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JISC



## NEWS AND NOTES

### THE BLACK BOOK OF CHIRK: A NOTE

In his recent article in this *Journal*<sup>1</sup>, Professor Morgan Watkin has once again examined the orthography of the Black Book of Chirk (MS. Peniarth 29) and, to use his own expression,<sup>2</sup> has been able to descry an ancient Franco-Norman in every spinney. Of the correctness of his thesis that the Old French traits of the orthography make it necessary to ascribe the manuscript to 'the first quarter of the second half of the XIIIth century' at the earliest<sup>3</sup> I am not competent to judge; but some points made in the article call for comment. Professor Watkin seems to have left recent work on the Welsh lawbooks out of consideration, and since scholars who do not read Welsh may use his article uncritically, it is the more desirable to take the opportunity to gather together some information about the Black Book.

Professor Watkin suggests that 'according to the name it bears, the *Black Book of Chirk* was probably once the property of Chirk Castle'.<sup>4</sup> So far as I know, the name has never been fully explained, and there is some mystery about its origin: as will be seen, it cannot at present be traced farther back than Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt, and it seems most likely that it was he who gave the manuscript this name because it had belonged to the Edwardes family of Chirk.<sup>5</sup> Its connection with the family is proved by the existence in MS. Llanstephan 68, pp. 111-128, written about 1613,<sup>6</sup> of 'Exce[r]pta ex libro antiquissimo remanente penes Johannem Edwardes de Chirke', which are literal copies of passages from the Black Book. This John Edwardes must be the 'John Edwards III' of *DWB*, who died in 1625: he was the 'M. John Edwards or Wavn gwir ymgeledhwr yr iaith Gymraec' named by Sir Thomas Wiliems in the preface to his manuscript *Dictionarium Latino-Cambricum*<sup>7</sup> as one of those who readily lent him their old manuscripts, and we shall see that Wiliems had access to the Black Book, though apparently that was after he had completed the Dictionary.<sup>8</sup>

The other element in the name is less easily explained. The manuscript is indeed now bound in black and the spine is inscribed 'Y Llyvyr Du o'r Weun'—a possible medieval spelling, apart from the apostrophe; but this binding is the work of the late Carl Hanson. When I first saw the manuscript about 1935, it was in loose quires in preparation for this re-binding; in 1928 Sir Thomas Parry-Williams had spoken of it thus:<sup>9</sup>

'On the outside of the MS., now in the National Library of Wales, on a slip of paper pasted on a sheet of vellum containing English writing, is written '26 Llyfr Ddu (sic) o Waen' (the Black Book of Chirk) in a late hand (? W. W. E. Wynne's), and inside on a clean white sheet of vellum (quite different from the dark brown vellum of the MS. itself) are inscribed the words—*y llyfr du or w-*, with most of the last word torn off, but, judging by the bases of the strokes left, it was probably *waun*. Underneath and on top left-hand corner are the initials *ll d w.*'

It can safely be said that the 'late hand' is W. W. E. Wynne's, and the words *y llyfr du or w-* and *ll d w* are almost certainly in Robert Vaughan's writing: they are the earliest evidence I have found for the name. The slip of paper, the sheet of vellum with English writing, and the clean white sheet of vellum have now been bound in at the end of the book; and to me, Parry-Williams's words, taken with the fact that Gwenogvryn Evans's Report,<sup>10</sup> contrary to its usual practice, does not describe the binding, suggest that by the time the manuscript reached Peniarth the English vellum sheet was its outside cover. This sheet is in fact the left-hand half (or less) of a tantalising indenture: dated

the '... and twentieth day of January' in an unidentified year of an unnumbered King Charles, and made between an unidentified first party and 'John Price of Pw ...', it conveys an incompletely identified parcel of land whose name seems to include *Kellilyfday*. The decorative initial and the writing of the body of this fragment are both very much in the style of the transcripts of John Jones of Gellilyfdy: should we then conclude that the Black Book passed to John Jones on its way from Chirk to Hengwrt?

