but managed to pick up what he called 'English Cholera' whilst there, from which he recovered after three days in bed and losing much weight. He called in to a doctor when back in Hobart with gratifying results:

> I was told that there was no mischief whatever going on at present in my lung - the Doctor c[d]. discern a weak spot, the result of past illnesses but no present mischief. ... The Doctor was of opinion that in a climate like that of Tasmania I sh[d]. probably not suffer anything from my lung but in a climate like that of foggy England I shall have to be "extremely careful".

He hoped to gain as much benefit from the return voyage and reported that he had climbed Mount Wellington, no mean feat for someone with tuberculosis.[221]

The 'Sobraon' left harbour on 4 February and he sent off a note with the steamer that brought him out to it making a prediction that was to come true:

> If I must leave England again I shall try the cold-cure. "Davoz-Platz" is the rage for consumptives now.[222]

The ship was delayed by weather but finally left on 6 February 1882.[223] On arrival in Cape Town on 22 March the passengers discovered that they were thought to have drowned. A name board from the ship had fallen overboard and

[220] JGE to EE, 28 Dec. 1881 - 2 Jan. 1882. NLW JGE Family papers 7/1.
[221] JGE to EE, 6 Jan. 1882, and 15/16 Jan. 1882. NLW JGE Family papers 7/2, and 7/3.
[222] JGE to EE, 4 Feb. 1882. NLW JGE Family papers 7/6.
[223] JGE to EE, 6 Feb. 1882. NLW JGE Family papers 7/7.

came ashore a few days later. An article stating that 'Sobraon' had sunk had appeared in the Melbourne Herald so Evans wrote off to Edith immediately in case she had received the news.[224] The 'Sobraon' stayed in Cape Town until 25 March and arrived at St Helena on 8 April. Here he went on a nine mile walk to Napoleon's prison and tomb and showed his determination by only begging a lift from a passing cart for the last leg back.[225] The rest of the voyage went well until they ran into a cold North-Easter on entering the Channel, slowing the ship to a crawl. Evans health deteriorated as a result: he caught cold and lost his 'buoyancy of spirit', plunging him into a fit of depression.[226]

On the voyage home Evans was elected, or appointed himself, Editor of the *Homeward Bound*, an 'Occasional Paper' prepared by hand whilst at sea and then collected together and published as a booklet on his return to Oxford.[227] This was Gwenogvryn's first attempt at subscription publishing, albeit with a very small circulation, but no doubt it was useful experience when it came to publishing his diplomatic texts.[228] The paper reported on the Debating Society, which held several meetings on board. The third debate on 4th April 1882, was of interest. The editor's report states:

> J. G. Evans affirmed that "Reading of the *bulk* of Modern Fiction is mentally and morally injurious." Mr. Evans ... insisted that young people who habitually read the modern novel incapacitated themselves for more valuable and instructive reading in biography, history, theology, philosophy, and science. He did not object to

[224] JGE to EE, 22/23 Mar. 1882, and 4 Apr. 1882 [from St Helena]. NLW JGE Family papers, 7/9, and 7/11.
[225] JGE to EE, 9/10 Apr. 1882. NLW JGE Family papers 7/13.
[226] JGE to EE, 23 May 1882. NLW JGE Family papers 7/15.
[227] JGE (ed.) and A. Wills (illus.), *The Homeward Bound: An Occasional Paper published at sea during the Voyage of the Ship "Sobraon" from Melbourne to London, 1882* ([Oxford], [1882?]).
[228] There are 44 subscribers listed by initials, but several seem to have had multiple copies, so the total print run is uncertain. *Homeward Bound*, 4.

> novel-reading *as such:* indeed he strongly recommended the reading of Scott, Dickens, Thackeray, George Eliot, Kingsley, and others.[229]

Both sides claimed the victory, and Rev. W. H. Burton, a friend of Evans, wrote the humorous comment afterwards that Evans:

> ... dropt on to novel reeders with the vengeance of a kannibel. He stood there between two lamps, and waving about a big book, Sir, ... He dared call me a noodle, Sir, for reedin' fikshun. He said there was only about two hundred novels as was worth reedin' at all, and that the people as red "yaller-backs" ought to be chucked overboard.[230]

Yellow-backs were the Victorian equivalent of modern paperback pulp fiction. Evans's argument appears to have been following the line of Emerson in *Society and Solitude*, where he recommended a reading list of suitable titles and indicates that was all that was worth reading.[231] Indeed, that may have been the book Gwenogvryn was 'waving about' to emphasise his points, since he commends it at the end of his report.[232] However, Evans seems to go further than Emerson in his condemnation of cheap fiction, and perhaps is showing the Welsh nonconformist attitude to such books, calling them "*ffugchwedlau* or 'made up stories'".[233] Equally his education in Classics at Presbyterian College, Carmarthen, may have brought to his mind Plato's condemnation of the falsehoods of poets in *The Republic*.[234] Plato uses the word *ψεῦδος* 'lie' for the fictional tales in Greek poetry that he felt painted the gods and heroes as deceitful. Since the gods could not, by nature, be deceptive, these stories

---

[229] JGE, *Homeward Bound*, 43.
[230] *Ibid.*, 45.
[231] R. W. Emerson, 'Books', *Society and Solitude* (London, 1870).
[232] JGE, *Homeward Bound*, 44.
[233] Literally 'false tales'. D. Greene, *Makers and Forgers: The G. J. Williams Memorial Lecture* (Cardiff, 1975), 5.
[234] Plato, *The Republic,* Book 2, 377a-383c, 381-383 (transl. Desmond Lee (London, 2007), 74-75, 81).

perpetuate lies and were very damaging to youth when used in education. It will be worth remembering Gwenogvryn's attitude to fiction when we come to consider his later 'translations' of the Poems of Taliesin.

The 'Sobraon' docked in London on 25 May 1882 but Evans stayed on board overnight as he was unwell. He wrote 'this cold seems to have no end'.[235] He returned to Oxford on 26 May to find his mother-in-law, Julia Hunter, alone with the servants, as his wife Edith, who had been ill herself, had taken the children to Aberystwyth.[236] He spent the next twenty-four hours in bed resting, to rid himself of the cold.[237] He rose next day and was still unwell but appeared to be improving.[238]

On 2 June he wrote to Edith listing several methods of contraception and asking: 'Are we justified in bringing a child into the world who is certain to succumb sooner or later to its father's disease?' He comments that 'It is simply heart breaking to see children born when you feel you may never see them grow up & never be able to do anything for them.'[239] He saw no point in making plans as he felt 'very much as I think a condemned man must feel but who hopes against hope a reprieve may come'.[240] It would appear that Edith agreed, as they had no more children.

[235] JGE to EE, 25 May 1882. NLW JGE Family papers 7/16.
[236] JGE to EE, 26 May 1882, and 28 May 1882. NLW JGE Family papers, 7/17, and 7/19.
[237] JGE to EE, [27 May 1882]. NLW JGE Family papers 7/18.
[238] JGE to EE, 28 May 1882. NLW JGE Family papers 7/19.
[239] JGE to EE, [2 Jun. 1882]. NLW JGE Family papers 7/24.
[240] JGE to EE, 3 Jun. 1882. NLW JGE Family papers 7/25.

DAVOS-PLATZ - THE COLD CURE

Having tried the sea-voyage cure with mixed success he then went to Davos-Platz for the cold cure. He wrote from London that his doctor 'thinks that I am decidedly better. ... He wd. not say that a winter at Davos wd. for a certainty cure me still he hoped so'.[241] As the weather was poor he proceeded, on doctor's advice, slowly up the Rhine but soon regretted the decision because of the cold and the state of the river.[242] He went by boat to Mainz and thence by train. By Heidelberg he was feeling better.[243] He arrived at the Hotel d'Angleterre, Davos-Platz on 30 September.[244] Here he entered his 'fresh period of purgatory' by reporting: 'I have lost 5 pounds in weight since I left London ... This I suppose is owing to the wear & tear of travelling & not having food at regular intervals'.[245] On 10th October he went to see Dr Ruedi, who:

> ... told me ... what he considered the present state & past state of my lungs. ... his verdict was emphatically a "good case" & one "fitted for Davos". He also gave it as his opinion that one winter wd. set me right.[246]

Evans later commented that: 'There is no doubt the seeds of my present trouble are nearly ten years old, tho' the breakdown at Oxford two years ago was much the most serious'.[247] His time passed uneventfully and by 7 January 1883 Evans decided to return. Because of his experience of the bad conditions on the outward journey he decided on 'the sleeping cars of the night Express'. He was saddened by Dr Thompson's advice on his studies:

---

[241] JGE to EE, 20 Sep. 1882. NLW JGE Family papers 8/1.
[242] JGE to EE, 22 Sep. 1882. NLW JGE Family papers 8/2.
[243] JGE to EE, 25 Sep. 1882. NLW JGE Family papers 8/5.
[244] JGE to EE, 30 Sept. 1882. NLW JGE Family papers 8/9.
[245] JGE to EE, 3 Oct. 1882. NLW JGE Family papers 8/11.
[246] JGE to EE, 11 Oct. 1882. NLW JGE Family papers 8/16.
[247] JGE to EE, 18 Oct. 1882. NLW JGE Family papers 8/21.

> ... if he knocks off my studies altogether I think it will be for good for there is no use in attempting the impracticable. One cant work for examinations one fortnight & then rest the next & so on ...

He added: 'I believe if I am to live I must seek outdoor life away from fogs & rivers'.[248] After this no more is heard of Gwenogvryn studying for matriculation. He was sanguine about the loss: 'I can't shut my eyes to the fact that my wanderings have done more to expand my mind than I believe a two years' study at College w[d]. have done.'[249] He left Davos on 14 January 1883 and was back in Oxford by 17 January.[250]

Gwenogvryn's health had now sufficiently stabilised for him to stay in Oxford. It was not good and never would be, so opportunity for study would be limited, but he had reached an accommodation with it that was to allow him to live and work for many years.

GWENOGVRYN'S FINANCIAL SITUATION

There remains the question of how a man who needed assistance from a charitable fund in order to pay his way through Presbyterian College Carmarthen, and who was getting no income as a minister, could afford these trips and the comfortable house at Oxford.[251] There had been talk in Carmarthen that Gwenogvryn was only marrying Edith for her money, and Julia Hunter cannot have welcomed such an impecunious and sickly suitor for her daughter.[252] Her attitude was probably a factor in Edith's initial resistance to the

[248] JGE to EE, 7 Jan. 1883. NLW JGE Family papers 9/3.
[249] JGE to EE, 13 Oct. 1882. NLW JGE Family papers 8/18.
[250] JGE to EE, 10 Jan. 1883, and 12 Jan. 1883. NLW JGE Family papers, 9/4, and 9/5.
[251] JGE to T L Marshall, 16 Jun. 1875. NLW JGE Family papers 31-3/43.
[252] Evans confirms the rumours in JGE to EE, [7] Oct. 1882. NLW JGE Family papers 8/13.

match. As Gwenogvryn turned out to be a drain on her resources, Julia indeed had a right to be cautious. Evans needed to earn a living to prove he could support Edith but the offer he received from Preston was not promising:

> ... the congregation is not self-supporting, & were we to go there it wd be only for a short time, because I extremely dislike having my name best known to charity-funds.[253]

Just before their marriage on 16 October he received a letter from Edith requesting a Marriage Settlement, what we now call a Pre-nuptial Agreement. It is probable that Julia was behind this. He reacted with some fury:

> What has grieved me more than I can tell you is the utter absolute want of confidence in me expressed in this settlement. ... You may tell me that such a clause is customary or the "custom of your family" but I say, let custom go to the devil & give me what is just right & honorable. ... I have made use of strong language I know but I feel intensely - my soul bleeds to think than any one - much more you shd have such a poor unworthy opinion of me.[254]

After this initial reaction he calmed down, apologised and agreed to the Settlement.[255]

Gwenogvryn's main complaint about Oxford was the prices. Cabs cost nearly double that in Preston and rents were expensive, houses costing as much as £45 to £80 a year.[256] That it was Julia Hunter who took on the lease and was paying most of the bills is clear from the entry in the 1881 Census, taken on the night of 3 April, where she is shown as head of the family. Clearly it was Julia who saw the enumerator. Normally the listing would then be Evans as son-in-law, Edith as daughter, the children, and then the servants. But Julia does not do this. She

[253] JGE to EH, 29 Jun. 1877. NLW JGE Family papers 1/38.
[254] JGE to EH, 21 Sep. 1877. NLW JGE Family papers 2/35.
[255] JGE to EH, 21 and 22 Sep. 1877. NLW JGE Family papers, 2/36 and 2/37.
[256] JGE to EE, 5 and 6 Apr. 1880. NLW JGE Family papers, 4/7 and 4/8.

reveals her opinion by listing herself, then the servants, then Evans and family as Boarders. Further she qualifies Gwenogvryn's profession of 'Unitarian Minister' with the comment '(with^{t} Congregation)' to underline his dependence.[257] In a letter that was intended to be sent from Melbourne in Australia to Edith, but was torn and not sent, Evans despairs of his relationship with Julia:

> But it annoys me beyond everything that I am so utterly unable to please my mother in law - I find my sincerest efforts have been snubbed or put down to a selfish motive on my part, ... I dont think that even the voice of duty can be so onesided that a wife shd. always run from her husband to attend to her mother.[258]

Evans was not to be relieved of his difficulties until Julia died, aged 88, in 1895.[259] That event was also to relieve him of the income from her annuity.

In the June of 1881 Evans commented on his earnings as a supply Minister:

> ... [Mr Howse] also offers me two or three Sundays at Altrincham in Augst or Sept^{r}. - fee £3.3.0 a Sunday. Reading gives only £2.0.0 but the expenses are only about 7/6.[260]

So supply was not bringing him much but his abandonment of the ministry in 1881 meant he had no income whatsoever. From now on Evans was looking for any means of earning something, despite not having given up on the idea of matriculating. On the way to Tasmania he had met up with a man called Morrison who attempted to persuade him to stay in Australia. Evans did look at this possibility quite seriously, weighing up how he could earn a living 'by teaching or in the Book trade' and the comparative costs and the benefits of the

[257] ONS, Census, 1881, Oxford, 56.
[258] Damaged sheet from the letter included in NLW TL papers, Box 5,1031. It must have been written at sea in November 1881 as it is mentioned in JGE to EE, 25 Nov. 1881, as being torn and written immediately before that letter. NLW JGE Family papers 6/27.
[259] GRO Death Certificate: 18 Mar. 1895.
[260] JGE to EE, 27 June 1881. NLW JGE Family papers 6/16.

climate.[261] He visited the fruit-growing area of the Huon Valley where he stayed a few nights and was enthusiastic about the area, and, on discovering a plot of 100 acres for sale, he wrote to Rev Howse in England about the possibility of going into partnership. As this apparently unfinished letter was found together with his uncompleted journal notes for the voyage out, it was almost certainly not sent.[262] He thought that his wife would not approve for he wrote to Edith:

> I dont think you wd. like colonial manners or the want of manners & the total absence of conventional routine-ism so dear to the English heart at home.[263]

Even so he did paint a rosy picture of fruit-growing in Tasmania, possibly in the hope of raising some enthusiasm from his wife.[264] Had he succeeded the study of Welsh medieval literature would have suffered a severe setback.

His letters were peppered with comments to indicate that he was being careful with his expenditure, as on his visit to a London doctor before departing for Davos: 'I pleaded my poverty & he gave me a letter to Dr Ruedi to say he must consider my exigent circumstances'.[265] But he also stated 'I am not only useless but a source of anxiety & expence to you'.[266] Constant comments from Julia exasperated him:

> I dont know what you mean by talking of our being "reduced to the workhouse" if it were not for Mamma's help. ... I belong to the Ministers' Benevolent Society which w^{d}. grant us under existing circumstances £100 a year, or at least £80. ... I know we sh^{d}. not live very grandly on £100 a year but it is highly probable we sh^{d}.

[261] JGE to EE, 6 and 15/16 Jan. 1882. NLW JGE Family papers 7/2 and 7/3.
[262] JGE to Rev. Howse 19 Jan. 1882. NLW TL papers, Box 5, 1031.
[263] JGE to EE, 6 and 15/16 Jan. 1882. NLW JGE Family papers 7/2 and 7/3.
[264] JGE to EE, 30 Jan. 1882. NLW JGE Family papers 7/4.
[265] JGE to EE, 20 Sep. 1882. NLW JGE Family papers 8/1.
[266] JGE to EE, 18 Oct. 1882. NLW JGE Family papers 8/21.

> live much more happily. Solomon says "It is better to live in a garret where there is love than sumptuously with a disagreeable woman" ...[267]

He was in one of the most expensive places to live in the country with no income save his mother-in-law's annuity and the possibility of the occasional fee for acting as a supply preacher. Julia's health was not good, and the annuity died with her, so he had to find some means of earning a living fairly quickly. It was clear he needed some advice.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

The question that this chapter set out to ask what the influences acting upon the growing youth were that would drive his future actions. Clearly his Unitarianism would be a strong factor. By its very nature it placed him in a unusual position, in a minority among his fellows. But it is undoubtedly a rational creed, placing a strong weight on personal decision and action, rather than on submission to authority. It would give him self-reliance and a certain stubborness that would not allow other factors to weigh down upon him. His health had stabilised provided he put no strain on it, which meant all thought of matriculating for the University must be forgotten, as must a career as a minister of religion. His financial situation was decidedly fragile, and he had to find an income to support his family, so it was a question of seeking an occupation that would deliver money and for work that his health allowed him the capacity of undertaking.

But there were other factors that might bear more negatively on his future. His seeking after a father figure would make him vulnerable when that father figure

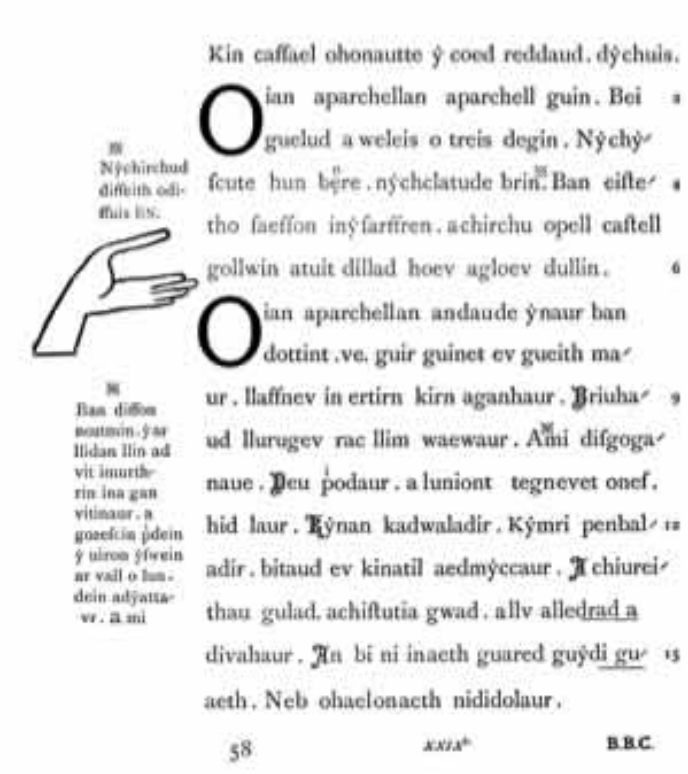
[267] JGE to EE, 5 Nov. 1882. NLW JGE Family papers 8/33.

came under attack. His rejection of fictional stories, or *ffugchwedlau*, would also become a problem, because the danger was that if he considered a story important then it could not be false, it must be true. If it looked like something made up then it must be a disguised true story. The Unitarian desire to see the Bible as metaphor to be interpreted by human reason would not necessarily be helpful here. The danger then is of believing that he had an answer and reasoning that the evidence must fit the given answer, rather than the approved methodology of working from the evidence to find the answer, even if the answer he obtained did not fit his preconceived ideas. He was therefore open to the twin dangers of excessive scepticism or excessive credulity. We shall see how that affected his work leading up to the final dismissal of his translations of Taliesin.

At this point in January 1883 Gwenogvryn's future was highly uncertain. The next chapter shows how he dealt with that uncertainty.



Fig. 2. Page 58 from the Black Book of Carmarthen facsimile of 1888.



Kin caſſael ohonautte ŷ coed reddaud. dŷchuis.

Oian aparchellan aparchell guin. Bei guelud a weleis o treis degin. Nŷchŷſcute hun bẽre. nŷchclatude brin. Ban eiſtetho ſaeſſon inŷſarffren. achirchu opell caſtell gollwin atuit dillad hoev agloev dullin.

Oian aparchellan andaude ŷnaur ban dottint. ve. guir guinet ev gueith maur. llaffnev in ertirn kirn aganhaur. Briuhaud llurugev rac llim waewaur. Ami diſgoganaue. Deu podaur. a luniont tegnevet oneſ. hid laur. Kŷnan kadwaladir. Kŷmri penbaladir. bitaud ev kinatil aedmŷccaur. A chiureithau gulad. achiſtutia gwad. allv alledrad a divahaur. An bi ni inaeth guared guŷdi guaeth. Neb ohaelonaeth nididolaur.

Nŷchirchud diſſeith odiſſuis lin.

Ban diſſon noutmin. ŷ ar llidan llin ad vit imurthrin ina gan vitinaur. a goreſcin pdein ŷ uiron ŷſwein ar vail o lundein adŷattavr. a mi

58 XXIX B.B.C.

Fig. 3. Page 58 from the Black Book of Carmarthen diplomatic edition of 1907.

CHAPTER 3
~ OXFORD AND THE *OLD WELSH TEXTS* ~
1883-1893.

I copied the whole carefully, line for line, and column for column ...[268]

This chapter seeks to answer two questions that are intimately connected. Firstly, how Evans transformed himself from an out-of-work Unitarian Minister into a renowned expert on Welsh palaeography, and, secondly, what it was that motivated him to choose the particular selection of manuscripts that he published. I will argue that Gwenogvryn's specific and unusual talent singularly fitted him to meet the needs of Welsh scholarship, and it might be thought that good fortune went hand in hand with good timing to grant him his favoured status.

The train that drew into Oxford on 17 January 1883 brought Evans home in something of a quandary. Gwenogvryn had moved to Oxford for one purpose and one purpose only, to enable him to matriculate into the University of Oxford and, by gaining a degree, to better provide a good living for his family. The advice that Dr. Thompson had given him was therefore extremely unhelpful. Rhŷs was later to write: 'I could not urge him in his state of health to tackle in earnest the difficulties of "Smalls," of learning Greek and writing Latin prose.'[269] So Gwenogvryn stopped studying for matriculation. He was sanguine about the loss: 'I can't shut my eyes to the fact that my wanderings have done more to expand my mind than I believe a two years' study at College w[d]. have done.'[270]

---

[268] Referring to the White Book of Rhydderch. 'Two drafts, on thin rough paper, of an undated letter, JGE to TL.' NLW TL papers, Box 5, 1870, iv.
[269] Unfinished article on Evans v Tout. NLW JR papers, A4/9, 6.
[270] JGE to EE, 13 Oct. 1882. NLW JGE Family papers, 8/18.

There was no prospect of returning to life as a Unitarian Minister. Even if he could have found a chapel willing to take him on, assuming the dispute at Preston would not prevent it, his voice was simply too weak for the purpose. Evans was further concerned by the declining health of his mother-in-law, Julia Hunter. The income that he and his family were living on came from an annuity that only continued whilst she remained alive. Gwenogvryn was desperate to find a way of earning money to support his family, so he did what he did when he first came to Oxford, he went to see John Rhŷs for advice. The exact order of what happened then is uncertain as we only have recollections that were written down long after the events; the direct evidence is limited. The sequence of events can be provisionally reconstructed as follows, from the records that are available.

PROVERBS

Rhŷs appears to have concluded that Gwenogvryn needed two things. Firstly, something to take his mind off his state of health and that of his mother-in-law, and, secondly, something that had the prospect of some money at the end of it. Rhŷs had been asked to judge some of the classes at the Royal National Eisteddfod of Wales to be held in Liverpool in 1884, and no doubt Rhŷs had a list of the classes and prizes at the time that Evans went to see him. They must have discussed whether Gwenogvryn could enter any of the classes. During his time as a Minister Evans had collected Proverbs for use in his sermons so the class that appealed most was listed as follows:

> DIARHEBION :—'Y Casgliad goreu o Ddiarhebion Cymreig, yn cynwys hefyd Linellau Diarhebol o Farddoniaeth Cymru, yn nghydag Eglurhad ar y Geiriau Annghynefin ynddynt.' Gwobr, £25.
>
> [PROVERBS :—'The best Collection of Welsh Proverbs, including also Proverbial Lines from Welsh Poetry, together with an Explanation of the Unfamiliar Words in them.' Prize, £25.][271]

Evans was soon at work. A winter in the city of 'fogs and rivers' was too much for his lungs, and, by Valentine's Day 1884, he was safely installed in the Rev. Alfred Hood's house in West Bournemouth.[272] The £25 prize suggested the idea of making more money this way:

> I think I might earn in a year or two about £100 a year from the Eisteδfod for I could compete on about half a dozen subjects easily ...[273]

It is clear from his letters that he was well underway with the work, and had taken books with him to draw from, as he writes: 'I am not neglecting any Proverb Culture but peg away steadily without haste & without rest.'[274] Evans was working from several books:

> ... there are the two thick volumes of the Dictionary to be gone through carefully as well as some ten Volumes of poetry averaging 500 pages — and all must be done thoroughly. ... & notes &c to be added. But it must be done for I have set my heart on the £25 prize![275]

---

[271] Grongar [JGE] (ed.), 'Casgliad o Ddiarhebion Cymreig', W. R. Owen, (ed.), *Transactions of the Royal National Eisteddfod of Wales, Liverpool, 1884* (Liverpool, 1885), 528-584, 528. My translation.
[272] JGE to EE, 14 Feb. 1884. NLW JGE Family papers, 10/1.
[273] JGE to EE, 19 Mar. 1884. NLW JGE Family papers, 10/26. Also quoted in Roberts, *Ceredigion* 14/4, 56. Evans habitually wrote 'δ' for Welsh 'dd'.
[274] JGE to EE, 16 Feb 1884. NLW JGE Family papers, 10/3.
[275] JGE to EE, 21 Feb 1884. NLW JGE Family papers, 10/7.

He used two Dictionaries to make his selection, John Davies's of 1632, and William Owen Pughe's of 1832.[276] I believe it was the latter he had with him in Bournemouth. He states:

> Many of the proverbs I readily confess are too difficult for me to explain. Dr. Owen Pughe, with more courage than discretion, has attacked some of the most difficult ones, and made nonsense out of them. I have thought it unnecessary to reproduce his guesses.

Davies's dictionary was Latin-Welsh, which gave Evans little problem since he had studied Latin at Carmarthen, along with Greek and Hebrew. His comments on Owen Pughe's dictionary do show the bizarre nature of some the definitions to be found in it. Scholarship suffered greatly at this time for the lack of a good historically-based dictionary as we now have in *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*. Evans was later to attempt to remedy this deficiency, though it was to prove too great a problem for him. He further commented:

> References in the body of the work will sufficiently explain the sources, but I may say that two original MSS. have been used—*Hengwrt MS*, No. 202 and *Y Llyfyr Coch o Hergest*, columns 1057-83, both inclusive.[277]

Llyfr Coch Hergest, the Red Book of Hergest, was owned by and kept in Jesus College. Daniel Huws dates it to the end of the 14th, or beginning of the 15th century, and notes its importance as an 'original retrospective compilation'.[278] Rhŷs was Bursar of the College as well as Professor of Celtic, and he must have

[276] J. Davies, *Antiquæ linguæ Britannicæ, ... dictionarium duplex* (London, 1632); W. Owen Pughe, *A Dictionary of the Welsh Language,* 2nd edn. (London, 1832).
[277] Grongar, 'Casgliad ', 532-3. 'Folios 26 to 28' in the 'Explanation of References' is an error for 'pp. 126-128'.
[278] *MWM*, 19, 60. The manuscript is now in the Bodleian Library.

arranged for Evans to have access to it.[279] The story of how he learned how to read it must therefore belong to this time. Rhŷs stated much later:

> ... it occurred to me to place in his hands one of the volumes of Lady Charlotte Guest's "Mabinogion," and his attention was called to some of the facsimiles of the writing in the Red Book of Hergest. I well remember my wife and I giving him his first lessons in the reading of the manuscript facsimile. But I hardly expected anything to come of it ...[280]

Evans told a somewhat different story and was able to date the occasion exactly:

> When I asked Rhys to let me see the Red Book of Hergest on May 23.1884 he remarked "What w^d^. be the use? you cant read it" — the look and emphasis being most unmistakable ...[281]

Those two descriptions were written much later (c.1909) than the events they describe, and serve to show the growing disaffection between them by that time. A friend who was also a journalist, writing in 1892, much closer to the event, comes somewhere between the two, and is therefore probably more accurate:

> In your search for Welsh proverbs you had for the first time to consult some old Welsh MSS. Mrs. Rhys, it is said, with her usual kindness, helped you for a day or two, but you soon developed a knack of your own for deciphering the hieroglyphics of the old Welsh scribes. ... Professor Rhys and you were once chatting together in the study at Gwynva, when Rhys suddenly took up a MS from the table and said, "Can you make anything out of that?" "No," you had to confess. Rhys then read a few sentences, though there were some words he was doubtful about. You then said, "Lend it me, and I'll read it in a few days?" For two or three days you pored over that old MS, and when you brought it back you were able to read it. Not content with this, you made the reading of old MSS your special study, and Professor Rhys has long since confessed that you have left him far in the rear.[282]

Hengwrt MS. 202 (Peniarth MS. 12 under Gwenogvryn's later renumbering) was not consulted directly since he had not yet made the acquaintance of the owner,

---

[279] 'Jesus College', *Oxford University Calendar for the year 1884*.
[280] Unfinished article on Evans v Tout. NLW JR papers, A4/9, 7.
[281] JGE to JMJ, 6 Feb 1893. Bangor MSS 3247, 15.
[282] Dodd, 'Open Letters'. *Gwynva* was Rhŷs's house at 43 Banbury Road, Oxford.

W. R. M. Wynne.[283] According to Evans's *Report* on the manuscript, the proverbs were part of a fragment of the Peniarth MS. 4 section of *Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch* that had been bound into the back of Peniarth MS. 12. He noted at the end of the entry in his *Report*:

> The text of the above fragment of the *White Book* was edited by Mr. Egerton Phillimore in *Y CYMMRODOR* for 1884, pages 123-54.[284]

Phillimore's article was in the second part of *Y Cymmrodor* 7, which was not published until 1886, despite Gwenogvryn's comment in the *Report*, so he could not have seen it, and Rhŷs states in his adjudication that the Peniarth MS. 12 proverbs were 'still unpublished'.[285] Rhŷs must have told Gwenogvryn about Phillimore's transcript, so on 18 July 1884 Evans wrote to Phillimore requesting the loan of the transcript, which was truly cutting matters fine since Gwenogvryn had to submit his collection for judging by the end of that month.[286] Phillimore duly sent the transcript by registered mail for 24 July and visited Gwenogvryn to collect it, probably on 30 July.[287] The relationship that arose between the two men as a result was to prove of major importance for the future.

Despite the addition of the material from the two manuscripts, it is clear that Gwenogvryn considered that his entry was far from complete when he submitted it under the pseudonym required by the rules.[288] He chose the name Grongar.[289]

---

[283] Not until May 1885.
[284] *Report* 1/2, 325; EGBP, 'A Fragment from Hengwrt MS. No. 202', *YC* 7 (1886), 89-154, 138-145. Vol. 7 was issued in two parts, the first in October 1884, and the second, which contained the transcript, in 1886.
[285] Grongar, 'Casgliad', 530. JGE's transcript of EGBP's transcript of Hengwrt MS 202 still exists: NLW JGE papers, Group II, 54.
[286] JGE to EGBP, 18 Jul. 1884. NLW EGBP papers C1/21.
[287] JGE to EGBP, 24 & [29] Jul. 1884. NLW EGBP papers, C1/21.
[288] JGE and JR agreed on this. Grongar, 'Casgliad', 529, 532.

The judges also considered it incomplete. Of the three judges, only Rhŷs, who must have known that Evans was Grongar from reference to the Red Book, felt that his entry was the best. Rev. Thomas Rees of Abertawe, as first judge, placed him second, and felt that his primary choice was:

> ... yn fwy gwybodus yn llenyddiaeth henafol [*sic*] y Cymry a geiryddiaeth y Gymraeg na *Grongar* ...
>
> [... more knowledgeable in the ancient literature of the Cymry and the vocabulary of Cymraeg than *Grongar* ...]

but added in closing:

> ... eto gan fod *Grongar* wedi gwneud casgliad mor gyflawn a threfnus, byddaf yn barod i gyduno â'm cydfeirniaid os barnant hwy mai efe yw y rhagoraf o'r ddau.
>
> [... yet *Grongar* has made a collection so complete and orderly, I would be prepared to agree with my joint adjudicators if they deem that he is the more outstanding of the two.][290]

Rhŷs, as the second judge, complained that many of the contestants had been trapped by Owen Pughe's explanations, and praised *Grongar* for his ability to give more reliable translations, at the same time criticising his failing to attempt a translation of the most difficult ones, and on the incompleteness of his list. He stated:

> Altogether this competitor may be said to have distinguished himself above his fellows by a firmer grasp of the meaning of the proverbs and by the more scientific method he has followed in the treatment of them: so I have no hesitation in adjudging him the prize. In case his collection is to be published, I should advise that it be returned to him to be rendered more complete in its list of proverbs and less brief in its notes on words that call for explanation.[291]

---

[289] The reason for JGE's use of *Grongar* is uncertain. I assume it refers to John Dyer's poem *Grongar Hill*. The hill is near Llangathen, Carmarthenshire.
[290] Grongar, 'Casgliad', 528. My translation.
[291] Grongar, 'Casgliad', 530. Rhŷs's adjudication was in English.

Rev. Owen Jones of Liverpool, as the third judge, used the total number of proverbs in the collection as his primary criterion, and so placed *Grongar* only sixth. He agreed the time allowed was insufficient:

> Rhaid bod yr amser a roddwyd i wneud y casgliad yn llawer rhy fyr, yn enwedig i gynull o'r beirdd hen a diweddar eu llinellau diarhebol.
>
> [It must be that the time needed to provide the collection was much too short, especially to collect from the bards old and new their proverbial lines .]

He suggested that, in view of the fact that the better submissions had all been compiled from different areas of literature, if publication should be considered, then the losing contestants should agree, 'ar ryw delerau' (on some terms), to combine with the winner, as editor, to produce a compilation worthy to everyone across the Principality. When he saw the adjudications of his co-judges he admitted that *Grongar* had merit, and would have received his support if he had a more comprehensive collection. He ended with:

> Yr wyf wedi darllen beirniadaeth y Proffeswr RHYS, ac yn hollol foddlawn i *Grongar* gael y wobr, *ar yr amod* iddo wneuthur yr hyn y mae y Proffeswr RHYS yn ei awgrymu, sef ychwanegiad llawn at y casgliad, a bod yn helaethach yn ei eglurhadaeth.
>
> [I have read the adjudication of Prof. RHYS, and I am quite satisfied with *Grongar* getting the prize, *on the condition* that he does that which Prof. RHYS suggests, namely a full augmentation to the collection, and that he is more extensive in his explanation.][292]

The prize was won, but the judges and *Grongar* had not considered that the Eisteddfod committee required, as a condition of entry, that the winning collection would be printed in the volume of *Transactions* published after the Eisteddfod. Evans was disappointed and vented his feelings to his wife:

[292] Grongar, 'Casgliad', 531.

> I think the Liverpool people are very perverse. ... Prof Rhys distinctly advised them to return the Collection of Proverbs to me to complete them as I proposed. I do not think I ought to give them more of my labor for nothing & I would rather leave a "Completed Work" than have it published any way the Liverpool people like. If they determine to publish it "whether or no" — I will correct the proofs for them but no more.

He added a comment that was to be prophetic:

> I think I sh[d]. rather be my own master in the business — the type & paper must suit my own notions before I can take any interest in it. I should not lose any money by it & I might gain a little for my trouble.[293]

His following letter also contained a more humorous prophecy that indicates his ambition, if not his humility:

> I am going to be famous one day in the world of letters and after — — well afterwards all my letters will be hunted up & my every careless word given to the world as showing how a Genius, even in his moments of abandon, cannot but illumine whatever it touches![294]

Evans approached several of his fellow competitors with a view to a joint publication, and obtained their agreement.[295] He even enquired into the cost of printing.[296] The Eisteddfod Committee remained firm, however, and, by mid December, Gwenogvryn had given up all hopes of profiting further from the proverbs. He wrote:

> The Liverpool Eisteddfod people are likely to play the Dog in the Manger. They have written to Prof Rhys & privately feel, I hear, that I have considerable contempt for them; which is true enough.[297]

[293] JGE to EE, 13 Oct. 1884. NLW JGE Family papers, 11/20.
[294] JGE to EE, 13 Oct. 1884. NLW JGE Family papers, 11/21.
[295] JGE to EE, 26 Oct. 1884. NLW JGE Family papers, 11/32.
[296] JGE to EE, 18 Oct. 1884. NLW JGE Family papers, 11/25.
[297] JGE to EE, 13 Dec. 1884. NLW JGE Family papers, 11/44.

When the *Transactions* were published Evans complained that the severe editing of his accompanying 'essay' left it 'made up of disjointed sentences with all the connecting links left out', and that the 'spelling of the printer is execrable'.[298]

Subsequently there is no talk of a book of proverbs or of attempting to win more prizes at the Eisteddfod. That still left him with the same financial problem. He had, by now, definitely decided his future was a literary one:

> I must try hard to get something to do in the Magazines — it is no easy task to get the first article in & many have had to fight for years before they meet with success. I must get something to do that I can do at home and when I am well enough to work. So it must be literary work in some shape or other.[299]

He soon found that it was easier to get an article published than to get paid for it. He discovered that even authors like Trollope and Carlyle had difficulty in extracting money from 'the Magazines', so Gwenogvryn also abandoned that as an idea.[300]

He thought of saving money by moving to Bournemouth. He found the climate there suited him better than Oxford, and he had ideas of starting a business down there. Gwenogvryn and Edith even went as far as choosing a house and coming to an agreement with the owner at the beginning of April 1884.[301] They did not withdraw from the deal until March 1886, and events in Oxford were the whole reason for the withdrawal.[302]

---

[298] JGE to EGBP, 'Wednesday evening' [Nov. 1885?]. NLW EGBP papers, C1/21.
[299] JGE to EE, 2 Oct. 1884. NLW JGE Family papers, 11/9.
[300] JGE to EE, 21 Oct. 1884. NLW JGE Family papers, 11/27.
[301] JGE to EE, 1 Apr. 1884. NLW JGE Family papers, 10/39.
[302] JGE to EE, 24 Mar. 1886. NLW JGE Family papers, 13/1.

RHYS'S MABINOGION CLASS

Gwenogvryn was to state later 'In October 1884 I joined Prof. Rhys's class which was reading the Mabinogi of Math'.[303] In this his memory was at fault because it is clear from correspondence that he was in Bournemouth from 30 September to 29 October.[304] Even so, it is certain the idea was in his mind as he wrote on 18 October:

> I lose everything by not getting Prof. Rhys's teaching — it is his teaching class I do really want to attend & I very much wonder if it can't be arranged somehow for me to attend this teaching class.[305]

It seems that Evans persuaded Rhŷs to allow him to attend, despite his not being a member of the University, and he appears to have done for the remainder of Michaelmas Term 1884 and Hilary Term 1885. I have no direct evidence of how long he continued his attendance. The class was important to Gwenogvryn, not only for Rhŷs's teaching but for the contacts made with John Morris Jones, O. M. Edwards, Edward Anwyl, Llewelyn Williams, and many other Welsh scholars of his day, particularly through the Oxford Welsh Society, the *Cymdeithas Dafydd ap Gwilym*, which would be founded in 1886 by Edwards, Morris Jones and others. Gwenogvryn was not a founder member, but joined shortly after, and his house became a frequent meeting place for the society.[306]

---

[303] 'Two Drafts'. NLW TL papers, Box 5, 1870, iii.
[304] JGE to EE, 1-28 Oct. 1884. NLW JGE Family papers, 11/7-11/35.
[305] JGE to EE, 18 Oct. 1884. NLW JGE Family papers, 11/25.
[306] D. Ellis Evans, and R. Brinley Jones, *Cofio'r Dafydd: Cymdeithas Dafydd ap Gwilym 1886-1986* (Abertawe, 1987).

Evans soon discovered that Rhys's class suffered from inaccuracies in the transcripts in Lady Charlotte Guest's *Mabinogion*. He later stated in the second draft of a letter to Timothy Lewis:

> The Red Book of Hergest was in a room adjoining the Professor's, but it was not consulted. This seemed to me very strange, and when at the end of the term it was agreed that the Romance of Gereint ab Erbin sh[d]. be read in the following term I copied its text from the manuscript in the vacation.[307]

The first draft gives a much fuller version of what happened:

> I ... took my transcript to class next term. R. noticed it[,] ask[ed] to see it, and grew very red. At the second lecture the margins of his own copy of Lady Guest's bore evidence of collation with the original. However my readings not infrequently disagreed with both printed text & the collations and soon R. gave up collating because he approved of my work. This put into my head the idea of copying the entire text in the Red Book.[308]

The accuracy of these reminiscences is questionable. They were probably written around 1909, over twenty years later, when relations between Rhŷs and Evans had soured, so Evans would have been quite happy to magnify any errors Rhŷs may have made.

It would appear that Evans set to the copying with a will. Rhŷs must have observed that Gwenogvryn's accuracy in copying medieval manuscripts was unusual, and, appreciating how useful it could be, he sought to encourage that talent. The transcripts he produced were said by an anonymous reviewer 'to leave little or nothing to be desired in point of accuracy or completeness'.[309]

---

[307] 'Two Drafts'. NLW TL papers, Box 5, 1870, iii. The transcript has survived: NLW JGE papers, Group II, 9 & 10.
[308] 'Two Drafts'. NLW TL papers, Box 5, 1870, i.
[309] Anon., 'Notices of Books: Old Welsh Texts. By J. Gwenogfryn Evans. Edited and Revised by Professor John Rhys, M.A.', *YC* 7 (1886), 226-228, 227.

Rhŷs may have been red faced from the fact that Gwenogvryn had managed to gain access to the Red Book without his knowledge. The place where it was kept is uncertain. Owen McKnight, the Jesus College Librarian, indicated to me that the logical place would have been 'the 'Archivum' cupboards at the south end of the Fellows' Library, installed in 1683 and still in place today'.[310] It is, however, a little strange to describe the Fellows' Library as 'a room adjoining the Professor's'. The other possibility was that the manuscript was kept in a small Muniment Room adjoining what is now the Peter North Room, formerly the Old Bursary. So perhaps, as Rhŷs was then Bursar, the classes were held there.[311] Neither solution is entirely satisfactory, and Gwenogvryn's memory may be at fault. It is possible that the Red Book was kept in the 'Archivum' cupboards prior to it being deposited in the Bodleian, but kept in the Muniment Room when withdrawn subsequently so that Evans could do his compositing. In February 1886 the Fellows decided to place the Red Book together with 143 other manuscripts in the Bodleian Library on deposit with permission for Evans to have access to it.[312] An agreement was drawn up and signed on 15 March 1886, and the transfer completed on 24 March.[313] Jesus was not the first College to deposit their manuscript collection in the Bodleian as University College had already done so in 1882. The Report of the Librarian explains the reason:

> In the vacations, ... it constantly happens that scholars from other countries visit Oxford for the purpose of working on its MSS. Those unfortunately are the times when the Librarians and other officers of Colleges ... are more likely to be absent

[310] Personal correspondence from Owen McKnight, Jesus College Librarian, 24 May 2017.
[311] Based on information from the late Chris Jeens, Jesus College Archivist.
[312] JR, and JGE, (eds.), *The Text of the Mabinogion and other Welsh tales from the Red Book of Hergest* (Oxford, 1887), xxiii; *Jesus College Minute Book*, Feb 13 & 20 1886.
[313] Photocopy of the 'Memoranda of Agreement' held in the Librarian's Office at Jesus College; personal correspondence 2 June 2017 from Dr. Bruce Barker-Benfield, Senior Assistant Librarian, Department of Special Collections & Western Manuscripts, Bodleian Library.

> than present, and often very great difficulty has been experienced by continental scholars in obtaining access to College MSS.[314]

Each College had its collection 'placed in a special case bearing the College arms, and each MS. has a special label showing it to be the property of the College'.[315]

Rhŷs also seems to have helped Evans by persuading two of his University colleagues to lend a hand. For two years Gwenogvryn attended 'informal lectures to research students of History' by Edward Augustus Freeman, then Regius Professor of Modern History, who taught Gwenogvryn:

> ... the necessity, not merely of a careful study of all accessible records pertaining to given subject, but also of visiting the scene of action, going over the entire ground with a mind stored with facts. He held it a waste of time to read history without maps, and impossible to write it without a minute examination of the geography involved.[316]

History was followed by a year of lectures on diplomatic editions by Frederick York Powell, then law-lecturer and tutor of Christ Church, and Fellow of Oriel College, and later to succeed Freeman as Professor of Modern History.[317] The latter lectures would also have had reference to Palaeography. In that he had other helpers. In his *Mabinogion* Gwenogvryn thanks a Mr. Macray and a Mr. Madan for their help 'in palæographical details'.[318] Mr. Macray was William Dunn Macray, author of the *Annals of the Bodleian Library, Oxford*, who divided his time between the manuscripts department of the Bodleian (from 1850 to

---

[314] *The Bodleian Library in 1882-7: A Report from the Librarian published by permission of the Curators* (Oxford, 1888), 21-2.
[315] *Ibid.*
[316] JGE, 'Taliesin, or The Critic Criticised', *YC* 34 (1926), 5. In view of the late date of this comment and the unreliability of its source, the quote may be considered special pleading rather than an accurate description. On the other hand Freeman was known to strongly link history and geography. Cf. his two volume *The Historical Geography of Europe* (London, 1881).
[317] *Ibid*.
[318] *RBM*, xxiii.

1905, where he compiled the catalogues of the Rawlinson and Digby manuscripts), and being Rector of Ducklington, Oxfordshire.[319] Mr. Madan was Falconer Madan, appointed sub-librarian of the Bodleian in 1880 with particular interest in the cataloguing of manuscripts. Madan was appointed University Lecturer in Palaeography from 1889-1913, and became Bodley's Librarian in 1912.[320] It is probable that Madan guided Gwenogvryn when he applied himself to direct study on the subject, both in the changes in style over time, and in indicating which manuscripts to examine to show those changes:

> In 1888 I spent six months in examining dated MSS. in the Bodleian Library in order to get hold of the main characteristics of writing between 1100 and 1400.[321]

Evans also visited Arthur Sampson Napier, appointed to the newly created post of Merton Professor of English Language and Literature from Michaelmas 1885, but here it is probable that Gwenogvryn was the teacher. The only reference we have is a comment by Evans in August 1886:

> I spend my day till 4 at the Bodley — then I go with Prof Napier every afternoon to do some Welsh with him & return home to tea at 7.[322]

THE WHITE BOOK OF RHYDDERCH

Whilst transcribing *Llyfr Coch Hergest*, Evans discovered the existence of *Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch*; that it contained many of the same texts, and was earlier in date. Daniel Huws confirms that it 'established the canon of what came to be

[319] Mary Clapinson, 'Macray, William Dunn (1826–1916)', *ODNB*, [http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2167/view/article/38395, accessed 8 Jul. 2017]
[320] R. Julian Roberts, 'Madan, Falconer (1851–1935)', *ODNB*, [http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2167/view/article/41047, accessed 8 Jul. 2017]
[321] JGE, 'Critic Criticised', 10.
[322] Letter, JGE to EE, 29 Aug. 1886. NLW JGE Family papers, 13/23.

known as the 'Mabinogion''.[323] Evans then determined to transcribe the latter in order to compare the two. It is clear from a number of his letters that Evans appreciated from the beginning the importance of collating different versions of the same text, both for the elimination of copying errors and the elucidation of difficult words.[324] Only Evans's version of events remains, the same questionable late source as for *Geraint*. On being approached for a letter of introduction to W. R. M. Wynne of Peniarth, the owner of the manuscript, Rhŷs refused, stating that it was a 'mere fragment'.[325] It is difficult to understand Rhŷs's motivation here, assuming Evans is telling the whole truth. Undoubtedly the manuscript is fragmentary, but perhaps Rhŷs did not want Gwenogvryn distracted from his work on the Red Book by the wealth of material at Peniarth, or perhaps he was still uncertain of Evans's abilities. Rhŷs was to discover that Evans was not easily restrained once he had the bit between his teeth. A few months were to pass before Gwenogvryn would know that his wife's brother-in-law, William Williams of Aberystwyth, one of H.M. Inspectors of Schools, was acquainted with Wynne. The letter of introduction was duly sent and Wynne replied that he was willing to deposit the White Book in the Bodleian for Evans to transcribe.[326] Not only that, but Wynne also acceded to Gwenogvryn's request to borrow other manuscripts that contained a version of *Geraint*, and furthermore added the following statement:

> I have no objection whatever to your printing what you like ex these M.S.S., & as to pageing, or numbering the columns of the Llyfr Gwyn, I sh^{d} imagine it to be a good suggestion ...[327]

---

[323] *MWM*, 13.
[324] JGE to EGBP, 18 Jul. 1884. NLW EGBP papers, C1/21.
[325] 'Two Drafts'. NLW TL papers, Box 5, 1870, iii.
[326] WRMW to W. Williams, 18 May 1885. NLW TL papers, Box 3, 10.
[327] WRMW to JGE, 4 Jun. 1885. NLW TL papers, Box 3, 11. Underlining in letter.

