



CLASSIQUES
GARNIER

RUSSELL (Paul), « “Divers evidences antient of some Welsh princes”. Dr John Dee and the Welsh context of the reception of Geoffrey of Monmouth in sixteenth-century England and Wales », *L'Historia regum Britannie et les “Bruts” en Europe. Production, circulation et réception (xii^e-xvi^e siècle)*, Tome II, *Production, circulation et réception (xii^e-xvi^e siècle)*, p. 395-426

DOI : [10.15122/isbn.978-2-406-07201-0.p.0395](https://doi.org/10.15122/isbn.978-2-406-07201-0.p.0395)

La diffusion ou la divulgation de ce document et de son contenu via Internet ou tout autre moyen de communication ne sont pas autorisées hormis dans un cadre privé.

© 2018. Classiques Garnier, Paris.
Reproduction et traduction, même partielles, interdites.
Tous droits réservés pour tous les pays.

RÉSUMÉ – La réception de l'*Historia regum Britannie* de Geoffroy de Monmouth au XVI^e siècle est ici examinée à travers l'œuvre d'un érudit, Dr John Dee. D'origine galloise, Dee fut une figure influente à la cour d'Elisabeth I^e. Il collectionna de nombreux manuscrits et imprimés qu'il passa sa vie à annoter et à comparer. L'*Historia* et le "Brut" gallois font partie de ses acquisitions. Les notes qu'il a apposées sur leurs témoins sont autant d'indices permettant de comprendre comment il a reçu ces œuvres.

ABSTRACT – The reception of Geoffrey's works in the sixteenth century is examined through the work of one scholar, Dr John Dee; of Welsh origins he was not only an influential figure in the Elizabethan court but also a great collector of manuscripts and printed books which he compared and annotated heavily; they provide us with a useful source for understanding how and from where he acquired his library, his interactions with other scholars, and how he collated the various versions of the works he owned.

“DIVERS EVIDENCES ANTIENT OF SOME WELSH PRINCES”

Dr John Dee and the Welsh context
of the reception of Geoffrey of Monmouth
in sixteenth-century England and Wales

The reception of Geoffrey’s works in the sixteenth century is a complex matter, not least because their reception was intertwined with the reception of reactions to Geoffrey’s works, such as that of Polydore Vergil¹. What follows explores one small aspect of this reception, namely what we can learn from the surviving books and manuscripts which can be associated with Dr John Dee. At various points in the second half of the sixteenth century, several copies of the *Historia Regum Britannie*, both in manuscript and in print, either resided in his library at Mortlake or had passed through his hands; in addition, on the basis of marginal notes and comments, his contact with other copies now lost (or not yet identified) can be presumed. However, our understanding of the reception of *Historia Regum Britannie* through the works which came into contact with Dee risks being distorted unless we consider them in the broader context of his collecting practices and more general interests; for how he acquired copies of other works can cast light on how he acquired and used his Galfridian materials.

The broad biographical details of Dr John Dee are well known: his father, Rowland, was of Welsh descent and from near Oswestry; John was born in 1527 in London; in 1542 he went up to St John’s College, Cambridge, to read mathematics; in 1546 he was elected a founding

1 *The « Historia Regum Britannie » of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, t. IV: Julia C. Crick, *Dissemination and Reception in the Later Middle Ages*, Cambridge, Brewer, 1991. This paper has been a number of years in the making; I am grateful to the following for their input on various points: Pat Aske, Kate Bennett, David Dumville, Julian Roberts; in particular Daniel Huws with characteristic generosity read an early draft and saved me from numerous errors, and has continued to supply me with relevant references.

fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; he was imprisoned in 1555, during the reign of Queen Mary, but later released; in 1556 he unsuccessfully petitioned Queen Mary for letters patent to search for manuscripts; he flourished during the reign of Elizabeth; he was travelling in eastern Europe from 1583 to 1589; he died in 1609. For our purposes the most productive period of his life seems to have been when he settled at Mortlake, on the south bank of the Thames, in 1564 until he left for the Continent in 1583². In addition to the biographical studies, an examination of his Welsh background has been provided by Julian Roberts as part of his discussion of Dee's interest in the 'The Matter of Britain', narratives relating to the early history of Britain and the origin of the Britons³.

During the period from about 1564 until 1583 Dee amassed at Mortlake one of the finest libraries in Elizabethan England, which contained an extraordinary number of manuscripts and printed books on a wide range of topics. Our understanding of its contents has been immeasurably aided by the publication in 1990 of the catalogue produced in 1583⁴; the detailed commentary and identification of many of his surviving manuscripts and books have helped scholars towards a fuller understanding of how Dee worked. This work is on-going; further identifications and corrections continue to emerge⁵. In addition, Dee's

2 For the biographical details, see Peter J. French, *John Dee. The World of an Elizabethan Magus*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972; Joseph Bradney, « Dr. John Dee », *Transactions of the Radnorshire Society*, 3 (1933), p. 10–14; O. E. Roberts, *Dr John Dee*, Caernarfon, Gwasg Gwynedd, 1980; *John Dee's Library Catalogue*, ed. Julian Roberts and Andrew G. Watson, London, The Bibliographical Society, 1990, p. 75–78 (a useful biographical summary); *The Dictionary of Welsh Biography down to 1940*, ed. John E. Lloyd et al., London, Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1959, p. 166, s. n. « Dee, John »; R. Julian Roberts, « Dee, John (1527–1609) », in: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, 60 vol., Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004, vol. XV, p. 667–675; for discussion of Dee's later reputation, see Robert W. Barone, *A Reputation History of John Dee, 1527–1609: the Life of an Elizabethan Intellectual*, Lewiston (N.Y.), Mellen, 2009.

3 R. Julian Roberts, « John Dee and the Matter of Britain », *Transactions of the Honourable Society of the Cymmrodorion*, (1991), p. 129–143; see also Gwyn A. Williams, *Welsh Wizard and the British Empire. Dr John Dee and a Welsh Identity*, Cardiff, University College Cardiff Press, 1980.

4 *John Dee's Library Catalogue...*, op. cit.

5 See, for example, *John Dee's Library Catalogue. Additions and Corrections*, ed. Julian Roberts and Andrew G. Watson, London [issued for the John Dee Colloquium, University of London], The Bibliographical Society, 1995; I am grateful too to Julian Roberts for sharing some further notes with me.

diaries, for parts of his life, and marginalia in his manuscripts and printed books offer tantalising glimpses of how he built up his library⁶. Even so, for his manuscripts in particular, what is usually lacking is a complete paper-trail: where he acquired the manuscript, or what its exemplar was, who copied it for him (if it is not in his hand), where it might have been copied and how it reached him, and what interested him about a particular manuscript. The present study considers some cases where most of these questions can be answered. That these cases involve manuscripts associated with Wales in terms both of content and provenance allows us to set them in the context of his Welsh collecting. Furthermore, given that such instances are relatively rare, such a study may help to cast both a more general light on his *modus operandi* in collecting manuscripts and books, and a more specific light on how he worked with his collection of books and manuscripts of Geoffrey.

His Welsh origins were clearly of great importance to him, and he maintained links with his Welsh kin and friends throughout his life⁷. His diaries and annotations bear ample witness to the range of his connections. When he lived in London, and later, following his return from the Continent, when he fell on hard times in Manchester, his cousins supplied him with the necessities of life. Food-supplies in the form of cattle on the hoof are recorded from his time in Manchester⁸.

10 August, 1595: Mr Thomas Jones of Tregaron came to me to Manchester and rode towards Wales back again – 13 day – to meet the cattle coming⁹; ...

-
- 6 The most recent edition is *The Diaries of John Dee*, ed. Edward Fenton, Charlbury, Day Books, 1998; the language has been modernised by the editor but its contents are more accurate than its predecessors; cf. also *The Private Diary of Dr John Dee*, ed. James O. Halliwell, London, Camden Society, 1842, which preserves the orthography but is less accurate. In what follows, Fenton's edition is used. The term «diary» is a misnomer; this is a series of notes on his daily activities relating to some periods of his life, which he made in the margins and flyleaves of particular manuscripts, usually ephemerides or almanacs which provided a ready-made chronological framework; for an illustration, see William H. Sherman, *John Dee. The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance*, Amherst (Mass.), University of Massachusetts Press, 1995, p. 102–103. Dee's marginalia are at the centre of Sherman's important study of his scholarly activity.
- 7 For a discussion of the range and extent of Dee's relatives, see Nigelle de Bar Baskerville, «A Matter of Pedigree: the Family and Arms of Dr John Dee Baptised in Wine», *Transactions of the Radnorshire Society*, 68 (1998), p. 34–52.
- 8 *The Diaries...*, op. cit., p. 279 and 280 respectively.
- 9 Thomas Jones of Tregaron, alias Twm Siôn Cati, brigand, and a distant cousin to Dee; see Daniel Huws, «Twm Siôn Cati», in: *A Birthday Book for Brother Stone, for David*

5 September, 1596: Seventeen head of cattle from my kinsfolk in Wales, by the courteous Griffith David, nephew to Thomas Griffith, brought, &c.

More intellectual sustenance in the form of visits from friends is noted throughout his extant diaries¹⁰:

6 December, 1590: Mr Thomas Griffith my cousin of Llanbeder came to see me. Lay all night with me, and also Mr Thomas Jones, and on the Monday morning went by water to London: and so the same day homeward.

29 June, 1595: Mr John Blayne of Over Kingsham in Radnorshire, and Mr Richard Baldwyn of Duddlebury in Shropshire visited me at Mortlake. The great-grandfather of the said John, and my great-grandmother by the father side were brother and sister.

Maurice Kyffin was a frequent and, as we shall see, significant visitor¹¹. At least one cousin also supplied him with manuscripts and genealogies. There is a note preserved in a copy of an English translation of *Brut y Tywysogion* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 847 (S. C. 7252), folio 1v, a copy of Humphrey Llwyd's *Cronica Walliae*, copied by Robert Glover, 12 February, 1578–1579) which is a copy of London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A.VI (where only part of it survives): "This book was gyven to Mr J. D. of Mortlake by his cousin Mr Oliver Lloyd of the Welsh Pole 1575 *mense Novembris die 12 At Mortlake*¹²". He was also in regular contact by letter; correspondence is noted in his diaries¹³:

Hawkes, at Eighty, ed. Rachel May et John Minford, Hong Kong, Chinese University Press / Hong Kong Translation Society, 2003, p. 161–173 (for Jones and Dee, especially p. 169–170); id., « Jones, Thomas (1532–1608/1609) », in: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*..., op. cit., vol. XXX, p. 635–636. One might wonder about the provenance of the cattle.