Evans's *Report* seems to be the earliest authority for the full medieval spelling (which recurs on the half-title of his facsimile edition); and Robert Vaughan's note suggests that the book was bound in black in his time, but I have found no description of it in any catalogue of the Hengwrt library – though I have certainly not made an exhaustive search through that maze. The hope that it was the Hengwrt manuscript in 'a smoky black cover' recorded by Edward Lhuyd<sup>11</sup> was dashed by the realisation that Lhuyd's description derives from the catalogue compiled by William Maurice of Llansilin in 1658, which shows that the description applied to MS. Hengwrt 40, now Peniarth 175.<sup>12</sup> The Black Book of Chirk was one of the two volumes which bore the Hengwrt number 26, and were described shortly enough by Maurice: 'Dau Lyfr Cyfrait', Hywel Dâ: In Gram: =leafe :. // Modfed o dew: bob ün, o'r Däu', which does nothing to explain the blackness of the name.

Maurice's description is repeated in later catalogues, notably Aneurin Owen's in MS. Peniarth 534, where he has added the marginal note *Llyvyr du*. The great reputation of the Black Book seems to stem from Owen: neither medieval lawyers nor later antiquaries copied it as enthusiastically as some other manuscripts, but Owen made it the basis of his 'Venedotian Code', 'on account of its being the most ancient manuscript in the Welsh language which has passed under the Editor's observation'.<sup>13</sup> He noted that it was 'endorsed, by Rt. Vaughan, Llyvr du o Waen, the 'Black book of Chirk', probably from its being procured from thence; it was transcribed by Wm. Morris, of Llansilin, in 1680'.<sup>14</sup> Nothing seems to be known of William Maurice's transcript: and it may be significant of Maurice's opinion of the manuscript that he copied no readings from it into his *Corpus Hoelianum* and left its pages unmarked by his heavy hand.<sup>14</sup>

Much more important than this later history of the manuscript (which gave it its name, for Professor Watkin is surely right in saying 'that it was written further west'<sup>16</sup>) is its earlier history, or more properly the pre-history of the version which it represents. Other students have, I think, accepted the conclusion reached by Dr. Aled Wiliam and myself independently,<sup>17</sup> that the Black Book, even if it is the oldest extant manuscript of the family, cannot be the archetype of the other manuscripts, and indeed represents a 'cadet branch of the family'.<sup>18</sup> This fact has two consequences in the present connection: on the one hand, the prestige of the family of lawbooks is not affected by evidence that this particular manuscript is later than was previously believed; on the other, since the other manuscripts are not derived from the Black Book, their readings can be the more confidently used to correct or interpret those of the Black Book, and it is unlikely that, where the Black Book has one of its exotic readings and another manuscript a staid reading, the latter is the result of an unjustified regularisation of a correct (but unfamiliar) form in the Black Book.

This means that some of Professor Watkin's speculations are unnecessary: thus the *maydu* on fo. 3a which he interprets as MEDDU, 'to possess', with *ay* for *E* is *maedu* in MS. B,<sup>19</sup> and is far more reasonably understood as 'to strike'; and *pahon*, occurring also in MS. B and the parallel version *Col.*,<sup>19a</sup> is a word in its own right and needs not to be equated with PAHAM. In *deleet* the double *e* does not represent *ê* but a disyllabic *êe* or *ye*: the same form occurs in *Col.*,<sup>20</sup> and *e* for the obscure sound of *Y* is common in the Black Book and in other law manuscripts of the thirteenth century.

This leads to another point. On page 52 of the Black Book Sir Thomas Wiliems 'physycwr' has noted that he read the book and 'ai heglureis yn hylythr' in 1608. I think

it is quite certain that Wiliems's 'clarification' consisted in altering some spellings so as to make them more easily understood, though he has also underlined many words and written catchwords in the margins. Corrections, underlinings, and catchwords are in the same ink, of a browner colour than the ink of the text (which is often quite a bright black), and the writing of the catchwords is recognisably Wiliems's; hence 'the barred *d* employed to express the voiced spirant'<sup>21</sup> cannot be attributed to the original scribe. Though the different colour of the ink does not appear in Gwenogvryn Evans's facsimile, the corrections are quite clearly visible: indeed, some of them are more clearly visible in the facsimile than in the manuscript, because of the fading of the ink. Thus on page 31, in line 11 the original reading of the manuscript is *os adef hy geyr eu y keyr hy*: the alteration of *adef* to *aðef* is clearly visible in the manuscript, but the facsimile reveals a comma added before the clause and another after the first *hy*, *eu* altered to *yu*, and *keyr* to *geyr*. Similar results would follow an examination of many other pages.<sup>22</sup>