Evans completed the numbering of the pages and columns of *Llyfr Gwyn* and they are still used as reference markers. The transcript was duly completed, and is now housed in the National Library at Aberystwyth.[328] It is an exact copy, letter for letter, space for space, word for word, line for line, page for page, with even the creases in the vellum indicated where they occur on the page. Where there were lacunae in the manuscript due to damage Evans compared the text with other versions, and filled in the missing letters with the version that best fitted the space. On completion he had it bound in white leather and the page edges gilded. John Morris Jones (or, possibly, Owen Edwards) described it as 'un o'r llyfrau harddaf a mwyaf gwerthfawr a fedd ein gwlad'.[329] It is certainly a striking document and does illustrate the talent of the man, and his absolute obsession with accuracy and attention to detail.

THE 'OLD WELSH TEXTS'

The concept of the *Old Welsh Texts* series seems to have been on Gwenogvryn's mind in some form or other from the first transcript that he made. One of the *Geraint* versions that Wynne lent him, Hengwrt MS. 59 [Peniarth MS. 6(iv)], different from and earlier than the Red Book text, came to the notice of Joseph Loth in France. So Gwenogvryn's transcript, together with a translation into French by Loth, was published in *Revue Celtique*.[330] A note in English in the article makes it clear that Evans already had the publication of diplomatic texts

[328] NLW JGE papers, Group II, 16.
[329] 'One of the most beautiful and most valuable books that our land possesses.' X, 'Cymru Byw', 78.
[330] JGE and J. Loth, 'Fragment du Mabinogi de Gereint ab Erbin. Transcrit d'apres le MS. Hengwrt No. 59 par M. J. Gwenogfryn Evans. Traduit et annoté par M. J. Loth.', Part 1, *RC* 7 (1886), 401-435; Part 2, *RC* 8 (1887), 1-29.

in mind, and also the difficulties inherent in such publication, and for that reason is worth reproducing here in full:

> [N. B. My transcript of this fragment was a diplomatic copy of the original. But as the printers have no type to represent special characters, semi-capitals and other peculiarities of the MS, the best use is made of the materials in hand. No attempt has been made to reproduce the spacing between the words, since other features of the MS could not be given. I trust, however, the text will be found accurate in other respects. Of course no credit is due to me for the notes or for the alternative readings, which are based on the corrupt text of Lady Guest. Neither am I responsible for cutting the text up into paragraphs. I may add that the MS has no trace of the pen of the rubricator, and that about a third of the ys are dotted. J. G. EVANS].[331]

One gets an immediate idea of Gwenogvryn's perfectionist stance on the reproduction of manuscripts, a stance that was shortly to get him into deep trouble with his printers.

Phillimore was, like Rhŷs at this period, on the Council of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, and would be editor or part-editor of its magazine *Y Cymmrodor* from 1888-1897.[332] In June 1885, Evans wrote to him criticising the content of the magazine, saying it contained too many 'Beautiful Nothings to satisfy the lack brain element' and not enough solid literature, which no doubt meant articles on Welsh manuscripts. Furthermore, it 'has reproduced some very good things & useful; & very much which it had been much better if the authors had used their MSS to light their cigars'. He then threatened that if the Cymmrodorion did not mend their ways 'I have some notion of sinking a £100 or

[331] JGE and Loth, 'Fragment', *RC* 7, 403. The square brackets are printed. Loth added a footnote stating the 'cutting-up' facilitated printing the text alongside the translation.
[332] 1889-91: B. G. Charles, 'Phillimore, Egerton Grenville Bagot (1856-1937)', *DWB*, 755-6. But Ben Guy states that he part-edited Vols. 9 & 10 with Isambard Owen, wholly edited Vol. 11, and prepared Vol. 12 for the press before illness prevented him taking it to completion. B. Guy, 'Egerton Phillimore (1856-1937) and the Study of Welsh Historical Texts', *THSC*, New Series 21 (2015), 36-50, 40-1.

£200 in experimenting on a Welsh Magazine of Old Texts — Reprints merely of old MSS' and 'continue it for one year at least, even if I do not sell a single copy!'[333] Phillimore was initially outraged by Gwenogvryn's comments, but gradually began to see some point to the proposal, and how the Cymmrodorion could help to advance it, to their own advantage. Evans further developed the idea into a 'Welsh Texts Society', planning to print the text of the Red Book in magazine-size sections, or 'livraisons', with the idea that the sections could be bound up into volumes. The idea of the 'Society' clearly emulates the 'Early English Texts Society' that began publishing in 1864.[334] The idea of 'livraisons' no doubt arose from the way each volume of *Y Cymmrodor*, and other Cymmrodorion publications, were issued in parts. Gwenogvryn clearly stated to Phillimore that:

> Prof Rhys will act as Editor of the entire series as well as translator & commentator of some of the issues.[335]

Whether Rhŷs had agreed to this at this point in time is, however, in some doubt, as, according to Gwenogvryn's later version of the events, when Rhŷs was approached by Evans with the suggestion that they should make it a joint venture, Rhŷs attempted to dissuade Evans on the grounds that the returns would never cover the costs of production. According to Gwenogvryn they discussed the project on their walks around the parks, but Rhŷs would not budge in his opposition until Evans said he would publish alone. At that, according to Evans, Rhŷs changed his mind, stating that:

---

[333] JGE to EGBP, 20 Jun. 1885. NLW EGBP papers, C1/21.
[334] The 'Irish Texts Society' did not publish before 1898.
[335] JGE to EGBP, 11 Oct. 1885. NLW EGBP papers, C1/21.

> I must take part for my Professorship is a Research Professorship. I will collate the proofs with the original once, (all the other work you must do) but I will not be responsible for a single penny of the loss the venture is sure to incur.[336]

Gwenogvryn needed Rhŷs's name as joint editor, in order to give the seal of approval to the work. As Phillimore put it:

> ... his name being of course a guarantee to the world that the work will be scholarly; as every body knows about him, but few know you.[337]

Phillimore steered Evans away from starting what seemed a rival to *Y Cymmrodor*, though in truth it never could have been. The suggestion arose, presumably from Phillimore, that the Honourable Society would take over the publication of at least the standard edition of between 400 and 750 copies, the exact figure varying over time, leaving Gwenogvryn's 'Welsh Text Society' to publish the better editions.[338] Evans was cautious, his only criterion being that he needed complete control of the printing, which meant using an Oxford printer, his choice being the University's Clarendon Press.[339] From this point Evans refers to the 'Welsh Text Publications', though still keeping the 'Society' idea in reserve, and after checking with Horace Hart at the Press, Gwenogvryn summitted, on Phillimore's advice, an estimate to Isambard Owen of the Cymmrodorion Council.[340]

Initially it was understood that the order of the Red Book would be followed, beginning with *Dares Phrygius*, then Geoffrey's *Ystoria Brenhined y Britanyeit*,

---

[336] 'Two Drafts'. NLW TL papers, Box 5, 1870, iv.
[337] Draft, EGBP to JGE, 22 Dec. 1885. NLW EGBP papers, C1/21.
[338] HSC 'agreed to take at least 400 copies': Anon., 'Notices of Books', 227. 500 copies: X [JMJ (& OME)], 'Cymry Byw', 78. The correspondence between EGBP and JGE indicates the quantity varied over time.
[339] JGE to Isambard Owen, 9 Nov. 1885. NLW EGBP papers, C1/21.
[340] *Ibid*. Also JGE to EGBP, 22 Oct. 1885. NLW EGBP papers, C1/21.

then each text in order through the manuscript, and Phillimore supported this format.[341] Evans became increasingly convinced that 'The present order is chaotic in the extreme & to follow it w[d]. be worse than pedantry', so wished to classify the text into groups as follows:

	Cols.
Vol I	
Mabinogion, Rhonabwy, Kulhwch and the Arthurian Romances	230
Vol II	
Dared; Charlemagne; Charlys; Bown; Amlyn & Amyc	290
Vol III	
Brut y Tywysogion / Brenhinedd	346
	866
Vol IV	
Historical & Mythological elements such as the Triads, Saxon Chronicle, Imago Mundi, Sible [*sic*] Ddoeth, Dihaerebion, Medδyginiaethaur Grammadeg &c &c &c &c	Cols circa 244
Vol V	
Poetry ————————————————	340
Total	1450 [342]

To Evans the advantage was 'We shall begin with the most distinctively Welsh Literature known to the Public — the matter of which is at once readable and fascinating'. As Evans had already compared the text of the proposed first volume with other manuscripts, his notes 'will be much more valuable if you let me begin with that part that I have mastered more or less'. Phillimore was resistant, but Rhŷs was in agreement with the 'classification', and promised to attend the Cymmrodorion Council meeting on 22 December 1885 to argue its adoption.[343] The result of the meeting was to agree to publication in principle but to change the 'classification' to produce six volumes. Gwenogvryn wrote to Phillimore:

[341] For list of contents see *Report* 2/1, 1-29.
[342] JGE to EGBP, 6 Dec. 1885. NLW EGBP papers, C1/21.
[343] JGE to EGBP, 6 Dec. 1885. NLW EGBP papers, C1/21.

> I am not at all sure but you made a very good suggestion about including the Triads in Vol I. ... Vol II will be probably Dared and a Brut. Vol III will contain Two Bruts Vol IV Poetry Vol V Romances & VI Gleanings. ...[344]

This means Vol I would be substantially as it was published, and the second volume published was a combination of the proposed Vols. II & III. By 'Romances' in Vol V he presumably meant Bown of Hampton and the 'Matter of France' material originally intended as Vol II in the first plan.

The scheme ran into difficulties as the Clarendon Press did not adhere to its estimate when Gwenogvryn went back to them with the firm proposals agreed with the Cymmrodorion. By the spring of 1886 the cost of Volume I had increased by between 25% and 30% above the estimate obtained in the previous November.[345] The Cymmrodorion Council, on receiving notice of the revised price, prevaricated, and Evans conveyed his irritation to Phillimore in a letter of 14 June, stating that the Society was like 'the Shepherd's son in Wordsworth's poem, "Something between a hindrance and a help."'[346] Later the same month the Council decided to withdraw their offer.[347] Gwenogvryn then suggested they might offer to their members a series of short livraisons based on the miscellaneous material in the Red Book starting with *Ystoria Dared*, but the Council decided, probably wisely, that, if they could not see a return when offering popular texts, they were hardly likely to when offering unfamiliar material, and declined the revised proposal. Despite this setback, and his

[344] JGE to EGBP, 'Monday Evening' [late Dec. 1885 or early Jan. 1886?]. NLW EGBP papers, C1/21.
[345] Comparing the figures in: JGE to EGBP, 14 Jun. 1886, NLW EGBP papers, C1/21 with the figures in: JGE to Isambard Owen, 9 Nov. 1885. NLW EGBP papers, C1/21. The figures are calculated on a different basis in each letter but a simple calculation gives this percentage increase on the initial figure.
[346] JGE to EGBP, 14 Jun. 1886, NLW EGBP papers, C1/21.
[347] X [JMJ (& OME)], 'Cymry Byw', 78.

minimal experience of publishing, consisting only of *Telyn Dewi*, which he probably had no hand in distributing, and *Homeward Bound* mentioned previously, Gwenogvryn chose to continue with the production of 500 copies of his first volume, but to sell them directly by subscription. The Chairman of the Cymmrodorion reported that: 'The Council ... trust that his patriotic enterprise will meet with cordial support among the Members of the Society in their private capacity'.[348] Apparently it did.

It was then that the term *Old Welsh Texts* was chosen by Gwenogvryn as the series title for his volumes. He knew the term 'old' was technically inexact as he wrote to Rees Jenkin Jones:

> Old, Mediaeval, and Modern or New have I think an accepted meaning. Old applies to what precedes 1200; Mediaeval covers 1200-1500 and Modern or New from 1500 on to now. ... I know that the title Old Welsh Texts is a misnomer as we have no Old Welsh except in Glosses. But then I was counting on the loose ideas of my fellow countrymen when I used Old instead of Mediaeval.[349]

Gwenogvryn's problems were not over following the withdrawl of the Cymmrodorion, because the Clarendon Press had underestimated the difficulties, and therefore the cost of production. Gwenogvryn's initial intent appears to have been simply to hand over the transcripts to the Oxford University Press and let them do the rest, and he and Rhŷs would check the proofs as they were produced. It soon transpired that the Press had not fully understood the accuracy that was to be required of them. The extent of the problem can be seen in the set of proofs that Gwenogvryn amended, and then passed on to John Rhŷs

[348] S. Evans, 'Report of the Council of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion for the Year ending November 9th, 1886', *YC* 8 (1887), xiii-xvii, xv.
[349] JGE to RJJ, 21 Mar. 1889, NLW MS 14150B.

for his comments.[350] Not only did Evans want the text reproduced, with the special characters he required, word for word, on each page, but he also wanted the spacings between the words and between the individual letters copied exactly as he had written them. It is indeed remarkable that Evans was able to reproduce the text of the manuscript so exactly on the page. The control and coordination between his eye and his hand were exceptional, and to expect the same exactitude from the compositors employed by the Press was, in truth, more than humanly reasonable. As Gwenogvryn himself put it 'the compositor has to unlearn all the rules of his craft and serve his apprenticeship anew'.[351] In any case, there were practical difficulties in that the characters used were not proportionately the same width as the written characters, and the spacers used by the printers were only of certain set widths, so it was impossible to maintain exact letter for letter and space for space proportional representation. Even so Gwenogvryn still insisted upon corrections, and, accordingly, the Press required a change to their bargain, and the revised estimate was 'as much as three times the first'.[352]

Four pages from the Red Book were reproduced by photolithography, and Rhŷs himself took the manuscript from the Bodleian to the Clarendon Press in July 1886 to enable the photographs to be taken.[353] The printing plates in this process were produced direct from the photographic negatives by etching, When used for reproducing manuscript pages, the process requires a good

[350] Proofs of *RBM*. NLW JR papers, A2/2.
[351] *RBM*, xviii.
[352] X [JMJ (& OME)], 'Cymry Byw', 78.
[353] D. G. Ritchie, Jesus College Librarian, & H. D. Harper, Jesus College Principal, to Bodley's Librarian, 8 Jul. 1886, Bodleian Library *Jesus College Deposit Administrative file, 1886-1937.*

contrast between the script and the vellum or paper used. In this case the few pages copied were chosen for their excellence of contrast. For his later facsimiles Evans used the collotype process, using gelatine based plates, as the contrast was less important in this process, so gave better results over a complete manuscript.[354] This process was widely used for photographic printing, particularly for postcards, before the invention of cheaper photo-lithography.

Despite the increased costs Evans managed to hold on to the majority of his subscribers, and the book appeared on St. David's Day, 1887.[355] Gwenogvryn did change the mix of editions in the final production run in which 500 were printed in total: 80 of the Patrons' Edition, 150 of the Library Edition, and 250 of the Students' Edition.[356] One presumes the remaining 20 copies were Review copies and volumes that Evans and Rhŷs wished to retain for their own use.

The prospectus for the *Old Welsh Texts* outlined the programme Gwenogvryn had in mind. Its rationale was that 'there is not a single Text of the more important Welsh Manuscripts of which we possess a critical edition for the use of

[354] The process was invented by Alphonse Poitevin in France in 1856. The process may be described thus: 'The collotype plate is made by coating a plate of glass or metal with a substrate composed of gelatin or other colloid and hardening it. Then it is coated with a thick coat of dichromated gelatin and dried carefully at a controlled temperature (a little over 50 degrees Celsius) so it 'reticulates' or breaks up into a finely grained pattern when washed later in approximately 16 °C water. The plate is then exposed in contact with the negative using an ultraviolet (UV) source which changes the ability of the exposed gelatin to absorb water later. The plate is developed by carefully washing out the dichromate salt and dried without heat. The plate is left in a cool dry place to cure for 24 hours before using it to print. To produce prints, the plate is dampened with a glycerine–water mixture which is slightly acidic, then blotted before inking with collotype ink using a leather or velvet roller. A hard finished paper such as Bristol is then put on top of the plate and covered with a tympan before being printed.' B. E. Jones (ed.), *Cassell's cyclopaedia of photography* (London, 1981).
[355] *RBM*, [ii]; X [JMJ (& OME)], 'Cymry Byw', 78.
[356] *RBM*, [ii].

students on a level with the requirements of modern scholarship'. He intended to redeem this by 'issuing a Series of Early-Welsh Texts, which will approximate to the original as closely as the resources of modern typography will allow, and will be adequately illustrated with facsimiles'. From these diplomatic editions and facsimiles, a critical edition of each text could then be produced. His choice of texts was not to be dictated solely by the needs of scholars, but he decided to 'appeal ... also to the wider circle of Welshmen and of all who care for the honour of the Cymric name, for their co-operation and support in the work of preserving from destruction and handing down to posterity the literary monuments of the national past'.[357] Indeed, although the series would provide scholars with the tools they needed, he knew he would also need support from outside Welsh academia to give him the income he desired. He must therefore aim first to reproduce the manuscripts that had grasped the public imagination, before turning to texts that were of more interest to scholars. The scale of his intentions was then displayed:

> The Series will be printed at the CLARENDON PRESS, on Antique paper, the size being Demy 8vo.; will be bound in cloth, gilt, and will include, among other Texts, those of the following important manuscripts:
>
> 1. The Black Book of Carmarthen, entirely reproduced by Collotype Facsimile, price 30/-.
> 2. The Texts of the Black Book, of the Book of Aneurin, and of the Book of Taliessin, price 12/6.
>
> N.B. The Editor hopes to publish at some future time an annotated translation of these Books, or parts of them.
>
> 3. The Texts of the leading versions of the "Historical" Triads, with Translations and Notes by the Editor, price 12/6.
> 4. A Critical Edition of the Mabinogion, Kulhwch and Olwen, the Dreams of Rhonabwy and of Maxen Wledig, Llud and Llevelys, the Arthurian Romances, including, it is hoped, the unpublished version of Lawnslot dy Lac, with Translations and Copious Notes by the Editor. The text of this work, the preparation of which is already far advanced, will be based on that of the

[357] Prospectus (date stamped by OUP 11 Feb. 1886). NLW TL papers, Box 5, Loose papers in box.

White Book, the oldest version known with the exception of one or two fragments, which will be given in the notes. 2 vols.

5. The Text of the whole of the Red Book of Hergest, bound as 4 vols., each complete in itself, price 84/- the set.
   N.B. The first issue of this work, comprising the Mabinogion, etc., the Arthurian Romances, and Triads, with *Indices*, will be ready in *June* next, price 21/-.[358]

Only items 1 and 2 would appear in their entirety, except for the translation of the Black Book. Item 3 did not appear, though there is evidence that he worked on it, and the Red Book *Triads* were published in the *Mabinogion* volume, but it appears that he left that work to Phillimore.[359] Item 4, the critical edition that the whole project was aimed at, never appeared, and it was left to others to fill that gap, though Gwenogvryn's volumes would be the tools they needed in order to do this. The diplomatic edition of the White Book, which usefully included parallel texts from other manuscripts, did appear later. Of item 5, only three of the four volumes of the Red Book were to appear, and the *Red Book Poetry* not until 1921. Other volumes would also be produced, of which more later.

The first volume was well received by the public. The review that appeared in *Y Cymmrodor*, as well as being highly complimentary, pointed out the true usefulness of a diplomatic edition to a student of the medieval language:

> And the practical purpose for which this edition is suited is not the plain and simple one of reading the stories for amusement, but that of discovering, by a comparison of peculiarities of writing, mistakes, corrections, and spellings, the unknown quantity of literary history, philology, and archæology which may lie hidden among the lines of a carelessly written mediæval manuscript. ...

[358] *Ibid.* Prices were for Student's edition - Library and Patron's editions were more costly. The prospectus is reviewed in: Anon., 'Notices of Books'.
[359] EGBP, 'The Welsh Triads', *Bye-Gones*, 1st ser., 8 (1886-7), 71-73, 97-98, 111-14, 219-20, 259-62, and 480-84. B. Guy, 'Egerton Phillimore', *THSC*, New Ser. 21 (2015), 36-50, 46.

> "Diplomatic" texts like this may set distant critics to work on this very interesting point with some chance of success.[360]

The reviewer of *The Athenæum* raised one objection also raised in *Y Cymmrodor*:

> It is, however, to be regretted that Mr. Evans has felt at liberty to deviate in one respect from his rigid rule of reproducing spacing for spacing throughout. When two or more words are run together in the MS., *e.g.*, "aoruc," "acynylle," they have been separated in the printed text by the thickness of a hair, or a very small space, ostensibly for the sake of helping the beginner. Though this does not vitiate the value of the work, yet in a diplomatic reproduction we must protest against even this much of "tampering" with the text, and especially so in the case of proclitics.[361]

Despite this small complaint, which Evans was to correct in the later volumes, *The Athenæum* was adamant in its praise and concluded:

> No thorough, scientific research into the history of early Britain can efficiently be carried out without laying these Welsh texts under contribution, and consequently no public library which has a reference department can dispense with the series.[362]

In France the praise was equally forthcoming, and Henri Gaidoz said at the end of his review of the *Mabinogion* volume:

> Si MM. Gwenogfryn Evans et Rhys peuvent achever toute la série qu'ils projettent, ils auront rendu un grand service à la fois à la philologie galloise et à la littérature comparée.[363]

---

[360] Anon., 'Reviews of Books: Y Llyvyr Coch o Hergest. Y Gyvrol I. The Text of the *Mabinogion* and other Welsh Tales from the *Red Book of Hergest*. Edited by John Rhys, M.A., Professor of Celtic in the University of Oxford; and J. Gwenogvryn Evans. Oxford, 1887.', *YC* 8 (1887), 108-111, 108 & 111.

[361] Anon., 'Y Llyvyr Coch o Hergest. Y Gyvrol I. The Text of the Mabinogion, and other Welsh Tales from the Red Book of Hergest. Edited by John Rhys, M.A., and J. Gwenogvryn Evans. (Oxford, Clarendon Press.)', *The Athenæum* 3131 (29 Oct. 1887), 566-567, 566.

[362] *Ibid.*, 567.

[363] H. Gaidoz, 'The text of the Mabinogion and other Welsh Tales from the Red Book of Hergest, edited by John Rhys, M. A., and J. Gwenogfryn Evans, xx-355 p. in-8, Oxford, 1887 (Issued to subscribers only)', *RC* 9 (1888), 283-287, 287.

Certainly many public and college libraries were among the subscribers listed in the back of the volume, as were Prof. Napier, York Powell, and many other Welsh, English, French, and German academics.[364] Jesus College took two copies: 'one a Patron's copy for the Old [Fellows'] Library, the other a Student's copy for the Meyricke Library.'[365] The University of Oxford was so impressed with Gwenogvryn's efforts that it, no doubt with some prodding on the part of John Rhŷs, awarded him the degree of M.A., *honoris causa*, in the summer of 1887.[366]

At this point Evans's 'Device of the Texts' should be mentioned. He stated that he had to thank his wife Edith for the design of 'the Red Dragon, the Triple Harp, and the Leek—the triadic emblems of the Kymry'.[367] Three versions of the 'Device' exist, changing with time. All three have the words 'SERIES OF WELSH TEXTS' across the top arch. The first has 'EDITED BY PROF. RHYS M.A.' on the left, and '& J. GWENOGVRYN EVANS.' on the right. The second, which appeared on the binding spines from the *Book of Llan Dâv* (1893) onwards, has 'YSPRYD GWYBOD.' on the left, and 'YSPRYD DYALL.' on the right. The third, which appeared on the page facing the title page from the *Black Book of Carmarthen* diplomatic (1907) onwards, has 'REPRODUCED & EDITED' on the left, and 'BY J. GWENOGVRYN EVANS' on the right. A certain coolness was to arise between Rhŷs and Evans over the removal of Rhŷs's name, and particularly between Rhŷs's wife Elspeth and Evans. Indeed, Gwenogvryn seemed to suffer from tunnel vision in this and similar situations, seeing only the necessity to acknowledge direct involvement with the work in hand, and ignoring the background help that had been given freely both at the

[364] *RBM*, 349-355.
[365] *Jesus College Minute Book*, 13 November 1886.
[366] X [JMJ (& OME)], 'Cymry Byw', 78.
[367] *RBM*, xxiv.

time and in the past. As time went on this tendency was to serve him ill, and friends gradually faded away because of it.



Fig. 4. The Device of the Texts (First version).

THE FACSIMILE OF THE BLACK BOOK OF CARMARTHEN

Evans was not one to rest on his laurels, however, and his next project was already under way. It is clear from the prospectus that he intended to publish photographic facsimiles as well as diplomatic editions right from the start, and he appears to have chosen the *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin* to begin the series with as it was believed to be the oldest manuscript in the Welsh language, and it was included as such in the prospectus of the *Old Welsh Texts*.[368] Daniel Huws confirms that it is 'the earliest collection of Welsh poetry', and that it is another 'original retrospective compilation'. He dates it to the middle of the 13th century.[369] By January 1887 Evans had received permission from W. R. M. Wynne, including taking the book apart in order to facilitate the photography, though Wynne declined Evans's offer to pay for the cost of rebinding as he preferred that the British Museum should do it.[370] The manuscripts that Evans

[368] NLW TL papers, Box 5, papers loose in box.
[369] *MWM*, 13, 19, 58.
[370] WRMW to JGE, 30 Jan. 1887. NLW TL papers, Box 3, 12.

had borrowed in 1885 had been deposited by Wynne in the Bodleian library for Gwenogvryn's use. By mischance Wynne could not do that on this occasion, and instead, on 4 July 1887, he left the *Llyfr Du* in the care of Maunde Thompson at the British Museum, with the intent that Evans should do whatever was required there. In his letter informing Evans what he had done he used the phrase that Mr. Thompson 'will give it to you' at any time. Evans took this to mean that he could remove it from the library, as did Thompson, so Evans took it away with him.[371] When Wynne found out he demanded on what authority Thompson had released the manuscript. When told it was on Wynne's own authority, he asked to see the relevant letters and, afterwards, admitted that the letter could be read that way and reluctantly left it in Evans's hands, and apologised for sending Evans into a panic.[372] Wynne later commented on Evans's request to keep the MS longer:

> I will let you keep the MS. for a time longer, but I think "2 months or more" are a very long time for it to be away - However I sh[d]. be sorry to interfere with the completion of the task in wh: you have taken so much interest, therefore I hope you urge the Autotype Co: to proceed as rapidly as possible.[373]

On completion Wynne asked for the Black Book 'be kept safe at "Bodleian"' until such time as Wynne could return it to the British Museum for rebinding.[374] The Autotype Co. was used by Evans for the production of this and later facsimiles because their process, using gelatine based printing plates, produced a far superior result to the photolithography used for most facsimile reproductions at this period, and avoided the problems that beset the Royal Irish Academy facsimiles referred to in Chapter 1. It was Maunde Thompson at the British

[371] WRMW to JGE, 5 Jul. [1887]. NLW TL papers, Box 3, 15.
[372] WRMW to JGE, 8 Sep. 1887. NLW TL papers, Box 3, 13.
[373] WRMW to JGE, 12 Sep. 1887. NLW TL papers, Box 3, 16.
[374] WRMW to JGE, 5 Nov 1887 & 8 Nov [1887]. NLW TL papers 17 & 18.

Museum who put Evans in touch with the firm, and the cost was offset by the Marquis of Bute who ordered four Patrons' and two Students' Editions, and also donated twenty-five pounds.[375] Since no transcript of the *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin* exists amongst those done by Evans in the National Library collection, it must be assumed that he used the facsimile produced in 1887 as the basis for the diplomatic edition of 1906/7.

Gwenogvryn's reasons for describing the *Llyfr Du* as 'the oldest MS. in the Welsh language' need consideration, and, to do that, we need to look at evidence from later publications.[376] In the 'Palæographical Note' to the *Facsimile* he limits the age of the MS. 'on the one side by the year 1148, and on the other by the reign of John' [1199-1216].[377] Later in the same 'Note' he qualifies this by stating that 'the earlier part of the MS. belongs to the reign of Stephen, and the rest to the reigns of Henry II and Richard' [1135-1199].[378] So Evans believes that the manuscript was written between 1148 and 1199, i.e. during the second half of the twelfth century. His *Report* of 1899 states that the MS is written 'in several hands of the XIIth and early XIIIth centuries'.[379] In the diplomatic editions of 1906-7 he states that it 'was written during the reigns of Henry II., and his sons' [1154-1216].[380] So his later thoughts seem to be edging into the first quarter of the thirteenth century. Daniel Huws concluded the date of the MS. to be around the middle of the thirteenth century.[381] Equally, Huws favours the MS to have

[375] *BBCFacs*, xvi-xvii, List of Subscribers.
[376] *Report* 1/2, 297.
[377] *BBCFacs*, xiii.
[378] *BBCFacs*, xvi.
[379] *Report* 1/2, 297.
[380] *BBCDipl*, viii.
[381] *MWM*, 58.

been written by a single hand over a considerable period of time.[382] A comment by Evans in the *Facsimile* may help to explain his early date. He wrote:

> As far as we have been able to compare the manuscripts of France and England with those of the Principality, we incline to the belief that Dimetian scribes proved more susceptible to the influence of French models than their English brethren. If this is so, the common opinion that "a very antique style of writing prevailed in Wales" must be reversed, a conclusion which derives support from dated Welsh MSS.[383]

Evans envisaged the year 1148 as a *terminus post quem* in the *Facsimile*. The 'Palæographical Note' states that 'The Priory at Carmarthen was in existence ... in the year 1148' so it is this event that he referred to, and it follows he assumed that the MS was written there.[384] This is confirmed by a passage in the diplomatic editions that reads, somewhat poetically:

> The Priory itself is in the last stages of decay; the very names of those who lived within its walls can only be traced now in the Book of Fate; and of the work they did with their hands, there remains but the fragment which makes up the text of this booklet, ...[385]

Certainly we have evidence that the *Llyfr Du* was rescued from the Augustinian Priory of Carmarthen at the dissolution of the monasteries but it does not follow it was written there.[386] Daniel Huws writes in favour of the possibility:

> This likelihood has been proposed on account of the dominant south-west Wales interest of the contents and the prominence of poetry associated with Myrddin (the supposed eponym of Carmarthen). It might be held that the near-autonomy of houses of Augustinian canons and their relative openness to the laity could have provided an environment congenial to the headstrong eccentric to whom I give credit for the Black Book.[387]

---

[382] *MWM*, 71.
[383] *BBCFacs*, xii-xiii.
[384] *BBCFacs*, vii.
[385] *BBCDipl*, viii.
[386] A. O. H. Jarman (ed.), *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin gyda Rhagmadrodd Nodiadau Testunol a Geirfa* (Cardiff, 1982), lxvii-lxviii.
[387] *MWM*, 72.

So it appears that Gwenogvryn could be right.[388] Another dating reference used by Evans is indicated in the following passage from the *Facsimile*:

> The *Avallenneu* and the *Hoianeu* ... cannot be earlier than the reign of Henry II, as the references to Kadwaladyr and Kynan in both poems clearly prove.[389]

Cynan and Cadwaladr both appear in *Armes Prydein Vawr*, which has been reliably dated to the tenth century.[390] Cadwaladr was a king of Gwynedd, the son of Cadwallon who drove the Bernicians from Wales, and Cynan appears to be that Cynan who captured Brittany either through his own efforts or with the help of Maxen Wledig. The two are named in prophetic verse in the Book of Taliesin, here in the Black Book of Carmarthen and in the Red Book of Hergest.[391] Evans's curious reference is explained by the following passages from the Black Book diplomatic editions:

> Among the latest compositions of the Black Book of Carmarthen are the *Bedweni*, the *Avalleneu* and the *Hoianeu*. ... They deal with incidents in the life of Cadwaladr, the son of Griffith ap Kynan who, with his brother Owein, harried the Norman parasites with persistence and success.[392]

> The next verse ... alludes to the devastating expeditions of 1135-36, made south of the Dyvi by Owein Gwyneδ, and his brother Cadwaladr, sons of Griffith ap Kynan.[393]

A marginal insertion into the verse referred to does refer to *uiron yfwein* and the main verse to *guir guinet* so the reference there is probably to Owain Gwynedd,

---

[388] R. G. Gruffydd has suggested Whitland as an alternative: 'Cyntefin ceinaf amser', *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 4 (1969), 12-26, 14-17.
[389] *BBCFacs*, xiii.
[390] 'About 930' according to IW, *AP*, xii-xxiv. David Dumville considers c.935-c.950 to be more realistic, and up to c.980 possible. D. N. Dumville, 'Brittany and *Armes Prydein Vawr*', *Études Celtiques* 20 (1983), 150-1. Thomas Charles-Edwards states: 'The best hypothesis ... is that it is no earlier than 927 and no later than 942'. *Wales and the Britons 350-1064* (Oxford, 2013), 532.
[391] *AP*, 44.
[392] *BBCDipl*, xxiii.
[393] *BBCDipl*, xxvi. See Thomas Jones (ed.), *Brut y Tywysogyon or The Chronicle of the Princes Red Book of Hergest Version* (Cardiff, 1955), 116-119.

but the remainder of the verse from the words *A mi diſgoganau e* is a typical piece of Welsh prophetic verse predicting the return of two of the heroes of old, Cynan and Cadwaladr, presumably waiting under a mountain somewhere in the manner of Arthur. We have:

> A mi disgoganu e. Deu p*ri*odaur. a luniont tegnevet o nef. hid laur. Kynan kadwaladir. Kymri penbaladir.[394]
>
> And I prophesy two claimants who will bring peace from heaven to earth, Cynan and Cadwaladr, to Wales from end to end.

Presumably Evans had not heard of the legendary Cynan and Cadwaladr, but here he wants to turn them into Owain Gwynedd and his brother Cadwaladr, 'two princes, *deu briodawr*'.[395] The twelfth century Cynan was, however, Cadwaladr's grandfather, not his brother. Evans did realise that discrepancy and so wrote the footnote 'For *Kynan* Kadwaladir, read: *Owein*, Kadwaladir'.[396] If he had only relied on using the references to *uiron yſwein* and to *guir guinet* for his dating he would have been on safer ground, but it is exactly this sort of drastic emendation, motivated by his desire to see history where there was only legend, that was to get Gwenogvryn into serious trouble later.

The *Facsimile* was released on St. David's Day 1888, to general applause, the only reservation being the number of copies printed. As the reviewer of *Archæologia Cambrensis* put it:

> This raises the question of how far the present edition may be, after all, counted upon to meet the slow but sure demand of scholars for the Black Book; and we notice with regret that 250 is given as the number of copies of the facsimile

[394] *BBCDipl*, 58.10-13. My translation.
[395] *BBCDipl*, xxvi.
[396] *BBCDipl*, xxvi n43.

> reproduced. It is needless to say that the volume has been got up with Mr. Evans' usual care, and that it reflects the highest credit on all concerned in its production.[397]

Gwenogvryn took note of this criticism and produced a diplomatic edition of the manuscript in 1907.

WELSH CLASSICS FOR THE PEOPLE

At the same time Evans was working on a series of what we would now call mass market paperbacks with the aim to sell them at one shilling each.[398] He called the series *Welsh Classics for the People*, and made arrangements to sell them through the normal book trade using the Oxford University Press's London Warehouse as agents.[399] He expressed his reasons for the plan as follows:

> ... it is hoped to demonstrate that one must look for the well of Welsh undefiled in the daily speech of the people rather than in the productions of the press or the utterances of the pulpit. The one borrows its sermons, the other its news, to such an extent from English sources that modern written Welsh is rapidly degenerating into an uncouth hybridism which is neither Welsh nor English. ... it will be the object of the Welsh Classics to lead back to a purer style and to supply correct data to the students of language.[400]

The first he chose was Bishop William Morgan's translation into Welsh of the Book of Job.[401] He calculated he needed five thousand supporters to make the project pay, but he seems to have seriously misjudged his market. Perhaps he

---

[397] Anon., 'Facsimile of the Black Book of Carmarthen. Reproduced by the Autotype Mechanical Process, with a Palæographical Note by J. Gwenogfryn Evans, Hon. M.A., Oxford. Oxford, 1888. Pp. x, 108. 8vo.', *ArchCam* 5th Series 6/23 (Jul. 1889), 255-257, 257.

[398] In stiff paper covers. A cloth bound edition was available for 1s. 6d. An edition on hand-made paper in paper covers at 2s. 6d. could be bought on special application to the Editor. JGE (ed.), W. Morgan, (transl.), *Llyvyr Iob, The Book of Job* (Oxford, 1888), [102].

[399] Henry Frowde to JGE, 20 Dec. 1888. NLW TL papers, Box 5, 1464. See also X [JMJ (& OME)], 'Cymry Byw', 78-79.

[400] *Llyvyr Iob*, [101].

[401] Apart from *Synnwyr pen*, he also contemplated publishing *Llith a Ban* (Salesbury's *Kynniver Llith a Ban* of 1551), selections of poetry from 'Tudur Aled, Iolo Goch, L. G. Cothi, D. and R. Nanmor, D. ap Edmwnt; *The complete Works of D. ap Gwilym*', selections from the earliest translations of the New Testament, and a Welsh Grammar. *Llyvyr Iob*, [102].

should have concentrated on poetry rather than religion first, and perhaps an agent in Wales rather than London would have served his purpose better, but for whatever reason most of the copies he had printed stayed firmly in the Press's warehouse. When the Press finally sent their unsold stock back to him in 1920, they sent 193 bound copies and 1048 copies in sheets.[402] We do not know exactly how many he had printed originally but it is recorded 'he lost some tens of pounds' over the matter, a not inconsiderable sum when he was trying to gain an income from his publications.[403] The series was quietly abandoned. In 1896 Evans was appointed a Corresponding Member of the Literature Section of the Guild of Graduates of the University of Wales.[404] The following year the Section recommended that the Guild publish a series of books to be entitled *The Guild Series of Welsh Classics*.[405] One detects the hand of Gwenogvryn behind this as he was asked shortly after that to edit for the series William Salesbury's book of proverbs, *Oll Synnwyr pen Kembero ygyd*, which had been planned for his own series, and which duly appeared in 1902.[406] The book was printed by Jarvis and Foster in Bangor.[407]

THE BRUTS

Evans had already decided to proceed with the second volume of the Red Book of Hergest, covering the *Bruts*, again using the University Press. The suggestion for publishing this particular volume next appears to have come from Egerton

[402] As the paper binding was an additional cost, the Press probably bound only as needed. Frederick Hall to JGE, 21 Jul. 1920, NLW TL papers, Box 5, 1494.
[403] '... bu'r golled yn rhai degau o bunnau iddo ...', X [JMJ (& OME)], 'Cymry Byw', 79. Evans mentions 'some £50 risked' but whether that was the whole amount spent is not clear. JGE to EE, 11 Feb. 1889, NLW JGE Family papers, 16/10.
[404] 7 Nov. 1896. NLW University of Wales papers, G12/1/1.
[405] 21 Apr. 1897. NLW University of Wales papers, G12/1/1.
[406] 4 Aug. 1897. NLW University of Wales papers, G12/1/1.
[407] JGE (ed.), W. Salesbury, *Oll Synnwyr pen Kembero ygyd* (Bangor, 1902).

Phillimore, probably as early as the negotiations with the Cymmrodorion. That would certainly explain the change in the order of Evans's 'classification'. Phillimore held strong views that the existing versions of the *Brut y Tywysogion* in the *Myvyrian* and Rolls Series editions had serious faults, and expressed as much in a paper he read to the National Eisteddfod at Brecon on 29 August 1889, which was subsequently published in *Y Cymmrodor* under his editorship.[408] The *Brut y Tywysogion* was begun as an extension to Geoffrey's *Brut y Brenhinedd*, and *Ystoria Dared* was regarded as a prequel to both, and the three are found together in several manuscripts, so it made sense to publish the three together. The addition of the 'Cantreds and Commotes of Wales' had also been suggested by Phillimore in his Eisteddfod paper.[409]

Gwenogvryn had learnt from his previous experience with the Press and he agreed that he would do his own compositing and send each completed form to the Press to be turned into an electrotype sheet. The type in the form would then be broken up and a new group of pages set up. This necessitated him purchasing a proofing press, forms and type. The press he bought for £5.10.0 in September 1887, and this appears to be that now in the National Library in Aberystwyth.[410] Facilities not being available in the Bodleian, the Red Book was brought back to Jesus College, and Rhŷs and the Fellows allowed Evans to use the 'Parlour' of the College to do the work.[411] A description of him working there exists:

---

[408] EGBP, 'The Publication of Welsh Historical Records', *YC* 11 (1892), 133-175.
[409] EGBP, 'Publication', *YC* 11, 168-9.
[410] JGE to EE, 20 Sep. 1887, NLW JGE Family papers, 14/33. The press arrived at NLW c.1910 so cannot be the press Evans used to print his later works from 1902-1922.
[411] The 'Parlour' is not a term now used in College. The late Chris Jeens, Jesus College Archivist, suggested the Peter North Room (Old Bursary). When the ms. was removed from the Bodleian for this purpose, the letter requesting it states that Evans had 'a room set apart for him in the

> I remember him at work in the parlour of Jesus College in 1888, and I will not forget the sight. A large blazing fire was there; though the room was cool - probably because of its size. The furnishings are dressed with red velvet, and you do not hear the sound of your foot on the soft carpet on the floor; but in the corner of the room there was a printer frame that had never seen paint. The frame and the *cases* of new clean white beech; the copy above them a book of the size of the Bible of Peter Williams, and its sheets of skin yellowing with the age of five hundred years. In front of the frame Gwenogfryn stood tall, a *composing stick* in his hand; a soft wide grey felt hat on his head, and a loose grey tippet over his shoulders; an appearance so unlike the appearance of a parlour, being dressed as a common compositor, but an appearance quite compatible with the romance of the work, and more than anything, one essential to him in his state of health.[412]

However, Evans had neither the speed nor training of a professional compositor and progress was slow. By the beginning of Michaelmas Term 1888 only '80 pages are in type & there is copy for perhaps another 80 pages ready'. By this point he had definitely decided 'to issue Dared, Brut y Brenhineδ, Brut y Tywyssogion and Brut y Saeson' in the one volume, which he calculated would run to 550 pages. He had also decided to have 'linen paper made specially for the Library Edition, & the Students Edit[io]n will be on a paper very superior to that used for Mabinogion'. He feared that he would be out of pocket as 'the paper alone will cost nearly £100'.[413]

On beginning work on Geoffrey's *Brut y Brenhinedd*, Gwenogvryn discovered 'a lacuna of 8 cols' in the Red Book text.[414] This led him to compare different manuscripts and decide that Hengwrt MS. 15 (Peniarth MS. 19) was a transcript

College'. That would preclude the Bursary, which was used for Fellows' Meetings. W. M. Lindsay, Jesus College Librarian, to Bodley's Librarian, 14 Jul. 1887, Bodleian Library *Jesus College Deposit Administrative file, 1886-1937.*

[412] X [JMJ (& OME)], 'Cymry Byw', 79, my translation. A letter in the Bodleian confirms the MS. referred to was the Red Book. W. M. Lindsay to Bodley's Librarian, 1 Oct. 1888, Bodleian Library *Jesus College Deposit Administrative file, 1886-1937.*

[413] JGE to JMJ, 7 Oct. 1888, Bangor MSS 3247 2.

[414] JGE to EGBP, 30 Nov. 1888, NLW EGBP papers C1/21.

of the Red Book text, and to use it to fill the gap.[415] He got somewhat distracted by this exercise, bemoaning the lack of a reliable Latin text with which to compare the Welsh ones. He proposed to edit the Berne MS. and 'to print in parallel columns the oldest Welsh version', by which I presume he means the *Brut Dingestow* since he refers to it as 'perhaps' being so.[416] This was not pursued, presumably due to difficulties with accessing the Berne MS.[417] His efforts with the Welsh versions were to bear fruit, of which more later, but for now it is worth noting his painstaking methodology, as he wrote:

> You seem to think that I am in clover luxuriating among MSS — it is an imaginary picture I assure you. And when I get a MS & copy it & then revise it, & then revise the revise some four or five times, then read some early transcript of it & somebody's transcript of that transcript, I assure you that human flesh cries aloud for "change"! It is one thing to scurry through a lot of MSS & pick up a few plums & write pretty theories ... but it is quite another, to sit down seriously & say to yourself you must be eyes, all eyes and nothing but eyes — you must hurry over nothing, shirk nothing as too trivial or too laborious — you must make every letter & character a matter of conscience and in all things you must suppress self. I am toiling at the drudgery of the foundations — others will come & raise the superstructure in due time & theirs will be the pleasant lot & theirs the glory.[418]

It is worth noting that he considered that it would be for others to 'raise the superstructure' on his foundations. He would be remembered solely with gratitude had he remained true to that line, but, as we shall see, that was not to be. By April 1889 the work had progressed sufficiently that Evans could consider how to finish the book. He decided to add the Cantreds and Commotes of Wales at this point, and resolved to write a Preface comparing the various known manuscripts with the Red Book. He realised that would mean repeating

---

[415] *Bruts*, xiv, 118-134.
[416] *Bruts*, x-xi; JGE to EGBP, 30 Nov. 1888, NLW EGBP papers C1/21.
[417] He states in a late letter: 'There is a facsimile of the Berne Geoffrey MS. at Bangor. Prof Matthews copied the MS. and Prof Lewis Jones was going to publish it'. Perhaps it was hearing of these plans that caused him to drop the idea. JGE to TL, 15 Jun. 1925, NLW TL papers, Box 1X, Letters from JGE to TL.
[418] JGE to RJJ, 21 Mar. 1889, NLW MS 14150B.

the work on Geoffrey's *Brut* with a similar inspection of known manuscripts of *Ystoria Dared* and *Brut y Tywysogion*.[419]

In February 1889 Gwenogvryn was becoming concerned with the costs of producing the volume. He approached Rhŷs and York Powell to see if they could influence the Delegates of the Press to reduce their prices. This move was successful and the Press agreed to print the *Bruts* at something like cost price.[420]

Gwenogvryn was not forgetful of future planned projects, and, whilst work on the *Bruts* continued, he started in May 1889 to arrange for the photographing of manuscripts as the first stage towards the production of facsimiles.[421] By April 1901 he could report 'Facsimilies [*sic*] of Black Book of Chirk, Book of Aneurin, Book of Taliessin and the oldest Latin Laws (Hengwrt MS7) are done. I hope to issue a vol a year quite regularly for 6 or 7 years if my strength holds out.'[422] This statement is a little puzzling as he states elsewhere that the Black Book of Chirk facsimile (photographed in 1896) was not printed until 1903, and the facsimile of the Latin Laws never saw the light of day.[423] As I have noted elsewhere, Evans had a habit of stating things were done when they were only in the process of being done, and it may well be that only the photography stage had been completed at the time he wrote in 1901.

[419] JGE to EGBP, 12 & 13 Apr. 1889, NLW EGBP papers, C1/21.
[420] JGE to EE, Feb. 1889, NLW JGE Family papers, 16/9, [5 Feb.]; 16/3, 6 Feb.; 16/4, 6 Feb.; 16/6, 8 Feb.; 16/12, 13 Feb.
[421] JGE to EE, [16] & [17] May 1889, NLW JGE Family papers, 16/20 & 16/21.
[422] JGE to EGBP, 1 Apr. 1901, NLW EGBP papers, C1/22.
[423] A. Grant, 'Gwenogvryn Evans and *Cyfraith Hywel*', *NLWJ* 36/1 (2014), 1-12, 7-11.

