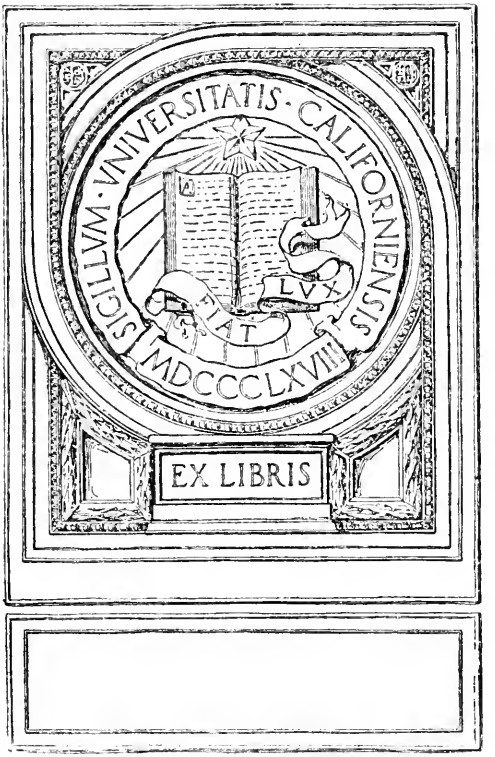
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Archæologia Cambrensis,

A

RECORD OF THE ANTIQUITIES

OF

WALES AND ITS MARCHES,

AND THE JOURNAL OF

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PREFACE.

This Volume, which appears under the auspices of the Cambrian Archæological Association, contains three Papers of considerable importance to those engaged in studying the antiquities of Wales.

The first is an examination of the evidence in favour of the existence of a Gaelic tribe in North Wales within the historic period, not as mere invaders, but as settled occupants of the country. The subject has hitherto comparatively escaped the notice of Welsh historians and antiquaries. It is, however, one which, in the hands of its author, offers a fruitful harvest to the inquirer, sufficiently well read, and endowed with critical acumen enough, to follow the faint indications of a former race, whether afforded by local tradition, by a local nomenclature, or by general history. The Paper was read, in substance, at the Annual Meeting of the Association, at Dolgellau, in August, 1850; the proofs and illustrations in the second, third, fourth and fifth sections, the theory developed in the seventh, and the whole of the last, being omitted in recitation.

The next Paper was also read at the Dolgellau Meeting, and contains a sketch, rather than a detailed account,

of what may be fairly inferred to have been the agricultural and commercial condition of Britain before, during, and after the Roman sway. It is to be hoped that its learned author will develope certain parts of his Essay rather more fully in the pages of the *Archæologia Cambrensis;* and that he will there bring forward the authorities which he has consulted, with the various passages on which he grounds opinions, in themselves highly probable. Few persons have penetrated so deeply into the more abstruse, and comparatively unknown, pages of the writers of the Lower Empire, than the author of this Paper; and few antiquaries are able to discuss incidental topics, or to draw forth latent conclusions, with greater skill and more logical acuteness.

The third and last Paper in this Volume, contains a copious Glossary of the ancient names of Articles of British Dress and Armour, as far as they are met with in the bardic and diplomatic documents remaining in the Welsh language. Part of this Paper has already been printed in the pages of the *Archæologia Cambrensis;* but from the interesting nature of the materials amassed by the author—growing under his hand as the work proceeded—it has been deemed more useful to the antiquarian world that this Glossary should be published in a collective form, as being easier of reference than when scattered through various Numbers of the Journal of the Association. In this case, as in the former, it is much to be desired that the author may have the leisure to compile a similar glossary for objects of domestic use, perhaps even of architectural and industrial objects, of manufactured articles, &c.; for, doubtless, the study of

Welsh antiquities, and the ethnological history of the nation itself, would be thereby greatly facilitated.

The judicious reader will scarcely fail to observe how, in these three Papers, a tone of acute and accurate logical induction—a spirit of scientific archæology—prevails, in the absence of all that wild and unfounded rhapsodical speculation in which other writers have been too apt to indulge. Archæology is a science inseparable from, if not identical with, history; and it requires to be treated with all the learning, all the reasoning, all the argumentative discrimination, which are necessary to any man before he can presume to attempt anything really worthy of the historic muse. The antiquities of Wales have often suffered from this absence of extended learning in the minds of those who have handled them; for it should be remembered that no one is competent to treat of the history, or language, or archæological condition, of his country, unless he is skilled in all these points, as connected with other nations and countries besides his own. In this point of view, the attention of the reader is particularly claimed for the contents of the present Volume.

It may not be out of place to express the further wish, that the several authors of these Papers will listen to the following suggestions as to their future labours. A critic, in one of the weekly organs of public opinion, has already hinted that the author of the *Vestiges*, &c., should undertake a scientific—we might perhaps call it an ethnological and social—history of Wales. Such a work, notwithstanding the labours of Carnhuanawc, is still much wanted; and he is quite able to accomplish it.

The author of the *State of Agriculture*, &c., is the only man now remaining who is competent to write the history of Caernarvonshire—perhaps, to complete the *Antiquitates Parochiales* of Rowlands. His collections upon these subjects are great; his own store of tradition and of local knowledge is much more considerable; and unless what he thus possesses be digested and committed to writing, it will entirely perish with him, whenever he is summoned to leave us.

The author of the third Paper is already engaged in the excellent national service of re-editing the *Myvyrian Archaiology*. When this shall be finished, let him only rest upon his pen, not lay it aside; his country expects still more, even than this, from his patient research amongst, and his calm examination of, her ancient records.

The three Papers are also published, and may be purchased, separately.

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VESTIGES OF THE GAEL.

§ I.—LOSS OF ANCIENT NAMES.

The question of the primeval occupations of a country is among the most directly and purely interesting of any which its present inhabitants can entertain. It is of direct interest, because it is *their* country. The vales which they inhabit—the fields which yield them sustenance—the fertilizing streams—the mighty hills which they are taught to look upon as types of permanence, and that which is at once the bulwark of their liberty, and the channel of their civilization, the universal ocean—all familiar objects, whose names are to them as household words, and possibly those very names themselves were the birth-right of a race which has passed away, it may be, from the face of the earth, leaving not a memorial of its existence, or only the very faintest traces. Moreover, the interest of the question is intense, in proportion to the obscurity of the indications by which we have to determine it. We all know the excitement of curiosity—the attractiveness of mystery—the pleasure which men feel in reconstructing a bygone state of things out of its scattered fragments—the charm of disinterested suspense, and the satisfaction of successful ingenuity.

These, and other similar elements, combine to augment the interest we feel in prosecuting inquiries of this nature.

But the question is not only one of direct and intense interest—it is also purely interesting. Subjects of political or practical import have a far higher value than any which can be derived from mere intellectual interest. They can hardly be considered without reference to action; and so far as a question issues in action, we do not call it interesting. To take an illustration from other branches of knowledge: Astronomy is interesting, and Agriculture useful; Geology is interesting to the scientific inquirer, but a matter of business to the miner; while, to every Christian, it is of deep and vital import, as long as its statements either do, or can be supposed to, affect the authenticity of Divine Revelation.

Now, as the intensity of this interest is directly dependent on the obscurity of the memorials, so is its purity indirectly proportioned to the same. For it is hardly possible that the prior occupants of a country, in such an age especially as is necessary for a total change of its inhabitants, should leave behind them plain and authentic records of their existence, without in some way affecting the destinies of their successors, and so passing out of the sphere of historical interest, into that of historical importance. Such records must be the memorials either of stubborn resistance, or of elements absorbed into the supervening system; and neither of these can have taken place without having materially affected that system. Thus, the very conditions of pure historical interest are identical, in one respect at least, with the conditions of its intensity.

The question which I am now approaching belongs to this class partly, but not wholly. So long as we merely attempt to determine who were our predecessors in the occupation of this country, or whether any such existed, the question is one of extreme and pure interest; but, as soon as we touch on the settlement of our own progenitors in Gwynedd, it assumes at once the form of historical importance. And, as these points cannot be separated, I shall solicit your attention to the subject, regarded under the twofold aspect of importance and interest. As a matter of fact, these points cannot be considered separately, because we have generally taken it for granted that the present inhabitants of this country have dwelt in it from the beginning. If they had believed and avowed themselves to be invaders and interlopers, the history of the aborigines might have formed an amusing speculation, whereas, at present, it is necessarily mixed up with many practical questions.

The case stands thus at present. As in England people are apt to regard the Roman dominion, the Saxon immigration, and the Norman conquest, as events differing not at all in kind, and perhaps hardly in degree, so have we tacitly acquiesced in the belief that we are an aboriginal nation. But surely this ought not to be assumed until it has been proved. As far as I know, the position has never been proved, and though generally believed, has been occasionally impugned: I trust, therefore, I shall not be deemed an audacious innovator, or maintainer of paradoxes, for again bringing it into question.

In reading the histories of Cæsar and Tacitus, the

geographies of Strabo, Ptolemy, and Pomponius Mela, the Itinerary of Antoninus, and that of Richard of Cirencester, we are met at once by the patent fact, that a great and sweeping change has passed upon the names of localities within this island. Compare the case of France, and the fact becomes evident. The names of the many nations who dwelt from the Rhine to the Atlantic, from the Mediterranean to the German Ocean, have not yet been extinguished. The various tribes who submitted to or resisted the dominion of the Cæsars, have mostly left memorials of their independence in the names of the great provincial towns. The appellations of natural objects, of rivers and mountains, are unchanged except by time. And yet that country has experienced mighty revolutions. The Romans had changed its language and its character. Huns and Saracens have swept over it. Franks and Visigoths have occupied it. But, for all this, men continue to hand down the memory of those ancient people, by an unconscious but everlasting testimony.

I need not say that our case is far different. London and York, the Severn and the Thames, a few natural objects, and a few time-honoured cities, retain the names by which they were known to the Romans; but, of the Trinobantes, the Iceni, and the Brigantes, the nations of Cartismandua, Boadicea, and Cassivellaunus, every trace has long since been obliterated, and their exact position is a matter of historical inquiry. It will be said that the Teutonic immigration into Britain was a far more complete and decisive change than the corresponding event in Gaul. The assertion is undeniable, and scarcely needs any further confirmation than the fact that English is

spoken in one country, and French in the other. But this brings us to the very point at issue. If in England the ancient names have been blotted out one after another by the victorious Saxons, what has been done in this country, where, according to the popular view, no change whatever has taken place? We have here, as it seems, a crucial instance to try the question by. If our local names remain unaltered, as in France, it is probable that there has been no change in our population, or a very trifling one. If they have been generally effaced, as in England, there is a strong presumption in favour of the influx of some external element.

Our authorities on this head may be arranged in four classes. In the first, we place Cæsar, as an eye-witness; in the second, Tacitus, as an historian of the first reputation. Then come the Itinerary of Antoninus, and the geographers Strabo, Ptolemy, and Pomponius Mela. The fourth place is reserved for Richard of Cirencester. But, of these, four only bear upon the present question, and we may regard their authority as varying in the order of enumeration. These are Tacitus, Ptolemy, Antoninus, and Richard the Monk.

§ II.—ANCIENT AUTHORITIES.

We will begin with Tacitus. In the Annals we meet with the river Sabrina,[1] and the tribe of Silures,[2] in South Wales; and, in North Wales, the nations of the Ordovices[3] and Cangi, the latter of whom he describes as

[1] Tac. Ann., xii., c. 31 [2] *Ibid.*, c. 33, 38, 39, &c., xiv., 29.
[3] *Ibid.*, xii., c. 33. Agric., c. 17.

not far from the sea on the side of Ireland,[4] together with the island of Mona.[5] Of the southern names, the one is obviously retained in the Severn, the other less obviously in the old Welsh name for the south-eastern part of the Principality—Essyllwg. Of the northern names, that of Mona alone remains.

Antoninus presents us with the following names of stations in North Wales:—

Segontium, on the *Seiont;*
Conovium, on the *Conway;*
Varis,[6] near Bod-*fari;*
Deva, Chester on the *Dee;*[7]
Bravinium;[8]
Bovium;
Mediolanum;
Rutunium.[9]

The last four names are entirely lost. In South Wales we find:—

Leucarum, *Loughor* on the *Llychwr;*
Nidum, *Neath* on the *Nedd;*
Bomium (Bovium), *Boverton* (?);
Isca Leg. II. Augusta. Caerleon on the *Usk;*
Burrium;
Gobannium, *Abergavenny* on the *Gavenny;*
Magna;[1]
Venta Silurum, Caer-*went* in *Gwent.*

Burrium and Magna are lost; the latter is possibly a Latin name.

[4] "Haud procul mari quod Hiberniam aspectat."

[5] Ann., xiv., c. 29. Agric., c. 17. Mona is also mentioned by Cæsar and Pliny.

[6] Varis is a dative plural; it does not appear what the real name was.

[7] Itinerary, xi. [8] *Ibid.*, xii. [9] *Ibid.*, ii. [1] *Ibid.*, xii.

Ptolemy enumerates the natural objects, proceeding southwards along the coast; they occur in the following order:—The estuary of Seteia, the river Tisobis, the promontory of the Cangani, the rivers Stucia and Tuerobis, the promontory Octapitarum, the rivers Tobius and Rhatostathybius, and the estuary of Sabriana.[2] The position assigned to the Cangi by Tacitus, and to the Cangani by Richard of Cirencester, makes it clear that the three localities first enumerated are in North Wales; and it is equally clear, from the probable identification of the headland of Octapitarum, or Octorupium, with St. David's Head, that the four last named places are in South Wales. The former are altogether lost; while, of the latter, two can easily be identified with the Tywy and the Severn. Octapitarum is apparently a foreign word. The two intervening names, Stucia and Tuerobis, can only be identified with the Ystwyth and Teifi, both in South Wales.[3] This author mentions the Ordovices in

[2] Σετήϊα εἴςχυσις.
Τοισόβιος ποτ. ἐκβολαί.
Καγκανῶν (var. l. Γαγγανῶν) ἄκρον.
Στούκια ποτ. ἐκβολαί.
Τουερόβιος ποτ. ἐκβολαί.
Ὀκταπίταρον ἄκρον.
Τοβίου (var. l. Τουβίου) ποτ. ἐκβολαί.
Ῥατοςταθυβίου ποτ. ἐκβολαί.
Σαβριάνα εἴςχυσις (var. l. Σαβριαναὶς χύσις.)
I observe that, in the notes to the Iolo MSS., Rhatostathybius, or Rhatostaubius, is identified with the Tâf, or Tibia Amnis. It is explained Rhath Taf—the Taff moorland. Rhath, or Roath, is a place contiguous to Cardiff.—p. 374, *Note*. Baxter assigns to it the same locality, though not the same signification.—*Glos. Ant. Brit., sub voce.*

[3] It is true that these rivers were included in a district which we shall presently have to regard as part of North Wales; but it will appear that this district was probably conquered at a very early period.

North Wales, and apparently includes among them the Cangiani,[4] naming their chief cities Mediolanum and Brannogenium, names altogether lost. In South Wales he places the Demetæ to the west, their towns being Loventium and Maridunum; and the Silures to the east, whose only town is Bullium.[5] The Demetæ and Maridunum are Dyfed and Caermarthen; Loventium is supposed to be Llanio, and Bullium has been identified with Builth.

We now bid farewell to ancient authors, and turn to Richard of Cirencester—a writer more copious, but of less authority. The following North-Welsh names occur in his "Itinerary":—

Banchorium, *Bangor* Iscoed;
Deva Colonia;
Varis;
Conovium;
Segontium;[6]
Heriri Mons;
Mediolanum;
Rutunium;
Branogenium.[7]

The only new names here are Banchorium and Heriri Mons. The former is so obviously late a name, that it must be cut off as being fictitious, or, at all events, foreign to our purpose. The latter is placed near Trawsfynydd. In the South we meet with—

[4] Ὑπὸ δὲ τούτους καὶ τοὺς Βρίγαντας οἰκοῦσι δυσμικώτατα μὲν Ὀρδούικες ἐν οἷς πόλεις Μεδιολάνιον, Βραννογένιον.—*Ibid.*

[5] Πάλιν δ' ὑπὸ τὰ εἰρημένα ἔθνη δυσμικώτατοι μὲν Δήμηται, ἐν οἷς πόλεις Λουέντιον, Μαρίδουνον. Τούτων δ' ἀνατολικώτεροι Σίλυρες, ἐν οἷς πόλις Βούλλιον.

[6] Itinerary, i.

[7] *Ibid.*, ii.

Venta Silurum;
Isca Colonia;
Tibia Amnis;
Bovium;
Nidum;
Leucarum;
* * * *
Ad Vigesimum;
Ad Menapiam;[8]
Bultrum, or Ballium;[9]
Gobannium;
Magna.[1]

The new names, Tibia Amnis, and Menapia, are the Tâf, and St. David's, or Mynyw.

In his treatise "De Situ Britanniæ," Richard enumerates the following places:—Sariconium (Ross), Magna, Gobaneum, Venta, Isca, among the Silures;[2] Octorupium Promontorium, Menapia, Muridunum, and Lovantium, among the Demetæ, or, as he calls them, Demeciæ.[3] In the country of the Ordovices he places Mediolanum and Brannogenium,[4] and among the Cangiani, who dwelt beyond the last named race, Segontium[5] as their only town, the isle of Mona, the Fretum Meneviacum, or Menai Strait, the rivers Deva and Canovius, or Tossibus, and the mountain of Eriri.[6] He thus appears to identify the

[8] Itinerary, iii. [9] *Ibid.*, xiii., xiv. [1] *Ibid.*, xiii.
[2] De Situ Brit., i., c. 6, § 22. [3] *Ibid.*, § 24. [4] *Ibid.*
[5] "Huc quoque referendum illud, quod a Septentrione Ordovicum situm ab Oceano alluitur, cum illorum regimini quondam fuerit subjectum: hoc certo constat quod illum Cangiani quondam inhabitaverint tractum, quorum urbs unica Segontium promontorio Cangano vicina."—*De Situ Brit.*, i., c. 6, § 25. It is to be observed that the worthy monk invariably places the north where the west ought to be.
[6] *Ibid.*

Conway with the Tisobis of Ptolemy, and seems to indicate, by placing the Dee within the territory of the Cangiani, that they occupied at one period a large portion of North Wales.