Since the barred *d* is thus not to be attributed to the original scribe, it follows that Professor Watkin is wrong in crediting him with 'mastery over the *Soft Mutation*' on the basis of the correct use of the barred *d*: he would, indeed, be quite exceptional in his period if he consistently represented the mutated consonant, for it is quite usual to find the radical written in place of the soft mutation. On the very first page of the Black Book, for example, we find *o pop kemud en y tehuyokaet* where correct mutation would require *bop* and *dehuyokaet*.

This leaves open once again the question of the nationality of the scribe: here Professor Watkin himself vacillates, citing several pieces of evidence that he was non-Welsh, but concluding 'As the script was put together in all probability in a North Wales monastery, it would not be too much to regard the scribe as a Welshman born and bred'<sup>23</sup> though 'with a Franco-Norman education'.<sup>24</sup> Here it must first be asked whether there is really any evidence at all that this manuscript was written in a monastery; if we accept so much, we may perhaps allow Professor Watkin's 'probably in the monastic establishment of Bangor',<sup>25</sup> but since Welsh law attaches such importance to written statements of legal rules, we may well wonder whether Welsh lawyers relied on monastic scriptoria (about which, in Wales, we know so little) for their copies of lawbooks.

It seems to me, however, that the orthographical evidence of the Black Book is overwhelmingly against the scribe's being a native Welsh speaker. Professor Watkin admits to knowing 'of no reason which would induce an educated thoroughbred Welshman to have recourse to *a*' for *y* in words like *kantaf* (CYNTAF) and *kafreth* (CYFREITH)<sup>26</sup>; even stronger is the evidence of the sixteen different ways of representing CH and the eighteen of representing TH. Both these sounds would be foreign to a Norman, and he might well have difficulty in recognising them as well as in deciding how to represent them: but it is hard to believe that a native Welsh speaker, even if he had been educated in a Norman milieu so that he was not wholly familiar with Welsh orthographical practice, would have anything like so much difficulty. The Welsh speaker of the twentieth century will always recognise an LL when he hears one and will represent it by *ll*, however uncertain he may be of many rules of spelling; we should expect a Welshman of the thirteenth century to recognise and represent CH and TH equally consistently. The conclusion seems irresistible, that the Black Book of Chirk was written from dictation by a non-Welshman;<sup>27</sup> or rather, that at least part of it was so written – for though the manuscript has hitherto usually been treated as a uniform whole, it is clear that it was written by at least two different hands and there seems to be some correlation between spelling and script.<sup>28</sup>