A further delay to the *Bruts* was caused by John Rhŷs's appointment in 1889 as Secretary to the government commission on Sunday closing in Wales. This was not the first government work he had undertaken, as he had been appointed to Lord Aberdare's committee on education in Wales in 1881, and as Secretary to the commission on tithe unrest in Wales in 1887.[424] This appointment did, however, together with his duties as Bursar of Jesus College and as Professor of Celtic, and his research work, mean that he had little time to work on Evans's proofs. Rhŷs realised he was extending himself excessively and wrote to the Home Secretary for the appointment of a clerk to assist him, which appointment he duly offered to Gwenogvryn. Evans weighed the advantages of the extra income against the loss of time on the texts, and, when it became clear that the remuneration was less than generous, turned it down.[425] Rhŷs did, however, eventually manage to annotate his one promised copy of the proofs, but he tended to send the pages to Gwenogvryn in batches as he was able to work on them, rather than the twos and threes as they were sent to him. This arrangement was far from ideal for Evans as it meant that he had to confirm some pages with the printers before he got the proof back from Rhŷs. The Professor also found time to write an 'Introduction to Geoffrey's Brut'.[426]

By July of 1889 Evans had finished the text and was compiling the Index of names, and complaining bitterly of the time it was taking: 'I want to get it off my hands & to see the cash for it in the Bank!'[427] By late August he was finding 'it

[424] I. Williams, 'Rhys, Sir John (1840-1915)', *DWB*, 844-5.
[425] JGE to EE, 1889, NLW JGE Family papers, 16/24, 29 May; 16/28, 2 Jun.; 16/30, [3 Jun.]; 16/31, [4 Jun.]; 16/32, 5 Jun.
[426] *Bruts*, xxvii-xxxvi.
[427] JGE to EE, 25 Jul. 1889, NLW JGE Family papers, 17/14.

very hard to distinguish between the Owens, Merediths, Gruffudds, Llywelyns and Ryses of the Tywysogion.'[428] In September he was examining manuscripts at Peniarth, partly for the purpose of his Preface.[429] Gwenogvryn finished the Index in late November, and he then began on the Preface.[430] It was here that his work on comparing the various manuscripts showed fruit. He classified the manuscripts of Geoffrey's *Brut y Brenhinedd* into three groups: Group α, the Vaticinium Version, contained the Vaticinium but not the Llefelys story; Group β, the Llefelys Version, contained the Llefelys story but not the Vaticinium; Group γ, the Compiled Version, contained both.[431] Gwenogvryn had checked many of the manuscripts himself and relied on Phillimore for information on the British Museum and Phillimore's own examples.[432] Even so he described his classification as 'highly tentative'.[433] Brynley Roberts called it the first real attempt at classification of Geoffrey's Welsh manuscripts. He did also say that:

> Evans's classification must be rejected as wrong, misleading, and incomplete, but this is not to say that his comments on individual manuscripts are valueless. His remarks on the relationship of one manuscript with another are frequently, if not usually, correct, and his comments in his *Reports on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language* ... are the best starting-point for any student of the Welsh texts of Geoffrey of Monmouth.[434]

Gwenogvryn's classification of *Ystoria Dared* into a main group following the text of the Red Book, and a subsidiary group following BL Cotton Cleopatra B.v, has

---

[428] JGE to EGBP, 27 Aug. 1889, NLW EGBP papers, C1/21.
[429] JGE to EE, [19] Sep. to 1 Oct. 1889, NLW JGE papers, 17/17 to 17/27.
[430] JGE to EGBP, 26 Nov. 1889, NLW EGBP papers, C1/21; JGE to EE, 6 Dec. 1889, NLW JGE Family papers, 17/34.
[431] *Bruts*, xii-xix.
[432] JGE to EGBP, 11 Dec. 1889, NLW EGBP papers, C1/21. Phillimore's manuscripts were bought by Sir John Williams when Phillimore got into financial difficulties, and passed with Sir John's MSS. to NLW.
[433] JGE to EGBP, 25 Dec. 1889, NLW EGBP papers, C1/21.
[434] B. F. Roberts, *Brut y Brenhinedd, Llanstephan MS. 1 Version: Selections edited with an introduction and notes* (Dublin, 1984), xxv-xxvii.

been substantially accepted by Helen Fulton save that she moves Hengwrt MS 27 (Peniarth MS 46+47(i)), which Evans referred to as 'very imperfect' from the Cleopatra B.v group to the main Red Book Group. Otherwise it appears that Gwenogvryn's work is both original and correct.[435]

Evans divided the manuscripts of *Brut y Tywysogion* into two groups 'characterized chiefly by differences of dialect and phraseology', α 'The Strata Florida Version', which contains the Red Book version, and β ' The B Version'.[436] In this he was correct, and his β is what we now know as the Peniarth MS. 20 version, but others, including Aneurin Owen and Phillimore had already pointed out the difference between the two. He also failed adequately to mention the separate *Brenhinedd y Saesson* chronicle, merely dismissing it as 'a very different and later compilation' when describing the short *Brut y Saesson* chronicle.[437] He stated that he was 'going into MSS. which I have seen and those alone', which may explain some of the shortcomings of his listings.[438] He stated:

> I have had a most trying piece of work to do — trying because I have not the MSS within reach to verify my references and to look up doubtful points. It has been a struggle in the dark to a considerable extent.[439]

Evans was determined to finish the Preface by Christmas 1889. He sent the first draft to the Press on 17 December, then on receipt of the proof sent a copy to Prof. Napier for his comments, and got the final draft to the Press just in time. He

[435] *Bruts*, xix-xx; H. Fulton, 'Troy Story: The Medieval Welsh *Ystorya Dared* and the *Brut* Tradition of British History', *The Medieval Chronicle* 7 (Amsterdam, 2011), 137-150, 144, 146, 149n.
[436] *Bruts*, xxi-xxiii.
[437] *Bruts*, xxiii.
[438] JGE to EGBP, 19 Dec. 1889, NLW EGBP papers, C1/21.
[439] JGE to EE, 22 Dec. 1889, NLW JGE Family papers, 17/46.

had intended to send a copy to Phillimore but ran out of time.[440] The Preface is dated 'Oxford, *Xmas Eve*, 1889'.[441]

Despite the precaution of doing the work of compositing, there was a further delay in the production as Evans rejected a number of sheets of proofs sent to him.[442] It is uncertain whether they were sheets composed by the Press, or by Evans himself. In either case, correcting electrotypes was possible, but by no means as simple as correcting forms of type. In addition to all these problems the Press discovered that they had insufficient supplies of the special papers that Evans required for the different versions of the edition. At the end of March the Press notified him that:

> ... the new hand-made royal cannot be ready under "three or four weeks", and the process "cannot be hurried without serious detriment to the paper" ...[443]

As a result, the date of the launch slipped from St. David's Day (1 March), as printed in the volume, to 1 November 1890.[444]

The reviews were once again laudatory, but one in *Archæologia Cambrensis* had a sting in its tail. The reviewer applauded Gwenogvryn's accuracy but deprecated his comments on the Rolls edition of the *Brut y Tywysogion* in the Preface:

> Mr. Gwenogvryn Evans may have looked more closely after capital or dotted letters than did Mr. Aneurin Owen (though even he has been obliged to renounce the ridiculous idea of representing the varying spaces left between the words of

[440] JGE to EGBP, 19 Dec. 1889, NLW EGBP papers, C1/21; JGE to EE, 22 Dec. 1889, NLW JGE Family papers, 17/46.
[441] *Bruts*, xxiv.
[442] Horace Hart to JGE, 1 Apr. 1890, NLW TL papers, Box 5, 1316.
[443] Horace Hart to JGE, 28 Mar. 1890, NLW TL papers, Box 5, 1315.
[444] Note in JGE's hand in an unnumbered Review Copy of the student's edition of *Bruts*: Jesus College Celtic Library: ZA iii 47/2.

> the MS.), but we will wait until we get the joint production of himself and the "distinguished student" before we altogether discard an edition which is illustrated and adorned by Mr. Owen's prefatory remarks. ...[445]

Gwynogvryn commented to Phillimore that 'the cheek of the penny-a-liner is very fine. His admiration of the facsimile in the Rolls Edn is very comical — it being valueless palæographically speaking.'[446] Evans had indeed given up the variable spacing save for 'the smallest space alone'.[447] In truth, on learning compositing the hard way he had come to see why it was too much to expect. The review does, however, need some explanation. The Rolls Edition, published in 1860, was edited by John Williams ab Ithel, but a review of it in *Archæologia Cambrensis* accused ab Ithel of plagiarising Aneurin Owen's translation and preface without acknowledgment of any kind.[448] To prove his point the reviewer printed large sections of ab Ithel's preface alongside the equivalent sections from Aneurin Owen's original manuscript version retained by the Record Office.[449] The reviewer of Evans's *Brut* had ignored the previous reviewer's remark that Owen's preface had been added to 'with other matter of no value, mere dilatation of phrases, or references to the volume of the *Myvyrian Archæology*' which made the preface of considerably less value.

The reviewer refers to the comment made by Gwenogvryn that 'a distinguished student of History has pledged his active co-operation' in preparing an edition

---

[445] Anon., 'The Red Book of Hergest. Vol. ii: The Bruts. Edited by J. Rhys, M.A., and J. Gwenogvryn Evans, Hon. M.A. Oxford, 1890.', *ArchCam* 5th Series 7/27 (Jul. 1890), 239-241, 240.
[446] JGE to EGBP, 15 Sep. 1890, NLW EGBP papers, C1/22.
[447] *Bruts*, viii.
[448] J. Williams ab Ithel (ed.), *Brut y Tywysogion; or, the Chronicle of the Princes* (London, 1860).
[449] Anon., 'Brut y Tywysogion, or The Chronicle of the Princes. Published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. 1 vol. large 8vo. London, 1860.', *ArchCam* 3rd Series 7/25 (Jan. 1861), 93-103.

and translation of the text.[450] Evans gives no clue who this might have been in the Preface, nor have I found any clue in his letters. As with so many of Evans's plans it failed to materialise. A further comment by the reviewer was to rankle, and be remembered:

> The fact is that Mr. Gwenogvryn Evans is a palæographer, and amongst Welsh palæographers by far and away the best; but he is very little more. We are grateful to him for a transcription of the *Red Book* chronicles, the accuracy of which is undoubted; ... but his capacity for *editing* such works has yet to be demonstrated.[451]

Only the future would show how prescient that comment was.

THE WELSH READERS

A problem occurred with the printing of eighty copies of the *Bruts* volume, by press error, and they had to be discarded.[452] Sheets O to R of these copies, forming pages 193-256, and covering the tail end of Geoffrey's *Ystoria Brenhined y Brytanyeit* were in good order, and, rather than waste them, Gwenogvryn had them bound in paper wrappers under the title of a *Mediaeval Welsh Reading Book*, thus becoming his first attempt at a Middle Welsh reader for students.[453]

The print run was hardly suitable to the purpose however, and in 1897 he decided to issue a pocket size version of pages 1-99 of his *Mabinogion* volume, which contained the Four Branches, Maxen's Dream, and the tale of Lludd and Llefelys. William Stanford & Co. of Oxford, acted as his publishers,, and the

---

[450] *Bruts*, xxi.
[451] Anon., 'Red Book Bruts', *ArchCam* 5th Series 7/27, 241.
[452] JGE to EE, 3 Apr. 1890, NLW JGE Family papers, 18/12.
[453] JR and JGE (eds.), *Mediaeval Welsh Reading Book* (Oxford, 1890); Invoice, Horace Hart to JGE, 22 Feb. 1891, NLW TL papers, Box 5, 1330. Pagination of the reader taken from the NLW catalogue.

printing was done by the Clarendon Press. A second edition was produced in 1905, but this time Gwenogvryn split the publishing rights between Stanford and himself, which enabled him to produce a few specially bound better editions.[454]

In 1903 Evans wrote to Morris Jones as follows:

> I have just been reading Amlyn & Amic which is a translation from the Latin, not French version as far as I have tested it. But here comes the question I want your solemn attention. Its Welsh is by far the best for a first reader in Med: Welsh. ... It is excellently adapted for schools. ... Do you see any objection to editing it for use in a mixed class of boys & girls, if necessary. ... I feel inclined to punctuate, Capitalise Proper names, use r & w throughout, & v for u in words like dyuot, & dd or đ for d when it = δ. The order of the words might be changed too here & there, & occasionally repetitions omitted with advantage to sense & style. If you will read the copy & return it promptly I will send it you ... You are engaged in teaching & I am not. I want this little book for the use of elementary classes at schools, not for your Matric: Classes. It is a book which the general reader cd. read with pleasure if printed in the ordinary way. I think we want something to lead up to the Mabinogion. ...[455]

This was one of the texts that Evans intended for the fourth volume of the Red Book, which never materialised. I have not been able to trace Morris Jones's reply, but Gwenogvryn took his time on the matter. It was not until Strachan's similarly punctuated *Reader* appeared in his *Introduction to Modern Welsh in 1909*, of which more in Chapter 5, that Evans published *Amlyn ac Amic*.[456] In his Preface Gwenogvryn states that the translation from Latin into Welsh 'cannot be earlier than the second quarter of the fifteenth century'.[457] This must be a slip of the pen since, in his own *Report*, he states the date of the MS. to be 'the last quarter of the XIVth, and the first quarter of the XVth centuries', which date is

[454] JR and JGE (eds.), *Pedeir Kainc y Mabinogi, Breuddwyd Maxen, Lludd a Llevelys* (1st edn., Oxford, 1897; 2nd edn., Oxford & Pwllheli, 1905).
[455] JGE to JMJ, 'Monday night', Bangor MSS 3247 111. The letter includes a reference to the death of Silvan Evans, who died 13 April 1903. That is a Monday, but JGE is unlikely to have heard the same day, so I have tentatively dated the letter to 20 April 1903.
[456] JGE (ed.), *Kymdeithas Amlyn ac Amic* (Llanbedrog, 1909).
[457] JGE, *Amlyn ac Amic*, [iii].

supported by modern scholarship.[458] An early fourteenth century date is therefore likely for the translation, and his comment in the Preface is wrong.[459]

THE BOOK OF LLAN DÂV

The preparation for the next volume was already under way before the *Bruts* volume was issued to subscribers. Exactly why Gwenogvryn decided to stray so far from his published Prospectus to issue what is substantially a Latin text, though containing some interesting early Middle Welsh, is far from clear. Probably the motivation came from Rhŷs as he understood the inaccuracies in the Welsh Manuscripts Society text published in 1840 and edited by William Jenkins Rees.[460] As early as 1876, in a letter enclosing a testimonial supporting Rhŷs's application for the new Chair of Celtic at Oxford, Whitley Stokes had suggested that Rhŷs edit a republication of the text, or at least a 'list of corrigenda'.[461] Maunde Thompson had stated in 1878 that 'Mr. Rees's transcriptions are queer, to say the least', and further commented:[462]

> Rees ought to be pilloried. I am no Welsh Scholar, but the small passages I have sought after for you show him up as about the worst editor that it has been my misfortune to meet for some time. His readings are simply atrocious and he never gives references to the pages of the MSS. If however you have occasion to use him I hope you will always suppose him wrong till you can prove him right. But I have no doubt you have already formed this resolution.[463]

---

[458] *Report* 2/1, 1.
[459] Patricia Williams (ed.), *Kedymdeithas Amlyn ac Amic gyda Rhagmadrodd a Nodiadau* (Cardiff, 1982), xxxiv.
[460] W. J. Rees (ed.), *The Liber Landavensis, Llyfr Teilo, or the ancient register of the cathedral church of Llandaff, with an English translation and notes* (Llandovery, 1840).
[461] Whitley Stokes to JR, 16 Dec. 1876, NLW JR papers, A1/3/5.
[462] Maunde Thompson to JR, 25 Oct. 1878, NLW JR papers, A1/1/9.
[463] Maunde Thompson to JR, 8 Nov. 1878, NLW JR papers, A1/1/9. Thompson refers here to Rees's *Lives of the Cambro British Saints* (Llandovery, 1853), but the *Liber Landavensis* was similarly faulty.

Daniel Huws regards the manuscript as being important as a rare survival of a 12th century combined gospel-book and cartulary 'still retaining an original board which was once covered in metal'.[464]

It would appear that Rhŷs also had a hand in persuading Philip Bryan Davies-Cooke of Gwysaney to leave his manuscript at the Bodleian to allow Evans to work on it there. Davies-Cooke delivered the manuscript personally in early January 1890 whilst Gwenogvryn was once again avoiding 'fogs and rivers' by wintering in Bournemouth, but his wife Edith accomplished the necessary liaison between the two.[465] Despite having the same arrangement with Rhŷs over the checking of one proof as he had with the two Red Book volumes, Evans agreed with Phillimore to do the same without reference to the manuscript in order to spot peculiarities in the text that could then be checked by Evans against the original. This may well have been to circumvent the problems that occurred due to Rhŷs returning the proofs in batches. Phillimore's knowledge of the topography of South Wales also proved useful in identifying the Welsh boundary names mentioned in the charters in the text. The arrangement was intended to be reciprocal, with Evans checking proofs of Phillimore's various articles, though I suspect the arrangement may have proved more costly in time to Phillimore than it did to Evans.[466]

The whole project was put on hold whilst the influenza pandemic of 1889-90 ran its course through Gwenogvryn's household, though luckily without fatality in

[464] *MWM*, 5.
[465] JGE to EE, 12 Jan. 1890, NLW JGE Family papers, 18/10.
[466] JGE (ed.) with the co-operation of JR, *The Text of the Book of Llan Dâv Reproduced from the Gwysaney Manuscript* (Oxford, 1893), xl; JGE to EGBP, 30 Jan. 1890, NLW EGBP papers, C1/22.

their case. His weak lungs suffered badly from congestion, and it was not until a good way through March that he got out of the house for the first time.[467] He spent some of April recovering in Bournemouth.[468]

His departure for Bournemouth coincided with the arrival of an unwelcome letter from Horace Hart at the University Press:

> Referring to your letter about Liber Landavensis I beg to inform you that the compositors who are accustomed to your work, are engaged at present in getting together the materials for, and in replacing, the sheets of the Bruts which you rejected; and I would rather not make any attempt to deal with another book at present, or even to give any estimate for it. The copy which you send would, I believe, prove to be excessively troublesome when the compositors got to work upon it, and you must allow me to return it.[469]

The Press had clearly had enough of Evans's continued corrections, and it is possible that being persuaded to print virtually at cost had been the last straw. Gwenogvryn wrote to his wife that 'that letter ... has upset me very much', and that 'I am not at all sure I shall not do better by leaving the Press'.[470] A somewhat acrimonius correspondence ensued, but the Press refused to budge, save that they agreed to continue to produce electrotype plates from Evans's forms.[471] It was clear he had no choice but 'leaving the Press'. By May he had entered into negotiation with John Bellows in Gloucester, who eventually completed the work, though it had become clear that Evans would need to continue to do the typesetting himself.[472]

---

[467] JGE to JMJ, 11 Feb. 1890, Bangor MSS 3247 6; JGE to EGBP, 19 Feb. & 24 Mar. 1890, NLW EGBP papers, C1/22.
[468] JGE to EE, 2-11 Apr. 1890, NLW JGE Family papers, 18/11-18/21.
[469] Horace Hart to JGE, 1 Apr. 1890, NLW TL papers, Box 5, 1316.
[470] JGE to EE, 3 Apr. 1890, NLW JGE Family papers, 18/12.
[471] Horace Hart to JGE, 8-28 Apr. 1890, NLW TL papers, Box 5, 1317-1319.
[472] JGE to EE, 1 May 1890, NLW JGE Family papers, 18/22.

By September 1890 Gwenogvryn had almost finished his transcription, and was finding the medieval French section (Appendix 1) much easier to deal with than the unorthodox contractions of the Latin.[473] A month later he had finished, but then discovered some the special type he had cast was not suitable, so all work had to stop until he received replacements.[474] He complained to Phillimore that 'the mechanical part of the Texts is a sad tax on my time & a weariness too', but not so bad as chasing subscriptions.[475]

He went over to Gloucester in January 1891 'to set my printer going'.[476] The following month saw Evans well into printing proofs but finding frequent journeys to Gloucester somewhat tiresome. The arrangement with Phillimore was also not without the occasional glitch. More seriously Gwenogvryn was bemoaning the demise of Robert W. Griffith who had promised to raise a fund to help Evans with the costs of printing parts of a British Museum manuscript and the *Book of St Chad*.[477] He also asked Phillimore for help with the Index, not being sure what was important to include. In return Evans agreed to proof-read Phillimore's revision of *Owen's Pembrokeshire*.[478]

In February Gwenogvryn's little family was beset by scarlet fever, and they were not clear of it until the end of June. This limited his progress somewhat, as he

[473] JGE to EGBP, 15 & 24 Sep. 1890, NLW EGBP papers, C1/22.
[474] JGE to EGBP, 27 Oct. 1890, NLW EGBP papers, C1/22.
[475] JGE to EGBP, 31 Oct. 1890, NLW EGBP papers, C1/22.
[476] JGE to RJJ, 2 Feb. 1891, NLW MS 14150B.
[477] Probably Cotton Vespasian A.xiv. JGE to EGBP, 2 Feb. 1891, NLW EGBP papers, C1/22.
[478] JGE to EGBP, 17 Feb. 1891, NLW EGBP papers, C1/22.

took them off for a month in Malvern to recover in July, and three weeks at his step-father's farm at Dolwlff from the end of August to mid-September.[479]

On 29 September 1891 he was in Lichfield, having arrived the previous night, awaiting photographers from the Clarendon Press to photograph the *Book of St Chad*. Daniel Huws emphasises the importance of this manuscript:

> ... the earliest Welsh book is a magnificent eighth-century gospel-book ... [which] has been at Lichfield cathedral for over a thousand years, but marginal entries reveal that an earlier home was ... in Wales ...[480]

Evans used the time to copy what he needed from the manuscript 'in Canon Lonsdale's dining Room in very good light', but complained that he could read everything 'except one note where I can only make out one word — the first! I can't even make out the language!' His return was delayed a day as two of the plates taken failed, and had to be retaken the following day.[481]

According to Evans, the records of legal agreements including the 'Surrexit memorandum' added to the pages of the *Book of St Chad* were important as many of them had been added whilst the manuscript was at Llandaff in the ninth century.[482] This had been assumed from one agreement referring to the depositing of the gospel book 'on the altar of St Teilo'.[483] There are, however, very good reasons to think that the altar referred to was not at Llandaff, but at Llandeilo Fawr. Llandaff was a Norman foundation and was not an important

[479] JGE to EGBP, 6 Feb. & 11 Jul. 1891, NLW EGBP papers, C1/22; to EE, 26 & 27 Aug., 2 & 11 Sep. 1891, NLW JGE Family papers, 19/1, 19/2, 19/3, 19/5; to OME, 31 Aug. 1891, NLW OME papers, AG4/10/2; to RJJ, 28 Feb. 1892, NLW MS 14150B.
[480] *MWM*, 5.
[481] JGE to EE, [29] & [30] Sep. 1891, NLW JGE Family papers 19/6 & 19/7.
[482] *BLlD*, xlii.
[483] *BLlD*, xliii.

centre for the cult of St Teilo earlier, and most of the place names referred to in the marginalia in the *Book of St Chad* are close to Llandeilo Fawr, and the monastery there was an important cult centre of St Teilo in the ninth century.[484] It would appear that the traditions of the founding of the see, together with its property were transferred at some point from Llandeilo Fawr to Llandaff, but this was some time after the *Book of St Chad* had been transferred to Lichfield.[485] There is no doubt that the inclusion of the Lichfield marginalia in Evans's publication was of considerable use to scholars, even though the reason for that inclusion was spurious.

At the end of February 1892 Evans was still working on the Index, which he said he had been at for three months. He was complaining to Rees Jenkin Jones:

> I have been trying to identify the old names so as to give the modern equations in the Index and often a few days are spent on a simple name looking up maps of all sorts, old charters, topographical dictionaries &c &c. ... I expected to have had the book ready to issue March 1st there I am still grappling with the Index & with all the boundaries untranslated![486]

By the following May Evans was having deep problems with the Index and asked Phillimore for the return of his copy, as Gwenogvryn's copy was unintelligible due to the number of corrections and Rhŷs was off on one of his perennial peregrinations and had taken his copy with him.[487] It took him until September before he was advanced enough to start to get proofs from Gloucester, which he promptly sent to Phillimore for checking. At this point he started on the Preface,

---

[484] Melville Richards, 'The 'Lichfield' Gospels (Book of 'Saint Chad')', *NLWJ* 18/1 (Summer 1973), 135-146, 136.
[485] Wendy Davies, *The Llandaff Charters* (Aberystwyth, 1979), 90-91.
[486] JGE to RJJ, 28 Feb. 1892, NLW MS 14150B.
[487] JGE to EGBP, 20 May 1892, NLW EGBP papers, C1/22.

which he hoped to see 'done in a fortnight'. He had written notes on the chronology of the text, but had decided not to include them as 'The question bridles with difficulties'. Evans confined himself to 'the history of the MS & paleographical remarks & explanations'.[488] The Preface does seem to have taken him longer than a fortnight since it is dated St Teilo's Day (9 February) 1893.[489]

In late October 1892 Gwenogvryn realised that a rival version was being printed in a series on Glamorganshire charters.[490] This had been transcribed by W. de Gray Birch from the copy in the British Museum.[491] Evans decided that the work would not materially affect his project as he commented that the 'howlers are many in the proper names'.[492] He further added:

> Mr. Clark admits that these selections "add inconveniently to the bulk" of his book; it cannot be said that they "add materially to its value," for the *care* spoken of is not synonymous with anything approaching accuracy of transcription in the case of proper names.[493]

The Preface appears to have been finished by the end of December 1892 as a final proof was sent to Phillimore on the 22nd.[494] By 3 February he was able to say:

> The sheets of the Liber came home today all ... but 2 pages, =table of contents. That book is done at last ag i Ðuw byδo'r diolch. I never thought I shd. survive the work.[495]

---

[488] JGE to EGBP, 21 Sep. 1892, NLW EGBP papers, C1/22.
[489] *BLlD*, xlii.
[490] George Thomas Clark (ed.), *Cartæ et alia munimenta quæ ad dominium de Glamorgan pertinent, curante G.T. Clark.* (Dowlais, &c., 1885-1893), vol. III.
[491] BL Cotton MS. Vitellius C. 10.
[492] JGE to EGBP, 29 Oct. 1892, NLW EGBP papers, C1/22.
[493] *BLlD*, viii.
[494] JGE to EGBP, 22 Dec. 1892, NLW EGBP papers, C1/22.
[495] JGE to JMJ, 3 Feb. 1893, Bangor MSS 3247 14.

The final words were said with some feeling since he was to write elsewhere: 'I had been working 16 hours a day for some time & had been down to Gloucester working there with the printers till 11pm — result was a collapse.'[496] It is clear that his aim was to have the book ready for 1 March — St. David's Day — 1893, and, to do that, he cut a few corners, so his feelings about the end result were mixed. In the same letter he wrote both: 'The wretched Book of Ll. Dâv is off my hands at last — not finished, but simply abandoned.' and: 'As a piece of printing I am satisfied there is no better work produced this century.'[497] He felt he had done his best with the orthography of the boundary names, but reported minor errors in areas of less importance:

> There are some errors in the List of subscribers — there always have been. It was printed off without proper revision under great pressure from want of time, & I was dead tired at the time. I must bear the consequence — every one can judge of that, & if a few jump at the conclusion that the text has been similarly done it can't be helped, but I have not neglected "the weightier matters of the law" notwithstanding.[498]

Certainly he would have liked to have expanded the Preface, but caution and lack of time prevented it. Two different dedications appear in different volumes. One is to the owner Philip Bryan Davies-Cooke of Gwysaney and Owton, the other is 'To the Memory of James Andrew Corbett, of Pont Canna, Cardiff'. The former is to be expected, the latter needs explanation. The edition description below 'The Device of the Texts' states that 350 copies were produced, plus 32 'for the subscribers to the J. A. Corbett Memorial Fund.' The fund paid for the autotype facsimilies illustrating the text.[499] Of the volumes I have looked at, far more

[496] JGE to EGBP, 27 Feb. 1893, NLW EGBP papers, C1/22.
[497] JGE to RJJ, 18 Mar. 1893, NLW MS 14150B.
[498] JGE to RJJ, 26 Mar. 1893, NLW MS 14150B.
[499] *BLlD*, [ii], [v], xxxix-xl.

seem to have the dedication to Corbett than do to Davies-Cooke. Despite this the 1979 facsimile produced by the National Library has the dedication to Davies-Cooke. I cannot explain this, I simply state it as a fact.

Gwenogvryn is full of praise for Phillimore's assistance in proof reading and in help with the place-name identification. His indication of which attributions are down to Phillimore is worth noting. He states: 'A good many new identifications have been made by both of us independently, others by one of us only. Those specially contributed by Mr. Phillimore are marked by an asterisk'. It is not recorded what Phillimore thought of this arrangement. It certainly shows a lack of generosity of spirit on Gwenogvryn's part, and when, later, he tried the same thing with John Morris Jones in the Notes to the *Black Book of Carmarthen* diplomatic edition, he got loud complaints from Anglesey. This character trait was to lose him friends.

Gwenogvryn dates the bulk of the manuscript to the twelfth century and Huws agrees. They differ on the breakdown into hands, and slightly on the dating of those hands.[500] Huws's serious criticism is of Evans regarding the Book as having 'a *Liber Landavensis* proper' within a collection of other material. Huws regards as quite normal the association of Gospel, *vitae*, cartulary, and episcopal list in one book, that is a book that is basically a liturgical book, and gives other examples. Evans has been supported by later writers, but Huws feels they are simply following Evans without considering the evidence.[501]

[500] *BLlD*, xxix; *MWM*, 123-157.
[501] *MWM*, 123-6.

E. J. Newell wrote a lengthy and extensive review for *Archæologia Cambrensis* that was generally positive, giving Evans praise for his work, though he did scoff at Gwenogvryn's suggestion that Geoffrey of Monmouth was involved in the writing of the volume. Newell's detailed examination of the content of the manuscript does give a clear view of scholarly attitudes to the manuscript at the time.[502]

There is a critique in *Revue Celtique* by Henri d'Arbois de Jubainville that is generally favourable, praising Evans's not dividing nouns from preceding prepostions when run together in the manuscript, and for his correction of the Welsh names, on pp. 42-3 of his edition, incorrectly supplied by Rees, and a full list of these is appended to the review. The reviewer does complain that Evans was being too fastidious in his attention to contractions and exact replication of characters. He also complains that Evans did not supply a concordance between the pages of his edition and that of Rees, so that refererences in *Grammatica Celtica* could be easily checked. Despite this de Jubainville did end by saying that grammarians owed Evans 'mille remerciements'.[503]

ORDNANCE SURVEY OF WALES

In 1892, partly as a result of finding errors in the Ordnance Survey, mostly in Welsh spelling, whilst tracking modern equivalents of place names in the *Book of*

[502] E. J. Newell, 'The Text of the Book of Llan Dâv, reproduced from the Gwysaney MS. By J. Gwenogvryn Evans, Honorary M.A. Oxon., with the Co-operation of John Rhys, M.A., Professor of Celtic in the University of Oxford. Oxford: Issued to Subscribers only. 1893.', *ArchCam* 5th Series 10/40 (October 1893), 332-339.
[503] H. d'A. de Jubainville, 'Chronique, IV', *RC* 14 (1893), 205-6.

Llan Dâv, Evans became involved in correspondence with MPs, in particular with T. E. Ellis, Liberal M.P. for Merioneth. He was anxious to get Phillimore involved:

> I have just recd. a Note from the House of Commons asking me to furnish evidence re the defects of the Ordnance Maps for Wales. Would you mind jotting down some of the howlers you can think of, & pointing out what you consider the chief defects of the maps. There is a chance that something may be done & you wd. have a good chance of a job on a work that you wd. enjoy & do well.[504]

In July Evans wrote to Morris Jones complaining of the pressure he was under due to 'getting up my case re the Ordnance Maps, a vain work I fear, for I hear no action will be taken'.[505] Despite that, by September a Commons Committee had been set up, and Gwenogvryn writes of sending it information.[506] By December matters had advanced so far that Evans was able to write to Morris Jones:

> My evidence before the Ordnance Maps has brought matters to a crisis and Major General Owen Jones will be transferred to another Department at the end of the year. Prof. Rhys has already suggested at my instigation that you should overlook the Maps of North Wales and I those of S. Wales. But I hope the Controller General will apply to him for advice by and by, and then if the thing is worth accepting I think we may depend on Rhys recommending us.[507]

There the matter appears to have ended. Suffice it to say that neither Phillimore, Morris Jones nor Gwenogvryn appear to have secured the suggested jobs.

THE CIVIL LIST PENSION

As already stated, apart from his income from the sale of the *Texts*, which, as Rhŷs expected, never actually met the cost of production, Gwenogvryn only had the income from his mother-in-law's annuity to sustain his family. By 1890 Julia Hunter was very frail, and it was clear to Evans that he had to find other income

[504] JGE to EGBP, 14 May 1892, NLW EGBP papers, C1/22.
[505] JGE to JMJ, 15 Jul. 1892, Bangor MSS 3247 9.
[506] JGE to EGBP, 24 Sep. 1892, NLW EGBP papers, C1/22.
[507] JGE to JMJ, 12 Dec. 1892, Bangor MSS 3247 11.

to survive. It was at this point that financial difficulties began to arise from other sources, of which Evans gives few details. The first sign of trouble arose in mid-March 1890, when he reported 'an unexpected business worry'.[508] It cannot, however, have been serious since shortly after he borrowed £200 from his friend Rev. James of Llandyssul to make up the amount he needed to buy £633 of stocks in two companies.[509] It is possible that Evans was hoping to build up a sufficient portfolio of shares between his own holdings and those in his wife's settlement to enable them to live off the interest. In July 1890 Julia asked him about her annuity, and he discovered that the income had dropped to 'only £110 a year the last two years whereas she used to receive £240 a year.[510] Shortly after that, when reviewing the list of subscribers for the *Bruts* volume, he discovered a discrepancy in the accounts of a man who had been collecting the subscriptions.[511] Gwenogvryn regarded collecting subscriptions as 'the bête noir of the undertaking' because 'People seem to have such unbusinesslike habits'.[512] By August 1892 he decided he had to secure other funding, and the idea came to him, perhaps through a suggestion by Rhŷs, that the importance of the work he was doing would justify him asking for a government pension. To succeed in this he needed allies. Evans wrote frankly to Owen Edwards:

> I have lost more than I suspected on the Texts. ... I found the loss amounts to £473. Then last week I find a man whom all his friends thought highly respectable, a deacon & all that, has swindled me of half my income for some years — how long will depend on the life of a third person. Before this happened I was thinking I shd. have to quit Oxford, but now it is a certainty unless Mr Ellis will help me to get a pension. ... I want you to speak to him on the matter as I think you promised to do, in a lacadaizical [*sic*] way. If I must quit Oxford I must abandon the Texts. ... I am also exceedingly anxious to stay at Oxford for the sake of the education of my boys

[508] JGE to EGBP, 24 Mar. 1890, NLW EGBP papers, C1/22.
[509] JGE to EE, 7 & 9 Apr. 1890, NLW JGE Family papers, 18/16 & 18/18.
[510] JGE to EE, 22 Jul. 1890, NLW JGE Family papers, 18/27.
[511] JGE to EE, 31 Jul. 1890, NLW JGE Family papers, 18/29.
[512] JGE to EGBP, 31 Oct. 1890, NLW EGBP papers, C1/22.

> & the Bodleian, which I find the best "health resort" for me. ... I have no desire to worry you or Mr Ellis or anyone else but before abandoning the work of my life I wish to find out whether any one appreciates it enough to help a lame dog over a style.[513]

T. E. Ellis was the same Liberal MP for Merioneth with whom Evans had been corresponding about the Ordnance Survey. It appears that, instead of going for the pension idea, he had tried to get Evans a job in the Record Office, as Gwenogvryn later wrote to Edwards:

> I met Ellis accidentally at Barmouth, ... He was very kind and now he understands my position and aims fully, & will endeavour to assist me in the way most helpful to my work. I have no desire to go to the Record Office; besides I have passed the age, & physically I cd. not pass the legal standard of bodily strength. By seeing Ellis some trouble will be saved & he will now steer a straight course for the desired goal in a quiet way.[514]

In December 1892 Evans urged Morris Jones to write the article he had promised to write on Evans and his work for Owen Edwards's *Cymru*.[515] He pleaded to Morris Jones: 'if you write do so seriously, and it must be done at once if it is to be of any service to me. The kernel of the matter is the work done & the conditions under which it has been done. The less said about the man the better, beyond a brief outline of outward facts.'[516] The article was published in the 15 January 1893 edition of *Cymru*, and it seems to have pleased Evans as he wrote of reading it to his wife (presumably in translation since she was not a Welsh speaker) 'who was delighted with the paragraph on the get up in the Jesus College Drawing Room.'[517]

---

[513] JGE to OME, 29 Aug. 1892, NLW OME papers, AG4/10/3 & 60.
[514] JGE to OME, 20 Sep. 1892, NLW OME papers, AG4/10/4.
[515] X, 'Cymru Byw'.
[516] JGE to JMJ, 12 Dec. 1892, Bangor MSS 3247 11.
[517] JGE to JMJ, [22] Jan. 1893, Bangor MSS 3247 13.

On 3 February Evans wrote again to Morris Jones asking him to get signatures for the 'prayer' seeking the pension that would need to be sent to the First Lord of the Treasury, that is Gladstone, the Prime Minister.[518] The 'prayer' was written by John Rhŷs in his capacity as Professor of Celtic, and detailed the work proposed by Evans as listed in the printed prospectus for the *Texts*, and explained his monetary losses, especially on the last two publications (by which I assume he intends the *Bruts* and *Llan Dâv*). Rhŷs concentrated on the national importance of the work being done, and the need for the nation to support it. His opinion of Gwenogvryn's talents is worth noting:

> Of his special fitness for the task there can be no two opinions, as his aptitude for palæographical studies is conspicuous, while his acquaintance with Welsh manuscripts is unique. Such a happy combination of enthusiasm for the work, combined with industry in the pursuit of it, and almost incredible accuracy in executing it, is in my opinion rarely to be met with.

Rhŷs's own letter was backed by ones from Whitley Stokes, citing the annual grants made to the Royal Irish Academy, and from Owen Edwards emphasising the importance of the work to Welsh History, and the danger of it not being completed if no money was forthcoming. A petition accompanied these letters signed by four bishops, six principals of Oxford Colleges, the Vice-Principal, Senior Tutor, and Librarian of Jesus College, Oxford, three Welsh MPs, and a considerable number of academics of all levels from across the country, and particularly from Wales. Of interest for future reference, those academics included John Morris Jones of Bangor, Professors Strachan and Tout of Manchester, and Kuno Meyer of Liverpool.[519]

[518] JGE to JMJ, 3 Feb. 1893, Bangor MSS 3247 14.
[519] NLW JGE papers, Group II, 121.

One person who did not sign the 'prayer', though he was asked to, was D. Silvan Evans, who was working on his *Geiriadur Cymraeg*, the first volume of which, up to the letter 'C', was completed in 1893. He had received some funding from Lady Llanover, but he knew this would not suffice to complete the work. On learning of Gwenogvryn's application he decided to follow the same course. Evans wrote:

> This set Silvan "going" on his own account & he sent in his application in post haste in the hope of anticipating mine — probable result, both cases spoilt. Had the applications been sent in 6 months apart both of us wd. have fared better.[520]

It did, however, appear that Gwenogvryn was worrying unnecessarily, as Stuart Rendel MP wrote to Rhŷs in May 1893 indicating that the pension application would succeed, the only doubt was the annual amount to be granted, but that Silvan's, 'whose claims are of much less importance', would not.[521] Silvan did not get a Civil List Pension until 1897. His death in 1903 curtailed the work on the dictionary, the fifth volume being the last, published posthumously by Walter Spurrell in 1906, and that only reached the letter 'E'.[522] Gwenogvryn received his pension.

CLOSING OBSERVATIONS

This chapter has, of necessity, covered much ground. I set out to answer two questions. Firstly, how Evans transformed himself from an out-of-work Unitarian Minister into a renowned expert on Welsh palaeography. It has been shown that he exhibited an unique talent in his ability to copy medieval manuscripts with an

[520] JGE to EGBP, 27 Feb. 1893, NLW EGBP papers, C1/22.
[521] Stuart Rendel to JR, 11 May 1893, NLW JGE papers, Group II, 121.
[522] R. E. Hughes, 'Evans, Daniel Silvan (1818 - 1903)', *DWB*, 223-4.

astounding degree of accuracy. He arrived at exactly the moment that Welsh scholarship, flowering under John Rhŷs, needed him. Secondly, his motivation to publish the particular selection of manuscripts that he did. In this one detects the guiding hand of Rhŷs, showing Evans where the oldest and most interesting manuscripts were to be found. Evans did branch out on his own over the White Book, but he had to learn of its existence, and that must have been through his contact with Rhŷs. I have also mentioned some serious flaws in his thinking, primarily his reluctance to fully acknowledge help given, and his tendency to look for historical fact where only legend was to be found. These were not yet to become a problem, but they were there, and would form the foundation of his fall from grace. In ending with the publication of the *Book of Llan Dâv* in March 1893, and the award of his pension, I have brought Gwenogvryn almost to the peak of his career, but not quite, and the next chapter will cover that final rise.

CHAPTER 4
~ THE HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION ~
1893-1904.

> ... he would leave no stone unturned till he was satisfied he had got hold of every MS.[523]

This chapter traces the events that led up to Evans's appointment as an Inspector by the HMC. It answers the question of what service this work was to Welsh scholarship. It examines, through his HMC *Report*, Evans's accuracy in dating the manuscripts themselves, and relates this to his understanding of palaeography. It comments on the founding of the National Library and Evans's part in buying the Peniarth collection. It considers the award of an honorary DLitt by both the Universities of Oxford and Wales, and how this affected his relationships with John Morris Jones and John Rhŷs, and the bearing that had on Evans being forced to leave Oxford for Llanbedrog after he failed to gain the Oxford fellowship that he needed to replace the income from the HMC.

DAFYDD AP GWILYM AND OTHER POETS

Evans had stated in 1888 for the *Welsh Classics for the People* series that he wanted to produce a volume of selections of poetry from 'Tudur Aled, Iolo Goch, L. G. Cothi, D. and R. Nanmor, D. ap Edmwnt', and '*The complete Works of D. ap Gwilym*'.[524] He wanted to encourage the study of the Welsh poets for he wrote:

> ... there are our Laws, our Triads, our older poetry, and the poetry of D. ap Gwilym, of D. ap Edmwnt, of Iolo-Goch, of the two Nanmors, and of Tudur Aled. We have as yet no reliable texts of these works, and one searches in vain for *Welshmen* anxious to study them.[525]

---

[523] JGE, 'Welsh Manuscripts', *Wales* 1/5 (5 Sept 1894), 205-8, 208.
[524] JGE, *Llyvyr Iob*, [102].
[525] JGE, 'Welsh Colleges and Professors of Welsh', *Cymru Fydd* 3 (Dec 1890), 747-754, 749-750.

The failure of the *Welsh Classics* had not abated his interest. In 1888 Rees Jenkin Jones asked him about his intentions, and he replied:

> All I know about Dafyδ is, that there are very many MSS of his works or parts of them. There is a big folio Vol: at Shirburn Castle ... There are also at Shirburn smaller transcripts of Dafyδ but I had no time to examine them being there for only two days & having to look through some 200 MSS. I think 3 years wd. be necessary to tackle Dafyδ properly. I know some things by him not published & not fit for publication either. ... some day I hope to sift the materials & begin transcribing the oldest MS first & then work my way slowly down. ... Guto'r Glyn I know not except by name. Iolo Goch is also a mere name to me. However some pieces by Iolo are in Red Book of Hergest.[526]

By 1890 he had started to borrow and transcribe poetry manuscripts. He wrote to Phillimore that 'I hope to return a MS of D ap Gwilim I have in November'.[527] A month later he was worrying about competition. He wrote again to Phillimore: 'This inter nos. *Tudur Aled. Find me this at once if you possibly can. I want it so much. There is an attempt to anticipate me with regard to Tudur Aled, D. ap G., Daf Edmwnt &c.' but he fails to mention who is the culprit.[528] He got very excited when an unknown manuscript of Dafydd's poems was discovered by Rees Jenkin Jones, and made it clear where he thought the best Welsh literature came from:

> I have long been in search of a Dimetian copy of Dafyδ's Poems and I hope yours is a worthy one in that best and only literary dialect of Wales. ... It was on the banks of the Teify that the Mabinogion were written down. Kulhwch is a Cardi ir Carn [to the hilt?] & so is Olwen a Carden bais goch [in a red dress]! Dafyδ ap Gwilim is a Cardi. The Red Book is a Cardi, The White Book of Rhyδerch is a cardi; ... But with all your getting get me the loan of that MS by Benjamin Simon.[529]

He was disappointed when the loan was refused by the owner, especially as it was the first refusal he had received. Evans suggested as alternatives that Jones brought it to Bournemouth, or he was willing to come and copy it at Jones's

[526] JGE to RJJ, 13 Feb. 1888, MLW MS 14150B.
[527] JGE to EGBP, 15 Sep. 1890, NLW EGBP papers, C1/22.
[528] JGE to EGBP, 31 Oct. 1890, NLW EGBP papers, C1/22.
[529] NLW MS 5475A; NLW JGE papers, Group II, 43; JGE to RJJ, 31 Oct. 1890, NLW MS 14150B.

house in Aberdare.[530] The owner was eventually persuaded to part with it temporarily, but Gwenogvryn was a little disappointed when he transcribed it. He wrote to Jones:

> Its contents are to be found elsewhere, and most ... are in MSS many centuries older. It is evident that Benj. Simon merely copied a MS in the hand of Iaco ab Dewi who was a splendid transcriber. I am not without hope of finding Iaco ab Dewi's MS ... I am glad to have had this MS of Mr Davies, because it has given me one or two hints to work out some puzzles.[531]

By February 1892 Evans thought he had succeeded as he wrote again to Rees Jenkin Jones:

> I have found the original of Benjamin Simon ... The MSS of the Rev Mr Richards of Llanegwad (see Myvyrian Arch. of Wales) were recently bought by the Bodleian at my advice. Among these is a MS of the sixteenth century This MS has marginalia in the autograph of Jaco ab Dewi & additions in the hand of Benjamin Simon.[532]

In the same letter he begged to be excused from writing articles for *Yr Ymofynydd* because 'I want to see out the works of D. ap Gwilim, D. ap Edmont, Tudur Aled the two Nanmor, Edmwnd Prys, besides a whole heap (2 big Vols) of Old Welsh Poetry'.[533]

For the next year he was involved in finishing the *Book of Llan Dâv* and in campaigning for his pension so it was not until April 1893 that he was able to write to Rees Jenkin Jones that 'I have begun to look into D. ab Gwilim, & I shall probably persevere in that line for some time now.'[534] The following February he was told by John Morris Jones that he was totally unfitted for the task as he

[530] JGE to RJJ, 11 Nov. 1890, NLW MS 14150B.
[531] JGE to RJJ, 2 Feb. 1891, NLW MS 14150B.
[532] F. Madan and H. H. E. Craster, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* 6 (1924), 53-55, entries 31432-44, Bodl. MSS. Welsh e.1-e.5 & f.1-f.8.
[533] JGE to RJJ, 28 Feb. 1892, NLW MS 14150B.
[534] JGE to RJJ, 28 Apr. 1893, NLW MS 14150B.

knew nothing of strict metre poetry or of *cynghanedd*. Gwenogvryn's reply was typically robust:

> I sh[d]. be glad to get your coöperation in editing Dafyδ, & that if you w[d]. render me real help I sh[d]. be prepared to put your name on the Title page ... It w[d]. appear that you & Rhys seem to think now that I may be trusted to be your clerk to do the mechanical work of copying MSS.; but that I sh[d]. presume to have an opinion of my own, or even to think for myself is a crime of the first magnitude in your opinion. Nobody grudges me the drudgery of copying the poems over & over again out of over 60 MSS. but the moment the drudgery is over, it becomes me to step aside that my betters may take their turn. As to editing Dafyδ "finally" the man is not born who can do it. Dafyδ c[d]. have done it himself but no man since. ... To apply to D. the rules drawn up since his day is not to edit him finally. The poems must be carefully examined in the best MSS. & his rules deduced therefrom.[535]

His attitude has changed since 1889, only four years earlier, when he was willing to let others 'raise the superstructure' on his foundations.[536] He had realised that the glory was not in copying, but in preparing a critical edition. The question was to be whether that would be within his capabilities, as the reviewer of the *Bruts* had already queried.[537] For the moment the question would not arise, as other matters were to distract him.

CAMPAIGNING FOR AN HMC WELSH COMMISSIONER.

Evans saw the advantages of having some official position, carrying legal and, thereby, social weight, that would remove his difficulties in accessing manuscripts. He certainly knew about the Historical Manuscripts Commission from Macray at the Bodleian, who had authored some sections of Reports for them.[538] Its Charter makes clear the purpose of the Commission:

---

[535] JGE to JMJ, 6 Feb. 189[4], Bangor MSS 3247 15 & 131. The letter is incorrectly headed '1893'.
[536] JGE to RJJ, 21 Mar. 1889, NLW MS 14150B.
[537] Anon., 'Red Book Bruts', *ArchCam* 7/27, 241.
[538] Mary Clapinson, 'Macray, William Dunn (1826–1916)', *ODNB*; [http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2167/view/article/38395, accessed 8 July 2017].

> Whereas it has been represented unto Us that there are belonging to many Institutions and private Families various Collections of Manuscripts and Papers of general public interest, a knowledge of which would be of great utility in the illustration of History ... and that in some cases these Papers are liable to be lost or obliterated. And whereas We are informed that many of the possessors of such Manuscripts would be willing to give access to them, and permit their contents to be made public ... And whereas it appears to Us that there would be considerable public advantage in its being generally known where such Papers and Manuscripts are deposited, and that the contents of those which tend to the elucidation of History ... should be published.[539]

Work had been done by the Commission on Welsh language manuscripts but the Reports so far had not distinguished clearly by language. The result was, of necessity, something of a hotch-potch with each Inspector dividing collections by his own criteria. For instance, the *Second Report* of 1874 included a section on the Peniarth collection of manuscripts by Alfred J. Horwood, who states that:

> The Hengwrt Collection has been long and justly famed for its wealth in valuable Welsh MSS.; but its value is not limited by those. It also contains numerous volumes in English, Latin, and French ... The Peniarth collection is now united with the above. The whole are in worthy hands.[540]

Mr. Horwood then proceeds to divide the collection into *History*, *Ecclesiastical*, *Law*, *English*, and *Welsh* manuscripts. It is far from clear, however, exactly what the last two headings are meant to imply, since there are manuscripts in Welsh and in English under all the other headings as well. The result is rather jumbled, and lacking in any real detail.[541]

---

[539] HMC, *First Report of the Royal Commission on Historial Manuscripts* (London, 1874), iii. Referred to in Roberts, *Ceredigion* 14/4, 58.
[540] HMC, *Second Report of the Royal Commission on Historial Manuscripts* (London, 1874), 103. Referred to in Roberts, *Ceredigion* 14/4, 58.
[541] HMC, *Second Report*, 103-106.