It will be as well to present the results of this examination in a tabular form. The names given by these several authorities remain in the following proportions:[7]—

		Tacitus.	Antoninus.	Ptolemy.	Richard.	Added by Richard.	Total.
Nations.	N. W.	0/2		0/1	0/2		0/2
	S. W.	1/1	1/1	2/2	2/2		2/2
Towns.	N. W.		4/8	0/2	4/8	0/1	4/9
	S. W.		6/7	3/3	11/12	2/3	9/13
Natural objects.	N. W.	1/1		0/3	5/6	4/4	5/8
	S. W.	1/1		4/5			4/5
Total.	N. W.	1/3	4/8	0/6	9/16	4/5	10/19
	S. W.	2/2	7/8	9/10	13/14	2/3	15/20

Before making any remarks upon this table, it will be

[7] The proportion of names remaining has been thrown into a fractional form; the number of names recorded is indicated by the denominator, while the numerator shows how many remain.

necessary to premise that the name of Banchorium[8] has been omitted in the calculations, for reasons already alleged, and those of Octapitarum and Ad Vigesimum, as being foreign names. The name of Magna is omitted, partly on that account, and partly because the district in which it stands has been wholly Anglicised, and the place itself has assumed the English name of Kentchester. The general result is that, whereas in North Wales one-half of the ancient names of places are preserved, three-fourths remain in South Wales. But, if we subtract the additions of Richard of Cirencester, we have, in North Wales, only six out of fourteen names remaining—in South Wales, thirteen out of seventeen. Again, of the names surviving in North Wales, the largest proportion are those of natural objects, which we should always expect to be the most permanent, and the remainder are those of towns or stations preserved in the appellations of the rivers on whose banks they stood. The most important conclusion of all is, that the names of the two races which inhabited North Wales, the Ordovices and Cangi, or Cangiani, are utterly lost, while those of the Demetæ and Silures, the inhabitants of the South, are preserved among us.

Now these considerations suggest the probability of a revolution of some kind among the inhabitants of Gwynedd, since the close, or, at all events, since the commencement, of the Roman domination in Britain. The nature or extent of such a revolution is a further question; all that can be said at present is, that it would

[8] Banchorium and Deva are placed by Richard in the territory of the Carnabii.—*De Situ Brit.*, i., c. 6, § 27.

seem to have involved a total or partial change of the population, and to have been at least so far complete, as to have obliterated a large proportion of the local names. And this probability is heightened, when we remember that we have to account for the introduction of a wholly new name into North Wales, I mean that of Gwynedd. The designation of Genania, although applied to this country, with some degree of hesitation, by Richard of Cirencester,[9] can hardly be a latinized form of Gwynedd, the first two letters of which are invariably represented by V in Latin, as well by the later writers, who use the form Venedocia, and by the Romans themselves in writing other British names—as Venta for Gwent. It is also worthy of notice that, whereas Richard applies the name of Genania to a district much more extensive than any to which that of Gwynedd was ever applied, there is reason to think that Gwynedd was formerly used in a more limited sense than afterwards.

§ III.—TRADITIONAL EVIDENCE.

It is true that the probability does not amount to more than a presumption, and that we have to look for other evidence as well to confirm as to explain it. Such evidence is by no means wanting, although the documents on which it rests are obscure, and often contradictory. Nevertheless, there is quite enough to assure us that a change, of which it is not easy to measure either

[9] "Ordovicia una cum Cangiorum Carnabiorumque regionibus, ni fama me fallit, nomine Genaniæ sub imperatoribus post Trajani principatum inclarescebat."—*De Situ Brit.*, i., c. 6, § 25.

the extent or the degree, came over the population of Gwynedd, at some period subsequent to the commencement of the Roman dominion in Britain. The first notice we have of the event is to be found in the Triads, which, after enumerating the various races which had settled at different periods in our island, reckon among "the three invading tribes that came into the isle of Britain, and departed from it, ... the hosts of Ganfael Wyddel, who came to Gwynedd, and were there twenty-nine years, until they were driven into the sea by Caswallawn the son of Beli, the son of Manogan."[1] I call this the first notice of this event, because it is the earliest that occurs in the Triads, which are allowed to contain the earliest native authorities on ancient British history. Another Triad enumerates, among "the three dreadful pestilences of the isle of Britain, the pestilence from the carcases of the Gwyddyl, who were slain in Manuba, after they had oppressed the country of Gwynedd for twenty-nine years."[2] It is evident that these documents relate to the same transaction, and we gather from them that North Wales, or some part of it, was under the dominion of a people called Gwyddyl, for twenty-nine years, who were finally expelled by Caswallawn, or Cassivellaunus, the opponent of Julius Cæsar. The name Gwyddel is to this day applied to the Irish, and is, etymologically, the same as Gael,[3] the common name of the Irish, and Highlanders of Scotland.[4]

[1] Trioedd Ynys Prydain. Myv. Arch., vol. ii., p. 58.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

[3] The latter word is spelt *Gaoidheal*, the soft consonant being elided in pronounciation.

[4] It may be necessary to state distinctly the precise significations in

All that we are justified in concluding from the name is, that these occupants were a Gaelic race of some kind or other. In another Triad we meet with a curious allusion to a similar event, which must have occurred at a much later period. "The tribe of Caswallawn Law Hir put the fetters of their horses on their feet by two and two, in fighting with Serigi Wyddel, at Cerrig y Gwyddel, in Mon."[5]

In the Historia Britonum, attributed to Nennius, we meet with another account of the expulsion of the Gael. He informs us that Cunedda and his eight sons came from the north, from a province known as Manau Guotodin, and expelled the Scots from Gwynedd, Dyfed,

which the terms "Celtic," "Gaelic," &c., are used; especially as some confusion exists in people's minds on the subject. The common name of Celtic is applied to all and each of the members of a family of nations, distinguished by certain phenomena of language and organization. This is the ethnological use of the term, and is the result of a generalization from existing facts. It must carefully be distinguished from the historical use of the term, as applied to a race whom the Greeks and Romans found in various parts of western Europe. Whether the historical Celts were Celtic in our use of the word, *i. e.*, whether they possessed the distinctive marks of language and organization, it is one of the problems of ethnology to determine. Now this Celtic family is found to divide itself into two branches, one of which, at present occupying the Highlands, Hebrides, Man, and a great part of Ireland, in a tolerably pure state, is called Gaelic. The other, in possession of Wales, Cornwall, and Brittany, is here, as elsewhere, for convenience, denominated Cymraic. A closer connexion is found to subsist between the Bretons and Cornish, than between either of those people and the Welsh. These facts are stated here, to avoid needless verbal discussion; although they must be familiar to the majority of my readers. Those who wish to see the subject of Celtic ethnology clearly drawn out, will do well to read Dr. Prichard's "Essay on the Eastern origin of the Celtic Languages;" and a memoir, by M. Adolphe Pictet, "De l'affinité des Langues Celtiques avec le Sanscrit."

[5] Myv. Arch., p. 62.

and from the districts of Gower and Kidwelly.[6] Their expulsion is placed about the close of the fourth century, and, although the date of their immigration is not stated, we are left to infer that it was synchronical with the occupation of Dalriada and Man by their countrymen.[7] To the testimony of Nennius we may add that of Rhyddmarch, the author of the life of St. David, as a writer whose date we are able to fix. He speaks of the Saint being persecuted, in his hallowed retreat at Menevia, by a certain Scottish tyrant, by name Boia, who had built himself a strong castle, overlooking the Rosy Vale, in which St. David had establised himself with his companions.[8] The name of this regulus is preserved in Clegyr Foia, a precipitous volcanic rock, surmounted by

[6] "Novissime venit Damhoctor, et ibi habitavit cum omni genere suo usque hodie in Brittanniam. Istorith, Istorini filius, tenuit Dalrieta cum suis; Builc autem cum suis tenuit Euboniam insulam, et alias circiter; filii autem Liethan obtinuerunt in regione Demetorum et in aliis regionibus, id est, Guir et Cetgueli, donec expulsi sunt a Cuneda et a filiis ejus ab omnibus Brittanicis regionibus."—*Hist. Brit.*, § 14. "Mailcunus magnus rex apud Brittones regnabat, id est, in regione Guenedotæ, quia atavus illius, id est, Cunedag, cum filiis suis, quorum numerus octo erat, venerat prius de parte sinistrali, id est, de regione quæ vocatur Manau Guotodin, centum quadraginta sex annis antequam Mailcum regnaret, et Scottos cum ingentissima clade expulerunt ab istis regionibus, et nusquam reversi sunt ad habitandum."—*Ibid.*, § 62.

[7] Nennius, on the authority of the "peritissimi Scottorum," places the migration of the Scots from Ireland to Dalriada, in the sixth century B.C., that is to say, in the present case, in a period anterior to history. Mr. Skene, in his ingenious Essay on the Highlanders, dates the last occupation of Dalriada, A.D. 503, and appears to consider the earlier migrations as fabulous.—Vol. i., pp. 15–20.

[8] Ricemarus in Vita Sti Davidis apud Whart. Angl. Sacr. II. Giraldus omits the words "Scottus quidam," which are supplied by Wharton in the margin. Rhyddmarch lived in the eleventh century.

an ancient earth-work, within a quarter of a mile of St. David's. Perhaps this is the proper place to observe that the Menapii are placed by Ptolemy and Richard on the coast of Ireland, immediately opposite to St. David's Head,[9] so that it is easy to imagine the settlement of a section of this tribe on the opposite shore of Menevia, or Menapia. William of Malmesbury, in his History of Glastonbury, gives us a rather more detailed account of the event recorded by Nennius. He confirms the statements of that writer, and of Rhyddmarch, by informing us that the Gael were expelled from Dyfed, as well as Gwynedd.[1]

The scanty notices we have already met with concur in recording the settlement of Gaelic tribes, at an unknown period, in various parts of Wales, especially in Gwynedd, and their expulsion on one, or more than one, occasion, attributed variously to Caswallawn the son of Beli, to Caswallawn Law Hir, and the family of Cunedda. We must now turn to another quarter for more detailed information with respect to the Gaelic dominion in Wales. It is to be found in the valuable Miscellany collected by the late Iolo Morganwg, and recently published by the Welsh MSS. Society. The notices which it gives us on this subject are fuller than those which have already been produced, and serve in many instances to explain them; on the other hand, it must be owned that they frequently contradict each other, and rest, of course, on comparatively slender authority.[2] I

[9] They are called by Ptolemy, Μανάπιοι.

[1] Gale, Scriptores, vol. i., p. 295.

[2] I am content to take these documents at the lowest value that can

shall give some of the more explicit of these memorials in full, and proceed to harmonise them as far as it is possible :—

"Three Irish invasions took place in Cambria; and one family, that of Cuneddaf Wledig, delivered the country from the three. The first occurred in Gower, in Glamorgan, where Caian Wyddel and his sons landed, subjugated the country, and ruled it for eight years; but Cuneddaf Wledig, and Urien the son of Cynfarch, subdued and slew them to nine, whom they drove into the sea; and the government of the country was conferred on Urien the son of Cynfarch, having been constituted a kingdom for that purpose, and called Rheged, because it was bestowed unanimously by its ancient British inhabitants on Urien, in free gift, whence he was called Urien Rheged.[3]

"The second invasion was that of Aflech Goronog, who seized upon Garth Mathrin by irruption; but, having married Marchell, the daughter of Tewdrig, king of that district, he acquired the good will of its inhabitants, and obtained the country in marriage settlement with his wife; and there his descendants still remain, intermixed with the natives.

"The third invasion was that of Don (others say Daronwy), king of Lochlyn (Scandinavia), who came to Ireland, and conquered it; after which he led sixty thousand Irish and Lochlynians to North Wales, where they ruled for one hundred and twenty-nine years; when Caswallawn Law Hir the son of Einion Yrth, the son of Cunedda Wledig, entered Mona, wrested the country from them, and slew Serigi Wyddel, their ruler, at a

be put upon them, as the weight of my proof does not rest upon the authority of individual passages, but upon the coincidence of a large number, and indeed, as will be seen, upon their very discrepancies—an authority which cannot well be destroyed, except by the supposition of an actual forgery.

[3] In the published translation which I have elsewhere followed, the last sentence runs thus:—"whence *it* was called Urien Rheged." It is probably an error of the press.

place called Llan-y-Gwyddyl, in Mona. Other sons of Cuneddaf Wledig slew them also in North Wales, the Cantred, and Powis, and became princes of those countries. Don had a son called Gwydion, king of Mona and Arvon, who first taught literature from books to the Irish of Mona and Ireland; whereupon both these countries became pre-eminently famed for knowledge and saints."[4]

The next history is at variance with the last, and with itself: its chronology is altogether hopeless:—

"A.D. 267, Don, king of Lochlyn and Dublin, led the Irish to Gwynedd, where they remained one hundred and twenty-nine years. Gwydion the son of Don was highly celebrated for knowledge and science. He was the first who taught the Cambro-Britons to perform the plays of illusion and phantasm, and introduced the knowledge of letters to Ireland and Lochlyn; but after the Irish and Lochlynians had inhabited North Wales for one hundred and twenty-nine years, the sons of Cuneddaf Wledig came there from the north, overcame the Irish and their confederates, and drove them in flight to the Isle of Man. They were slaughtered at the battle of Cerrig y Gwyddyl; and Caswallawn Law Hir, with his own sword, killed Serigi Wyddel the son of Mwrchan, the son of Eurnach the Aged, the son of Eilo, the son of Rhechgyr, the son of Cathbalig, the son of Cathal, the son of Machno, the son of Einion, the son of Celert, the son of Math, the son of Mathonwy, the son of Gwydion, the son of Don, king of Mona and Arvon, the Cantred, and of Dublin and Lochlyn, who came to the isle of Mona one hundred and twenty-nine years before the incarnation of Christ.

"Eurnach the Aged fought, sword to sword, with Owen Finddu, the son of Maxen Wledig, in the city of Ffaraon; and he slew Owen, who also slew him."[5]

I should be glad to know whether these can be regarded as perversions of Gaelic names. Again,—

[4] Iolo MSS., p. 467. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 471.

"After the departure of the Romans from Britain, Serigi took upon him the supreme government of Mona, Gwynedd, and the Cantred; but so excessive was the oppression of the Irish there that messengers were sent to Cuneddaf Wledig, who dispatched his sons to Gwynedd, and they put them to flight; except in Mona, where they had become a distinct nation, with Serigi for their king, who came with a strong force to Gwyrfai, in Arfon, to fight against Caswallawn, who drove them back to Mona, where they were slain at a place called Cerrig y Gwyddyl; whereupon Caswallawn, and the family of Cuneddaf, placed saints in that island, to teach the Christian faith there, and bestowed lands on the Cambro-British, who were brought there from Dyfed, Gower and Gwent; so that Mona became celebrated for its saints, wise men, and pious persons."[6]

I shall add two more,—

"Gwydion Wyddel, the son of Don, the son of Dar, the son of Daronwy, the son of Urnach Wyddel, of the city of Ffaraon, was slain by Owen Finddu the son of Maxen Wledig; this Urnach led twenty thousand Irish from Ireland to Gwynedd, where they landed, and where they and their descendants remained for one hundred and twenty-nine years.

"The son of Urnach was Serigi Wyddel, who was slain at Cerrig y Gwyddyl, in Mona, by Caswallawn Law Hir the son of Einion Yrth, the son of Cuneddaf Wledig, in the time of Owen the son of Maxen Wledig; and upon the greensward they found a male infant, who was Daronwy the son of Urnach Wyddel, Serigi's brother, of the city of Ffaraon. An illustrious chieftain who resided just by, commiserating his beauty and destitution, reared him up as one of his children; but he became eventually one of three native oppressors; for he confederated with the Irish, and seized the dominion from its rightful Cambro-British owners, namely,[7]—"

And this,—

[6] Iolo MSS., p. 471. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 472.

"Saint Gynyr of Caer Gawch the son of Gwyndeg, the son of Saithenyn, king of Maes Gwyddno, whose land was overflowed by the sea, the son of Saithenyn Hen, the son of Plaws Hen, king of Dyfed, the son of Gwrtherin, a prince of Rome, who expelled the Gwydelians from Dyfed and Gower.

"Meyrig, king of Dyfed, the son of Gwrthelin, the son of Eudaf, the son of Plaws Hen, king of Dyfed, the son of Gwrtherin, a nobleman of Rome, who expelled the Gwyddelians from Gower and Dyfed."[8]

The notices before us, however discordant in detail, coincide in the main, both with each other, and with those which were cited before. They agree so far in their general purport that we cannot doubt their relating to the same event, while they are so contradictory in minor points as to prove, beyond question, the antiquity of the original legend which is embodied in them. Thus their very discrepancies are a confirmation of their general authenticity, and at the same time allow us a considerable latitude in interpreting them. It is evident then that a tribe of Picts or Scots were in possession of several portions of Wales, in an age within the domain of history;[9] that they had settlements in the country between the Neath and the Tywy,[1] in Brecknockshire,[2] and probably

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 545. Achau y Saint.

[9] It is not necessary here to decide whether the Gael of North Wales were Picts or Scots, or, indeed, whether the Picts were Gael or Celts at all. This has been, as is well known, the *vexata quæstio* of Scottish antiquaries for many years. Those who wish for specimens of the spirit in which it has been discussed, will do well to read the quarrel between Monkbarns and Sir Arthur Wardour, in the "Antiquary," or (if they prefer reality to fiction) Ritson's Annals of the Caledonians.