DAFYDD JENKINS

*Aberystwyth*

- <sup>1</sup> N.L.W.J., xiv. 351.  
<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*, xiv. 53.  
<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*, xiv. 360.  
<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*, xiv. 356.  
<sup>5</sup> for whom see DWB., s.v. *Edwards or Edwardes family, of Chirk*.  
<sup>6</sup> *Rep.* ii. 557.  
<sup>7</sup> MS. Peniarth 228, p. xvii; the Dictionary was compiled between 1604 and 1607: *Rep.* i. 1055.  
<sup>8</sup> *infra*, p. [4].  
<sup>9</sup> *Aberystwyth Studies*, vol. x, (The Hywel Dda Millenary Volume), 132.  
<sup>10</sup> *Rep.* i. 359.  
<sup>11</sup> 'Kŷvreithie hên y Britannied, a xaead dy Mŷglyd a berxid yn vŷy nag ereilh gan Mr. John Jones am hŷnder', *Arch. Brit.*, 258b.  
<sup>12</sup> See the copy dated 1671 in MS. Wynnstay 10.  
<sup>13</sup> AL. i. xxv.  
<sup>14</sup> *ibid.*, i. xxvi.  
<sup>15</sup> See Dafydd Jenkins, 'Deddfgrawn William Maurice', N.L.W.J. ii. 33, at p. 35. I cannot resist the temptation to record the opinion of one cataloguer of the Hengwrt library (Richard Llwyd, in MS. Peniarth 533, p. 48: see *Handlist of Manuscripts in the National Library of Wales*, I. xxi) 'two centuries ago these Laws in MS were *curious* - being to be found *only* in private hands - but since their being given to the world - with a Latin translation by Wotton in 1730 - they are of little value.'  
<sup>16</sup> N.L.W.J. xiv. 356.  
<sup>17</sup> Aled Rhys Wiliam, *Llyfr Iorwerth* (Cardiff, 1960), xxix; Dafydd Jenkins BBCS. xiv. 98-9.  
<sup>18</sup> Aled Rhys Wiliam, *Welsh History Review*, Special Number (1963), 20.  
<sup>19</sup> *Ior* §5/3.  
<sup>19a</sup> *Ior* §79/5, *Col* §522.  
<sup>20</sup> e.g., *Col* §79, 91, 92, 99.  
<sup>21</sup> N.L.W.J. xiv. 355.  
<sup>22</sup> My pride has been much hurt by Professor Watkin's assertion that previous workers on the Chirk Codex had not noticed the barred *d* at all at any time: see my note in *Llyfr Colan* (Cardiff, 1963), xvii.  
<sup>23</sup> N.L.W. xiv. 353.  
<sup>24</sup> N.L.W.J. xiv. 352. Aneurin Owen had suggested that 'the scribe may have been a monk, and not so skilful in the British tongue as other languages': AL. i. xxv.  
<sup>25</sup> N.L.W.J. xiv. 356.  
<sup>26</sup> *ibid.*, xiv. 352.  
<sup>27</sup> See *Llyfr Iorwerth*, xxvii, n. 9, *Llyfr Colan*, xix. n. 7.  
<sup>28</sup> See *Llyfr Colan*, xxxv.

#### DWY GERDD GAN GWILYM PUE O BENRHYN CREUDDYN

Bu Gwilym Pue (c. 1618-c. 1689) yn ei dro yn filwr (capten ym myddin Siarl I yn 1648), yn feddyg, ac yn offeiriad. Ymunodd ag Urdd San Bened ym Mharis yn 1660 ac ymaelododd â Choleg Valladolid, Sbaen, yn 1670. Ymadawodd â'r coleg hwnnw ar y trydydd o Chwefror, 1677, ac o 1678 hyd 1689 bu'n gaplan i deulu o reciwsantiaid a drigai yn y Blackbrook, sir Fynwy.

Yn ei ddwy lawysgrif (*N.L.W.* 4710B, dyddiad 1676; a *N.L.W.* 13167B, dyddiad 1674) ceir pedair cerdd rydd o'i waith: 'Carol Nadolig', 'Buchedd y santes Gwenfrewy', 'Triban o Achos Buchedd Martyn Luther yr Apostata' a 'Messuron yw datcanu gidar Delyn, Anno 1648'. Cyhoeddais 'Carol Nadolig' yn *Efrydiau Catholig*, Cyfrol II, 1947, t. 29. Cyhoeddir 'Buchedd y santes Gwenfrewy', cerdd o 28 o benillion ar y mesur tri thrawiad, y cyfle cyntaf a ddaw. Yma rhoddir y ddwy enghraifft arall o'i waith ar y mesurau rhydd sydd wedi goroesi. Ychwanegir amrywiadau ar y testun ynghyd â nodiadau. Anwybyddwyd atalnodi Gwilym Pue gan ei fod mor fypwyol.

'Triban o Achos Buchedd Martyn Lvther yr Apostata'  
 (N.L.W. 4710B, t 328-330)

- i. Nid celwydd A Ddatcana,  
 Na Gogan, ond Mia Dreutha  
 Fuchedd luther, a châr siw,  
 Hoñ yw Ei Bitten<sup>1</sup> Benna.

