
The Concept of Europe in the Medieval Welsh
Geographical Treatise *Delw y Byd*

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The Concept of Europe in the Medieval Welsh Geographical Treatise

Delw y Byd

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The present article discusses the concept of Europe in *Delw y Byd*, the medieval Welsh translation of the geographical section of the twelfth-century encyclopedia *Imago mundi*, written in Latin by Honorius Augustodunensis. The research presented here forms part of the project ‘Defining Europe in Medieval European Geographical Discourse: the Image of the World and its Legacy, 1110-1500’ funded by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research. An early version of this article was presented at the Japan Society for Celtic Studies Annual Congress in October 2017 as 「ウェールズの地理学書 *Delw y Byd* における「ヨーロッパ」のコンセプトについて」.

Key words: medieval encyclopedias, medieval welsh, Europe, *Imago mundi*

Introduction

*A'r ran ardymeredic honno a rennir yn teir ran ygkylch Mor Groec. Vn yw yr Asia, arall yw Europa, tryded yw yr Affrica.*¹

‘And that temperate part is separated into three parts around the Greek Sea. One is Asia, another is Europe, third is Africa’.

Thus runs the first mention of Europe in the medieval Welsh geographical treatise *Delw y Byd*, the Welsh translation of the first, geographic, book of Honorius Augustodunensis’ *Imago mundi*.² The quoted text belongs to the beginning of Chapter 7 [7], devoted to the description of the tripartite division of the inhabited world.³ The ‘temperate part’ referred to in the beginning of the quotation belongs to the so-called ‘zonal’ view of the world (where the Earth is divided into five climatic zones) and represents the inhabited northern temperate zone described in the preceding chapter of the text.⁴ The tripartite structure reflected in the passage itself is common to the medieval tradition and finds a visual representation in the so-called ‘T-O maps’ or *mappaemundi* of the T-O type [See Figure 1].⁵ Briefly described, these represent the inhabited world divided into three sections, labeled Asia, Europe and Africa, with

Asia at the top and Jerusalem occupying a position broadly in the center (particularly in depictions post-dating the beginning of the Crusades).⁶ The three sections are divided by the combined water system of the Mediterranean, the Don and the Nile. Whilst the geographical tradition of the tripartite world ultimately derives from Greek and Roman geographical traditions, to the medieval world its main sources of transmission

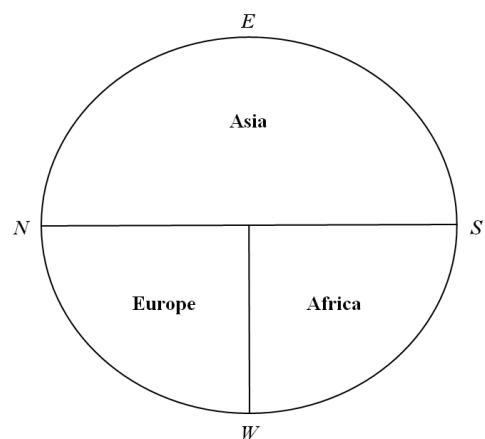


Figure 1. T-O map schema

were Isidore, Orosius and Augustine.⁷ The visual representation of the same world-view in the T-O cartographic tradition is also attested in maps of Welsh provenance. Two major examples are the *mappa mundi* in Exeter, Cathedral Library MS 3514 (Whitland, s. xiii²), p. 53 and the related map in Oxford, Jesus College MS 20 (s. xiv/xv), f. 32v [see Figure 2].⁸



Figure 2: *Mappa mundi* of Jesus College Oxford MS 20 f. 32v (detail). By kind permission of Jesus College, Oxford. The full image can be accessed at <http://image.ox.ac.uk/show?collection=jesus&manuscript=ms20> (last visited 27 June 2018)

Geography and geographical concepts permeated medieval culture, and as such, understanding the full extent of geographical conceptions available at a particular period can provide a useful framework for understanding the worldview of those who functioned in that cultural context. Whether such geographical conceptions interacted with or informed other aspects of intellectual life, such as political views, and if so to what extent, is a matter that would bear further investigation. Europe as a quarter of the world, distinct from any political unities within or beyond its borders, is attested in the *Liber Floridus* map of Europe (Ghent University Library, MS 92 f. 241r) from the twelfth century.⁹ The

manuscript contains historical, encyclopaedic texts and thus situates geography in a wider context.¹⁰

The medieval historiographical convention of situating the region under discussion geographically in the prologue or first chapter of a work of history is particularly illustrative of the interrelation between geography and other subjects. This was practiced extensively in the European medieval historiography. The tenth-century historian Richer of Saint-Rémi, for instance, summarises in his prologue the position of Gaul within Europe and of Europe in turn within the tripartite world.¹¹ The tripartite description which Richer gives belongs to the same tradition as the description of the tripartite world in *Delw y Byd*, the quotation from which opened the present discussion. Richer's geographical knowledge derives from Orosius, one of the three main sources of medieval geographical worldview mentioned above, the other two being Augustine and Isidore.¹² The tripartite representation they give is largely very similar, and, indeed to some degree interrelated, since Isidore, for instance, was heavily influenced by Orosius.¹³

The practice of geographical contextualisation is attested throughout medieval Western Europe, in the writings of Bede and Benoît de Sainte Maure among others, and is also derived from Orosius.¹⁴ The thirteenth-century Spanish *Primera Crónica General* in its Chapter 2, presents exactly the same geographical contextualisation for Spain as Richer's *Historia* does for Gaul:

*Los sabios que escrivieron todas las tierras fizieron dellas tres partes: e a la una que es mayor pusieron el nombre Asia, e a la otra África. e a la tercera Europa.*¹⁵

'The wise men who described all the lands made of them three parts: and to that which is biggest they gave the name Asia, and to the other Africa and to the third Europe' (my translation).

The *Crónica*, like Richer's *Historia*, derives its geography from the tradition of Orosius and Isidore, directly, or indirectly. The same tradition gave birth to a number of encyclopaedic texts which in turn also influenced historical and literary output.¹⁶ *Delw y Byd*, the Welsh translation of the twelfth-century Latin encyclopaedia *Imago mundi*, is one such text.¹⁷ Its

representation of Europe and the tripartite world, and the possible influences or echoes of this representation in other medieval Welsh texts, are the subject of the present article.

The Latin source of the Welsh text, Honorius Augustodunensis' *Imago mundi*, was hardly a new and original composition and has been described as 'derivative' and simplifying, yet those qualities should be regarded as necessary attributes of a work of dissemination, which reflects the generally accepted views of the world.¹⁸ It has also been argued that it is precisely to its clarity that the work owed its enduring popularity throughout the medieval period and beyond.¹⁹ The text continued to be circulated in printed form long after the discovery of America.²⁰

The present article will examine the representation of Europe in the Welsh translations of this text. Whilst a work of translation might at first glance be perceived as derivative, it is also as Rita Copeland has argued, 'a vehicle for vernacular appropriation of academic discourse'.²¹ As such, a translated text, rather than representing an imperfect copy of an authoritative original, represents an important link in intellectual discourse and a foundation of new discourses within the vernacular culture. The medieval Welsh translations of *Imago mundi* provide an important insight into encyclopaedic information appropriated into the Welsh cultural sphere in the early twelfth century.