[1] See Nennius, as already quoted. See also Iolo MSS., pp. 456-7.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 467. Cf., p. 517.—"Marchell, the daughter of Tewdrig,

in western Pembrokeshire;[3] but that their principal territory was in North Wales, the whole, or a large portion, of which they occupied at an early period, where their power was not entirely extinguished until the fifth century. We are presented with lists and genealogies of their kings and leaders, contradictory to the last degree, and yet, as it seems, containing germs of truth. The Brecknockshire colony was governed by one Aflech, that in Gower by a person variously designated as Caian,[4] Glaian,[5] and Liethan[6]—distinct forms, as it would seem, of the same name. In another document, the Gael of Gower are said to have been led by Gilmwr Rechdyr.[7] But it is concerning the Gael of Gwynedd that we have the most copious information, and it is to them that our attention must be principally directed. We have a multiplicity of accounts concerning their original settlement in the country, but they may be reduced to three several legends.

The first is derived from a source we have not hitherto touched. In the genealogy of Iestyn ab Gwrgant[8] we are informed that, in the reign of "Annyn the Rugged the son of Alafon," a prince of Siluria, seven or eight generations before the Roman invasion, a people whom it calls "y Ddraig Estron," or the "dragon strangers,"[9]

was the wife of Anllech Goronog, who was king of Ireland, and their son was called Brychan, and he had in right of his mother the territory of Garth Mathrin, which he called after his own name, Brycheiniog."

[3] See above, pp. 15, 16.

[4] Iolo MSS., p. 467.

[5] Glaian Ecdawr, *ibid.*, p. 458.

[6] Nennius, *ut supra.*

[7] Iolo MSS., p. 457.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 341.—This document is not cited as an authority, but as containing a legend different from any that we have met with.

[9] The appellation is a curious one, but it may serve to interpret

came to Britain and Ireland: "they are now become quite extinct in this island, although they still entirely possess Ireland, where they are termed Gwyddelians." It would appear at first sight that this notice refers only to the settlement of the Gael in North Britain, an event commemorated in various Triads, and placed at a very early period; but the assertion that their descendants were extinct in this island—having, of necessity, reference to the southern portion of it—makes it probable that the history speaks of a Gaelic colony in Gwynedd at this early period. And this is confirmed by various passages in the same document. It informs us that, in the reign of the same Annyn, "a new king sprang up in Gwynedd, in utter violation of justice;"[1] that the king of Gwynedd was conquered by Lleyn, a descendant of Annyn, who gave name to the country;[2] that the war in Gwynedd was continued by Tegid, the brother and successor of Lleyn,[3] and that a third brother, Llyr, the grandfather of the great Caractacus, finally expelled the Gael from Gwynedd.[4]

The second legend is that presented to us in the Triads,

certain obscure passages of Welsh tradition. In one of the Triads the "Dragon of Britain" is described as one of the "oppressions of the isle of Britain."—*Myv. Arch.*, ii., p. 59. In the Mabinogi of Lludd and Llefelys, Britain is visited by three simultaneous afflictions, one of which is, the invasion of the Coritani, and another, the conflict of two dragons, which are ultimately buried in Dinas Ffaraon, subsequently the metropolis of the Gael. The title of Draig appears to have been afterwards applied to the Welsh princes of Gwynedd. Gildas calls Maelgwyn "draco insularis," and Gwalchmai applies to Owen Gwynedd the title of "Dragon of Mona."—*Evans' Specimens of Welsh Bards*, p. 127.

[1] Iolo MSS., p. 341. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 346. [3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.*

which places the invasion of the Gael, under Ganfael, shortly before the Roman invasion, and attributes their expulsion, after a short domination of twenty-nine years, to Caswallawn the son of Beli.[5]

The third legend is that of which we have given specimens already. It generally describes the invaders as led by Don the son of Daronwy, who is represented as a Scandinavian settler in Ireland. They are in possession of the country for a hundred and twenty-nine years, although other accounts abbreviate the period to twenty-nine, while another extends it to three hundred and twenty-nine.[6] Among their princes we meet with various names distinguished in Welsh romance, Gwydion the son of Don, Arianrod his sister, Math the son of Mathonwy, the Palug Cat, with other personages wearing a very mythological aspect. Gwydion is invariably represented as a wise man, and sometimes as a wizard. In one Triad he is said to have learned illusion from Math ab Mathonwy, who is denominated one of the three "men of illusion and phantasy."[7] The Mabinogi of Math gives us a specimen of his performances, and those of his instructor; and we are elsewhere informed that his magic sleights secured him the possession of his principality.[8] Another Triad unites him with Idris the Giant, and Gwyn the son of Nudd, under the class of chief astronomers.[9] Elsewhere we are told that he was highly celebrated for knowledge and sciences, that he introduced the knowledge of letters to Ireland and Lochlyn,[1] and to

[5] Myv. Arch., ii., p. 58.
[6] Iolo MSS., p. 609.
[7] Myv. Arch., ii., p. 71.
[8] Iolo MSS., p. 421.
[9] Myv. Arch., ii., p. 71.
[1] Iolo MSS., p. 267.

the Irish of Mona, whereupon these countries (Ireland and Anglesey) became pre-eminently famed for knowledge and saints.[2] His court was the resort of bards and philosophers, and was visited by Merddyn,[3] as that of his son was by Taliesin.[4] Both of these assertions, it is needless to say, are palpable anachronisms; but they show the light in which Gwydion was regarded in later times. An obscure memorial of him in the Achau Saint[5] appears to imply that he was the means of converting the Gael of Gwynedd to Christianity, and connects him in some way with the Pelagian heresy. But he appears elsewhere in a more marvellous form. His path is in the sky, and may be seen in the galaxy. His sister, the Lady of the Silver Wheel, holds her court among the stars. On occasion, like Apollo, he plays the part of a herdsman, and keeps thrice seven thousand kine above the Conwy.[6] Enough has been said to show that Gwydion is more than half a mythic character, and that he is the great hero of the Gaelic legend.

Math, whose exact relation to Gwydion it is rather

[2] Iolo MSS., p. 468. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 466. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 467.

[5] "Mor, the son of Morien, brought baptism and faith, and would not bring baptism to the country of Gwynedd. The first that did so was Gwydion, the son of Don, king of Llychlyn, who was king of the country of Gwynedd, during the time the Gwyddelians bore rule in Gwynedd."—*Ibid.*, p. 551.

[6] Trioedd Ynys Prydain. Myv. Arch., ii., p. 10.—"The three herdsmen of tribes of the isle of Britain, . . the second, Gwydion the son of Don, who kept the cattle of the tribe of Gwynedd, above the Conwy; and in this herd were twenty-and-one thousand." Baxter asserts, without giving his authority, that the Cangi were a pastoral race, subject to other tribes.—*Gloss. Ant. Brit.*, p. 73, *sub voce* Ceangi.

difficult to determine, held his court at Caer Dathyl, and carried on a war with the king of Dyfed.[6] Another warrior, Urnach, or Eurnach, the Aged,[7] who in one record is represented as the original invader, and the great-grandfather of Don, is elsewhere described as fighting single-handed with Owen the son of the Emperor Maximus, a contest which was fatal to both. He is also called Brynach, and is said to have been the first king of Gwynedd converted to Christianity.[8] His dominions extended over the western part of North Wales, Mona and Man, and he held his court at Dinas Ffaraon in Snowdon.

His son Serigi closes the list of the Gaelic chiefs of Gwynedd.[9] The Welsh, who had, as it seems, for some time pressed hard upon them, and apparently limited their dominions to Mona, ultimately overcame them, and slew their leader at Holyhead under the command of Caswallawn Law Hir, the grandson of Cunedda Wledig, whose family had emigrated from North Britain for the express purpose of rescuing Wales from the oppression of the invaders.

In the names of Eurnach, Serigi and Caswallawn, we seem to have an approach to authentic history; and we may perhaps conclude that, as far at least as the termination of their empire is concerned, this legend gives us the real account. We can hardly doubt that the story which ascribes their expulsion to the celebrated Cassivellaunus arises merely from the confusion of two personages bearing the same name; and the legend referred

[6] Mabinogi of Math. [7] Iolo MSS., p. 471. [8] *Ibid.*, p. 474.
[9] One legend ascribes the original invasion to Serigi.

to in the genealogy of Iestyn is probably an even more corrupted form of the present one.

§ IV.—CHRONOLOGY.

Before we proceed to consider the details of the conquest of Gwynedd by the family of Cunedda, it will be well to examine the chronology of their occupation and evacuation of that country by the Gwyddyl—to see, in fact, whether anything can be made of it. We will assume that the termination of their dominion is fixed by the accession of Caswallawn Law Hir, who is said to have reigned over North Wales from 443 to 517. This date is rendered probable by that of his son Maelgwyn, which is better known. The latter was contemporary with Gildas, the first British historian, if he should not rather be called a preacher, who was born about the year 516, and wrote in the middle of the sixth century. For the invasion of the Gwyddyl we find various dates assigned. The genealogy of Iestyn ab Gwrgant places it, as we have seen, at an indefinitely early period.[1] The Triads fix the invasion of Ganfael Wyddel in the first century B.C.[2] A record which we have already quoted[3] fixes the invasion in the year 267 A.D., and, almost in the same breath, in 129 B.C. In another document we find the following chronological notices:—

"In 294 A.D., the Irish Picts, who had migrated from Beitwy, were slain." . . "In 307 a great pestilence prevailed, and a fearful number of full-grown males and females died in consequence, together with more than half the children of the island;

[1] See above, p. 21. [2] p. 13. [3] Iolo MSS., p. 471, cited above, p. 18.

in consequence of which, the invasion of the Irish Picts took place in the north, and that of the pike-bearing Irish and Lochlynians in Anglesea, Arvon, and the Commot." . . "In 314 scarcity and famine took place; the Irish and Lochlynians having spoiled the corn lands." "In 339 many of the Irish banditti were taken." "About this period [A.D. 380] Morien the son of Argad the Bard flourished; . . . he denied Baptism and the Sacrifice, . . whence arose great hatred, contentions, and wars."

We have already seen that Morien was supposed to be contemporary with Gwydion.

"In 400 the Irish Picts came to Cambria, and committed atrocious depredations; but at last they were vanquished, slain unsparingly, and driven back beyond the sea to their original country." "In 410 severe diseases and great mortality prevailed, occasioned by the yellow pestilence, which arose from the dead bodies that remained unburied."

This pestilence is connected with the Gaelic invasion by the Triads.

"In 430 the Irish Picts made a descent on Anglesea and Arvon, and were joined by the Irish of those countries, in combined hostility to the crown of the island of Britain; but they were opposed by the kings and princes of Cambria, whose cause was espoused by the two saints, namely, Germanus and Lupus; and they prayed to God, who . . made them victorious over their enemies." "In 436 . . . a terrible pestilence occurred in Britain; . . whereupon the Irish Picts came to Cambria; but, through the prayers of the saints, they were vanquished."[4]

It is obvious that such circumstantial chronology, in relation to an age of which so little is known, cannot be trusted in detail. In fact, the only positive conclusion

[4] Iolo MSS., pp. 418–422. Cf. Bede, Hist. Eccl. i., c. 20.

which we can draw from it is, that the Irish domination terminated about the middle of the fifth century, that is, about the period assigned to Caswallawn Law Hir. It does not give us a hint of the commencement of their empire, but appears to imply that it was kept up by continual succours from their brethren in Ireland, or elsewhere.[5] We have however further data, as it would appear, for determining the time of their arrival, in the duration of their power, as derived from the Triads and other sources. This we have already seen stated variously as twenty-nine, one hundred and twenty-nine, and three hundred and twenty-nine years. These numbers bear so evident a relation to one another, that they seem clearly to be different versions of the same legend; while they occur in accounts so contradictory, as to prove the antiquity of the legend from which they are derived. They are so circumstantial that they must mean something, while they are far too circumstantial to be received without caution. We may fairly assume that one of the three was found in the original story, and that the others are perversions of it. And we may probably conclude that to be the original number which bears the clearest marks of being artificial, or that which there was most reason to change in subsequent versions of the story. Now it appears more natural to lengthen the period than to shorten it, simply for the purpose of allowing more time for the events which confused traditions, or the ingenuity of poets, had made to occur within it. And the shortest of these periods can with least difficulty be

[5] The events of 430 particularly deserve notice, as the pre-existence of the Gael in Mona and Arvon is expressly mentioned.

regarded as artificial. The partiality of the Welsh for the triad is too well known to need proof, and it would necessarily extend to the number thirty. Now, in twenty-nine, we have three decades *minus* one; or, if we please to put it in this way—the Irish having ruled in Gwynedd for nine-and-twenty years, were driven out in the thirtieth. This view of twenty-nine as a mythical or mystical number, is confirmed in some degree by a curious story published in the Iolo MSS., of "Einion the son of Gwalchmai of Anglesey, and the Lady of the Greenwood, which was a witch, or female goblin, that fascinated him for *nine-and-twenty years*, and of the manner in which he was liberated from the illusions and bands she had cast over him."[6] Nennius also, who delights in triads and round numbers, tells us a story of three sons of a certain knight of Spain, who were utterly destroyed, with nine-and-twenty ships of war, as they were besieging a tower of glass in the middle of the sea.[7] This explanation may appear fanciful to those who are not accustomed to observe the manner in which numbers are manufactured in mythological history. The only object of it is to destroy the apparent credibility of these numbers arising from their extremely circumstantial character, by showing how easy it is to account for their origin. Whether this be the true explanation or not, we may be allowed to have grave doubts as to the value of such precise dates in the history of an age of which so little is really known. The only result, then, of our chronological examination is, that we can have no certain chronology in the matter; that the close of the

[6] Iolo MSS., p. 591. [7] Nennius, Hist. Brit., § 13.

Gaelic dominion in North Wales took place about the middle of the fifth century; and that we are at liberty to place its commencement in an indefinitely early period. Indeed, we are not without authority for supposing that it took place at a date anterior to any facts recorded in the history of this country.[8] We shall soon see reasons for wishing to extend the duration of their sovereignty beyond the limits, not of the twenty-nine years only, but of the hundred and twenty-nine.

§ V.—EXTENT OF THE GAELIC DOMINION.

We have been occupied with the limits of duration assigned to the Gaelic domination, let us now consider its extent in point of space. I do not now speak of the minor settlements in South Wales, but of that great principality in Gwynedd, of which we may regard Gwydion the son of Don as the mythic representative, and of which Serigi the son of Urnach was the last ruler. The authorities which we have already had occasion to consult, are rather vague in their information as to the limits of their territory. They speak in general terms of an invasion and occupation of Gwynedd,[9] or in more precise language, of Mona, Arvon and the Cantred,[1] which appears to be identical with Merioneth; others speak of Mona, Gwynedd (used, as it would seem, in a limited sense) and the Cantred, or Commot; and one document, which we have already quoted, speaks of their

[8] See above, p. 21.

[9] Trioedd Ynys Pryd. Myv. Arch. ii., p. 58. Iolo MSS., p. 468.

[1] *Ibid.*, 471.

being overcome by the sons of Cunedda, in Mona, Gwynedd, the Cantred and Powys.[2] We also find the isle of Man annexed to their dominions, and spoken of in such a way as to leave no doubt that it formed at one time part of the great principality of Gwynedd.[3] It is to be observed, however, that Mona is spoken of as their principal seat, as it was certainly the district in which they maintained their power to the latest period, and hence in the ordinary histories of Wales their empire is generally spoken of as a temporary occupation of Mona, or at most of Mona and Arvon.[4] We shall be able however to ascertain the limits of their territory with greater accuracy, if we examine the accounts handed down to us of their overthrow and expulsion. The most minute record is contained in the following extract from one of the genealogies termed Achau Saint:[5]—

"Cunedda Wledig sent sons to Gwynedd against the Gwyddelians, which came with Serigi the Gwyddelian, to Anglesey, and other places, and had taken the greatest portion of that country from the inhabitants, when there were no princes over them; and the sons of Cunedda led the Cymry, and expelled the Gwyddelians from the country, and slew them, making prisoners of such as had their lives spared; then the men of Gwynedd gave those princes possession of the lands they had won; namely:—

"Tybiawn the son of Cunedda Wledig, won the Cantref, routing the Gwyddelians, and in that battle he was slain, and the nobles of the country conferred the sovereignty on Meirion his son, and he was called Meirion of Meirionydd.

"Arwystl the son of Cunedda Wledig, won a district, which

[2] Iolo MSS., p. 468. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 474.
[4] It is thus represented by Lhoyd and Warrington.
[5] Iolo MSS., p. 521.

was given him, which he called after his own name, and he himself is called Arwystl of Arwystli.

" Ceredig the son of Cunedda Wledig, expelled the foreigners from the Cantref of Tyno Coch, and received it as an inheritance, and called it Ceredigion after his own name, and he himself is called Ceredig of Ceredigion.

" Dunawd the son of Cunedda Wledig, delivered the Commot of Ardudwy, in Eifionydd, and received it as a possession, and called it Dinodyng after his own name, and he is called Dunawd of Dinodyng.

" Edeyrn the son of Cunedda Wledig, delivered the country, which he called Edeyrnion from his own name, of which he received possession, and he is called Edeyrn of Edeyrnion.

" Mael the son of Cunedda Wledig, had Maelienydd, which he named after his own name, and he is called Mael of Maelienydd, in remembrance of his act in delivering the country.

" Dogvael the son of Cunedda Wledig, had the country called after him Dogveilyng, and he is called Dogvael of Dogveilyng.