Evans was alluding to this problem when he wrote in the 'Palæographical Note' to the *Facsimile of the Black Book of Carmarthen* in 1888, no doubt having himself in mind for the job:

> We have been supplied with careful calendars of the manuscripts of Scotland and England by competent scholars at the expense of the State; but those of the Principality have been neglected notwithstanding the assurance that "poor little Wales" enjoys "the same laws and privileges as England." Surely it is high time that the Government should appoint a commissioner qualified by a knowledge of palæography *and of the language of the manuscripts* to calendar them fully and thoroughly.[542]

Phillimore had been working towards such an idea when he wrote in 1892:

> But the first step to be taken towards such an edition ... must necessarily be to set on foot a preliminary inquiry entrusted to some thoroughly competent Welsh scholar such as Mr. Gwenogvryn Evans ... as to what MSS. there are, what their mutual relations are, and what and how many parallel texts an adequate edition would have to comprise.[543]

Alongside Evans raising anxieties about the difficulties of access to manuscripts in the Welsh language, moves had been afoot to promote the idea of a Welsh museum and library on a similar basis to the British Museum in London. A group of Welsh MPs centering on Thomas Edward Ellis, MP for Merioneth, had formed *Cymru Fydd* (Young Wales). Their aims were far-reaching and included a Welsh National Council (as a precursor to Home Rule), disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Wales, land reform, the appointment of Welsh-speaking public servants, as well as a Welsh Museum and Library. The main supporters of the latter project were Tom Ellis and John Herbert Lewis, MP for Flint Boroughs, and they received support from David Lloyd George, Alfred Thomas, and others.[544]

---

[542] *BBCFacs*, xii (his italics).
[543] EGBP, 'The Publication of Welsh Historical Records', *YC* 11 (1892), 133-175, 169.
[544] David Jenkins, *A Refuge in Peace and War* (Aberystwyth, 2002), 14.

Some groundwork had already been done in campaigning for an HMC Commissioner to cover Welsh manuscripts when Evans wrote to Owen Edwards:

> If I cd. get a Commission to Calendar the MSS. it wd. enable me (1) to know where all the MSS. are (2) to be known to the owners and so be able to borrow the MSS. without wasting years in trying to get an introduction: the fact of being a Commissioner wd. give me some status in the eyes of the owners — at present I am unknown to them, & the fact of my being in Oxford without a post in the University makes me an object of suspicion, (3) to proceed methodically with any author I edit (beginning with the oldest MS. & proceeding with the rest in due order) (4) to carry out the plan of editing all the poets down to the 15th Century including Tudur Aled. ... My only urgency is connected with D. ap G. I must abandon him for the present if the MS. Commission cannot be managed before long. ... I want to bring a book out which will justify my friends' efforts on my behalf before the general public — Dafyδ wd. do that as no other work wd.[545]

It can be seen that Gwenogvryn's primary interest was in ensuring his access to all manuscripts containing poetry: everything else was secondary to that aim. Herbert Lewis arranged that on 12 June 1894 his colleague Frank Edwards, Member for Radnorshire, ask a question in the House of the Secretary to the Treasury on his behalf:

> Whether complaints have reached him that the Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission upon the ancient manuscripts in Welsh libraries have been prepared by persons imperfectly acquainted with the Welsh language, and therefore incapable of appraising the historical and literary value of the manuscripts; whether he is aware of the serious inconvenience occasioned to Welsh scholars by the incomplete calendaring of Welsh manuscripts; and whether the necessary steps will be taken to have a competent Welsh scholar, able to classify Welsh manuscripts in accordance with their comparative value, appointed as Assistant Commissioner, with a view to making a complete list of the ancient Welsh manuscripts now in existence?[546]

The response from Sir J. T. Hibbert did not prove immediately satisfactory, as he stated that the article that he had been sent by Lewis was the first complaint that he had received on the matter, but Hibbert did concede that arrangements could

[545] JGE to OME, 8 Apr. 1894, NLW OME papers AG4/10/5.
[546] *Hansard*, 4th series, vol. 25, col. 911, 12 June 1894, reported in *RPW*, 22.

be made to appoint an Assistant Commissioner to deal with particular collections.[547] The article referred to appeared in Owen Edwards's *Wales* of July 1894, signed by a mysterious A.E.J. After severe criticism of the HMC's previous efforts, which condemned Horwood's cataloguing of Peniarth, and ended with 'The sizes of the MSS. seem to be of more importance to this gentleman than their contents', he got down to what was required:

> What then do we want? In the first place we want to know precisely what material has survived the fires and the neglect of ages, or in other words *we want to know*, as far as possible, *where every manuscript written in Welsh is now preserved* ... Secondly, *we want to have a careful catalogue of the contents of our Welsh manuscripts;* we want the contents classified when there are several copies, or more than one version of the same subject; we want the first and last two lines of every poem, as well as the author's name; we want to know the approximate date of every manuscript, and the state of its preservation; when one MS. is manifestly a copy of another MS., the fact should be indicated. Finally there should be a complete index, both of the subject matter and of the writers, so that a student may ... discover what material there is on any given subject.[548]

The well-informed nature of the content suggests that the author was none other than Gwenogvryn himself. Indeed few others would have had the knowledge to write it.[549] Armed with the concession from Hibbert, Ellis and the other Welsh MPs organised a meeting at Westminster on 19 July to which Evans and Owen Edwards were invited, amongst others, to present their case. Evans wrote to Edwards:

> I am trying to push on the Cataloguing and I want you to see if you can't pass a resolution at some literary meeting of the Eisteδfod to bring the matter before the Welsh M.P.s. Something to this effect:— Resolved that this meeting ... is unanimously of opinion that the question of Cataloguing Welsh MSS. is one of vital importance to the study of Welsh history and literature, and one which shd. be taken up forthwith ... Rhys has promised to try a similar resolution before the

---

[547] *RPW*, 22.
[548] A. E. J. [JGE?], 'The Cataloguing of Welsh Manuscripts', *Wales* 1/2 (July 1894), 88-90, 89-90.
[549] Evans signed letters to friends as 'Evan Jones' (see chapter five). Edwards lists nobody with initials A.E.J. in the usually comprehensive 'List of Authors' published with the volume Index. JGE is in the 'List', but he wrote for the September issue, which leaves the question open.

> Cam. Archaeologists. We are organising a Deputation to wait on the Welsh MP.s on Thursday the 19th ... You will be there I hope & I count on your speaking of the importance ... from a historical point of view.[550]

Three days before the meeting Evans wrote again to Edwards to say who would be speaking:

> I look to you for a strong speech on Thursday at 4.45 in Committee Room No 7 in the House of Commons. ... Viriamu Jones will introduce the Deputation, & will read Rhys's letter. Then Powel, you, Principal Edwards, myself & Isambard Owen will speak.[551]

Gwenogvryn's presentation was later published in *Wales*. In it he gives two particular reasons for appointing a special commissioner for Welsh language manuscripts:

> First, an official accredited by the Government would have ready access to MSS. everywhere,—a thing impossible to a private student, until he can in some way secure an introduction, which often means years of patient waiting, from some *persona grata* to the owner. And, secondly, such an appointment would become at once generally known all over the country, and would help to bring to light many MSS. now in hiding.[552]

Gwenogvryn was pleased with the results of the meeting and the following day wrote to Edwards:

> I hadn't the opportunity of telling you last night that you made a most telling & incisive speech ... "Gwenog Frye" makes his bows to the ground & salutes the hero of the deputation.[553]

Two days later he was to add:

---

[550] JGE to OME, 6 Jul. 1894, NLW OME papers, AG4/10/7.
[551] JGE to OME, 16 Jul. 1894, NLW OME papers, AG4/10/8.
[552] JGE, 'Welsh Manuscripts', *Wales* 1/5 (5 September 1894), 205-8.
[553] JGE to OME, [20] Jul. 1894, NLW OME papers, AG4/10/6.

> Yes, it was indeed a most vital point gained when Lyte confessed that he & his tribe cd. not deal satisfactorily with Welsh MSS. — I cd. scarcely credit my ears, as I had very little hope of gaining that point, without a hard struggle at least.[554]

Lyte was Henry Maxwell Lyte, from 1886 Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, and some time inspector for the HMC. Gwenogvryn was indeed correct in his estimation of the importance of that confession. Coupled with Hibbert's previous concession it should have only needed the Treasury to confirm funding for the project to go ahead. Gwenogvryn was uncertain, as in the same letter he wrote:

> Did you see Ellis & does he think Sir John Hibbert will take action in the matter? ... We must certainly not let the matter sleep now, but I fear I must not make myself prominent lest the enemies have a good cry against me agitating for my own behoof, which wd. be only a half-truth at most. I want to go on with Davyδ & that is impossible at present.[555]

On 24 August an article appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* that gave Evans both hope and concern. It covered a question that Herbert Lewis had asked Sir John Hibbert concerning the calendaring of manuscripts concerning Wales in any language kept within the Public Record Office. Sir John's reply ended with the remark that:

> As the Office would have the assistance of two Welsh-speaking gentlemen to calender [*sic*] the Welsh manuscripts he hoped this particular matter would be expedited.[556]

Gwenogvryn was staying a few days at Pwllheli when he spotted the article. He wrote plaintively to Edwards:

---

[554] JGE to OME, 22 Jul. 1894, NLW OME papers, AG4/10/9.
[555] *Ibid.* This anxiety may be why he did not sign the July article.
[556] Anon., 'Imperial Parliament: British Interests in East Africa, Welsh Questions and the House of Lords', *Manchester Guardian*, 24 Aug. 1894, 7.

> Yesterday's Manchester Guardian has made me melancholy ... As the amt. of money is limited to £400 a year it follows that 2 cannot expedite the matter there being not enough money at £2 a day to keep me occupied the year through. But what grieves me is that two cannot do the work as effective as one. Unless the same eyes examine all the MSS you have no chance of identifying the different hands. I suppose Phillimore is being pushed successfully forward for Vincent had a paragraph in the S. W. D. News about him being "undoubtedly the greatest authority on Welsh MSS.", though Phillimore himself wrote about 2 years ago that some one else was facile princeps in that department. Phillimore has shut the doors of Peniarth, & Shirburn against himself & I believe Mostyn also. ... I see that Ellis will be at home next week, if not today. I wish you wd. see him on the matter & get him to write to Lyte or Sir John Hibbert. ... I have a great desire to see all the MSS. & to make a good job of the Cataloging.[557]

Phillimore had, of course, named Gwenogvryn as *'facile princeps'*. Whatever had caused Phillimore to upset all these owners of collections is not specified, but the relationship between the two men was clearly deteriorating under the pressure to secure the post. Evans wrote to Edwards again the following day to say he had received a letter from the Rolls Office asking him 'to undertake some portion' of the cataloguing and to let them know which depositories he had access to. He took this to mean someone else had been approached as well as he, and urged Edwards to press Ellis to see that only one person, himself, was appointed.[558] In that Gwenogvryn succeeded.

At the Commons meeting Evans had been asked to estimate the time required. On the basis of the number of manuscripts he then knew to be in existence, Gwenogvryn guessed at three to five years of full-time work. He was to regret that underestimate later. The original plan was to appoint an assistant commissioner working 300 days a year on the manuscripts, but Vernon Harcourt, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, vetoed the plan, and Gwenogvryn

[557] JGE to OME, 25 Aug. 1894, NLW OME papers, AG4/10/57.
[558] JGE to OME, [26] Aug. 1894, NLW OME papers, AG4/10/52.

was offered an inspectorate of only 200 days a year.[559] The amount allocated was £250 for the balance of the current financial year 1894-5, and £450 for each of the two subsequent years.[560] Since Evans had only been granted two-thirds of the hours for two and a half years when he had guessed at 'three to five years' full-time, it is hardly surprising that he failed to complete the work by April 1897. Despite the reduced hours, on 30 August Evans wrote to Phillimore: 'I am going to London tomorrow & will begin cataloguing next Monday.[561] Evans spent a good deal of October to December examining manuscripts at Mostyn Hall and Peniarth, but the first illness of the winter sent him to his bed in early January 1895.[562] It was not to be the last.

John Rhŷs was elected Principal of Jesus College on 18 February 1895.[563] An anonymous article appeared in the next issue of Edwards's *Wales* commemorating the event, and suggesting strongly that the University Colleges of Wales should be preparing students for Jesus College rather than London University.[564]

Influenza came to Clarendon Villas on 17 March 1895. Both Gwenogvryn and Edith went down with it on the same day. The following day Julia Hunter died.[565] This removed a thorn from Gwenogvryn's side, but also a good part of his income. The inspectorship had arrived only just in time. Julia was buried in

[559] *Ibid.*
[560] Roberts, *Ceredigion* 14/4, 60.
[561] JGE to EGBP, 30 Aug. 1894, NLW EGBP papers, C1/22.
[562] NLW JGE papers, Group II, 112.
[563] *Ibid.*
[564] Anon. [OME?], 'The Opportunity of Jesus College', *Wales* 2/12 (Apr. 1895), 184-5.
[565] NLW JGE papers, Group II, 112; GRO Death Certificate.

Carmarthen on 22 March without Gwenogvryn or Edith being present. They were still too ill to leave home, indeed Edith did not get up for the first time until the following day. The same night as Julia was buried, Gwenogvryn's mother, Margaret Morgans, died at Dolwlff. She was buried on 26 March at the Unitarian chapel of Alltyblacca, Gwenogvryn's home chapel.[566] She had been born, lived her whole life, and died in *Y Smotyn Du*, the Unitarian heart of south-west Wales. The deaths of both his mother and his mother-in-law marked the end of one period of Gwenogvryn's life, and the beginning of another, one that would enhance his reputation still further.

GWENOGVRYN AND THE H.M.C.

Hywel Roberts has commented that the relationship between Gwenogvryn and the HMC had little chance of being an easy one. He had, after all, been appointed because of the inability of that body to deal adequately with Welsh language manuscripts. Equally, it must be admitted that what we know of Gwenogvryn's relationships with the Clarendon Press, and with the officers of the National Library of Wales in a later period, and others in Welsh cultural life generally, including John Rhŷs and John Morris Jones, suggests that Gwenogvryn was not an easy person to work with.[567] The first problem arose when the HMC discovered the reason for his Civil List Pension and wished to reduce his fees accordingly. A copy of Gwenogfryn's response has survived:

> My petition was solely for help to continue the publication of the Series of Welsh Texts. Mine is a publisher's rather than a student's pension. My time is not mortgaged beyond that necessary to bring out the specified list of works ... and my acceptance of the Cataloguing has in no way interfered with the steady progress of

[566] NLW JGE papers, Group II, 112.
[567] Roberts, *Ceredigion* 14/4, 62.

> the works enumerated, but quite the contrary. The money earned in Cataloguing has enabled me to incur the extra expense of collotyping the Book of Taliessin ... and the Laws of Howel Đa (Latin version); ... Could I have foreseen the present situation I shd have hesitated to take any part in the Cataloguing. ... The allowance after next year will be most inadequate, as one will have to be almost constantly from home. The current year is a most exceptional one in the amount of the work which can be done in Oxford. I shd. be glad to have some settled arrangement so as to proceed with the work methodically ... and to give my undivided attention to the work.[568]

An accommodation was, however, arrived at, and he continued to do the work of finding and cataloguing manuscripts despite the fact that he was having his hours reduced periodically, so that it took him not 'three to five' years but a total of fifteen years between his appointment in 1894 and the publication of his final *Report* on the manuscripts in the British Museum in 1910. I do not propose to detail Gwenogvryn's relationship with the HMC here as it has been well covered by Hywel Roberts in his article in *Ceredigion*.[569] I propose instead to discuss his dating of the manuscripts by reference to one particular group, that of the Laws, *Cyfraith Hywel*.

THE DATING OF THE LAW MANUSCRIPTS

It is difficult to go into the methodology used by Evans in the dating of MSS. since he wrote little on how he arrived at his results. Partly this was due to restrictions on space dictated by the HMC, although he seems to have ignored that at times. His own training as a Unitarian Minister that accustomed him to making pronouncements *ex cathedra* from the pulpit may also have been a factor.[570] An examination of how close he came to being right may give an

[568] Copy, JGE to J. J. Cartright, 30 Dec. 1895, HMCPap. He refers to having produced a collotype of the Latin Laws elsewhere, but it was never published.
[569] Roberts, D. H. E., 'J. Gwenogfryn Evans a Chofnodi a Mynegeio Llawsgrifau Cymru', *Ceredigion* 14/4 (2004), 55-72.
[570] Roberts, *Ceredigion* 14/4, 63-64.

indication of his accuracy. He covers a considerable number of manuscripts in the seven volumes he produced and a detailed analysis would be impractical, so I have limited myself to observations on a single group of manuscripts, namely those concerned with the Welsh Laws, *Cyfraith Hywel*. Thankfully there is an excellent website on the subject, from which I have extracted the list given in the table.[571] To it I have added the dates now generally accepted for them from the site, and which are mostly down to the work of Daniel Huws.[572] These constitute the third column on the table.

John Rhŷs had arranged that Evans attend classes on palaeography taught by York Powell in Oxford, and was further advised by Macray and Madan at the Bodleian. His teachers were primarily experts on English medieval manuscripts, and, although they were able to teach Evans the sequence of orthographic changes common to insular manuscripts, they did add the rider that those changes probably took place later in Wales than in England, though how much later was uncertain. I have already noted, however, that Evans was inclined, from a comment in the *Black Book of Carmarthen* facsimile, to consider that Dimetian scribes followed their French counterparts more closely than the English so that changes took place earlier in Wales than in England.[573] Also Gwenogvryn had the advantage of a prior authority on the subject of legal texts. Aneurin Owen had published his monumental *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales* in 1841, and Owen's datings may have swayed Evans at times. These datings form the first column of the table, and Evans's own dates the middle one.

[571] http://cyfraith-hywel.cymru.ac.uk/ .
[572] *MWM*.
[573] *BBCFacs*, xii-xiii.

Generally Evans's choice was fairly accurate, but there are one or two cases where he seems to have drifted away from the now accepted date and it may be worth looking at some of these.

Firstly, Peniarth 29, the Black Book of Chirk, Owen's Text A. Aneurin Owen referred to it as 'the most ancient manuscript in the Welsh language which has passed under the Editor's observation'. He said it 'may be attributed to the early part of the twelfth century'.[574] Gwenogvryn agreed up to a point:

> *The Black Book of Chirk*, is the oldest copy of the LAWS OF HOWEL ĐA in the Welsh language ... which seems to have been written about 1200.[575]

He added:

> And not until the students of the *Laws of Wales* learn to concentrate their attention on the text of A (supplemented by its copy E) can we ever hope to arrive at solid results. The contents of the other Welsh manuscripts look like later variants with certain additions, editorial glosses and comments, which may help us to understand late thirteenth or fourteenth century law, but only carry us further away from the 'Law of Howel', ...[576]

Later he was to modify his opinion about the date, for on the prospectus slip for the Chirk Codex he wrote:

> This is the oldest known form of the Welsh Laws ... written c.1200-30, ...[577]

---

[574] Aneurin Owen (ed.), *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales* (London, 1841), Preface, The Manuscripts: A.
[575] *Report* 1/2, 359.
[576] *Ibid*., vii-viii.
[577] NLW TL papers, Box 5, loose in box. Published in D. Jenkins, 'Gwenogvryn Evans's 'Facsimile of the Chirk Codex'', *NLWJ* 22/4 (1982), 470-474, 473.

Neil Ker observed that English scribes began to write below the ruled top line, rather than above it, around 1230.[578] The practice would, probably, have taken a few years to reach Wales. The Black Book is one of the Welsh manuscripts written above the top ruled line, so can be dated to before 1250.[579] The first hand of the *Black Book* is very similar to the hand of another law book in the first half of Peniarth 30, *Llyfr Colan*, as noted by both Dafydd Jenkins and Paul Russell.[580] It is probably not the same scribe as there are some differences, particularly in the treatment of 'r', 'v' and'w', but otherwise the two hands are almost identical. Even if they are not written by the same scribe, the similarity does indicate they are contemporaneous. Peniarth 30 is written below the top line and, therefore, it is fairly safe to assume they were both written c.1250.[581] It is interesting to note that Evans dates *Llyfr Colan* to the thirteenth century, without specifying which part of the century, and does not appear to have noticed the similarity in hands.

Secondly, there was another scribe from north-east Wales, most likely from Valle Crucis but possibly Strata Marcella or Basingwerk, who has written one surviving manuscript, Peniarth 44, starting above the top line, and two others, Llanstephan 1 and Cotton Caligula A.iii, starting below the top line.[582] It is therefore reasonable to assume that he was also writing c.1250. Peniarth 44, a copy of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Brut y Brenhinedd*, Gwenogvryn described as

[578] N. R. Ker, 'From "above top line" to "below top line"', *Celtica* 5 (1960), 13-16.
[579] *MWM*, 28.
[580] D. Jenkins (ed.), *Llyfr Colan: Y Gyfraith Gymreig yn ôl Hanner Cyntaf Llawysgrif Peniarth 30* (Cardiff, 1963), xxxv; P. Russell, 'Scribal (in)competence in thirteenth-century north Wales', *NLWJ* 29, 2 (1995), 129-176, 167-8.
[581] *MWM*, 58.
[582] *MWM*, 177-192, 179, 182, 192.

'first half of the XIIIth century'.[583] Llanstephan 1, another copy of Geoffrey's *Brut*, he said is 'second quarter of the XIIIth century', and further that it is 'made up of parts of two independent manuscripts, with the early chapters by a third hand; all three hands belong to the same type or school of writing, and cannot be separated by many years'. He said of hand A: 'This is the work of a hand like that in Brit. Museum CALIGULA A.III. i.e., the C manuscript of the Laws'.[584] Gwenogvryn commented on the latter that it is 'about the middle of the XIIIth century', but that it was 'written, apparently, at two different times by two different hands of the same type'.[585] Daniel Huws disputes that there are two hands but accepts that the compressed nature of folios 180-2 could have led Evans to think as he did.[586] Evans suggested that this compressed hand is 'very like the hand of MS B' of the Laws (Cotton Vespasian E.xi).[587] This manuscript he also dated to '*circa* 1250' although it is by another hand.[588] Evans dated both Cotton manuscripts correctly and was also correct in linking Llanstephan 1 with Cotton Caligula A.iii, but he dated the former and Peniarth 44 too early, though he was correct in thinking that Peniarth 44 was the earlier manuscript, despite not knowing the relevance of starting above the top ruled line. He also states that Caligula A.iii is 'apparently a direct transcript of Peniarth MS. 29'.[589] This is not true but, even so, he used a page from Caligula A.iii to fill a blank page in his *Black Book of Chirk* facsimile, purely for comparison purposes.[590]

---

[583] *Report* 1/2, 378.
[584] *Report* 2/2, 419.
[585] *Report* 2/4, 945.
[586] *MWM*, 179.
[587] *Report* 2/4, 945.
[588] *Report* 2/4, 951; *MWM*, 58.
[589] *Report* 2/4, 945.
[590] D. Jenkins, 'Gwenogvryn Evans's "Facsimile of the Chirk Codex"', *NLWJ* 22/4 (1982), 470-474, 472.

Thirdly, a manuscript of Trinity College, Cambridge, (O.7.1) (1329), text Tr on my list, has a colophon identifying the writer as Gwilym Wasta (Was Da) of Y Drenewydd (Newton, Dynefwr). Gwilym was listed as a burgess of the Borough of Newton in 1302/3.[591] As the Borough was founded in 1298 the manuscript has to be dated after that.[592] Peniarth MS.36A (text O) and MS.36B (text N) are also attributed to him, the latter by scroll work as in the Trinity College manuscript.[593] Gwenogvryn did not list the Cambridge manuscript in his *Report* and listed Peniarth MS.36A as 'after 1282'. He commented: 'Its date is fixed by the following passage: Peidya6 weithon awna6n a chyfreitheu llys . kanyt oes aruer na chrynodeb a honynt *yr a6r hon*.'[594] This translates as: 'We make no use of the laws of court, since there is no use nor profit from them now', which certainly implies a date after 1282 if it does not directly mention the death of Llywelyn. The reference is to the section given in the *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales* on the Laws of Court that has been almost entirely omitted in Peniarth MS. 36A.[595] Evans commented that 'This MS. belongs to the *Book of Taliessin* type of writing, and was probably written on the *Glamorgan borders* (? Neath) as evidenced by *a artho*, *a lather*, *a rotho*, *hyny* (for *yny*), &c.'.[596] This means he had a clear idea of using dialect to deduce the location in which a manuscript was produced. Neath was a fair choice, being only 25 miles from Dinefwr. Peniarth MS.36B he stated as 'late XIIIth century' but that 'The calligraphy is very like that of MS.36A, but it can hardly be by the same hand. There is no disposition to club

[591] M. E. Owen and D. Jenkins, 'Gwilym Was Da', *NLWJ* 21 (1979-80), 429-30.
[592] *MWM*, 47.
[593] Owen & Jenkins, 'Gwilym Was Da', 429; *MWM*, 33.
[594] *Report* 1/2, 369.
[595] A. Owen, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales* (London, 1841), two volume edition. The note here (pp.350-1) is worded slightly differently to the HMC *Report*.
[596] *Report* 1/2, 369.

or ligature the ll and lh in this MS. The formation of the w, and the absence of the bluish-green initials differentiates it further from 36$^{A'}$.[597] The initials are irrelevant since they were added by another scribe. He failed to mention that MS.36B also omits the bulk of the Laws of Court, though presumably he took this into consideration when dating the manuscript. Once again, Gwenogvryn was disposed to see different hands where there were only variations of the same hand. Modern scholarship favours all three being by the same hand. He dated them a little early but only by just over a decade.

Fourthly, and slightly off-track, Daniel Huws notes that:

> NLW, Peniarth 20, a book from Valle Crucis abbey containing the earliest texts both of *Brut y Tywysogyon* and of any bardic grammar, closes its text of the *Brut* with three annals each in a different ink: a fairly clear indication of contemporary entries. I take the main texts of this book to have been written about 1330 ...[598]

Despite the fact that he recorded in his *Report* the actual annals that Huws mentions, Gwenogvryn took Peniarth MS.20 to be a recension of the *Red Book* text rather than a precursor and dated it to the 'xvth century'. He argued that the *Brut*:

> ... is apparently based on that of Mostyn MS.116, but the wording is changed more or less throughout. It contains certain paragraphs omitted in the *Red Book of Hergest* with which, however, the wording, in more than one instance, agrees more nearly than with Mostyn 116. It sometimes differs from both ...[599]

[597] *Report* 1/2, 370.
[598] *MWM*, 47.
[599] *Report* 1/2, 342-7.

Mostyn 116 (NLW 3035) he dated to 'XIVth century' and commented that BL Addl. 19,709 'appears to be the penmanship of the same scribe'.[600] The latter he dated to the 'first half of the XIVth century'. He added that:

> The Mostyn MS. is certainly earlier than the Red Book of Hergest, and the fact that identical variations in the orthography occur over and over again in certain passages points to the one being a transcript of the other.[601]

Thomas Jones has indicated that the Peniarth MS.20 *Brut* is not the same version as that in both Mostyn 116 and the Red Book, which *are* linked.[602] Huws has dated Mostyn 116 and BL Addl. 19,709 to the *second* half of the fourteenth century.[603] The scribe of Hand B of Peniarth MS.20, writing the section of *Brut y Tywysogion* from 1282 to 1332, the last two years at least of which were almost certainly written contemporaneously with the events described, has been linked with that of Cotton Cleopatra B.v, parts i & iii.[604] Gwenogvryn did not state that he had spotted the link but he dated part i of the manuscript to after 1461, despite saying that it was written 'in an archaic style', because he felt that:

> The end of the *Brut of the Saxons*, which usually stops with the year 1461, is wanting, but as this MS. is inferentially the archetype of the *Bk. of Basingwerk* and *Peniarth MS. 270* we may conclude that the writing of it was not finished before that year.[605]

As he pointed out, however, only folios 163-4 are missing, which would not be enough to complete the text to 1461 unless he also thought that a further quire

---

[600] *Report* 1/1, 56.
[601] *Report* 1/1, 56.
[602] T. Jones, *Brut y Tywysogyon or The Chronicle of the Princes Red Book of Hergest Version* (Cardiff, 1955), xii.
[603] *MWM*, 60.
[604] *MWM*, 59. See also T. Jones (ed.), *Brenhinedd y Saesson or The Kings of the Saxons* (Cardiff, 1971), xvii-xviii, and G. and T.M. Charles-Edwards, 'The Continuation of *Brut y Tywysogion* in Peniarth MS.20', E.B. Fryde (ed.), *Ysgrifau a Cherddi Cyflwynedig i/Essays and Poems Presented to Daniel Hughes* (Aberystwyth, 1994), 293-305.
[605] *Report* 2/4, 952.

was missing. He stated that the Laws of part ii of the manuscript (text X) are 'in a hand of about 1350' and part iii 'belongs to the same school of writing as the Laws, if it is not actually from the same hand, but a little later'.[606] Huws considers parts i and iii to be by the same hand (Hand B of Peniarth MS.20) and first half of fourteenth century. Part ii he feels is in a different hand and *is* c.1350. So Evans was here placing too much emphasis on what might have been in a missing part of the manuscript and not following what the style of the script was indicating. This is conjecture, but if he did spot the similarity of hand between B.v part i and Peniarth MS.20, that might further explain his dating of the latter to the fifteenth century.[607]

Finally, the comment 'Burned' against text Q, Wynnstay MS.36, needs an explanation. Gwenogvryn makes a comment to that effect in the paragraph on his British Museum MS.9 (BL Addl. 22,356). MS.36 did escape the conflagration, as did others in the collection.

> This MS. is the S of the *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales:* it is apparently a copy, more or less, of Q, which perished in the fire at Wynnstay ...[608]

That brief explanation of some of the texts on the list does give some idea of Gwenogvryn's methodology and accuracy. He does seem to have considerable understanding of dating criteria, even if the fact that he did not have all the tools available to us now meant that he occasionally missed his mark.

---

[606] *Report* 2/4, 952-3.
[607] *Report* 1/2, 342.
[608] *Report* 2/4, 948. This implies that Q is earlier, which it is.

Cyfraith Hywel	**AO**	**JGE**	**CH/*MWM***
Iorwerth			
A – Peniarth 29	s.xii[1]	c.1200(-30)	s.xiii med
B – BL Cotton Titus D II	s.xii/xiii	c.1282	s.xiii[2]
C – BL Cotton Caligula A III	s.xiii med	s.xiii med	s.xiii med
D – Peniarth 32	s.xiv med	CH c.1380	c.1404
E – BL Additional 14931	s.xiii med	s.xiii med +	s.xiii[2]
G – Peniarth 35	s.xii/xiii	s.xiii[4]	s.xiv[1]
K – Peniarth 40	c.1469	s.xv[2] (>1469)	s.xv[2] (>1469)
Lew – Peniarth 39	—	c.1500	s.xv med
Blegywryd			
I - Peniarth 38	s.xiv	s.xv	s.xiv/xv
J – Jesus College, Oxford, MS LVII	s.xv	c.1400	s.xiv/xv
L – BL Cotton Titus D IX	s.xiii/xiv	s.xiv med -	s.xiv med
M – Peniarth 33	s.xiv/xv	s.xv[1]	s.xv[1]
N – Peniarth 36B	s.xiv	s.xiii[2]	s.xiv[1]
O – Peniarth 36A	s.xiv	>1282	s.xiv[1]
P – Peniarth 259A	s.xiv/xv	s.xv[4]	s.xv[2]
Q – Wynnstay 36	c.1401	Burned	s.xv[1]
R – Peniarth 31	s.xiv med	s.xiv[1]	s.xiv[1]
S – BL Additional 22356	s.xv	s.xv[2]	s.xv med
T – Harleian 958	s.xiii/xiv	s.xiv[1]	s.xiv med
Tim – Llanstephan 116	—	s.xv[2]	s.xv med
Tr – Trinity College Cambridge O.7.1 (1329)	n.d.	—	s.xiv[1]
Llan – Llanstephan 29	—	c.1500	s.xv/xvi
Bost – LlGC 24029A	—	—	s.xiv[2]
Ep – Peniarth 258	n.d.	s.xv[2]	s.xv[2]
Cyfnerth			
Mk – Bodorgan Manuscript	—	—	s.xiv[1]
U – Peniarth 37	s.xiv med	s.xiii[2]	s.xiv[1]
V – Harleian 4353	s.xiii/xiv	c.1285	s.xiv[1]
W – Cotton Cleopatra A XIV	s.xiv med	s.xiv[1]	s.xiv[1]
X – Cotton Cleopatra B V	s.xiv med	c.1350	s.xiv med
Y – NLW 20143A	s.xiv med	—	s.xiv med
Z – Peniarth 259B	c.1480	s.xvi[1]	s.xiv med
Lladin			
Lat A – Peniarth 28	s.xiii[1]	s.xii[4]	s.xiii med
Lat B – Cotton Vespasian E XI 1	s.xiii[1]	c.1250	s.xiii med
Lat C – Harleian 1796	s.xiii	s.xiii[1]	s.xiii med
Lat D – Rawlinson C 821	—	—	s.xiii/xiv
Lat E – Corpus Christi College, Cambridge 454		—	s.xv[1]
Arall			
Colan – Peniarth 30	—	s.xiii	s.xiii med
F – Peniarth 34	s.xiv/xv	s.xvi?	s.xv[2]
H – Peniarth 164	s.xvi	s.xv[1]	s.xiv[2]
As – Peniarth 175	c.1429	s.xv[2]	s.xv[2]
Mor – Peniarth 36C	n.d.	s.xv/xvi	s.xv[2]

To summarise the table. Out of the 26 manuscripts that he expressed an opinion of the date he was correct about 13 of them, in other words half. Of the remainder he considered 9 of them to be earlier than they actually were, six around 25 years too early, and three around 50 years too early. Of the four he dated too late, two were dated around 25 years too late, and two 50 years. It seems he was more inclined to date too early than too late, which lines up with his idea that Welsh scribes followed continental practice earlier than their English counterparts.

THE DLITT (AND ONE TO SPARE)

A side issue of the stormy relationship between Gwenogvryn on the one part, and the HMC and the Treasury on the other, was the award by The University of Oxford of the degree of *Doctor Litterarum (honoris causa)*. What is not always understood is that Evans campaigned for the award to signify to the HMC that his work on Welsh manuscripts was important. When, in March 1901, the Treasury were threatening to stop the funding altogether, he wrote to Morris Jones:

> I am your humble supplicant for a letter on a matter that has suddenly cropped up & matured in a night almost. Private & urgent. The Treasury has some doubts as to the value of my report on Welsh MSS. Friends here conceived the notion that an Hon. Litt.D. wd. help me & my work. Rhys & Edwards are helping, also Wright & possibly Plummer (not yet asked). Prof. Poulton is taking the matter up, & wishes to proceed at once i.e. next Monday. I saw Poulton an hour ago, & he said a letter from you addressed directly to himself wd. be a help. He wants the testimony of Welsh specialists to strengthen his hands. ... I shd. like you to speak of the Reports on Welsh MSS. at Mostyn, Peniarth, Jesus College &c. ... Then you can bear special testimony to my work on the Welsh poets. I have collated over 100 MSS. of D. ap G. alone. ... The degree wd. also help me to get at the Harlech MSS. the only ones remaining about which there is a difficulty in getting at them. Vanity is not the principal or even secondary motive just now — whether it is there behind the scenes at all it is unnecessary to inquire at present![609]

[609] JGE to JMJ, 9 Mar. 1901, Bangor MSS 3247 27.

He made a similar request subsequently to O. M. Edwards.[610] In a following letter he explained how the idea came about:

> Poulton proposed to me the first Sunday in term that he shd. bring it forward, ... It seems that he & Rhys & Plummer & Gerrans hatched the plot together that night after dinner, but Rhys never said a word to me. They were waiting on me Plummer said.[611]

Whether vanity was there or not, everyone agreed that the *Report* needed to be completed, and that the award of a D.Litt. would help to swing the Treasury over, so the support was given. The award was voted on at the end of April 1901 and the degree was conferred in May.[612] The Treasury funding continued. It must be remembered that Morris Jones had no doctorate at this point.[613] So it was perhaps a little tactless of Evans to write just after the award that:

> Rhys went a bike ride with me this afternoon. We decided that J.M.J. must go in for the D.Litt. immediately the Gramr. was out. Rhys said (this was not intended for your ears) — that it must be after not before the Gramr. was published "because otherwise the Gramr. might be a long time coming"! Then laughed one of his joyous laughs.[614]

Gwenogvryn's idea of what constituted an amusing comment, in particular, did not always meet with the agreement of those to whom it was directed, and it would have been quite in character for Morris Jones to have reported this remark of Gwenogvryn's back to Rhŷs, which may have caused Rhŷs some annoyance. Gwenogvryn does seem at times to have been his own worst

[610] JGE to OME, 31 Mar. 1901, NLW OME papers, AG4/10/17.
[611] JGE to JMJ, 12 Mar. 1901, Bangor MSS 3247 28.
[612] JGE to JMJ, 13 & 28 April, 1 May 1901, Bangor MSS 3247 29-31.
[613] Not until the award of an honorary LL.D. by the University of Glasgow in 1919, and an honorary D.Litt. by the National University of Ireland in 1927.
[614] JGE to JMJ, 1 May 1901, Bangor MSS 3247 31.

enemy.[615] Alternatively, Evans may have made a request to be elected a Fellow of Jesus College on the strength of the DLitt award. There is some evidence that he did ask at some point, though exactly when is unclear. This may well have been regarded by Rhŷs as untactful, in view of the circumstances. Whatever the reason, it was around this time that something went seriously amiss in Gwenogvryn's relationship with John Rhŷs and his wife. In a letter to Morris Jones of the following November, Evans writes:

> I think I told you that I meditate leaving Oxford next June. The unpleasantness of last May still survives & the Rhyses avoid me altogether. Heaven knows why — I have not a notion myself. Under the circumstances Oxford is intolerable & the worry is sapping my strength, ... When I get away I hope to forget this unkindness on the part of those who have done me many a kind deed & for whom I entertained a very sincere regard & respect.[616]

By the following February tempers seem to have cooled sufficiently for Evans to borrow an Index from Rhŷs.[617] It seems to be Elspeth Rhŷs who took most exception to Evans, rather than her husband, as is confirmed in a letter Gwenogvryn wrote to Owen Edwards at the time of the award of the second D.Litt. from the University of Wales:

> I can't tell you what a sad chapter the Oxford D.Litt., has been in my life — the spite of Mrs Rhys & Stevenson & Poole went far to embitter my days & nights & I now feel thankful beyond words I am beyond the reach of their tongues & their tattle. When I first heard of the proposed Welsh DLitt I became really ill — the

[615] It has been suggested to me by Mark Williams that Gwenogvryn may have been autistic. This is too deep a subject to really go into here, but I will say that I found this suggestion most interesting, and it certainly explains many of what might be considered his character flaws. It certainly would explain his poor interpersonal skills as exhibited above. It would also explain the inattentiveness of his answers to the lawyers' questions in the trial, and his anxiety, bordering on paranoia. There is the question of his repetitive behaviour, and his apparent morbid self-pity. It could also have given him his extraordinary ability to copy documents accurately, particularly when viewing his copy of the White Book, which shows the skill associated with an autistic savant. The argument against would be based on his apparent high IQ, but autism is a spectrum and the autism portrayed in the film 'Rain Man' is not the only form. The idea needs investigation.
[616] JGE to JMJ, 12 Nov. 1901, Bangor MSS 3247 33.
[617] JGE to JMJ, [2] Feb. 1902, Bangor MSS 3247 125; JGE to JR, 4 Feb. 1902, NLW JR papers, A1/1/33.

> very idea was repugnant to me — it woke up all that was bitter in my past experience, & left to my own wishes I shd. never accept it. ... I hate the very sound of "Doctor" which some fools persist in using when addressing me. ... There was a time when I shared the usual weaknesses of the average man about such gewgaws, but now I do not covet them, & shall grudge the time & expense the business will involve. Morris Jones has been cursing me up hill & down dale on the subject, though he assures me that he has not the remotest idea who proposed it. ... I thank you for your very kind words — the fact that you & Morris Jones approve is worth far more to me than the actual thing.[618]

He was beyond their reach because he had moved out of Oxford, of which more later. Owen Edwards and Morris Jones may have approved of the second D.Litt., but Morris seems to have been cursing at Evans's lack of patriotism because he initially wanted to turn it down. He must, in fact, have expanded on the subject at length in a letter that has not survived. Gwenogvryn's response has survived, and, as it reveals much about Evans's attitude to his work and to others, and about what he felt was their attitude to him, I give it in full:

> I wrote you a long letter about the Welsh degree, then thought the least said perhaps the better, & so tore it up. As you return to the subject & talk of patriotism & all such rot let us look facts in the face. I have now toiled steadily for 23 years at Welsh MSS. I have been paid for the work of 5 years only. So I have given 18 years of the best part of my life without a penny reward. Who is there in Wales & Welsh literature who can throw a stone at me? Is patriotism work for an unselfish end, or is it blatant talk? The Welsh professors serve Wales for a salary — inadequate if you like, yet a steady income it is. For 12 years I have recd. a pension which has been spent to the last penny on George, press, type, paper, Jap. Vellum, & vellum, & the assistant machinist. I shall never have a penny of my pension till I stop working. Is it selfishness to work hard & be £200 a year the poorer for doing so? I make no claim to patriotism I work at the texts simply because I have an itch to see certain MSS. printed accurately. I obey a sort of salvage instinct and do rescue work, which I see no other eager to do. I spend money which of right shd. belong to my children. What has the Welsh University done to help me? It has thrown me a sucked orange — an empty degree, & that I am assured only because Oxford had given it me. "It was considered safe to give it you because Oxford had done so, & because it looked bad for your native country to be behind Oxford it gave you this D.Litt". Such were the words used to me by one who seemed to be in the know. If the Welsh University considers I have done a fair share of honest work let it honour my subject by recognising it. You say that your first year men know more than I do, & the Welsh Univ. authorities are of the same opinion — I am too ignorant even to ask a few questions of your elementary classes. What honour then can it be to the Univ. of Wales to have its bubbles

[618] JGE to OME, 2 May 1905, NLW OME papers, AG4/10/37.

> placed on any book of mine. Do I not rather deserve praise for not dragging its colours in the mire? The fact is I hold the Welsh Univ. as cheaply as it holds me. ... Had you & Rhys toiled as I have done & on my wages, you wd. sing quite another song, I know. You wd. think your lot hard & you wd. think friends who stirred not a hand to help you cynical & selfish. But as the burden falls on my back you feel no aches & have no sympathy. The Welsh Univ. is poor, but if the 3 colleges between them can not find £100 a year for Paleography [*sic*] it is because no one sympathises with Welsh Paleography. You assured me that the proposal of the D.Litt did not emanate from you. You have ther4 no right to take a personal affront in the matter. I told you b4 going to Cardiff that I did not appreciate it. The Welsh Univ. has never recognised my existence except on that one occasion. When it has its high festivals it never remembers me. When it has work that I can do, notwithstanding the high standard of your elementary class, it ignores me. No doubt Rhys has something to do with this & you share his opinion. Others gauge me by your (pl.) talk about me. The Isambard coterie including the 3 Principals know nothing of my knowledge except what my "friends" say about me. I there4 feel disgraced whenever the name of the Welsh Univ. is mentioned or meets my eye. ... I shd. have preferred to let the Welsh degree subject lie still. If what I have written displeases you it is your own fault. It is a subject of which I wd. rather be silent. I consider the Univ. has been a hard step mother to the one thing I care for, I hate the step mother action[?]. It was my wish to leave the Oxford degrees out too, but my wife kicked up a row. She even takes your view about the Welsh degree too, but I can't accept the smiles of an institution which despises my little knowledge.[619]

Some comments need explanation. I sounds as if Gwenogvryn still wanted to turn the Welsh offer down, but was persuaded not to. George and the press are explained in chapter six. It seems Evans may have approached the University of Wales offering classes in palaeography and been turned down. Gwenogvryn needed to replace the income, which he was gradually losing from the HMC work as his hours were reduced, in order to stay in Oxford. Prof. Strachan was to ask him in 1907 to do a course on the subject at Manchester, which Timothy Lewis attended among others, but whether this was because Manchester needed it, or whether it was to smooth the path to Strachan getting the permissions he needed from Gwenogvryn, is a moot point.[620] The mire that Evans got himself into over

[619] JGE to JMJ, 10 Jun. 1906, Bangor MSS, JMJ papers, uncatalogued letter.
[620] JGE to EGBP, 4 Jun. 1907, NLW EGBP papers, C1/22.

that will be explored in chapter five. An attempt of Gwenogvryn's to gain income from teaching at Oxford will also be considered shortly.

THE NATIONAL LIBRARY AND THE PURCHASE OF THE PENIARTH COLLECTION

The story of Gwenogvryn's pivotal role in the siting of the National Library at Aberystwyth, rather than creating a joint museum and library in Cardiff, and the important part he played in the purchase of the Peniarth Collection for the Library by Sir John Williams is well covered in David Jenkins, *A Refuge in Peace and War: The National Library of Wales to 1952* (Aberystwyth, 2002), and further comment here would be superfluous.

TREMVAN

Tremvan seems to have started as an idea, a dream that only gradually became a reality. The word is a compound, *trem* + *man*, literally a sight place, a place with a view. The first *Tremvan* was somewhere close to, and probably part of, Gwenogvryn's maternal grandmother Rees's farm at Caedabowen, Llanwenog.[621] It seems to have been a favourite spot of his and he took his beloved Edith there. He wrote later:

> About 14 years of age I formed the resolve to build a house at the original Tremvan, which you saw & liked, on account of the view to be obtained thence.[622]

In August 1880 he went so far as to approach Mr. Horne, the agent of the estate in which it lay, to see if he could obtain a lease on the land, and on what terms.[623]

---

[621] JGE to EE, 29 Jul. 1880, NLW JGE Family papers, 5/9.
[622] JGE to EE, 13 Oct. 1884, NLW JGE Family papers, 11/21/2.
[623] JGE to EE, 4 Aug. 1880, NLW JGE Family papers, 5/16.

Nothing came of that, but it is clear the dream remained. Its importance to him he recorded much later after a visit there:

> I was up at the original Tremvan this morning — it looks lovelier than ever with the sun to light up the valley of the Teify north & south it is perfect. I shd. like that field — I spent more happy time in it as a boy building in imagination my house there & watching the view & the clouds than any other where. The spot is a kind of old friend who has never deceived nor disappointed one, & it feels like deserting an old old tried friend not to secure the place. But I have no money to spend on sentiment & I doubt not but I shall go without it & lament it for the rest of my life as a sort of unavoidable loss & evil.[624]

The second place to receive the name was at Tanyfoel (near Eglwys Fach), overlooking the Dyfi estuary.[625] He also thought of building here, but nothing came of that either.[626] The third place to receive the name was the property they thought of renting in Bournemouth, despite, apparently, that not being the ideal spot for the name in the town. This was the first *Tremvan* to come close to reality, but, as we have already seen, events at Oxford put a stop to that.[627]

In June 1887 Gwenogvryn had a good chance of buying the three fields around the first *Tremvan* in a deal involving the sale of his grandmother's, then his uncle's, farm at Caedabowen.[628] The wrong person, however, bid the highest for the farm, and the deal fell though.[629] By May 1890 the name had been transferred to a plot for '3 acres and a pony' at Boars Hill, Oxford.[630] It is unlikely this was a serious suggestion.

---

[624] JGE to EE, 22 Jun. 1887, NLW JGE Family papers, 14/18.
[625] JGE to EE, 20 Jun. 1881, NLW JGE Family papers, 6/9.
[626] JGE to EE, 21 Jun. 1881, NLW JGE Family papers, 6/10.
[627] JGE to EE, 20, 21, 24 Mar., 3, 4, 5 Apr., 2, 14, 15, 17, 21, 22, 23, 26 Oct. 1884, NLW JGE Family papers, 10/27, 10/28, 10/31, 10/41, 10/42, 10/43, 11/9, 11/21, 11/22, 11/24, 11/27, 11/28, 11/29, 11/32.
[628] JGE to EE, 25, 27 Jun. 1887, NLW JGE Family papers, 14/19, 14/20.
[629] JGE to EE, 30 Jun., [3 Jul.] 1887, NLW JGE Family papers, 14/23, 14/25.
[630] JGE to EE, 4 May 1890, NLW JGE Family papers, 18/24.

His several visits to Pwllheli finally brought the dream to fruition. In August 1896 he bought a small farm at Llanbedrog near Pwllheli, which immediately was given the name *Tremvan*. In view of his many battles over the *Report* with the HMC it was perhaps tactless of him to write to J. J. Cartwright:

> I want this account to be as big as I can make it as I have to pay for a little farm I bought at Pwllheli last August on November 11.[631]

Apparently the payment was duly handed over on 10 November 1896.[632] As anyone who has attempted to build a house knows, paying for the plot was not the end, but merely the beginning of his problems. The following June he was to write to Morris Jones:

> I have 20 men at work here — i.e. they are at work when I am present at Tremvan — when I turn my back they go to the Public House & charge me for the time spent there. I have been shamefully robbed for months in that way before I found it out. No wonder the house runs to double the estimated cost. I am determined now to see the roof on be4 I quit this place. I went to ... Plas Hen ... & returned unexpectedly ... to see who was at work. I found the foreman drunk & the rest not much better. The walls however look well — the stone is particularly pretty, a kind of pearl grey. The design (Evan Jones's own) is tasteful & worthy![633]

Despite these problems the house was finished, and in the 1901 census shows it occupied by the caretaker, a local ex-P.C., and his English wife, and Gwenogvryn's two sons, then Oxford undergraduates, Emrys at Christ Church, and Tringad at New. Evans was then in Clarendon Villas with Edith, a cook, and a housemaid.[634]

---

[631] JGE to J. J. Cartwright, 22 Oct. 1896, TNA/HMC/1 369, as recorded in Roberts, *Ceredigion* 14/4, 69.
[632] JGE to EE, 10 Nov. 1898, NLW JGE Family papers, 20/27.
[633] JGE to JMJ, 23 Jun. 1897, Bangor MSS 3247 20. Evan Jones means JGE; he often signed letters to JMJ thus.
[634] ONS 1901 Census, Carnarvonshire, Llanbedrog, Lleyn RD 139 - Tremfan, and Oxford 146 - 7 Clarendon Villas 1. The 1901 Welsh Census included a language question. It is interesting to note that the two brothers could only speak English.