2. Bû Gûnt yn Ffreir (1a) vfudd  
A chatharin (2) Bôr Mewn crefudd, (3)  
yn lle Diweirdeb, Dawn wrth Raid,  
yn Pechu (4) caid Nhwy Heb Gystudd. (5)
3. Yn llé Bôd yn ostwngedig, (6)  
yn vfudd, (7) yn Barchedig  
yw Pennadur, (8) Trwm ywr sôn  
Am Môdd (9) I Buon Styfnig.
4. Trawsder Blin A Balchder,  
A Hefud, (10) Gormod Hyfder  
Yn Ei clonnau (11) Nhwy (11b) Heb wâd  
A Gâd Mewn Gormod Dyfnder.
5. I wleddau, (12) Ei ymprydiau (13) Hirrion,  
Ei cryssau (14) Rhawn Mor wirrion  
Tron I sidan Mân A llin  
yn lle Dwr Gwîn oedd Dirrion.
6. Ei Gwisc oedd Hên A Pharchus (15)  
Trôn Ir Gŵn Trwssiadus, (16)  
y cŵl Ar llenn, yr Rhain Ni châr;  
Nid ydunt (17) Hanner (17b) Gweddus. (18)
7. Ei Adduned llun (19) yn Torri  
Heb Gwilidd, (20) Êto (21) yn Pechu, (22)  
Ei Rhyddid luther, Gwan Ei Benn, (23)  
Mewn scrifen sùdd (24) yn Heuru. (25)
8. Fod Rhesswm, Hunn (26) A Ddwad,  
A Bôd Rhinwedd (27) wastad  
I Arfer Merched, os Bûdd Gwiw,  
Ir Gwûr (28) o Bôb Rhyw Alwad.
9. Medd Hwnn, (29) Mae Mor Briodol  
A Bwyd, Mae Mor Rhessymmol  
I Gynnal Iechid, (29a) Dynar Peth,  
A choweth, Mae Mor weddol
10. Y wraig, Pan (29b) Fô Gorchymmun, (30)  
os Palla yw Gŵr yn Gofun, (31)  
Fo All y Gŵr wasneuthu Ei Drô  
Dan Alw Atto y Forwyn.
11. Yr Araith A scryfennodd,  
A hunnu (33) I Hun Cyffessodd,  
Yn Erbun (24) Fferen, Gwaetha Ei (35) Hawl,  
I Hynnu (36) Diawl Ai Hudodd.
12. Geiriau (37) Dûw A Rannodd,  
Pêth or Rhain Gwrthododd,  
A Gytunodd (38) Ai Feddwl,  
yr Hurthcen (39) Dwl cymerodd.

13. Yn Dûst (40) I Fôd Gwrthnebus, (41)  
A Balchder Mwy Rhagflaenus, (42)  
Nessa (43) at *Fides*, Drwg Ei Foes,  
*Sola* A Roes yn yspus. (44)
14. Wrth Hunn (45) Hawdd yw Gwybod  
Nad ydiw yn cydnabod  
Gweithredodd Dâ sùdd Fawr Ei Pwyll,  
Nid Eill (47) yr wyll Moi Gorfod.
15. Wrth Ddyscu y cyffredin  
Bû Achos llawer Gwrthrin  
O Rann Hynnu, (48) Almania caed  
yn Goch o waed Ei Gwerin.
16. Fo Newydiodd Hwnn (49) Ei Foddion  
Yn Debig Ir camelion,  
Mewn Dîm Nid oedd yn wastad  
Su yn Perthin Ad (sic) Fudd (sic) (50) vnion.
17. Newydio A wnaeth Fyddylion  
Ag Futh (51) yn Erbun (52) canon  
Eglwys Crist sudd (53) Raid (54) I chael  
Er Maint yw I wael (54a) Ddychmygion.
18. Fô Dâl Hunn (55) Etto yw Nodi:  
Fod Ei Holl cwmpeini  
Wrth Bibe (56) Ei Tâd, Ffôla yw Nhwy,  
yn Dawnssio (57) Trwyr Mieri
19. Er Bod I Ddryge yn Drewi,  
Ai Gam Gred Heb Gyfri,  
I Holl (57a) Feie Ar Ddûw Fo Droedd, (58)  
ond Gwrthun (59) oedd I Gnafri (59a).
20. Dûw A wnaeth yn Athro (59b)  
o (60) Bechod Ag yw cyffro, (61)  
Pwy A Ddilyna Gablwr llunn, (61a)  
Neu A Rodiau (62) Frun (63) yw wrando.
21. Am Falchder A chenfigen (65)  
Godineb A Pheth Amgen,  
Masswedd (66) coeg A Geiriau (67) Mal,  
y Bûd Ni Ddâl Fath Fylen.
22. Wrth Gauffydd (68) llunn (69) Fo Ddallodd,  
Maddeuaint (70) Dûw Nis ceissiodd, (71)  
yn Nifel A Fû (72) yn Bûw Fal cî,  
Mewn Brinti Fô Ddiweddodd.
23. Am Hynnu, (73) Bûdd (74) Di Gyfrwys  
A Dechre Gymrud (75) Annwys;  
Gâd yr Angenfyl Rhag cael cam,  
Glûn wrth Dy Fam, yr Eglwys.  
Gwilym Pue Ai cant.