" Rhufawn the son of Cunedda Wledig, had the Cantref, which after him was called Rhyfoniog, and he is called Rhufawn of Rhufoniog, and also Rhun Hael of Rhufoniog, because he was the most generous man in Wales in his times.

" Oswal the son of Cunedda Wledig, had the country called after him Osweilyng, and he is called Oswal of Osweiliawn, and that country is the town of Oswestry and its precincts.

" Clwyd the son of Cunedda Wledig, had the vale of Clwyd.

" Cynir, Meilin, and Meigir, the sons of Gwron, the son of Cunedda Wledig, went with Caswallawn Law Hir their cousin to expel the Gwyddelian Picts from the island of Anglesey, where they had fled from the sons of Cunedda, and had established themselves in that island; and after furious fighting they drove the Gwyddelians out of Anglesey, and Caswallawn Law Hir slew Serigi Wyddel there, with his own hand. That Serigi was the prince of the Gwyddelian Picts, which had governed Gwynedd from the time of the Emperor Maximus. And after expelling

the foreigners from Anglesey, the Cymry took courage, and drove them out of every part of Gwynedd, and none of them remained in the country, except such as were made captives for ever. And thus did Cunedda Wledig obtain the sovereignty of Wales, and his sons the lands before mentioned.

"And Caswallawn Law Hir the son of Einion Yrth, the son of Cunedda Wledig, founded a church to God in the place where he obtained a victory over his enemies, and called it Llan y Gwyddyl, and which is in Anglesey, and now called Cerrig y Gwyddyl.

"Einion the king the son of Einion Yrth, the son of Cunedda Wledig. His church is in Lleyn, of which country he was king."

A somewhat different account is given in the description of Wales prefixed to Lhoyd's history:—

"The sons of Cunetha being arriued in North Wales, (as well I thinke being driuen by the Saxons, as for their inheritance,) diuided the countrie betwixt them. And first, Meireaon the sonne of Tibiaon, the sonne of Cunetha, had Cantref Meireaon to his part. Arustel ap Cunetha had Cantref Arustly. Caredic ap Cunetha had Caerdigion, now Caerdigan Shire. Dunod had Cantref Dunodic. Edeyrn had Edeyrnion. Mael had Dynmael. Coel had Coeleyon. Doguael had Dogueilyn. Ryvaon had Ryuonioc, now Denbighland. Eineon Yrth had Caereneon, in Powys. Vssa had Maesvswalht, now Oswestree. . . Maelor the sonne of Gwron, sonne to Cunedha, had Maeloron."[6]

I shall presently have occasion to criticise these passages in detail, and to compare them with other accounts of the same event. My only object in citing them at present is, to show the extent of country over which the Gaelic sway may have extended at various times. It is obvious that the various districts which it enumerates were regarded as the possessions of, and deriving their

[6] This account is adopted in the Hanes Cymru of Carnhuanawc.

appellation from, the legendary heroes of the Cuneddian race, whose names stand at the head of many Welsh genealogies. We may also assume that all the regions connected by tradition with that family were supposed, as they are here asserted, to have been won from the strangers. Now these districts would appear to include the whole of Anglesey, Caernarvon, Merioneth, and Cardiganshire, with a portion at least of Denbighshire, Montgomeryshire, and Radnorshire. It would include the entire coast from the Clwyd to the Teifi,[7] and would be bounded to the east by the Clwydian and Berwyn mountains, and the wild hills of Montgomeryshire and Radnorshire.[8] It would also appear from this document, and others, that their power was more complete, or lasted longer, in some parts than in others, and most of all in Mona, although they continued to exist elsewhere in isolated positions even after the overthrow of Serigi.

This tradition receives a remarkable confirmation from modern topography, a source of historical information to which too little attention has been paid in general, and particularly in the present instance. Rowland, the author of the "Mona Antiqua Restaurata," records the expulsion of the Irish from Anglesey, of which he seems to consider them at one time the sole occupants.[9] He

[7] Since this passage was written, I have been informed that Ceredigion extended to the Preselen mountains, a fact which the features of the country and the present ecclesiastical divisions had led me to suspect.

[8] Some parts, indeed, of this territory lie beyond the limits we have fixed.

[9] "The Irish, under Sirig the Rover, *who once indeed drove the inhabitants out of the island*, were soon after themselves outed and expelled by Melirion ap Meirchion, and his cousin Caswallawn law

tells us also that the circular foundations of houses, like those in what we are accustomed to call British towns, were ordinarily known as Cytiau r' Gwyddelod, the cabins of the Gael.[1] Yet he does not seem to connect these facts in any way; on the contrary, he has recourse to a very unsatisfactory argument to explain away the apparent connexion. I believe that name is in common use in various parts of North Wales at this day; and one instance certainly exists in Anglesey. But we find in various parts of Wales, the word Gwyddel entering into composition in the local names, frequently in very remarkable positions. I give a list of these which I have been able to discover, and it is probable that more are to be found.

In Anglesey,—

Porth y Gwyddel, in Holyhead Island;

Pentre Gwyddal, also in Holyhead Island;

Cytiau 'r Gwydd'lod, about a mile to the south of the causeway leading to Holyhead Island.

To these we may add Cerrig y Gwyddel, Llan y Gwyddel, or Capel y Gwyddel, the ancient name of Holyhead.

In Caernarvonshire,—

Pentre Gwyddel, on the shore between Conway and Abergele;

Bwlch y Gwyddel, between Capel Curig and Llanberis;

Mynydd y Gwyddel; and,

Trwyn y Gwyddel, at the extreme promontory of Lleyn.

hir, who killed the said Sirig, at a place called Cappel Gwyddil as tradition hath it."—p. 37.

[1] "There are, to this day, visible upon our heaths and *Rhosydh*, the marks and footsteps of these booths and cabbins, in the oval and circular trenches which are seen in great plenty dispersed here and there on such grounds . . . they are called Cyttie r' gwyddelod, viz., the Irish men's cottages."—p. 27.

In Merionethshire,—

Muriau 'r Gwyddelod, ancient fortifications near Harlech;

Muriau 'r Gwddel, near Maentwrog;

Gwyddel-fynydd near Towyn;

Gwyddel-wern.

In Montgomeryshire,—

Dol-y-Gwyddyl, in the hills between Machynlleth and Llanidloes.

In Radnorshire,—

Crugyn Gwyddel, in the mountainous district west of Rhayader.

In Cardiganshire,—

Waun y Gwyddel; and,

Nant y Gwyddel, about six miles west of Plinlimon;

Wern y Gwyddel near Tregaron;

Llwyn y Gwyddyl, near the ruins of Strata Florida;[2]

Cefn Gwyddel, near the sea-coast, at no great distance from New Quay; a farm in the neighbourhood bears the significant name of Lletty 'r Cymro;

Pant yr Wyddeles, four or five miles from the place last mentioned, but further inland.

In Pembrokeshire,—

Trewyddel, on the coast between Cardigan and Newport;

Llwyn Gwyddel; and,

Pant Gwyddel, both a little to the south of the Preseleu mountains.

In Glamorganshire,—

Twll y Gwyddel, in the hills separating the vales of the Tawe and Llychwr.

[2] The genealogy of Iestyn informs us that Meyryg, a prince of Siluria, marched against the Irish Picts, and defeated them, "but was killed by an Irishman concealed in a wood, since called Ystrad Meyryg."—*Iolo MSS.*, p. 352. Llwyn Gwyddyl, the Irishman's Grove, is within a short distance of Ystrad Meyrig. The tradition is valuable, although this Meyryg is placed in a very apocryphal age.

In Monmouthshire,—

Pentre Gwyddel, near the Usk, a little below Abergavenny.

It can hardly be conceived that a score of places should exist in eight small counties, bearing so significant a name, by a mere accident; especially when we know that the name coincides so remarkably with ascertained facts in the early history of this country. It is quite true that one, or two, or three, or four of them might be the result of events of later occurrence; but it is impossible to believe that the word should occur so frequently, unless there had been very numerous collisions, and at very various points, between the Gael and the Cymry; and we are unable to assign any later period for these events than that of the great Gaelic occupation we are now dealing with.[3] The argument, however, is

[3] It is true that isolated invasions took place at a much later period, as in the following instances recorded by Lhoyd:—

A.D. 914.—"The men of Develyne did destroie the ile of Mon or Anglesey." "About the same time Leofred a Dane, and Gruffyth ap Madoc, came from Ireland with a great armie to Snowdon."

A.D. 958.—"Abloic king of Ireland landed in Mon, and having burnt Holyhed, spoiled the countrie of Lhyyn."

A.D. 966.—"Roderike the sonne of Edwal Voel was slaine by the Irishmen, by whom Aberfraw was destroied."

A.D. 1031.—"The Irish-Scots entred Southwales, by the meanes of Howel and Meredyth, the sonnes of Edwyn ap Eneon ap Owen ap Howel Dha, who hired them against Rythereh ap Iestyn."

A.D. 1041.—"Conan the sonne of Iago, with the power of Alfred king of Deuelyn, entred North Wales."

A.D. 1073.—"Gruffydd ap Conan came from Ireland with a great army of Irish."

A.D. 1087.—"Rees ap Tewdor not being able to meete with them, fled to Ireland, where he purchased himself great freends, and got an armie of Irishmen and Scots—and so landed in Southwales—and at Lleehryd they gave him battell."

A.D. 1142.—"Cadwalader fled to Ireland and had hired Octer and

much strengthened by the geographical distribution, the several positions, and, in some cases, by the particular meanings of these local names. As regards their distribution, we have four in Anglesey, four in Caernarvonshire, four in Merioneth, one in Montgomeryshire, one in Radnorshire, six in Cardiganshire, three in Pembrokeshire, one in Glamorganshire, and one in Monmouthshire. Thus, out of the five-and-twenty instances, twenty fall within the limits which we have just assigned to the Gaelic territory. Of the remaining five, one is at no great distance from the Irish colony in Brecknockshire, one is actually within the territory of Rheged, and the Pembrokeshire instances may be accounted for by their proximity to the territory of Ceredigion,[4] unless they are rather due to the settlement on the coast of Dyfed, whose existence is implied in the account of Rhyddmarch, and in other passages to which we have alluded. Again, as regards the several positions of these localities, we shall find that they are placed, with very few exceptions, just where a vanquished and declining race would make their final efforts for independence. The Anglesey instances are among the low grounds, intersected, and partially isolated, by creeks and quicksands, which characterise the western extremity of that county. In Caernarvonshire, two are at the utmost point of the wild promontory of Lleyn, to which we can well imagine the Gwyddelod to have been beaten back,

the sonne of Turkel and the sonne of Cherulf, with a great number of Irishmen and Scots for 2000 markes to his succour, and landed at Abermenay in Carnaruonshire."

[4] One of them, in fact, was within it. See above, p. 34, *Note.*

step by step: a third is at the entrance of the terrific pass of Llanberis. In Merionethshire, we find two at the foot of the great mountain chain which extends from Traeth-Bychan to the Mawddach, protected on the north by the former estuary, and on the west by marshes and the sea; another is among marshes, at the mouth of a valley leading to Cader Idris. The Montgomeryshire instance, and two in Cardiganshire, are on the skirts of the Plinlimon group. The instance in Radnorshire, and two of those in Cardiganshire, stand at the entrances of gorges leading into that savage region of mountain and moorland, then and long afterwards clothed with impenetrable forests,[5] which lies between the Wye, the Tywy and the Teifi, and comprises portions of Cardiganshire, Montgomeryshire, Radnorshire, Brecknockshire, and Caermarthenshire. The remaining cases in Cardiganshire, and one in Pembrokeshire, are close upon the western coast. Twll y Gwyddel, in Glamorganshire, lies in a mountain pass on the borders of the Gaelic district of Rheged, and the instance which occurs near Abergavenny, is not far from the mouth of that wonderful valley which opens into Brecknockshire between the Sugarloaf and Blorenge. The names of three are highly significant. Cytiau 'r Gwyddelod, near Holyhead, I have already had occasion to notice. The two localities on the shore of Traeth Bychan bear the names of Muriau 'r Gwyddel, and Muriau 'r Gwyddelod, respectively. The name signifies "the Gwyddelians' walls," and one of them at least contains the remains of ancient fortifications. This is

[5] Leland.

especially important, because such fortresses are less likely to have been raised by temporary invaders during a mere foray, than by the actual possessors of the country as a means of defence against aggressors. They seem therefore to imply that the Gael were, for some time at least, in possession of the district in which they are found. In general I may remark that the localities we are considering are to be found principally in the western portion of the region which we have assigned to the Gaelic occupants, which we should be inclined to expect, on the supposition that they derived their appellations from having been the scene of final conflicts with the conquerors.

§ VI.—THE LEGEND OF CUNEDDA EXAMINED.

It will now be necessary to criticise more minutely the legend of Cunedda, which has been already cited for another purpose. It appears in various forms in Welsh mythological history, and is so frequently repeated, that it is impossible to overlook its importance. According to one account, Cunedda and his eight sons came in person to effect the deliverance of Wales; according to others, he sent his sons; most records agree in attributing the victory to the family of Cunedda, and not to that prince himself. All assert that he was a northern prince, and some set up for him a hereditary claim to Gwynedd, transferring to that early period the ideas and practices of a later age. A few ascribe to him the deliverance of Gower and the adjoining districts; but the majority of records make Urien the conqueror and first prince of

Rheged, and limit the victories of the Cuneddian race to North Wales, Cardiganshire, and part of Radnorshire. One document, quoted by William of Malmesbury, goes so far as to attribute to the Cuneddian race the conquest of Gwynedd, Dyfed, Gower, and even of Somersetshire.[6] The most explicit account is contained in the genealogy already quoted. But here we are met by a very curious fact. Of the twelve sons of Cunedda there enumerated, it is quite obvious that two at least are fictitious names. One is that of Clwyd, the name of a river, very probably imported from the north; the other is that of Oswal, evidently a Teutonic name, and apparently invented to account for a local appellation, which is known to have had a totally different origin. This is enough to cast doubt on the historical existence of the other brethren.

[6] The passage referred to is as follows:—"*Legitur in antiquis Britonum gestis,* quod a Boreali Britanniæ parte venerunt in occidentem duodecim fratres, et tenuerunt plurimas Regiones, Venedociam, Demetiam, Buthir, (*query,* Guhir?) Kedweli, quas proavus eorum Cuneda tenuerat: nomina eorum fratrum inferius annotantur Ludnerth, Morgen, Catgur, Cathmor, Merguid, Morvined, Morchel, Morcant, Boten, Morgen, Mortineil, Glasteing. Hic est illa Glasteing, qui per mediterraneos anglos, secus villam quæ dicitur Escebtiorne, scrofam suam usque ad Wellis, et a Wellis per inviam et aquosam viam, quæ Sugewege, id est, *Scrofæ via,* dicitur, sequens porcellos suos, juxta ecclesiam de qua nobis sermo est, lactentem sub malo invenit, unde usque ad nos emanavit, quod mala mali illius *Ealdcyrcenes epple,* id est, veteris Ecclesiæ poma vocantur: sus quoque ealdecyre suge idcirco nominabatur quæ cum ceteræ sues quatuor pedes habeant, mirum dictu, ista habuit octo. Hic igitur Glasteing, postquam insulam illam ingressus, eam multimodis bonis vidit affluentem, cum omni familia sua in ea venit habitare, cursumque vitæ suæ ibidem peregit. Ex ejus progenie et familia ei succedente locus ille primitus dicitur populatus, hæc de antiquis Britonum libris sunt."—*Will. Malmsb. de Antiq. Glaston. Eccl.; Gale Scriptores,* xx., vol. i., p. 295.

And it is to be observed that all the existing names are connected with the designations of their respective principalities, a circumstance which gives them a somewhat artificial aspect.[7] The names of Tibion, and his son Meirion, are in a plural form, while those of Ceredigion, Edeyrnion and Arwystli seem to stand to those of their eponymous heroes in the relation of plurals to their singulars.[8] This is sufficient at least to raise a suspicion that we have here the names not of individuals, but of nations, of various petty tribes of common origin, which moved down gradually from North Britain, and expelled the Gael from their seats in Gwynedd. The common legend represents the sons of Cunedda as putting themselves at the head of volunteers from Dyfed, Gower, and Gwent. Now it is obvious that the population of North Wales is of distinct origin from those to whom the legend traces them. A Triad, which bears strong marks of historical truth, mentions the three primary tribes of the nation of the Cymry, viz., the Gwentians, or the men of Essyllwg; the Gwyndydiaid, or the men of Gwynedd and Powys; and the tribe of Pendaran Dyfed, comprehending the men of Dyfed, of Gwyr, and Ceredigion. "And to each of them," the Triad proceeds to say, "belongs a peculiar dialect of the

[7] The account preserved in Lhoyd's History omits the name of Clwyd and Oswal, substituting however for the latter that of Ussa.

[8] This relation of terms appears not unfrequently in the Welsh genealogies. Sometimes the father appears in the plural form, and the son in the singular. Thus we have Gair the son of Geirion, lord of Geirionydd, March the son of Meirchion, &c. The fact is noticed by Professor Rees, in the case of Ceredig; but he gives it a somewhat different interpretation.—*Welsh Saints,* pp. 109, 110.

Welsh."[9] There can be little doubt that the author of the Triad is describing accurately the phenomena of his own time, and in the main they correspond with those of our own. It is much to be regretted that the dialectic varieties in various parts of Wales have not been so minutely ascertained and registered as has been the case in England. Still the several varieties of the Welsh language may, I believe, be classed under three principal dialects of North Welsh, South Welsh, and the language of Gwent and Morganwg. The exact limits of South Wales and Essyllwg are rather difficult to ascertain; the district of Gower, which is included by the Triad in the former, and which afterwards became a sort of debateable land between the contending principalities, has since been to a certain extent Anglicised, so that it is difficult to verify the assertion before us. Both however are so distinct from Gwynedd, that it is difficult to believe the people of North Wales to be a colony from Gwent and Dyfed, upon the supposition, at all events, that a portion of the former was depopulated by the Gael.[1]

It is worthy of notice that the region of Ceredigion, one of those which were won from the Gael by the sons of Cunedda, is included by the Triad within the territory of the tribe of Dyfed. At present, unless I am mistaken, the inhabitants of the northern portion of that county speak a dialect nearly akin to that of the population of Merioneth, while the language in the south of the county is nearly identical with that in use in Pembroke-

[9] Myv. Arch., ii., p. 61.

