The Authorship of *Drych Cydwybod* [?1616]

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In 2009, in the *Transactions,* I described the discovery, in the Mazarine Library in Paris, of a unique copy of an early seventeenth-century Welsh book called *Drych Cydwybod* (*A Mirror of Conscience*). The book is anonymous and undated and all that could be discovered from the book itself was that it seemed to have been printed in Douai and that the copy now in the Mazarine had originally belonged to Robert Owen, a Welsh priest from Plas Du, Caernarvonshire, who had been a canon in Le Mans and is recorded as having died there, a very old man, in November 1629.[1] It is now possible to suggest, in a tentative way, the identity of the original text from which *Drych Cydwybod* was translated or adapted into Welsh and, more excitingly, the identity of the Welsh author.

The obscurity of the original work from which *Drych Cydwybod* is derived is mainly due to two factors. First of all the Welsh text appears to be more in the way of an adaptation than a translation and this is quite unusual in a genre where textual fidelity is an important element in the dissemination of doctrinal truth. Printing itself was recognised as a process in which error could be introduced and disseminated, which is why Pope Leo X (*r.* 1513–21) introduced a licensing system for printed books, announced in 1515.[2] So the free adaptation of the source text of *Drych Cydwybod* is perhaps surprising but it was, nevertheless, printed with diocesan approval, as indicated by the licensing phrase 'Permissu Superiorum' on the title page. This approval must be presumed to have been granted to a person of good standing who was in a position to apply for it and to vouch for the contents of a book which could not be read by the local ecclesiastical authorities. This strongly suggests Robert Owen, who owned the only surviving copy of the book, had personal connections with the college in Douai, the town where it was probably printed, and held a diocesan position in France as assistant to the politically powerful Bishop of Le Mans, Claude d'Angennes.[3] The other thing which obscured the source text is that the title of the Welsh book is descriptive of its contents but it is not a translation of the title of the book on which it seems to be based. The title page material in the Welsh book appears to be original so it may have been supplied, together with the prefaces and other introductory matter which make up the whole of the first gathering, by the person who saw it through the press in France. But this meant that an extensive search for the source text in books whose titles contained the words 'speculum' or 'mirror' or 'conscience' proved fruitless.

1 For details of the discovery and a description of the book see Geraint Evans, 'A Lost Seventeenth-Century Welsh Book Rediscovered in Paris', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion,* n.s., 15 (2009), 28–39.

2 For a translation of Leo X, '*The Publication of Books* (Inter sollicitudines), 1515' see *Early Modern Catholicism: An Anthology of Primary Sources,* ed. by Robert S. Miola (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 485–86.

3 This connection has been persuasively argued by Geraint Bowen in 'Robert Owen, [Plas Du], Canon Le Mans', in *The National Library of Wales Journal*, 13 (1963–64), 88 (n. 3).

Vincenzo Bruno (1532–94) was an Italian Jesuit who taught at the Collegio Romano for most of his life, twice serving as rector, and wrote a number of popular works which were widely translated and which circulated in England and Wales in the 1590s and 1600s.[4] *Drych Cydwybod* seems to be based on a book written by Bruno which was first published in Italian as *Trattato del Sacramento della Penitenza* (Venice, 1585). There were translations into Portuguese (Lisbon, 1618) and French (Paris, 1622) and also into Latin (Cologne, 1599) and, interestingly, the only copy of the Latin edition I could find in Britain is now in the library of Hereford Cathedral. The work was also available in an English translation which was printed three times at a secret press in England. The title page of the first edition transcribes as:

> A | SHORT | TREATISE OF THE | SACRAMENT OF | PENANCE. | [*rule*] | *With the maner of examinati-* | *on of Conscience for a gene-* | *rall Confession.* | [*rule*] | Wheranto is added another | Treatise of Confession, for | such spirituall or deuoute | persons, as frequent that | Sacrament. | [*rule*] | *Sett forth in Italian by the* | *Reu. Fa.* VINCENT BRV- | NO *of the Society of* | IESVS. | [*rule*] | 1597.