Darlleniadau *N.L.W.* 13165B: Teitl: Tryban; Bychedd; 1. Byttayn; 1a. Ffrier; 2. chathrin; 3. crefydd; 4. Pechy; 5. Gystydd; 6. ostyngedig; 7. vfydd; 8. Pennadyr; 9. y Modd; 10. Ag Hefyd; 11. ei clonnay; 11a. Nwy; 12. wledday; 13. ymbryd; 14. cressay; 15. Pharchys; 16. Trwssiadys; 17. ydynt; 17b. Hannar; 18. Gweddys; 19. llynn; 20. Gwilydd; 21. Etto; 22. Pechy; 23. Gwann yw Benn; 24. sydd; 25. Heury; 26. Hynn; 27. Rhiwedd (sic) 28. Gwyr; 29. Hwn; 29a. Iechyd; 29b. Pen; 30. Gyrchymmyn; 31. Gofyn; 32. wasneuthy; 33. Hynny; 34. Erbyn; 35. I Hawl; 36. Hynny; 37. Geiriay; 38. Gytynodd; 39. Hyrthgen; 40. Dyst; 41. Gwrthnebs; 42. Rhag-Flaynys; 43. Nesa; 44. yspys; 45. Hyn; 46. sydd; 47. All; 48. Hynny; 49. Hwn; 50. Fydd; 51. Fyth; 52. Erbyn; 53. sydd; 54. Rhaid; 54a. yw ei wael; 55. Hyn; 56. Bibay; 57. Downsio; 57a. Ei Holl; 58. Drodd; 59. Gwrthyn; 59a. ei Gnafri; 59b. Atho (sic); 60. or Pechod; 61. Gyffro; 61a. llyn; 62. Rodiay; 63. Fryn. 65. chynfigen; 66. Maeswedd; 67. Geiria.; 68. Gayffydd; 69. llyn; 70. Maddeuant; 71. ceisiodd; 72. y Fy; 73. Hyny; 74. Bydd; 75. Gymryd; 76. Glyn.

#### Nodiadau

*Teitl:* Martin Luther (1483–1546), diarddelwyd ef yn 1521.

*Pennill 2:* Catherine von Bora, sef y ferch a briododd y 13 o Fehefin, 1515, a hithau'n 26 oed. Mae Gwilym Pue yn cyhuddo Luther a Chatrin o 'sacrilegium'. Ceir diffyniad o'r pechod yn 'Tretys ar Gyffes' (*Hafod 14*), t. 3:

'Torriad cyssegr ydyu pen fo achos cnoudol rhung neb, a mab, ne a merch o'r sydd myun crefydd, ne o'r a wnaeth adduned o ddiweirdeb'

ac yr oedd Luther a Chatrin 'myun crefydd' ar un adeg yn eu bywyd, y naill yn fynach ym Mynachdy'r Meudwyaid Awstinaidd yn Erfurt a'r llall yn lleian mewn cwfaint o Urdd San Bernard. Bu iddynt dri mab a dwy ferch.

*Pennill 7:* Cyhoeddodd Luther ei lyfr ar ryddid y Cristion, *De Libertate Christiana*, yn 1520. Ceir detholiad yn *Traethodau'r Diwygiad, Cyfres y Werin*, t. 77.