1. Welsh translations of *Imago Mundi: Delw y Byd*

There are at least two Welsh translations of the *Imago mundi*.²² These are preserved only in fragmentary or incomplete form, in five medieval manuscripts: Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS Peniarth 17 (s. xiii²), pp. 17-26; Oxford, Jesus College, MS 111, known also as the Red Book of Hergest (1382–c. 1400), two fragments, at ff. 121v-125r (cols. 502-516) and 242v-48v (cols. 975-999); Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS Peniarth 5, also known as the White Book of Rhydderch (c. 1350), ff. 2r-4r; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson B 467 (c. 1400), ff. 70v-72v; Philadelphia, Library Company of Philadelphia, MS 8680 (1382×c. 1400), ff. 1r-2r.²³ The Red Book of Hergest contains two distinct copies of the text, which represent two different translations. Although none of the manuscripts listed above preserve a complete version of

the text, it is probable that before the loss of some of its folios, which probably contained the first part of the text, up to Chapter 52 [47] ('On the double nature of water'), Peniarth 17 may have carried a complete copy of *Delw y Byd*. In its present state it starts with Chapter 53 [48] 'Of Hot Water', and concludes with Chapter 147 [140] 'Heaven of Heavens'.

The Welsh texts represent a faithful verbatim translation of the original, with few omissions and only some minor variation, such as, for instance, alterations made to passages where etymological explanations are given for Latin names or place-names, where such an explanation would not make sense for the Welsh.²⁴ The divergence from the Latin text through simplification and the omission of additional detail is somewhat more pronounced in the second Welsh version.

To understand the differences between the two Welsh translations, it is necessary to take a brief moment to examine the Latin text. The *Imago mundi* was composed by Honorius Augustodunensis at the beginning of the twelfth century. Whilst little is known of Honorius, he was probably German, and may have spent some time in England, which might be where he wrote the initial version of *Imago mundi*.²⁵ He appears to have produced four different redactions of the text, in 1110, 1123, 1133 and 1139 respectively.²⁶ Of these, the first version is the shortest and the rest are distinguished by the progressive addition of material to each subsequent version.²⁷ The *Imago mundi* is formed of three 'Books', of which the first described the physical world (this is the part of the text which is translated into Welsh as *Delw y Byd*), the second Book deals with the measurements of time, the third is a historical text.²⁸ The first Book is structured according to the four elements: earth, water, air, and fire. The 'earth' section is geographical and describes the inhabited world, the 'water' section is dedicated to the seas and rivers, the 'air' to winds and other aerial phenomena, and 'fire' to the planets, signs of the zodiac and astronomical phenomena. The 'earth' section commences with the overview of the zonal and tripartite divisions of the world (referred to above), and proceeds to describe the geography and inhabitants of the three parts of the world in the order Asia, Europe and Africa, concluding with a separate fourth section dedicated to the category of islands (including Sicily, Corsica, etc). In most manuscripts, these four main sections of the geographical description of the world are distinguished

by coloured initials, and the text itself draws attention to the structure through statements such as *Post decursam Asiam transeamus ad Europam* ‘After Asia having been traversed, we cross over to Europe’, rendered in Welsh as *Kann derw yr Asia, traethwn withon o Europa* ‘Since Asia ends, let us talk now of Europe’ at the end of Chapter 20 [21] concluding the section dedicated to the subject of Asia.²⁹

Turning to the Welsh text, the Peniarth 17 and one of the Red Book (ff. 242v-248v) fragments belong to the translation based on the 1110 version of *Imago mundi*. This is conventionally called the A Version of *Delw y Byd*. Meanwhile the White Book, Philadelphia, Rawlinson, and the second Red Book (ff. 121v-125r) fragments represent a translation of the 1123 version of the text, marked by the addition of a number of passages and chapters.³⁰ This represents the B Version of *Delw y Byd*. An additional indicator of difference is Chapter 26 [28] ‘On Italy’, where the order of the different sections (on the ancient cities, the rivers Padus and Eridanus) differs between the two versions.³¹

2. Europe in *Delw y Byd*

The detailed description of the region of Europe in *Imago mundi* and consequently also in *Delw y Byd* begins with the introductory Chapter 21 [22], and includes the following chapters: 22 [23] *De Scithia*, 23 [24] *De Germania Superior*, 24 [25, 26] *De Germania Inferior*, 25 [27] *De Grecia*, 26 [28] *De Italia*, 27 [29] *Gallia*, 28 [30] *Hispania*, 29 [31] *Britannia*.³² The introduction in Chapter 21 [22] provides two etymological narratives for the name of this part of the world. In addition to the conventional derivation of the name from the myth of Europa, the text provides a derivation from the name of a King *Europs* or King *Europus*. This latter etymology is somewhat less widespread than the Europa myth.³³ *Europus* is mentioned in Justin’s *Epitome* of Pompeius Trogus’ world history, *Hitoriae Philippicae* or *Liber Historiarum Philippicarum* (7.1.6): *Ex alio latere in Europa regnum Europus nomine tenuit* ‘On the other side a king named *Europus* held the sovereignty in a district called *Europa*’.³⁴ This text was widely read in the Middle Ages, with over two hundred manuscripts surviving, and may well have been the ultimate source of the reference in *Honorius*.³⁵ Both Welsh versions of the text reproduce

the *Europs* reference, but Version B omits the reference to the myth of Europa completely. Whether this is the result of a faulty exemplar or a conscious selection is unclear, but the latter option would have implications for our understanding both of Welsh translation practices and of the Welsh perceptions of Europe.

There is further variation between the various surviving fragments of the text, which bears examination. Below are the four surviving versions of this passage.³⁶

Red Book of Hergest A Version

[Europa] *a gauas y hen6 y gan Europ urenhin, neu y gan Europa verch Agenor.*
[245v; col. 986] *Kyntaf teyrnas ohonei y tu a'r gogled y mae Mynyded Ris, ac Auon Tanais a gauas y henw o Danay urenhin.*

“Europe got its name from King Europ, or from Europa daughter of Agenor. The first kingdom of it towards the north is Riphean Mountains, and the river Don which got its name from King Tanaus.”

Red Book of Hergest B Version

Evropia g6lat a gauas y hen6 y gan Europus vrenhin. Ac [f. 123v; col. 510] *yn honno y maent amryuael vynyded. Ac y mae Tanais auon a gafas y hen6 y gan Tanaus vrenhin, ac yssyd o'r Mor Ma6r hyt yg kaer Teodosi6m.*

‘The land of Europe got its name from King Europs. And in that are various mountains. And there is River Tanais (= Don) which got its name from King Tanaus, and [it] is from the Great Sea (= Mediterranean) as far as the city Theodosia.’

White Book of Rhydderch (B Version)

Europa gwlat a gauas y henw y gan Europus vrenin. Ac yn honno y maent Ryphei mynyded ac y mae Thanais avon a gauas y henw y gan Thanais vrenin a Chorsicca yssyd o'r Mor Mawr hyt yn Theodosia.

‘The land of Europe got its name from King Europs. And in that are Riphean Mountains

and is River Tanais (=Don), which got its name from King Tanais, and *Chorsicca* (?), which is from the Great Sea (=Mediterranean) as far as Theodosia.’