[1] This supposition is implied in a Triad quoted in the Iolo MSS., (p. 421,) and is assumed by Rowland, Mona Antiq., p. 37.

shire and Caermarthenshire. At all events the natives of the extreme north and extreme south of Cardiganshire are not always mutually intelligible. There is also reason to believe that the district of Ceredigion extended at one time north of the Dyfi,[c] so as to take in a portion of Gwynedd properly so called. In that case, we may well conceive that the people who gave name to that country occupied the northern portion alone, but finally extended their supremacy and their name over the neighbouring Demetians, at least as far as the Teifi.

In confirmation of this view, it must be recollected that the centuries during which these events are supposed to have occurred constituted pre-eminently the age of migrations. It is very difficult for us who live at a time when society is fixed, consolidated, and permanent—who dwell under the shadow of a civilisation built upon the precedents of ages—whose hope and ambition is circumscribed by home and country—to realise a condition of things when the whole population of the west was in a state of flux and agitation, when entire nations quitted their seats from time to time, and entire realms received new names from the various nations that had occupied them. The difficulty is great to us; but it was still greater to our ancestors in the middle ages. They lived at a time when society in some respects appeared even more unchanging than at present, and when men's thoughts and affections were certainly much more limited by place. They lived at a time when national migrations had ceased, and systematic colonisation had not yet begun. They lived at a time when bold and

[c] Iolo MSS., p. 476.

grasping adventurers were continually carving out for themselves an inheritance with the sword, and numberless petty lordships were governed in almost regal style by men who had neither title to the land, nor relation to its occupiers. It is not to be wondered then that, in their version of the ancient legend, they converted the mythical sons of Cunedda, the eponymous heroes of various kindred and associated tribes, into the likeness of the foreign adventurers of their own age, and represented them as placing themselves at the head of subjects with whom they had no concern, and dividing among a single family the inheritance of the conquered. Or, again, they described the partition of Gwynedd as an act of gratitude to the deliverers—a piece of poetical justice, no doubt, but more akin to poetry than history. I think we may fairly regard the whole story as the record of an extensive national migration, and I shall venture to call it the Cuneddian migration.

If this be the true view, if it was really a whole race, and not a single family alone, that left its home under some pressure external or internal, to find new seats in the south, we may well believe that the change was very gradual.[3] We know that, even in much later times, the territory of Gwynedd stretched to the north-east, considerably beyond its present limits. It is therefore probable that the Gwyndydians, (for so we must call the new occupants of Gwynedd, to which they gave their

[3] I do not mean that the actual movement of the invaders was gradual, a view which would be contrary to the history of migrations; but that the successive movements of tribes from the north may have extended over an indefinite period.

name,) moving down from their northern habitations, pressed first upon the north-eastern frontier of the Gael, and gradually established themselves in the country of Powys. The districts of Arwystli, Edeyrnion, Maelienydd and Ceredigion, as being most accessible, would next fall into their hands, and the Gael would remain entrenched behind the strong natural barriers which defend Mon, Arfon and Meirion. And hence in many versions of the legend we have their power limited to those counties. It is probable that a considerable length of time would be necessary for these events to take place in; and we have seen that it is in our power to place their commencement at a very early period.

I must turn aside for a moment to notice an apparent difficulty in the accounts of this migration. The nature of the country, as well as the universal tradition, would lead us to conclude that Mon, Arfon and Meirion were the last conquered of all the Gaelic possessions. We must therefore conclude that the Cymry pressed on the Gael from the east. The isle of Man, which appears to have formed part of the Gaelic principality of North Wales, would be their nearest place of refuge; and we are told that the Gwyddelians were driven to that place after the conquest of Mona. On the other hand, we are elsewhere informed that Tibion, the father of Meirion, died in the isle of Man, or Manaw, apparently before the conquest of Gwynedd by his brethren. This would imply that the Cuneddian race took a different course from that which has been assigned to them, and invaded Wales from the sea, proceeding from North Britain by the way of the isle of Man—a view inconsistent at once

with probability, and with the traditions already cited. The expression used by Nennius probably gives us the ancient legend, and thus serves to explain this tradition. He tells us that Cunedda and his eight sons came to Wales from the northern parts, from the country called Manau Guotodin. Now Nennius elsewhere speaks of Man as Eubonia, or Manau simply,[4] and would scarcely have described it as "the parts of the north, to wit, the country called Manau Guotodin."[5] It is therefore probable that the word Manaw was applied to several districts, and that the word Guotodin, possibly a national appellation, was added as a mark of distinction. And it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that it was the country of the Gododin, or Ottadini, the British inhabitants of the eastern coast, north of the Brigantes, from whom, according to Mr. Stephens,[6] Aneurin's celebrated poem derives its name, and who may thence be concluded to be a Cymraic tribe, akin to the conquerors of Gwynedd.

§ VII.—ORIGIN OF THE GAELIC DOMINION.

We now come to a very obscure question, and one to which in our present state of knowledge on the subject we shall hardly be able to give a satisfactory answer—were the Gael of North Wales invaders after all? I do not mean to ask whether they were invaders absolutely, but whether they had dispossessed the Cymry? To answer the question in the negative would not prove them to be aborigines, it would only prove them to be

[4] § 8. [5] § 62. See above, p. 15, *Note*.
[6] Literature of the Kymry, p. 11.

the original inhabitants as compared with the present possessors of the country. The question whether the Celts had predecessors in these islands is a highly difficult one; but the solution is possibly not beyond the power of archæological science. But it is no part of the present question. The present question is—did the Gael temporarily dispossess the Cymry; or did the Cymry, for the first and last time, dispossess the Gael of a country which they themselves had never before inhabited?

To adopt the latter alternative almost necessarily involves the affirmation of another contested position, I mean, that the Gael preceded the Cymry in the possession of the whole of Britain, and were afterwards driven by them into the highlands of Scotland, and the neighbouring islands of Ireland, Man, and the Hebrides. I will not open this question now, (as it is far too extensive to be treated of here,) but assume it on the authority of the best historians and ethnologists.[7] Still it will not be out of place to state briefly some of the leading arguments on either side. On the one side we have the great argument derived from geographical position. The Gael are situated further from the great cradle of the human race, and from the continent of Europe. They would therefore appear to have preceded the Cymry in their advance westwards, and if so, they would doubtless seize first upon the nearer and more fertile districts, after-

[7] Niebuhr, History of Rome, Transl., vol. ii., p. 522, *sq.* Thierry, History of the Norman Conquest, b. i. E. Lhuyd. Dr. Prichard suggests this view, but does not positively adopt it.—*Physical History of Mankind*, vol. iii., c. 3., § 12.

wards occupied by the other great branch of the Celtic family. Add to this, that there appears greater proof of connexion between the Welsh and the continental Celts, than between the latter and the Irish.[8] The Welsh have an obscure tradition of an earlier race, whom they drove out or made slaves of.[9] The earliest known name of Britain, Albion, seems connected with Alban, a name now confined to the highlands of Scotland.[1] Finally, Lhuyd discovered in Wales numerous local names, which can only be interpreted by reference to the Gaelic idiom.[2] On the other hand, we have an absence of traditional evidence in favour of this view among the Welsh and Irish alike, except the vague legend alluded to above; and we have on the part of the former nation a claim to be the aborigines of the country, whatever the value of that claim may be.

Let us assume then that the Gael were the first Celtic inhabitants of Britain, whether aboriginal or otherwise; and that, at various periods anterior to the Roman invasion, the Cymry dispossessed and drove them forward, and were themselves invaded and circumscribed by foreign tribes, as the Belgæ and Coritani. It is obvious that the earlier possessors would retire into the more distant, the least penetrable, and the least enviable districts, as for example those in which they still exist, Ireland, Man, the Highlands and Hebrides. But it is

[8] Prichard, Physical History of Mankind, vol. iii., c. 3, § 11.

[9] Thierry, b. i.

[1] Aristot. de Mundo, c. 3. The book, however, is pronounced to be spurious.

[2] Welsh preface to the Archæologia Britannica.

also evident that they would hold out, for some time at least, in Wales, Cumberland and Cornwall, just as the Cymry did centuries afterwards. The former of these districts, as the most extensive and impregnable, would probably be their last possession in South Britain. And, surely, what the mountain ranges of Gwynedd and Ceredigion became in later ages to the Cymry, they were then to the Gael; what they became in later ages to the Teutons, they were then to the Cymry. To the former they were a secure bulwark, to the latter an impassable barrier, perhaps for centuries. Of course we have no data for fixing the age in which this struggle commenced, and it is equally impossible to say how long it would continue. As to the former question, the name given to Britain by the author of the treatise, "De Mundo," would lead us to conclude that the whole, or the greater part of it, was in the possession of the Albanich,[3] until within a very few centuries of our era.[4] The answer to the latter question would depend on the resistance of the old inhabitants, the population of the aggressors, and the extent to which they were pressed upon by new invaders. We know that the Cymry had been dispossessed of the south-eastern portions of the island shortly before the invasion of Cæsar;[5] we know also that at that period the population of South Britain was enormous,[6] and would therefore require an outlet to

[3] The Scottish Highlanders. [4] Aristot. de Mundo, c. 3.

[5] The Belgæ had a tradition of their arrival, and tradition in those ages was probably short-lived; the invasion of the Coritani, too, is placed in the age immediately preceding the Roman invasion.

[6] "Hominum est infinita multitudo."—*Cæs. Bell. Gall.*, b. v., c. 12.

the north or west. In Ireland, so far as we know, the Cymry never settled;[7] and, from what we know of the Caledonians at a somewhat later period, it is probable that their northern limit was already fixed. They would therefore be compelled to press upon, and gradually to supplant, the more isolated tribes of the Gael in North Wales; and it is quite conceivable that this process of extermination continued until the victory of Caswallawn Law Hir, in the fifth century. We should here take notice of a fact which, to a certain extent, falls in with our argument. A people called Cangani[8] are placed by Ptolemy and Richard in the west of Ireland; and the latter writer tells us that a portion of the Cangi and Brigantes emigrated to Ireland in the first century of our era.[9]

This view of the history of North Wales seems, to say the least, more probable than that a colony of Irish Scots would seize upon and occupy the least accessible and least eligible portion of South Britain, neglecting the more inviting districts in the immediate neighbourhood, which were under the dominion, not of their subsequently successful opponents from Cumbria and Strathclyde, but of Silurians and Demetians, who, as we are told, were

[7] Prichard, Physical History, vol. iii., c. 3, § 12, p. 148.

[8] Γάγγαροι.—*Ptolemy.*

[9] "Circa hæc tempora, relicta Britannia, Cangi et Brigantes in Hiberniam commigrarunt, sedesque ibi posuerunt." One cannot help suspecting a connexion between these Brigantes and Brychan Brycheinioc, a patriarch of Gaelic origin.—*Ric. Ciren., de Situ Brit.*, ii., c. 1, § 17. Compare however i., c. 8, § 9, where Richard appears to imply that the language of these immigrants referred them to the Cymraic branch. One may doubt his having sufficient grounds for the assertion.

unable to face them alone. If the northern Picts and Scots never effected a settlement in England, confining their invasions to predatory incursions, is it likely that their brethren from the other side of the channel would be either willing or able to seize and retain for a century and a quarter, not the rich province of Loegria, tenanted by half-Romanized Britons, but the wilds of Arfon, the heritage of the free mountaineers of Gwynedd? It is true that the Irish Scots were a hardy and adventurous people, and were already, or soon afterwards, making piratical excursions, and establishing foreign colonies. It is probable that they did so in various parts of South Wales in the fifth and sixth centuries; it is certain that they did so in Scotland in the sixth. But it is very probable that the Gaelic dominion in North Wales, never previously extinguished, was kept up by occasional supplies from Ireland; and not altogether impossible that the Dalriadic colony in the western Highlands was in some measure occasioned by the loss in North Wales both of actual territory and of an outlet for superfluous energy.[1]

There is one further difficulty in accepting this view,

[1] It is asserted by Professor Rees, on the authority of Mr. Moore, (History of Ireland, c. 7,) that "an invasion of Britain on an extensive and formidable scale took place towards the close of the fourth century, under the auspices of a king of Ireland, called Nial of the Nine Hostages."—*Welsh Saints*, p. 109, *note*. This Nial occurs in the Four Masters, and the Annals of Innisfail, as reigning from 379 to 405. The latter chronicle certainly informs us that a large number of captives, and among them St. Patrick, were brought into Ireland from Britain in 388. This is, however, much too late for the *commencement* of the Gaelic kingdom in North Wales.—*O'Conor, Rerum Hibb. Script.*

namely, that all the traditions of the subject represent the Gwyddyl as invaders; and some represent the invasion as having occurred at a comparatively short distance of time before their expulsion. To this it must be said, that one tradition at least appears to regard the invasion of Gwynedd as contemporaneous with the first arrival of the Gael in Britain, though it evidently regards that event as posterior to that of the Cymry;[2] that the occasional supplies which were probably sent to Gwynedd, and the known piratical habits of Scots and Scandinavians, may have caused the chroniclers of a later age to represent the whole affair as a mere foray of Irish and Lochlynians, antedating by centuries the northern invasions of Britain; and the same pride which prompted the Cymry to falsify the account of their first entrance into the island, would induce the men of Gwynedd to regard themselves as aborigines, rather than as invaders. They are not the only nation that have been content to sacrifice the glory of conquest to that of aboriginality. We all know how the Athenians bound up their hair with grasshoppers, in token that they were children of the soil; yet the early institutions and traditions of that people exhibited no faint marks of foreign conquest and military dominion.[3] It is probable that our antiquarian discoveries will one day prove that neither Gael nor Cymry were the first inhabitants of these islands, will silence the latter in their vain

[2] See above, p. 21.

[3] *E. g.*, in the relics of a division into castes, or something very like one. The tradition of the contest between Posidon and Athene also seems to point to something of the kind.

boasts of aboriginal possession, and thus destroy the traditional evidence against the prior occupation of the former.[4] If then we assume that the Welsh were prompted by vanity to claim a precedence to which they had no right, we may believe that the same vanity would lead them to pervert the traditions concerning the Gwyddelian occupation of North Wales.

This however is a further question, and the position just advanced cannot rise above a conjecture. But the general fact of the Gaelic occupation of North Wales is much more than a conjecture; the fact rests on indisputable evidence; though we are compelled to make out its extent and duration, as well as its circumstances, by the help of obscure and inconsistent fragments of tradition. There is one point however on which I must insist, and that is the importance of the fact. Whether the Gael were invaders or not, it is clear that the ancient civilisation, if any such existed, was broken up and had disappeared before the conquest by Caswallawn. The Cuneddian migration is the first chapter in the history of North Wales. To the Cuneddian family the kings and nobles of North Wales traced up their genealogies. From the age of Cunedda we are to date, if not the introduction, at least the establishment of Christianity in that province.[5] Previous history we have none: the

[4] Worsaae, Primeval Antiquities of Denmark, Tr., pp. 127–135. A valuable paper on this subject was read by Mr. D. Wilson, before the British Association, at Edinburgh, in August, 1850, entitled, "An Inquiry into the evidence of the existence of Primitive Races in Scotland prior to the Celtæ."

[5] Iolo MSS., p. 472. Trioedd Ynys Prydain. Myv. Arch., ii., p. 61.

earliest Welsh legends are nearly all connected with South Wales, or with North Britain.[6] The genealogy which claimed for Cunedda the hereditary monarchy of North Wales, reminds one strongly of the supposed title of the Peloponnesian kings to the inheritance of Hercules.[7] The same spirit which converted the Dorian migration into the return of the Heraclidæ, probably created the female succession which handed down the right and title to the royalty of Gwynedd. It is clear that, to the inhabitants of the south, Gwynedd was at this time an unknown land. Their imagination filled it with giants, fairies, monsters, and magicians.[8] The inhabitants exercised strange arts: they had cauldrons of like virtue with that which renewed the youth of Æson:[9] a red dragon and a white were buried as the palladium of their metropolis.[1] Among their monarchs was a veritable cat, the offspring of a wandering sow.[2] Their chief philoso-

[6] The Gael, it is said, found "no princes" in Gwynedd.—*Iolo MSS.*, p. 522.

[7] Professor Rees has successfully destroyed the Welsh genealogies of the period prior to the departure of the Romans.—*Welsh Saints*, § 5. The pedigree of Cunedda is also open to the remarkable objection that for six generations the name of the father is derived from that of the son.

[8] Mabinogi of Math. Hanes Taliesin.

[9] Mabinogi of Branwen.

[1] Mabinogi of Lludd and Llefelys.

[2] Iolo MSS., p. 471. Compare the Triad of the "Three powerful Swineherds," Myv. Arch., vol. ii., p. 72. This wandering of swine runs through many of the Welsh legends, as for instance in the Mabinogion of the Twrch Trwyth, and Math the son of Mathonwy. The tradition of Arthur's boar-hunt still lingers in parts of North Wales. We may compare with these the story already quoted from William of Malmesbury, above, p. 41, *note*. Have we the true key to these legends, in Mr. Stephens' suggestion with reference to the

pher was of gigantic stature, and sat on a mountain-peak to watch the stars.[3] Their wizard-monarch, Gwydion, had the power of effecting the strangest metamorphoses.[4] The simple peasant, dwelling on the shore of Dyfed, beheld across the sea those shadowy mountain summits pierce the air, guardians as it seemed of some unearthly region. Thence came the mist and storm; thence flashed aloft the northern streamers; thence rose through the silent sky the starry path of Gwydion.