*Pennill 10:* Cymharer Edward Turbervil (*Brogyntyn 6*, t. 226):

'Dyma ddüsug lywther, gweler argolion  
on i ddaw r gwragedd, mwynwedd meinion,  
dowaid mawr anüs, doed i moryñion,  
diaü o alwad fal priodolion . . .' (t. 228)

(gw. *Trans. Hon. Soc. Cymm*, 1961, t. 103).

*Pennill 11:* Cyferiad, ond odid, at ateb Luther i lyfr Harri'r 8fed yn amddiffyn y Saith Sacrament.

*Pennill 13:* 'Sola Fides': cyfeiriad at ddatganiad Luther o flaen Cajetan, llysgennad y Pab, yn Augsburg ar yr unfed ar ddeg o Hydref, 1518: sef bod ffydd yn unig yn ddigon i iechydwrriaeth. (*Apology Aug. Conf.*)

*Pennill 15:* Cyfeiriad at Ryfel y Werin (*The Peasants' War*) yn neu'r Almaen ym mis Mehefin, 1524.

*Pennill 23:* 'annwys' (an + dwys); dyddiad yr enghraifft gynharaf a gofnodir yn *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* ydyw 1793, ac fe'i priodolir i W. Owen (Pughe), *A Welsh and English Dictionary*.



'Messvron yw Datcanv Gidar Delvn, Anno 1648'  
(N.L.W. 4710B, t. 331-332)

- Nid Gwaith y sêr, su (1) yn Peru I Bûd (2)  
Ddwyn Rhyfel ym Mhòb (2a) lle,  
ond I Gosbi Pawb ar Brûd  
Fod wllus Duw or Ne.
5. Gorthrwm Bechod, Gwaith Gau (3) Ffudd, (4)  
yw Diffaith Achos Hunn, (5)  
Diflasswur (6) Hêdd, yn Peru sùdd (7)  
Na chawn Ni yn Bûd y (8) wunn.(9)
- Pan oedd yr Eglwys yn Ei Pharch
10. Ar Allor yn y chôr,  
Nid oedd Na Gelun (10) Traed, Na March,  
Nag ofn Rhud (11) Tir Na Môr.  
Pan wnaed or Fynwes Gyffes Bûr  
wrth offeiriad (12) oedd yn Ddûn, (13)
15. Maddeuaint (14) Dûw, Drwy Benud (15) cûr  
A wnaef yn Bûd yn wunn. (16)
- Pan oedd y seintie Gunt (17) In Plaid (18)  
An Gweddif (19) Attun (20) Nhwuf, (21)  
Rhaglyddau (22) Rheini (23) wrth yn Rhaid
20. Gan Grîst Iachau (24) yn clwyf.  
Pan oedd yn Hyder Ar wenn (25) Fair  
A Pharch I Ddelwr (26) Fûn (27)  
Ag Anrhydedd Mawr Ir crair,  
y Roedd (28) yn Bûd yn wunn. (29)
25. Fo Ddaw Etto Ffûdd 29a) In Plith, (30)  
Ar Pengrwn Eiff yn scwar.  
Fô Ddâw Distriw, Mawr yw Rhith,  
Er cimint (31) ydiw Ei Bâr. (31a).  
Pan Ddel Brenhin (32) Dan Aur lenn, (33)
30. Escobion Gimmin (34) vn.  
I Godi Aberth vwch (35) Ei Penn, (36)  
Ni a Gawn yn Bûd yn wunn (37)
- Panfor (38) Twyssog (39) Ar y Dwr  
A Chyntho lawer câd
35. Ar cymry yn Chwennuch Gidar Gwr  
Gael Dial cam Ei Dad,  
Pan Fo Fal Adar Mân Mewn Glûd  
Y Saesson oll yng Glûn,  
Pan Fothor cyngor Dall yn Fûd,
40. Ni a Gawn yn Bûd yn wunn (40)
- Pan Fôr Ffudd (41) Gatholig lan  
Ar offeiriad yn Ei wisc, (42)  
Pan Fôn Ni yn Gwrando offeren Gân  
A Phregeth Gwr o Ddusc ,

45. Pan For Eglwys yn Ei Braint  
 A Phawb yn Gwellaf Vn,  
 Yna Trwy Gymmun (43) Mwyn y Saint  
 Y cawn Ni yn Bûd yn wunn. (44)  
 Gwilym Pue Ai cant.