Running two establishments was, however, to place too much strain on his declining finances, so either he had to increase his income or leave Oxford.

THE OXFORD FELLOWSHIP

Gwenogvryn's solution was to apply for a fellowship from an Oxford College to enable him to be paid to teach paleography. Initially he appears to have thought of trying at Jesus College but opposition from Elspeth Rhŷs squashed that idea. Then he heard that one was to come available at St. John's College in December 1903, so he applied for that. He tried to obtain recommendations from as many people as possible including John Rhŷs. Despite their differences, Rhŷs gave a supportive recommendation:

> He began his study of Welsh & Welsh palæography under my guidance somewhat more than 20 years ago, & we worked together on the Mabinogion, the first volume of the Series of Welsh Texts. Since then he has worked more or less independently but not without frequently consulting me, so that I have always been able to watch his progress, to observe his indomitable industry & his astonishing accuracy as an Editor of Mediæval MSS. I need hardly say that the difficulty attaching to that kind of work cannot be adequately realized except by those that have tried it. But to the characteristics already indicated as belonging to all he does I must add, that of late years he has made himself acquainted with the whole field of Mediæval Welsh literature. In conclusion I may state that not only do scholars find his editions invaluable, but that neither in point of accuracy nor experience is there anybody living who cd. compete with him: ...[635]

Evans was not entirely happy with this wording as he wrote to Morris Jones:

> Rhys's testimonial is strong but it is also eloquent in its omission. Any one who chooses to regard my work as purely mechanical may argue that Rhys does not contradict that notion.[636]

[635] JGE to JMJ, 28 Dec. 1903, Bangor MSS 3247 48 & 105. The latter part in NLW TL papers Box 5, 1337, 3.
[636] JGE to JMJ, 28 Dec. 1903, Bangor MSS 3247 48 & 105.

Morris Jones was willing to help his friend and expanded most fully on Gwenogvryn's abilities, and finished by stating:

> I understand that Mr. Evans undertakes, if elected, to deliver annually, at the University Colleges of Aberystwith and Bangor, a short course of lectures on Welsh palaeography, and to give some guidance to post graduate students in Welsh. ... I believe he would thus doubly justify his election; not only would he be able to continue & extend his own work which is remarkable for what it has already done for Welsh scholarship, but by his unrivalled knowledge of Welsh MSS. he would direct & materially promote the research work carried out by others students in a field which is largely virgin ground.[637]

Evans also obtained testimonials from O. M. Edwards, Charles Plummer, Maunde Thompson, and George F. Warner, both from the British Museum, T. F. Tout from Manchester, the Bishop of St. Asaph's, Sir John Williams, and York Powell. All these were strong recommendations for Evans as an expert on Welsh palaeography, rather than palaeography in general, and some suggesting he had been offered the opportunity to teach courses at Bangor, Aberystwyth, and Lampeter. One doubts that the Fellows of St. John's wanted an expert in such a narrow study, who might be called away to teach courses in Wales, and, in particular, someone who had not experienced an Oxford B.A. degree. In any case they had a strong candidate from within the university, and, in early 1904, Gwenogvryn learned that his application had failed. He wrote to Morris Jones:

> I heard casually today that Stevenson ... has been elected. ... So ends an unfortunate chapter in my history. I am sorry that I can't do so much for the Texts as I wd. under different circumstances. Still I must fag on & do my best.[638]

He was soon congratulating Morris Jones on his election to a 3-year research fellowship at Jesus College, blaming Mrs Rhŷs for his own failure.[639] To be fair on

[637] NLW TL papers Box 5, 1337, 21 & 23.
[638] JGE to JMJ, 22 Apr. 1904, Bangor MSS 3247 54.
[639] JGE to JMJ, 29 Jun. 1904, Bangor MSS 3247 55.

her, although she might have affected the outcome at Jesus, her influence in the St. John's election is difficult to see. Evans was simply not what they wanted, and their election of a first-rate scholar from within the university, who had a much wider range than Gwenogvryn, clearly shows what they did want.[640] Evans's lease on 7 Clarendon Villas ended on 28 September, and he left Oxford for Llanbedrog the following day.[641] His consequent isolation from academic influence was to be the beginning of his fall.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

The question was whether Gwenogvryn's work for the HMC was of value to the academic community. It seems apparent that it was. Their anxiety to make that clear to the Treasury by granting not one, but two honorary DLitt degrees would seem to prove that point. There may be some criticism due for the accuracy of his occasionally erratic dating methodology, but he was correct as often as he was not, and his tendency to date too early sometimes can be explained by his false idea that Welsh scribes followed continental trends more quickly than English scribes. It is also true that his tendency to irritate his friends was beginning to show. His determination, and his robust defence of his work methods did not help, and a certain paranoia could be seen in his blaming Elspeth Rhŷs for his setbacks. This irascibilty, unwillingness to take admonition, and paranoia would feature greatly in the downfall to come.

---

[640] Best known for: W. H. Stevenson (ed.), *Asser's Life of King Alfred: together with the Annals of Saint Neots erroneously ascribed to Asser* (Oxford, 1904). He also published Calendars of the Close Rolls of Edward I - Edward III.
[641] JGE to JMJ, 18 Sep. 1904, Bangor MSS 3247 56.

CHAPTER 5
~ GWENOGVRYN EVANS AND JOHN MORRIS JONES ~
1884-1909.

> The perfect book has never been done. It is only the man who is going to write a book who turns out a perfect work.[642]

This chapter will answer two questions that I will show to be linked: how Gwenogvryn Evans descended from being lauded by the academic establishment for his work on Welsh Manuscripts, to being shunned as an ingrate by his former associates, and how a friendship that was warm and supportive in its early days deteriorated into what was to become a public slanging match.

Gwenogvryn wrote the words that head this chapter to Morris Jones in November 1907, and it constitutes a way of saying that 'the road to Hell is paved with good intentions'. This is the story of certain books, and the problems that arose from their creation. In the telling three points will come to the fore. Firstly, the importance of the diplomatic editions produced by Gwenogvryn Evans to scholars, with some discussion of his methodology. Secondly, that a person's work, published or unpublished, was legally copyright, and that copyright should be duly acknowledged by anyone who made use of it. Thirdly, that, although Gwenogvryn's editions were diplomatic, his words and actions were, at times, hardly so, and words spoken in haste, and acknowledgments for help given not fully and publicly expressed, would cost him dear.

[642] JGE to JMJ, 1 Nov 1907. Bangor MSS 3247 92.

FRIENDSHIP

I wrote earlier that, through Rhŷs's Mabinogion class, Evans became firm friends with John Morris Jones. I will now consider that friendship in greater detail, for it was undoubtedly helpful to Gwenogvryn's rise as a palaeographer, and its catastrophic deterioration was critical to his fall from academic grace. This relationship did not turn from firm friendship to mutual enmity overnight. It was a slow and progressive process, and the pressures on the two men, and their different motivations, gradually changed the relationship from one of mutual support, through annoyance and suspicion, to mutual antagonism of the most public and brutal kind.

Neither man had come to Oxford to study Celtic. Gwenogvryn intended to study Natural Science as he had at Manchester; Morris Jones had matriculated to study Mathematics. On Gwenogvryn's return to England, I have told how his desperation to earn money to support his family led him to seek Rhŷs's advice. Thus it was discovered that Evans had a talent for reading and copying medieval Welsh. Gwenogvryn then joined Rhŷs's class at Jesus College in order to give Evans more knowledge of the language. Whilst working for his degree in Mathematics, Morris Jones decided that a study of Welsh was more to his taste.[643] So both ended up in Rhŷs's class on the Mabinogion and became friends. There is evidence that it was a request by Morris Jones to read Geraint, instead of

[643] JMJ was admitted to Jesus College on 13 October 1883 and matriculated on 18 October. He was awarded Class II in Mathematics Moderations in 1885 and a Class III Honour degree in mathematics in 1887. *Jesus Admissions Register*. Welsh was not a degree subject at this time.

Branwen, in Hilary Term 1885, that started the chain of events that led to the production of the *Old Welsh Texts*.[644]

In May 1886 *Cymdeithas Dafydd ap Gwilym* was founded by Rhŷs, Morris Jones, O. M. Edwards, and some others.[645] Gwenogvryn joined shortly after. Presumably he was not a founder because he was not a member of the University, but his house in Park Town was to become a useful alternative meeting place for the society.[646] It was at one meeting of the *Dafydd* in Lincoln College that the first friendly point of difference seems to have arisen between the two men. Gwenogvryn described the occasion in the third person:

> I can recall vividly Mr. Morris Jones and Mr. Llewelyn Williams sitting on a low sofa in Lincoln College, two massive pipes in their mouths, and a kind of halo about their heads, with Mr. Gwenogfryn Evans and Mr. Owen Edwards fiercely denouncing the oldness of the pipes and the bad quality of the tobacco.[647]

Breathing pipe smoke cannot have been good for Gwenogvryn's weakened lungs, and he would hardly have included it in the article if that was not a concern, but he later complained of the effect of tobacco on Morris's natural tendency towards procrastination. Gwenogvryn wrote to Morris Jones in 1892:

> The eternal pipe is your curse — you do <u>not</u> require <u>sedatives</u> but something very different.[648]

and in 1907:

---

[644] 'Two Drafts'. NLW TL papers, Box 5, 1870, i.
[645] Evans and Jones, *Cofio'r Dafydd*, 5.
[646] *Ibid*., 72, 85.
[647] John Jones-Jones of Jones Hall [JGE], 'Jottings. I. Professor John Morris Jones, M.A. (not related within the Ninth Degree)', *Wales* 3/27 (July 1896), 322-325, 323.
[648] JGE to JMJ, 10 June 1892. Bangor MSS 3247 8.

> Take warning, & work while you have health & mental vigour ... & dont imagine that you are working hard when you smoke & watch your ceiling with your heels on the pentan, magnifying yourself by thinking of the wonderful things you are going to do.[649]

That final comment referred to the non-appearance of the *Welsh Grammar* on which Morris Jones had begun work.[650] The lack of apparent activity towards its production was to cause much friction between the two men.

Despite the differences over smoking, the firmness of the friendship that grew up between the two, at least so far as Gwenogvryn was concerned, is indicated in a letter that he wrote after Morris finally left Oxford:

> The day after you left Oxford I went to the Bodley as usual but found the place so dull & desolate that I soon got up, put my things away and never went near the place for five weeks! What do you think of that? I found a slip of paper on your desk with J. M. Jones yn fras mawr. I sighed "ei enw gaf, dyna gyd" ... You perhaps did not think me so sentimental and I was rather surprised myself to find what a difference your absence made ...[651]

The two continued to help each other in several ways. In 1890, when Morris wanted promotion at Bangor from Lecturer to Professor, with additional remuneration so he could marry, Gwenogvryn wrote an article in the journal *Cymru Fydd*,[652] which had some effect, as Morris responded:

> I cant say how thankful I felt to you when I read your Cy. Fyδ article. Not one of the officials at Bangor has mentioned it at all to me; neither the Principal nor Cadwaladr nor anybody. There have been several leading Articles in the weeklies on it and it has created much stir. The Bangor authorities could not withstand many articles of the kind. Perhaps I am prejudiced, in favour of the article, but I ... feel that it w[d]. not be wrong in me to congratulate you warmly ...[653]

---

[649] JGE to JMJ, 12 Nov. 1907. Bangor MSS 3247 93.
[650] Only part one appeared: JMJ, *A Welsh Grammar, Historical and Comparative: Phonology and Accidence* (Oxford, 1913).
[651] JGE to JMJ, 7 Oct. 1888. Bangor MSS 3247 2.
[652] JGE, 'Welsh Colleges and Professors of Welsh', *Cymru Fydd* 3/12 (Dec. 1890), 747-754.
[653] JMJ to JGE, [21? Dec. 1890]. NLW TL Papers, Supplement.

In 1893 Gwenogvryn wrote a reference for Morris when he thought of applying as an Inspector of Schools, hoping it more remunerative than a Lectureship in Welsh. Evans stated:

> I am deliberately of opinion that no other Welshman could render such efficient help to advance Elementary Education in Wales as Mr. Morris Jones at the present juncture.[654]

Morris Jones did not proceed with the application, and in 1895 his Lectureship was elevated to a Chair.[655]

Morris, in his turn, wrote a letter supporting the award of an honorary DLitt at Oxford, when Gwenogvryn looked like he might lose the job with the Historical Manuscripts Commission due to government cuts.[656] The Treasury was duly impressed and continued to fund him. Morris also helped with Gwenogvryn's numerous queries on words in the texts for the various volumes he produced. They wrote anonymous articles in Owen Edwards's journals, each in favour of the other. Morris wrote his article in Welsh in *Cymru*, signing himself as X,[657] and Gwenogvryn wrote his in English in *Wales*, signing himself as John Jones-Jones of Jones Hall.[658] Even so, there were a number of strains that gradually mounted up and pulled them apart.

---

[654] JGE to HM Inspectorate for Schools, Jan. 1893. Bangor MSS 3247 12.
[655] Parry, T., 'Morris-Jones (formerly Jones), Sir John (Morris) (1864-1929), *DWB*, 668-9, 668.
[656] JGE to JMJ, [10 Mar 1901], Bangor MSS 3247 27.
[657] X [John Morris-Jones (& O. M. Edwards?)], 'Cymru Byw: VI. John Gwenogfryn Evans', *Cymru* 4 (1893), 77-79.
[658] John Jones-Jones of Jones Hall [JGE], 'Jottings. I. Professor John Morris Jones, M.A. (not related within the Ninth Degree)', *Wales* 3/27 (July 1896), 322-325.

THE ELUCIDARIUM

The first rift followed from the final year that Morris Jones studied at Oxford. He had gained his degree in Mathematics in 1887, but he had been deeply involved in matters Celtic since his second year (1884-85), which was when the two met in Rhŷs's Mabinogion class. Morris wanted to remain a further year after graduating (1887-88), in order to further his studies in Welsh, and Rhŷs was willing to support an application for a Meyricke Scholarship at Jesus College but needed a valid reason for the application to succeed. It was Gwenogvryn who suggested to Rhŷs that it would be good to have a diplomatic edition published of a dated Welsh text, and further suggested that as Jesus College owned the *Book of the Anchorite (Llyfr yr Ancr* or *Llyfr Ancr Llanddewibrefi)*, suitably dated in the text to 1346, and Morris Jones could be available to do it by extending his scholarship, it would solve several problems at once.[659] One does have to wonder slightly at Gwenogvryn's motivations here. He was clearly doing his best to help his friend, but, having the plan for the *Old Welsh Texts* already in mind, the publication of a text primarily religious in nature would be unlikely to challenge the profitability of his scheme. In any event, the whole thing was settled amicably, with Gwenogvryn spending much time training Morris in his own system of working and in checking queries.

The next time the matter arises is in 1893 when Morris was thinking of applying for the post of Inspector of Schools, and Gwenogvryn was rallying support for the application, Evans raised the lack of progress on the publication of Morris's transcript:

[659] Jesus College MS. 119. See *Report* 2/1, 30-31.

> But judging by the cold way Acland rec[d]. your name when Edwards mentioned it one can't help inferring some tittle tattle about Llyfr yr Ancr or some such procrastinating liability of yours.[660]

References to Morris's habitual procrastination were to occur in several letters from Gwenogvryn, which cannot have helped the relationship now the two were in less immediate contact with one another. It was when the book finally appeared in 1894 as *The Elucidarium*, with Rhŷs as joint author, that Evans had serious grounds for complaint, as the editor's Introduction contained the following observations:

> I have to express my thanks to Mr. Gwenogfryn Evans, who gave me much valuable assistance in deciphering the most difficult portions of the MS; ...

and:

> ... so far as I know, it is the first attempt to reproduce a MS. in such a way that every word is almost a facsimile of its original.[661]

The first comment is a little short of the full truth, since Evans had spent considerable time in training Morris in his methodology, but the second is a downright untruth as Morris Jones knew well that Gwenogvryn had produced three volumes, the *Red Book Mabinogion*, the *Red Book Bruts*, and the *Book of Llan Dav* all on this principle prior to the publication of the *Elucidarium*. Gwenogvryn wrote:

> I am about to Review yr Ancyr in Wales. With one exception I shall have nothing but praise. You go out of your way to proclaim it a "first attempt" when you know it is nothing of the kind ... A little acknowledgement w[d]. have done you no harm &

[660] JGE to JMJ, [early 1893?]. Bangor MSS, 3247 1.
[661] JMJ and JR, *The Elucidarium and other Tracts in Welsh from Llyvyr Agkyr Llandewivrevi A.D. 1346 (Jesus College MS. 119)* (Oxford, 1894), xxvii.

> it w[d]. have been simple honesty to do so. Compare your list of types & that given in the Mabinogion & ask which is the imitation & the first attempt.[662]

The rift was patched up at the time, and they continued to correspond and help each other. It did, however, remain a festering sore so far as Gwenogvryn was concerned and was to come up again when relations had deteriorated, and fresh disagreement opened old wounds. He later wrote more scathingly:

> Indeed we had a measure of your honesty & truthfulness in the Ankyr Preface ... Now I am not going to put up with this falsehood of yours. You have published one falsehood in the Ankyr & you have never had the honesty to withdraw it. ... I will ... refer my readers to your Ankyr Preface which will show the world the kind of man you are — ever ready to claim for yourself credit for what does not belong to you.[663]

Later, when it came to giving evidence under oath, Evans grudgingly accepted, without mentioning his name, that Morris Jones had done as well as he. On being asked if anyone else was capable of producing diplomatic texts of Welsh literature, Gwenogvryn replied:

> There are not many who have done it, anyway. I believe I am the only one who has done it, with one exception possibly.[664]

That was the only public recognition that Morris Jones was to get from Evans for his work on the text.

YR ORGRAFF

The matter over which they expended the most time, paper, and ink, for the longest period, was the standardisation of the orthography of the Welsh Language (*Yr Orgraff*). This had been the subject of public discussion for years,

---

[662] JGE to JMJ, [? Mar. 1895]. Bangor MSS 3247 17. *Wales* did not print reviews.
[663] JGE to JMJ, 15 Jun. 1907. Bangor MSS, JMJ papers, uncatalogued letter.
[664] Transcript of proceedings, Evans v Tout, Day 1 Mon 8 Feb 1909. NLW TL papers, Box 4, 970, 4.

but matters came to a head when, in 1885, The Society for the Utilization of the Welsh Language (*Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg*) was founded with the purpose of providing materials for the teaching of Welsh in schools.[665] They found themselves hampered by their various authors writing texts in the different orthographies that each had been taught. It became clear a standard had to be set.[666] The matter was discussed in 1888 by *Cymdeithas Dafydd ap Gwilym* under Rhŷs's chairmanship, and Morris Jones wrote two articles on the subject in 1890 in *Y Traethodydd*.[667] These articles were critical of the lack of progress that had been made in standardising the orthography. Gwenogvryn's reaction to the articles was positive. He wrote:

> I think you make capital hits a mawr δa i ti machen [*sic*] i [and very well done, my boy]. ... I think you have done well to bring forward evidence of what <u>was</u> usual in Welsh Orthography.[668]

There is in the underlined 'was' a hint that Evans approved more of the older orthography and less of the modern. More was to follow.

The Society invited a number of authorities on the Welsh language to a meeting at the National Eisteddfod held in Bangor in 1891. Those present were John Rhŷs, David Rowlands *(Dewi Môn)* (Brecon College), the Rev. Prof. Robert Williams, Thomas Powel (Cardiff, Celtic), T. F. Roberts (Aberystwyth, Principal), J. E. Lloyd (Aberystwyth, Welsh & History), John Morris Jones (Bangor, Welsh),

---

[665] The mismatch between the Welsh and English names comes from the Society itself. It should not be confused with the later Welsh Language Society (also *Cymdeithas yr Iaith Cymraeg*).
[666] JMJ (as Secretary of the Orthographical Committee of the Society for Utilizing the Welsh Language), *Welsh Orthography* (Carnarvon, 1893), iii-iv.
[667] JMJ, 'Yr Orgraff', *Y Traethodydd* 45 (1890), I *Mai* 235-41, II *Gorffenaf* 322-7.
[668] JGE to JMJ, 1 Jan 1891. Bangor MSS, 3247 7, [my translation].

and Owen M. Edwards, together with L. D. Jones (*Llew Tegid*) for the Society.[669] As a result a special Orthographical Committee of the Society was formed with John Morris Jones as Secretary. Gwenogvryn was not invited, but when he observed how many of his fellow-members of the *Dafydd*, and of his acquaintances within academe, were on the committee, he felt he should have been included because of his palaeographic knowledge. He saw it as a conspiracy and wrote 'I was carefully blackballed out of the Committee as an impractical faddist I infer'.[670] In truth, there was no real reason to include Evans as he was not involved directly in the teaching of Welsh, and knowledge of the old manuscripts, admittedly occasionally only through Evans's publications, was possessed by several members of the committee. At this date O. M. Edwards already had connections with teaching through his journal for children, *Cymru'r Plant*, which he had founded in 1892, but his work as Inspector of Schools came later. Nonetheless Gwenogvryn felt excluded, and, therefore, some opposition was to be expected from him.

In 1893 the Committee published *Welsh Orthography*, a report written by Morris Jones, based on the Committee's decisions.[671] The document lists its sources, and, amongst them, are Gwenogvryn's *Facsimile of the Black Book of Carmarthen*, his and Rhŷs's *Red Book of Hergest* (presumably both volumes), and his reprint of Morgan's Book of Job. It also lists Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, which, despite its inaccuracies, was then the best source for the Book of Aneirin and the Book of Taliesin.

---

669 *Welsh Orthography*, iv.
670 JGE to JMJ, 2 Feb 1894 [not sent]. NLW TL papers Supplement.
671 JMJ, *Welsh Orthography* (Carnarvon, 1893). Reprinted using a different printer and layout in 1905.

This use of his volumes did not impress Gwenogvryn, as he was still smarting from not being included. He wrote to Morris Jones:

> In no instance have you listened to anything that I have said & you took care that I sh[d]. not even see the rules before they were issued to the world. While you listened deferentially to some of your fellow committee men whose equals I may claim to be without presumption.[672]

In explaining Gwenogvryn's case against *Welsh Orthography*, I am not arguing that Evans was right and Morris Jones and his committee wrong. The committee had to produce an orthography that was acceptable to the majority of teachers of the language. In doing that they needed to make decisions that were essentially pragmatic, and based on current usage rather than an abstract ideal. They produced a set of rules and reasoned arguments to back their decisions. In any language rules always have their exceptions.[673] Cymraeg may have a more logical orthography than English, but still there were hanging threads left ungathered by the general rules set out by the committee, and it was these that Evans set out to pull at in an attempt to unravel the warp and weft of the committee's deliberations. My purpose will be to illustrate his arguments and to offer some explanation of what lay behind them. He was essentially attempting to impose a system used in medieval manuscripts on the modern language, not so much ignoring as deprecating all that had happened in between. Though the variation is admittedly not as extreme, this is only marginally more arguable

[672] JGE to JMJ, 2 Feb. 1893 [error for 1894]. Bangor MSS, JMJ papers, uncatalogued letters. JGE's underlining.
[673] In English there is the weird rule of 'i before e except after c' over which species of argument we may well deign to draw a veil.

than attempting to impose the orthography of Chaucer on modern English, and equally doomed to failure.

Gwenogvryn's main argument against the Report concerned the orthography of the nasal mutation. How much this argument was based around differences between the pronunciation of his Ceredigion-Carmarthenshire dialect and Morris Jones's Anglesey dialect, I am unclear, though appears to have a bearing. Evans remarked:

> Because <u>your</u> dialect drops the aspirated you w[d]. fain rule out of court brenhin cynghor &c though they are still pronounced distinctly so in my dialect &c. I know you maintain that they are not, but that does not alter the fact.[674]

More to the point was Gwenogvryn's knowledge of how orthography was treated in medieval manuscripts. He wrote, in his usual robust manner (throughout the correspondence both JGE and JMJ use ŋ for *ng* and ŋ́ for *ngh*.):

> Again before c-, the -n is gutturalized into ŋ, & the c minus the aspiration is dropped, <u>not mutated into another ŋ+h</u>. This every MS. without exception recognizes from Lewis Glyn Cothi down to a MS ... dated 1692, which has yng hil-gwri, yng haer &c &c. To write yng <u>Ng</u>hil Gwri, yng <u>Ng</u>haer is a piece of charlatanry based on a false assumption & I am astonished that one of your metier sh[d]. accept unthinkingly so foolish and absurd a theory of mutation.[675]

It is interesting to note that the comment 'the c minus the aspiration is dropped' indicates that Gwenogvryn knew that the dropping of the *c-/k-* by his argument left a trace in the *-h-* that remained, as well as changing *yn* to *yng*. This goes against his general argument that the initial letter of the noun after the nasalising prefix is dropped, and not mutated, similar to the dropping of initial *g* in soft

[674] JGE to JMJ, 1 May 1901. Bangor MSS, 3247 31.
[675] JGE to JMJ, 2 Feb. 1893 [error for 1894]. Bangor MSS, JMJ papers, uncatalogued letters.

mutation. Thus *ym Angor* for 'in Bangor', the *n* of *yn* being changed to *m* by the dropping of the *B* of *Bangor*. Gwenogvryn's chief complaint is in the repetition of the consonant changed in *yn* by the mutation at the start of the following word. He argued this both on the basis that the repetition was not sounded, and also by the spellings found in Welsh medieval manuscripts.[676] This shows he was relying on his detailed knowledge of manuscripts to boost his authority.

Although Gwenogvryn did not insist on it initially, he later conformed to the example of the old manuscripts in writing *yn* and the following noun together as one word, in order to 'illustrate the practice of the scribes from the Liber Land. to 1600'. He wrote:

> I do not see any reason for following the English fashion of writing a capital for the place name — why not "ynghymry". You do not write a capital I for the welsh [*sic*] first person "i". Germans write england english &c why not Welshmen, also <u>now</u> as in former ages?[677]

A table in the Report showed the historical basis for the Committee's recommendations (R. B. = Red Book; Bp. M. = Bishop Morgan; M. Ll. = Morgan Llwyd o Wynedd; L. M. = Lewis Morris, Môn.):[678]

[676] In Alan R. Thomas (ed.), *The Welsh Dialect Survey* (Cardiff, 2000), 497. Under 512 'yn + C...' in Gwenogvryn's home area 75/88 it shows a repetition of *ŋ*. Curiously it does NOT show the repeat, but a clear pronunciation of the *k* with no aspiration in Anglesey area 4. This probably demonstrates a shift in both dialects in the intervening period. It was already happening in in JMJ's time as Fynes-Clinton comments that 'we have *əm maŋgor*, 'in Bangor'' but that 'the younger generation are inclined to say *əm baŋgor*'. *WVBD*, 577.
[677] JGE to JMJ, 21 Nov. 1907. Bangor MSS, 3247 95.
[678] *Welsh Orthography*, 11.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
R. B.	hynny	tanneu	yg kaer	ympell	diben	atcas	gwragedd	cymun	atteb
Bp. M.	hynny	tannau	yng-Hrist	ym-hell	diben	atcas	gwragedd	cymmun	atteb
M. Ll.	hynny	tannau	yng Nghrist	ymhell	diben	atcas	gwragedd	cymmun	atteb
L. M.	hynny	tannau	yng Nghaer	ymhell	diben	atgas	gwragedd	cymmun	atteb
Bibles	hynny	tannau	yng Nghrist	ymhell	diben	atgas	gwragedd	cymmun	atteb
Pughe	hŷny	tannau	yn Nghaer	yn mhell	dyben	adgas	gwreigedd	cymun	ateb
Recom-mended	hynny	tannau	yng Nghaer	ymhell	diben	atgas	gwragedd	cymun	ateb

Column 3 shows that the first two authorities, the Red Book of Hergest, and Morgan's Book of Job (both Evans's publications), agree with his argument (if one assumes that *yg kaer* was pronounced *yng haer*), whereas the remainder, apart from Owen Pughe who was a law unto himself, follow Morris Jones and the Committee's recommendations. The section of the Report that covers nasalisation reads as follows:

> The *n* of *yn* should be changed into *m* before *m* or *mh*, into *ng* before *ng* or *ngh* of a following noun. The nasal mutation occurs only after *fy (=fyn)* and *yn*, and a few numerals which originally ended in *n*. It is caused by the final *n* of these words; but the *n* had first to become a labial nasal *(m)* before a labial mute *(p* or *b)*, and then only could it change the labial mute into a labial nasal *(mh* or *m)*. Thus (1) *yn Bangor*, (2) *ym Bangor*, (3) *ym Mangor*.[679] Thus the change of *n*into [*sic*] *m* is prior to the change of *B* into *M*, and *yn Mangor* represents a state of things that never existed. The same remarks apply to the mutation of guttural mutes. Write, therefore, *ym Mangor*, *yng Nghaer*.
>
> In a few adverbial or prepositional phrases in which the *yn* is a proclitic, it should be joined to the noun, thus
>
> | | | |
> |---|---|---|
> | ynghrog | ymhell | ymlaen |
> | ynghylch | ymhlith | ymron |
> | ynghyd | ymysg | ymhen |
> | ynglŷn | | |
>
> N.B.—In *fy mhen* (for *fym mhen*), *fy nhy* (for *fyn nhy*), although we write the enclitic separately, we drop one *n* or *m*. This is because the accent is on the second syllable, and there is not enough stress on the first syllable to support the sound which a double consonant seems to require. This is exactly the principle we adopt in *tynnu*, *tynasant*, &c. Bp. Morgan writes *ym-hell*, *fym-hen* ...[680]

[679] This point was repeated in JMJ, *A Welsh Grammar, Historical and Comparative* (Oxford, 1913), 168.
[680] *Welsh Orthography*, 42.

Thus the Committee acknowledged special cases where the resulting sound was represented by a compound, such as *ymhell* and *ynghylch*. The reason given for the compounds, that the *yn* is proclitic, implies that *yn* is only proclitic in these cases, and relies on where the stress is.[681] The section does not indicate as much, but the Committee also similarly recognised compounds after *an-* such as *anhebyg* (*an-* + *tebyg*), *anghadw* (*an-* + *cadw*), and *amhlant* (*an-* + *plant*). It probably considered that, since *an-* was not a word a compound was expected, there was little argument about this group, so comment was not required. The Committee also acknowledged that *fy* arose from an original *fyn*, which appears in old manuscripts, but it did not advise reverting to that orthography.[682] So *fy nhad*, not *fyn nhad*. The argument that the doubling of the consonant was dropped when the accent was on the second syllable Gwenogvryn considered somewhat shaky. The accent does not come on the second syllable of *anghyfreithlon*, but it does on the second syllable of *ym Môn*. No one would consider writing *ang nghyfreithlon* for reasons already explained, but *ymon* does appear in old manuscripts. The reasons given as to why the preposition remains separate from the noun with its nasalised initial consonant, as opposed to why compounds exist in which the initial letter of the second element is nasalised, seemed arcane and unconvincing to Gwenogvryn. Those reasons could be considered a practical and pragmatic excuse for what had become accepted practice.

---

[681] Hence the pronunciation of the *y* in *yn* as *ə*, rather than a 'clear y', *ɨ*. But see *WVBD,* 577 on 'secondary stress' which occurs on the *ən* in *əm maŋgor*, but not in the compounds such as *ə mɨ.sg.* The syllable division in Welsh, as in Latin, is relevant. Using (.) for the break, V for vowel, and C for consonant we have: VC.CV in *əm maŋgor*, but V.CV in *ə mɨ.sg.*

[682] From Brittonic **men*. Contrast *mo* + lenition in Irish. See also *Welsh Dialect Survey*, 492-3.

Gwenogvryn launched his attack on 23 December 1893 in a letter stating that there needed to be one rule for *yn-*, *an-*, and *fyn-*, not three different ones. Also Evans did not accept *fy* as a word, always writing *fyn-*, *fym-* or *fyng-* as a prefix, where he did not drop it as unnecessary, as in '*machen* [*sic*] *i*' for '*fy machgen i*' in the letter quoted above. The letter of 23 December has not survived, but Morris Jones strongly complains about it (Evan Jones is a nickname for Gwenogvryn):

> But you must not forget that even Evan Jones sometimes writes things calculated more or less to set a chap's back up; ... E. J. says "I am going (underline, his own) to do my very best to persuade Williams to report strongly against this part of your orthography." There is no hint that any arguments are necessary; the thing is settled & E. J. is going to do it. In your second letter you say something similar— "the ŋ doubling is your own personal fad, and against that I declare war to the knife."[683]

Morris Jones was somewhat exasperated with him. The Report was, after all, the product of a Committee that had had to make practical decisions on the different orthographies then current, in order to standardise the spelling of the language. It was not simply Morris Jones's pet idea. He wrote:

> It is very unkind of you to try to persuade Wms. to object to the report; plenty of ignoramuses have been objecting to it and many more will, so if you, also, who cannot be classed as an ignoramus in matters pertaining [to] Welsh persist in pressing you little objection what will become of our report? Hang it all! J. E., we have all given some pet hobby up in this matter of orthography; I have given up many; why shouldn't you just for once accommodate yourself a wee bit to other people's opinions?[684]

He then goes on to explain patiently, and in extensive detail over a number of pages, the arguments behind the orthography of the 1893 Report. Here is an example:

---

[683] JMJ to JGE, 4 Jan. 1894. NLW TL papers, Supplement.
[684] JMJ to JGE, 1 Jan. 1894 (1). NLW TL Papers, Supplement.

> Now ym Mangor is a case exactly parallel. The m of ym does not annihilate the B of Bangor; it changes it into M. It is true that in the middle of a word we don't double an m; thus we write colomen for colommen from columbina. But as a matter of fact, etymologically we ought to write colommen; the m did not annihilate the b it assimilated it. However, as m (unlike n) cannot exist between vowels in the middle of a word except when it has assimilated a b or a p; that is to say, as m in the middle of a word is always etymologically double (for a single m becomes f as in nifer, from numerus), and as m is a clumsy letter to double we are willing to let a single m stand in the middle of a word, as in old MSS to represent (for it always must represent) an m that is etymologically double.[685]

The only previous authority to suggest that double or geminate *m* should be written as a single letter, as can be seen from the Table from the Report printed above, was Owen Pughe. Nonetheless the Committee's recommendation was adopted and the double *m* dropped. Morris Jones goes on:

> But there is no earthly reason why we should not write two separate m's in two separate words. How w[d]. you write "a great injustice" in Welsh? Would you not write cam mawr? ... Therefore on the ground of sound as well as etymology ym Mangor is the best form, and is parallel to yn Nublin.[686]

He also went on to explain why the compounds were a special case:

> In the case of a few combinations, ymlaen, yńyd, yńylch &c the ym or yng has become a pure proclitic, and it is convenient to write them as one word, simplifying the consonant because it is then medial. (Etymologically the m and n are always double, but medially as I have said we simplify them, for the fact of their being medial is a sign of double origin.) These phrases, strictly limited in number, are exactly parallel to the similar phrases in English adrift, ashore, askew, &c As you know the a- in these words represents on which has become a pure proclitic & weakened into a-. As a rule on is not a proclitic in English; you say on Mont Blanc, you may also say on shore, or on board ship; as you might say ym mlaen y fyddin "in the van of the army;" but to go aboard or to go ashore is the form parallel to mynd ymlaen = "to go ahead."
>
> There is no more reason for treating the yng in yng Nghymru as a proclitic than for so treating the in in in Wales. Ynghymru demands Ynllundain as a parallel which is as absurd a form as Alondon for In London. . . .'[687]

[685] See Fynes-Clinton's *kļomman,* but pl. *klomennod*. *WVBD*, 268.
[686] JMJ to JGE, 1 Jan. 1894 (2). NLW TL Papers, Supplement.
[687] JMJ to JGE, 1 Jan. 1894 (2). NLW TL Papers, Supplement.

Gwenogvryn felt there was good reason to treat *yng* as proclitic, and it might be considered that the last point is a trifle laboured as a comparison. In fairness, Gwenogvryn never argued for *ynllundain*, though it would follow from his argument. These passages from Morris Jones's letter are important in illustrating the thinking behind the Committee's decisions, which is not always obvious from the condensed and staccato delivery of the Report itself. Morris Jones also tried to be conciliatory:

> I place implicit trust in your honesty and common sense in all the work you have done, and miss no opportunity to speak of it as I honestly believe it deserves. Now can you not admit that it is possible also that I may have brought some common sense to bear upon the work which I have been doing? I have worked patiently and laboriously at the orgraff as you have at the texts, yet you easily take for granted that the result of my pondering a matter over and looking at it from all directions is nothing but a mere hobby, and will try to oppose to it a hobby of your own. You will appeal to a friend in power to put mine down by main force; and so probably wreck that little report which cost me months of labour. It is not good comradeship, Evan Jones, myn di'awl![688]

Gwenogvryn was equally conciliatory, but, even so, he would have none of it:

> The letter also at last meets my objections fairly & shows that you had, at least, one ear half-open when I was speaking!! I therefore withdraw that part of my letter, which I cannot rewrite. For the rest I am not convinced yet. I hold to the proclitic explanation in your letter as the real one. If you take such words as "Nhad" "mam" you know they are not the simple words tad & mam but that the possessive pronoun is part & parcel of them. Take again "Mari ŋwraig i". Even you do not propose to write "Mari fyŋ ŋwraig i", & yet your theory fails if you do not, as it seems to me. I confess I cannot see the difference between yŋhyd & yŋhymru & both are words which we constantly use. It is certain that no writer between 1450 and 1620 detected this difference as far as my experience goes. I am therefore not an isolated pagan & faddist in my ideas. ... I am labouring at present from a belief that the ng ngh is wrong in itself, contrary to the genius of the Welsh language in its love of assimilating similar sounds, and intolerably ugly & unnecessarily long.[689]

[688] JMJ to JGE, 1 Jan. 1894 (2). NLW TL Papers, Supplement.
[689] JGE to JMJ, 2 Feb. 1893 [error for 1894]. Bangor MSS, JMJ papers, uncatalogued letters.

Gwenogvryn seems convinced that all nasalising prefixes are proclitic, i.e. they are attached phonologically to the word that follows. He used *nhad*, *mam*, and *ngwraig* as examples of phrases where the prefix must have been proclitic to disappear as a separate word, so *fy nhad* > *nhad*, *fy mam* > *mam*, and *fy ngwraig i* > *ngwraig i*. He also felt that he could detect no difference between the pronunciation of *ynghyd* and *yng Nghymru*.[690] Gwenogvryn felt that Morris Jones had not answered that point. Morris was convinced that the *yn* in *ym Mangor* is not proclitic when Gwenogvryn's case was that it is. If *ym Mangor* is pronounced slowly and carefully, then both *m*s are clearly heard, as in *cam mawr*, but in normal rapid speech the two do tend to elide together, and that is certainly the case in *yng Nghymru*, where it is quite difficult to pronounce both *ng*s even when talking slowly. It would appear that both men had fixed on a path of confrontation over the matter, which was a pity since they were willing to cooperate over so much else.

Gwenogvryn disliked the doubling of consonants in verbs just as much as in nasal mutations, so he wrote *welsochi* instead of *welsoch chi*.[691] He wrote to O. M. Edwards saying:

> Let us represent fairly what we say, and let those Jackasses who have nothing to say eke out their emptiness by filling their script with unnecessary consonants.[692]

The nasal mutation and the doubling of consonants were not the only things Gwenogvryn disliked. He also had difficulties with the Committee's comments on

[690] But see *WVBD*, 577, where it does indicate a difference in the sound in that dialect. So *əŋ ŋn̥harvon* 'in Carnarvon'.
[691] JGE to OME, 31 August 1891. NLW OME papers, AG4/10/2.
[692] JGE to OME, 29 Aug. 1892. NLW OME papers, AG4/10/3 & 60.

ai and *au*. The manuscripts gave *ei* and *eu*, and sometimes, according to him, just *e*, and Evans saw no good reason to change that, as, in his dialect, that was how they were pronounced. Gwenogvryn had comments by Morris Jones, written prior to the publication of the Report, to use as evidence for his case. Morris Jones wrote:

> I had fixed on Salesbury as ... the first to introduce the plural termin^{n}. -au, which I have long regretted as much as anything. I don't think it was ever pronounced -au anywhere. The traditional -eu sound is heard even now in our Anglesey pulpits, even in reading Bibles where it is spelt -au. I myself write eu wherever I can (e.g. blodeu, goreu &c), not because I consider like some ignorant grammarian that this is originally a different term^{n}., but because I can take advantage of their ignorance to have my own way in these particular instances. You know that ei, eu have become [ai,] au in most dialects in monosyllables e.g. brain, haul &c (There are many exceptions in our dialect neid "a jump," rhei "some", gweu "to weave" and many others; creu is an exception in the literary language). But the e in eu, which is an indistinct vowel, became a in an unaccented syllable in our dialect, after the disappearance of the u (as I believe); so that au is unhistorical even in Anglesey. Then in our dialect other unaccented e's followed suit. In eu you have the indistinct vowel which has become a in Gwyneδ and Gwent, and e elsewhere; this eu then is the point when we began to differ and I believe we sh^{d}. go back to it. I think eu would commend itself to every one as the natural learned pron^{n}. of the term^{n}.[693]

Despite those comments, the Report, after stating that *au* can only appear in the final syllable, has this footnote:

> N.B. (4).—*eu* appears in the final syllable in contractions such as *creu*, *dyheu*. We have also allowed it to stand when not followed by a consonant in all polysyllables, except plurals and pronouns. Ex. *boreu*, *eisieu*, *pethau*, *hithau*.[694]

Gwenogvryn preferred to use *-eu* rather than *-au* as a termination because he considered it true to both the manuscripts and the sound in his dialect, except in cases where he felt *-e* was more exact to the sound. For instance, he used *o eneu*

[693] JMJ to JGE, 5 Nov. [probably 1890-2]. NLW TL papers, Supplement.
[694] *Welsh Orthography*, 33.

llyffan for *o enau llyffant* (from a toad's mouth), and *maδeu* for *maddau* (to forgive).[695]

Manuscript models for Gwenogvryn's use of *-e* as a plural termination where *-au* would normally be used are hard to find.[696] This may be more due to his Carmarthenshire/Ceredigion border dialect, but he does use it extensively: *ar gyrn a phibe* for *ar gyrn a phibau* (on horns and pipes), *dilie* for *diliau* (honey-combs), and *beie* for *beiau* (faults), for example.[697]

Gwenogvryn insisted that there was a manuscript precedent for his use of *-e-* for *-ai-* (medieval *-ei-*), though I have not been able to trace it as he does not specify the manuscript(s) he found it in. For example, he uses *filen* for *filain* (villain), and *celen* for *celain* (corpse).[698] This latter he was using as an example to encourage Owen Edwards in his use of the spelling *Pryden*. He wrote:

> With regard to the mediaeval ei in Welsh, I find that in most dialects it is now "i" initially & "e" finally, for example, eithin, Prydein are ithin & Pryden, eisoes & celein are isws & celen &c &c. So that you are perfectly right in writing Pryden, Llunden &c. You only need courage to be consistent![699]

This got him into severe trouble with Morris Jones who accused him of suggesting the spelling to Edwards in a complaint that seems to be a reaction to others complaining to him. Since it shows that Morris Jones did not consider the

---

[695] JGE to JMJ, 2 Feb. 1893 [error for 1894]. Bangor MSS, JMJ papers, uncatalogued letters (Note he also drops the final *t* in *lyffant*, which probably means it was not sounded in his dialect.); JGE to JMJ, 12 Dec. 1892, Bangor MSS 3247 11.
[696] But see T.H. Parry-Williams (ed.), *Canu Rhydd Cynnar* (Cardiff, 1932), 190, for *llankesse, tade.*
[697] JGE to OME, 13 Feb. 1889, 31 Aug. 1891, 29 Aug. 1892. NLW OME papers, AG4/10/1-3.
[698] JGE to OME, 31 Aug. 1891, 29 Aug. 1892. NLW OME papers, AG4/10/2-3.
[699] JGE to OME, 29 Aug. 1892. NLW OME papers, AG4/10/3.

form old, and it has a clear indication of the reasons behind his objection to *-e-* replacing *-ai-*, it is worth reproducing at length:

> I live in Wales & meet somebody every day who has some opinion on the writing of Welsh; and almost every person I meet has a rooted objection to what he calls "The Oxford Welsh" ... When you interrogate these people & try to find out what they mean by Oxford Welsh, they at once trot out some of Owen's crotchets such as Llunden, Rhufen, which you persuaded him to adopt & which he has been obliged by overwhelming public opinion to give up. ... If you had been consistent & written Llundein I shd. have said nothing, but if you adopt a modern form, it had better be the common book form, which keeps the diphthong, though in a slightly broadened form. (The e in Llunden is much thinner than the e in Llundein, more so than the a of Llundain is broader than it.)[700]

Gwenogvryn objected to Morris Jones's accusation, whilst staunchly defending his position:

> It is ungenerous to ignore this & most unjust to accuse me of leading Owen Edwards astray. ... It is true that I told him ... that the oldest form of the word was Priten at which he rejoiced & said he wd. defy you & give me as his authority.[701] ... Still as you are on the subject why do you spell Owen & Owens? If it is legitimate to spell Owen it is more legitimate to spell Pryden as that is an old spelling ... You are not quite free from running away with the bit between your teeth now & then, & to erect your own ear into an absolute standard, while I have a grave respect for the MSS. That you are honest I know, but you must not expect your friends to treat you as infallible.[702]

Gwenogvryn criticised the Report for its support for *ei*, *ein*, *eich* as possessive adjectives. They are not mentioned directly in the Report but only in passing in the section on Signs: 'The preposition *yn*, and the pronouns *ein*, *eich*, &c., may also be written *'n*, *'ch*, &c., after a vowel.'[703] Here Gwenogvryn was on safer ground as he knew Morris Jones preferred the more historical *i*, *yn*, *ych*. In the

---

[700] JMJ to JGE, 1 Jan. 1894 (1). NLW TL papers, Supplement.
[701] Evans used pronunciation for *Pryden* above, but here he uses MS. evidence. Since no source is quoted there may be confusion between *Prydyn* (Pictland) and *Prydein/Prydain* (Britain). He may be referring to *'Pappo post Priten'*: P. C. Bartrum (ed.), *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts* (Cardiff, 1966), 12. This is the earliest reference for *Prydain* given in *GPC*. But Bartrum thinks Pictland is intended: *A Welsh Classical Dictionary* (Aberystwyth, 1993), 522.
[702] JGE to JMJ, 2 Feb. 1893 [error for 1894]. Bangor MSS, JMJ papers, uncatalogued letters.
[703] *Welsh Orthography*, 43.

same letter in which Morris had complained of the suffix *-au*, he complained also of Salesbury's introduction of *ei, ein, eich*, saying 'I have long intended to make a grand attack on this ei', though I am uncertain as to whether he did.[704] Indeed it may have been this matter Morris Jones referred to when he said 'we have all given some pet hobby up'.[705] Nonetheless, Evans, as usual, went for the jugular:

> A man who prints ei eich ein in his book has no locus standi to throw stones at any one. Your idea of "development" is the Salesbury one — by degrading the rational & historical orthography into some strange & uncouth forms.[706]

Whatever Morris Jones may have argued on behalf of the *Orgraff* Committee, he most certainly did not entirely like their decision in this case. As late as 1913, in his *Grammar*, he stated clearly:

> The spelling *ei* is due to Wm.S., ... who also changed *yn* ..., *ych* ... to *ein*, *eich*; there is no evidence of the earlier use of these forms; and in the spoken language the words are *i*, *yn*, *ych*, as in Early Mn. W. It is doubtful whether the correct spelling can now be restored, as the misspelling is distinctive, enabling *ei* 'his' to be distinguished from *i* 'to', and *i* 'I', as in *gwelais i dŷ*; and *ein* 'our' from *yn* 'in'; but the written *ei*, *ein*, *eich* should be read *i*, *yn*, *ych*.[707]

The University of Wales Committee that issued an extended version of the Report in 1928, chaired by the then hyphenated Morris-Jones, confirmed the misspelling, but again did nothing to remedy the error considering 'eu bod yn help mawr i gyfleu'r meddwl ar bapur'.[708]

---

[704] JMJ to JGE, 5 Nov. [1890-2?]. NLW TL papers, Supplement.
[705] JMJ to JGE, 1 Jan. 1894 (1). NLW TL Papers, Supplement.
[706] JGE to JMJ, 12 Nov. 1907. Bangor MSS 3247 93.
[707] JMJ, *Welsh Grammar*, 275. It is possible that Salesbury drew these forms by analogy with the stressed possessive pronouns *eidaw/eidi*, *einym*, *eidu*. See D. Simon Evans, *A Grammar of Middle Welsh* (Dublin, 1964), 54.
[708] Pwyllgor Llên Bwrdd Gwybodau Celtaidd Prifysgol Cymru, *Orgraff yr Iaith Gymraeg* (Caerdydd, 1928), 71.

The correspondence on the *Orgraff* went on for over a decade and consumed a considerable amount of paper. Each letter reiterating arguments that had gone before and both sides failing to convince the other. When Morris Jones's book of poetry, *Caniadau*, came out in 1907, Gwenogvryn was asked to do a review of it for the journal *Y Traethodydd*.[709] He liked the poetry and approved of the translation of Omar Khayyam. As he had to write the review in Welsh, however, he used the opportunity to make his point on the *Orgraff* by using his own orthography throughout and writing a footnote at the beginning, explaining his reasoning, that took up a good deal of the first page.[710] To get the full flavour it really needs to be read in the Welsh as much of the point is lost in translation. The most illustrative sentence I reproduce below both in Welsh and in my literal translation. The italics are from the original text.