A copy of this edition survives in the library of Lambeth Palace in London and is listed in the *English Short-Title Catalogue* (STC) as 3941.5 but is not recorded in Allison and Rogers.[5] A second edition appeared in the same year (STC 3942; A&R 177), a copy of which is in the University Library at Cambridge, and a third edition appeared in 1605 (STC 3942.5; A&R 178), a copy of which is in the Bodelian Library, Oxford. In fact a number of English editions of Bruno's works were printed on secret presses organised by Henry Garnet (1555–1606), the superior of the Jesuit mission in England and Wales and a man who had studied and taught alongside Vincenzo Bruno in Rome between 1575 and 1586.[6] STC lists seven English editions of books by Bruno printed at English secret presses between 1597 and 1605, five of which are attributed to 'Father Garnet's second press'. The first edition of the *Short Treatise of the Sacrament of Penance* and all four parts of *The Meditations of the Passion & Resurrection of Christ our Saviour* are attributed to Henry Garnet, while the second edition of the *Treatise*, which also appeared in 1597 (STC 3942), is attributed to the London printer Valentine Simmes (active 1594–1619) and the third edition (1605, STC 3942.5) to an unidentified secret press in London.

Thomas ab Wiliam (1545/6–1622?), also known as 'Sir' Thomas Wiliems and as Thomas Wiliems o Drefriw (Thomas Wiliems of Trefriw), is an important figure

4 See 'Vincenzo Bruno', in *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús: Biográfico-Temático,* ed. by Charles E. O'Neill and Joaquin M. Dominguez, 4 vols, (Rome: Institutum Historicum S. I., 2001), I, p. 562.

5 See A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475–1640* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1976–91); *The Contemporary Printed Literature of the English Counter-Reformation between 1558 and 1640,* ed. by A. F. Allison and D. M. Rogers (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1989–94).

6 See 'Father Henry Garnet (1555–1606)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.*

in Welsh humanism in the early seventeenth century. He was an avid collector and copier of Welsh manuscripts and important collections of Welsh laws (NLW Peniarth MS 225) and Welsh proverbs (NLW Mostyn MS 204) survive in his hand. He is mainly remembered today as the author of a pioneering Latin-Welsh dictionary *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae et Cambrobrytannicae* which he completed in 1607 and which survives in his own hand as NLW Peniarth MS 228 and in what Daniel Huws has called 'a magnificent fair copy of almost half the dictionary' made by John Edwards of Plas Newydd, Y Waun (Chirk), now NLW Brogyntyn MSS I 9–10.[7] The work was not published in his lifetime but the manuscript passed to John Davies of Mallwyd and was eventually published as part of the *Dictionarium Duplex* (1623).[8] A remarkable letter from Thomas Wiliems to his collaborator and sometime patron John Edwards has survived in the National Library of Wales. The letter is item 1 in National Library of Wales, MS 3561, formerly Puleston MS 1, a volume now called *Geirfa a Gramadeg* [*Vocabulary and Grammar*]. Item 1 is a single folded sheet, foliated 1–1a, much of which is concerned with another recent translation into Welsh for which Thomas Wiliems is suggesting some preferred readings. But on f.1a verso, apparently added as a postscript, Thomas Wiliems makes the following enquiry:

> Am y lhyuran or Sacrauen o Benyt a drosais er ys talm,
> os ailscrivenwyd belhach e vydhe dha genyf gael vy
> hen vara cras or diwedh, er lhes ir annysgedig.
>
> About the book of the Sacrament of Penance which I translated some time ago, if it has been copied yet I would be pleased to receive my old dry bread at last, for the good of the unlearned.

It is difficult not to read in this a reference to Vincenzo Bruno's *Short Treatise of the Sacrament of Penance*, which had been reprinted in London in 1605, shortly before Wiliems completed the all-engrossing task of the Latin-Welsh dictionary in 1607 or 1608. Indeed, Dr Geraint Bowen, who was an indefatigable pioneer in this field, had already made the connection between Wiliems's 'Sacrauen o Benyt' and Bruno's *Sacrament of Penance* in the early 1960s, following a suggestion made by Professor Geraint Gruffydd, arguing that there is no other title listed in Allison and Rogers before 1620 whose title could be translated as 'y lhyuran or Sacrauen o Benyt'.[9] But there was no obvious link between these two titles and the title of *Drych Cydwybod* and it was only when I recognized the textual similarities that the

7 Daniel Huws, 'John Davies and his Manuscripts', in *Dr John Davies of Mallwyd: Welsh Renaissance Scholar*, ed. by Ceri Davies (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2004), p. 117.