10 *The Diaries*..., op. cit., p. 252 and 275 respectively.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 11 (25 October, 1579), 45 (14 June, 1582). For biographical details, see *John Dee's Library Catalogue*..., op. cit., p. 44; *The Dictionary of Welsh Biography*..., op. cit., p. 538, s. n. « Kyffin, Morris »; Glanmor Williams, « Kyffin, Maurice (c. 1555–1598) », in: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*..., op. cit., vol. XXII, p. 129–130. For his significance to this discussion, see below, p. 420–422.

12 See *John Dee's Library Catalogue*..., op. cit., p. 117, 162; Humphrey Llwyd, *Cronica Walliae*, ed. Ieuan M. Williams, Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 2002, p. 5; for the details, see Ieuan M. Williams, « Ysgolheictod Hanesyddol yr Unfed Ganrif ar Bymtheg. Humphrey Lhuyd: ei Weithiau Hanesyddol », *Llên Cymru*, 2 (1952–1953), p. 111–124. *Brut y Tywysogion* is the title given in the later sixteenth century to the Welsh version of the continuation of the *Historia regum Britanniae* by Geoffrey of Monmouth, bringing it to the late thirteenth century.

13 *The Diaries*..., op. cit., p. 278 and 280–281 respectively.

9 July, 1596: I sent Roger Kay of Manchester with my letters into Wales.
 14 February, 1597: This Monday John Morryce went with my letters to Mr John Gwyn of Llanidloes and twelve more in Montgomeryshire, esquires.

Furthermore, a letter to one of his cousins has survived in Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth 252, p. 227: in it Dee complained to Nicholas ap Meredith of Presteigne about the failure of Watkin ap Gwyn, another cousin, to expedite certain matters, among which was some question over Dee's pedigree¹⁴. He also maintained close links with those of Welsh ancestry in London¹⁵; the guest-list for the christening of his son, Arthur Dee, noted in his diary for 16 July, 1579, is a striking example¹⁶.

Arthur Dee, christened. Arthur Dee was christened at 3 of the clock after noon: Mr Dyer and Mr Doctor Lewis, Judge of the Admiralty, were his godfathers; and Mistress Blanche Pary of the Privy Chamber his godmother. But Mr John Herbert of East Sheen was deputy for Dr Lewis, and Mistress Awbrey was deputy for my cousin Mistress Blanche Pary.

He was also close to Sir William Herbert who acquired a house near Dee at Mortlake, and we shall see that the acquaintance proved fruitful for the acquisition of manuscripts.

Dee himself also ventured out of London on visits. A detailed account of one visit undertaken in August and September 1574 has survived in London, British Library, Harley 473, entitled *Certain verie rare observations*

14 Frank Noble, « A letter from Dr. John Dee to a Radnorshire cousin in 1577 A.D. », *Transactions of the Radnorshire Society*, 25 (1955), p. 15–16; cf. also Ffrancis G. Payne, « A Letter by John Dee », *National Library of Wales Journal*, 1 (1939–1940), p. 42–43. On Nicholas ap Meredith, see de Bar Baskerville, « A Matter... », *art. cit.*, p. 42–44. There is also a poem in English by Dee and his cousin Jenkyn Gwynn on « the origination of the Crofts » which shows an interest in pedigrees and land in mid-Wales, preserved in Cardiff, Central Library, 2.26 (*olim* 18), p. 85–86. According to Gwenogvryn Evans, the poem, like much of this manuscript, is in the hand of Siôn Dafydd Rhŷs (for whom, see below, p. 400–401) and datable about 1597 (J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language*, 2 vol., London, H. M. Stationery Office, 1898–1910, vol. II, p. 172–174); see also Ffrancis G. Payne, « A Poem by John Dee and Jenkyn Gwynn », *Transactions of the Radnorshire Society*, 31 (1961), p. 18–19. Note that Lady Catherine Crofts, wife of Sir John Crofts, Controller of the Queen's Household, was one of the sponsors at the christening of Dee's daughter, Katherine, in June 1581; see Payne, « A Letter... », *art. cit.*, p. 43, and *id.*, « A Poem... », *art. cit.*, p. 18.

15 On the Welsh in London at this period, see William P. Griffith, « Tudor Prelude », in: *The Welsh in London, 1500–2000*, ed. Emrys Jones, Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 2001, p. 8–34.

16 *The Diary...*, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

of Chester; & some parts of Wales: with divers epitaphes coat armours & other monuments verie orderlie & laboriouslie gathered together¹⁷. He travelled from Chester south along the Welsh borders, eventually returning to London via Gloucester and Cirencester, visiting places of historical and personal interest on the way. It is likely that one aim of the trip was to seek out manuscripts and books; at the top of folio 1r of *Certain verie rare observations*, Dee added a note, which was subsequently deleted, about acquiring a manuscript in Chester¹⁸:

Remember if I can not get Saynt Walburgs Life at London among the inglish stationers: or at M^r Steuensons: then to write to Mr Griffith the porter of the Mynster at Chester for a copy of it.

He may also have visited Wigmore Abbey and Castle on this trip, since on his return he wrote to Lord Burghley on 3 October 1574 reporting heaps of rotting manuscripts lying around there¹⁹.

At my late being there I espied an heap of old papers and parchments, obligations, acquittances, and accounts etc. (in tyme past belonging to the abbey of Wigmor) and there to lye rotting, spoyled and tossed in an old decayed chappel; not committed to any mans speciall charge, but thre quarters of them, I understand, to have byn taken away, by diuerse (either Taylors or other) in tymes past.

In addition, partly through visits of this kind and through correspondence, he maintained links with the intellectual life of Wales. For example, he was commended in the grammar of Siôn Dafydd Rhŷs (1567)²⁰:

17 The text as a whole remains unedited; extracts have been printed in *Reprints of Rare Tracts and Imprints of Antient Manuscripts &c., chiefly Illustrative of the History of the Northern Counties*, ed. Moses A. Richardson, 7 vol., Newcastle upon Tyne, M. A. Richardson, 1843–1849, vol. VII, p. 5–14; see also the discussion by Leslie W. Hepple, «John Dee, Harleian MS 473, and the early recording of Roman inscriptions in Britain», *Britannia*, 33 (2002), p. 177–181. The original identification of Dee as the author of this text was made by Noble: see Frank Noble, «The identification of John Dee as the author of Harleian 473 from its Radnorshire reference», *Transactions of the Radnorshire Society*, 26 (1956), p. 40–42. The text is also discussed in French, *John Dee...*, op. cit., p. 201–203 (who, on p. 202, assumed that he visited Bangor, but in fact the place referred to is Bangor on Dee – which has the important consequence of restricting the extent of his travels to the Welsh Marches).

18 London, British Library, Harley 473, folio 1r (top margin); my transcription.

19 Printed in *Original Letters of Eminent Literary Men*, ed. Henry Ellis, London, Camden Society, 1843, p. 32–40; quotation at p. 39.

20 Siôn Dafydd Rhŷs, *Cambrobrytannicae Cymraeëve Linguae Institutiones et Rudimenta*, London, Thomas Orwin, 1592, p. 60 (my translation). Note that this encomium occurs

Juxta Crucis Annem in agro Maessyvetiano apud Cambrobrytannos erat olim illustris quaedam Nigrorum familia, unde Joan Du, id est Joannes illo cognomento Niger, Londinensis, sui gentis ortum traxit. Vir certe ornatissimus et doctissimus et omnium hac nostra aetate tum Philosophorum tum Mathematicorum facile princeps: Monadis illius Hieroglyphicae et Propaedeumatum aphoristicorum de praestantioribus quibusdam Naturae virtutibus: aliorumque non paucorum operum insignium autor eximius. Vir praeterea ob tam multam experientiam frequenti sua in tot transmarinas regiones peregrinatione comparatam, rerum quam plurimarum et abditarum peritissimus.

‘Next to the stream of the cross [Nant y Groes] in Maesyfed among the Welsh, there was once a famous family of “Blacks”, whence John Dee, that is John with the surname Black [Welsh *Du*], of London, derived the origin of his family. A man certainly of the greatest distinction and learning, and of all the philosophers and mathematicians of our age easily the best. The outstanding author of the *Monas Hieroglyphica* and the *Propaedeumata aphoristica* and of many other famous works. Furthermore, he was a man of such great experience gained as result of his frequent travels to regions overseas the he was very skilled in many arcane matters.’

He also provided a commendation for William Salesbury’s *Egluryn Phraethineb sebh Dosparth ar Retoreg* (1595), encouraging the youth of Wales to put their own language on the same level as Hebrew and Latin²¹:

*Cernis ut Hebraeas aequet formasque Latinas,
Nec sit Romanis Cambrica lingua minor.
Disce trium formas linguarum, Cambra iuventus,
nec tibi materno sit satis ore loqui.
Sed neque disce tamen: didicisti, Cambra iuventus;
structuras satis est te meminisse tuas.
Io. DEE*

‘You see how the Welsh tongue rivals the Latin and the Hebrew forms,
and is no less worthy than the Roman.
Welsh youth, learn the forms of the three tongues,

in the grammatical context of a discussion on naming patterns in Welsh and whether an adjective, and in particular a colour-adjective, following a proper name is mutated. On Siôn Dafydd Rhŷs, see *The Dictionary of Welsh Biography*..., op. cit., p. 845–846, s. n. « Rhys, John David »; Angharad Price, « Rhys, Siôn Dafydd (b. 1533–1534, d. in or after 1620) », in: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*..., op. cit., vol. XLVI, p. 626–627. On Nant y Groes (Pilleth) in Maesyfed, see de Bar Baskerville, « A Matter... », *art. cit.*, p. 43.

21 William Salesbury (completed by Henry Perri), *Egluryn Phraethineb. Sebh Dosparth ar Retoreg*, London, John Danter, 1595 [facsimile edition, ed. Griffith J. Williams, Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1930]. The translation which follows is that of Roberts, « John Dee and the Matter of Britain... », *art. cit.*, p. 143, n. 42.

nor let it suffice to speak with your mother tongue.
But do not learn it; Welsh youth, you have learnt it;
it is enough to have remembered your structures’.

His own mathematical interests also brought him into contact with Robert Recorde, the Pembrokeshire mathematician; Dee contributed to his work and was responsible for editing *The Grounde of Artes* after Recorde’s death in 1558²².