In South Wales, meanwhile, we find matters in a much more advanced state. The Silurians, formerly the most powerful tribe of Britannia Secunda, exercising, as it appears, some sort of supremacy over their neighbours,[5] having been of old the opponents of Roman power, became at length the inheritors of Roman civilisation. The rest of South Wales was divided into small principalities, the chief bearing the ancient name of Dyfed, which in course of time was quite independent of its neighbours on the east. The country was under a regular ecclesiastical establishment, subject to the see of Caerleon. As yet we find no bishopries in Gwynedd, and for a long time the ecclesiastical establishment seems to have been unsettled, corresponding probably to the state of the country.[6] Ceredigion, which, as we have seen, was

"Hoianau," that the "pig typifies the Welsh people?"—*Literature of the Kymry*, p. 250. *Cf. Virg. Æn.*, viii., 42, *sq. Niebuhr, Hist. Rom., Tr.*, i., p. 195.

[3] Idris Gawr.

[4] Mabinogi of Math.

[5] Duæ aliæ sub Siluribus gentes fuere; primum Ordovices . . . deinde Dimetiæ."—*Ric. Ciren., de Situ Brit.*, i., c. 6, § 24.—*Iolo MSS.*, p. 609.

[6] Cybi, the first person called a bishop in Gwynedd, was posterior

earlier conquered than most parts of the Gaelic kingdom, soon became a separate principality, and appears to have continued independent of Gwynedd from that time forward. And one by one the possessions of the Gael were wrested from them; a new people came in, introducing a name possibly connected with that of their mythical leader.[7] The Ordovices passed away, and with them the Cangani; the latter, it may be, to find a refuge with their brethren of the same name in Ireland.

§ VIII.—CONSEQUENCES OF THE CUNEDDIAN MIGRATION.

It only remains to trace as concisely as possible the results of this event in the subsequent history of Wales—results which will combine to form at once an additional proof of the fact, and an illustration of its importance. The first and most prominent consequence was the establishment of a new power in Gwynedd, a power destined to draw to itself the sovereignty of the Cymry, to be their last stay and defence, and in some measure, perhaps, the cause of their ultimate downfall.

We have seen that the principal kingdom in South

to the conquest by Caswallawn.—*Welsh Saints*, p. 266. But we meet with nothing like fixed sees before the time of Maelgwyn Gwynedd.

[7] I shall probably be censured by Welsh scholars, for venturing to connect the name of Gwynedd with that of Cunedda, and by Welsh antiquaries, for throwing doubts upon the historical existence of that personage. I do not know what arguments may be urged in favour of his existence. The Marwnad Cunedda, ascribed to Taliesin, has recently been pronounced, by a competent authority, to be of doubtful origin, and even if genuine, does not amount to contemporary evidence.—*Stephens' Literature of the Kymry*, p. 282.

Wales was that of Essyllwg, and that the remainder of that country was divided into several small territories. Several of these appear to have been grouped into larger principalities, probably varying with the relative importance of their constituent elements. The country of Dyfed seems to have preserved its appellation throughout. Rheged, lying between Essyllwg and the region last mentioned, and for a time independent, fell subsequently under the power of each of its neighbours at various periods. It may be doubted however whether its independence was at any time more than partial. But it is evident that there existed at an early period an independent power on the north of Dyfed. We are often able to determine the boundaries of ancient kingdoms, by those of dioceses still existing. Thus the kingdom of Siluria, or Essyllwg, is represented by the diocese of Llandaff; that of Dyfed, or Demetia, by St. David's. It is well known that a third diocese existed to the north of the latter, I mean that of Llanbadarn-fawr, founded in the sixth century by Paternus, an Armorican refugee.[8] We are informed in the Life of Paternus, published originally by Capgrave, that David,[9] Teilo and Paternus, undertook a journey to Jerusalem together, to receive consecration from the patriarch; and that, on their return, they divided the spiritual government of Wales between them.[1] They are also classed

[8] Usher, Britt. Eccll. Antt., c. xiv.

[9] Nova Legenda Angliæ, fol. cclix. The same story occurs in the Life of St. David, by Rhyddmarch, and that of St. Teilo, by Geoffrey of Llandaff.—*Whart. Ang. Sac.*, ii., pp. 637, 663, *sq.*

[1] "Regressi enim ad patriam in tres episcopatus Britanniam diviserunt."—*Capgrave*, fol. cclix.

together by a Triad, under the title of "Blessed Visitors."[2] It is clear from this that the churches founded by them were regarded as of co-ordinate rank, and as two of them represent ancient secular divisions, it is probable that a similar division coincided with the diocese of Llanbadarn.

The limits of that diocese may be determined with some degree of accuracy, at all events as regards its southern frontier. If we start from the sea-coast about fourteen miles south of Aberystwyth, we shall find two lines of churches running nearly straight and parallel to each other, and extending from Cardigan Bay, through the counties of Cardigan, Brecknock and Radnor, to the borders of Herefordshire. The churches composing the northern line, on the side of Llanbadarn-fawr, are dedicated to St. Paternus, while those on the south are under the invocation of St. David. This probably marks the ancient boundary between the dioceses of St. David's and Llanbadarn. The latter must therefore have occupied the northern part of Cardiganshire, the mountainous district to the east of it, and a portion of the country between the Wye and Severn. To the north and east it would be conterminous with the present diocese of St. David's.[3] It is worthy of notice that the line of churches which I have just mentioned, is marked throughout the western portion of its extent by a chain of fortresses, occupying in many instances both sides of the valleys which would naturally divide the districts;[4] while we find a little to the north of it the "Cwys yr Ychain

[2] Myv. Arch., vol. ii., p. 61.

[3] See Rees' Welsh Saints, p. 198.

[4] One of them bears the name of *Clawdd Ddewi*.

Bannog," a dyke extending east and west for some miles, which we may conceive to have formed part of a line, if not of defence, at least of demarcation. The division moreover coincides in the main with the distribution of dialects which I have already noticed.[5] These facts all tend to confirm the notion of its making a civil or national, and not merely an ecclesiastical, separation.

Upon this supposition the question remains unsettled, what name we are to give to this principality. The Life of Paternus already quoted informs us that he founded churches and monasteries *throughout the whole* of Ceredigion;[6] and the Life preserved in the Cotton Library further speaks of him as ruler and pastor of the church of Ceredigion.[7] It would appear from these statements that the principality of Ceredigion was originally coextensive with the diocese of Paternus, especially as there are no signs of his having founded churches in the south of Cardiganshire. And this falls in with the view already suggested, that the north of Cardiganshire was the earliest seat in Wales of the family of Ceredig, and that they subsequently extended their dominion and their name over a portion of their Demetian neighbours.[8]

On the other hand, we are elsewhere presented with another threefold division of South Wales, also resting partly on the authority of a Life of St. Paternus.[9] In this "it is

[5] See above, p. 43.

[6] "Monasteria et ecclesias per totam kereticam regionem, quæ nunc cardiganshire appellatur, edificavit."—*Capgrave*, folio cclviii.

[7] "Postquam *Cereticorum ecclesiam* (ut loquitur vetus Vitæ illius scriptor, quem in Bibliothecâ Cottonianâ vidimus) *& pascendo rexisset, & regendo pavisset.*"—*Usher, Britt. Eccll. Antt.*, c. xiv.

[8] See above, p. 44.

[9] Cotton MS.

said that the whole of South Wales was divided into three kingdoms, the same forming three bishoprics. Of these, the kingdom of Seissyl received its consecration from St. Paternus, bishop of Llanbadarn Vawr, as the other two, those of Rein and Morgant did, from St. David and St. Eliu, (Teilo)."[1] This is explained by a passage in the Mabinogi of Pwyll, which gives the name of Seisyllweh to a district comprising Ceredigion and Ystrad-Tywi,[2] that is to say, Cardiganshire, Caermarthenshire, Cemaes and Gower.[3] The same division of South Wales is implied by a passage in the Welsh Laws, which in speaking of a general convention of the Welsh nation, informs us that it was gathered from Gwynedd, Powys and Deheubarth, the latter comprising Reinwg, Morganwg and Seisyllwg.[4] It is also more directly asserted in another passage, where we are probably to read "Seisyllwg" for "Riellwg."[5] In this latter Reinwg

[1] Lady Charlotte Guest's Mabinogion, iii., p. 74, *note*.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 70.

[3] The name of Seisyllweh also occurs in the Triads, but its locality is not fixed.—*Myv. Arch.*, ii., p. 60.

[4] "Ac yno y doethant gwyr Gwynedd agwyr Powys agwyr Deheubarth a Rieinwc a Morganwc a Seisyllwc."—*Ancient Laws of Wales*, (Record Comm.,) p. 412. *Cf. Iolo MSS.*, p. 461, (74,) where Essyllwg is read erroneously for Seisyllwg. It is pretty clear both from the structure of the sentence, and from external evidence, that the three districts last mentioned are regarded as divisions of Deheubarth, and I suspect we are to read "o Rieinwc a Morganwc a Seisyllwc."

[5] "The South is in three parts: Reinwg, that is, the county of Rein; and Riellwg; and Morgannwg."—*Ancient Laws of Wales*, p. 687. Compare the following extract from the Mabinogi of Math, whether the perfect symmetry of the numbers leads us to the same conclusion:—"Pryderi the son of Pwyll was lord over the one-and-twenty Cantrefs of the South; and these were the seven Cantrefs of Dyfed, and the seven Cantrefs of Morganwc, and the four Cantrefs of

is explained to be "the country of Rein." Two persons of this name occur, both of them princes of Dyfed, one in the ninth century, and the other in the eleventh.[6] This, in conjunction with a fact already mentioned, leads us to infer that Reinwg is another name for Dyfed. But as Reinwg and Morganwg are derived from Rein and Morgan, we must look for the origin of Seisyllwg in Seissyl or Sitsyllt. It is suggested by an authority already quoted that it may be derived from Sitsyllt, the father of the first Llywelyn.[7] But we also meet with the name as that of one of the early princes of Ceredigion,[8] a fact altogether consistent with the position assigned to Seisyllwch. Its limits however considerably exceed those of the principality represented by the diocese of Llanbadarn; and we may perhaps infer from them that the tripartite arrangement of South Wales was preserved, while the name and extent of its component districts varied from time to time.

It is impossible to determine the duration of the principality whose existence I have just indicated; but the diocese of Llanbadarn, which would probably outlive the corresponding civil division, seems to have lasted nearly

Ceredigiawn, and the three of Ystrad Tywi," the seven last mentioned making up Seisyllwch.—*Lady C. Guest's Mabinogion*, iii., p. 217.

[6] Annales Cambriæ, Ann. cccIxiv. (808.) *Ibid.*, post Ann. 1016. Monumenta Historica Britannica, vol. i. Brut y Tywysogion, Myv. Arch., ii., pp. 474, 504. The name also occurs in a genealogy of Owen ap Hywel dda, which seems to contain the names of early sovereigns of Dyfed.—*Ancient Laws of Wales*, Preface, p. v.

[7] Lady C. Guest's Mabinogion, p. 74, *note*.

[8] Williams' Biographical Dictionary, p. 21. It is rather curious that this person was contemporary with the first Rein of Dyfed, as the father of Llywelyn was with the other.

two centuries from its foundation.[9] Two powerful neighbours arose, one on either side. On the south, the kingdom of Dyfed appears to have increased in importance about the sixth century. A change of dynasty is recorded to have occurred in that age. Hyfeidd the Aged, a foreigner, the son of St. Lupus of Troyes, became the prince of Dyfed, and possibly infused new energy into it.[1] A prince of Dyfed was at this time elected to the sovereignty of the Britons, if we may credit the testimony of Geoffrey of Monmouth, possibly supported in this instance by that of Gildas.[2] At all events, the last trace of subjection to the Roman metropolis of South Wales was swept away, when in the sixth century the archiepiscopate was removed from Caerleon to Mynyw, situated at the extreme point of the Demetian territory.[3]

In the meantime a new power was formed on the north of Llanbadarn, which even in the time of Paternus seriously menaced it.[4] The country of Gwynedd, the

[9] "The same year (A.D. 720) the unbelieving Saxons ravaged many churches of Llandaff, St. David's, and Llanbadarn."—*Brut y Tywysogion, Myv. Arch.*, ii., p. 472.

[1] Trioedd Ynys Prydain. Myv. Arch., ii., p. 62.

[2] Myv. Arch., ii., p. 359. Cf. Ep. Gildæ:—"Demetarum tyranne, Vortipori . . . . Tu etiam, insularis draco, multorum tyrannorum depulsor tam regno quam etiam vita supradictorum novissime in stylo prime in malo, Maglocune." The sense depends partly on our placing a comma before or after "supradictorum." Compare the genealogy of Owen ap Hywel dda, already referred to.

[3] It would seem that this translation was effected, if not by violence, at least not by mutual consent.—See *Wharton, Ang. Sacr.*, ii., pp. 667, 670, 673.

[4] "Interea Mailgunus Rex Borealium Britonum, ad debellandos et deprædandos Australes Britones cum suo exercitu venit."—*Cap-*

conquest of which we have been occupied in tracing, was about this time consolidated into one kingdom. Previously it appears to have been under various independent rulers, and there is reason to think that it was not perfectly united until a later period.[5] Still the territorial title of Maelgwyn Gwynedd, the son and successor of Caswallon, seems to prove that he had acquired that supremacy over North Wales, which he afterwards attempted with partial success to extend over his neighbours. It is to the interference of Maelgwyn that we are probably to refer the fall of the principality represented by Llanbadarn. Paternus complains of the tyranny which he had exercised over his

grave, fol. cclviii. The authority of Albert le Grand may perhaps be cited as that of an independent witness, as he professes to have taken his account from the ancient breviaries of Quimper and Vannes. It is rather curious that he makes mention of the river Clarach as flowing by, and giving name to, the monastery of Paternus. This is the more remarkable, as the maps and topographies of that time, as Saxton, (1575,) Jansson, (1629,) Speed, and Drayton in the "Poly-olbion," give the names of Salck and Massalck to the streams that flow through the vale and into the bay of Clarach. It is therefore possible that the name of Clarach marks an independent tradition. I do not know whether it occurs in the Cotton MSS. The writer's confused notions of British geography may be taken as further evidence. He did not know the difference between Wales and Cornwall. He writes as follows :—"En ce temps là regnoit en la Province de VVales vn Prince nommé Malgonus homme fort mal conditionné, lequel entendant merveilles de S. Patern, le voulut tenter; & vne guerre luy estant survenue contre le Roy de Bretons septentrionaux de l'isle [*sic*] il amassa son armeé pres le fleuve de Clarach."—*Vie des Saincts de la Bretagne Armorique,* p. 93.

[5] Powys, for example, was not united to Gwynedd, if dependant on it. We read also of kings of Mona, and even of Man, as well as a distinct and probably subordinate line of Venedocian princes of Cornish origin.

flock. Gildas, too, who seems to imply that Mona was the chief and original seat of his power,[6] accuses him of gaining his authority by foul means. He is represented by Geoffrey of Monmouth as supreme monarch of the Britons,[7] and Gildas enumerates some of his immediate predecessors in that office, whom he had successively deprived of their authority.[8] There is a fantastic legend preserved in the Welsh Laws, giving an account of the election of Maelgwyn to the sovereignty of Wales. The scene of the council is laid on the Dyfi sands, a portion of which still bears the name of Traeth Maelgwyn.[9] We may therefore fairly conclude that the name of Maelgwyn marks the consolidation of Gwynedd, and the commencement at least of its aggressions on the independent kingdoms of South Wales. The ultimate result of his interference maimed the tripartite division of that country, a division which would very probably be regarded as essential. It may therefore be conceived that Gwynedd subsequently took its place among the kingdoms of Wales, so as to maintain the integrity of their confederation. It is clearly impossible to describe with any degree of accuracy the several characteristics of these nations. It is probable, however, that the Silurians had been Romanized to a greater degree than their countrymen on the north and west, and they appear to have preserved among them a certain amount of learning and civilization.[1] The Gwendydians on the contrary, the

[6] Ep. Gildæ. [7] Myv. Arch., ii., p. 359. [8] Ep. Gildæ.

[9] Ancient Laws of Wales, (Record Comm.,) p. 412. Iolo MSS., p. 461.

[1] It is certain that the Romans had a more extended influence in this district than among the Ordovices and Demetæ: two of the most

children of the north, nursed among the wild mountains of Arfon and Meirion, and trained to war and conquest by their conflicts with the Gael, may have become to the Silurians what the Northmen were to the civilized nations of southern Europe. They were from the beginning an aggressive and conquering race, and it is to this that we are to attribute the supremacy which they subsequently obtained over their countrymen, and the long resistance they were able to make the English and Normans.