8 See Mary Burdett-Jones, 'Early Welsh Dictionaries', in *A Nation and its Books,* ed. by Philip Henry Jones and Eiluned Rees (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1998), pp. 75–79; Caryl Davies, 'The *Dictionarium Duplex* (1632)', in *Dr John Davies of Mallwyd: Welsh Renaissance Scholar,* ed. by Ceri Davies (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2004), pp. 146–70.

9 See Geraint Bowen, 'Lhyuran or Sacrauen o Benyt', in *The National Library of Wales Journal*, 13 (1963–4). The argument is repeated in *A Guide to Welsh Literature 1530–1700,* ed. by R. Geraint Gruffydd (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997). Another invaluably suggestive source is Geraint Bowen, *Welsh Recusant Writing* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1999).

link between Thomas Wiliems and *Drych Cydwybod* could be made and the textual history of the Welsh book could be tentatively pieced together.

Thomas Wiliems and John Edwards had both been accused of recusancy on a number of occasions. John Edwards appears to have abandoned outward conformity after 1605 and in 1614 he was attainted and fined two thirds of his estate, a blow from which he seems never to have recovered. In 1619 he was imprisoned in the Marshalsea after appearing before the Attorney-General in Star Chamber in a case which originated in his objecting to sheriff's officers having entered Plasnewydd in search of recusants.[10] Thomas Wiliems suffered similarly, being arraigned as a recusant before a bishop's court in Bangor in 1606 and before the archbishop's court the following year.[11] It now seems possible, however, that far from being isolated adherents to the Old Faith, Wiliems and Edwards were in fact part of a network of Welsh Catholic book production and distribution, a network in which regular and secular priests in Wales were linked with writers and translators in Wales and France and with printers and distributors in Wales, France and London.[12]

One of the intriguing things about *Drych Cydwybod* is that it is not a simple translation of *The Sacrament of Penance*. The adapter has created a Welsh version of Bruno's work suited to his audience in Wales. Much of the material has been reordered and the translation itself is often sufficiently different from the source that it reads like an original composition. A full study of the textual differences will have to wait for an edition of *Drych Cydwybod* but a few examples will suffice to illustrate the originality of the Welsh text. Here is the opening of the book, comparing the first English edition of 1597 with the opening of *Drych Cydwybod*, supplied in transcription, and with my translation added below:

> A TREATISE OF PE- / NAVNCE. / *What is the Sacrament of Penance:* / *and of the necessity of the same.* / *Chap. 1.* / First. For the comfort of such / as are truly penite[n]t, to / the end that they may haue some / knowledg of this so holsome a Sa- / crament, and a brief instruction, / how they ought to prepare them / selues, for the obtaining of that / grace, which therin our Lord doth / vse to bestow, togither with the / remission of their sinnes: I will in- / treat first in generall of this Sacra- / ment, what it is, & how necessary / and conuenient for our saluation: / And afterward what partes it hath / briefly discoursing of euery one in parti- / culer. / Second. Penaunce therefore is / a Sacramente instituted by Christ / our Sauiour, in the which by the / ministery of the Priest, all actuall / sinnes are remitted, and all bonds / dissolued, which concerned sinne, / wherwith mans co[n]science was in / what maner soeuer intangled: the / euerlasting

10 See *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, ed. by Henry Foley (London: Burn and Oates, 1879), VI, pp. 730–31; A. H. Dodd, 'John Edwards III (d.1625)', in *The National Library of Wales Dictionary of Welsh Biography Online* <http://yba.llgc.org.uk/en/s-MANS-OXW-1250.html> [accessed 22 July 2011]

11 See J. E. Caerwyn Williams, 'Wiliems, Thomas (*b.* 1545/6?, *d.* in or before 1623?)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