When Dee went off to the Continent in September 1583, his library was plundered. However, before he left, he compiled a catalogue; it was by no means complete but can give some indication of what he possessed at that point and what he might have taken with him²³. In addition, on his return he sent a lengthy letter of complaint to Queen Elizabeth in 1592, entitled “A briefe note and some remembrance of my late spoiled Mortlake-Library A. 1583” (preserved in London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius C.VII, folio 9r-9v) in which he estimated that there had been a total of some 4000 volumes, bound and unbound to the value of £ 2000²⁴; the section on his Welsh materials is worth quoting²⁵:

To my Library likewayes was a very necessary Appendix, which was a great case or frame of boxes, wherein some hundreds of very rare evidences of divers Irelandish territories, provinces, and lands were laid up. Which territories, provinces, and lands were therein notified to have been in the hands of some of the ancient Irish Princes. Then, their submissions and tributes agreed upon,

22 See Howell A. Lloyd, « “Famous in the field of number and measure”: Robert Recorde, Renaissance mathematician », *Welsh History Review*, 20 (2000–2001), p. 254–282; Stephen Johnston, « Recorde, Robert (c. 1512–1558) », in: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*..., op. cit., vol. XLVI, p. 246–248.

23 For a facsimile of the catalogue and full discussion, see *John Dee’s Library Catalogue*..., op. cit.

24 The manuscript was damaged in the Cottonian fire, but the text had been printed in 1726: « The Compendious Rehearsal of John Dee [...] exhibited to her most Gracious Majestie at Hampton-Court. A. 1592, Nov^r. 9 », in *Johannis Glastoniensis Chronica*, ed. Thomas Hearne, 2 vol., Oxford, Sheldonian Theatre, 1726, vol. II, 529–533; the sections in [] come from Hearne’s text. The full text is printed in *John Dee’s Library Catalogue*..., op. cit., p. 196–197.

25 Ibid. For a list of the charters identified as belonging to Dee, see Ibid., p. 17–19. On the Irish materials, see Eric St J. Brooks, « The Sources for Medieval Anglo-Irish History », *Historical Studies*, 1 (1955), p. 86–92; some have been preserved in the Kent Archives among the manuscripts of Lord de L’Isle and Dudley; but it is not clear whether these are the ones which belonged to Dee, the ones which he saw at Wigmore, or different ones altogether. He returned here to the theme of manuscripts rotting in old buildings which he had already developed in his letter to Lord Burghley in 1574; see above, p. 400.

with seals appendant to the little writings thereof in parchment: and after by some of those evidences it did appear, how some of those lands came to be the Lascies, the Mortuomars, the Burghs, the Clares, &c.

[There were also divers evidences antient of some Welsh Princes and Noblemen, their great gifts of lands to the foundations or enrichings of sundry Houses of Religious men. Some also [were there the like of the Normans] donations and gifts about and some [years after the Conques]t. The former sundry sort of evidences each had [their peculiar] titles noted on the fore part of the boxes with chalk [only, which] on the poor boxes remaineth...

Unto the Tower I had vowed those my hardly gotten monuments (as in manner out of a dunghil, in the corner of a church, where very many were utterly spoiled by rotting, through the rain continually for many years before falling upon them, through the decayed roof of that Church, lying desolate and wast at this houre)...

His search for manuscripts and books had been a long-term preoccupation: as early as 1556 he had petitioned Queen Mary for letters patent to seek out manuscripts with a view to establishing a royal library²⁶. The comments about manuscript materials made in this “briefe note” are echoed in lists preserved in the margins and flyleaves of some of his books and manuscripts²⁷. For example, on the rear-flyleaf of his printed copy of Geoffrey of Monmouth is preserved one such list²⁸:

- One Rice Merik dwelling in Bolston in Glamorgan shere hath good store of monuments.
- Rice ap howell bedo Dee, otherwise called Rice ap Howell Dee, dwelling at Discod. . . his brother Lewys who gave me the first note of my pedygree: 1567. This Rice is dead also.
- Mr Clyderall, hath at Newcastell a barrell full of old histories of this land. This Mr Clyderall was a student of Cambridge in my tyme, and of Mr Morley his acquaintance and mine... [*in margin opposite this entry: Maclinus de Legibus Druidum Aluredi tempore, Jervasius de antiquis Brytanniae regibus, Zancratus de statu Brytanniae temporibus suis et (?) ante 200 annos, Joselinus de episcopis, Henricus Lecestrens*²⁹]
- M^r Cary in chepes side hath many good monuments, as Sylvester Gyraldus Cambrensis his sundry works. Nennius, Hoveden, Higden Avesbury &c. Galfridus Monemuthensis.

26 The petition has been printed in *John Dee's Library Catalogue...*, op. cit., p. 194–195.

27 On Dee's propensity to fill all available blank space with annotation, see Sherman, *John Dee...*, op. cit., p. 83.

28 Parts of this list have been printed in *John Dee's Library Catalogue...*, op. cit., p. 19, n. 15.

29 The works mentioned in this marginal note are unknown, as far as I can tell.

- John Stowe also the Taylor hath good monuments. who set owt the sommery of the english Chronicle. he hath Robert Avesbury.
- M^r D Cay of Oxford had Caradocus Lancarvensis in Latyn it is to be enquired who had his bokes.

Likewise, in the margins of Dublin, Trinity College, 634 (E.5.22) we find the following notes on the whereabouts of manuscripts³⁰:

folio 2r: M^r Simon Thelwall in North Wales hath the historie, of the life of Griffith ap Kynan ap Jago prince of Northwales.

folio 2v: Harry Johnson which maryed Auditor Gostwicks wife that dwelleth in Bedfordshyre fue myles out of Amphthyll hath both bookes and records of Wales, &c.

folio 36v: Remember two in Wales who haue excellent monumentes, Mr Edward ap Roger in Ruabon 7 myles from Oswestree Northward and Richard ap Edward price at Mivod x miles from Oswestree somewhat westwards. Archdeacon Crowley or Robert Crowley somtyme printer had Tullys translation of Cyropaedia. Mr Dorell in Kent hath Thomas Rudborns historie.

In what follows, the first of these notes, about a manuscript in the possession of Simon Thelwall, is particularly significant³¹. We may also note the preoccupation with materials available in his ancestral homeland around Oswestry; the detailed directions suggest that he was either planning a trip or intending to send someone else. Furthermore, the reference to Robert Crowley, archdeacon of Hereford 1559–1567, also links these notes to some of his trips up and down the Welsh Marches. Crowley left Hereford in 1567 to become Dean of St Paul’s in London, and so at least the source of Dee’s information probably pre-dates 1567³². Moreover, it also suggests that Dee had made more trips to this area than the one described in “Certain verie rare observations”.

His interest in Welsh matters seems to have been mainly restricted to a period from about the mid-1560s through to his departure for the Continent in September 1583. His natural interest in his own ancestry was linked to an interest in Welsh law, since, as we shall see, he traced

30 See *ibid.*, p. 19, n. 15; see also Marvin L. Colker, *Trinity College Library, Dublin: Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval and Renaissance Latin Manuscripts*, 2 vol., Aldershot, Scolar, 1991, vol. II, p. 1110.

31 See below, p. 416–421.

32 See *John Dee’s Library Catalogue...*, *op. cit.*, p. 19, n. 15.

his ancestry back to Hywel Dda, and was manifested in his collection of different versions of his own genealogy and in his gathering and collating law texts. But there were other broader concerns³³. First, in 1534 Polydore Vergil produced his *Polychronicon* in which he attacked the “Brutusian” version of the history of Britain as set out in particular in *Historia Brittonum* and by Geoffrey of Monmouth³⁴. Dee’s Welsh collection is particularly strong in early British history (including notes on the *Polychronicon* and related texts) and especially in Galfridian materials. The following are known to have been owned by Dee, or at least to have passed through his hands³⁵:

Gildas:

London, Royal College of Physicians, D 150/3. Printed book: Gildas sapiens, *De Excidio Brytannie* (London, 1568).

HRB manuscripts:

Cambridge, Trinity College, O.2.21 (1125).

Dublin, Trinity College, 515 (E.5.12).

London, British Library, Harley 6358.

Oxford, Christ Church College, Wb.5.12. Printed book: Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae* (Paris: Josse Bade, 1517).

Other works on British history:

Cambridge, Trinity College, O.2.21 (1125): *Annales de Margam*.

Dublin, Trinity College, 634 (E.5.22) (DM 18): Notes from Polydorus Vergil, etc.

Humphrey Llwyd, *Fragmentum Brytannicae descriptionis* (Cologne 1572).

London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A.VI; *Brut y tywysogion* in English.

London, British Library, Cotton Domitian A.I, folios 56–160; Giraldus Cambrensis.

London, British Library, Harley 359, folios 126–216; Giraldus Cambrensis.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 847 (*S. C.* 7252): *Brut y Tywysogion* in English.

33 Four versions of his genealogy are extant: Oxford, Merton College, 323, folio 1r; London, British Library, Cotton Charters XIII, p. 38 and XIV, p. 1; see *ibid.*, p. 40–41. To these can now be added the version preserved in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rylands c.26, fol. 179v. On Dee’s armorial crest, see de Bar Baskerville, « A Matter... », *art. cit.*, p. 35–38 (images), 45–50.

34 William J. Connell, « Vergil, Polydore (c. 1470–1555) », in: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*..., *op. cit.*, vol. LVI, p. 323–327.

35 For further details on each of these manuscripts and books, see Appendix below, p. 423–426. Cambridge, Trinity College, O.2.21 (1125) may have belonged to Dee; it is not included in *John Dee’s Library Catalogue*..., *op. cit.*, but it is reckoned to be his by Sherman, *John Dee*..., *op. cit.*, p. 257; by 1995 Roberts and Watson were inclined to regard it as a « possible » possession (*John Dee’s Library Catalogue. Additions and Corrections*..., *op. cit.*, p. 4).

It looks then as if he had been gathering ammunition for a reply to Polydore Vergil which in the end never materialised. Such a concern may have arisen from his own ancestry, but in addition there were external pressures moving him in similar directions. During this period Queen Elizabeth I was keen to gather evidence for British contact and colonisation overseas, especially in North America, and Dee seems to have been commissioned to seek out such evidence in British historical sources³⁶. These interests are indicated in the type of annotation and notes in his books and manuscripts. The American connexion is indicated particularly by his interest in stories about Prince Madog, sometimes thought to have been a son of Owain Gwynedd and claimed to have reached America in the mid-twelfth century³⁷. In London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius C.IX, folio 143v, at the end of a copy of the Latin life of Gruffudd ap Cynan, Dee quoted a verse from a poem by Maredudd ap Rhys on Prince Madog³⁸:

Carmina Meredith filii Rbesi memoriam facientia de Madoco filio Oweni Gwynedd et navigatione in terras incognitas. Vixit³⁹ circiter anno domini 1477.