The period between the death of Maelgwyn in the sixth century, and the accession of Rhodri Mawr in the ninth, seems to have been marked by important changes in the south. It is most probable that the principality of Ceredigion, whose limits in the days of Maelgwyn have just been determined, assumed during this period a form and extent more nearly approaching that of the

important relics of their power to be found in Britain still exist in Caerleon and Caerwent. The following description of the former at the close of the twelfth century is pretty well known:—"Videas hic multa pristinæ nobilitatis adhuc vestigia: palatia immensa aureis olim tectorum fastigiis Romanos fastus imitantia, eo quod a Romanis principibus primo constructa, et ædificiis egregiis illustrata fuissent; turrim giganteam; thermas insignes; templorum reliquias, et loca theatralia muris egregiis partim adhuc extantibus, omnia clausa. Reperies ubique tam intra murorum ambitum, quam extra, ædificia subterranea; aquaram ductus hypogæosque meatus; et quod inter alia notabile censui, stuphas undique videas miro artificio consertas, lateralibus quibusdam et præangustis spiraculi viis occulte calorem exhalantibus."—*Giraldi Itin. Camb.*, c. v. *Cf. Iolo MSS.*, pp. 350, 374. The existence of religious and educational establishments at Lantwit and Llancarvan seem to point in the same direction; the connexion of the former with the Emperor Theodosius may be fabulous, yet the legend is not devoid of value.—See *Williams' Eccl. Ant. of the Cymry*, p. 97, *note*.

present county of Cardigan. The territory of Seisyllwch may have been formed by conquest during this interval. And there is reason to think that it acquired some degree of supremacy over the rest of South Wales. For we find it recorded that the royalty of South Wales, including the actual dominion of Dyfed, with a sort of unrecognised claim over Essyllwg, was conveyed to Rhodri by his marriage with Angharad, the daughter of Meurig, king of Ceredigion.[2] In Gwynedd, in the meantime, the sovereignty of the descendants of Cunedda was not uninterrupted. A passage which we have already cited hints that a formidable rebellion was raised by the subjugated Gwyddyl in a very early period;[3] and in the seventh century the dominion of the country fell into the hands of one Cadafael, the assassin of Iago ab Beli, king of Gwynedd.[4] From the epithet Gwyllt[5] attached to his name, and the fact of his being described as a stranger monarch,[6] one cannot help suspecting that he was one of the descendants of the Gael, who may very well have maintained themselves as a distinct nation until that age. The "Arymes Prydain Fawr," formerly ascribed to Taliesin, and subsequently to Golyddan, in the seventh century, might perhaps have been regarded as nearly contemporary evidence of the existence of Gwyddyl in Mona as a distinct and important nation, even after their

[2] Myv. Arch., ii., p. 62.

[3] See above, p. 19.

[4] Trioedd Yyns Prydain. Myv. Arch., ii., p. 65.

[5] The epithet is applied to at least one person of Irish origin, Idio the son of Sutric.—*Williams' Biographical Dictionary*, p. 236.

[6] Trioedd Ynys Prydain. Myv. Arch., ii., p. 62.

defeat by Caswallawn, had it not been determined by a high authority to be of a later date.[7] It is evident however that some such distinction may be traced to a much later period, in the internal organisation of Gwynedd, as compared with the south. Not to mention the diversity of local customs, (as the mode of inheritance, for instance,[8]) which taken alone would only prove the early separation of the respective districts, we find decided marks of conquest in Gwynedd, which are absent in Dyfed and Essyllwg. For, in the first place, a kind of villenage existed in the former, more complete and oppressive than was permitted in the south,[9] and we are not without grounds for the inference, that this system was in some way connected with the co-existence of distinct races.[1] We have also a species of aristocracy in North Wales, unknown in the southern portions of the country. The fifteen tribes of Gwynedd, dating, as it is said, from the tenth century, but probably representing a state of things which had then been some time in existence, appear to have exercised a certain degree of political power, which was elsewhere in the hands of the nation.[2]

7 Myv. Arch., i., p. 156. Stephens' Literature of the Kymry, p. 287, *sq.*

8 Ancient Laws of Wales, p. 84.

9 Howel Dda "permitted every uchelwr . . to rule his bondsmen according to conditional bondage in South Wales, and perpetual bondage in Gwynedd."—*Ibid.*, p. 573.

1 "The sons of Cunedda led the Cymry, and expelled the Gwyddelians from the country, making prisoners of such as had their lives spared. . . . And none of them remained in the country, except such as were made captives for ever, *(namyn a wnaed yn gaethion a hynny yn dragywydd).*—*Iolo MSS.*, pp. 522, 523, (123). Compare this with the perpetual bondage *(cathiwet tragwydawl)* of the passage cited in the preceding note.

2 Iolo MSS., pp. 405, 407, 478.

They were popularly believed to be the pure representatives of the Cymry as distinguished from the race which had been corrupted by an admixture of Gaelic blood; and it seems probable that this view was at least an approximation to the truth.[3] In Powys, a similar class existed under another name, and were ascribed to a like origin.[4] We are probably to refer to the same source, the existence at an early period of certain clans, to whom peculiar immunities were granted. One of these derived its name from the conqueror of Gwynedd, Caswallawn Law Hir, and another was connected with the district of Lleyn.[5] The men of Arfon also enjoyed particular privileges, which were regarded as memorials of their resisting and requiting an invasion of the Strathclyde Welsh, in the time of Rhun, the son of Maelgwyn Gwynedd.[6] We may perhaps infer from the record of this transaction, that the migrations from the north which we have traced to the fifth century were continued in the sixth, as they were certainly revived in the ninth.[7]

The date of Rhodri Mawr may be fixed as that in which the princes of Gwynedd first attained their full

[3] Iolo MSS., pp. 477, 478.

[4] *Ibid.* They were called "Gwelygorddau," as distinguished from "Llwythau."

[5] "The three Banded Families (Teulu) of the isle of Britain: the family of Caswallawn Law Hir; the family of Rhiwallawn the son of Urien; and the family of Belyn of Lleyn. That is, they were so named, because there was neither head nor sovereignty over them, so far as the liberty of their families and possessions reached, if they were questioned within those limits, save the jurisdiction of the country and people."—*Trioedd Ynys Prydain. Myv. Arch.*, ii., p. 62.

[6] Ancient Laws of Wales, pp. 50, 51.

[7] Brut y Tywysogion. Myv. Arch., ii., p. 582. See above, p. 41.

power. By inheritance, stratagem, or conquest, they had made themselves masters of Powys on the east, and Ceredigion on the south, the latter apparently involving the sovereignty of Dyfed. The division of Wales among three of the sons of Rhodri seems to be a recognition of the ancient threefold confederation.[8] The kings of Gwent and Morganwg resisted their aggressions, so that the three constituent sovereignties were henceforward those of Gwynedd, Powys and Deheubarth on the south, the latter including the ancient dominions of Ceredigion and Dyfed, with a vague claim over Gwent and Morganwg.[9] Subsequently to this division, we read of petty sovereigns of Ceredigion and Dyfed,[1] (the latter term being used in its narrowest sense,) who apparently stood in an ill-defined relation to the prince paramount of Deheubarth, and occasionally resisted his power.[2] It is also worthy of notice that the kingdom of South Wales

[8] It is important to remember that Anarawd, Cadell and Merfyn were not the only sons of Rhodri.

[9] The preface to the laws of Hywel Dda is especially worthy of notice. The codes of Gwynedd and Dyfed entitle him "king of all Wales," that of Gwent merely "king of Wales," adding that he enacted the laws "when Wales was in his possession in its bounds." —*Ancient Laws of Wales*, (Record Comm.,) pp. 1, 164, 303.

[1] *E. g.*, Gwaethfoed, king of Cardigan, and Hyfeidd, king of Dyfed, the latter of whom was involved in warfare with the sons of Rhodri. —*Asserius de rebb. gestt. Ælfredi, Cf. Annales Cambriæ Ann.* cccexlviii., (892). We also find a distinction made between two grades of kings, the Cuneddian princes of Gwynedd, Powys and Deheubarth being "crowned kings," and those of Ceredigion, Morganwg and Fferyllwg (between Wye and Severn) being "fettered." *Trioedd Ynys Prydain, Myv. Arch.*, ii., p. 64. *Cf. Iolo MSS.*, pp. 407, 408, 449, where the two princes last named are excluded from the Cuneddian confederation.

[2] We hear of "lords" of Dyfed down to a very late period.

now lost, for the most part, the ancient national appellation of Dyfed, which as I have said, was henceforth used in a narrower sense, and assumed that of Deheubarth or Dinefawr, having become a political rather than a national division. When the Cuneddian princes were established in it, they made continual aggresssions on the domains of the Silurian princes. In the reign of Hywel Dda, its eastern limits were fixed at Crickhowel in Brecknockshire, and a continual warfare was waged between the two neighbouring powers, until the independence of Morganwg terminated with the reign of Iestyn the son of Gwrgan. It is clear that the Cuneddian princes of South Wales had been continually pressing on it, from a corresponding change which had taken place in the ecclesiastical divisions. Urban, bishop of Llandaff, writing to Pope Calixtus II. in the twelfth century, complains that the bishops of St. David's had taken from his diocese Ystrad Tywy, Gower, Kidwelly, and Cantref Bychan.[3] This appears to be an ecclesiastical version of the fact that these districts, or the greater part of them, had passed from the dominion of the princes of Essyllwg into that of the Cuneddian monarchs of South Wales.

Much more might be written on this head, but to trace fully the consequences of the Cuneddian migration would be in effect to write the history of Wales. I will notice one further result, because it has lasted to the present time, and is therefore in some respects the most important, as it is the most obvious. The inhabitants of North

[3] Wharton, Ang. Sac., vol. ii., pp. 673, 674. Cf. Iolo MSS., pp. 373, 374.

and South Wales are clearly two different races. Of the distinction of dialect I have spoken elsewhere; there is is also a physiological difference. On this head Dr. Prichard observes:—

"In North Wales, a fair complexion and blue eyes prevail, according to the observation both of Dr. Macculloch and Mr. Price. There is probably no part of Britain where the inhabitants are less intermixed with Saxon or German blood, certainly they are much less intermixed than the South Welsh. In parts of South Wales, particularly in Glamorganshire, black eyes are very prevalent, and the hair is frequently black."[4]

The author of the "Physical Atlas of Natural Phenomena" confirms these observations as regards the difference of complexion prevalent in North and South Wales; and hence concludes that the inhabitants of the former are not unmixed with a Teutonic, perhaps a Belgic element.[5] Finally, I have extracted these remarks from an able article in the *Quarterly Review*. They bear closely on the subject of this paper, although they certainly do not coincide with it in detail:—

"Others again who observe how the South Wales features, after being interrupted in North Wales by an inlet of the Cimbric or more northerly type, reappear in Anglesey, may rather suspect that a refluent Gaelic wave has been thrown back from Ireland upon the north and south extremities of the Principality. This latter assumption is countenanced not only by the philological observations of E. Llwyd, but by certain Welsh traditions that fall within the historical period."[6]

Is it too great a refinement to add, that the mutual

[4] Physical History of Mankind, vol. iii., p. 199.

[5] Johnston's Physical Atlas.

[6] Quarterly Review, No. clxxiv., September, 1850.—"The Church and Education in Wales."

antipathy which still subsists between the extremities of the Principality may be taken as an additional proof of different origin? It is certain that in earlier times a strong principle of repulsion existed in the many distinct though kindred races composing the population of Wales, which caused endless divisions and subdivisions of territory, and, working counter to the principle of political centralization, generated continual intestine wars. The language applied by M. Thierry to the inhabitants of southern Gaul, may with trifling alterations be used of the Welsh throughout the period of their independence:—

"They detested all foreigners, yet a restless turbulence, a wild passion for novelty and excitement impelled them to seek their alliance, whilst they were torn by domestic quarrels and petty rivalries between man and man, town and town, province and province. . . . Nature had given them all, all except political prudence and union, as descendants of the same race, as children of one country. Their enemies combined to destroy them, but they would not combine to love each other, to defend each other, to make one common cause. They paid a severe penalty for this."[7]

Shall we say that this spirit is extinct yet? Does it not survive—happily in the only possible form—in the absurd local attachments, the mutual dislike, or rather the total ignoring of each other's existence, which is still an active principle among our countrymen? Is it not conspicuous and energetic in their utter inability to combine for a patriotic, as distinguished from a national purpose, for anything in fact but to keep alive the effete traditions of a very questionable antiquity, and to re-

[7] Norman Conquest, b. viii.

enact what they believe to be the ceremonies of ancestral heathenism ?[8]

[8] It may be as well to mention two or three points affecting my argument which have come under my notice during the printing of this paper. In p. 8 I said that Bullium has been identified with Builth. It is with greater probability regarded as another form of the name Burrium (Usk). In that case one name less has been preserved in South Wales, not one more being lost. I have also identified Stucia with the Ystwyth, after Baxter and others, (p. 7). In the map of Roman Britain lately published by the Record Commission, (*Monumenta Historica Britannica*, vol. i.,) Stucia is given as the name of the Dyfi. In that case it is to be regarded as a lost name, and rather referred to North Wales. In fact the Ystwyth is scarcely of sufficient importance to be singled out by Ptolemy, without making mention of the Dyfi and Mawddach; and it is only by considerable twisting that the names of either the Stucia or the Tuerobis can be got out of the Ystwyth and Teifi. In p. 15 I do not think that enough has been made of the testimony of Rhyddmarch to the settlement of Gael in Pembrokeshire. He describes Boia, the persecutor of St. David, as "Scottus quidam." These words are omitted by Giraldus in his *rifacimento* of Rhyddmarch, probably because he was not aware that any Scots had ever occupied that district. The tradition then had died out by his time; and as Rhyddmarch died only half a century before the birth of Giraldus, one can hardly conceive that such a tradition would be very general in the days of Rhyddmarch. But as even in those times historians would avoid improbabilities, except in the matter of miracles, Rhyddmarch would not have said "Scottus quidam," in the plain matter-of-fact way he does, without something like earlier documentary evidence. It is therefore probable that this passage embodies a tradition of very high antiquity.

TOPOGRAPHICAL INDEX.

THE names in SMALL CAPITALS are found in, or derived from, ancient authorities, including Richard of Cirencester; those in *Italics* are names in ordinary use; and those in CAPITALS include obsolete names, with such as remain only in Welsh, or are retained as the appellations of hundreds and lordships, and are therefore unlikely to be generally known.

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A PASSIVE state of subserviency to a system of religious belief, formed on the contemplation of the works of Divine Providence, and the immutable laws of nature, in the absence of revealed truths, would supply the groundwork for a state of society most favourable to the growth and cultivation of industrious habits, and peaceful pursuits; and we accordingly find that those institutions which have exercised the most beneficial influence over the moral and social condition of man, in the early stages of civilization, were of a character which united the civil and religious offices in the administration of public affairs, and the maintenance of order.

The existence of two distinct orders, religious and military—as well European as Oriental—is observable in ancient and modern times; the former in the occupation of the soil, as industrious cultivators, and the latter in a state of constant excitement, and ever intent on oppression and subjugation.

The Teutonic and Belgic portion of the Celtic race, having no druidical system of discipline to control and direct their natural propensities, and to substitute the arts of peace for the excitements of war, paid no further

attention to agricultural and commercial occupations beyond that of obtaining a bare subsistence, placing greater reliance on the sword in availing themselves of the labours of more industrious tribes, than on the ploughshare in cultivating their own resources. Without any bonds of union, or defensive expedients for the maintenance of either public or private rights, they are represented as abandoning themselves to indolence and apathy, without any better protection against foreign aggression than a broad frontier of marshes (*solitudines quam latissimæ*) to check and discourage the ardour of invasion.

Gaul, under the fostering care of Druidism, presents a more favourable aspect of human government. Under an order of priesthood entrusted with the administration of justice, the correction of abuses, and the maintenance of religious ordinances, the arts of peace are here found in a flourishing state, abundance crowning agricultural and pastoral occupations, and many of the most useful inventions in an early state of development, prior to the Roman invasion. Various mechanical arts are here found employed in the erection and defence of towns, and in the promotion of manufactures; and all classes of society arranged in the order of subordination and mutual dependence.

Gaul, however, was subject to too frequent interruptions from continental commotions, and the irruptions of warlike and hostile tribes, to become a permanent field for agricultural and commercial enterprise. The earliest annals or traditions represent the western European tribes as in a continued state of agitation and undulating

movement, each tribe pressed upon by, and receding before, another, and ultimately forced to settle itself in the extreme region of the west.

To the insular situation of Britain, under the discipline of Druidism, we may look for a more uninterrupted advancement in the arts of civilized life, and the cultivation of moral and religious truths. Protected from those disturbing causes which tended to check and retard the progressive improvements of social order—with a climate, soil and productions the most favourable to the exercise of industry and settled habits—and, at the same time, affording the strongest inducements for the adoption of mechanical agents in economising labour, and providing against the rigours of winter—here we may still trace, if not the origin, at least the early application of various arts, which became the foundation of her future fame. Here we find the druidical order, in its plenitude of power and usefulness, inculcating moral and political maxims for the guidance and advancement of the social system—encouraging inquiries into the laws of nature, and the harmony of the universe—training up the youthful aspirants for honour and places of trust in the paths of science and the study of natural philosophy, and promoting the interests of justice and humanity.

That Gaul and Britain were in a state of considerable advancement as regards the elements of science, and the progress of agriculture and commerce, at the time of the Roman invasion, may be inferred from facts of authentic history, notwithstanding the assertions of prejudiced writers, who represent the inhabitants as a rude and barbarous race. It is too much the fashion to decry, or

to pass over with indifference, facts relating to the internal condition of Britain prior to the Anglo-Saxon period, (except during the period of her subjection of Rome,) as of immaterial importance in an historical point of view. Ecclesiastical writers will hardly admit of the existence of a British Church before the mission of Augustine, and those who treat of her jurisprudence are unwilling to advance a step beyond the code of Alfred, the heptarchy being considered as the limit to such unprofitable researches.

From the history of the improvements of manufactory, and the economy of labour, as detailed by Adam Smith, it would appear that the arts connected with agriculture in Britain had either retrograded from what they were in former times, or that they never had any real existence till within a period of 400 years from the present time. His words are—"Neither wind nor water mills of any description were known in England so early as the beginning of the sixteenth century, nor, so far as I know, in any other part of Europe, north of the Alps."[1]

An assertion so confidently and deliberately made by a laborious inquirer into the sources of national wealth, with ample materials to prove such a fact, if truly made, is calculated to extinguish any attempt at tracing agricultural skill to the period of Druidism. It is, however, an assertion entirely at variance with facts of authentic history; and as the number of mills in ancient times would form the best index to the state of agricultural science and labour, it becomes a material object of inquiry on the subject proposed.