> Peth dweddar y*ng Ngh*ymru yw byw y*ng ngh*archar a*ng ngh*ysondeb yr a*ng ngh*yfieith, oblegid fy*ng ngh*yfeillion nid oes reol yn perthyn i *yn* nag sydd yn perthyn hefyd i *an* a *fyn*.
>
> A recent thing in Wales is to live in the prison of discord of the alien tongue, because, my friends, there is no rule pertaining to *yn* which does not also apply to *an* and *fyn*.

Note how he deliberately uses the full doubling of -ng ngh- in every case even where it would not be normally used, just to make his point that the same rule needs to be used in all cases of nasalisation, and the official one, in his opinion, is wrong because it is <u>not</u> applied in every case. I assume by 'the alien tongue' he means English, where no rule holds in every case. Alternatively he may be speaking of linguistic incomprehension in more general terms.

---

[709] JMJ, *Caniadau* (Oxford, 1907).
[710] JGE, 'Caniadau J. Morris Jones', *Y Traethodydd* 63/281 (March 1908), 106-114.

I have not traced Morris Jones's reaction to this but we do have the reaction of another, that may be representative. The following comment by a reviewer appeared in *The Nationalist*:

> Gwenogfryn's Welsh is in keeping with the whole scheme and scope of his article. It is the Welsh that was spoken long, long ago in the streets of Nineveh, and by Nebuchadnezzar when taking outdoor exercise in green pastures. The spelling is that of the first Welsh school-boys, Cain and Abel, and the grammar is that of the people of the land of Nod ...[711]

Needless to say, Gwenogvryn got nowhere with this campaign. All he did succeed in doing was to cause annoyance to Morris Jones, which, as Evans needed his help with the linguistic aspects of the palaeographical notes for his volumes, was not the best course of action.

THE NOTES FOR THE BLACK BOOK OF CARMARTHEN DIPLOMATIC EDITION.

So far the sparring between the two, though the thrust and parry was sharp, had continued on a fairly friendly basis. With the printing of the diplomatic edition of the Black Book of Carmarthen things began to take an uglier turn. There was undoubtedly an increasing paranoia on the part of Morris Jones concerning his work on the Grammar being stolen by others and the publication being 'forestalled' thereby. Gwenogvryn asked Morris Jones for help on the Black Book in two areas, the paradigm of the *Verb To Be*, and the *Palaeographical Notes*. Morris gave Gwenogvryn an early version of his paradigm, apparently based mostly on the Grammar of Dr. Davies. Gwenogvryn realised that he already had, from his work with the manuscripts, more forms than were in the paradigm, so

[711] Anon [Marchant Williams?], 'Reviews - Y Traethodydd (Carnarvon: Herald Office. 1/-.)', *The Nationalist* 2/15 (May 1908), 30-32, 31. Quoted in Allan James, *John Morris-Jones* (Dawn Dweud) (Cardiff, 2011), 185.

he set about improving and expanding it accordingly. Since he was, at the same time, sending sheets of his unpublished texts to Morris Jones as they came off the proofing press, to help with his teaching and the Grammar, Morris Jones was also improving and expanding his paradigm at the same time, and, since they were both working from the same sheets, it is hardly surprising that they both ended up with similar expanded paradigms. Since Gwenogvryn had only received from Morris Jones what he could have got from Dr. Davies, the published version has no reference to Morris Jones. When Morris Jones first saw it, he merely admitted "It will be useful". Gwenogvryn's reaction was robust:

> I sent you the Table of the Verbs in the B.B.C. you had the grace to acknowledge that & to admit that "it will be useful"! Cpr. my verb to be with anything done that way before in Welsh including your own Verb to Be (so imperfectly done ... You will write me 38 pages about spelling Aber Fraw but you have not the generosity to acknowledge any solid piece of work done. If you can't find fault you are silent — absolutely & completely silent. What is this petty feeling in your breast? Have you no appreciation for anything not done by yourself? What would you think of me if I wrote 38 folio pages abusing you about your ei, eich, ein & yng ng- & ignored your poetry? But that is what you would do with me if the cases were reversed. ... There is something very very very small in J.M.J. He has noble qualities — he is a fine poet, does really understand the Welsh metres, but he has not yet mastered the Welsh Subjunctive, though he fancies he is top-sawyer on the subject![712]

Morris Jones shortly after claimed that Gwenogvryn had used his paradigm without acknowledgment, which, considering his behaviour over the *Elucidarium*, was not a good line to take. Gwenogvryn was even more robust:

> As regards the Verb To Be & its paradigm you have the unblushing effrontery to say that I "know (I) could not have done it without the paradigm (you) were such an ass as to give me". I know nothing of the kind & you must know that you are guilty of an unblushing lie. It passes all bounds of belief that a man can be so mad as to make such an abominable claim. ... You are not only mad but wicked & dishonest. ... Fortunately for me your blundering paradigm is not destroyed & I will take good care after this that it is not & never shall be. ... That you can write

[712] JGE to JMJ, 12 Jun. 1907. Bangor MSS, JMJ Papers, uncatalogued letter.

> such falsehood is pitiable because it shows how low you have sunk. Too lazy to work yourself you claim the work of others, & blackguard them to boot.[713]

The problem that caused the disagreement over the *Palaeographical Notes* lay in Gwenogvryn's methodology:

> I see by your last critiques that you by no means understand my plan of working. I have to confine my attention to two things before I pay any attention to sense or cynghaneδ. When the proofs are sent to you I have generally examined only the letters & spaces. If I let my mind go on to the sense I find the letter killeth the value of my work i.e. the 6 & w, 2 & r, ll & ℸ, ... get all mixed, or rather do not get corrected.[714]

So he was sending the Notes to Morris Jones with only the first stage completed. He would then work on them himself whilst waiting for Morris to respond. That meant that a lot of the Notes were already written before he got the sheets returned from Anglesey. That, in turn, meant he did not mark Morris's contribution to problems he had already solved, only on material that was fresh to him. So Morris Jones complained that he was hogging all the 'best notes' for himself. Gwenogvryn's reply was up to his usual standard:

> You say you "do not mind" my claiming your "good Notes". But I do mind very much your claiming what does not belong to you, & unless you withdraw the charge without any qualification I shall show all the papers & letters to two or three mutual friends that they may see what you are capable of.

and:

> It is pitiful to think that there can be no cooperation in Welsh Studies — nothing but false charges, false claims & recriminations — nothing by way of steady work & progress. I was very grateful to you & I had hoped mutual good & benefit might issue from our putting our heads together in attacking the older poetry — that the glory of united work w^{d}. be far greater than the petty claims of self.[715]

---

[713] JGE to JMJ, 15 Jun. 1907. Bangor MSS, JMJ Papers, uncatalogued letter.
[714] JGE to JMJ, 5 Jun. 1902. Bangor MSS, 3247 38.
[715] JGE to JMJ, 18 Jun. 1907. Bangor MSS, JMJ Papers, uncatalogued letter.

The affair ended in complete disagreement, both men feeling unhappy with the other, and no more help was given by Morris Jones on any of Gwenogvryn's editions. Perhaps Evans would have been wiser to have allowed his friend to take more credit than he gave him, but, as with Phillimore earlier, Gwenogvryn had a very 'black and white' attitude to things and seemed incapable of changing his mind once he had come to a decision. In view of what was to happen over the *Poems from the Book of Taliesin*, the absence of help from Morris Jones was going to be very deeply felt.

STRACHAN'S GRAMMAR AND HIS DEATH.

How Evans lost virtually all academic assistance for his work is directly linked to the events surrounding the publication of John Strachan's Welsh Grammar, and the court case of Evans v Tout and others, that arose out of it.[716] Prof. Strachan needed a text book for his Welsh classes at Manchester University, and, with nothing forthcoming from Morris Jones, he had decided to produce his own, with help from Timothy Lewis and others, and using examples drawn from Gwenogvryn's texts. He had, apparently, asked Gwenogvryn to contact Morris Jones to explain what he was doing, hoping to nudge Morris into completing his own work. This was at the peak of the controversy over the *Orgraff*, and perhaps Gwenogvryn simply forgot to pass the message on in the cut and thrust of the debate, or perhaps he had some deliberate motivation in the omission, although it is hard to see how it could have benefitted him. Anyway, there is no evidence of the message being sent. When Strachan died in September 1907 before

[716] John Strachan, *An Introduction to Early Welsh* (Manchester, 1909).

completing the book, Gwenogvryn wrote to Morris Jones, mentioning the Grammar.

> Strachan's death is a calamity and an irreparable loss to Celtic Studies. ... A nicer fellow I never met; quiet, simple, & with no kind of airs. Very keen about all things concerning Celtic Studies. His University had recently made him Prof. of celtic [*sic*] & Comp. Philology. I fear he killed himself by over work. He was worn out at the end of last term. Since then he has written a Welsh Grammar & he sent it to Press at least 6 weeks ago. He wanted it for his class in October.[717]

Since this was the first Morris had heard from Gwenogvryn on the subject he was far from sympathetic. His response was:

> I have yet to learn the explanation of the fact that Strachan (hand & glove with you) tried to forestall me with a Welsh Grammar & that you <u>never said a word about it to me till he was dead</u>. I had heard about it <u>but not from you</u>.[718]

Gwenogvryn was somewhat flustered by this and claimed he had written not once, but twice. It is possible that he genuinely thought that he had. It is, after all, a common human failing. He was certainly to hold to the story, even to the extent of giving evidence on oath.[719] He also said that, although he'd given some sheets of the White Book to Strachan, Morris had had all of them.[720] If Gwenogvryn was working 'hand and glove' with anyone it was Morris Jones. However, he compounded his error, in not writing, by attacking Morris Jones for his tardiness in publishing his own Grammar:

> You ridiculed S. & said he did not know Welsh. Now if this man who "did not know Welsh" 2 years ago could write a Gram^{r}. within that period surely you who deem yourself "an authority" c^{d}. have finished what you have been at for ten or 15 years.

---

[717] JGE to JMJ, 28 Sep. 1907. Bangor MSS 3247 90.
[718] JGE to JMJ, 21 Nov. 1907. Bangor MSS 3247 94.
[719] Transcript of proceedings, Evans v Tout, Day 2 Tue 9 Feb. 1909. NLW TL papers, Box 4, 972, 49-50.
[720] Not strictly true. Strachan had all the sheets of the *White Book* in the end, though in stages, and only after repeated appeals to Evans.

> To accuse S. of seeking to forestall you is to calumnate [*sic*] the dead — a thing not true in fact & a disgrace to you who make it. [721]

He also said he no longer wished to correspond with Morris Jones if he believed he would intentionally go behind his back.

> If you think me capable of being "hand & glove" with S. to forestall your work, I hope you will never again write to me or mention my name in any shape or form, as I shall not yours. Let us put an end for ever to every kind of consciousness of each other's existence, for I cannot believe well of any man who harbours such low & mean thoughts of my morality.[722]

Strachan's death was to have further repercussions. At the time of his demise a Congress of Philologists had convened in Basel in Switzerland, and that august gathering received the news with dismay. They were led to believe that it was the conditions under which Strachan had been obliged to work at Peniarth that led to his death, so they commissioned Kuno Meyer, who was at that time Professor of German and Celtic at Liverpool University, to investigate the matter.[723] Meyer was not one to pull his punches and wrote to W. R. M. Wynne, the owner of Peniarth, in the following terms:

> The suddenness of his premature death at a time when he was known to be engaged on an important work on ... the Welsh language caused general consternation, which changed into loud indignation when it became known that he contracted the fatal illness at your house in Peniarth by being put to work in a cold and damp room, where you apparently keep the M.S.S. which he had come to consult.
>
> I was commissioned by the Congress to investigate the matter fully ... I shall in the first instance give you an opportunity to clear yourself ... of the charge of grave neglect by stating in a widely read paper such as the "Times" or the Manchester "Guardian", how it happened that no better care was taken of the health and life of a distinguished scholar under your roof.[724]

---

[721] JGE to JMJ, 21 Nov. 1907. Bangor MSS 3247 94.
[722] JGE to JMJ, 21 Nov. 1907. Bangor MSS 3247 95.
[723] Copy Affidavit of Kuno Meyer, 25 Nov 1908. NLW TL papers, Box 4, 949.
[724] Copy, Kuno Meyer to WRMW, 27 Sep. 1907. NLW TL papers, Box 4, 882.

Wynne considered that he had no reason to feel any guilt in the matter, and was equally forthright in his own defence:

> I must ... absolve myself of any "grave neglect" nor at your Dictation do I intend writing to any Newspaper on the subject, as I feel no responsibility. ... He was <u>not</u> put "in a cold and damp room" where the M.S.S. are kept. As a matter of fact they are kept in my Drawing-Room, this is neither cold nor damp ... A small dry room ... was put at Dr. Strachan's disposal. ... I found him sitting with a great coat on, wherefore I asked if he was cold and offered a fire, ... it was lighted for him & also on the following mornings before his arrival and was kept going all day, and he expressed himself as perfectly comfortable. ... I must however say this that if I am to be attacked in future by a stranger like yourself, and accused of "taking no care" of my visitors, I shall refuse all access to the M.S.S. upon every occasion, and allow nobody to see them in this house.[725]

Wynne and Evans were, by this time, on very good terms. Gwenogvryn had visited Peniarth on a number of occasions, as a guest of Wynne, as well as for research purposes. Wynne had also visited Evans in Oxford. Gwenogvryn had found the second person he regarded as a father figure. Indeed Evans had stated that Peniarth was, to him, 'almost a second home'.[726] He was therefore furious at Meyer's behaviour, but exactly what happened between them at this point is unclear. That something did is fairly evident from acid references, one to the other, in subsequent correspondence. The important fact, so far as Gwenogvryn was concerned was that, just as Marshall had attacked Hunter, Meyer had attacked Wynne, and Gwenogvryn would go to his defence without thinking over much of the personal consequences. He had been fortunate on the first occasion. This time the consequences of Gwenogvryn's stubbornness and rash decisions would be devastating.

---

[725] Copy, WRMW to Kuno Meyer, 1 Oct. 1907. NLW TL papers, Box 4, 883.
[726] *Report* 1/2, ix.

Strachan's Grammar was not destined to die with him as the matter was taken up by Prof. Tout in Manchester. Thomas Frederick Tout was a graduate of Balliol College, Oxford, and had been Professor of History at St. David's University College, Lampeter from 1881-1890, before gaining the post of Professor of History at Owen's College, Manchester, where he specialised in Welsh medieval history. He was making Manchester a leading nursery for medieval historians.[727] Tout fatally called in Kuno Meyer to do the work of passing Strachan's Grammar through the press. When Evans finally received a copy of the proofs, after several requests, he was dismayed, and surprised, to find that it was substantially different to what he had been led to believe by Strachan.[728] He wrote to Morris Jones:

> The Reading Book runs into about 120 & there will be a glossary. I was asked to allow a "couple of pages here & there" to be taken from my texts & I find continuous extracts running into 39, 18, 15, 13pp. &c respectively! It was the modest request for the couple of pages which led me to give a free assent & to expect two small books similar to the Irish ones. I have protested, suspecting that K. M. has been extending to quotations. In return Tout writes imploring the thing to be left as it stands that the book is to be dedicated to me according to Strachan's directions because "without my work & my work alone" "the book could not have been written". While I am human enough to feel gratified that so competent a man as S. sh[d]. think me worthy of being associated with his book, ... the first idea which came to my mind was how much this w[d]. lend colour to your "hand & glove" theory.[729]

The extracts were so great in number and extent that Evans demanded considerable reductions, including the removal of all passages from the *White*

---

[727] T.F. Tout, *The collected papers of Thomas Frederick Tout, with a memoir and bibliography*, 3 vols. (Manchester, 1932-4).

[728] 'It is very evident from this correspondence that they were determined to keep you in the dark at all costs.' Emrys Hunter Evans to JGE, 27 Jan. 1909. NLW TL papers, Box 4, 918.

[729] JGE to JMJ, 26 Nov. 1907. Bangor MSS 3247 96. The 'two small books' referred to are Strachan's *Old Irish Paradigms* (Dublin, 1904) and *Selections from Old Irish Glosses* (Dublin, 1905). See Brief Affidavit of JGE, 13/14 Nov. 1908. NLW TL papers, Box 4, 944, para. 5. Kuno Meyer was to combine the two into one volume in his second edition of 1909. Osborne Bergin produced a third edition in 1929, and a fourth enlarged edition in 1949 under the auspices of the Royal Irish Academy, which is the version we know today.

Book in the Reader, because he feared that taking such large slices of the text would affect his sales, and, no doubt, he felt that he needed to do this to try to placate Morris Jones. Such a large reduction would, of course, have wrecked the Reader, and Tout and Meyer were determined to resist this at all costs.

Evans had requested the return of the sheets of the *White Book Mabinogion* that he had loaned Strachan, and forbade that they been shown to any other person, and especially not Meyer. Despite this they had been passed round between Timothy Lewis, Tout, Meyer, and Meyer's assistant, until Lewis sent them back to Evans in March 1908.[730]

It seems clear that the Reader had been compiled by Strachan, and not amended by Meyer as Evans thought, because Meyer declared he had 'added nothing thereto.'[731] Gwenogvryn's evidence on the contents of Strachan's letters indicate that he had started working on Evans to get the longer, and older, extracts included in the Reader, but his untimely death had prevented his completing this persuasion.[732] Meyer, not having any idea of this, had simply carried on as if it had all been agreed already. So it is hardly surprising, with relations already soured between Meyer and Evans, that problems ensued.

EVANS V TOUT AND OTHERS

The Manchester publishing committee, having already set the text, did not want to make major changes, although they did agree to delete two passages, whereas

[730] Copy Affidavit of TL, 21 Nov. 1908. NLW TL papers, Box 4, 946.
[731] Copy Affidavit of Kuno Meyer, 25 Nov. 1908. NLW TL papers, Box 4, 949, para. 3.
[732] The gradual escalation of Strachan's requests can be seen in: Brief Affidavit of JGE, 13/14 Nov. 1908. NLW TL papers, Box 4, 944.

Evans really wanted the Reader section of the book abandoned altogether.[733] He also wanted Meyer's name as Editor removed from the title page. He wrote to Tout in August 1908:

> I regret to have to write to you again about Strachan's book. To put Meyer's name on the title page is an outrage. You know Meyer accused the Wynnes of indirectly murdering Strachan. Mr. Wynne owns the White Book & to have Meyer's name connected with a work built on material from that MS. is an insult to Mr Wynne, & I feel sure must lead to prompt action to stop the publication. Mr Wynne owns the copyright in the material & I own the copyright in the labour utilized.[734]

Although I have some doubts as to whether there was, strictly speaking, any copyright in the actual manuscripts at the point in time we are considering, Wynne wrote to the University printers Sherratt and Hughes, on 7th November 1908, as follows:

> I have heard that you are about to publish a work collected from notes of the late Professor Strachan and containing extracts of a M.S. of mine, the "White Book" I beg to say that I most strongly object to anything being published or issued as extracts from that my M.S. I believe Professor Kimomeyer [*sic*] and Professor Tout are connected with this issue and as neither of them has ever seen the "White Book", I most strongly object to anything being published or issued as extracts from any of my MSS. without my previous sanction being obtained.[735]

Wynne discovered that losing might prove costly, and judiciously decided not to join with Evans, but, instead, signed a deed handing over the copyright of the manuscripts involved to Evans in order to enable him to act on Wynne's behalf.[736]

---

[733] Evans was to state in the trial: 'I objected to the Reader being produced at all from the first, and it is only my very great regard for Mr. Strachan personally that made me allow him to take sentences.' Transcript of proceedings, Evans v Tout, Day 1 Mon 8 Feb. 1909. NLW TL papers, Box 4, 970, 14, question 232.

[734] JGE to Tout, 22 Aug. 1908, in copy letter, JGE to WRMW, 6 Nov. 1908. NLW TL Papers, Box 4, 903.

[735] Exhibit S to the Affidavit of John Sherratt, 25 Nov. 1908. NLW TL papers, Box 4, 953.

[736] Copy Assignment of Copyright, WRMW to JGE, 12 Nov. 1908. NLW TL papers, Box 4, 939.

Peniarth MS.1 = *Black Book of Carmarthen*; Pen. MS.4 = the *Mabinogion* section of the *White Book*

Tout and Meyer on the one side and Gwenogvryn on the other were at a total impasse and neither would shift their position. So Gwenogvryn went to law. The case of Evans v Tout and others was set to be heard before Mr. Justice Eve in the High Court, Chancery Division, beginning on 8 February 1909. Evans was told he had to register all his books at Stationer's Hall to cover them for copyright. He did so but made the mistake, whether intentionally or not, of registering those published jointly with John Rhŷs in his own name only, which infuriated Rhŷs, already upset by having his name dropped from the *Old Welsh Texts* series after the *Book of Llan Dav*. Rhŷs gave 'formal consent' for passages to be used in the Reader from the three books that he had been involved with 'as far as he had power'.[737] This, in turn, infuriated Evans.

Gwenogvryn's lawyers demanded to see all the correspondence between Tout, Meyer and others relating to the publication, and, despite the defendants making all excuses to delay delivering them until the very last minute because 'the whole tone of the correspondence is distinctly damaging to them', they were finally delivered. The extent of Meyer's contempt for Evans could be seen in his letters. Gwenogvryn's son Emrys, then working for Evans's London lawyers, wrote to his father as follows:

> Meyer writes in one of his first letters to Tout "Have as little to do with Evans as possible. Don't answer his letters. He is a leech & a nuisance . . . . . "
> & all along says — ignore him because he won't go to law — .
> In his letter dd 29. 11. 07 he writes to Tout
> "Does Evans know that S was going to dedicate the book to him?"

of Rhydderch; Pen. MSS.6 & 7 contain fragments used in Evans's *White Book Mabinogion*; Pen. MS.29 = *Black Book of Chirk*. Passages from all these were used in Strachan's Reader.

[737] Emrys Hunter Evans to JGE, 1 Feb. 1909. NLW TL papers, Box 4, 923.

> & with regards to Tout's emendation of the preface "What you say about Evans & his texts is such a matter of course that it seems going out of one's way to mention it" & advise that all reference to you be struck out.[738]

As much as Meyer wanted Gwenogvryn's name 'struck out' of the book, so Evans wanted no association with a book with Meyer's name on it. He wrote in his Affidavit:

> Out of friendship to Professor Strachan and admiration for his gifts and Scholarship I consented to a few short extracts from my published texts being used by him but I object to my text being used wholesale or at all in a book which carries on its title page the name of Professor Kuno Meyer.

And again:

> I at one time gave Dr. Strachan permission to make a limited use of published texts under the circumstances already deposed to but the use made of my texts in the "Reader" is far larger than I agreed to. I received no consideration at any time for such permission and it was always understood and was a condition that I should see and approve of the extracts from my texts and that my services should be suitably acknowledged. Dr. Strachan's reputation as a Scholar made any such acknowledgement from him a great compliment but I object to being in any way associated with a Book which has Professor Kuno Meyer's name on the title page.[739]

Meyer apparently got his way, and, despite Tout and Meyer not intending it, Lewis allowed Evans to see a copy of the Preface written by Meyer. Evans was furious because, although Tout had promised to acknowledge him as the source, Gwenogvryn noted that 'no due acknowledgement is made of the fact that the numerous extracts are taken from my texts'.[740] The whole matter was now long past being settled amicably, and the heightened antagonism between the two parties demanded that the law should take its course.

---

[738] Emrys Hunter Evans to JGE, 1 Feb. 1909. NLW TL papers, Box 4, 923.
[739] Brief Affidavit of JGE, 13/14 Nov. 1908. NLW TL papers, Box 4, 944, paras. 12 & 15.
[740] Brief Affidavit of JGE, 13/14 Nov. 1908. NLW TL papers, Box 4, 944, para. 12.

The trial of J. Gwenogvryn Evans v Thomas Frederick Tout, Kuno Meyer, and Sherratt and Hughes (the University printers) took two full days and part of a third, entirely with Gwenogvryn in the witness box. Comprehensive transcripts from shorthand notes have survived. Evans was not a good witness, and must have exasperated both his own and his opponents' Counsel with his interminable asides. The following is a good, though comparatively short, example; Mr. P. O. Lawrence, Tout's Counsel, is asking the questions, and the reference is to the Notes in Gwenogvryn's diplomatic version of the *Black Book of Carmarthen*:

> 702. Professor Strachan did not want that pointed out to him?—The word is so very well known.
> 703. He had all these notes to look through, had he?—You will find that in January, 1906, he offered to read the proofs for me.
> 704. You are not suggesting that he made wrongful use of those, are you?—You will find that in the letter of July——
> 705. No, do not refer to letters. Are you now suggesting that he made a wrongful use of your notes and this document for the purpose of this poem?—In the Grammar——
> 706. No, I am asking you a specific question. Do you suggest that Professor Strachan made a wrongful use of your work for the purpose of this poem?—No, I do not want to say so.[741]

Evans was in difficulty here because he did not want 'to speak ill of the dead' despite the fact that Strachan had exceeded the permission granted to him. Evans wished to attack Meyer, not Strachan.

In going to law, Evans had to prove not only that his texts had been the basis for the Reader, which was not disputed, but that the Reader would affect the sales of his texts, which was disputed. Meyer was clear on the point:

> THE texts which have been transcribed or reproduced by the Plaintiff are careful and accurate reproductions of Welsh manuscripts or texts of the Twelfth Century

[741] Transcript of proceedings, Evans v Tout, Day 2 Tue 9 Feb. 1909. NLW TL papers, Box 4, 972, 44.

> or later containing romances, chronicles, charters, laws and the like. The book which I have been engaged in editing is a Welsh Grammar and Reader with a Glossary and an Index, and in my view it is not reasonable to credit that the circulation or sale of the Plaintiff's works would be prejudicially affected by the publication of the said book.[742]

The defence was at pains to argue that Strachan had not simply copied the texts, but had edited them as well, so the result could not affect the sales of a book that was designed as an exact copy of the manuscript. Mr Lawrence asked Evans to confirm that in each case Strachan had broken up continuous text into paragraphs and chapters, had added modern punctuation, had added capitals to proper names, had inserted inverted commas where speech occurred, had added footnotes where variants appeared in other manuscripts, and had inserted letters in square brackets where they were missing. Evans did confirm it in each case, though the confirmation was often extracted only after he had several times wandered off from the point and had to be guided back to it by Lawrence.[743] That Evans understood well before the trial that such editing had occurred is clear from a letter he sent to Timothy Lewis complaining, by reference to the *Orgraff* controversy, that: 'It is a great pity the proclitics are separated modern fashion.'[744]

On being asked, Gwenogvryn produced figures for his anticipated losses, which achieved an exactitude that was hardly credible, nor was it entirely clear how he arrived at the stated sums, especially as he contradicted himself at times. Mr Lawrence is asking about the *Red Book of Hergest Bruts* volume:

---

[742] Copy Affidavit of Kuno Meyer, 25 Nov. 1908. NLW TL papers, Box 4, 949.
[743] Transcript of proceedings, Evans v Tout, Day 2 Tue 9 Feb. 1909. NLW TL papers, Box 4, 972, 25-27.
[744] JGE to TL, 17 Nov. 1907. NLW TL papers, Box 4, 870.

456. You are really suggesting to my Lord that Professor Strachan's work is one which would compete with yours in the market?—It makes a difference in the sale of 25 copies a year, and it will continue.

457. You have calculated exactly how many people will buy less; 25 people a year will not buy your book?——

458. Mr. Justice EVE : You mean it will interfere with the sale of this work to the extent of 25 copies a year?—It practically makes the stock I have in hand worthless ...

But on being challenged, he radically changed his story:

466. Can you tell me how many you had got left in 1900?—No, I could not tell you how many at any time. I wish to correct one thing. In saying that it would be a loss of £[*sic*]25 a year I did not mean the sale of this book alone, but the other one also included.

467. I thought you said to the extent of 25 copies?—I meant on the text.

468. You see what difficulties you are getting into. Do you want to alter your statement. I asked you specifically with reference to the book that I held in my hand?—I wish to correct that statement.

469. I will ask the question again. Do you seriously suggest to my Lord that Professor Strachan's Introduction to Early Welsh would interfere with your book entitled The Red Book of Hergest, volume 2?—I do.

470. You adhere to your answer; you do not wish to correct it?——

Mr. Justice EVE : As regards the numbers, he wishes to correct it.

The WITNESS : The number I wish to correct.

471. Mr. P. O. LAWRENCE : What do you say as to the numbers?—The average number I find for the last few years is about 9¾ sold.[745]

The arithmetic, as John Rhŷs later commented, 'seemed not very easy to follow.'[746] The corner stone of the defence case was a letter from Evans granting *carte blanche* to Strachan to take what he wanted from the published texts. This gave Gwenogvryn some difficulty, but he still managed to wriggle his way round it:

910. I want to put it as strongly as I can, that you never declined in Professor Strachan's lifetime to allow him to use anything; you gave him *carte blanche*?—And I desire to say emphatically that I never did. ...

912. If that is the true version how came you on the 29th of October, 1907, to write: "I gave Strachan *carte blanche* with regard to printed, *i.e.*, published texts."

[745] Transcript of proceedings, Evans v Tout, Day 2 Tue 9 Feb. 1909. NLW TL papers, Box 4, 972, 31.

[746] Unfinished article on Evans v Tout, NLW JR papers, A4/9, 3.

That is on page 110?—That *carte blanche* was for forms of words and detached sentences.

913. You understand what that means?—Yes, that refers simply to the original understanding for sentences and verbal forms.

914. That is not giving somebody *carte blanche*?—It is on the understanding between us. Will you refer to page 48?

915. Did you, or did you not, give liberty to Professor Strachan to make extracts from your texts both published and unpublished?—Sentences and verbal forms.

916. Extracts from your texts?—It all depends what you mean by extracts. If you mean continuous extracts, I should say no. If you mean detached forms and sentences, I say yes.[747]

By this time Evans was losing any serious credibility. A further complication was a failure to produce in evidence a copy of his facsimile of the Black Book of Chirk. Evans had sent a defective proof to Timothy Lewis to enable him to write a Glossary for his thesis.[748] Strachan had seen this and drawn from it a passage concerning 'The Procedure in a Suit for Landed Property', of which Evans had also complained in his submission.[749] This failure led the court a merry dance. Mr Llewelyn Williams, who was a second junior to Mr. Scrutton, K.C., Gwenogvryn's Counsel, attempted to recover the situation:

566. Mr. P. O. LAWRENCE : I have not heard anything about what book this infringes. My note on this is that this is not complained of?—It is an unpublished book.

Mr. P. O. LAWRENCE : If your Lordship will look at the Pleadings there is no word about this. Paragraph 3 gives the publication upon which he relies. ...

Mr. WILLIAMS : Paragraph 7 includes it; the pages there mentioned are 139 to 242. ... The Plaintiff does claim as well an Injunction to restrain the Defendants "from issuing or publishing any published or unpublished matter in breach of trust and confidence."[750]

---

[747] Transcript of proceedings, Evans v Tout, Day 2 Tue 9 Feb. 1909. NLW TL papers, Box 4, 972, 56.

[748] TL, *A Glossary of Mediaeval Welsh Law based on The Black Book of Chirk* (Manchester, 1913). See: A. Grant, 'Gwenogvryn Evans and *Cyfraith Hywel*', *NLWJ* 36/1 (2014), 1-12.

[749] A copy made up of proofs of A Middle-Welsh Reader. NLW Timothy Lewis Papers, Box 35, [unreferenced], 208.

[750] Transcript of proceedings, Evans v Tout, Day 2 Tue 9 Feb. 1909. NLW TL papers, Box 4, 972, 36-7. Llewelyn Williams was one of Evans's fellow members of the *Dafydd*, and later a Liberal MP. He edited the 'Theodore Dodd' column in the *South Wales Star*.

The problem was that Evans had been very careful not to give anyone a clean copy of the facsimile, refusing even to allow a copy to Morris Jones, who had received copies of virtually everything else.[751] Despite his assurance to the court that 'the facsimile ought to be here. I brought it up', I feel sure he had failed to do so. The matter was deferred, but at the end of the day Mr Justice Eve was quick to ask Mr Scrutton to sort the matter out.[752] At the beginning of the third day a modification to the pleadings was suggested by Mr Sebastian, but both Mr Lawrence and Mr Justice Eve demanded to see the document, to which Evans could only reply rather lamely:

> Mr Lewis has left his copy in Berlin. I thought I had left one with my Solicitors, but apparently that is not so. I certainly brought one up when I first came up.[753]

This was the last straw. It appears that, overnight, Mr Lawrence had already suggested a settlement to the Plaintiff's Counsel, and requested time for the Counsel to put it to Evans. Mr Justice Eve remarked:

> What strikes me about it is this. Here are gentlemen all admittedly engaged in a search after knowledge. It is a lamentable thing that they should be quarrelling. We all recognise their efforts, and the public and all of us want to get the result. I am sorry to see that such differences have arisen. I think they ought to be capable of being smoothed over. But beyond that, of course, I will adjust the rights and try the strict legal rights if they wish it: but it is an enormous expense going on, which must come or be met out of the brains which one would like to see devoted to other purposes.[754]

---

[751] JGE to JMJ, 1 Oct. 1905. Bangor MSS 3247 64.
[752] Transcript of proceedings, Evans v Tout, Day 2 Tue 9 Feb. 1909. NLW TL papers, Box 4, 972, 66.
[753] Transcript of proceedings, Evans v Tout, Day 3 Wed 10 Feb. 1909. NLW TL papers, Box 4, 974, 3. Lewis's copy of Evans's *Black Book of Chirk* passed to Morfydd Owen after the sale of Lewis's books, and is now in my possession.
[754] Transcript of proceedings, Evans v Tout, Day 3 Wed 10 Feb. 1909. NLW TL papers, Box 4, 974, 3.

The settlement, as accepted by Evans, was straightforward. First, the Defendants admitted that the Plaintiff has copyright in all the books that his Lordship had seen. Second, that the *Introduction to Early Welsh* was to appear with no name as editor, and with an unsigned preface on behalf of the University of Manchester, to be written by Alfred Hopkinson, Vice-Chancellor of the University, in such terms as he in his uncontrolled discretion should think fit. Third, each party to pay their own costs.[755] So Gwenogvryn had to accept less than he wanted, as did Meyer. The effect on Evans was a heavy financial loss but also the loss of academic support.

Sir John Rhŷs, already disgusted by his treatment by Evans, in having their three books registered solely in his name, had been forced to listen to Evans belittling his contribution in his evidence in court. The questions here are being asked by Mr Sebastian, junior to Mr. Scrutton, K.C., Gwenogvryn's Counsel.

> 74. I want you to explain about how much you contributed and how much Sir John contributed towards those books?—I contributed everything excepting reading one proof; all the copying and all the money payments. I asked Sir John Rhys to join me, and he said he could not, because he would make a great loss of money, and he tried to persuade me not to undertake the job.
>
> 75. Mr. Justice EVE : You mean as to each of those books?—Yes. I made all the arrangements about printing and superintending. I raised the subscriptions, but not enough to cover the expense. The transcripts are here in my own handwriting. Sir John Rhys declined all responsibility. It began and ended as he stipulated with his reading the proof and giving me any casual help I chose to ask for.[756]

Whatever was in Gwenogvryn's mind, he cannot fully have appreciated the reaction those words would get. No doubt he was annoyed with Rhŷs for giving his permission for the texts to be used. No doubt he was telling the precise truth

[755] Transcript of proceedings, Evans v Tout, Day 3 Wed 10 Feb. 1909. NLW TL papers, Box 4, 974, 3-4.
[756] Transcript of proceedings, Evans v Tout, Day 1 Mon 8 Feb. 1909. NLW TL papers, Box 4, 970, 5.

in stating how far Rhŷs had contributed directly to the three volumes, but to Rhŷs it was an insult of the worst sort. It was Rhŷs who had suggested that Evans take an interest in the manuscripts in the first place, it was Rhŷs who had given him access to the Red Book, it was Rhŷs who introduced him to the medieval language through his Mabinogion classes, it was Rhŷs who persuaded York Powell to take Evans on to study palaeography, it was Rhŷs who had allowed him to use his Parlour in Jesus College to do his compositing, it was Rhŷs who had engineered his Civil List pension so he could afford to do the work, it was Rhŷs who got him the Honorary MA and DLitt, and it was Rhŷs who answered innumerable questions on interpretation. I can imagine his anger as he had to sit in silence listening to all this reduced to 'reading one proof' and 'giving me any casual help I chose to ask for.' Then, on the third day of the trial, Rhŷs found all hope of responding to this travesty blocked by the trial's early termination. Thus he was obliged to nurse his anger, but he was then able to release it later and at will. Rhŷs virtually declared an anathema on Evans, demanding of anyone who would listen that they should give no support or help whatsoever to him. It seems that there was a general agreement in the academy that Evans had gone too far in mounting this prosecution and that scholarship should be shared, so long as the source was acknowleged, freely between scholars. So it appears that Rhŷs's interdict, as Evans was later to call it, was largely complied with.

The day after the end of the trial Rhŷs sent his copy of the transcripts of evidence of the first two days to Morris Jones in a letter begun by Lady Rhŷs and completed by Sir John. Lady Rhŷs wrote: 'You will be surprised to see what he

says about my husband's part in the production of the Welsh Texts only casual assistance but unfortunately the casual happened very often.' Sir John added:

> I send you the evidence that you may see the references to yourself. But kindly return them to me as I shall want them in order some time or other to show what my part was in the production of three volumes, and how I chose and made a career for him. How I wrote hundreds of letters for him and got him on the Civil list &c. &c. ... I have three weary days at the Court without having my say and a chance of contradicting Evans.[757]

Morris Jones replied to Rhŷs:

> Many thanks for the copy of the evidence. I don't think anyone need worry himself in the least about it. There is no one who comes out of it as badly as Evans himself. ... It would be an excellent thing if you made known his indebtedness to you; ... but even if you don't you need not fear that no one else will.
>
> I rather fancy he has had enough of it for the present. The game of playing Strachan against you and me has cost him dear, and it has not harmed us. I saw a glimpse of Strachan's grammar. It will hardly affect mine at all.[758]

I am by no means certain that Evans had been playing Strachan against them, but I can see how events might have led them to think that. Sir John Rhŷs did start work on an article putting his side of the story, and in it commented on Gwenogvryn's evidence:

> Dr. Evans disposes very curtly, not to say contemptuously, of what assistance I gave him as merely "reading one proof" or "any casual help" he chose to ask for: he feels more pleased to dwell on what I did not do for him, and in describing this he is neither very amiable nor very accurate.[759]

Rhŷs seems to have left the article unfinished, perhaps thinking that Evans's virtually complete isolation from academic assistance, or to use one of Rhŷs's favourite phrases, leaving him to 'stew in his own juice' would be sufficient punishment. He did, however, make a side-swipe at Evans, five months later, by

[757] JR to JMJ, 11 Feb. 1909, Bangor MSS, JMJ Papers, uncatalogued letter.
[758] JMJ to JR, 13 Feb. 1909. NLW JR Papers A1/3/2.
[759] Unfinished article on Evans v Tout. NLW JR papers, A4/9, 5.

referring disparagingly to the trial in a review he did of Strachan's book for the *Zeitschrift*.[760] Certainly, whether Evans truly had been attempting to manipulate the two of them or not, Morris Jones was right, the trial had cost him dear.

It is, however, worth noting that references to Gwenogvryn's volumes appear in almost every book or article on the subjects they cover from that day to this. Perhaps his case did underline the necessity for writers to state their sources, however tenuous the link, so perhaps a morsel of good came out of it after all, although Evans was probably too bruised, and too close in time, to see it that way.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

The deterioration in relations between Gwenogvryn and his former friend Morris Jones was gradual but inexorable. The arguments over the *Orgraff* and the Notes to the Black Book of Carmarthen diplomatic edition had provided the basis, and the slip by Evans over notifying Morris Jones about Strachan's grammar had given the motivation, but it was Rhŷs's declaration of an anathema on Evans that finalised the break. The subsequent results of that break will be discussed in the next chapter.

There is no doubt that Gwenogvryn had reached the peak of his popularity on being awarded honorary doctorates by the Universities of Oxford and Wales. His diplomatic editions and his HMC work had been widely applauded. It was highly

[760] JR, 'An Introduction to Early Welsh by the late John Strachan, LL. D., Professor of Greek and Lecturer in Celtic in the University of Manchester (University Press, Manchester, 1908), pp. XVI + 294. 8^0. 7 sh. 6 d.', *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* 7 (1910), 516-520. Review dated 14 July 1909.

unfortunate that John Strachan died when he did. It seems certain that Gwenogvryn's surprise when he first saw the proofs of the Reader mean that his interpretation of *carte blanche* in court was almost certainly correct. Even so, had Strachan lived he may well have succeeded in getting the permissions he needed from Evans to complete the Reader. Had Tout appointed anyone else than Kuno Meyer to complete Strachan's work the lack of permissions may have been overcome without too much difficulty. I have shown, however, that Meyer's unwarranted attack on Wynne, Evans's chosen father figure, sent Gwenogvryn down a path of total opposition to the publication of Meyer's edition of Strachan's grammar. This resulted not only in Evans's failure to stop the publication, a severe financial loss, but, worst of all, the loss of virtually all academic help through his denigration of Rhŷs's contribution to his work in open court.

The most extraordinary thing in this whole sorry tale was that Gwenogvryn was apparently not able to stop and consider the outcomes of what he was doing. Admittedly Morris Jones's paranoia in respect of his *Welsh Grammar* being 'forestalled' played a major part in the deterioration of the friendship, but, even so, it seems remarkable that Gwenogvryn was unable to foresee the results that would ensue from his comments. Evans's stubbornness and resolution had carried him through serious illness and many obstacles on the way to him making his name in palaeography, but that same stubbornness and resolution was now destroying the relationship he had with the two men who had helped him to his success. He seemed incapable of seeing the bigger picture and only capable of taking a narrow view of each situation as it arose. It is possible that

he felt himself to be in a much stronger position than he actually was. The result can only be considered a disaster. He had in front of him one of the most ambititious programmes he had undertaken, the translation of the poetry of the Book of Taliesin and the Book of Aneirin, possibly the most difficult medieval Welsh that is still extant, and he had managed to irrevocably antagonise the two people who could have been most helpful in achieving that goal. What was to follow thereby became almost inevitable.

CHAPTER 6
~ TALIESIN ~
1902-1930.

> A solitary man, living in exile among mountains, remote from the centres of learning ...[761]

This chapter looks at Evans's private press and attempts to deconstruct some of the myths that surround it. It also examines Evans's rejection of a sixth for a twelfth century date for early Welsh poetry, and the Old North for locations in North Wales and the Marches. It explores the basis of that obsession, arguing that it tended to lead him to discount his understanding that the date of a MS did not dictate the date of its contents, and also inclined him to see historical narrative instead of prophecy and legend, thus rendering him determined to read Welsh literature against the grain of scholarly research of his own day, though that research was not fully published before Morris Jones's 'Taliesin' was written in reply to Evans. It examines Evans's 'amendments and translations' of the *Book of Taliesin* and discusses their validity, or lack of it. It discusses Morris Jones's 'Taliesin', accepting that it was at the same time both a considerable contribution to the scholarship of the poetry, and a skilful and clinical demolition of Evans's 'amendments and translations' full of personal invective. It examines Evans's response to these criticisms, which was supported both by his direct acquaintance with the manuscripts, and by his knowledge of history and geography, and was equally personal in nature. It outlines the events of Evans's declining years and discusses why the adverse reaction to his translations meant that he never finished his planned design of producing a comprehensive set of

[761] *BBCDipl*, vii.

diplomatic texts, or the ambitious task of creating a Dictionary of the Welsh Language.

THE PRIVATE PRESS.

Until he left Oxford Gwenogvryn can be safely described as a private publisher on subscription, but a private press implies that he also did his own printing. The press in the National Library is proudly shown off as the press on which he printed his works. He certainly printed the proofs of several of his works on it, but it would not be used for the final print runs.[762]

The *Mabinogion* was printed by the Clarendon Press, as were the *Facsimile* of the Black Book, and the *Book of Job*. As I have shown previously, he began doing his own compositing work and preparation of proofs with the *Bruts* volume, and the *Book of Llan Dâv*, but the final printing was done by the Clarendon Press in the case of the *Bruts*, and by John Bellows in Gloucester in the case of *Llan Dâv*. The parts of the HMC *Report* were all printed by government printers. The question at issue is how he managed the situation once he had moved to Llanbedrog.

The answer was all down to George. In 1898 Evans advertised for a compositor to assist him with the compositing work and in preparing proofs. One of the replies was from his cousin George Jones, whom he subsequently employed.[763] By 1 April 1901 he was able to tell Phillimore that he had 'a compositor in the

[762] The NLW received this press c.1910, so it cannot be the press used for printing the *Texts* volumes from 1902-22. *The National Library of Wales: report of the Council on the progress of the Library from April 1909 to Sept. 1910* (Aberystwyth, 1911), 12.
[763] George G. Jones to JGE, 17 Mar. 1898, NLW TL papers, Supplement, 'Letters, 1892-1924 and undated'.

house but I send the set up pages to be electrotyped at the Clarendon Press'.[764] This was not enough and, with George's advice, he purchased a press suitable for the final print runs, and he talks of runs of 30 to 200 sheets.[765] Exactly what sort of press this was is unclear. Gwenogvryn describes 'pulling of the press' himself, so it was clearly hand rather than power driven. Where this was set up is also unclear, possibly at 7 Clarendon Villas, but definitely still in Oxford. By February 1902 he gleefully told Morris Jones that he was ready to run his first sheet.[766] It was not all plain sailing as the following month he was complaining of problems with the special papers he was using:

> We have printed off 500 copies on deckled edge paper satisfactorily on both sides but the toned linen paper cockled into ridges in the damping. The Clarendon Press has been helping me & tomorrow I hope to see it too printed. Then comes the Japanese Vellum. The difficulty is to secure a perfect register — we waste hours through inexperience but we mean to win in the end.[767]

The Clarendon Press may have been anxious to help Evans to succeed with his press so that he would not ask them to print his work again.

When Gwenogvryn finally moved out of his house at 7 Clarendon Villas in September 1904 all the prepared sheets were parcelled up and sent to Tremvan at Llanbedrog. His press, and George, stayed where they were. George needed more work than Gwenogvryn could offer, and so got work with local printers, finally going into partnership in 1904 to form the firm of Fox, Jones & Co., and as they had taken the old Kemp Hall off High Street, they called themselves the

[764] JGE to EGBP 1 Apr. 1901, NLW EGBP papers C1/22.
[765] The first mention of the new set up is in JGE to JMJ, [2?] Feb. 1902, Bangor MSS 3247 125.
[766] JGE to JMJ, [11?] Feb. 1902, Bangor MSS 3247 35.
[767] JGE to JMJ, [18?] Mar. 1902, Bangor MSS 3247 37.

'Kemp Hall Press'.[768] Exactly what commercial arrangement there was between Gwenogvryn and Fox, Jones & Co. is never explicitly made clear. I suspect Evans may have acted as George's financial backer. What is definite is that his press was moved into Kemp Hall and all subsequent press work for Evans was done there.



Fig. 5. Kemp Hall.

[768] Now 103a High Street and the 'Chiang Mai Kitchen'. See http://www.oxfordhistory.org.uk/high/tour/south/129_130_kemp.html (downloaded 27 Nov. 2017).

He wrote to [Llywarch?] Reynolds on 18 September: 'My compositor is going into partnership with another at the end of this month at Kemp Hall, of[f] High Street, where my private press will also go — I have a room to myself in it.'[769]

A letter exists from Evans to Owen Edwards that indicates that Gwenogvryn initially had much more ambitious plans to set up a press in Pwllheli, rather than Oxford. He wrote:

> I want now a serious answer from you about Cymru. There is a place now to be had at Pwllheli, & my printer is on his way here. ... Will you either join us, sharing good & ill luck as it comes, or will you give us Cymru &c to print at a fixed rate. A total capital of £400 at least will be necessary as a big machine will be necessary to print Cymru, costing £250. ... I want to set up shop here next July, but it is necessary to settle preliminaries now.[770]

Edwards wisely chose not to place his trust and his magazines in Gwenogvryn's hands, and the plan fell through.