Philadelphia 8680 (B Version)³⁷

Europa g6lad a gaua[s] y en6 y gan Europ vrenin, ac yn h[on]no y maent y Mynydd Ripheri, ac y mae Thanais auon a gavas yr en6 y gan a Thanais vrenin, a Chosictu ysid o'r Mor Ma6r hyt yn Theodosia.

‘The land of Europe got its name from King Europ, and in that are the Ripheri mountains and is River Tanais (=Don) which got its name from King Tanais, and *Chosictu* (?) is from the Great Sea (=Mediterranean) as far as Theodosia.’

For comparison, the Latin text as edited by Flint is reproduced below³⁸:

*Europa ab Europe rege, vel ab Europa filia Agenoris est nominata. In qua inprimis versus septentrionem sunt Rifei montes et Tanais fluvius, a Tanai rege dictus, et Meotides paludes, magno mari iuxta Theodosiam urbem seiungentes.*³⁹

‘Europe is named after King Europs, or after Europa daughter of Agenor. In it first towards the North are the Ripheian Mountains and the River Don, named after King Tanais, and Maeotic Swamps, separating them from the Mediterranean next to the city of Theodosia.’ (my translation)

Although Flint’s text, corresponding to the 1139 version of *Imago mundi*, is not an exact match for any of the translations, Flint does not observe any significant variation between the different versions of *Imago mundi* for this chapter in her apparatus, and the text therefore can serve as a useful point of comparison for our variants.

The Riphean Mountains, given variously as *Mynydded Ris* (Red Book A Version), *Ryphei mynyded* (White Book), *Mynydded Ripheri* (Philadelphia MS), and ‘various

mountains’ (Red Book B Version), have been given as a boundary for Europe/Asia since the time of Orosius.⁴⁰ Version B of the Red Book omits the name of the mountains, replacing it with the adjective *amryvael* ‘different, various, diverse’.⁴¹ This replacement, along with the variation in the other witnesses, suggests a lack of certainty, probably due to lack of familiarity with the place-name. Given the difficulty of locating these mountains in real-world geography, this is unsurprising. The variation contrasts with the stability of the reference to the easily identifiable river Don, given as *Tanais* in all versions (where variation is limited to presence or absence of spirant mutation).⁴² All texts of the B version also refer to Theodosia, as does the original Latin text.⁴³ The Version A text omits the reference to the location of the Don’s mouth completely, thus not mentioning either Theodosia or the Mediterranean (*mare magnum*).

The sources for this passage, as identified by Valerie Flint, are Isidore, *Etymologies* XIII.xxi,24; Orosius, *Historiae adversum paganos* I.1.4; and Rabanus Maurus, *De Universo*, XX.4.⁴⁴ The last of these gives only the Europa legend and does not provide a source for the King Europs etymology.

Isidore’s text runs as follows:

*Tanus fuit rex Scytharum primus, a quo Tanais fertur fluvius nuncupatus, qui ex Rophaeis silvis veniens dirimit Europam ab Asia, inter duas mundi partes medius currens atque in Pontum fluens.*⁴⁵

‘Tanus was the first king of the Scythians; the river Tanais (i.e. the Don), which proceeds from the Riphæan forest and divides Europe from Asia, is said to be named after him. It flows between two parts of the world and empties into the Black Sea’.⁴⁶

The detail about Theodosia in *Imago mundi* appears to come from Orosius, whose text reads:

Evropa incipit ut dixi sub plaga septentrionis, a flumine Tanai, qua Riphæi montes Sarmatico euersi oceano Tanaim fluium fundunt, qui praeteriens aras ac terminus Alexandri Magni in Rhoboscorum

*finibus sitos Maeotidas auget paludes,
quarum immensa exundatio iuxta
Theodosiam urbem Euxinum Pontum late
ingreditur.*⁴⁷

‘Europe begins, as I have said, in the north at the Tanais River, where the Rhiphaean Mountains turned away from the Sarmatian Sea, pour forth the Tanais flood. This river, flowing past the altars and boundaries of Alexander the Great located in the territory of the Rhobasci, swells the Maeotic marshes, whose immense overflow spreads afar to the Euxine Sea near the city of Theodosia.’⁴⁸

A comparison of these passages provides a valuable insight into Honorius Augustodunensis’ creative process. Information from Isidore and Orosius is compiled but also simplified and abridged in the *Imago mundi*. Whilst it could be that same process of abridgment that is responsible for the omission of the Theodosia reference in the A Version and the references to the Europa myth in the B Version of *Delw y Byd*, the Welsh text also presents some interpretative problems in its misinterpretations or apparent additions to the text.

For instance, curiously, the White Book and Philadelphia texts contain a place-name that seems at first glance to be a spelling variation of Corsica (as *Chorsicca* and *Chosictu* respectively). This appears to be an interpolation, either common to Version B or introduced in the course of the transmission into a common ancestor shared by the White Book and Philadelphia texts. It is worth noting that Corsica occurs in Chapter 35 [36] of *Delw y Byd* (in this case following the Latin original), belonging to the section of the text dedicated to Islands. The reference there is to *Ynys Corsea* (Red Book Version A), *Cursita* (Red Book Version B), and *Corsica* (White Book). The variation, taking into account the versions present in Chapter 21 [22], is considerable, and comparable to that of the Rhiphaean Mountains. It may also be a sign of unfamiliarity. However, it is worth noting that the text of the Philadelphia manuscript is generally prone to error, including not only place-names but the apparent mis-reading of simple words in general. In the case of this manuscript’s reference to what seems like Corsica in Chapter 21 [22], the final *tu* in *Chosictu* may well

represent a mis-reading of *ca* in the exemplar.⁴⁹ For both the White Book and Philadelphia readings, it is most likely, as suggested by the editors of *Delw y Byd*, that the source of this strange reference lies in the translation of Latin *palus* ‘swamp’ by the Welsh *cors* ‘swamp, bog, marsh’.⁵⁰ This would subsequently have been reinterpreted as an unfamiliar place-name. Regardless of the origins of this aberration, its presence in the text affects understanding of the passage and introduces a new geographical unit to the description.

Whilst almost entirely derivational due to its status as translated text, the passage introducing Europe in *Delw y Byd* shows some elements which cannot be traced in the Latin text, and which may be due to mistranslation rather than scribal error in the Latin exemplar. It is particularly helpful that we have two separate translations surviving in several manuscripts, for we can observe the alterations made to a seemingly stable text in the course of transmission.