*Madog wyf mwyledig wedd
lawn genau Owain Gwynedd
ni fynnai dir venaid oedd
na da Mawr ond y moroedd.*

‘Verses of Maredudd ap Rhys recalling Madog, son of Owain Gwynedd and his voyage to unknown lands. He [sc. Maredudd] lived around the year of our Lord 1477.

36 Sherman, *John Dee...*, op. cit., p. 148–200; Williams, *Welsh Wizard...*, op. cit.

37 On Madog, see Gwyn A. Williams, *Madoc. The Making of a Myth*, London, Eyre Methuen, 1979.

38 For this stanza, see *Gwaith Maredudd ap Rhys a'i Gyfoedion*, ed. Enid Roberts, Aberystwyth, Canolfan Uwchefrydiau Cymreig a Cheltaidd, 2003, p. 8, lines 43–46 (notes on p. 113). It is part of a *cywydd* to Ifan ap Tudur of Llanufudd. All copies of the complete poem have *wyrb* ‘fine’ for *wyrf* in the first line, and this is almost certainly the correct reading; our version has to shift awkwardly from the first person in line one to the third person in line three. However, this stanza is attested independently in six manuscripts in addition to this version and all share the reading *wyrf* (for manuscript details, see *Gwaith Maredudd ap Rhys...*, op. cit., p. 113; the editor has not noted our copy); it seems, then, that this stanza with its variant reading had an existence and circulation separate from the complete poem. For this version of the Latin life of Gruffudd ap Cynan, see «*Vita Griffini filii Conani*». *The Medieval Latin Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan*, ed. and transl. Paul Russell, Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 2005, p. 10–11.

39 *Meredith* added above *Vixit*.

I am Madog of ample appearance,
 proper descendant of Owain Gwynedd;
 he did not desire land (my heart was he)
 nor great possessions but only the seas.’

Annotations elsewhere testify to a wide spectrum of interests ranging from historical issues (often manifested in a concern about genealogy) to detailed textual issues involving differences between texts and how they might have arisen. We may note, for example, his comment in Dublin, Trinity College, 634 (E.5.22), folio 58v: “*Ista sunt imperfecta. Vide rotulum meum de principibus Powisiae*”, ‘These are imperfect. See my roll on the princes of Powys’⁴⁰.

A particularly good example of his engagement with British history is the annotation in some of his copies of Geoffrey. Cambridge, Trinity College O.2.21 and Dublin, Trinity College, 515 may be dealt with quickly; they have no glosses and may have passed through Dee’s hands relatively quickly or perhaps late in his life, the evidence for his contact being restricted to his marks. The latter, however, contains Middle Welsh glosses and presumably had a Welsh provenance⁴¹. On the other hand, College of Arms, Arundel 1 and his 1517 printed copy, now Oxford, Christ Church, Wb.5.12, are heavily glossed – at least in parts. Dee’s annotation in the former is restricted to twenty folios (f^{os} 59ra-79rb), corresponding to *HRB*, § 26 (reign of Gwendoloena)-§ 138 (birth of Arthur)⁴², and focuses relentlessly on content with notes on the British rulers preceding Arthur. However, his printed text of Geoffrey is heavily glossed and speaks to a close engagement with the text and with the Welsh versions⁴³. He is keen to clarify genealogy and on folios 21v–22r he added a genealogy from Belinus to Lud transversely across the left-hand margin and the lower margins of the opening. He displays a detailed concern with textual variation in the Latin text, arising presumably from comparing his different versions of Geoffrey’s text. For example, he added in the top margin of folio 7v (referring to “*Brutus Corineus [...]* *Cornubiensis...*”): “*Corinniensis scribi debet: sed ob defectum scriptionis*

40 See Colker, *Trinity College Library...*, op. cit., vol. II, p. 1110; this manuscript contains notes on Polydore Vergil and other works on early British history (see p. 405).

41 Brynley F. Roberts, « Glosau Cymraeg *HRB* Dulyn, Coleg y Drindod, Llgr. 515 (E.5.12) », *Studia Celtica*, 37 (2003), p. 75–80.

42 *HRB* Reeve-Wright, 2007, p. 35 (Book II, § 26, l. 65)-p. 189 (Book VIII, § 138, l. 535).

43 Sherman, *John Dee...*, op. cit., p. 82, 92–93, and on the nature of *adversaria*, p. 79–100.

Corniuiensis: unde Corniui pro Corinnia, et tandem Cornubia: positum u pro i; et b pro v quod usitatum est”, ‘*Corinniensis* should be written: but on account of a defect of writing *Corniuiensis*; whence *Corniui* for *Corinnia*, and in the end *Cornubia*; with *u* for *i*; and *b* for *v*, as is usual’⁴⁴. His interest in trying to account for the variation is noteworthy; in this respect, compare folio 6r “...*occasio erroris est duplex: una ex auditu, altera ex visu* [...] *ex auditu vel male prolata vel male correpte...*”, ‘the chance of the error is twofold: one from hearing, the other from seeing [...] from hearing either a wrongly lengthened vowel or a wrongly shortened vowel’, where again he tries to explain the differences by errors in either copying (*visu*) or dictation (*auditu*). He also had in some cases access to Welsh versions of texts. It is known that he probably had a copy of the Welsh translation of Geoffrey, known as *Brut y Brenbinoedd*, although it seems that Dee’s copy has either been lost or at least not yet recognised. As we shall see more clearly with other texts, he was in the habit of collating his Latin and Welsh texts, and in the left margin of folio 37r, l. 21–22 he noted a gap in his Welsh text: “*non habet brytannicus textus*”⁴⁵. Furthermore, he added Welsh spellings interlineally to Latin versions of names, as at folio 24v, l. 1–5 (text: gloss):

Gurgineus: gvrwst,
Merianus: Meirion,
Bleduus: bleyddydt,
Blegabridus: blegowryd,
Archemailus: aregmail,
Rodrechus: Rydderch, etc.

Interest of a more linguistic nature is indicated by his attempt at folio 11v to reconcile the Welsh and English names for the Severn (Welsh *Hafren*, spelt here *Habren*, pronounced /havren/): “*Mare Abrinum Seabren. Sebren. Sevren. Severn. [...] Seavern of Sea Habren because of the great arme of the sea being 30 myle wyde in the mowth*”. His main concern was the difference in the initial consonant. He assumed a starting point in *Mare Habren*, where *Mare* is rendered as *Sea* in English, and he presented a series of intermediate stages justified finally by an

⁴⁴ This page carries the date 12 July, 1574, in the lower margin.

⁴⁵ This may provide a clue about the nature of his copy of *Brut y Brenbinoedd*. For other examples of Dee’s collation of manuscripts, see below, p. 410–412.

explanation that the Severn-estuary is so wide that it can reasonably be called a sea.

A question arising from this is how much Welsh Dee knew. Roberts tended to play down Dee’s knowledge⁴⁶. Admittedly, it would not take much knowledge of the Welsh language to disentangle the names in a genealogy. Similarly, it would only take a minimal knowledge of the language to be aware that *Dee* was an anglicisation of Welsh *du*, ‘black’. Dee’s visit to Conrad Gesner on 23 April, 1563, was recorded in Gesner’s *Liber Amicorum*⁴⁷. His name in the style *Johannes Dee Londinensis* is recorded and above *Dee* is added the gloss “.i. Niger”, indicating that Dee did at least know the origin of his surname⁴⁸. However, given Dee’s linguistic competence in other respects – he seems to have been competent in a wide range of languages: in addition to Latin and Greek, his library testifies to at least a reading competence in French, Spanish, Italian, German, Flemish, Bohemian (Czech?), Swedish, and perhaps Hebrew⁴⁹ –, my view is that he probably had sufficient Welsh not only to communicate with his relatives (many of whom probably did not have any English) but also to understand the medieval written language.

Even so, the evidence is difficult to assess. He certainly had a general interest in the Welsh language. An example of this is his annotation of Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Brogyntyn II.8⁵⁰. It contains

46 Roberts, « John Dee and the Matter of Britain... », *art. cit.*, p. 129, 140.

47 R. J. Durling, « Conrad Gesner’s *Liber Amicorum*, 1555–1565 », *Gesnerus*, 22 (1965), p. 134–159, at p. 138–139 (figure on p. 138, note on p. 150); cf. also Gesner’s letter to Johann Montanus edited by Hans Fischer, « Ein unveröffentlicher Brief Conrad Geßners (1516–1565) an Johann Fabricius Montanus (1527–1566) in Chur », *Gesnerus*, 3 (1946), p. 125–130, especially p. 125 and 127, n. 3.

48 In Ortelius’s *Album Amicorum* (Cambridge, Pembroke College, LC.II, p. 113, folio 90r) his coat of arms is also recorded, dated 1577 and noting Dee’s age as fifty; for a murky photograph, see de Bar Baskerville, « A Matter... », *art. cit.*, p. 36; see also Jean Puraye et al., « Abraham Ortelius, Album Amicorum. Édition facsimilé avec notes et traduction », *De Gulden Passer. Bulletin van de « Vereeniging der Antwerpse Bibliophilen »*, 45 (1967), *passim* (facsimile), and 46 (1968), p. 1–99 (notes and translation); note that the page with Dee’s coat of arms is mistakenly given as folio 89r. The best digital images of Ortelius’s *Album Amicorum* are now on a CD-ROM available from Pembroke College, Cambridge (I am grateful to Pat Aske for providing me with a copy). The same coat of arms appears on the title-page of John Dee, *Parallatice Commentationis Praxeosque Nucleus Quidam*, London, John Day, 1573; for a picture, see de Bar Baskerville, « A Matter... », *art. cit.*, p. 35.

49 *John Dee’s Library Catalogue...*, *op. cit.*, p. 38–40.

50 *Ibid.*, p. 158 (DM1).

extracts from “The Book of Llandaf” (Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, 17110E), transcribed in a hand of the mid-sixteenth century; it was annotated and underlined by Dee. Folio 34v contains two extracts: “*a morcanto rege et berthguino episcopo [...] landaui cum sua tota libertate*” and “*Scitote karissimi fratres [...] indulgentiam requirere cognito*”⁵¹. Many of the Welsh personal names in the transcript have been underlined, probably by Dee. Lines 18–22 of the page are sidelined and “*Nota de Lingua brytanica*” added in the left-hand margin by Dee⁵². The text is also partly underlined as follows:

... primus dolensis ciuitatis Et propter aliam causam eo quod ipse guidnerth & brittones & archiepiscopus illius terre; essent unius lingue & unius nationis quamuis diuiderentur spatio terrarum & tanto melius poterat renuntiare...