12 I hope to expand on this idea in a forthcoming chapter about the work of Roger Smyth in Paris.

> punishme[n]t, also of hell, / is pardoned, and part of that tem- / porall punishment, which is dew / to sinne, & sometimes all the same / wholle, according to the disposi- / tion of the Penitent.
>
> DRYCH CYDWYBOD, / SEF MODD / CYMMVVS, A FFRVVYTHLAVVN, I / ddwyn pob math ar ddyn i gael / gwybodaeth oi bechodeu, a me- / gis ei gweled gar bron ei lygaid, / gan ddangos iddo pa fodd i gw- / naiff ei gyffes iw Dad-enaid, ar / modd i gael meneginieth am da- / nynt / Y PENNOD 1. / YMHLITH y rho- / ddio[n] nefol ar gras, a / dawodd Christ Iesu / (ein prynwr) iw / Eglwys iniol, wrth / dderchafu ir nefoe- / edd; vn or rhai pennaf iw Sacrafen / Pœnyd. yr hwn sydd yn rhagddwyn / dyn i stad wirion, ag megis yn i ail / gymmod a Duw, ag yn i wneythyr / yn Etifedd ag yn aer iddo i feddianu / tyrnas nef: ag yn tynnu ein henwe / allan o lifr Ange ag yn i hail scri- / fennu mewn llyfr y bywyd.
>
> THE MIRROR OF CONSCIENCE, THAT IS THE MEANS PROPER, AND FRUITFUL, TO bring every kind of man to have knowledge of his sins and as it were to see them before his eyes, showing him in what way to make his confession to his spiritual Father, and the way to find remedy for them. CHAPTER 1 AMONG the heavenly gifts and grace which Christ Jesus (our redeemer) left to his church, as he ascended to heaven, one of the main [gifts] is the Sacrament of Penance, which brings a man to a truthful state and reconciles him again to God, and makes him an heir to inherit the kingdom of heaven: and removes our names from the book of Death and reinscribes it in the book of life.

The adaptation begins with the words 'Ymhlith y rhoddion nefol . . .' which equate with the section beginning 'For the comfort of such . . .'. The opening material, before the heading 'Chapter 1', is in both cases a repeat of the opening lines of the title page, which in the Welsh book is original rather than translated, although the phrase 'necessary and conuenient' may well be behind 'modd cymmvvs a ffrvvythlavvn' ('proper and fruitful means') in the Welsh title. It is immediately apparent that this looks less like a translation than an original, literary composition. It seems to be based on the ideas and structure of Vincenzo Bruno's work but it is designed at every point to address the needs and expectations of its intended audience. The structure of the English edition of Bruno's book is that the first part, called 'The Sacrament of Penance', is divided into nineteen chapters and the second part, called 'The Treatise of Confession', is divided into fifteen, with a final section of prayers headed 'A Meditation for the Holy Communion'. The English and the Latin editions have a very similar structure although in the Latin edition the chapters have not been numbered. The Welsh book is divided into nineteen chapters with numerous sub-headings, often inserted in place of what is, in the English or Latin editions, a series of numbered paragraphs. The order of material in the Welsh book generally corresponds with the order of material

as it appears in the English and Latin editions although some sections are greatly expanded while others are omitted entirely and material is occasionally moved to a different section. The first chapter of 'The Treatise of Confession', for example, which occurs two thirds of the way through the English and Latin editions, is moved up to become chapter 2 of the Welsh book. The headings are:

> Y ffrvvyth, rhaglyddiad, a llvvyddiant sydd, yn dygvvydd vvrth fynych Gyffesu
>
> Of the profit of often Confession
>
> De utilitate frequentis Confessionis

Some sequences of chapters, such as those dealing with the ten commandments, are similar in all three editions but the Welsh book often expands the material, adding, for example, headings referring to particular segments of society or occupations. These include:

> Modd i farsiandvvyr; a rhai o gelfyddyd, i holi ei cydvvybod . . . Gwr o grefft, a gweithwr . . . Pechodeu digwyddawl i rai priod . . . Pechodeu digwyddol i Dad a mam o ran dwyn ei plant i funu . . . Pechodeu digwyddol i blant tra fythont dan reoledigaeth ei Tad ai mam . . . Pechodeu digwyddawl i Feistred a meistreseu, ymholant ei cydwybod . . . Y pechodeu digwyddol i weision a morwynion . . .
>
> The means for merchants and artists to search their conscience . . . craftsmen and workers . . . the sins which attach to married people . . . sins which attach to fathers and mothers in relation to the rearing of children . . . sins which attach to children while they are in the care of their father and mother . . . sins which attach to master and mistresses . . . sins which attach to servants and maidservants . . .[13]

On other occasions the same material occurs in roughly the same place in all three books, under similar headings:

> Y Cases, ar achosion, sydd yn gwneythyr Cyffes yn ddiffrwyth, ag yn ddiles fal i may yn rhaid ir Pœnydivvr gyffesu o newydd.
>
> Of some cases wherein the Confession is voide & to be reiterated.
>
> Qvando confessio sit nulla & iteranda.