Another interesting element common to all witnesses of the B Versions, is the characterisation of Europe as *gwlad*, which in the quotations above I have translated as ‘land’. The range of meanings for this word in Welsh is, according to the *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*, ‘country, fatherland, land, province, region, district, (sometimes) county, kingdom, realm, domain’.⁵¹ Of the three parts of the world it is only Europe that this term is applied to in *Delw y Byd*, and only in Chapter 21 [22]. In Chapter 7 [7], where the three parts of the world are first introduced, Europe, Asia and Africa are described each as a *rann* ‘part’ of the world, as we have seen in the quotation at the beginning of this article.⁵² Chapter 8 [8], which begins the description of Asia, does not describe it as *gwlad*.⁵³

A full analysis of the uses of the word *gwlad* in Medieval Welsh texts is beyond the range of this study (there are 1094 occurrences of the singular use of *gwlad* and its spelling variants in the Welsh Prose 1300-1425 database alone). The origins of the word link it to the concept of power and rulership, and a preliminary brief examination, shown below, suggests that the term, when used alongside a place-name, may indicate a political territory or perceived unity.⁵⁴ Examples from prose texts include, for instance, in *Rhamant Otuel*: *g6lat yr yspæen* ‘country of Spain’ (Peniarth 5 f. 80r col. 88, l. 3) in the context of Charlemagne’s conquests; *Rhinweddai Croen Neidr* ‘Virtues of Snakeskins’: *g6lat yr eifft* ‘country of

Egypt' (Cardiff, Central Library MS 3.242/Hafod 16, p. 8 l. 12)⁵⁵. *Ystoria Bilatus* 'Tale of Pilate': *gwlat Iudea* (Peniarth 7 f.63r col. 233 l. 1) in the sense of country ruled by Pontius Pilate;⁵⁶ *Ystoria Titus* 'Tale of Titus': *g6lat Judea* 'land/country of Judaea' and *g6lat yr Jdewon* 'land/country of the Jews' (National Library of Wales Llanstephan 27 'The Red Book of Talgarth', f. 125v, l. 3 and f. 127r l. 1, 127v l. 10).⁵⁷ Particularly useful for analysis is the reference *g6lat yr eidal a elwir g6lat rufein* 'land/country of Italy which is called land/country [of] Rome' in *Brut y Brenhinedd*, the Welsh version of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae* (Philadelphia MS. 8680, f. 26v, col. 23 l. 5). Whilst the text is slightly different in the other manuscripts, the reading of the Philadelphia version in the context to the reference to Rome indicates that 'Italy' here is meant as a synonym for imperial Rome, which certainly did encapsulate the whole of Italy as political unity.⁵⁸ The following lines refer to Latinus as 'king of Italy', and further in the text *gwlad ruuein* is again referred to, followed by a reference to a *ghwad Judaea* ruled by Herod.⁵⁹

In *Delw y Byd* also the term *gwlad* is used for Italy: *gwlat yr Eidal* (in the Red Book A version).⁶⁰ It may be significant that the term is used neither for Spain (simply introduced as *Yspæen*) nor for Gaul (*Gallia*), nor is any equivalent present in the Latin text.⁶¹ Given the general use of anachronistic geographical references in the notoriously conservative *Imago mundi* (and thus also in *Delw y Byd*), which uses a Roman imperial framework rather than twelfth-century European political geography, the reference here is probably also to Roman Italy.⁶² If so, the use of *gwlad* here might, again, imply the perception of a single power unit.

Another indication that *gwlad* often (if not always) carries the sense of political unity or possession by single power, is the use of the term in relation to Jerusalem in medieval Welsh texts. For instance, in *Ystoria Adaf* 'Tale of Adam' we find *g6lat gaerussalem* 'country/land of Jerusalem' (Llanstephan 27, f. 82v, l. 1).⁶³ This is also found in the Cleopatra manuscript version of the *Brut y Brenhinedd* in the context of Helena's pilgrimage to Jerusalem where she finds the True Cross.⁶⁴ Note that this is an expansion on Geoffrey's Latin text the original version of which does not refer to Helena's pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Tentatively, one might suggest that in this case the perception as Jerusalem as *gwlad* might indicate

that the reference is synchronic, referring rather to the medieval Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem than to the historical city, and thus that here also the word is being used in the sense of political unity rather than necessarily only geographical territory.

An interesting insight into the use of *gwlad* is provided by the text of the Welsh translation of the grail narrative, *Ystoriau Saint Greal: ac nat oed yndi nac ynys na gwlat na dinas ny bei gwedy eu govidyaw yn vawr* 'there was not in it either island, or country, or city, that was not greatly afflicted'.⁶⁵ The reference is to *Brytaen Mawr* 'Great Britain', wherein these 'islands', 'lands/countries', and 'cities' are contained. Similarly, the *Brut y Brenhinedd* text of Philadelphia 8680 refers to the various 'lands/countries' of the Welsh with the word *gwlat*: *A hyt y dinas h6nn6 y dathoedynt o bop g6lat yg kymry oll myneich aneirf...* 'And to that city came from every land of the whole Wales numerous monks' (f. 59v col. 156 ll. 1-3). The same is rendered in the Cotton Cleopatra manuscript as: *Ac ynu dinas hwnnw yd oed o veneych ac ermytwyr niver mawr. a hynny o bob manachloc or a oed yn ran y brutannyeit or ynys...* 'And in that city was a great number of monks and hermits, from every monastery that was in the Britons' part of the island...', while the Red Book text of *Brut y Brenhinedd* also reads *o bop g6lat ygkymry* 'from every land/country of the Welsh'.⁶⁶ Wales in the Middle Ages contained a multitude of political units and regions. Once more, though the reference to territory through the use of the word *gwlad* may be interpreted as exclusively geographical, the suggestion of a potential sense of political unity is very strong.

The overall picture presented by this brief look at our medieval manuscripts is, therefore, that a political unit may be implied in many cases of the use of the term *gwlad* alongside a place-name, including Italy (= Roman Empire), Jerusalem (= Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem) and the countries (= principalities or kingdoms) of the Welsh. On the basis of this cumulative evidence, and pending a more detailed study, I would tentatively suggest that it is worth considering the possibility that the word *gwlad* in medieval Welsh usage tends to carry the implied reference to political territories or power units. This would have significant implications for our interpretation of the description of Europe in *Delw y Byd*, if confirmed by the patterns of the word's usage elsewhere in that text. It is therefore worth examining in more detail the uses of

this word in the context of *Delw y Byd*, alongside other terms used for the regions of the world.⁶⁷

In the first place it must be observed that the use of the word *gwlad* in *Delw y Byd* is not frequent. Apart from the reference to Italy discussed above, it is used in the following combinations: *gwlat y Blammonyeit* ‘land/country of the Blammonii’ (Red Book A Version Chapter 9 [10]); *gwlat yr India* ‘land/country of India’ (Red Book A Version Chapter 10 [11]). The word *gwlat* is also used in relation to Lybia (*Kyntaf gwlat ohonei yw Libia* ‘The first land of it [=Africa] is Lybia’) in the A version.⁶⁸ In the B version it is also used in relation to Parthia in Chapter 13 [14] (*y mae Parthia gwlat a their brenhinaeth ar dec ar hugeint yndi* ‘there is the land of Parthia with thirty-three kingdoms in it’),⁶⁹ Caldea in Chapter 14 [15] (*y mae Caldea gwlat* ‘there is the land of Caldea’), and Arabia in the same chapter (*Ac yndy y mae Arabia gwlat [a elwir “Sabba”] y henw y gan Sab vab Chus* ‘And in it is the land of Arabia [which is called ‘Sabba’], its name from Sab son of Chus’).⁷⁰ In the first place, it appears that there is no consistency in the application of this term to place-names other than Europe across the A and B versions. Secondly, there is ambiguity regarding the political unity of the regions referred to as *gwlad*. Whether India, for instance, was seen as a single unit, is unclear. Similarly, the application of the term to Parthia which in turn is described as composed of a number of *brenhinaeth* ‘kingdoms’ (= regions) suggests that the territory is regarded as a geographic but not as a political unit.