In 1906 Evans complained that: 'For 12 years I have recd. a pension which has been spent to the last penny on George, press, type, paper, Jap. Vellum, & vellum, & the assistant machinist.'[771] This rather implies that he paid for the press himself, and presumably was renting space for it in Kemp Hall. Evans even had a name for the press: 'the Elffin Press', though this name seems only to have been used in the planning stages.[772] As he stated to Phillimore only the letterpress work was done here. The composited forms were still sent off to the Clarendon Press to be electrotyped and returned for use in the new press. The Clarendon

[769] JGE to [Llywarch?] Reynolds, 18 Sep. 1904, NLW TL papers, Box 5, 1874.
[770] JGE to OME, 2 Aug. 1902, NLW OME papers, AG4/10/24.
[771] JGE to JMJ, 10 Jan. 1906, Bangor MSS, JMJ Papers, uncatalogued letter.
[772] JGE to JMJ, [2?] Feb. 1902, Bangor MSS 3247 125.

also did all the collotype printing and the special bindings he required. It is clear that the new arrangement meant he could be much more flexible with the printing arrangements; and the pages of the *Red Book Poetry*, the *Black Book* diplomatic edition, the *White Book Mabinogion*, the *Book of Aneirin*, and the *Book of Taliesin* were all being printed off, not necessarily in the order they appeared, whilst Evans carried on with his work on the HMC *Reports*. This partly explains why, from now on, the date on the title page bears very little relation to the date the volume was released to the public. The following chart explains how they varied:[773]

Old Welsh Texts Series		Printed publication date	Actual release date	
v	Black Book of Carmarthen diplomatic	1906	1907	
	small ed.	1907	1910+?	
vi	Chirk Codex	1909	1921	
vii	White Book Mabinogion	1907	1909	
viii	Book of Aneirin	1908	1910	vol.II 1922
ix	Book of Taliesin	1910	1916	vol.II 1916
x	??[774]			
xi	Red Book of Hergest Poetry	1911	1921	vol.II 1926

In June 1902 Evans told Phillimore that he was printing the *Red Book Poetry* 'at my private press'.[775] Yet it was one of the last volumes to appear. Gwenogvryn spent a considerable time on notes and an index to the volume, but he never got round to finishing it, and, rather than risk losing the value of what he had done after the Taliesin debacle, in 1921 he issued the *Red Book Poetry* and the *Black Book of Chirk* (probably printed in 1903) as they were, bare, and without

[773] Modified from chart in: A. Grant, 'Gwenogvryn Evans and *Cyfraith Hywel*', *NLWJ* 36/1 (2014), 1-12, 5.
[774] The intended content of Vol. x lacks evidence. On the prospectus issued at the time of *BBCDipl.* (1907/8) Evans notes that a volume covering 'The Poetry in Peniarth MS. 3, Brit. Mus. Addl. 14976 etc.' is 'in the press'. 'In the press' does not mean that anything had been printed. NLW TL papers, Box 5, loose in box. Alternatively it could have been the missing Latin Laws Facsimile.
[775] JGE to EGBP, 8 Jun. 1902, NLW EGBP papers C1/22.

notation of any sort.[776] He had also worked on preparing an index to the *White Book Mabinogion*, but, in the rush to get the volume published, and recorded at Stationers' Hall, before the trial in 1909 in which it figured so largely, Evans left the index out entirely. The *Book of Taliesin* was not issued until the translations were ready, and he insisted on selling them as a pair. He had made the mistake of selling the *Book of Aneirin* before the translations were out, and he realised he could be left with the translations as a result. He was not letting that happen twice. The small version of the *Black Book of Carmarthen* diplomatic edition must have been run off at the same time as the full size edition, but he held the smaller version back intending to issue 'the Four Ancient Books of Wales' in matching small editions, but this never happened and the sets of pages were probably made up into books to meet enquiries after the full size edition had sold out.[777] Exactly when this was is uncertain. They are never numbered as the large ones are, so I suspect the making up came fairly late in the day. They say that the road to hell is paved with good intentions, and Gwenogvryn certainly had a good number of those that never came to fruition. The private press does appear to have been run on the principle of organised chaos, and the fact that useful volumes came out of this chaos does seem at times to be more by good chance than by good planning, but come they did, six volumes so exact that no one has attempted to better them. It is therefore sad that Evans came later to be judged more by his two failures, than by his ten master works.

[776] A. Grant, 'Gwenogvryn Evans and *Cyfraith Hywel*', *NLWJ* 36/1 (2014), 1-12, 9-12.
[777] JGE to JMJ, undated [late March 1896]. Bangor MSS 3247 106.

One book other than his own publications was run on Gwenogvryn's press. A letter from him to Morris Jones in June 1907 indicate that he, or at least George, was printing the latter's volume of poetry titled *Caniadau*.[778] Despite the imprint of Fox, Jones & Co. on the title page, it appears that Evans's press was used, probably because it was better for short runs on special papers than the Kemp Hall Press's own machines.

It is sad to disappoint those who may have had a cherished idea that all Evans's last editions were printed on a hand press in North Wales. Tremvan was a home, a farm, and an office, but the printing, save for the *Book of Llan Dâv* and *Synnwyr Pen*, was all done in Oxford, and only the proofs of some of the volumes were printed on the press now in the National Library.[779]

GWENOGVRYN AND THE OLD NORTH.

We can assume that Evans understood that date of writing did not dictate date of composition since he makes this clear in the introduction to the *Facsimile of the Black Book of Carmarthen*:

> ... we must bear in mind that the Black Book is partly a transcription of older compositions, and partly the production of the scribes or their contemporaries ...[780]

We are also clear that he was aware that the historical Old North did exist as he states in the diplomatic edition of the same book that:

---

[778] JGE to JMJ, 12 Jun. 1907, Bangor MSS, JMJ papers, uncatalogued letter.
[779] The press in NLW was gifted to them in 1910, so cannot be the press on which the later volumes were printed, though it may have been used for the proofs of some of them. *The National Library of Wales: report of the Council on the progress of the Library from April 1909 to Sept. 1910* (Aberystwyth, 1911), 12.
[780] *BBCFacs*, xiii.

> In the sixth century the several branches of the Keltic family in Britain occupied districts so widely separated as Strathclyde in the north, the country west of the Severn and the Dee, and the south-west corner of England.[781]

The closest he comes to admitting the existence of Rheged is in a footnote to the same passage, but gives his evidence as not from history or literature, but from place-names:

> The Kelts occupied also the western coast from the Solway to the Dee. Welsh place-names like Penwortham, near Preston, survive still.[782]

This omission of Rheged is interesting considering later comments. It is worth remembering that this diplomatic edition was the first that he compiled whilst living away from Oxford and cut off from academic assistance. Perhaps he felt that the clear air of North Wales gave him more room to express his opinions than did the fogs of Oxford, even though his private press was still there. Evans also shows his Unitarian attitude to religion for the first time later in the same 'Introductory Remarks', together with his contempt for the established church and all dogma.

> The sense of awe, of reverence, of love, is the inspiration of art and of the religious life, which ever tend to bind men together in all that is worthy and great. On the other hand, theology is, at best, nothing but a speculative attempt to make intelligible this sense which is in the blood of all; while ordinarily it is a blind tradition, bankrupt in intelligence, but with a vast capacity for creating divisions and all uncharitableness.[783]

The dogma he most disagreed with was the dogma that the poetry of the *Cynfeirdd* dated from the sixth century and was written in the Old North. As early as 1885 he had berated the best known (in his day) author who held to that

[781] *BBCDipl*, xiii.
[782] *BBCDipl*, xiii.
[783] *BBCDipl*, xix.

dogma in a letter to Phillimore: 'Skene deserves to have both his eyes pulled out for a more wretched piece of jobbery was never perpetrated than his Four Ancient Bks of Wales. I am loading my Maxim Gun for an attack upon him.'[784] It took him two decades before he wrote in 'The Editor's Apologia' that followed his 'Introductory Remarks' to the *Black Book* diplomatic edition:

> Mr. William F. Skene ... did not always tread the path of virtue. His knowledge of Welsh was inadequate for his purpose, and his purpose was inadequate for the attainment of an accurate text. He set to work with prepossessions, and definite theories to propagate. He wandered over the hills of Wales in moonshine—he saw a North Briton in every gorse-bush bending before the wind—he affixed, like a geographical pioneer, Strathclyde labels to familiar Welsh place-names, and he was apt to discover sixth century incidents in twelfth century historical facts.[785]

This is the first instance in which Evans directly attacks the sixth century date, and the geography of the Old North, but, since he does not dilate on it here, little attention was probably paid to it at the time. But it might be said that his accusation that Skene started 'with prepossessions, and definite theories to propagate' was an accusation that could well be turned on Evans himself. It is good, therefore, that he also gave credit to Skene's achievement:

> All who travel on the same ground owe him a debt of gratitude, and far be from me to cast at him a stone.[786]

Evans also gives support to Stephens and his *Literature of the Kymry*, stating that the book was 'the first to introduce sanity into Welsh criticism', which would imply at least a partial acceptance of the sixth century date for a few of the

[784] JGE to EGBP, 14 Jun. 1885, NLW EGBP papers C1/21.
[785] *BBCDipl*, xxxv.
[786] *BBCDipl*, xxxvi.

poems.[787] It is curious then to find Evans, within a decade, making the statement that 'it is sheer lunacy to claim for any part of it a sixth century origin'.[788]

TALIESIN

The 'Taliesin' affair is generally considered the point at which Gwenogvryn Evans lost favour in the field of Celtic Studies due to his peculiar 'amendments and translations' of the poetry from the *Book of Taliesin*. However, I hope I established in the last chapter that the real fall from grace occurred as a result of his lamentable performance at the trial of Evans v Tout and Others, after which he lost all hope of academic assistance in his work in obedience to what he called the 'interdict' laid on him by Sir John Rhŷs. This was due to Gwenogvryn's ingratitude for the help given by Rhŷs shown in Evans's evidence at the trial. It follows that the errors displayed in Gwenogvryn's treatment of the poetry resulted directly from this lack of assistance. It may be shown, however, that the roots lay far deeper in Evans's history than simply the trial itself, and that, although academic assistance may have steered him from some of his errors, they would not have shifted his stubborn attachment to the idea that the poetry of the Book of Taliesin was composed no earlier than the twelfth century.

Gwenogvryn produced as early as 1886 his prospectus for the *Old Welsh Texts* series as shown. He intended to produce, with translations:

> The Texts of the Black Book, of the Book of Aneurin, and of the Book of Taliessin ...[789]

[787] *BBCDipl*, xxxvi.
[788] *BT*, iii.
[789] NLW TL papers Box 5, Loose papers in box. Prospectus dated by OUP rubber stamp 11 Feb. 86.

His printed handout dated 1908 states three separate volumes, and offers the text with or without facsimile:

5. **The Book of Taliessin - Collotype Facsimile and Text,**
with Introduction, Notes, and Index.
a. Jap. Vell. 45/-; *b.* Library 35/-; *c.* Student's 25/-.
ii. Printed Text etc., without the Facsimile.
a. 27/6; *b.* 20/-; *c.* 15/-;

The same handout also indicates that the book was not ready at that time, though 'printed'.[790] Whether this means that the whole book was printed, or only the text and facsimile section, is unclear. The title page of the published volume is dated 1910, and the Introduction undated, but the Preface is dated 20 March 1915, and a note on 'The Way the Gatherings or Quires are made up' is dated May 3, 1904.[791] All this illustrates the anarchy of Evans's printing methodology. The companion volume *Poems from the Book of Taliesin*, which contained his amendments and translations, is dated 1915 on the title page and the Preface is dated May 25, 1915.[792] The text of the main volume existed at least in proof form well before 1908 as a letter from Gwenogvryn to Morris Jones that can be dated to 1901 shows:

> I am sending you the additional pages done since you rec[d]. the others. And also the complete set of the Book of Taliessin which please keep clean as I shall want these back by & by for cutting up for slips for my Dictionary.[793]

[790] NLW TL Papers Box, 5 Loose papers in box. Printed handout dated 1908.
[791] *BT*, title page, xli, vi, 81. There is a footnote on page vi stating the Introduction was read before the Welsh Society in Cambridge in March 1914, and at the University College of Wales towards the end of the same year, but that only gives a *terminus ante quem.*
[792] *PBT*, iii, xv.
[793] JGE to JMJ, [10 Mar. 1901], Bangor MSS 3247 27.

Of course this was after the arrival of George, but before the purchase of the second press, which explains why he needed the sheets back, as they were only the proofs run for checking before electrotyping. The main run was probably done in 1904, and the title page and Preface run later.

The date of transcription is also unclear. Evans says in the *Poems* preface that: 'I went to Peniarth and saw the Book of Taliesin—I borrowed the MS., and copied it', but he does not say when.[794] The occasion may have been when he visited Peniarth in September 1889 for nine days of cataloguing for the HMC Report.[795] This date would certainly fit the timetable.

By the latter half of 1903 he was working on the translations as he wrote to Morris Jones in the September of that year:

> I have done no work. I find Taliessin deuced hard — too hard for me. I am trying to transliterate the text in order to understand what I can of it. Can I send you questions?[796]

By May of 1910 he seems to have been formulating his ideas because he wrote to Edward Anwyl:

> I am flogging Taliessin or rather my brain is being flogged by him. Still I pick a hole here & there which lets light through. I think I am on the track of his sources & find many things opening out intelligibly.[797]

[794] *PBT*, vi.
[795] JGE to JMJ, 17 Sep. 1889, Bangor MSS 3247 5.
[796] JGE to JMJ, 18 Sep 1903, Bangor MSS, JMJ papers, uncatalogued letter.
[797] JGE to Sir Edward Anwyl, 14 April 1910, NLW MS 2504D.

By October of the same year he was still at it and complaining to Morris Jones of the Rhysian interdict, the 'stewing in my own juice' being a favourite phrase of Rhys's:

> For that I have no time now, being deep, very deep in the Taliessin, "stewing in my own juice," in a way that sh[d]. gratify my well wishers. I find myself forced to print the text over again (transliterated & amended) in metrical form, otherwise the Notes will take a minimum of 300 pages. At one time I had hoped you w[d]. help with the metres, but the Rhysian interdict has barred that. ... Rhys is the only man who has written learnedly on Welsh Metres. Alas that I am out of his favour & help. It is a mad world with every manger filled with growling dogs.[798]

By the time he finally received a copy of Morris Jones's Grammar in 1913, he was clearly becoming tired of the job and expressing some uncertainty as to the result:

> "Safe delivery" is an immense blessing, even when the child is not the ideal heir of one's dreams. I am not hinting that yours may not be so: I only know that mine never are, and my Taliesin brat is likely enough to have a hair-lip [*sic*] and other disfigurements, though the gestation has been protracted and the misery, at times, extreme. It is the steady toil on this & the call of the printer, who is at my heels, that has prevented my looking at your book, which must have cost you some tons of tobacco while meditating over your points.

He also added, to rub in the delay over the production of the Grammar:

> When the Taliesin burden is off my back I shall study the Gram[r]. which w[d]. have been a God send years ago, when I wanted more help than now, but my wants are extensive enough yet.[799]

Some time late in 1915, or early in 1916, Evans sent out a handbill to his Subscribers announcing that the two books would be available in various qualities of edition from St David's Day 1916, and announcing to the world that:

---

[798] JGE to JMJ, 10 Oct 1910, Bangor MSS 3247 101.
[799] JGE to JMJ, 22 Jul 1913, Bangor MSS 3247 102.

> An analysis of the subject-matter of the poems shows that Taliesin, *Chief of Bards*, flourished in the 12th century—that he was a native of Pulford & a subject of the Earl of Chester—that he was captured and enslaved as a swineherd in Powys, that he escaped into the Forest of Llwyvenyδ in Flintshire, where he settled as the bard of Owein Gwyneδ, 1146-1170.[800]

This astounding declaration will be explored later. He seems to have been pleased to have finished as he wrote in February 1916 to Rees Jenkin Jones:

> Yes, the Taliesin release is a relief, & yet I love Taliesin above any other piece of work I have done. There is a joy in penetrating the mystery of a boggled passage, whatever the despair may have been. I spent days on many couplets, & I believe I have written the text 50 times over. No doubt I have made many blunders, but the great wonder is that so many good things have come out of the confusion. ... I have broken with tradition & the authorities as to date of composition. I hold that we have nothing but small fragments b4 1100.[801]

In November 1915 he had offered an unbound copy of his translations to Morris Jones, acknowledging there would be a difference of interpretation between the two of them.[802] This offer was ignored and, in July 1916, Morris Jones purchased a Patron's Edition of both volumes with the announced intent of writing a review.[803] The price paid shown on the receipt makes it clear that Gwenogvryn had ceased to offer his old friend a discount, and amongst complaints about the behaviour of Morris Jones, Lady Rhŷs, and others, Evans states:

> You promise me a "suitable answer", & long experience has taught me what to expect. It has never <u>suited</u> you to recognize any good in anything I have done, but it always <u>suits</u> you to suppress whatever merit there may be, & end with a kick.[804]

Before we move to Morris-Jones's review it is necessary to consider, in view of the remarks on the prospectus and in the letter to Rees Jenkin Jones, both the

---

[800] Printed handbill, NLW TL papers Box 5, Loose papers in box.
[801] JGE to RJJ, 14 Feb 1916, NLW MS 14150B.
[802] JGE to JMJ, 9 Nov 1915, Bangor MSS 3247 103.
[803] JGE to JMJ, 4 Aug 1916, Bangor MSS, JMJ papers, uncatalogued letter.
[804] JGE to JMJ, 29 Jul 1916, Bangor MSS, JMJ papers, uncatalogued letter.

origins of Gwenogvryn's ideas and his 'amendments and translations'. Evans had picked up from Rhŷs, either in the Mabinogion classes or in conversations since, that the language of the *Book of Taliesin* was not sixth century. He had the example of 'small fragments' such as the Juvencus englynion to underline the point. He was not the first to query the sixth century date, and would not be the last. The argument that the poetry has been updated with each copying is sound but there are holes in it as Graham Isaac has pointed out.[805] It is, however, one thing to query the date of composition, and quite another to construct the fabulous tales that Evans wove around the poetry in the *Book of Taliesin* as expressed in his note in the Prospectus.

Let us now examine his 'evidence' for the case he presented. His serious basic error is that he assumed that all the poetry ascribed to Taliesin was written at the same time. He made great play that the transfer of name of the Welsh from 'Brython' to 'Kymry' occurs in the twelfth century.[806] He also regarded Prydein as coterminous with the territory of the Brython, reducing as the Saxon advanced.[807] He wrote:

> We meet with Brython in association with Prydein in eleven poems; and both in association with Kymry in five other poems. Then we meet with Kymry by itself in nine poems more. This is evidence conclusive of a transition period. The Bards of 1150-1225 show a similar practice. Gwalchmei (1150-70) has four instances each of Prydein and Kymry; Kynδel (1160-1210) has five instances of Prydein, one of Brython, two of Brythyon, and eight of Kymry; Llywarch, brydyδ y.Mochnant (1175-1225), has three Prydein, two Brython, and eight Kymry. Taliesin was certainly contemporary with Gwalchmei and Kynδel, for all three sing to Owein Gwyneδ, who died in 1170. Taliesin, therefore, lived in the XIIth century.[808]

[805] Graham R. Isaac, '*Gweith Gwen Ystrat* and the northern heroic age of the sixth century', *CMCS* 36 (1998), 61-70.
[806] Cf. Huw Pryce, 'British or Welsh? National Identity in Twelfth-Century Wales', *EHR* 116 (2001), 775–801.
[807] *BT*, ix.
[808] *BT*, xi-xii.

Marged Haycock, in her monumental work on the Legendary Poems has also considered, on linguistic evidence, that *some* of the *legendary* poems may indeed be contemporary with the poets Gwenogvryn mentions, and considers that some may even have been composed by Llywarch ap Llywelyn, Prydydd y Moch, to name him correctly.[809] So *perhaps*, had Evans been able to consider the book as a collection from *various* sources, rather than of one authorship, and been able to group the poems accordingly, he might not have fared quite so badly as he did, in terms of period of composition.

As well as playing with time, Evans also played with geography. If Rheged is not in the north of England, he must find a home for it in, or near to, Wales. He correctly noted that Rheged is not to be found in 'Bede, Nennius, Asser, the Saxon Chronicle, Annales Cambriae, the early Genealogies, Aneirin, and even the Latin original of Geoffrey's Historia'.[810] He noted a reference to 'reged' in the Black Book of Carmarthen (92.13) which most modern translators do not regard as a place name. He grasped at the reference to Murefensium in Geoffrey's original Latin text as being the kingdom of 'Uranus', and that was rendered in Brut Dingestow once as Mureiff, and twice as Reged.[811] He then cited a reference to 'Redeg' (as a metathesis of Rheged) in Cynddelw placing it near to 'Caer Lleon', which he claimed as Chester, and he found another reference (*Esgynneis ar uelyn o Uaelyenyt / Hyd y nhir Reged r6g nos a dyt*) in the *Gorhoffedd* of Hywel ap Owain

[809] *LPBT*, 10, 27.
[810] *BT*, xii.
[811] 'Reged' is here a correction by the translator. 'Mureiff' means Moray, and it is unclear why Geoffrey placed Urien's kingdom in Moray as it lies far too far north. B.F. Roberts, *Brut y Brenhinedd* (Dublin, 1984), 50-1.

Gwynedd which he felt meant that Rheged was an overnight (*rhwng nos a dydd*) journey from Maelienydd.[812] All this meant that Rheged was a 'Run or March' centred on Oswestry and that:

> Rheged thus lies between the border of the earldom of Chester and a night's ride from Radnorshire. In other words it was, apparently, conterminous with the Domesday hundred of Mersete, which included the *duos fines* of Kynlleith and Edernion. This old buffer territory corresponded with the Asaphian Deaneries of Marchia, and Edernion, ...[813]

So he placed Rheged in the Welsh Marches and then proceeded to place Godeu in Shropshire on the ground that Gwydd-godeu means 'pod-bearing scrub' and Shropshire means the country of shrubs.[814] Marged Haycock uses the same comparison, though in a more logical manner, when discussing Kat Godeu.[815]

He explains that early names, such as Urien, were pseudonyms because:

> ... a border bard like Taliesin could not, perhaps, sing with safety to himself and his patrons, except cryptically and pseudonymously. Hence the charge of obscurity laid against him by those unversed in the story of his time. ...[816]

So Urien was actually Owain Gwynedd (d.1170) and Fflamddwyn was Henry II of England (d.1189). He also moved Alclud from Dumbarton to 'Rhyd al Clud', that is Aldford in Cheshire where Henry II built a castle, which explained why it was called Din al-Clut Ogledd by Gwalchmai.[817] Eiddin was, of course, not Edinburgh,

---

[812] *CBT* ii. 6. 37.
[813] *BT*, xiii.
[814] *BT*, xiv.
[815] *LPBT*, 199.
[816] *BT*, xv.
[817] *BT* xviii; *CBT* i. 9. 145.

it was Treiddin; mynydd Eiddin was Bre Eiddin otherwise Bredon Hill.[818] I think that is sufficient to show his line of thought.

We need now examine how he 'amended' the poetry to achieve these wonders. Morris Jones covered much the same ground in 'Taliesin' so I do not claim originality here. First to explain how Taliesin was born at Pulford. Gwenogvryn states that line *BT* 26. 8 (=*LPBT* 5. 25–7) should be translated as:

> I played at Llychwr—I slept at Pulford.[819]

He identified Llychwr with Lache to the north of Pulford. He said that the English Dialect Dictionary defines Lache as a 'pond, a pool; a swamp', and that too is the meaning of Llychwr. Now *GPC* defines llychwr as brightness or daylight, and definitely not a pond or swamp. The original Welsh of *Kat Godeu* is:

G6aryeis yn llych6r.	Gwaryeis yn llychwr,	I played in the light,
kysceis ym porffor.	kysceis ym porffor.	I slept in purple.

Both facsimile and text are clear.[820] So Llychwr and Pulford disappear from our geography. Taliesin was not born in Pulford, and he was not born poor, since he was a child who could play all day and sleep in purple, a high status cloth. Gwenogvryn proceeded with his version of history:

Ceint, er yn vychan,	I sang, though I was little.
yng.hâd Godeu.vrig,	in the fight at the north end of Godeu,
rhag Prydein Wledig.	against Prydein's ruler.[821]

[818] *BT*, xxiii.
[819] *BT*, xxx.
[820] *BT*, xxx, 26; *LPBT*, 183.
[821] *BT*, xxx-xxxi.

Evans identified this, again from *Kat Godeu*, with a raid in 1121 by Meredudd ap Bleddyn against Henry I of England at the north end of Baschurch Hundred in Shropshire. Taliesin was a young bard in this fighting. The original Welsh is more problematic than the last extract:[822]

keint yr yn bychan.
keint yg kat godeu bric.
rac prydein wledig.

Again the facsimile is very clear.[823] Both Gwenogvryn and Marged Haycock recognised that the second line has too many syllables, but they dealt with the problem in different ways. Gwenogvryn dropped the repeated *keint*, arguably a scribal error, whereas Marged Haycock dropped the *kat* as a corrupt interpolation from the title. Both cases have their points. If we allow each case the translations would be, using Marged Haycock's words:

I have sung from infancy,	I have sung from infancy,
in the battle of the treetops,	I sang in the treetops,
before the ruler of Britain.	before the ruler of Britain.[824]

Brig, in the sense of 'top' can be used geographically, but then one would have to agree that Godeu is a place name. *Rhag* can mean 'against', or 'for fear of', but here a better sense would be 'in front of'. The 'ruler of Britain' intended by the poem is uncertain, but Arthur is mentioned. To continue with Taliesin's history: Gwenogvryn tells us, again exploring *Kat Godeu*:

I was the slave of Kynbyn; I was a herd besides. 26.21[825]

[822] *BT* 23. 20–1 = *LPBT* 5. 25–7.
[823] *BT*, 23.
[824] *LPBT*, 175, 192.
[825] *BT*, xxxii.

The original reads:

> bum ser gan gynbyn.
> bum b6ystuer hyn.[826]

Evans is reading *ser* as from *serw* a non-existent word which he derived from Latin *servus*. *Ser* means 'billhook'. *Bwystfer* is a 'beast-spear', *bwyst* + *bêr*, rather than Gwenogvryn's invented emendation, *bwyst* + *ner*, 'beast-lord', which is an odd name for a herder and not attested anywhere. Marged Haycock suggests *ryn* (Mod. W. *rhyn*), 'stout', 'rigid', 'unyielding' instead of 'hyn', which she considers a scribal error, namely -r hyn < -r rhyn. 'Gan gynbyn' is obscure. Evans regarded Kynbyn as Kynvyn, the father of Bleddyn, the founder of the royal house of Powys. He regarded this as a pseudonym for Meredudd ap Bleddyn, who died in 1132. Marged Haycock, following Morris Jones, suggests the plural of *cynben*, so 'dog-heads' or 'Cynocephali', a mythical race that occupied the further regions of medieval maps, along with other fabulous beasts. The two lines are from a passage in which the legendary Taliesin changes into a series of animals and objects.

> I was a speckled snake on the hill,
> I was a viper in a lake,
> I was a billhook [wielded] by Cynocephali,
> I was a stout hunting shaft.[827]

So is Evans's imagined history of Taliesin demolished. A good deal of the rest of the 'Poems' book ran along similar lines. He took lines from one poem and put them in another. He changed words that did not fit his theory. *Preiddeu Annwn* became *King Richard at Joppa & Acre. 1197. Gwaith Gwen Ystrad* became *Owein*

[826] *BT*, 26.
[827] *LPBT*, 184.

ap Cadwgan, slain 1116. The first couplet of this last poem might be useful as an example in view of its content.

> The original:
> Ar6yre g6yr katraeth gan dyd. am wledic gweithuudic gwarthegyd.[828]
>
> Joseph Clancy's translation:
> Catraeth's men are up at daybreak
> For a conquering prince, cattle-raider.[829]
>
> Gwenogvryn's amendment and translation:
> Am ŵyr*aeth* gwŷr cadr aeth, *y*.gan δyδ, am Wledig, gweithvuδig warthegyδ.
>
> Because of perfidy, brave men went, at dawn, against the Gwledig, the victorious cattle-lifter.[830]

It can be seen that the amendment completely changes the meaning of the whole couplet. His *ŵyraeth* must relate to the verb *gwyro*, which can mean 'to deal unjustly', rather than the original *arwyre*, 'arises' or 'sets out'. Notice the splitting of *katraeth*. One feels that he did not want this poem to involve the 'men of *Catraeth*' as he already had been working on his version of the *Gododdin*, and he was unhappy with the identification with Catterick. Note also the meaning of *am* changed from 'for' to 'against'.

Morris-Jones took a good two years to prepare his review, which he published as an entire and, for the magazine, thick issue 28 of *Y Cymmrodor*, the magazine of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion. It must have come out late in 1918 as Evans wrote to Vincent Evans, the Secretary of the Cymmrodorion and editor of the magazine on 1 January 1919:

---

[828] *BT*, 56.
[829] J.P. Clancy, *The Earliest Welsh Poetry* (London, 1970), 24. See also *PT*, 28.
[830] *PBT*, 158-159.

> I had heard of the forthcoming Cymmrodor for some time with much boasting of the smashing in store for me. I have not looked at the parcel yet. I know the kind of thing to expect from Morris Jones, as a man who never learns anything new. His ignorance of Welsh Topography & History is phenomenal, and my thesis is based entirely on History & Topography. In philology & grammar he is the laughing stock of men at Oxford & Cambridge. ...
>
> Thanks for your offer of an opportunity of replying. It will be necessary to do so for the sake of the subject some day after I finish Aneirin on which I am at work now, & which will make mince meat of Morris Jones's position.[831]

A week later he wrote again with the parcel still unopened:

> If it is all on one subject I deserve a peerage for having stirred Morris Jones the Great to write something, be it good or bad. Besides it is a great feather in my cap to have so much of the attention of a man so preeminent in the Celtic field.[832]

He was certainly right on one point. To have stirred Morris-Jones into creating such a work as he had in two years was indeed a wonderful feat, as his procrastination was well known. The only possible explanation was that Morris Jones's annoyance with the errors in Evans's 'amendments and translations' must have been extreme, and it was certainly an opportunity to pay Evans back for his comments on orthography, and the slighting, as he felt it, of his work on the Notes to the *Black Book of Carmarthen*.

Evans's 'opportunity of replying' did not materialize for another 6 years. He was well advised to expect the 'smashing in store' for 'smashing' indeed it was. For Morris-Jones had not only written a scathing review and critique of Evans's work, but had produced a work of lasting scholarship that was to be a keystone for all the work on the Book of Taliesin that followed, from Ifor Williams to Marged Haycock.

---

[831] JGE to Sir E. Vincent Evans, 1 Jan. 1919, NLW Cymmrodorion papers ASC1/8.
[832] JGE to Sir E. Vincent Evans, 7 Jan. 1919, NLW Cymmrodorion papers ASC1/8.

The text begins with a history of medieval Welsh literature and its collectors and interpreters, in which his attacks on Evans are reserved to the odd footnote though he does say in the text:

> In recent years Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans has published ... both in photographic facsimile and in printed reproductions which attain the highest degree of accuracy that seems humanly possible.

Adding in a footnote the only two errors he had managed to find in them![833] He goes on to cite support from Sharon Turner for a sixth century date for some of the poetry, and from Thomas Stephens, the latter being the first to start grouping the poetry into sixth century and later. His classification has largely been held to by later writers.[834] He then refers to the Helio-Arkite theories of Edward Davies and how they were refuted by D. W. Nash, but Sir John regrets Nash's renderings of the poetry and his statement that the Taliesin poetry was forged in the twelfth century.[835] He then relates Skene's support for the early date and the geography of *Yr Hen Ogledd*.[836] The next section is most interesting for our purpose because Morris-Jones here refers to the writings of Sir John Rhŷs, whom Gwenogvryn spoke of as having argued against an early date. According to Morris Jones, Rhŷs states in his *Lectures on Welsh Philology* that 'they date, in some form or other, from the ninth century, if not earlier'.[837] If one looks at Rhŷs's words, however, without the filter of Morris-Jones's selection, his comments have a more subtle flavour:

---

[833] JMJ, 'Taliesin', *YC* 28 (1918), 13.
[834] 'Taliesin', 15-17.
[835] 'Taliesin', 18-21.
[836] 'Taliesin', 22.
[837] JR, *Lectures in Welsh Philology* (London, 1879), 139, quoted in 'Taliesin', 23.

> . . . the poems ascribed to the Cynfeirdd or early bards belong, as far as concerns us now, to the Mediæval period of Welsh, though the metre, the allusions, and the archaisms, which some of them contain, tend to show that they date, in some form or other, from the 9th century, if not earlier. . . .[838]

By 'Mediæval period', Rhŷs is referring to his own classification of the periods of the language, in which the 'Mediæval period' dates from the latter part of the eleventh century to the Reformation, roughly what we understand today as 'Middle Welsh'.[839] So Rhŷs appears to be saying that the language of the poetry, as we have it now, can be no earlier than the end of the eleventh century, but that there are markers in it that would lead one to think that the poems could go back to the ninth century, and perhaps even earlier. Gwenogvryn, regrettably, was not quite so subtle as this, and I can see him hearing the first part, that the language was no earlier than the end of the eleventh century, and ignoring the rest, whereas Morris-Jones had done the opposite.

Morris-Jones then passes to difficulties raised by Sir Edward Anwyl in his 'Prolegomena to the Study of Old Welsh Poetry'.[840] Anwyl states 'it is obvious from the rhyme alone that all the old poems were composed after the old declensional and conjugational endings had been entirely lost'. Morris Jones states 'that is true; but unless we know at what period the loss took place it determines nothing'.[841] He goes on to explore the evidence and decides that the explanation has to be that Gildas and the inscribed stones were in Latin with case endings, whilst alongside that was a spoken Welsh vernacular that had lost the

[838] JR, *Lectures in Welsh Philology* (London, 1877), 146.
[839] JR, *Lectures in Welsh Philology* (London, 1877), 143.
[840] *THSC*, *1903-4* (1905), 59-83.
[841] 'Taliesin', 27.

endings, and points to inscriptions where the endings are defective to illustrate his case. The *cynfeirdd* were, therefore, the first to compose in the new vernacular.[842]

Morris-Jones then turns his guns to bear on the original purpose of his monograph, the works of Dr. John Gwenogvryn Evans. He admits:

> Dr. Evans has developed the art of printing in facsimile to a point never before reached. As a decipherer of Welsh manuscripts he has never been approached; I have seen him make out in a few seconds an obliterated initial which had not only baffled me, but had been misread by a previous copyist at least 200 years before.

but:

> Unhappily, for himself and for us, he is not satisfied with this. Why should he be a mere transcriber, a mere machine? Why should not he, too, have his say on matters of textual criticism and literary history? ... he has persuaded himself that he does understand Taliesin, and has discovered the bard's secret. ... A reply is due not so much for the sake of demolishing the theory, for that has little chance of acceptance, but because in the process some constructive work can perhaps be done.[843]

Sir John takes exception to the renaming of bards that I mentioned earlier:

> Prydydd y Moch is a poet who happens to possess his esteem; he cannot entertain the idea that a person whom he rather approves of could or should have such a name as "the poet of the pigs"; ... an idea strikes him: "he must be the Bard of Mochnant" ... The evidence of manuscripts is nothing ... his inner light tells him that the name *is* the solecism *which he himself has invented*.[844]

Morris-Jones then mounts a stout defence of the passage in the *Historia Brittonum* concerning Talhaern, Neirin, Taliessin, Bluchbard and Cian, against Gwenogvryn's dismissal of it, of which more later. He also touches on other

[842] 'Taliesin', 29-35.
[843] 'Taliesin', 38.
[844] 'Taliesin', 40.

matters that Evans sidelines including the latter's misinterpration of the passage concerning 'The Privileges of the Men of Arfon' in the Welsh Laws, and his reference to Prydein contracting as the Brython fell back before the Saxon by pointing out that *Armes Prydein Vawr* 'contains a prophecy that the men of Brittany, Cornwall, Ireland, Wales, Strathclyde will unite to drive the Saxons out of Prydein'.[845] He also challenges Gwenogvryn's date for the introduction and his usage of the word *Kymry*, and proceeds to demolish his entire geography, place name by place name. Alclud is restored to Dumbarton and Eiddin to Edinburgh. He comments that 'It is almost incredible to what lengths an illogical mind may be driven when labouring under a "strong delusion"'.[846]

The phrase *rhwng nos a dydd* in the poem of Cynddelw then comes under consideration. Morris Jones reminds his reader that Maxen's messengers rode from Caernarfon to Rome *yrwng dydd a nos*, "and as their horses failed they bought fresh ones". So it clearly does not mean 'a night's ride'; it means they rode 'night and day', and it is therefore no indication of how far Maelienydd is from Rheged.[847]

Morris-Jones also unravels the entwined complications created by Evans's confusion between *codeu* 'pods', *ffagodeu* 'faggots', *goddeu* 'forest', *goddeu* 'intention', and finally *Goddeu* the place name! He manages to find a place for the latter back in Scotland.[848]

---

[845] 'Taliesin', 51.
[846] 'Taliesin', 57.
[847] 'Taliesin', 66.
[848] 'Taliesin', 72-74.

His final analysis of Gwenogvryn's geography is devastating:

> His argument is a tissue of false reasoning which betrays a mind that has never properly understood what "evidence" or "proof" means. ... Dr. Evans is, of course, unaware of practising any deception; he has unconsciously practised it all upon himself, and ... he is presenting in good faith the arguments by which he himself has been convinced. Like many others who labour under delusions he believes that he alone is sane ...[849]

He shows that Evans delights in circular arguments:

> Urien is Owein Gwyneδ because Urien prevailed "in Gogleδ"; and Gogleδ is Cheshire because "Owein Gwyneδ never was in Scotland". ... the last statement is valueless for the argument ... without assuming what has to be proved.[850]

Evans's amendments 'bear witness on every page to ignorance of the history of the language: medieval forms, spurious modern forms, dialect and even slang words, jostle each other in the most grotesque confusion'.[851] Morris-Jones adds:

> The detection of scribal errors depends upon meaning and construction; errors are only suspected when the text as it stands is unintelligible or in some other way unsatisfactory. Even in such a case there need be no error; the unintelligibility of the text may be due to our imperfect knowledge of its language, or only to the ignorance of the particular reader. This never occurs to Dr. Evans; what is unintelligible to *him* is corrupt, and we have seen that a large number of his "scribal errors" have no other basis than his own lack of acquaintance with the commonplaces of Welsh scholarship. A considerable proportion of the remainder of his "errors" are assumed because the text as it stands does not square with his theory: ...[852]

We need now briefly examine Gwenogvyn's reaction to this. He was involved heavily in the production of his text, facsimile, and translation of the *Book of Aneirin* (along similar lines to the Taliesin but finding poems in the book written by all the poets named in Nennius as well as Aneirin). He must have realised that

[849] 'Taliesin', 81-82.
[850] 'Taliesin', 84.
[851] 'Taliesin', 118.
[852] 'Taliesin', 127-8.

the publication of Morris-Jones's 'Taliesin' would affect his sales. So he cleared the decks. He first prepared editions of the *Red Book Poetry* diplomatic and the *Black Book of Chirk* facsimile as bare editions without Introduction or the copious notes that had been promised and these went out somewhat hurriedly in 1921 with a vague promise, never kept, that the missing notes would follow at some future date. He then released his *Aneirin* in 1922 with full notes, plans, &c, allegedly proving his case and debunking the Harleian MS. 3859, fol. 188b, which contained the Nennian reference to the sixth century poets. He relied very much on the fact that the folio had never been rubricated nor had the scribe written tiny letters for the initials as a guide to the rubricator, which meant that the missing initial letters had to be supplied by the reader. The *accepted* reading was to place a T at the start of the relevant paragraph, giving *Tunc Dutigirn*, 'Then Dutigirn', but Gwenogvryn objected to this because every other paragraph started with a name, so he felt this one should. He supplied M, so it read 'Munc du tigirn', 'Munc, the black king', identifying Munc as Magnus, king of Norway, who had led a naval expedition to North Wales and fought a battle in support of Gruffydd ap Kynan against the Norman earls of Chester and Shrewsbury, on the beach at Aber Lleinog in Môn, and this was the *Catraeth*, the Battle of the Strand, mentioned in the *Gododdin*. Most of this had been printed before Morris-Jones's attack came out, and he was stubborn enough not to let it change his plans. The damage, however, had been done. The sale of his translations of the *Book of Aneirin* were minimal, and he still had most of them in stock when he died. He admitted defeat, and closed down and sold off his press. His original proofing press had already been gifted to the National Library.

He did produce one last publication. He had heard that Morris-Jones was preparing an edition of the Hendregadredd MS, and he produced a 'spoiler' by using his notes to get a copy of the poetry in the MS serialised by the Revue Celtique in 1924, and subsequently published in 1926 on the presses of the *Revue Celtique*, as a volume 2 to the *Red Book Poetry*. The National Library at Aberystwyth, which received Evans's stock after his death, is still able to supply copies.[853]

In 1926 his reply to Morris-Jones was published as *Y Cymmrodor* 34. It reiterated the same tired old arguments he had used before, and added to them the bile of an embittered man.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

The private press became possible because Evans decided to employ his cousin George Jones as a compositor in 1898, successfully working with him on proofs up to 1902, and then on the later press capable of printing the volumes from electrotypes produced by the Clarendon Press from forms created by George to Gwenogvryn's instructions. The move to Kemp Hall late in 1904 when George became a partner in Fox, Jones & Co. completed the picture, and allowed the production of all the remaining *Old Welsh Texts* between then and the collapse of Gwenogvryn's business after 1922.

Evans's change of course from palaeographer to translator, after all academic help had been withdrawn from him after the trial, was undoubtedly his most

[853] And copies of *Llyvyr Job*. Personal correspondence from Hywel Lloyd, NLW, 19 Oct. 2017.

serious error. It is clear that his contention that the poetry was historical, and little older than the date of the manuscript, was deeply held, and based partly on comments by John Rhŷs, but primarily on strongly held views that the poetry was important, and that, if it was important, it must be based not on *ffugchwedlau*, but on historical fact. In doing so, he gave Morris Jones the chance to demolish his credibility and affect his reputation for ever after, despite the solid palaeographical work he had done previously.

In 1930 Evans died, only a few months after Morris Jones, joining his wife in a grave at his home at Tremvan. It is sad that the stubbornness that had carried him through serious illness and had helped him to produce an extremely important series of diplomatic texts, should have been the completion of his downfall. The roots of his obsession that Welsh poetry was no older than the twelfth century lay deep, and it may have been influenced by his early training under Rhŷs, who clearly had reservations on the matter. With Gwenogvryn, once an idea got into his head, nothing was capable of shifting it.

CHAPTER 7
~ TAILPIECE ~

... the good is oft interred with their bones ...[854]

THE VALUE OF HIS WORK.

Open any book on medieval Welsh literature since Gwenogvryn's time and look at the Bibliography. It is probable that you will find at least one of his titles there, and more often two, or three, or even more. Sir Ifor Williams, Ifor bach as Evans called him, who, as Morris Jones's student, might have been considered resistant to acknowledging Gwenogvryn's assistance, has no less than eight of his publications listed in the Abbreviations to *The Beginnings of Welsh Poetry*.[855] He also lists no less than ten in *Canu Llywarch Hen*.[856] Both Sir John Rhŷs and Sir John Morris-Jones had acknowledged Gwenogvryn's supremacy in the field of Welsh palaeography, and neither withdrew that in the light of their later criticism of him on other grounds. In the Preface to *The Mabinogion: A New Translation* by T. P. Ellis & J. Lloyd, the editors state:

> The production of a complete translation, with textual variations, has been rendered possible only by the work of Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans. In 1887 he, in conjunction with the late Professor Sir John Rhys, published ... *The Text of the Mabinogion and other Welsh Tales from the Red Book of Hergest* ... In 1907 he published ... the *White Book Mabinogion* ... The translation which follows is based primarily upon these two diplomatic texts of Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans; and we may be permitted to express here our deep sense of the enormous debt, hitherto practically unrequited, which Wales and all students of romance owe to him for his work.[857]

There can be no greater proof of the value of Evans's work than the fact that three of his texts have been reproduced in full by the National Library of

---

[854] Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*, Act 3, Scene 2.
[855] *BBCDipl*, *BT*, *BLlD*, *Bruts*, *RBP*, *Report*, *RBM*, *WBM*: *BWP*, xvii-xx.
[856] *BA*, *BBCDipl*, *BT*, *BLlD*, *BBChirk*, *RBP*, *Report*, *Bruts*, *RBM*, *WBM*: *CLlH* 245-7.
[857] 2 vols. (Oxford, 1929), vol. 1, p. ix. The preface is dated 1 Mar. 1929.

Wales.[858] Meirion Pennar has also used facsimiles of Evans's texts alongside his translations of Welsh poetry.[859]

It is undeniably true that Gwenogvryn's peculiar talent arrived on the scene exactly when it was needed. Scholars had heretofore been working under difficulties due to the faulty transcriptions of his predecessors. The accuracy of his diplomatic reproductions came at precisely the time when interest in Welsh linguistics was on the rise, and the awards of an honorary MA and DLitt from The University of Oxford, and a second DLitt from the University of Wales were well earned. Scholars of the Welsh language do indeed have good reason to thank him.

THE NATURE OF THE MAN.

In the previous chapters I have tried to show what motivated and guided Evans. The loss of his father at such an early age, leaving him an only child, followed by life in a household run by women, made for a lonely childhood, and a heartfelt need to find a figurehead to fill the shoes of the missing parent, to be supported and defended even at the risk of his own livelihood. I also sense a strong will and a tendency to get his own way, which a doting parent was willing to grant him. There is also ambition, a wish to rise above his station, at first through the Unitarian Church, and then through academia. The highly rational nature of that church brought him to value fact over fiction, history over *ffugchwedlau*, but also its minority status made him defensive and determined. His illness accentuated

[858] *BLlD, WBM* with a new introduction, and *BA* alongside a new photographic reproduction of the text.
[859] M. Pennar, *The Black Book of Carmarthen* (Llanerch, 1989); *Taliesin Poems* (Llanerch, 1988).

that determination, and perhaps narrowed his vision, bringing him anxieties over his ability to keep his wife and family in the manner to which his wife had always been accustomed. This combination of wilful determination and anxiety made him at times a difficult person to deal with, a trifle paranoid and unwilling to admit the assistance given by others except insofar as it affected a particular time or a particular circumstance. A natural tendency to paint events in his own colours, together with his determination and paranoia gave him a tendency to criticise the actions of friends, and thus lose even the most valued of them.

The two men he chose as father figures are revealing. Particularly in their status. They were authority figures, the first the Principal of his college, clearly from a wealthy family, the second a member of the landed gentry who owned the most important collection of medieval Welsh manuscripts in the country. Both were clearly well above the status of a scion of agricultural stock. It is hardly surprising that in seeking the hand of the daughter of the first of these he was accused of being a gold-digger, and those of his critics who were able to observe subsequent events no doubt congratulated themselves on the accuracy of their observation. Despite this, there does seem to have been a genuine love between the two. The virulence with which Gwenogvryn went to the defence of those father-figures when attacked showed the precipitate tenacity of a Peredur, without, unfortunately, his ability to sustain the battle. In both instances he came off badly. In the first he only saved his situation through submission to authority, and retained his college place more through the generosity of the Principal he had sought to defend than through his own actions. The second instance cost him far more. His total unwillingness to allow the person who

attacked his paternal substitute to publish any book containing material that Evans had edited led him to court, to financial loss, and, worst of all, to the loss of virtually all academic support. This time there was no recovery.

THE ERRORS OF THE EXILE

It may seem strange to an observer that Evans never appears to have attempted a reconciliation. His letters to his accusers, where they still exist, are full of recriminations and counter arguments, rather than any attempts at conciliation. He seems to have simply accepted the fact of rejection, and, though he may have grumbled about the situation, he never made any attempt to recover the ground lost.

It does also seem strange that he never appears to have offered his 'amendments and translations' of Welsh poetry to anyone who might have given him sensible advice before he went to publication. It is probable that the trial had only accentuated his paranoia, by the way it had allowed those to whom he had, he felt, generously shown his work before publication to use that work on a scale for which he had not given his permission. As a result, certain in his own mind that he had found the key to the poetry that others had sought in vain, he determined not to make the mistake of showing that key to others before it was safely in print and he could claim copyright. Kemp Hall is only a short walk from Jesus College, but, by the time he came to publish, a deep chasm may as well have existed between the two, a chasm so deep that it was impossible for Evans to cross.

It is possible that, had Evans been able to matriculate, he might have received the training that would have enabled him to understand the necessity to provide the proof to back his assertions. It might also have given him the understanding that it is essential to argue from fact to theory, rather than to set up a theory, and then bend the facts to fit it, which is certainly what he did in 'amending' the poetry. It is also possible that his training as a Unitarian minister had led him into the habit of speaking *ex cathedra* as if from the pulpit.

This accumulation of errors left him open to attack, and Morris Jones, by this time Sir John Morris-Jones, smarting from being slighted in the Notes to the Black Book diplomatic edition, and annoyed by Gwenogvryn's continued attacks on his Welsh Orthography, was able, if not swift, to oblige. The attack was so overwhelming, and so filled with personal invective, that it completely destroyed any confidence Evans's subscribers may have had in his work, and thereby virtually extinguished his publishing business. Morris-Jones was, no doubt, by this time satisfied that Evans had provided all the diplomatic editions and facsimiles that Welsh academia would need for the foreseeable future, so he was not hesitant to wield the sword of execution.

CODA

It is sad to consider that a person's reputation after his death relies more on the worst output of that life than on the best. Shakespeare's words quoted at the beginning of this chapter are undoubtedly true. The errors Evans fell into have become his memorial; the subject of ridicule and rejection. One cannot change human nature. It is my earnest hope, however, that this dissertation has

produced enough evidence to show that his solid achievements remain the bedrock upon which much of Welsh Celtic Studies has been built, and those achievements should be remembered with gratitude and acknowledgement.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES: JGE'S OWN PUBLICATIONS

Anon. [JGE] (ed.), *Telyn Dewi; sef Gwaith Prydyddawl y diweddar Barch. David Davis, gynt o Gastell-Hywel, Ceredigion, Ail Argraffiad, gydag Ychwanegiad.* (Llanbedr, J. Davis, 1876).

Evans, J. G., (ed.) and Wills, A. (illus.), *The Homeward Bound: An Occasional Paper published at sea during the Voyage of the Ship "Sobraon" from Melbourne to London, 1882* ([Oxford], [1882?]). The booklet gives no place of publication, but the copy in the Bodleian, which was donated by JGE, has, under the words PRINTED FOR PRIVATE CIRCULATION, a pencil note in the editor's hand: 'by Shrimpton & Sons, Broad Street, Oxford'.

Grongar [JGE], (ed.), 'Casgliad o Ddiarhebion Cymreig', Owen, W. R., (ed.), *Transactions of the Royal National Eisteddfod of Wales, Liverpool, 1884* (Liverpool, 1885), 528-584. Republished by the British Library as a Print on Demand digital reprint in collaboration with Amazon.co.uk Ltd. (undated).