One explanation of the considerable differences between these texts is that *Drych Cydwybod* is simply a loose adaptation of Bruno's *Sacrament of Penance*,

13 These headings occur in Chapter 15, 'Or savvl a gymerodd grefydd arnynt'; my translation.

made in Wales by Thomas Wiliems. Another explanation is that it is an original work, but one which uses Bruno's book, or Thomas Wiliems's Welsh translation of it, as a base text, and that it was written in France and designed as a narrative of conversion. Bruno's Italian original, and its Latin, French and Portuguese translations, are part of a reforming, post-Tridentine tradition, which addresses a Catholic audience. But that might have seemed inadequate for an intended audience in Wales so the author of *Drych Cydywbod* uses *The Sacrament of Penance* as a model but adds a lot of doctrinally relevant material about sin and penance in relation to merchants, artists, craftsmen, married people and their children and masters and their servants, material which would not be so necessary in a society where the population was still in contact with the teachings of the Catholic church. Unlike Bruno's Catholic book of devotion, *Drych Cydwybod* is making the case again, to a people for whom the arguments are no longer apparent, in much the same way as the arguments are enumerated from first principles in *Gwssanaeth y Gwŷr Newydd* or parts of *Y Drych Cristianogawl*.[14]

While the link between the Thomas Wiliems manuscript and *Drych Cydwybod* still leaves a number of textual issues unresolved it is of considerable value in relation to dating. The title page of *Drych Cydwybod* is undated but the bibliographical evidence (some of which is described in the 2009 article) suggests that the second decade of the seventeenth century is more likely than 1661, the date which had been ascribed to the book in the nineteenth-century *Cambrian Bibliography*. If Thomas Wiliems's letter of 1615 is referring to a translation which, in one form or another, became *Drych Cydwybod* then the reference to 'y lhyuran or Sacrauen o Benyt' as still being in manuscript provides a *terminus ante quem* for the printed edition. In fact, I would suggest that it tends to support 1616 as a possible date of publication. The typographical evidence indicates Laurence Kellam's printing house in Douai as the place of printing and although he died in 1612 the business was continued by his widow. STC lists a number of titles which were issued by Marguerite Kellam in Douai between 1615 and 1619, including five titles in English. So the mysteriously late date of 1661, under which *Drych Cydwybod* is listed in *The Cambrian Bibliography*, may represent a garbled memory of the book having been distributed in Wales in 1616.

Reconstructing a history of the book

The history of *Drych Cydwybod* can now be speculatively reconstructed as follows. In August 1581 Robert Jones of Chirk, who may have studied with Richard Gwyn, the first Welsh Catholic martyr, arrives in Rheims with Richard and Francis Edwards of Plas Newydd, Chirk. Three months later, still accompanied by Francis, Robert Jones arrives at the English College in Rome and the following May he enters the Jesuit novitiate at Sant Andrea. From 1583 to 1594 he is a student, and then a professor of Philosophy, at the Collegio Romano, where Henry Garnet is a

14 See *Gwsannaeth y Gwyr Newydd,* ed. by Geraint Bowen (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1970); *Y Drych Kristnogawl,* ed. by Geraint Bowen (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1996).

professor until 1586, the year in which Vincenzo Bruno becomes rector.[15]

In 1585, while Robert Jones is still a student at the Collegio Romano, Vincenzo Bruno's *Trattato del Sacramento della Penitenza* is published in Venice and between 1597 and 1605 several English editions of books written by Vincenzo Bruno, including three editions of the *The Sacrament of Penance*, are printed at English secret presses organised by Henry Garnet, Bruno's former student and colleague in Rome, who is now the superior of the Jesuit mission in England and Wales.

These English editions of Bruno's works are all printed after 1595, the year in which Robert Jones returns to Wales as a missionary priest, working under the guidance of Henry Garnet. A headquarters for the Jesuit mission in Wales is eventually established at the Cwm farm, Llanrothal, a few miles north west of Monmouth, but probably not until after Jones's death in 1615. But among the many books from the Cwm library which are now housed at Hereford Cathedral there is a Latin edition, printed in Cologne in 1599, of Bruno's *Trattato del Sacramento della Penitenza*. At least one copy of each of the three English editions has survived in English collections but this seems to be the only copy of the Latin translation of this work which has survived in a library in Britain and it bears the ownership mark of Robert Jones.[16]