It is apparent that further study is necessary to clarify the exact significance of the term *gwlad* and its application to individual regions. Given the tendency, observed above, across different Welsh texts, to indicate political or power units when this word is used alongside place-names, suggests that the use of this term for Europe in *Delw y Byd* might imply a perception of Europe as a unit held together by more than merely being one of the three parts of the world. It is significant in this respect that the term is not applied to either Asia or Africa in that text. However, given the range of the term’s use in the rest of *Delw y Byd* caution is required when drawing conclusions as to any connotations of unity it might seem to imply.

To draw some provisional conclusions, it may be worthwhile to turn here to Denys Hay’s thesis that before there was the cultural concept of Europe in the Early

Modern world, there was a concept of Christendom in the medieval world, which carried a sense of cultural or perhaps even organisational unity (the latter through the mediation of the church).⁷¹ One might also invoke Michael Wintle’s definition of ‘Euro-awareness’ as ‘heavily reliant upon a relational juxtaposition with the other continents, but [...] a presence recognizable from the outside and eventually from the inside as well’.⁷²

3. Some Conclusions: Europe in Medieval Wales

The examination of medieval Welsh literary texts will yield few direct references to Europe as a unit, except in the geographical context of the tripartite division of the world. Arguably, this is the case in the list of Arthur’s conquests in *Culhwch ac Olwen*, where the porter, Glewlwyd, lists *India Uawr a’r India Uechan* ‘India the Great and India the Lesser’, *Egrop (sic)* and *Affric* among other place-names.⁷³ The tripartite image of the world can also be found in vernacular poetic texts such as the poem *Kanu y Byt Mawr* ‘Greater Song of the World’, which contains reflections of medieval scientific lore and whose title is sometimes interpreted as ‘Song of the Macrocosm’, preserved in the fourteenth-century manuscript known as the Book of Taliesin.⁷⁴ This poem contains the lines:

*Yn tri yt rannat
yn amgen pwyllat:
vn yw yr Asia,
deu yw yr Affrica,
tri yw Europa...*

‘Into three the Earth was divided
according to a different scheme:

one, Asia
two, Africa,
three, Europe...’⁷⁵

A largely similar description can be found in the medieval Welsh poem *Saint a Merthyron Cred* ‘Creed of Saints and Martyrs’, also in the Book of Taliesin. The poem itself enumerates apostles, martyrs, and saints of the world.

*tres partes diuicia:
Asicia, Affrica, Europa*

three parts divided
Asia, Africa, Europe.⁷⁶

The tripartite structure can also be found in the Triads, suggesting that it was part of the common font of knowledge.⁷⁷ The fact that this knowledge is of Continental/general European origin is also attested by the presence of this tripartite division of the world in Wales in the *Ystoria Lucidar*, the Middle Welsh translation of the *Elucidarium*, also by Honorius Augustodunensis.⁷⁸ The *Elucidarium* is written in dialogue form, and, like the *Imago mundi*, was translated into a large number of medieval European languages, including French (as *La lumiere as lais*), Spanish, and Welsh.⁷⁹ Just as those of the *Imago mundi*, the ‘translations’ of the *Elucidarium* were often of a type that could more accurately be described as ‘adaptations’, new texts built around a core that was a translation proper of the original.⁸⁰ As with *Delw y Byd*, the Welsh text is a closer rendering of the original text, without any additions. The Welsh text is preserved in the Book of the Anchorite of Llanddewi Brefi (*Llyfr Ancr Llanddewi Brefi*), Oxford, Jesus College MS 119 (1346), compiled by an anchorite in Ceredigion for Gruffydd ap Llywelyn ap Phylip ap Trahaearn.⁸¹ It is worth noting that the scribe of Jesus MS 119 is also responsible for some of the texts of the White Book, although not its *Delw y Byd* copy.⁸²

While direct influence of *Delw y Byd* on the texts discussed above and medieval Welsh cultural output more generally is difficult to demonstrate, the knowledge it carries is reflected in a number of surviving texts. The representation of the inhabited world as divided into three parts by the water system of the Mediterranean plus the Nile and the Don to form a T-shape, with Asia occupying the top half of the circle and Europe and Africa sharing the bottom half, is, as we have seen, well attested elsewhere in Wales in both text and image.

Whilst *Delw y Byd* in all of its versions represents a faithful rendering of the Latin text, some peculiarities of its presentation of sections related to Europe invite further analysis. The removal of the reference to the myth of Europa in the B Version or to Theodosia and the point at which the Don enters the Mediterranean in the A Version might represent conscious decisions on the part of scribes or translators,

while the use of the term *gwlad* in relation to the term Europe might suggest the interpretation of that part of the world as a unit on the lines of Hay’s concept of ‘Christendom’. It is hoped that the present study might serve as an invitation and prolegomenon to further investigation of the topic.

¹ H. Lewis and P. Diverres, ed., *Delw y Byd (Imago Mundi)* (Cardiff: Cardiff University Press), p. 27. Citations from *Delw y Byd* in the present article are from this edition unless differences in manuscript readings are being discussed; where citing from individual manuscripts I use my own edition (in preparation for the MHRA Library of Medieval Literature). All translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

² The structure of the text is discussed in greater detail in the next section of the article. For an edition of the Welsh text, see H. Lewis and P. Diverres, ed., *Delw y Byd (Imago mundi)* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1928) and V. I. J. Flint, ed., *Honorius Augustodunensis: Imago mundi*, Archives d’histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge, 49 (Paris, 1982). An earlier edition of the Latin text, is *De imagine mundi libri tres*, ed. by Jean-Paul Migne, Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina, 172 (Paris, 1895). I am in the process of preparing a new edition of the Welsh text for the MHRA Library of Medieval Welsh Literature. The research forming the base of the new edition was made possible by the generous funding of the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation. The research presented in the present article is also based on my current research project ‘Defining “Europe” in Medieval European Geographical Discourse’ <<https://definingeurope.sites.uu.nl/>> funded by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO).

³ There is a difference in the chapter divisions of the edition of *Delw y Byd* by Lewis and Diverres and the most recent edition of *Imago mundi* by Valerie Flint (see note above); throughout the discussion I follow Flint’s chapter numbers with the Lewis and Diverres numbers in square brackets.

⁴ Note that the Welsh text contains an error in Chapter 6, designating this zone as *australis* rather than *solstitialis* as in the Latin text; the Austral circle, like the Septentrional, being close to the pole, was considered too cold for human habitation; for a brief and engaging discussion, see William Eisler, *The Furthest Shore: Images of Terra Australis from the Middle Ages to Captain Cook* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), esp. pp. 10-11.

⁵ For more on *mappaemundi* and T-O maps, see D. Woodward, ‘Medieval *mappaemundi*’ in J. B. Harley and David Woodward, ed., *History of Cartography Volume I: Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 1987), pp. 286-370 and David Woodward, ‘Reality, Symbolism, Time and Space in Medieval World Maps’, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 75 (1985), 510-521; P. D. A. Harvey, *Medieval Maps* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993); Evelyn Edson, ‘The Medieval World View: Contemplating the Mappamundi’, *History Compass* 8 (2010), 503-517, pp. 503-504 <[doi/10.1111/j.1478-0542.2010.00676.x](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1478-0542.2010.00676.x)> [accessed 08 December 2017].

⁶ David Woodward, ‘Reality’, p. 517.