Dee’s interest in this passage seems to focus on the claim that Guidnerth, the Britons, and the archbishop of Dol were of one language and of one nation even though they were so far apart.

A more substantial indication of Dee’s competence in Welsh may be provided by one of the few manuscripts completely in his own hand, but even here there is uncertainty. The Latin text of the Welsh laws copied and annotated by him, Oxford, Merton College, 323, shows signs of collation with at least one Welsh text of the laws. It emerges that he could understand enough Welsh to notice that in comparison with the Welsh text a section was missing from the Latin text, and so he copied the relevant passage from the Welsh text into the margin of his Latin text (folio 6r, right margin, lines 10–17). Daniel Huws has identified the quoted text as deriving from *Llyfr Blegywryd* and more specifically the text is closest to the reading of London, British Library, Cotton Titus D.IX, folio 59r, which is known to have been in Dee’s possession at some point as it contains a note in his hand⁵³. However, as will be

51 See *The Text of the Book of Llan Dâv Reproduced from the Gwysaney Manuscript*, ed. J. Gwenogvryn Evans and John Rhys, Oxford, [privately printed], 1893 [reprinted Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, 1979], p. 180, l. 11–13 and p. 180, l. 24–p. 181, l. 18 respectively. I am grateful to Maredudd ap Huw for discussion of this manuscript.

52 The note in *John Dee’s Library Catalogue...*, op. cit., p. 158, is ambiguous and seems to imply that there is a marginal note on the Welsh language; but Dee was using *nota* here as an imperative to draw attention to the underlined text.

53 The marginal text corresponds approximately with the printed text in *Llyfr Blegywryd*, ed. Stephen J. Williams and J. Enoch Powell, 2nd ed., Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1961, p. 10, l. 26–11, l. 9; see Daniel Huws, «Texts: ii the Manuscripts», in: *Lawyers*

shown in detail below, the exemplar of Merton 323 was Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth 256 which is in the hands of Edward Thelwall and his amanuenses⁵⁴. The point in Peniarth 256 corresponding to Dee’s marginal addition is folio 5v, l. 17 where there is a very faint marginal note by Thelwall, which seems to read “*hic deest*”, ‘here something is missing’, and there is a cross in the adjacent text. In other words, Thelwall had already noted the discrepancy during his collation of the text with other Welsh texts (probably not the same ones as Dee had at his disposal) but had not followed it up. When Dee came to copy the text, he pursued the omission and added the text in the margin. In short, even though at least part of the work had been already done for him by Thelwall, Dee would still have needed a good understanding of Welsh to match the Latin and Welsh texts and to identify the missing text.

Furthermore, Dee was capable of annotating his copy of William Salesbury’s Welsh-English Dictionary (now preserved as Dublin, Trinity College, EE.e.32), not only by filling gaps in the English column but also by adding native Welsh words to the Welsh column where Salesbury had an English loanword⁵⁵. Gruffydd and Roberts have suggested that he may have had help from Maurice Kyffin, but there is no reason to suppose that he could not have done it himself⁵⁶. Admittedly, Kyffin did carry out further tasks for him in that period. London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A.VI, a copy of Humphrey Llwyd’s *Cronica Walliae*, was owned by Dee and heavily annotated by him. Folio 42r contains verses in Welsh beginning “*Tri mab oedd y Rodri mewn tremyn y kaid*”, followed by an English rendering, “Three sonnes had Rodry, thus named”. A marginal note beside the translation, probably in Dee’s

and *Laymen. Studies in the History of Law presented to Professor Dafydd Jenkins on his Seventy-fifth Birthday*, *Gŵyl Ddewi* 1986, ed. T. M. Charles-Edwards et al., Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1986, p. 119–136, at p. 136; and, for further details on the British Library manuscript, see Appendix below, p. 423–427, and *John Dee’s Library Catalogue...*, op. cit., p. 163 (item DM 30a). For the text of Dee’s marginal addition and detailed discussion of the relationship between these manuscripts, see *Vita Griffini filii Conani...*, op. cit., p. 17–25.

54 See below, p. 419–420.

55 R. Geraint Gruffydd and R. Julian Roberts, « John Dee’s additions to William Salesbury’s *Dictionary* », *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, new series, 7 (2001), p. 19–43; Gruffydd and Roberts did not give the shelfmark, and I am grateful to Charles Benson of Trinity College Library, Dublin, for supplying it.

56 *Ibid.*, p. 20.

hand, reads “Morice Kyphin did thus translate them 1578 Feb, 12 after my cosen Thomas Griffith had gevene me...⁵⁷”. In other words, while Dee may have been comfortable working with Welsh prose, he seems to have called on his friend at least for translation of verse.

Another manuscript in Dee’s possession which contained Welsh was Oxford, Bodleian Library, e Museo 63 (S. C. 3652)⁵⁸. Even without its Welsh contents, this manuscript would have been of interest to Dee as its main contents are alchemical. Before the book came to Dee, it seems to have been in the possession of John Gwynn (1538–1598)⁵⁹. He wrote a good deal of e Museo 63 and on folio 107v he styles himself “AM” (for “*Artis Magister*”), although he is not listed as an alumnus of either Oxford or Cambridge, and describes himself as rural dean of Arwystli. From 1564 until his death in 1598 he was vicar of Llanidloes, and is presumably the “Mr John Gwynn” mentioned in Dee’s diary on 14 February, 1597. Dates in the manuscript suggest that it was in Gwynn’s hands from at least 1569 until at least 1582 (earlier owners seem to have been W. Tysell in 1550 and John Strangman in 1559); Dee’s signature is on folio 41r with the date 21 December, 1595. Folio 147r-147v contains a letter in Latin from Gwynn to Dee, congratulating him on his safe return, “*te in patriam reversum*”, and so probably dates from after November 1589 when Dee and his family returned from eastern Europe⁶⁰. The manuscript therefore presumably came into Dee’s hands at some point between November 1589 and December 1592. Two other manuscripts known to have been owned by Dee are also associable

57 For the full texts of the verses and the translation, see Llwyd, *Cronica Walliae*..., op. cit., p. 233. Glover, in copying the note in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 847 (S. C. 3652), produced a slightly different version; see Llwyd, *Cronica Walliae*..., op. cit., p. 5, n. 19.

58 *John Dee’s Library Catalogue*..., op. cit., p. 177. For a description, see Richard W. Hunt et al., *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford*, 7 vol., Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1895–1953, vol. II, part 2, p. 719–720.

59 See Arthur I. Pryce, *The Diocese of Bangor in the Sixteenth Century*, Bangor, Jarvis and Foster, 1923, p. 18 and 30. For the diary entry, see p. 404 above. I am grateful to Daniel Huws for identifying Gwynn.

60 See below, p. 417–418, for further discussion of the dates of Dee’s trip to eastern Europe. This letter may be one of those which John Aubrey was seeking and which Anthony Wood was unable to track down: «quaere for Mr Ashmole. for a MS in the Publicke Library of Dr Gwyn, wherein are severall letters between him and John Dee, and Dr Davys, concerning Chymistry and Magicall» (*Brief Lives Chiefly of Contemporaries, Set Down by John Aubrey Between the Years 1669 and 1696*, ed. Andrew Clark, 2 vol., Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1898, vol. I, p. 212). Anthony Wood’s negative response is on a slip pasted on Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 1790 (S. C. 8462), folio 75. I am grateful to Kate Bennett for this information.

with Gwynn: London, British Library, Harley 2407 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, 485 (S. C. 2064), the latter coming to the Bodleian Library from Evan Jones in 1605 with e Museo 63 (S. C. 3652)⁶¹. Bodley 485 contains a note on its provenance in Gwynn's hand and dated 1592, and notes in Dee's hand dated 1597⁶². If these manuscripts came from Gwynn together, Dee must have acquired them in 1592. But that is not a necessary assumption; contact may have been over a longer period of time, and the range of dates in these manuscripts could indicate regular contact.

The Welsh sections of e Museo 63, folio 97 onwards, seem to have been added mainly by Gwynn and consist of the following items.

Folios 97–107: notes on individuals, beginning "Y llyfr hwnn addanvones Syr Edward Stradling..."⁶³.

Folios 108–126r: blank.

Folios 126v–135v: section of Welsh grammar entitled *Gramatica Brytannico idiomate conscripta* (folio 126v) beginning "Pa sawl rann ymadrodd syydd..." and ending "...dygaf o'r merched y gwychaf o'r gwyr", which corresponds with a section of the second book of *Pum Llyfr Kerdduriaeth*, the Welsh poetical grammar⁶⁴.

Folio 136r-137r: a collection of poetical triads beginning "Tri gwarant ymadrodd..." and ending "...haelioni a digrivwch a devodav da. Tervyn"⁶⁵.

Folios 137v–142v: section of Welsh grammar entitled *Modus componendi carmina* (folio 137v) beginning "Bellach ar ysbyssu am dair kaink prydyddieth..." and ending "...a gwymbodav santaiddrwydd. Telos Laus deo 20 octobris 1571", which corresponds with a section of the third book of *Pum Llyfr Kerdduriaeth*, the Welsh poetical grammar⁶⁶.

61 See *John Dee's Library Catalogue...*, op. cit., p. 17.

62 Ibid., p. 175 (item DM 109); the manuscript seems to have come from Sir William Herbert who in the 1580s owned a house in Mortlake near Dee (*The Diaries...*, op. cit., p. 23 [22 and 23 January, 1582]).

63 On Edward Stradling, see *The Dictionary of Welsh Biography...*, op. cit., p. 925–926, s. n. «Stradling family»; Ralph A. Griffiths, «Stradling, Sir Edward (c. 1529–1609)», in: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography...*, op. cit., vol. LII, p. 1019–1020.

64 The text corresponds approximately, but not exactly, with the text printed in *Grammadegau Penceirddiaid*, ed. Griffith J. Williams and Evan J. Jones, Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1934, p. 94, l. 17–108, l. 6; this copy is not in the conspectus of manuscripts *ibid.*, p. XLVII–LVIII) but it seems to be more closely related to the variant versions noted on p. 154–161. This and the following section are described in Hunt et al., *A Summary Catalogue...*, op. cit., vol. II, part 2, p. 720, as «a Welsh grammar (?)», but in *John Dee's Library Catalogue...*, op. cit., p. 171 (item DM 121), as «a Welsh dictionary».