Sometime after 1607, when he completes his Latin-Welsh dictionary, Thomas Wiliems of Trefriw makes either a Welsh translation or a freely adapted Welsh version of Bruno's *Sacrament of Penance*, perhaps using the copy of the Latin edition which is now in Hereford, rather than an English edition, and in a letter dated September 1615, to his friend John Edwards of Plas Newydd in Chirk, he refers to this work as 'y lhyuran or Sacrauen o Benyt'. John Edwards makes a fair copy of the work in his elegant, legible hand, and this is sent to France to be printed. Bearing in mind the connections between John Edwards and Robert Jones the manuscript might have been sent to France via missionary priests in south Wales, perhaps Morgan Clynnog (1558–after 1619), who is known to have been in correspondence with Roger Smyth in Paris, or John Salisbury (c.1575–1626) who, like Robert Jones, seems to have lived at Raglan Castle, a key location for maritime transport and distribution.

The following year, 1616, the book is printed in Douai by the widow of Laurence Kellam, and is seen through the press by Robert Owen, a Welsh priest from Le Mans, who had studied at Douai with Robert Gwyn. At this stage, there are two possible scenarios. If the adaptation as printed is the work of Thomas Wiliems then somebody in France, probably Robert Owen himself, provides the introductory matter for the book, consisting of two prefaces, a list of printer's errors, an apology for these errors and a title page, with a title which is descriptive of the book's contents but is not a translation of the title of Bruno's book. Alternatively, the

15 See John Martin Cleary, 'Jones, Robert (1560–1615)', in *The National Library of Wales Welsh Biography Online* < http://yba.llgc.org.uk/en/s1-JONE-ROB-1560.html> [accessed 22 July 2011]; Thomas M. McCoog, 'Jones, Robert (c. 1564–1615)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.*

16 Vincenzo Bruno, *Breuis tractatus de sacramento poenitentiae* (Cologne, 1599), Hereford Shelfmark U.7.6. Robert Jones's mark of ownership is on the verso of the front free endpaper.

whole of the book, including the prefatory material, could have been written – as the preface says – in a country where there were no Welsh books or other Welsh speakers to provide the vocabulary which was required. If that is the case then Robert Owen, the politically engaged and scholarly canon of Le Mans, may have been the author, using Thomas Wiliems's manuscript translation of Bruno as a template. The other Welsh writer who is active in France at this time is Roger Smyth, who published four Welsh books in Paris between 1609 and 1615, but he is never shy about signing his prefaces or naming himself as the author of a book.

Whoever is responsible for the text of *Drych Cydwybod*, the Welsh title contains a deliberate reference to Robert Gwyn's most important work, which had circulated in manuscript and part of which had been secretly printed in north Wales in 1586 as *Y Drych Cristianogawl* (*The Christian Mirror*). The preface to *Drych Cydwybod*, which refers to the difficulty of composition in a country where there are no Welsh speakers and no Welsh books, may represent truthful reflection but it may also be part of a deliberate strategy to anonymise the book. The lack of a date or place of publication on the title page and the lack of an author's or translator's name, together with the implication that the work has been translated in France – rather than just printed there – are all designed to protect the translator and copyist and distributors of the book in Wales.

An oral tradition, which recalls *Drych Cydwybod* being printed in 1616, or first circulating in Wales in that year, survives into the nineteenth century, but the date is somehow garbled into 1661, and that date is silently ascribed to *Drych Cydwybod* in *The Cambrian Bibliography*.

At least one copy of the book remains in France, in the possession of Robert Owen in Le Mans, the copy which is now in the Mazarine library in Paris, and at least one copy survives in Wales into the nineteenth century, and was probably owned by William Owen of Caernarfon, who died in 1864. This copy, which may have been the last copy in Wales and which now seems to be lost, is the one which was referred to in a talk given by H. W. Lloyd to the Cymmrodorion in London in June 1880.

There is much work still to be done on Welsh recusancy and Welsh recusant printing, particularly the patterns of production and distribution and the links with the production and distribution of English printed material, but the rediscovery of *Drych Cydwybod* has already provided some intriguing new information as well as opening up new problems and mysteries. If Robert Owen was indeed the author of *Drych Cydwybod*, using John Edwards's fair copy of Thomas Wiliems's translation as the template for his own book, then ironically, Wiliems's manuscript translation of Bruno's *Sacrament of Penance* has still not been rediscovered and it is still, in Geraint Bowen's phrase, 'un o lyfrau . . . coll yr Hen Ffydd' (one of the lost . . . books of the Old Faith).[17]

17 *Y Drych Kristnogawl*, ed. by Bowen, p. xxi.