⁷ Karl J. Leyser, ‘Concepts of Europe in the Early Middle Ages’, *Past & Present* 137: *The Cultural and Political Constitution of Europe* (1992), 25-47, pp. 26-27; Michael Wintle, *The Image of Europe. Visualizing Europe in Cartography and Iconography throughout the Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 88-92,

164, 180; Denys Hay, *Europe: The Emergence of an Idea* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1957), pp. 2-13. For an overview of the history of the geographical divisions of the world in the classical sources, see also the essays in J. B. Harley and David Woodward, ed., *History of Cartography Volume I: Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 1987); Patrick Gautier Dalché, 'L'héritage antique de la cartographie médiévale : les problèmes et les acquis' in Richard W. Unger and Richard J. A. Talbert, ed., *Cartography in Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Fresh Perspectives, New Methods*, Technology and Change in History 10 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 22-66; and Marta Sordi, Gianpaolo Urso and Cristiano Dognini, 'L'Europa nel mondo Greco e Romano: geografia e valori', *Via e Pensiero – Pubblicazioni dell'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore* (1999), 3-19.

⁸ For more on Jesus College MS 20, see Daniel Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts* (Cardiff and Aberystwyth: University of Wales Press and the National Library of Wales, 2000), pp. 43, 60.

⁹ Pim den Boer, 'Essay 1. Europe to 1914: the Making of an Idea' in Kevin Wilson and Jan van der Dussen, ed., *The History of the Idea of Europe* (London and New York: Routledge for Open University, 1995), pp. 1-58, at p. 14-17. For an image of the map itself, see www.liberfloridus.be/cartografie_eng.html (last accessed 27 June 2018). The manuscript has been digitalised in its entirety and is available on the University of Ghent Library website at <https://lib.ugent.be/en/catalog/rug01:000763774?i=0&q=archive.ugent.be%3A018970A2-B1E8-11DF-A2E0-A70579F64438> (last accessed 27 June 2018).

¹⁰ For more on the Liber Floridus and the Ghent manuscript in particular, see A. Derolez, *The Making and Meaning of the Liber Floridus. A Study of the Original Manuscript, Ghent, University Library MS 92* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015).

¹¹ 'Prologus', in *Richeri Historiarum Libri Quatuor*, ed. by J.-P. Migne, Patrologia Latina 138 (Paris, 1853), cols. 17-19.

¹² Karl J. Leyser, 'Concepts of Europe in the Early Middle Ages', *Past & Present* 137: *The Cultural and Political Constitution of Europe* (1992), 25-47, pp. 26-27; Justin Lake, *Richer of Saint-Rémi: The Methods and Mentality of a Tenth-Century Historian* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 2013), p. 58; see also editor's note to the cited passage in Migne, ed., *Richeri Historiarum Libri Quatuor*.

¹³ A. H. Merrills, *History and Geography in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 35-36. For a detailed comparison of the Isidoran and Orosian geographic and cartographic traditions, see Evelyn Edson, *Cartography in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), esp. 'Maps in Context: Isidore, Orosius, and the Medieval Image of the World', pp. 219-236.

¹⁴ Merrills, *History and Geography*, p. 36; Natalia Lozovsky, *'The Earth is Our Book': Geographical Knowledge in the Latin West, ca. 400-1000* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), pp. 68-78 for Orosius and further in the same chapter for Jordanes, Bede and Richer; Peter Damian-Grint, 'Learning and Authority in Benoît de Sainte-Maure's Cosmography', *Reading Medieval Studies* 24 (1998), 25-52, at p. 25; Colette Gros, 'Un nouvel Ailleurs. L'Image du Monde de Giovanni Villani', *Cahiers d'études romanes* (2011), 11-28, p. 11.

¹⁵ Ramón Menéndez Pidal, ed., *Primera Crónica General. Estoria de España que mandó componer Alfonso el Sabio y se continuaba bajo Sancho IV en 1239. Tomo I. Texto* (Madrid: Bailly-Ballière & Hijos, 1906), p. 5.

¹⁶ It must be acknowledged that the term 'encyclopedia' is

problematic though convenient, and has been retained here following the practice of Jacques Le Goff, Bernard Ribémont and others. For the appearance of the term, see Bernard Ribémont, *De Natura rerum. Études sur les encyclopédies médiévales* (Orléans: Paradigme, 1995), p. 21; for its origins, Robert L. Fowler, 'Encyclopaedias: Definitions and Theoretical Problems' in Peter Binkley, ed., *Pre-Modern Encyclopaedic Texts* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), pp. 3-29. For further discussions of this genre in the medieval context, see the studies by Bernard Ribémont, 'On the Definition of an Encyclopaedic Genre in the Middle Ages' in Binkley, ed., *Pre-modern Encyclopaedic Texts*, pp. 47-61; *Les origines des encyclopédies médiévales. D'Isidore de Seville aux Carolingiens* (Paris: Champion, 2002); see also M. W. Twomey, 'Medieval Encyclopedias' in R. E. Kaske, A. Groos, and M. W. Twomey, ed., *Medieval Christian Literary Imagery: A Guide to Interpretation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), pp. 182-215; Alan Rey, *Miroirs du monde: Une histoire de l'encyclopédisme* (Paris: Fayard, 2007); and essays in Jason König and Greg Woolf, ed., *Encyclopaedism from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013). Fundamental is also Jacques Le Goff's 'Pourquoi le XIIIe siècle a-t-il été plus particulièrement un siècle d'encyclopédisme?' in *L'encyclopédisme médiéval*, ed. M. Picone (Ravenna, 1991), p. 23-40.

¹⁷ For more on this text, see A. Falileyev, 'Delw y Byd Revisited', *Studia Celtica* 54 (2010), 71-8; N. I. Petrovskaia, 'Delw y Byd: une traduction médiévale galloise', *Études Celtiques* 39 (2013), 257-77; N. I. Petrovskaia, *Medieval Welsh Perceptions of the Orient* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), pp. 3, 9-15; N. Lloyd and M. E. Owen, *Drych yr Oesoedd Canol* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1986), pp. 116-8, 123-7.

¹⁸ B. Ribémont, *De Natura rerum. Études sur les encyclopédies médiévales*, pp. 14-16, 21.

¹⁹ Kathleen Biddick, 'The ABC of Ptolemy: Mapping the World with the Alphabet', in Sylvia Tomasch and Sealy Gilles, ed., *Text and Territory: Geographical Imagination in the European Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), pp. 268-92, at p. 274.

²⁰ For instance, Honorius Augustodunensis, *Mundi synopsis sive de imagine mundi libri tres* (Spirae civitate veterum Nemetum: Bernardus Albinnus, 1583).

²¹ Rita Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 3.

²² Due to the presence of a number of non-sequential fragments at the conclusion of the text in some of the manuscripts, it is difficult to determine whether some of these miscellaneous fragments belong to a third translation.

²³ Petrovskaia, *Medieval Welsh Perceptions of the Orient*, p. 9. More detailed discussion of the manuscripts and their contents will be provided in my forthcoming edition of *Delw y Byd*. The White Book and Red Book have been entirely digitalised. The White Book is accessible on the National Library of Wales website at <http://hdl.handle.net/10107/4682879> (accessed 18 June 2018) and the Red Book on the *Early Manuscripts at Oxford University* website at image.ox.ac.uk (last accessed 18 June 2018).

²⁴ See the discussion in Petrovskaia, 'Disparition du quasi'.