65 This triad-collection seems to be related to the collection in *Pum Llyfr Kerdduriaeth*; see *Grammadegau Penceirddiaid...*, op. cit., p. 133, l. 36–136, l. 48.

66 The text, with some omissions and differences of ordering, seems to correspond approximately with *Ibid.*, p. 110, l. 23–116, l. 40.

Folio 143r-143v: poem by Maredudd ap Rhys, beginning “*Tidi r gwynt tad yry A god...*”⁶⁷.

Folio 144v-146r: notes in Welsh (mainly genealogical).

Folio 147r-147v: letter in Latin from John Gwynn to John Dee.

There is no evidence that Dee contributed to this Welsh section of the manuscript, and there are no notes attributable to him. It is likely that he would have been at least as interested in the first two thirds of the manuscript with its alchemical texts as in the Welsh miscellany which follows it. Again, it is not clear how much this can tell us about Dee’s knowledge and use of Welsh.

As for how he came by the manuscripts and books relating to Wales, there are some tantalising hints. Robert Vaughan, the seventeenth-century Welsh antiquary and collector of manuscripts, has a note in his catalogue (Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, 5262A (Dingestow 2), folio 56): “Dr Dee convey[d] a booke composed by Tyssiliaw St into England, at what time he had obtained a comission to survey all Walles for sylver⁶⁸”. The note seems to date from about 1616–1625, after Dee’s death, and so derives from an earlier source. The commission to survey Wales for silver may reflect a misunderstanding of Dee’s constant search for “moniments”, perhaps conflated with some recollection of his petition to Queen Mary for permission to collect manuscripts for a royal library. Even so, it carries resonances of John Awbery’s picture of Dee prospecting by a Welsh lake⁶⁹.

Memorandum he told me, of John Dee etc.: conjuring at a poole in Brecknockshire, and that they found a wedge of Gold: and that they were troubled, and endicted as Conjurors at the Assizes.

At least one manuscript, then, seems to have been physically removed from Wales by Dee himself. As we have seen, another is recorded as having been brought to Dee at Mortlake by his cousin, Oliver

67 *Gwaith Maredudd ap Rhys...*, op. cit., p. 55–58 (poem 14).

68 See Daniel Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*, Cardiff/Aberystwyth, University of Wales Press / National Library of Wales, 2000, p. 300. On Dee’s interest and involvement in mining and metallurgy, as represented in his library, see *John Dee’s Library Catalogue...*, op. cit., p. 55. More practically, he seems to have owned a lease to some mines in Devon (*The Diaries...*, op. cit., p. 85 [18 May, 1583]); cf. also p. 247 [19 December, 1589]).

69 *Brief Lives...*, op. cit., vol. I, p. 212.

Lloyd⁷⁰. We have also seen that Gwynn was a profitable source of manuscripts, some of which contained items of Welsh interest. Furthermore, we know that Dee obtained two manuscripts from Sir John Prise: London, British Library, Cotton Domitian A.I, folios 56–160 (originally from St Davids Cathedral), and London, British Library, Cotton Domitian A.VIII, folios 120–161 (originally from St Peter’s Abbey, Gloucester), perhaps through the offices of Prise’s eldest son, Gregory, mayor of Hereford, whom Dee met on his travels reported in Harley 473⁷¹.

There are, then, tantalising hints. But there are two parallel instances which can cast much greater light on his collecting practices and these link the two strands of Dee’s interests which were identified above: early British history and his own ancestry. We have seen that Dee produced in his own hand a copy of one of the Latin versions of the Welsh laws which is now Oxford, Merton College, 323. The whole manuscript is in his hand, and in the right-hand and lower margin of folio 1r he copied a version of his own genealogy to which he added records of his marriage to Jane Fromond and the births of his children. As I have noted above, he also collated this text with at least one other law-manuscript in Welsh, probably London, British Library, Cotton Titus D.IX⁷². Merton 323 has been discussed by Daniel Huws⁷³; he recognised that Merton 323 was in Dee’s hand and dated it 1585–1588. The Latin versions of the Welsh laws fall into five versions, the earliest, Redaction B, dating probably from the mid-thirteenth century and the latest, Redaction E, from the fifteenth century. Merton 323 belongs to this latest. It had been thought that Merton 323 was a considerably reworked version of the archetype

70 See above, p. 398.

71 *John Dee’s Library Catalogue...*, op. cit., p. 17. On Sir John Prise, see Neil R. Ker, « Sir John Prise », *The Library*, 5th series, 10 (1955), p. 1–24, revised in his *Books, Collectors, and Libraries*, London, Hambleton, 1985, p. 471–496; Glanmor Williams, « Sir John Pryse of Brecon », *Brycheiniog*, 31 (1998–1999), p. 49–63; Huw Pryce, « Prise, Sir John [Syr Siôn ap Rhys] (1501/1502–1555) », in: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography...*, op. cit., vol. XLV, p. 424–425 (and references cited there); John Prise, « *Historiae Britannicae Defensio* ». *A Defence of the British History*, ed. Ceri Davies, Torento/Oxford, Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies / The Bodleian Library, 2015, p. xv–xxxiv, and especially p. xxv–xxviii.

72 Huws, « Texts... », *art. cit.*, p. 136. See above, p. 410.

73 Cf. also *The Latin Texts of the Welsh Laws*, ed. Hywel D. Emanuel, Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1967, p. 410–412; Huws, « Texts... », *art. cit.*, p. 135–136. The prologue is edited in *The Latin Texts...*, op. cit., p. 434–435, and edited and translated in *The Prologues to the Mediaeval Welsh Lawbooks*, ed. and transl. Paul Russell, Cambridge, Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic, 2004, p. 35–37.

of that redaction, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 454⁷⁴. In fact, matters are more complicated⁷⁵.

The Merton text is not a direct reworking of the text of Corpus 454; there was an intermediate copy which is preserved as Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth 256. It is partly in the hand of Edward Thelwall of Plas y Ward in Denbighshire who was the oldest son of Simon Thelwall mentioned by Dee – in a marginal note in Dublin, Trinity College, 634 (E.5.22) – as possessing a copy of the life of Gruffudd ap Cynan⁷⁶. The make-up of Peniarth 256 is significant: its base-text is essentially a copy of that in Corpus 454, although it lacks the prologue, which is defective in the Corpus manuscript; the first page is in the hand of Thelwall and the rest in the hand of an amanuensis, but the whole text was heavily annotated by Thelwall in an Italic hand. In effect, he was collating the Latin text with a number of manuscripts in Welsh, and in many instances he crossed out and rewrote the Latin text, replacing it with a Latin rendering of the Welsh texts; in other words, while the language of preference was Latin, he regarded the content of the Welsh texts as superior. It can be shown that Thelwall had at least two different legal manuscripts in Welsh at his disposal, a text of *Llyfr Blegywryd* and another of *Llyfr Cyfnerth* (probably London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra B.V which fits most closely in terms of wording and the spelling of Welsh words)⁷⁷. The resulting heavily annotated text was Dee's exemplar, and in effect he produced a fair copy incorporating all Thelwall's annotations and ignoring his deletions. The differences, therefore, between Merton 323 and Corpus 454, as observed by Emanuel, are the outcome of a series of precise choices made by Thelwall in the collation and annotation of the intervening manuscript, Peniarth 256, and in this case Dee was acting simply as a scribe. He did, however, look elsewhere for a prologue, as Peniarth 256 lacked one; the prologue in Merton 323, which is different from that in Corpus 454, was presumably copied or adapted from another manuscript, but its precise antecedents remain unclear⁷⁸.

74 Ibid., p. 408–418; the text of the Corpus manuscript was printed by Emanuel, Ibid., p. 434–509, as Redaction E.

75 For a fuller discussion, see *Vita Griffini filii Conani*..., op. cit., p. 17–25.

76 For Edward Thelwall, see the biographical details *ibid.*, p. 7–9.

77 Ibid., p. 22–25.

78 See *The Prologues*..., op. cit., p. 35–37.

Huws dated Merton 323 to 1585–1588 on the grounds that the manuscript is not mentioned in the catalogue compiled in 1583 and that Dee added the births of the first four of his children in the lower margin in red ink (the latest of whom was Michael Pragensis in 1588)⁷⁹. However, Dee left England on 21 September, 1583 for the Continent, not to return until 22 November, 1589⁸⁰. He may have taken the copied manuscript text with him and added the pedigree subsequently after the birth of Michael; it seems likely from the annotation in the catalogue that he took his four Welsh printed books to the Continent with him and may have packed some of his Welsh manuscripts⁸¹. In other words, the main text of Merton 323 was probably copied before September 1583. There is no evidence that Peniarth 256 ever left Wales; so it is likely that Dee copied it at Plas y Ward, although Dee or one of his manuscript-hunters could have taken it on loan to London. Merton 323 clearly became a very precious manuscript for Dee and his family; in it he traces his ancestry back to Hywel Dda – the eponymous law-giver who legendarily established *Cyfraith Hywel*, ‘the law of Hywel’, over Wales – but more importantly he extended his genealogy to his children⁸². The names of his first four children were added in red ink on the right-hand side of the lower margin with dates and places of birth running from left to right; there is no doubt that they were added at one sitting, for that is the only way to explain why the names begin where they do on the page. The latest of the four is Michael who was born in Prague in 1585, and it was at that point that the four names were probably added. The names (and dates and places of birth) of his four subsequent children were added on the left-hand side of the lower margin running from right to left with the last one running over to the verso of the flyleaf. It seems, therefore, that the manuscript was in his hands, and constantly to hand, from its copying at some point before September 1583 through to at least 1595 when Margaret’s name

79 Huws, «Texts...», *art. cit.*, p. 136.

80 *The Diaries...*, *op. cit.*, p. 104, 246 respectively.

81 *John Dee’s Library Catalogue...*, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

82 For an image of this page, see Sherman, *John Dee...*, *op. cit.*, p. 108. His claim to descent from Hywel Dda was known to contemporaries, especially John Aubrey: «Talbot, marrying an inheritess of the prince of South Wales (who was descended from Hywel Dda, i.e. Howelus Bonus: the same family from whom John Dee was descended)» (*Brief Lives...*, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 211); on these links, see de Bar Baskerville, «A Matter...», *art. cit.*, p. 45–46.

was added. In this way, it performed the function of a family-bible as a record of the family's origins.