Evans, J. G., and Loth, J., 'Fragment du Mabinogi de Gereint ab Erbin. Transcrit d'apres le MS. Hengwrt No. 59 par M. J. Gwenogfryn Evans. Traduit et annoté par M. J. Loth.', Part 1, *Revue Celtique* 7 (1886), 401-435; Part 2, *Revue Celtique* 8 (1887), 1-29.

Rhŷs, J., and Evans, J. G. (eds.), *The Text of the Mabinogion and other Welsh tales from the Red Book of Hergest* (Oxford, 1887).

Phillimore, E. G. B., and Evans, J. G. (eds.), 'Pedigrees from Jesus College MS. 20', *Y Cymmrodor* 8 (1887), 83-92.

Evans, J. G. (ed.), *Facsimile of the Black Book of Carmarthen reproduced by the Autotype Mechanical Process* (Oxford, 1888).

Evans, J. G. (ed.), Morgan, W. (trans.), *Llyvyr Iob, The Book of Job* (Oxford, 1888).

Evans, J. G. (ed.). 'Extracts from Hengwrt MS. 34', *Y Cymmrodor* 9 (1888), 325 -333.

Rhŷs, J., and Evans, J. G. (eds.), *The Text of the Bruts from the Red Book of Hergest* (Oxford, 1890).

Rhŷs, J., and Evans, J. G. (eds.), *Mediaeval Welsh Reading Book* (Oxford, 1890).

Evans, J. G., 'Welsh Colleges and Professors of Welsh', *Cymru Fydd* 3/12 (Dec 1890), 747-754.

Evans, J. G. (ed.) with the co-operation of J. Rhŷs, *The Text of the Book of Llan Dâv Reproduced from the Gwysaney Manuscript* (Oxford, 1893). Republished as a facsimile reprint by NLW (Aberystwyth, 1979).

Evans, J. G., 'Welsh Manuscripts', *Wales* 1/5 (5 September 1894), 205-8.

Jones-Jones, John, of Jones Hall [JGE], 'Jottings. I. Professor John Morris Jones, M.A. (not related within the Ninth Degree)', *Wales* 3/27 (1 July 1896), 322-325.

Rhŷs, J., and Evans, J. G. (eds.), *Pedeir Kainc y Mabinogi, Breuddwyd Maxen, Lludd a Llevelys* (1st edn., Oxford, 1897).

HMC, J. G Evans (ed.) *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language* 1/1, *Mostyn* (London 1898).
HMC, J. G. Evans (ed.), *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language* 1/2, *Peniarth* (London, 1899).
HMC, J. G. Evans (ed.), *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language* 2/1, *Jesus College, Oxford; Free Library, Cardiff; Havod; Wrexham; Llanwrin; Merthyr; Aberdâr* (London, 1902).

Evans, J. G. (ed.), William Salesbury, *Oll Synnwyr pen Kembero ygyd* (Bangor, Guild of Graduates, 1902).

HMC, J. G. Evans (ed.), *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language* 2/2, *Plas Llan Stephan; Free Library, Cardiff* (London, 1903).
HMC, J. G. Evans (ed.), *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language* 2/3, *Panton; Cwrtmawr* (London, 1905).
HMC, J. G. Evans (ed.), *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language* 1/3, *Peniarth* (London, 1905).

Rhŷs, J., and Evans, J. G. (eds.), *Pedeir Kainc y Mabinogi, Breuddwyd Maxen, Lludd a Llevelys* (2nd edn., Oxford and Pwllheli, 1905).

Evans, J. G. (ed.), *The Black Book of Carmarthen* (Pwllheli, 1st ed. 1906). (Issued to the public in 1907.)

Evans, J. G., 'Caniadau J. Morris Jones', *Y Traethodydd* 63/281 (March 1908), 106-114.

Evans, J. G. (ed.), *The White Book Mabinogion: Welsh Tales & Romances Reproduced from the Peniarth Manuscripts* (Pwllheli, 1907). (Issued to the public in 1909.) Republished with a new Foreword by R. M. Jones as *Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch: Y Chwedlau a'r Rhamantau* (Cardiff, 1973).

Evans, J. G. (ed.), *Kymdeithas Amlyn ac Amic* (Llanbedrog, 1909).

HMC, J. G. Evans (ed.), *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language* 2/4, *The British Museum* (London, 1910).

Evans, J. G. (ed.), *Facsimile & Text of the Book of Aneirin* (Pwllheli, 1908). (Issued to the public in 1910.) Text republished alongside a colour facsimile as D. Huws (ed.), *Llyfr Aneirin: a Facsimile/Ffacsimile* (NLW, 1989).

Evans, J. G. (ed.), *The Black Book of Carmarthen* (Pwllheli, 2nd smaller ed. 1907). (Issued to the public at some point after 1910.)

Evans, J. G. (ed.), *Facsimile and Text of the Book of Taliessin* (Llanbedrog, 1910). (Issued to the public in 1916.)
Evans, J. G. (ed.), *The Text of the Book of Taliessin* (Llanbedrog, 1910). (Issued to the public in 1916.)
Evans, J. G. (ed., amended & trans.), *Poems from the Book of Taliesin* (Llanbedrog, 1915). (Issued to the public in 1916.)

Evans, J. G., 'Adgofion am Syr Owen M. Edwards', *Cymru* 60/354 (Jan. 1921), 1-5.

Evans, J. G. (ed.), *Facsimile of The Chirk Codex of The Welsh Laws* (Llanbedrog, 1909). (Issued to the public in 1921.)

Evans, J. G. (ed.), *The Poetry in the Red Book of Hergest* (Llanbedrog, 1911). (Issued to the public in 1921.)

Evans, J. G. (revised & trans.), *The Book of Aneirin*, Vol. II (Llanbedrog, 1922).

Evans, J. G. (ed.), 'The Oldest Text of Meilyr, Gwalchmei, Kyntelw, Prydyt Y Moch, & Others, in continuation of the Poetry of the Red Book of Hergest', *Revue Celtique* 40 (1923), 241-319; Part 2, *Revue Celtique* 41 (1924), 65-106.
Evans, J. G. (ed.), 'The Oldest Text of Dafydd Benvras, & Others, in continuation of the Poetry of the Red Book of Hergest', Part 3, *Revue Celtique* 41 (1924), 413-471.
Evans, J. G. (ed.), *Poetry by Medieval Welsh Bards*, Vol. II (Llanbedrog, 1926).

Evans, J. G., 'Taliesin, or The Critic Criticised', *Y Cymmrodor* 34 (1926).

PRIMARY SOURCES: MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

Bangor University Archives MSS:

3247 Llythyrau at Syr John Morris-Jones oddiwrth Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans.
Sir John Morris-Jones Papers: Packet of uncatalogued letters, mostly from J. Gwenogvryn Evans. [Now catalogued as JMJ/120b.]

Bodleian Library, Oxford:

Jesus College Deposit Administrative file, 1886-1937.
MS Gen. Top. c.24. W.

Jesus College, Oxford:

Celtic Collection, incl. Fellows' Lib. materials, Compiled by Lindsay & Wharton, 1893.

Jesus College Admissions Register.

Jesus College Minute Book.

Review Copy of the student's edition of the *Bruts* now in Jesus College Celtic Library: ZA iii 47/2.

NLW MSS 2504D and 2505D

Letters to Sir Edward Anwyl from various correspondents.

NLW MSS 10325-30B

Roll of Students of the Presbyterian College, Carmarthen, consisting of six volumes of biographical data relating to students of the College. The information was collected and the volumes compiled as a life's hobby by the late Principal W. J. Evans, Carmarthen.

NLW MS 14150B

Letters to Rees Jenkin Jones from Dr J. Gwenogvryn Evans and Sir D. Lleufer Thomas. (Formerly Rees Jenkin Jones MS.) 1884-1922.

NLW MS 16394D

Timothy Lewis, Esq., M.A., / Aberystwyth

A volume of notes taken by the donor at Dr. J. Gweogvryn Evans's lectures on palaeography at the University of Manchester, 1906-7, &c.

NLW Cymmrodorion papers

ASC1/8 - 97 Letters written between 1887-1933 — E.

NLW Egerton Phillimore papers:

C1/21 Letters from J. Gwenogvryn Evans, 1881-1889 [+ undated letters].

C1/22 Letters from J. Gwenogvryn Evans, 1890 on.

NLW J Gwenogvryn Evans papers:

Group II, 9. Transcript by J. Gwenogfryn Evans of 'The Red Book of Hergest MS '; - 'Ystorya gereint vab erbin', col. 769-801.

Group II, 10. Transcript by J. Gwenogfryn Evans of 'Ystorya gereint vab erbin', col. 801- 10, from the 'Red Book of Hergest' MS; Peniarth MS 99B, pp. 467-517; Peniarth MS 100B, pp. 104-13, 20-2, 31-6, 38-41, 51-3; Peniarth MS 101 B, pp. 243-61, 264-5 [1885-97].

Group II, 16. Transcript by J. Gwenogvryn Evans of Llyvyr Gwyn Rhyderch, part I (Hengwrt MS 4) 1885. Bound in vellum.

Group II, 43. Transcript by JGE of the Ynyslwyd MS [now NLW MS 5475 A] of Dafydd ap Gwilym's poems, with collatations from other MSS.

Group II, 54. Exercise book containing transcripts by J. Gwenogvryn Evans from Hengwrt MS 202 = Peniarth 7. [Error for Peniarth MS 12.]

Group II, 112. Two small notebooks containing miscellaneous notes and an 'account of the time spent on Taliesin'.

Group II, 121. Papers relating to the application for a pension out of the Civil List for JGE with the autograph of the supporters of the application.

Group II, 124. Notebooks and invoices mostly relating to JGE's mother Margaret Evans, later Margaret Morgans.

Group II, 150. A volume of newspaper cuttings relating to the appointment of JGE as Assistant Commissioner of Historical Manuscripts and to his publications.

NLW J Gwenogvryn Evans Family papers:
1-20 Letters, JGE to EH, later EE.
22 Text of an announcement by JGE to his congregation 14 Oct. 1877.
31 Letters, JGE to SH.
NLW O M Edwards papers:
AG4/10 Letters from J. Gwenogvryn Evans 1889-1918.
NLW Presbyterian College Carmarthen papers
Attendance Register 1871-1881.
Professor [D. L.] Evans' College Diary of Session 1872-3.
Students' Names, Register, Notes, etc., Session, 1873-4. Kept by David Lewis Evans, Tutor in Hebrew and Mathematics.
List of Books circulated among the Students of the PCC, 1875-6.
Prospectus Feb. 1897.
NLW Rees Jenkin Jones papers
FR7/1. Copy of R. J. J. [Rees Jenkin Jones], *The Unitarian Students at the Presbyterian College, Carmarthen, in the Nineteenth Century (1796-1901)* (Aberdare, 1901) interleaved and annotated in the author's hand.
FR7/3. Testimonial to R. J. J. from the students of the Presbyterian College, Carmarthen at the time of his departure from the College. Undated [1876].
NLW Sir John Rhŷs papers:
A1/1. General Correspondence, 1860-1915.
A1/2/2. Undated letters, E to I, [1860x1915].
A1/3/2. Letters from John Morris-Jones, 1889-1915.
A1/3/5. Letters and cards from Whitley Stokes, 1871-1909.
A2/2. The Red Book of Hergest, 1886-1887. Corrected page proofs, 1886, of most of the text of the Mabinogion and other Welsh tales from the Red Book of Hergest, vol. I, edited by John Rhŷs and J. Gwenogvryn Evans (Oxford, 1887); together with reviews of the book, 1887.
A4/2. Engagement diaries, 1862-1915 (with gaps), belonging to John Rhŷs, together with a journal of a visit to St Jean de Luz, 1893-1894. Also included are accounts, exemplars of German phrases, lists of various places visited probably in his capacity as HM Inspector of Schools, and inscriptions of stones.
A4/9. Evans v. Tout, 1903-1909. Papers relating to the copyright action, 1909, brought by J. Gwenogvryn Evans. They comprise holograph notes by John Rhŷs, printed transcripts of evidence given by J. Gwenogvryn Evans, and newspaper cuttings; together with two reports concerning the copyright case of Parry v. Gollancz, 1903.
NLW Timothy Lewis papers:
Box 1X - Letters from JGE to TL.
Box 3 - 10-212. Letters from WRMW to JGE.
Box 4 - 840-974. Legal papers, correspondence, copies of letters, notes, printed minutes of evidence, and press-cuttings, relating to the copyright action in the High Court of Justice, Chancery Division, between John Gwenogvryn Evans, plaintiff, and Thomas Frederick Tout, Kuno Meyer and Sherratt and Hughes, defendants, 1908-9.
Box 5 - 1031. Journal of voyage to Australia by JGE, late 1881 [+ 2 letters].
Box 5 - 1312-1336. Letters and Bills from Oxford University Press to JGE.

Box 5 - 1337. A notebook containing copies of testimonials, December 1903, in support of the application of Dr Gwenogvryn Evans for the Fellowship at St John's College, Oxford.
Box 5 - 1464. Letter from Henry Frowde to JGE, 20 Dec. 1888.
Box 5 - 1493-1499. Letters from Frederick Hall to JGE.
Box 5 - 1870. Two draft letters from JGE to [TL?], undated, but probably written about the time of Evans v. Tout.
Box 5 - 1874. Letter JGE to [Llywarch?] Reynolds, 18 Sep. 1904.
Box 5 - Loose papers in box. Mostly prospectuses for the *Old Welsh Texts*.
Box 35 - A copy made up of proofs of A Middle-Welsh Reader. [J. Strachan]
Supplement - Papers relating to JGE's work for the HMC.
Supplement - Letters JMJ to JGE.
Supplement - Letters HMC to JGE.
Supplement - Letters 1892-1924 and undated.

NLW University of Wales papers:
G12/1/1. Minutes of the Standing Committee of the Guild of Graduates 1894-1903.

General Register Office Certificates:
Birth: 20 March 1852, John Evans, Llanybyther, Carmarthenshire.
Birth: 18 July 1881, Tringad Knight Evans, 7 Clarendon Villas, Oxford.
Marriage: 16 Oct. 1877, John Gwenogfryn Evans and Edith Hunter, Unitarian Chapel, Preston, Lancs.
Death: 18 March 1895, Julia Hunter, 7 Clarendon Villas, Oxford.

HMCS National Probate Calendar.

Office for National Statistics, Census Returns:
1851, Carmarthenshire, Llanybyther, District 3a - 69 Gelty.
1861, Cardiganshire, Llanwenog, District 4 - 51 Cada Bowen.
1871, Cardiganshire, Llanwenog, District 4 - 7 Cadabowen.
1881, Oxford - 56, 7 Clarendon Villas.
1881, Cardiganshire, Llanwenog - Dolwlff.
1891, Oxford 86 - 7 Clarendon Villas 1.
1891, Hampshire, Holdenhurst (Bournemouth) 335 - Middle Road, Emly Villa 1.
1901, Oxford 146 - 7 Clarendon Villas 1.
1901, Carnarvonshire, Llanbedrog, Lleyn RD 139 - Tremfan.
1911, Caernarvonshire, Llanbedrog 08 - Tremvan, Llanbedrog, Pwllheli.

A. E. J., [JGE?] 'The Cataloguing of Welsh Manuscripts', *Wales* 1/2 (July 1894), 88-90.

Anon., 'Brut y Tywysogion, or The Chronicle of the Princes. Published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. 1 vol. large 8vo. London, 1860.', *Archæologia Cambrensis* 3rd Series 7/25 (Jan. 1861), 93-103.

Anon., 'Notices of Books: Old Welsh Texts. By J. Gwenogfryn Evans. Edited and Revised by Professor John Rhys, M.A.', *Y Cymmrodor* 7 (1886), 226-228.

Anon., 'Reviews of Books: Y Llyvyr Coch o Hergest. Y Gyvrol I. The Text of the *Mabinogion* and other Welsh Tales from the *Red Book of Hergest*. Edited by John Rhys, M.A., Professor of Celtic in the University of Oxford; and J. Gwenogvryn Evans. Oxford, 1887.', *Y Cymmrodor* 8 (1887), 108-111.

Anon., 'Y Llyvyr Coch o Hergest. Y Gyvrol I. The Text of the Mabinogion, and other Welsh Tales from the Red Book of Hergest. Edited by John Rhys, M.A., and J. Gwenogvryn Evans. (Oxford, Clarendon Press.)', *The Athenæum* 3131 (29 Oct. 1887), 566-567. [Cutting in NLW Sir John Rhŷs papers, A2/2.]

Anon., 'Facsimile of the Black Book of Carmarthen. Reproduced by the Autotype Mechanical Process, with a Palæographical Note by J. Gwenogfryn Evans, Hon. M.A., Oxford. Oxford, 1888. Pp. x, 108. 8vo.', *Archæologia Cambrensis* 5th Series 6/23 (Jul. 1889), 255-257.

Anon. [Isambard Owen?], 'The Red Book of Hergest. Vol. ii: The Bruts. Edited by J. Rhys, M.A., and J. Gwenogvryn Evans, Hon. M.A. Oxford, 1890.', *Archæologia Cambrensis* 5th Series 7/27 (Jul. 1890), 239-241.

Anon., 'Imperial Parliament: British Interests in East Africa, Welsh Questions and the House of Lords', *Manchester Guardian*, 24 Aug. 1894, 7.

Anon. [OME?], 'The Opportunity of Jesus College', *Wales* 2/12 (Apr. 1895), 184-5.

Anon. [Marchant Williams?], 'Reviews - Y Traethodydd (Carnarvon: Herald Office. 1/-.)', *The Nationalist* 2/15 (May 1908), 30-32.

Anwyl, E., 'Prolegomena to the Study of Old Welsh Poetry', *THSC, Session 1903-1904* (1905), 59-83.

Arnold, M., *On the Study of Celtic Literature* (London, 1867). (Based on four lectures given over 1865-66 in the Chair of Poetry at Oxford, and previously published in the *Cornhill Magazine*.)

Arnold, M., *Reports on Elementary Schools 1852-1882* (London, 1889).

Arnold, T., 'Principles of Church Reform 1833', *The Miscellaneous Works of Thomas Arnold, D.D.* 2nd. ed. (London, 1858).

Atkinson, R., *The Book of Leinster: sometime called the Book of Glendalough: a collection of pieces, prose and verse, in the Irish language, compiled in part, about the middle of the twelfth century: now for the first time published from the original manuscript in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin* (Dublin, 1880).

Bartrum, P. C., (ed.), *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts* (Cardiff, 1966).

Bramley, K. A., et al. (eds.), *Gwaith Llywelyn Fardd I ac Eraill o Feirdd y Ddeuddegfed Ganrif, CBT* 2 (Cardiff, 1994).

Camden, W., *Britannia* (London, 1586).

Clark, G. T., (ed.), *Cartæ et alia munimenta quæ ad dominium de Glamorgan pertinent, curante G.T. Clark.* (Dowlais, &c., 1885-1893).

Davies, E., *Celtic Researches on the Origin, Traditions & Language, of the Ancient Britons; with some Introductory Sketches, on Primitive Society* (London, 1804).

Davies, E., *The Mythology and Rites of the British Druids, ascertained by National Documents; and compared with the General Traditions and Customs of Heathenism, as illustrated by the Most Eminent Antiquaries of our Age. With an Appendix, containing Ancient Poems and Extracts, with some remarks on Ancient British Coins* (London, 1809).

Davies, H. W. (ed.), *Llythyrau Syr O. M. Edwards ac Elin Edwards 1887-1920* (Llandysul, 1991).

Davies, J., *Antiquæ linguæ Britannicæ, nunc vulgò dictæ Cambro-Britannicæ, a suis Cymraecae vel Cambricae, ab aliis Wallicæ, et linguæ Latinæ, dictionarium duplex : Prius, Britannico-Latinum, plurimis venerandæ antiquitatis Britannicæ monumentis respersum. Posterius, Latino-Britannicum. Accesserunt adagia Britannica, & plura & emendatiora quàm antehàc edita* (London, 1632).

de Jubainville, H. d'A., 'Chronique, IV', *Revue Celtique* 14 (1893), 205-6.

de la Villemarqué, T. H., *Barzaz-Breiz: Chants Populaires de la Bretagne* (Paris, 1839).

Dodd, Theodore [Llewelyn Williams (using information from RJJ)], 'Open Letters to Welsh Leaders of Opinion. XXV. Mr. J. Gwenogfryn Evans, M.A.', *South Wales Star* 2/14 (1 April 1892), 3. [Cutting in NLW JGE papers, Group II, 150, 17.] (See A. Grant, 'Gwenogvryn Evans and the identity of "Theodore Dodd"', *NLWJ* 36/4 (2017), 553-557.)

Ellis, T. P., & Lloyd, J. (trans.), *The Mabinogion: A New Translation*, 2 Vols. (Oxford, 1929).

Emerson, R. W., 'Books', *Society and Solitude* (London, Sampson Low, 1870).

Evans, E., *Some Specimens of the Poetry of the Antient Welsh Bards. Translated into English, with Explanatory Notes on the Historical Passages, And a short Account of Men and Places mentioned by the Bards* (London, 1764).

Evans, S., 'Report of the Council of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion for the Year ending November 9th, 1886', *Y Cymmrodor* 8 (1887), xiii-xvii.

Ferguson, Sir S. (ed.), *Leabhar breac, the speckled book, otherwise styled Leabhar Mór Dúna Doighre, the Great Book of Dún Doighre: a collection of pieces in Irish and Latin: compiled from ancient sources about the close of the fourteenth century: now for the first time published from the original manuscript in the library of the Royal Irish Academy*, 2 vols. (Dublin, 1872-76).

Ford, P. K., *Ystoria Taliesin* (Cardiff, 1992).

Fynes-Clinton, O. H., *The Welsh Vocabulary of the Bangor District* (Oxford, 1913).

Gaidoz, H., 'Adieux au Lecteur', *Revue Celtique* 6 (1883-1885), v-vi, v.
Gaidoz, H., 'The text of the Mabinogion and other Welsh Tales from the Red Book of Hergest, edited by John Rhys, M. A., and J. Gwenogfryn Evans, xx-355 p. in-8, Oxford, 1887 (Issued to subscribers only)', *Revue Celtique* 9 (1888), 283-287.

Gilbert, J. T. (ed.), *Leabhar na h-Uidhri: A collection of pieces in prose and verse, in the Irish language, compiled and transcribed about A.D. 1100, by Moelmuiri mac Ceileachair: now for the first time published from the original in the library of the Royal Irish Academy* (Dublin, 1870).

Griscom, A., *The Historia Regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth, with contributions to the study of its place in early British history*, *together with a literal translation of the Welsh manuscript no. LXI of Jesus College, Oxford, by Robert Ellis Jones* (London, 1929).

Guest, Lady C., *The Mabinogion from the Llyfr Coch o Hergest, and other ancient Welsh manuscripts, with a English Translation and Notes*, 3 vols. (London, 1849).

Hansard, 4th series.

Haycock, M., (ed.), *Legendary Poems from the Book of Taliesin* (Aberystwyth, 2007).

HMC, *First Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* (London, 1874).
HMC, *Second Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* (London, 1874).

Jarman, A. O. H., (ed.), *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin gyda Rhagymadrodd, Nodiadau Testunol a Geirfa* (Cardiff, 1982).

Jenkins, D., (ed.), *Llyfr Colan: Y Gyfraith Gymreig yn ôl Hanner Cyntaf Llawysgrif Peniarth 30* (Cardiff, 1963).

Jones, O., W. Owen, *Barddoniaeth Dafydd ab Gwilym, o grynhoad Owen Jones a William Owen* (London, 1789).

Jones, O., E. Williams, W. Owen, (eds.), *The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales collected out of Ancient Manuscripts*, 3 vols. (London, 1801-1807);
Jones, O., (Myvyr), E. Williams (Iolo Morganwg), W. Owen Pughe (Idrison), (eds.), *The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales collected out of Ancient Manuscripts* (2nd edn., Denbigh, 1870).

Jones, T., (ed.), *Brut y Tywysogyon or The Chronicle of the Princes Red Book of Hergest Version* (Cardiff, 1955).
Jones, T., (ed.), *Brenhinedd y Saesson or The Kings of the Saxons* (Cardiff, 1971).

Lewis, T., *A Glossary of Mediaeval Welsh Law based on The Black Book of Chirk* (Manchester, 1913).
Lewis, T., 'Copy of the Black Book of Chirk Peniarth MS. 29 National Library of Wales Aberystwyth', *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* 20 (1936), 30-96.

Macpherson, J., *Fingal, an ancient epic poem. In six books: together with several other poems, composed by Ossian the son of Fingal. Translated from the Galic language* (London, 1762).

Madan, F., and Craster, H. H. E., *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* 6 (1924).

Morris, J., (ed.), *Nennius: British History and The Welsh Annals* (London and Chichester, 1980).

Morris Jones, J., 'Yr Orgraff', *Y Traethodydd* 45 (1890), I *Mai* 235-41, II *Gorffenaf* 322-7.
Morris Jones, J. (as Secretary of the Orthographical Committee of the Society for Utilizing the Welsh Language), *Welsh Orthography* (Carnarvon, 1893).
Morris Jones, J., and Rhŷs, J., *The Elucidarium and other Tracts in Welsh from Llyvyr Agkyr Llandewivrevi A.D. 1346 (Jesus College MS. 119)* (Oxford, 1894).
Morris Jones, J., *Caniadau* (Oxford, 1907).
Morris Jones, J., *A Welsh Grammar, Historical and Comparative: Phonology and Accidence* (Oxford, 1913).
Morris-Jones, J., 'Taliesin', *Y Cymmrodor* 28 (1918).

Nash, D. W., (ed.), *Taliesin; or, the Bards and Druids of Britain. A Translation of the Remains of the Earliest Welsh Bards, and an Examination of the Bardic Mysteries* (London, 1858).

The National Library of Wales: report of the Council on the progress of the Library from April 1909 to Sept. 1910 (Aberystwyth, 1911).

Newell, E. J., 'The Text of the Book of Llan Dâv, reproduced from the Gwysaney MS. By J. Gwenogvryn Evans, Honorary M.A. Oxon., with the Co-operation of John Rhys, M.A., Professor of Celtic in the University of Oxford. Oxford: Issued to Subscribers only. 1893.', *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 5th Series, 10/40 (October 1893), 332-339.

[Nicholson, E.], *The Bodleian Library in 1882-7: A Report from the Librarian published by permission of the Curators* (Oxford, 1888).

Owen, A., (ed.), *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales* (London, 1841). (Two volume and single volume editions exist, both published in the same year.)

Owen, W., (ed.), *The Heroic Elegies and Other Pieces of Llywarç Hen, Prince of the Cumbrian Britons: with a Literal Translation* (London, 1792).

Owen [Pughe], W., *Geiriadur cynmraeg a saesoneg. A Welsh and English Dictionary; compiled from the laws, history, Poetry, Bardism, Proverbs, and other monuments of the knowledge and learning of the ancient Britons; with numerous and select quotations to elucidate the meaning of words. To which is prefixed, a Welsh grammar*, 3 vols. (London 1793 [-1803]).

Owen, W. R., (ed.), *Transactions of the Royal National Eisteddfod of Wales, Liverpool, 1884* (Liverpool, 1885). Republished by the British Library as a Print on Demand digital reprint in collaboration with Amazon.co.uk Ltd. (undated).

Oxford University Calendars, 1879-1904.

Parry-Williams, T. H., (ed.), *Canu Rhydd Cynnar* (Cardiff, 1932).

Phillimore, E. G. B., 'A Fragment from Hengwrt MS. No. 202', *Y Cymmrodor* 7 (1886), 89-154.

Phillimore, E. G. B., 'The Welsh Triads', *Bye-Gones*, 1st ser., 8 (1886-7), 71-73, 97-98, 111-14, 219-20, 259-62, and 480-84.

Phillimore, E. G. B., 'The *Annales Cambriæ* and Old-Welsh Genealogies from *Harleian MS.* 3859', *Y Cymmrodor* 9 (1888), 141-183.

Phillimore, E. G. B., 'The Publication of Welsh Historical Records', *Y Cymmrodor* 11 (1892), 133-175.

Pinkerton, J., *A Dissertation on the Origin and Progress of the Scythians or Goths. Being an introduction to the ancient and modern history of Europe* (London, 1787).

Pinkerton, J., *The Bruce; or, the History of Robert I. King of Scotland. Written in Scottish Verse by John Barbour. The First Genuine Edition, published from a MS. dated 1489; with notes and a glossary*, 1 (London, 1790).

Plato, *The Republic*, transl. Desmond Lee (London, 2007).

Pughe, W. Owen, *A Dictionary of the Welsh Language, explained in English: with numerous illustrations, from the literary remains and from the living speech of the Cymmry. To which is prefixed, a Welsh grammar.* 2nd edn. (London, 1832).

Pwyllgor Llên Bwrdd Gwybodau Celtaidd Prifysgol Cymru (John Morris-Jones, Cadeirydd; Henry Lewis, Ysgrifennydd), *Orgraff yr Iaith Gymraeg* (Cardiff, 1928).

R. J. J. [Rees Jenkin Jones], *The Unitarian Students at the Presbyterian College,*

Carmarthen, in the Nineteenth Century (1796-1901) (Aberdare, 1901).

Rait, R. S., 'Frederick York Powell', *English Historical Review* 19, 75 (1904), 484-492.

Rees, W. J., (ed.), *The Liber Landavensis, Llyfr Teilo, or the ancient register of the cathedral church of Llandaff, with an English translation and notes* (Llandovery, 1840).

Rees, W. J., (ed.), *The Lives of the Cambro British Saints, of the fifth and immediate succeeding centuries, from ancient Welsh and Latin MSS. in the British Museum and elsewhere, with English translations, and explanatory notes* (Llandovery, 1853).

Reeve, M. D. (ed.), and N. Wright (transl.), *Geoffrey of Monmouth: The History of the Kings of Britain* (Woodbridge, 2009).

Rhŷs, J., *Lectures in Welsh Philology* (London, 1877).

Rhŷs, J., *Lectures in Welsh Philology*, 2nd edn. (London, 1879).

Rhŷs, J., 'An Introduction to Early Welsh by the late John Strachan, LL. D., Professor of Greek and Lecturer in Celtic in the University of Manchester (University Press, Manchester, 1908), pp. XVI + 294. 8^0. 7 sh. 6 d.', *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* 7 (1910), 516-520.

Roberts, B. F., *Brut y Brenhinedd, Llanstephan MS. 1 Version: Selections edited with an introduction and notes* (Dublin, 1984).

Silvestre, J. B., *Universal Palaeography etc.*, transl. Sir Frederick Madden, 2 vols. (London, 1849).

Skene, W. F., *The Four Ancient Books of Wales containing The Cymric Poems attributed to the Bards of The Sixth Century*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1868).

Stephens, T., *The Literature of the Kymry; being a critical essay on the History of The Language and Literature of Wales, during the twelfth and two succeeding centuries; containing numerous specimens of Ancient Welsh Poetry in the original and accompanied with English translations; to which was awarded the prize given by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, at the late Abergavenny Eisteddvod* (Llandovery, 1849).

Stevenson, W. H., (ed.), *Asser's Life of King Alfred: together with the Annals of Saint Neots erroneously ascribed to Asser* (Oxford, 1904).

Stokes, W., 'The Glosses and Verses in the Cambridge Codex of Juvencus', *Miscellanea Celtica* ([London], [1864?]) (A copy, with the handwritten comment, possibly in Stokes's handwriting, 'Calcutta, Dec 12 1864', is preserved in a collection of pamphlets made by Charles Plummer, entitled *Tracts on Celtic Philology*, and deposited in the Celtic Library of Jesus College, Oxford, shelfmark ZB ii 8.)(A version in German 'Die Glossen und Verse in dem

Codex des Juvencus zu Cambridge' appeared in *Kuhns Beiträge* 4 (1865), 385-423, with addenda in *KB* 5 (1866), 142-3).

Stokes, W., *The Old-Welsh Glosses on the Martianus Capella, with some notes on the Juvencus-glosses* (Simla, [1872?]).
Stokes, W., *Togail Troí, The Destruction of Troy, transcribed from the facsimile of the Book of Leinster and translated, with a glossarial index of the rarer words* (Calcutta, 1881).

Strachan, J., *Old Irish Paradigms* (Dublin, 1904).
Strachan, J., *Selections from Old Irish Glosses* (Dublin, 1905).
Strachan, J., *An Introduction to Early Welsh* (Manchester, 1909).
Strachan, J., Kuno Meyer (ed.), *Old-Irish Paradigms and Selections from the Old-Irish Glosses* (2nd edn., Dublin and London, 1909).

Stukeley, W., *Stonehenge: A Temple Restor'd to the British Druids* (London, 1740).

Tout, T. F., *The collected papers of Thomas Frederick Tout, with a memoir and bibliography*, 3 vols. (Manchester, 1932-4).

Turner, S., *The History of the Anglo-Saxons, from their first appearance above the Elbe, to the death of Egbert: with a map of their ancient territory*, 1 (London, 1799).
Turner, S., *A Vindication of the Genuineness of the Ancient British Poems of Aneurin, Taliesin, Llywarch Hen, and Merdhin, with specimens of the Poems* (London, 1803).

Vendryes, J., 'Nécrologie: John Gwenogvryn Evans', *Revue Celtique* 47 (1930), 280-2.

Waring, E., *Recollections and Anecdotes of Edward Williams, the Bard of Glamorgan; or, Iolo Morganwg, B. B. D.* (London, 1850). (The B.B.D. that Iolo wrote after his name is explained in full as *Bardd wrth fraint a Defod Beirdd ynys Prydain*: 'Bard, according to the rights and institutes of the Bards of the Island of Britain'.)

Weber, Sir H., 'Remarks on Climate and Sea Voyages in the Treatment of Tuberculosis', *British Medical Journal* 1/2005 (3 June 1899), 1321-4.

Williams, E. (Iolo Morganwg), *Cyfrinach Beirdd Ynys Prydein: ys ef llwybreiddiaeth ac athrawiaeth ar y Farddoniaeth Gymraeg a'i Pherthynasau* .... (Abertawe, 1829).

Williams, I., and T. Roberts, *Cywyddau Dafydd ap Gwilym a'i Gyfoeswyr wedi eu golygu o'r llawsgrifau* (Bangor, 1914).

Williams, I., *Canu Llywarch Hen gyda Rhagymadrodd a Nodiadau* (Cardiff, 1953).
Williams, I., *Canu Taliesin* (Cardiff, 1960).
Williams, I., (ed.), *Armes Prydein: The Prophecy of Britain From the Book of*

Taliesin, English version by Rachel Bromwich (Dublin, 1982).
Williams, I., (ed.), *The Poems of Taliesin, English version by J. E. Caerwyn Williams* (Dublin, 1987).

Williams, J. E. Caerwyn, (ed.), *Gwaith Meilyr Brydydd a'i Ddisgynyddion, CBT* 1 (Cardiff, 1994).

Williams, P., (ed.), *Kedymdeithas Amlyn ac Amic gyda Rhagmadrodd a Nodiadau* (Cardiff, 1982).

Williams, T. (ed.), *Iolo MSS.: A Selection of Ancient Welsh Manuscripts, in Prose and Verse, from the Collection made by the late Edward Williams, Iolo Morganwg, for the purpose of forming a continuation of the Myvyrian Archaiology; and subsequently proposed as materials for a new history of Wales* (Llandovery, 1848).

Williams ab Ithel, J., (ed.), *Brut y Tywysogion; or, the Chronicle of the Princes* (London, 1860).
Williams ab Ithel, J., (ed.), *Barddas; or, a Collection of Original Documents, Illustrative of the Theology, Wisdom, and Usages of The Bardo-Druidic System of the Isle of Britain*, 2 vols. (Llandovery, 1862 & 1874).

Worrall's Directory of South Wales (Oldham, 1875).

X [JMJ (& OME?)], 'Cymru Byw: VI. John Gwenogfryn Evans', *Cymru* 4/18 (15 Jan. 1893), 77-79. (The letter from JGE to JMJ of 12 Dec 1892 [Bangor 3247, 11] implies that JMJ was the author. However, an article from the South Wales Daily News by 'Rhydycheinwr' ['Man of Oxford'] (L. J. Roberts) states: 'a sketch of Mr Evans's life recently appeared in *Cymru*, being contributed by the editor, Mr Owen M. Edwards'. NLW JGE papers, Group II, 150, 24. It is probable that the bulk was written by JMJ, but OME may well have contributed to it as editor.)

Zeuss, J. C., *Grammatica Celtica: E monumentis vetustis tam Hibernicae linguae quam Britannicae dialecti Cambricae Cornicae Armoricae nec non e Gallicae Priscae reliquiis*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1853).
Zeuss, J. C., *Grammatica Celtica : E monumentis vetustis tam hibernicae linguae quam britannicarum dialectorum, cambricae, cornicae, armoricae comparatis gallicae priscae reliquiis. Editio altera Curavit H. Ebel* (Berlin, 1871).

SECONDARY SOURCES

Bartrum, P. C., *A Welsh Classical Dictionary: People in History and Legend up to about A.D. 1000* (Aberystwyth, 1993).

Bergin, O., *The Native Irish Grammarian: The Sir John Rhŷs Memorial Lecture, British Academy 1938* (London, 1938).

Bromwich, R., *The Beginnings of Welsh Poetry: Studies by Sir Ifor Williams, D.Litt., Ll.D., F.B.A.* (Cardiff, 1972).

Charles, B. G., 'Phillimore, Egerton Grenville Bagot (1856-1937)', *DWB*, 755-756.

Charles-Edwards, G. and T. M., 'The Continuation of *Brut y Tywysogion* in Peniarth MS.20', E.B. Fryde (ed.), *Ysgrifau a Cherddi Cyflwynedig i/Essays and Poems Presented to Daniel Hughes* (Aberystwyth, 1994), 293-305.

Charles-Edwards, T. M., *Wales and the Britons 350-1064* (Oxford, 2013).

Charnell-White, C. A., *Bardic Circles: National, Regional and Personal Identity in the Bardic Vision of Iolo Morganwg* (Cardiff, 2007).

Cheney, C. R., (ed.), *Handbook of Dates for Students of English History* (London, 1981).

Chotzen, T. M., 'Le livre de Gautier d'Oxford, l'« Historia Regum Britanniae », les « Bruts » gallois et l'épisode de Lludd et Llevelys', *Études Celtiques* 4 (1948), 221-254.

Clancy, J. P., *The Earliest Welsh Poetry* (London, 1970).

Clapinson, M., 'Macray, William Dunn (1826–1916)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2167/view/article/38395, accessed 8 July 2017].

Constantine, M.-A., *The Truth Against the World: Iolo Morganwg and Romantic Forgery* (Cardiff, 2007).

Couper, S., 'Pinkerton, John [*pseuds.* Robert Heron, H. Bennet] (1758-1826), *historian and poet*', *ODNB online* http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22301?docPos=1 (extracted 19 Feb. 2015).

Davies, D. J., 'Thomas, William (Gwilym Marles; 1834-79)', *DWB*, 973.

Davies, W., *The Llandaff Charters* (Aberystwyth, 1979).

Davies, W. B., 'Timothy Lewis (1877-1958)', *NLWJ* 21/2 (1979), 145-158.

Davis, D. R., 'Edward Davies and Paradigm Shift in Nineteenth-Century Celtic Studies', Cram, D., Linn, A., Nowak, E., (eds.), *History of Linguistics 1996 Vol. 1: Traditions in Linguistics Worldwide* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia, 1999), 175 -180.

Denez, P., 'Modern Breton Literature', in J. E. Caerwyn Williams (ed.), *Literature in Celtic Countries: Taliesin Congress Lectures* (Cardiff, 1971), 111-136.

Drucker, J., *The alphabetic labyrinth. The letters in history and imagination*. (London, 1995).

Dumville, D. N., 'Brittany and *Armes Prydein Vawr*', *Études Celtiques* 20 (1983), 145-59.

Eco, U., *The Search for a Perfect Language* (Oxford, & Cambridge MA, 1995).

Ellis, R. H., 'The Historical Manuscripts Commission, 1869-1969', *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 2/6 (1962), 233–42.

Evans, D. Ellis, and Jones, R. Brinley, *Cofio'r Dafydd: Cymdeithas Dafydd ap Gwilym 1886-1986* (Abertawe, 1987).

Evans, D. Simon, *A Grammar of Middle Welsh* (Dublin, 1964).

Festinger, L., *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance* (Stanford CA, 1957).

Ford, P. K., *The Mabinogi and other Medieval Welsh Tales* (Berkeley CA, 1977).

Fulton, H., 'Troy Story: The Medieval Welsh *Ystorya Dared* and the *Brut* Tradition of British History', *The Medieval Chronicle* 7 (Amsterdam, 2011), 137-150.

Grant, A., 'Gwenogvryn Evans and *Cyfraith Hywel*', *NLWJ* 36/1 (2014), 1-12.
Grant, A., 'Gwenogvryn Evans and the identity of "Theodore Dodd"', *NLWJ* 36/4 (2017), 553-557.

Greene, D., *Makers and Forgers: The G. J. Williams Memorial Lecture* (Cardiff, 1975).

Gruffydd, R. G., 'Cyntefin ceinaf amser', *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 4 (1969), 12-26.

Guy, B., 'Egerton Phillimore (1856-1937) and the Study of Welsh Historical Texts', *THSC*, New Series 21 (2015), 36-50.

Harper, S. E., 'The Robert ap Huw Manuscript and the Canon of Sixteenth-century Welsh Harp Music', *WMH* 3 (1999), 130-61 [Welsh version 162-82].

Haycock, M., 'Llyfr Taliesin', *NLWJ* 25/4 (1988), 358-386.

Hodges, R. S., 'Towards the Light/Tua'r Goleuni: Welsh Medium Education for the non-Welsh speaking in South Wales: a parent's choice', *ESUKA/JEFUL* 2/1(2011), 303-314.

Hughes, G. H., 'Simon, Ben (c.1703-1793)', *DWB*, 912.

Hughes, L. A., 'Writing the Welsh People: O. M. Edwards and the Shaping of Welsh Identity' (Unpublished D.Phil thesis, University of Oxford, 2007).

Hughes, R. E., 'Evans, Daniel Silvan (1818 - 1903)', *DWB*, 223-4.

Hutton, R., *Blood and Mistletoe: The History of the Druids in Britain* (New Haven and London, 2009).

Huws, D., *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts* (Cardiff, 2000).

Isaac, G.R., '*Gweith Gwen Ystrat* and the northern heroic age of the sixth century', *CMCS* 36 (1998), 61-70.

James, A., *John Morris-Jones* (Writers of Wales; Cardiff, 1987).
James, A., *John Morris-Jones* (Dawn Dweud; Cardiff, 2011).

Jarvis, B., 'Iolo Morganwg and the Welsh Cultural Background' in G. H. Jenkins (ed.), *A Rattleskull Genius: The Many Faces of Iolo Morganwg* (Cardiff, 2009), 29-49.

Jenkins, D., 'Iorwerth ap Madog', *NLWJ* 8/2 (1953), 164-70.
Jenkins, D., 'A family of medieval Welsh lawyers', Jenkins, D., (ed.), *Celtic Law Papers* (Bruxelles, 1973), 123-33.
Jenkins, D., 'Gwenogvryn Evans's "Facsimile of the Chirk Codex"', *NLWJ* 22/4 (1982), 470-474.

Jenkins, D., *A Refuge in Peace and War: The National Library of Wales to 1952* (Aberystwyth, 2002).

Jenkins, G. H., *A Rattleskull Genius: The Many Faces of Iolo Morganwg* (Cardiff, 2009).
Jenkins, G. H., *Bard of Liberty: The Political Radicalism of Iolo Morganwg* (Cardiff, 2012).

Jenkins, G. H., Jones, F. M., Jones, D. C., (eds.), *The Correspondence of Iolo Morganwg*, 3 vols. (Cardiff, 2007).

Jenkins, R. T., *Hanes Cymru yn y Ddeunawfed Ganrif* (Cardiff, 1930).

Jones, E. D., 'Evans, John Gwenogvryn (1852-1930)', *DWB*, 245-246.

Jones, F. P., 'The Blue Books of 1847', Williams, J. L., and Hughes, G. R., (eds.), *The History of Education in Wales* (Swansea, 1978), 127-44.

Jones, J. D., 'Jones, Rees Jenkin (1835-1924)', *DWB*, 503-4.

Jones, J. E., *Gardens of Faith / Gerddi Ffydd* (London, 2006).

Ker, N. R., 'From "above top line" to "below top line"', *Celtica* 5 (1960), 13-16.
Ker, N. R., *English manuscripts in the century after the Norman Conquest* (Oxford, 1960).

Klausner, D. N., 'Evans, John Gwenogvryn (1852–1930)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: OUP, 2004)
[http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33041, accessed 24 Oct 2010].

Lewis, Saunders, *Tynged yr Iaith (The Fate of the Language)*, (London, 1962).

Lloyd, J. E.; Jenkins, R. T.; Davies, W. L.; Davies, M. B. (eds.), *The Dictionary of Welsh Biography down to 1940* (London, HSC, 1959).

Löffler, M., *The Literary and Historical Legacy of Iolo Morganwg 1826-1926* (Cardiff, 2007).

Maclear, J.F., *Church and State in the Modern Age: a documentary history* (Oxford, 1995).

Mattar, S. Garrigan, *Primitivism, Science, and the Irish Revival* (Oxford, 2004).

O'Dochartaigh, P., *Julius Pokorny, 1887-1970: Germans, Celts and Nationalism* (Dublin, 2003).

Owen, M. E., and Jenkins, D., 'Gwilym Was Da', *NLWJ* 21/4 (1980), 429-30.

Parry, T., 'Morris-Jones (formerly Jones), Sir John (Morris) (1864-1929)', *DWB*, 668-9.

Parry-Williams, T. H., 'Guest (Schreiber), Lady Charlotte Elizabeth Bertie (1812-1895)', *DWB*, 322.

Pennar, M., *Taliesin Poems* (Llanerch, 1988).
Pennar, M., *The Black Book of Carmarthen* (Llanerch, 1989).

Pryce, H., 'The Prologues to the Welsh Lawbooks', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 33 (1986), 151-87.
Pryce, H., 'The Context and Purpose of the Earliest Welsh Lawbooks', *CMCS* 39 (Summer 2000), 39-63.
Pryce, H., 'British or Welsh? National Identity in Twelfth-Century Wales', *EHR* 116 (2001), 775–801.
Pryce, H., *J. E. Lloyd and the Creation of Welsh History: Renewing a Nation's Past* (Cardiff, 2011).
Pryce, H., 'Medieval Welsh History in the Victorian Age', *CMCS* 71 (Summer 2016), 1-28.

Reiss, E., 'The Welsh versions of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia', *Cylchgrawn Hanes Cymru / Welsh History Review* 4/2 (Dec 1968), 97-127.

Rejhon, A. C., *Cân Rolant: The Medieval Welsh Version of the Song of Roland,*

University of California Publications in Modern Philology 113 (Berkeley CA, 1984).

Rhys-Phillips, D., *Lady Charlotte Guest and the Mabinogion: some notes on the work and its translator, with extracts from her journals* (Carmarthen, 1921).

Richards, M., 'The 'Lichfield' Gospels (Book of 'Saint Chad')', *NLWJ* 18/1 (Summer 1973), 135-146

Roberts, D. H. E., 'John Gwenogfryn Evans: Ei Gymhellion a'r Dylanwadau fu arno', *Y Llyfr yn Nghymru* 2 (1999), 53-80.
Roberts, D. H. E., 'J. Gwenogfryn Evans a Chofnodi a Mynegeio Llawsgrifau Cymru', *Ceredigion* 14/4 (2004), 55-72.

Roberts, R. J., 'Madan, Falconer (1851–1935)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2167/view/article/41047, accessed 8 July 2017].

Russell, P., 'Orthography as a key to codicology: innovation in the work of a thirteenth-century Welsh scribe', *CMCS* 25 (1993), 77-85.
Russell, P., 'Scribal (in)competence in thirteenth-century north Wales', *NLWJ* 29/2 (1995), 129-176.

Sanders, I. J., 'The Borough of Lampeter in the Early Fourteenth Century', *Ceredigion* 4 (1960-1), 136-45.

Shaw, F., 'Johann Kaspar Zeuss', *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 43/170 (Summer, 1954), 194-206.

Sims-Williams, P., 'Celtomania and Celtoscepticism', *CMCS* 36 (1998), 1-35.

Stern, D. N., *The Interpersonal World of the Infant* (New York, 2000).

Thomas, A. R., (ed.), *The Welsh Dialect Survey* (Cardiff, 2000).

Tywyn, C. (ed.), *Our Faith: Unitarian voices of Wales in 2013 / Ein Ffydd: Lleisiau Undodiaid Cymru yn 2013* (London, 2013).

Whittaker, P., 'The tablature of the Iolo Morganwg manuscript (British Library, MS Add.14970)', *Hanes Cerddoriaeth Cymru/Welsh Music History* 3 (1999), 252-270.

Williams, G. J., *Iolo Morganwg a Chywyddau'r Ychwanegiad* (London, 1926).
Williams, G. J., 'The History of Welsh Scholarship', *Studia Celtica* 8-9 (1973-4), 195-219, 215.

Williams, I., 'Rhys, Sir John (1840-1915)', *DWB*, 844-5.

Williams, J. E. Caerwyn, 'Syr John Morris-Jones: Y Cefndir a'r Cyfnod Cynnar',

THSC, Part I, 1965 Part II, 167-206; Part II, 1966 Part I, 16-72.

Williams, M., *Fiery Shapes: Celestial Portents and Astrology in Ireland and Wales, 700-1700* (Oxford, 2010).

Williams, T. O., *Undodiaeth a Rhyddid Meddwl* (Llandysul, 1962).