²⁵ P. D. A. Harvey, 'The Sawley Map and Other World Maps in Twelfth Century England', *Imago Mundi* 49 (1997), 33-42, p. 35. For more on Honorius, see also V. I. J. Flint, 'The Career of Honorius Augustodunensis', *Revue Bénédictine* 82 (1972), 63-86; Marie-Odile Garrigues, 'Quelques recherches sur l'œuvre d'Honorius Augustodunensis', *Revue d'histoire*

ecclésiastique 70 (1975), 388-425; Marie-Odile Garrigues, 'L'anonymat d'Honorius Augustodunensis', *Studia monastica* 25 (1983), 1-71.

²⁶ Flint, ed., *Imago Mundi*, pp. 8, 12, 36.

²⁷ Flint, ed., *Imago mundi*, pp. 36-42.

²⁸ See description in Flint, ed., *Imago mundi*, p. 13.

²⁹ Flint, ed., *Imago mundi*, p. 59. The Welsh text is quoted from the A Version of *Delw y Byd*; Lewis and Diverres, *Delw y Byd*, p. 39. The translations are mine.

³⁰ For details of the additions, see Flint, ed., *Imago mundi*, p. 37-38.

³¹ For a detailed discussion, quoting the relevant sections of the text, see Petrovskaia, 'Delw y Byd', pp. 266-721. Note that the chapter numbering differs between the different editions of *Imago mundi* and I follow Valerie Flint's numbering. The corresponding number of this chapter in Lewis and Diverres' edition of *Delw y Byd*, which follows the Latin text of Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, is 28.

³² Flint, ed., *Imago mundi*, pp. 59-63.

³³ For more on the Europa myth, see Wintle, *Image of Europe*, pp. 102-153.

³⁴ *Epitoma Historiarum Philippicarum*, ed. Marie-Pierre Arnaud-Lindet (2003) in *Corpus Scriptorum Latinorum* www.forumromanum.org (last accessed 19 June 2018). An earlier edition is *M. Iuniani Iustini epitoma Historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi. Aecedunt prologi in Pompeium Trogum*, ed. Otto Steel, Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1985). Translation by John Selby Watson, tr., Marcus Junianus Justinus, *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus* (London: H. G. Bohn, 1853), also available on the *Corpus Scriptorum Latinorum* website.

³⁵ Eva Matthews Sanford, 'The Study of Ancient History in the Middle Ages', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 5 (1944), 21-43, at pp. 24-25; Rosamond McKitterick, 'The Audience for Latin Historiography in the Early Middle Ages', in A. Scharer and G. Scheibelreiter, ed., *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 32 (Vienna: Oldenbourg, 1994), pp. 96-114 at p. 103.

³⁶ The text given here is taken from my forthcoming edition of *Delw y Byd*. All translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

³⁷ Philadelphia 8680, f. 2 v., ll. 5-9.

³⁸ Flint, ed., *Imago Mundi*, p. 44.

³⁹ Flint, ed., *Imago Mundi*, chapter 21, p. 59.

⁴⁰ Karl J. Lyser, 'Concepts of Europe in the Early and High Middle Ages', *Past & Present* 137 (1992), 25-47, p. 27.

⁴¹ Cf. *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*, s.v. *amrafael*¹.

⁴² On spirant mutation in Welsh, see Evans, *A Grammar of Middle Welsh*, p. 21 §24.

⁴³ Flint, ed., *Imago mundi*, p. 59.

⁴⁴ W. M. Lindsay, ed., *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum Sive Originum Libri XX* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911); Karl Zangmeister, ed., *Pauli Orosii historiarum adversum paganos libri VII*, Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana (Leipzig: Teubner, 1889), p. 5, to which can be also added I.2.51-52 (p. 9); J.-P. Migne, ed., *Beati Rabani Mauri Fuldensis Abbatis et Moguntini Archiepiscopi De Universo Libri XXII*, *Patrologiae Latinae Cursus Completus* 111 (Paris, 1878), col. 347.

⁴⁵ *Etymologies* XIII.xxi.24, in W. M. Lindsay, ed., *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum Sive Originum Libri XX*. A more recent edition with parallel Italian translation is Isidoro di Siviglia, *Etimologie o origini*, ed. Angelo Valastro Canale (Novara: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 2004), vol. 2,

p. 158.

⁴⁶ Stephen A. Barney, W. J. Lewis, J. A. Beach, Oliver Berghof, with Muriel Hall, ed. and trans., *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 281-282. The comment in brackets is editorial.

⁴⁷ Zangmeister, ed., *Pauli Orosii historiarum*, p. 5.

⁴⁸ Roy J. Deferrari, trans., *Paulus Orosius. The Seven Books of History Against the Pagans* (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1964), pp. 8-9.

⁴⁹ The initial spirantisation is due to the preceding conjunction a 'and'; D. Simon Evans, *A Grammar of Middle Welsh*, *Mediaeval and Modern Welsh Series Supplementary Volume* (Dublin: Dublin Institute of Advanced Studies, School of Celtic Studies, 1964), p. 21 §24(d).

⁵⁰ Lewis and Diverres, ed., *Delw y Byd*, n. B.22.3 (p. 123); see also *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru / A Dictionary of the Welsh Language* (University Of Wales, 2018), s.v. *cors*, online at geiriadur.ac.uk/gpc/gpc.html (last accessed 19 June 2018).

⁵¹ *GPC* s.v. *gwlad*.

⁵² Lewis and Diverres, ed., *Delw y Byd*, p. 27.

⁵³ Interestingly, however, it does use the term *brenhinyaeth* 'kingdom' for Paradise: *Ac o honno kyntaf brenhinyaeth yw yn y dwyrein paradŷys*; Lewis and Diverres, ed., *Delw y Byd*, p. 27. The term *brenhinyaeth*, according to the *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* has the primary meanings of royal office or status, authority or sovereignty and a secondary meaning of 'kingdom' or 'realm'; *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* s.v. *brenhiniaeth, brenhinaeth*; geiriadur.ac.uk/gpc/gpc.html (last accessed 27 June 2018). Here, the word is employed to translate the Latin term *regio*, 'province', 'territory', 'region'; See Flint, ed., *Imago mundi*, p. 52. Charleton T. Lewis and Charles Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879), s.v. *regio* II B. The primary meaning of the Latin word is 'boundary' but it is probable that the translation as *brenhinyaeth* (< *brenhin* 'king') is due to mis-association of the concept with the idea of royalty and kingdom. For more on *regio*, see Stefania Bonfiglioli, 'Regio, chōra, regione', *Bolletino della società geografica italiana*, serie XII vol. 9 (2016), 73-82 online at http://societageografica.net/wp/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/05_bonfiglioli.pdf (accessed 27 June 2018).

⁵⁴ For more on the origins of the word, see Thomas Charles-Edwards, 'The date of Culhwch ac Olwen', in *Bile ós Chrannaibh. A Festschrift for William Gillies*, ed. W. McLeod, et al. (Ceann Drochaid, 2011), pp. 45-56, at pp. 50-1. I am grateful to Professor Paul Russell for this reference.

⁵⁵ For more on this text, see John Coe, 'Deudeg Rhinwedd Croen Neidr', *Studia Celtica* 33 (1999), 297-334.

⁵⁶ For more on this text, see Melville Richards, 'Ystoria Bilatus', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 9 (1937), 42-47.