Given his alleged ancestry traced back as far as Hywel Dda, it is curious that no manuscript of Welsh law in Welsh is recorded in Dee's catalogues – even Merton 323 is not noted in the catalogue compiled in 1583 (which led Huws to think that it had been copied after that date), but it has become clear that the catalogue was by no means complete⁸³. However, we do know of one Welsh-law manuscript with which he had some contact even if he did not own it: London, British Library, Cotton Titus D.IX. It is a manuscript of *Llyfr Blegywryd* which contains some marginal notes in Dee's hand; it is also the manuscript from which he copied the marginal note in Merton 323, folio 6r. We also know of one Welsh-law manuscript which by implication he did not own and perhaps never saw. Dublin, Trinity College, 360, owned by Dee at some point, is the library-catalogue of St Augustine's library in Canterbury. In it there is an entry referring to a copy of the laws of Hywel Dda⁸⁴. Dee marked the entry in the index with a line which seems to imply that he could identify it but did not own it. The manuscript in question is now Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth 28, the oldest surviving manuscript of Redaction A of the Welsh laws in Latin; it was dated by Huws to the mid-thirteenth century, although previously it had been dated to the twelfth century⁸⁵. It was almost certainly in Canterbury by the 1270s since, apart from the shelfmark, it seems to bear marks of being read by Archbishop Pecham or his minions when he was composing a letter to Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, king of Gwynedd, complaining about the iniquities of Welsh law in relation to marriage and inheritance⁸⁶.

83 *John Dee's Library Catalogue...*, op. cit., p. 47–49.

84 Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts...*, op. cit., p. 169–176, at p. 176 in particular; see also *John Dee's Library Catalogue...*, op. cit., p. 15, 66, 128 (item M 123), and especially now, *St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury*, ed. Bruce Barker-Benfield, 3 vol., London, British Library / British Academy, 2008 (« Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues », 13), vol. III, p. 1722–1723, and more generally on Dee's annotation and marks in this manuscript, vol. III, p. 1890–1925.

85 Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts...*, op. cit., p. 58, 173–176.

86 *Registrum Epistolarum Fratris Jobannis Peckham, Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis*, ed. Charles T. Martin, 2 vol., London, Longman, 1882–1884, vol. I, p. 77–78 (letter 64), and II, p. 473–477 (letter 360). Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth 166 (ca 1500) is mainly a collection of excerpts from the Welsh laws, mainly from the Iorwerth redaction

Merton 323, then, provides us with an important paper-trail. We have Dee’s exemplar, Peniarth 256, and we know who wrote that, Edward Thelwall, and where, probably Plas y Ward, and more or less when, not long before September 1583. However, the significance of Thelwall for Dee is strengthened by a second, parallel, trail of manuscripts which can be tracked from Thelwall to Dee and which is more closely linked to his interests in British history. Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth 434 is a heavily annotated Latin version of the Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan, king of Gwynedd at the end of the eleventh and in the earlier twelfth century (he died in 1137)⁸⁷. A mediaeval Welsh version of his life has survived in Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth 17⁸⁸. While it has always been supposed that the original life (composed perhaps in the mid-twelfth century) was in Latin, the sixteenth-century Latin versions have been assumed to be translations from the Welsh⁸⁹. However, it can be shown that the underlying text of Peniarth 434 descends from a different version which cannot be a translation of the Middle-Welsh text but is rather a direct descendant of the original Latin life⁹⁰. For our purposes Peniarth 434 is crucial because it is another Thelwall-manuscript – quite possibly the one mentioned in Dee’s marginal note in Dublin, Trinity College, 634, folio 2r⁹¹. Again, as with Peniarth 256, the first page is in Thelwall’s hand and the rest of the main text is in the hand of an amanuensis, but all of the first and main layer of annotation is in Thelwall’s italic hand⁹². In other words, the *modus operandi* is identical to that seen in Peniarth 256: just as the annotation in Peniarth 256 derives from Welsh texts, so in Peniarth 434 the annotation is derived from a Welsh version of the life

and the *Damweiniau*. At the beginning of the second part of this composite manuscript, in the margin of p. 35, the name *John Dee* has been written. It is not in Dee’s own hand and so does not indicate that the manuscripts has ever been in Dee’s possession; see Evans, *Report...*, op. cit., vol. I, p. 959–960. I am grateful to Maredudd ap Huw for checking this text for me.

87 For an edition of this text, see *Vita Griffini filii Conani...*, op. cit., p. 52–124.

88 *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan*, ed. D. Simon Evans, Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1977.

89 See Ceri Davies, « The Sixteenth-Century Latin Translation of *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan* », in: *Gruffudd ap Cynan. A Collaborative Biography*, ed. Karen Lesley Maund, Woodbridge, Boydell, 1996, p. 157–164.

90 See *Vita Griffini filii Conani...*, op. cit., p. 25–41.

91 See above, p. 404.

92 There is also a later layer of annotation in the hand of Thomas Wiliems; see *Ibid.*, p. 115–124.

of Gruffudd ap Cynan and is effectively designed to turn the Latin text into a translation of the Welsh text of Gruffudd's life.

Consequently, fair copies of Peniarth 434 – of which two direct copies are known to have been made: London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius C.IX, folios 133r-143v, and London, British Library, Additional 19712, folios 1–10 –, look exactly like a translation of the Welsh text and have always been thought to be just that. However, it seems that, rather than starting with a Welsh version and a blank sheet of paper, Thelwall adapted an existing but somewhat different Latin version of the text. One of the fair copies, Cotton Vitellius C.IX, ended up as part of a composite codex created in the sixteenth century by or for the antiquary Arthur Agard (1540–1615), Deputy Chamberlain in the Exchequer; in total it contains thirty-five texts, mainly of historical interest. The Latin life of Gruffudd ap Cynan is the first of a group of three texts copied in the same hand, the other two being a copy of the Welsh life of Gruffudd ap Cynan (folios 144r-154v) and a copy of the text *Am ddiwedd Arthur*, 'On the death of Arthur' (folios 155r-157v), a composite translation of sections of Giraldus Cambrensis, *Speculum Ecclesiae* and *De principis instructione*, on the discovery of Arthur's tomb at Glastonbury⁹³. The hand of this group of texts does not re-appear in the manuscript; it looks as if these quires were added to the volume as a group from elsewhere. There is no doubt that this group passed through Dee's hands; while the Latin text was underlined and minimally annotated by Dee, the Welsh text (folios 144r-154v) was more heavily annotated by him. Circumstantial evidence is provided by the fact that folios 3–57 of the same manuscript contain a text in Dee's secretary-hand, entitled *Correctiones et supplementa Sigeberti Gemblicensis ex manuscriptis per J. Dee*. The hand of these three texts can be identified as that of Maurice Kyffin, pupil and friend of Dee, who is recorded in Dee's diary as visiting on more than one occasion and

93 For discussion of the Welsh text of the life of Gruffudd ap Cynan, see *Historia Gruffud...*, op. cit., p. CCLVII–CCLVIII. The Cotton Vitellius text of *Am ddiwedd Arthur* was printed by D. Simon Evans, « Dau gopi o destun », *Trivium*, 3 (1968), p. 30–47, at p. 39–43; cf. also Timothy Lewis and J. Douglas Bruce, « The pretended exhumation of Arthur and Guinevere », *Revue celtique*, 33 (1912), p. 432–451. For the Latin sources, see respectively *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, ed. J. S. Brewer et al., 8 vol., London, Longman, 1861–1891, vol. IV, p. 47–51, and VIII, p. 126–129. For discussion, see Georgia Henley, « Gerald's circulation and reception in Wales: the case of the *Claddedigaeth Arthur* », in: *Gerald of Wales. New Perspectives on a Medieval Writer and Critic*, ed. ead. and A. Joseph McMullen, Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 2018, p. 223–241.

who, as we have seen, translated Welsh verse for him⁹⁴. The identity of the hand is confirmed by a single autograph folio in London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A.VI (folio 42). Again it is likely that the copy of the Latin text was made at Plas y Ward, but in this case Kyffin may not only have copied the manuscript but also have delivered it to Dee. It is probable also that the other two texts in Kyffin’s hand were copied at the same time, and it is therefore reasonable to deduce that their exemplars were also in Thelwall’s possession as this time.

Support for this suggestion can be derived from the third text in Kyffin’s hand, *Am ddiwedd Arthur*. In addition to the late copy in Cotton Vitellius C.IX (and some other late copies), this text is preserved in Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Llanstephan 4 (Shirburn Castle C.21), folios 505r-509r, datable around 1400⁹⁵. There is also an acephalous copy, made in the late fifteenth century, in Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Llanstephan 2 (Shirburn Castle C.19), p. 206–211⁹⁶. A preliminary comparison of the Cotton Vitellius text with the earlier version in Llanstephan 4 – and detailed work remains to be done on various aspects of this text – suggests that the former has been subject to a significant degree of alteration and rewriting. In one instance, there is an indication that the annotator of the exemplar was comparing his Welsh text with the Latin texts of Giraldus Cambrensis: at folio 152v, where the source changes from *De principis instructione* back to *Speculum Ecclesiae*, he added a sentence “*Ac weithian, yni vo rhacweledig, ni a ymchwelwn ar y ddav gabidwl a edewit vbot*”, ‘and now, as might be surmised, we return to the two chapters which were left above’; the change of source would only be detectable if both source-texts were available to him and he were reading the Latin and Welsh texts side by side. The nature of the annotation is very similar to that seen in other texts which have passed through the hands of Edward Thelwall and, while without Thelwall’s annotated version there is no proof, it seems highly likely

94 See above p. 406-407.

95 The same scribe copied Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth 32, and has been identified as scribe C of « The Red Book of Hergest » (Oxford, Jesus College, 111); see Daniel Huws, « Llyfr Coch Hergest », in: *Cyfoeth y Testun. Ysgrifau ar Lenyddiaeth Gymraeg yr Oesoedd Canol*, ed. Iestyn Daniel et al., Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 2003, p. 1–30; Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts...*, op. cit., p. 60. For Llanstephan 4, see Evans, *Report...*, op. cit., vol. II, p. 424. The texts from Llanstephan 4 and Cotton Vitellius C.IX were printed by Evans, « Dau gopi o destun... », *art. cit.*

96 Evans, *Report...*, op. cit., vol. II, p. 420.

that the Cotton Vitellius version of *Am ddiwedd Arthur* is a fair copy of a version which has also been subject to Thelwall's editorial revisions.

The similarities in the transmission of these two manuscripts, Merton 323 and Cotton Vitellius C.IX, are striking and provide us with what has usually been lacking in studies of Dee's manuscripts, a clear paper-trail. Dee seems to have been remarkably pro-active in the acquisition of manuscripts and, despite having had his request for letters patent – to search for manuscripts – rejected by Queen Mary in 1556, he seems to have exploited all possible avenues to enhance his manuscript-collection. The political atmosphere of the 1570s and its pre-occupation with a larger “British empire” seem to have coincided with his interests in matters Welsh. A central element of these interests was his collection of texts on early British history, and at its core lay the texts of Geoffrey's *Historia Regum Britannie*. Furthermore, his collection of genealogies linking him to Hywel Dda (hence his concomitant interest in law texts) located him personally within that British history.