Darlleniadau *N.L.W.* 13167B, t. 490-491:

1. sy; 2. yr Bûd; 2a. Môb; 3. Gay; 4. Ffydd; 5. Hynn; 6. Diflasswyr; 7. sydd; 8. yn; 9. wynn; 10. Gelyn; 11. Rhydd; 12. offeiriaid; 13. Ddŷn; 14. Maddeyaint; 15. Benyd; 15. wynn; 17. Gynt; 18. yn Plaid; 19. Gweddf (sic); 20. Attn; 21. Nhwy; 22. Rhag--lydday; 23. yr Reini; 24. Iachayf; 25. wen; 26. ei Ddelwr; 27. Fŷn; 28. yr oedd; 29. wynn; 29a. Ffydd; 30. ein Plith; 31. cymynt; 31a. ei Bâr; 32. Brenin; 33. Aur len; 34. Gimryn; 35. ywch; 36. Pen; 37. wyn; 38. Pan Fôr; 39. Twysog; 40. wynn; 41. Ffydd; 42. wysc; 43. Gymyn; 44. wynn.

#### Nodiadau

Mae Gwilym Pue yn y gerdd hon yn efelychu cerddi Saesneg megis 'When the King Enjoys His Own Again', Martin Parker, (1643), a gyfieithwyd i'r Gymraeg gan Rowland Vaughan o Gaer-Gai: 'Nes Caffo Charles ei eiddo ei hun'. (Gw. *Dulliau'r Canu Rhydd*, Brinley Rees, t. 250). Roedd Pue a Vaughan yn gapteiniaid ym myddin Siarl, ond am resymau gwahanol. Canodd y ddau yn mynegi eu gobeithion am adferiad y brenin, eithr nid yr un yn hollol oedd cymhellion y ddau.

#### 1. Y Teitl

- a. Yn ôl Gwilym Pue ei hunan, cyfansoddwyd y gerdd hon yn y flwyddyn 1648 pan oedd Siarl yn garcharor byddin Cromwell:

'Metrum hoc ultimum Author composuit, In Anno christi Incarnati 1648 Dum Carolus Primus Angliae Rex sub custodia Militum Detineretur' (*N.L.W.* 4710B t. 332; hefyd *N.L.W.* 13167B t. 491).

Roedd Siarl I yn garcharor y Fyddin yn Hampton Court o Fehefin 1647 hyd Ragfyr 1647. Dihangodd oddi yno i Ynys Wycht. Wedi ei ddal ailgarcharwyd ef a'i roi yn Hurst Castle. Cyfeirio at y carcharu yn Hurst Castle yn 1648 a wneir yn y nodiad Lladin. Dienenyddwyd Siarl ym mis Ionawr 1649

- b. Digon tebyg fod Gwilym Pue yn delynor. Dengys ei lawysgrifau fod ganddo ddiddordeb yn y grefft.

*llynell 2. etc.* Y Rhyfel Cartref [1642-1649]. Y rhyfel yw un o'r pethau, yn ôl Gwilym Pue, sy'n peri 'na chawn y byd yn wyn'. Y pethau eraill y mae'n rhaid wrthynt eto i sicrhau bod 'y byd yn wyn' ydyw: (1) symud y tresl pren (y bwrdd cymun) o'r eglwysi ac ailgodi'r allor yn y côr, (llynellau 9-10); (2) cael y Gyffes yn ôl, (llynellau 13-16); eiriolaeth y Saint, (llynellau 17-20); ac anrhydeddu delwau, (llynellau 21-24); darostwng y pengryniaid, (llynellau 25-28); ailddyrchafu'r frenhiniaeth, (llynell 30); cysegru esgobion, (llynell 31); a gweinyddu'r Offeren, (llynell 31).

*llynell 30.* Diddymwyd y drefn esgobol gan y Llywodraeth yn 1646.

GERAINT BOWEN

*Bala*

#### [SUMMARY

Geraint Bowen prints and annotates two poems by Gwilym Pue, one on Luther's apostasy, and the other on the conditions for a better world in 1648.]