⁵⁷ For more on *Ystoria Titus*, see J. E. Caerwyn Williams, 'Ystoria Titus Aspassianus', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 9 (1937), 221-230.

⁵⁸ The Cotton Cleopatra version of the text reads: *sef oed eidial gwlat ruuein. a latinus a oed brenhyn yn yr eidial yna*, and the Black Book of Basingwerk (National Library of Wales MS 7006D) version ads an *yn* to read 'Italy in the land of Rome'; see John Jay Parry, ed. and tr., *Brut y Brenhinedd: Cotton Cleopatra Version* (Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1937), p. 6 (for editorial principles p. xvii).

⁵⁹ J. J. Parry, ed. and trans., *Brut y Brenhinedd*, pp. 79-80: *Ac ydoed augustus cesar yn gwledychu gwlad ruuein (yn) yr amser hwnnw [...] Ac herodes antipatri yn gwlad Judea* 'And Augustus Caesar was ruling the land of Rome at that time [...] and Herod [son of] Antipater in the land of Judaea'.

⁶⁰ See Lewis and Diverres, ed., *Delw y Byd*, p. 43.

⁶¹ Lewis and Diverres, ed., *Delw y Byd*, p. 43; Flint, ed., *Imago mundi*, p. 61.

⁶² Flint, ed., *Imago mundi*, p. 16. An examination of the other sections of Honorius's *Imago mundi* shows that he traces history through the Roman and Holy Roman Empires. This also belongs to the Orosian tradition; see Lozovsky, 'The Earth is Our Book', p. 73.

⁶³ For more on the text, see Sarah Rowles, 'Ystoria Adaf. Golwg ar un o ffynonellau cyfieithwyr y chwedlau crefyddol', *Llên Cymru* 29 (2006): 44–63.

⁶⁴ For the reference, see J. J. Parry, ed., *Brut y Brenhinedd. Cotton Cleopatra Version* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1937), p. 95. For more on this figure, see Antonina Harbus, *Helena of Britain in Medieval Legend* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2002).

⁶⁵ Robert Williams, ed. and trans., *Selections from the Hengwrt MSS Preserved in the Peniarth Library* (London, 1876-1892), vol. 2 (1892), p. 171, 547 (translation).

⁶⁶ Parry, ed. and trans., *Brut y Brenhinedd*, pp. 200-201; John Rhŷs and J. Gwenogvryn Evans, ed., *The Text of the Bruts from the Red Book of Hervest* (Oxford: J. G. Evans, 1890), p. 212.

⁶⁷ My count does not include plural variants. See Diana Luft, Peter Wynn Thomas and D. Mark Smith, eds., *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg 1300-1425* (2013) at <http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk> (last visited 21 June 2018) under search terms *gwlad* (15 hits), *gulat* (33 hits), *g6lad* (1 hit), *g6lat* (762 hits), *gwlat* (263), *gvlat* (19 hits) and *gvlad* (1).

⁶⁸ Chapter 30[32]; Lewis and Diverres, ed., *Delw y Byd*, p. 45.

⁶⁹ Note that here, as in the case of Paradise mentioned in note 47 above, the term *brenhyniaeth* translates the Latin *regio*; for the Latin text, see Flint, ed., *Imago mundi*, p. 59.

⁷⁰ The text is given as in the White Book; the text in the Red Book omits the phrase in brackets.

⁷¹ Denys Hay, *Europe: The Emergence of an Idea* (Edinburgh University Press, 1957), p. x. It is worth noting that Pim den Boer places the emergence of this identification of Europe with Christendom in the fifteenth century; Pim den Boer, 'Essay 1. Europe to 1914: the Making of an Idea', p. 19.

⁷² Wintle, *The Image of Europe*, p. 6.

⁷³ It is interesting that the references to Europe and Africa are sequential, and followed by a references to the 'islands' (plural) of Corsica; Rachel Bromwich and D. Simon Evans, ed., *Culhwch and Olwen. An Edition and Study of the Oldest Arthurian Tale* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1992), p. 5.

⁷⁴ M. Haycock, ed. and trans., *Legendary Poems from the Book of Taliesin* (Aberystwyth: CMCS Publications, 2007) pp. 514-15 for discussion of the poem, pp. 533-535 for a discussion of the *macrocosm* interpretation, and 516-519 for the poem itself and a translation. For more on the Book of Taliesin, Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth 2, see Daniel Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*, p. 79 and Haycock, ed. and trans., *Legendary Poems*, pp. 1-9.

⁷⁵ Haycock, ed. and trans., *Legendary Poems*, p. 518. The other scheme implied here is the zonal division of the world, which is referred to earlier on in the poem (l. 38).

⁷⁶ See M. Haycock, ed., *Blodeugerdd Barddas o Ganu Crefyddol Cynnar* (Abertawe: Barddas, 1994), p. 251; translation mine; on the presence of Latin in this poem, see the commentary in Haycock, ed., *Blodeugerdd Barddas*, pp. 248–9.

⁷⁷ Morfydd E. Owen, 'Y Trioedd Arbennig', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, pp. 434-450.

⁷⁸ J. Morris Jones and John Rhŷs, ed., *The Elucidarium and Other Tracts in Welsh from the Book of the Anchorite* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1894), pp. 18, 68. For more on Honorius'

Elucidarium, see Valerie I. J. Flint, 'The *Elucidarius* of Honorius Augustodunensis and reform in late eleventh-century England', *Revue bénédictine* 85 (1975) p. 178-189.

⁷⁹ See Yves Lefèvre, *L'Elucidarium et les lucidaires. Contribution, par l'histoire d'un texte, à l'histoire des croyances religieuses en France au Moyen Âge*, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 180 (Paris: de Brocard, 1954); Ernstpeter Ruhe, *Elucidarium und Lucidaires: zur Rezeption des Werks von Honorius Augustodunensis in der Romania und in England*, Wissensliteratur im Mittelalter 7 (Wiesbaden, Reichert: 1993); Martha Kleinhans, "*Lucidare vault tant a dire comme donnant lumiere*": *Untersuchung und Edition der Prosa-Versionen 2, 4 und 5 des "Elucidarium"*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie 248 (Tübingen, Niemeyer: 1993); Richard Kinkade, ed., *Los Lucidarios españoles. Estudio y edición* (Madrid: Gredos, 1968).

⁸⁰ See, for instance, Kinkade, ed., *Los Lucidarios españoles*, pp. 13-15. For the alternative view, taking the Spanish *Lucidario* is an original text bringing together various sources which include the *Elucidarium*, see Ana M. Montero, 'El *Lucidario* de Sancho IV: redefinición de su relación textual con el *Elucidarius* de Honorius Augustodunensis y el *Setenario* de Alfonso X', in R. Voaden, R. Tixier, T. Sanchez Roura and J. R. Rytting, ed., *The Theory and Practice of Translation in the Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 49-59.

⁸¹ Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan, 'Book of the Anchorite', in S. Echard and R. Rouse, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Medieval Literature in Britain* (Hoboken: Wiley, 2017) DOI: [10.1002/9781118396957.wbemlb151](https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118396957.wbemlb151) (Accessed 20 June 2018).

⁸² His hand is, however, close to the White Book scribe of *Delw y Byd*. For a discussion of these scribal hands, see Daniel Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts* (Cardiff and Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 2000), pp. 231, 234, 239.