Moreover, it is clear that he made use of all his connexions to acquire manuscripts as well as assiduously seeking them out for himself on his travels. It seems that no cousin or pupil was left unbothered in his quest if there was the slightest chance of their possessing or having access to something interesting. In terms of manuscript transmission, he seems to have acted as conduit for such manuscripts to move from Wales to England. In the two main cases discussed above, a stemma of the surviving witnesses would show that most of the manuscript tradition remained in Wales, and especially within north Wales, with copies then falling into the hands of Welsh antiquaries and collectors and eventually (in the twentieth century) ending up at the National Library in Aberystwyth. The line of transmission via Dee, however, escaped that fate but only to suffer the same fate as all the other manuscripts and books in Dee's library which was dispersed either in 1583 when he left for eastern Europe or at his death in 1609.

Paul RUSSELL

APPENDIX

Books and manuscripts relating to Wales,
associated with Dr John Dee

PRINTED BOOKS

- GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH, *Historia Regum Britanniae. Britannie Utriusque Regum et Principum Origo & Gesta insignia ab Galfrido Monumutensis ex antiquissimis Britannici sermonis monumentis in Latinum traducta*, Paris, Josse Bade, 1517. Oxford, Christ Church, Wb.5.12 (*John Dee's Library Catalogue...*, op. cit., p. 29 (facsimile), 91 (item 601)).
- Humphrey LLWYD, *Fragmentum Brytannicae descriptionis*, Cologne, Birckmann, 1572. Locations unknown (two copies: *John Dee's Library Catalogue...*, op. cit., p. 62, 114 (facsimile), (items 1200, 1968)).
- William SALESBURY, *His Introduction Touching the Pronunciation of the Letters in the Brytyshe Tongue*, London, Henry Denham, 1567. Location unknown (*John Dee's Library Catalogue...*, op. cit., p. 93 (facsimile), 104 (item 1644)).
- William SALESBURY, *His Dictionarie in Englishe and Welshe or Britishe*, London, John Waley, 1547. Dublin, Trinity College, EE.e.32 (*John Dee's Library Catalogue...*, op. cit., p. 93 (facsimile), 104 (item 1645)). See GRUFFYDD and ROBERTS, “John Dee’s Additions...”, *art. cit.*
- Gruffudd ROBERT, *Grammatica Cambricae seu Brytannicae Linguae Vetustissimae*, Milan, Vincenzo Girardone, 1567. Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, W.S.59. (*John Dee's Library Catalogue...*, op. cit., p. 93 (facsimile), 104 (item 1646)). Signed “Jo Dee 1567 ex dono Jōis Lewis” (*John Dee's Library Catalogue...*, op. cit., p. 44).
- Catechismus parvus quidam lingua Cambrica*, London, Richard Jones, 1566–1567. Richard Jones had a licence to print a Welsh catechism in 1566–1567, but no copy of the 16th edition has survived (*John Dee's Library Catalogue...*, op. cit., p. 93 (facsimile), 104 (item 1647)).
- GILDÆ, *cui cognomentum est sapientis, De excidio & conquestu Britanniae: ac flebili castigatione in reges, principes, & sacerdotes epistola / vetustissimorum exemplarioru[m] auxilio non solum a me[n]dis plurimis vindicata, sed etiam accessione eoru[m], quæ in prima editione a Polydoro Vergilio resecta erant,*

multipliciter aucta, London, John Day, 1568. London, Royal College of Physicians, D 150/3 (*John Dee's Library Catalogue* . . . , op. cit., p. 97 (item 1087)).

MANUSCRIPTS

M or DM and a number in brackets refer to the item-number in *John Dee's Library Catalogue* . . . , op. cit. Items which lack M or DM have been attributed to Dee later than the publication of the *Catalogue* and its supplements.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Brogyntyn II.8 (DM 1): Extracts from *Liber Landauensis* (notes in Dee's hand, *passim*); *Nota de lingua brytanica* (folio 34v).

Cambridge, Trinity College, O.2.21 (1125): Geoffrey of Monmouth. Not in *John Dee's Library Catalogue* . . . , op. cit., but cf. SHERMAN, *John Dee* . . . , op. cit., p. 257; see also *John Dee's Library Catalogue. Additions and Corrections* . . . , op. cit., p. 4, "possible"; *The "Historia Regum Britannie" of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, t. III: Julia C. CRICK, *A Summary Catalogue of the Manuscripts*, Cambridge, Brewer, 1989, p. 66–67 (item 39).

Dublin, Trinity College, 360 (E.1.19) (M 123): Library catalogue of St Augustine's Canterbury. See *John Dee's Library Catalogue* . . . , op. cit., p. 15, 66, 128; *St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury* . . . , op. cit., vol. III, p. 1890–1925 on Dee's annotation and marks in this manuscript; and see above p. 404.

Dublin, Trinity College, 504 (E.4.23) (DM 15): *Annales de Margam*.

Dublin, Trinity College, 515 (E.5.12) (DM 16): Pseudo-Aristotle, *De secretis secretorum*; Prophecy of Merlin; Sylvester; Walter Map; *Epistula ad Rufinum*; Dares Phrygius; Geoffrey of Monmouth; notes in Welsh. Certainly written in Britain, and perhaps Wales; Crick, *Catalogue HRB*, 1989, p. 110–112 (item 66); *The "Historia regum Britannie" of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, t. i: *a Single-Manuscript Edition from Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS. 568*, éd. Neil WRIGHT, Cambridge, Brewer, 1985, p. LXXX–LXXXII. The text contains Welsh glosses: see ROBERTS, "Glosau Cymraeg . . .", *art. cit.*

Dublin, Trinity College, 634 (E.5.22) (DM 18): Notes from Polydorus Vergil; Radulphus Niger; Radulphus de Coggeshall; the Book of the Foundation of Llanthony; Roger Hovedon; etc. Important marginal

- notes (discussed above, p. 404); see COLKER, *Trinity College Library...*, op. cit., II 1109–1111.
- London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A.VI (DM 25): *Brut y tywysogion* in English; heavily annotated by Dee (folios 192r–221v copied by Maurice Kyffin). A note preserved on the title-page of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 847 (S. C. 7252), a copy of this manuscript, refers to it; see above p. 398.
- London, British Library, Cotton Domitian A.I, folios 56–160 (DM 26): Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itinerarium et Descriptio Cambriae; Annales Cambriae* (‘Annals of St Davids’); *Cognacio Brychan*. Owned by Sir John Prise who had obtained it from St Davids Cathedral (see *John Dee’s Library Catalogue...*, op. cit., p. 17).
- London, British Library, Cotton Domitian A.VIII, folios 120–161 (DM 28): Chronicle of the Abbey of St Peter’s. Owned by Sir John Prise who had obtained it from St Peter’s Abbey, Gloucester (*John Dee’s Library Catalogue...*, op. cit., p. 17).
- London, British Library, Cotton Titus D.IX (DM 30A): Welsh law (*Llyfr Blegywryd* [Owen’s L]); annotated by Dee, for example, folio 59r; source of marginal addition in Oxford, Merton College, 323 (HUWS, “Texts...”, *art. cit.*, p. 136; see also above, p. 415).
- London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius C.IX (DM 35): Latin and Welsh versions of the life of Gruffudd ap Cynan, and *Am ddiwedd Arthur*; see *Historia Gruffud...*, op. cit., p. CCLVII–CCLVIII, and *Vita Griffini filii Conani...*, op. cit., p. 10–11; see also above, p. 406–407 and 421.
- London, British Library, Cotton Charter XIII.38 (DM 37): Genealogy of Dee.
- London, British Library, Cotton Charter XIV.1 (DM 40): Genealogy of Dee.
- London, British Library, Harley 359, folios 126–216 (DM 53). Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itinerarium et Descriptio Cambriae*.
- London, British Library, Harley 473 (DM 54): *Certain verie rare observations of Chester; & some parts of Wales*. Notes on a journey from Chester to Cirencester.
- London, British Library, Harley 6358 (DM 64): Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae*; Pseudo-Turpin, *De vita et morte Caroli Magni*. See Crick, *Catalogue HRB*, 1989, p. 172–174 (item 106); *HRB Wright*, 1985, p. LXXXVI–LXXXVII.

- London, British Library, Lansdowne 728 (DM 67): *Comm. in Met. Ovidii*, Walsingham, *Archana deorum*. Note on folio 1: “Howel medd gwinau maelod: penbonedd mab Gwynedd glod; / ef addowodd fymrawd iddo JD lygry idraed wrth gerdded ar dir kalch &c.”.
- London, College of Arms, Arundel 1 (DM 82): Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia regum Britanniae*, etc. See Crick, *Catalogue HRB*, 1989, p. 193–196 (item 118). Heavily annotated by Dee.
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 847 (S.C. 7252) (M 52): *Brut y Tywysogion* in English, copied for Dee from London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A.VI by Robert Glover, Somerset Herald, after 1578. A note on the title-page refers to the original. See above, p. 398.
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, e Museo 63 (S. C. 3652) (DM 121): Alchemical tracts; catalogue of the books of John Gwynne; Welsh notes including a poem of Maredudd ap Rhys, and extracts from the Welsh bardic grammars; a letter from Gwynne to Dee. See above, p. 412–414.
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rylands c.26 (S. C. 52467), ca 1576–1591: Cheshire pedigrees and Welsh pedigrees; additions to pedigrees by Dee showing south-east Wales interest and a south-east pedigree added by him on f^{os} 104r-196v, and his own pedigree added on fol. 179v. Not in *John Dee's Library Catalogue...*, op. cit., but recently identified by Daniel Huws.
- Oxford, Merton College, 323 (DM 160): Redaction E of the Welsh laws in Latin; see *The Latin Texts...*, op. cit., p. 410–412; HUWS, “Texts...”, *art. cit.*, p. 135–136. See above, p. 415–419.
- Lost (M 112): “Annales Regulorum Cambricorum a Cadowaladro ad Leolini tempora lingua Brytannica sive Cambrica”: copy of *Brut y tywysogion*; see *Brut y Tywysogion or the Chronicle of the Princes. Peniarth MS. 20 Version*, transl. Thomas JONES, Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1952, p. XVII–XVIII.