[1] *Vide* Wealth of Nations, i., p. 11.

Both wind, water and fulling mills, in full operation, may be traced to a period five centuries preceding the date of their introduction according to the statement of this writer. A mere inspection of Doomsday would have been sufficient to dissipate the views he entertained—a document which he refers to, though apparently ignorant of its contents. This national survey represents agricultural pursuits as engrossing the attention of the whole population of Britain; and as it refers to a previous document of the same kind, as old as the reign of Edward the Confessor, it may be assumed as representing the agricultural state of Britain during the Saxon period. Taking two of the midland counties as a specimen from Doomsday, viz., the counties of Wilts and Warwick, we shall find that the former contained no less than 430 water mills, yielding about £220 per annum, and the latter 116, the rents of which varied from two shillings to £5 per annum, and produced a rental of £56.[2]

Had the Anglo-Saxons, the Danes, or the Normans introduced into Britain such a system of economising labour by the construction of mills with water power, the early monastic annalists and historians could hardly have failed to notice such a discovery.

During the period of the fierce struggle for superiority, in so rich a harvest as that afforded by the labours of British industry, there was no interval of repose for the

[2] The mill of Barchester, on the Stour, yielded 100 shillings per annum. The mill ponds were also very productive, from the sticks of eels (each containing twenty-five) which formed a portion of the terms on which they were held. They were also used in the manufacture of salt, producing a certain number of semes, or loads, when the supply of the mill dams was of a brinish nature.

adoption of improvements in domestic economy. The same objection will apply to the period intervening between the Saxon invasion and the monarchical state which succeeded the heptarchy. The continued conflicts between the native princes and their foreign rivals demanded all their energies, to the exclusion of every effort to improve their respective principalities, and the advancement of productive labour. The rural population could not have met with any material interruption in their field occupations, without serious inconvenience to both parties of belligerents, nor was there any cessation of hostilities likely to convert the Saxon sword into a ploughshare.

The Saxon chieftains knew the value of the agricultural classes, already in occupation of the soil, too well to carry fire and sword into the rural districts, and by an indiscriminate slaughter to make a sacrifice which could not be repaired for centuries, as it would have been impossible to import from the continent numbers sufficient to supply their place; and well aware that, being released from their allegiance, the serfs of the soil must of necessity submit to the new yoke prepared for them, however galling and oppressive.

Accordingly Edgar, in addressing his nobles assembled in the year 964, congratulates them on the success of their conquest of Britain in these remarkable terms:— "That we are in possession of this plentiful country is not owing to any strength of our own, but to the help of God's all-powerful arm, who has been pleased to manifest His loving kindness to us."

It is easy to account for such a feeling of gratitude on

the part of the invaders, when they found themselves in possession of the agricultural resources of a country to which they owed their existence in times of scarcity, and which required no other labour than the sword to secure to themselves in perpetuity. Britain, during her occupancy by the Roman legions, was considered one of the western granaries of the empire, which supplied the continental deficiencies in the important article of corn and other provisions. The Emperor Julian, according to his his own written testimony, employed no less than six hundred vessels in the exportation of corn and flour to supply the towns and fortresses on the Rhine, about the middle of the fourth century.

The Anglo-Saxons were fully aware of the high state of cultivation which prevailed in Britain; and hence, judging from the tenor of their earliest charters in the transfer and distribution of lands, they had no occasion for either admeasurement or surveys, finding the rural districts already divided into farms, regularly arranged into arable, meadow, pasture and woodland, under limited and defined boundaries, and possessing all the requisites for employing the industry of the occupants. Such order in the arrangement of landed property required a much longer period for development than the time which intervened between the Saxon invasion and the date of these legal documents of conveyance; nor is there any evidence from which it may be inferred that this flourishing state of agriculture was the result of Roman legislation. The schools founded by Agricola about the close of the first century, were intended to create a taste for the luxuries and refinements of society, and the study of

rhetoric and grammar, and not for the promotion of scientific knowledge, or the introduction of a new system of tillage; and the porticoes which he caused to be erected in their cities were calculated to exhibit ocular proofs of the magnitude and extent of the Roman empire, and the splendour of their public buildings, and to excite a corresponding awe and reverence for the majesty and authority of the emperor.

Implements of husbandry, and every variety of wheel-carriages, were in general use before the Roman eagle visited their shores; and the water mills, by which their corn was ground, must have created as much astonishment as the war chariots which mowed down the ranks of their enemies. It is a remarkable circumstance that the first idea of a water mill was promulgated in Italy soon after the return of Julius Cæsar, and when the internal condition and resources of Britain were laid open to the ambitious views of Rome. It was during the reign of Augustus that the agency of water in grinding corn became the subject of speculation in domestic economy; and this suggestion must have derived its origin, not in the eastern part of the Roman empire, where the hand mill was the common employment of the female domestics, or a mule was attached to the upper stone—a practice which continued during several centuries of the Christian æra—but to the western portion, where improvements in handicraft may be traced from an early period, from well authenticated facts, and where, even in Ireland, to which the Romans never penetrated, the water mill was well known.[3]

[3] Cogitosus, a native writer on the lives of the Irish Saints, who

Polydore Virgil, (*De Rerum Inventoribus*, A.D. 1499,) in noticing the superior skill displayed in applying a stream of water in grinding corn, says that it was not a late discovery, though it had no name given it by scientific writers who have treated on the subject, being vulgarly called a *molendinum*, alluding apparently to Vitruvius, who, in his work on Architecture, addressed to Augustus, particularly describes the machinery by which it might be effected, without mentioning it under the name of a mill. A Greek writer of the same Augustine period, Antipater of Thessalonica, dressed up the same idea in an epigram addressed to handmaids, in which he compliments them on a discovery which promised to relieve them from the toil and drudgery of working the corn mill. He tells them "that they may at length enjoy their slumbers, notwithstanding the announcement of the dawn of day by the crowing of the cock, inasmuch as Ceres has charged the water nymphs with the labour of setting the mills in motion, by dashing from the summit of a wheel, and making its axle revolve."

Britain was noted for the superabundant fertility of her soil, and the industry of her population, many ages before the landing of Julius Cæsar, and the character she

flourished as early as the year 530, alludes to the existence of water mills in Ireland, erected from time immemorial. The Rev. John Williams of Llanymowddwy, states, on the authority of a MS. Chronicle of Iolo Morganwg, that wind and water mills superseded the use of the hand mill in Wales, A.D. 340. Llywarch Hen's allusions to gold shields and spurs, glass goblets, and other works of high art, as early as the sixth century, indicate no inconsiderable advance, as Mr. Williams further observes, on the part of the ancient Britons, in the scale of civilization and refinement.

bore was that of an agricultural and trading community. It was from hence that Gaul derived her supplies, which enabled her to contend against the legions of Rome; and the assistance thus afforded formed the leading motive for the invasion. Her internal resources could only be inferred from this circumstance, and Cæsar was utterly at a loss to ascertain the most favourable point of attack, under the strict regulations adopted by her druidical rulers, which forbade any except privileged merchants from approaching her ports and estuaries, and that only under fixed limitations.

It may be deemed preposterous to produce evidence in favour of this view of the state of Britain, when under the control of Druidism, from the records of mythology; but, as historical facts are generally found to be the basis of fabulous legends, they may be justly referred to in confirmation of facts derived from authentic sources.

The flourishing state of Britain as an agricultural district is a prominent and distinguishing feature in the earliest Grecian traditions of a mystic character, in which such allusions may be traced.

Hecatæus, an ancient writer quoted by Diodorus Siculus, represents the island as highly favoured by Apollo, and so fertile as to produce two crops of corn annually; under which type we may discern the prevailing influence of bardism, as a branch of the druidic system; and the author of the Argonautic poem describes Britain as being, in a more especial manner, the residence of Queen Ceres, from the abundance and fertility of the soil.

"Ινᾶ ευρεα δωματ ανασσης Δημητρος."

Strabo quotes the authority of an ancient Greek geographer in stating that the mysteries of Ceres and Proserpine were practised in some of the British Isles, after the manner of the Cabiri in Samo-thrace, by which we are to understand that the fecundity of nature in the production of the fruits of the earth was celebrated in their religious ceremonies; and that the Eleusinian mysteries, which the wisest of the heathen philosophers pronounced to be one of the greatest blessings conferred on mankind, were in some degree identical with the tenets and practices of Druidism.

The historical records and traditions which may be assumed as having been handed down from the druidical period, and which are found to harmonise with the types and allusions conveyed through the dark medium of mythology, afford the strongest presumption that the cultivation of the soil was one of the principal objects of encouragement under the sway of the Druids, and that agriculture, and the arts in connexion with it, must have attained a considerable degree of advancement under the operation of laws which, in the mystic language of the age, may justly be ascribed to the sovereignty of Ceres.

The historical and mythological character of Hu Gadarn, whom the Triads represent as retiring from the turmoils of continental disturbances, and seeking in Gaul and Britain for a less exposed region for cultivating the arts of peace and industry, seems to embody the early efforts of agricultural science and skill in promoting the ends of humanity. To him is ascribed the origin of that

social system which combined the influence of religion with the cultivation of the soil, and led to the establishment of the various orders of Druidism, with duties and offices assigned and limited to each.

During a subsequent period of the druidical æra, though at an interval not easily defined, the Moelmutian code of legislation (or that of Dyfnwal Moelmud) appears in operation, in giving increased security and efficacy to field labours. The cultivators of the soil enjoyed especial protection under laws which extended the privileges of sanctuary to the plough and the highways; which forbade that any implements of husbandry should be seized in satisfaction for debts, or that any diminution in the number of ploughs should take place in any district, under any circumstances; and which enacted that all proceedings of a judicial nature should be suspended during the seasons of sowing and harvesting.

In order to give due effect to such a system of legislation for the promotion of agricultural industry, it may be presumed that the whole island had been parcelled out and divided on some uniform scale, and that cantreds, commots, villas and tenements had been formed in regular order, before such laws could be enforced; and that there were national surveys of high antiquity, for the security of individual rights, and the adjustment of public burdens. Accordingly, we find that these divisions and subdivisions of land existed from time immemorial, on the model of ancient Etruria, and that the terms by which they are designated belong to a period beyond the reach of any European annals.

Commerce and handicraft must of necessity have received a great impulse from such a state of agricultural activity and of domestic economy. The surplus productions of the soil would soon become a chief article for exportation, in exchange for other commodities with the continental tribes, whose incentives to industry must have been checked by the inroads of warlike nations, and whose population, in consequence, must have exceeded the means of subsistence. No doubt can exist but that the commercial state of Britain had attained a considerable degree of eminence before the Roman standard was planted on her soil, and that there were numerous cities[4] and towns in the interior, and on the banks of the principal rivers, busily engaged in the various transactions and trades necessary for a community in which the mechanical arts were in a flourishing state of improvement.[5] A nation which could exhibit such proofs of

[4] Vespasian acquired no small renown in having brought twenty towns to subjection on the banks of the Avon and the Thames, as early as A.D. 45. London soon afterwards appears on the pages of history, within a lapse of time insufficient for erecting a city of such magnitude and importance, and to the astonishment of Rome. The profound mystery which overhung the domestic and political state of Britain under the government of the Druids was soon dissipated, and the reality was found perfectly at variance with the rumours in circulation.

[5] Cicero, in the private correspondence he held with his friends who accompanied Cæsar in his expedition, appears to have entertained no hopes of success, inasmuch as the approaches to the harbours were fortified by enormous piers of stone work, *(mirificis molibus,)* and that which was a subject of doubt before, was now well known, viz., that there was not a scruple of silver in the whole island, or any prospect of spoil, except slaves, of whom not many could be found learned, or skilled in music. He alludes to a letter received from Cæsar, and dated in November, on the British shore, which admits

skill in the adaptation of the wheel and axle to carriages of various descriptions, as to excite the astonishment of the Romans, could not fail in availing themselves of similar expedients in facilitating agricultural labours, and improving their implements of husbandry; nor can we account for the adoption at Rome of the Celtic terms, essedum, rheda, conbenna, petoritum, &c., for the private and domestic vehicles then in use, except upon the assumption that the Britons and Gauls possessed and exercised superior skill in the fashion and construction of them.[6]

Under the guidance of a religious order endowed with great privileges and authority, who made the principles of natural philosophy and the laws of motion their chief study, and where tillage was an object of national care and encouragement, nothing could be more natural

the intended abandonment of the expedition, on the score that there were no spoils to reward the enterprise; and yet an attempt was made to impose a tribute on an island where neither gold nor silver was to be found. He moreover advises his friend Trebatius to avoid an encounter with the British armed charioteer, and to hasten his return from Britain by the first essedum he could meet with.—*Lit. Fam.*, vii., &c.

[6] The British word men (from whence yd-fen, cywain, &c.) is the etymon of many terms for wheel-carriages. The carrus, for the conveyance of military stores, is considered British by Cæsar. It is remarkable that the word rhôd is not simply the Latin rota, but like the Sanscrit *rotha*, implies both wheel and axle. The Britons were noted not only for wheel-carriages, but also for the breed and management of horses; and while the Romans borrowed from other nations their terms for horse trappings, the Britons had terms of their own, as the awen or habena, the cebystr or capistrum, ystroden, genfa, ffrwyn, &c.; and their harnais, a genuine British word, was elaborately formed and figured, as we are informed by the poet Propertius, a contemporary of Cæsar.

than the adoption of some mechanical expedient for working the mill, nor could any one occur sooner than the agency of a water course, through the medium of the wheel and axle. The breuan, or ancient British mill, is always referred to as a machine for grinding corn, set in motion by the application of some external force, and not by manual labour.[7] One appendage to it, called "cliccied y wysgi," has been the subject of much speculation, many supposing that the moving power must have been a magnet. The term, however, clearly shows that nothing more was meant than a mill race, the cliccied being a bar to check or regulate motion, and gwysg, or gwysgi, as defined by Dr. O. Pugh, implying the rush of water to find its level. The simple expedient of applying the cog wheel to the British rhôd would speedily lead to the invention and use of the water wheel. The British Triads afford direct testimony in confirming the probability that the original construction of water mills was peculiar to Britain, and the result of British ingenuity; and that it was from hence that Vitruvius derived the idea, on which he established his theory (without however putting it into practice) of a water wheel for grinding corn. One of these Triads enumerates the names of persons of the bardic or druidical profession eminent for their skill in handicraft,

[7] The British proverbs which refer to it always represent it as having some moving mechanical power, as "tra 'r rhetto 'r ôg, rhêd y freuan," "cyrch y ci ar y freuan." The term "breuan llif," which occurs in the Welsh Laws, may imply either a grindstone, according to Dr. Pugh, or a mill race. The mill cog, by which this effect is produced, shows a British origin—*cog* implying the small billet of wood adopted for dentification.

of whom Coel ap Cyllin is said to have been the first who applied the principle of the wheel and axle to the working of the corn mill. From the same Triad we learn that Corfinwr introduced the use of the sail and rudder, and Morddal the art of using cement in masonry, or, at least, some improvements in their respective professions. Whatever authority may be allowed to these historical records, which bear the impress of Druidism, or to whatever period before the Roman invasion they refer, there can be no doubt but that the Britons in early times had distinguished themselves by their skill in ship-building, and in the erection of stone edifices, and that those terms which designate mechanical appliances, implements of husbandry, domestic utensils, &c., and which bear a strong resemblance to those of Etrurian origin, were peculiar to Britain, before she became a Roman province. It must also be admitted that whatever advancement in art, whether as regards the anvil, the loom, or the saw, may be traced among the Gauls, would apply equally to Britain, as the undisturbed seat of discipline and study, from whence scientific discoveries might be expected to emanate.

It is no less remarkable than true that most of the useful arts which sprung from agricultural industry are classed under the patronage of deified personages of a far distant age; and that most inquiries into their origin terminate in the dark regions of mythology. It is also generally admitted that the Celtic and Grecian mythology had a common origin, and that the same attributes are ascribed to the heathen deities in western Europe as in Greece. Mercury and Minerva, as the patrons of

commerce and scientific inventions, were more especially objects of veneration and regard among the western tribes, and there is no language in which their names admit of a better solution than that of the Celtic. Hence commerce and manufactures were leading objects in their system of political economy. The Britons had not only their vessels for the export and import of merchandise, but also an armed navy for protecting their trade, and for keeping the other maritime states in subjection. If the former were composed of oziers, and covered with hides, the latter were built of oak boards, with iron bolts, and furnished with chain cables.

Pliny, whose predilections induced him to attribute most of the inventions connected with agriculture to Egypt, maintains that the cultivation of flax first took place in that country, upon which he remarks—how extraordinary it was that so slender and insignificant a plant should possess the power of uniting the oriental and western nations in bonds of mutual dependance on Italy. It was not employed, however, for the purpose of navigation till long after the heroic ages, for Homer describes the sails which impelled the Greek navy to the plains of Troy as little better than a kind of matting, formed of sedge, if not of coarser material. The druidical order, like the priesthood of Egypt, was distinguished by the wearing of linen robes, from which we can safely infer that flax and hemp were articles of cultivation in Britain at the earliest period; and that they were employed by the western maritime states in the art of sailing, may be further inferred from the substitution of leather, as a

material better suited for the boisterous gales of the Atlantic.[8]

The terms belonging to the art and implements of weaving, and the peculiar form of the shuttle, as distinguished from the *radius* of the Greeks and oriental nations, are proofs of originality in the construction and use of the loom.[9]

The invigorating climate of Britain would be more favourable to the inventive faculties, under the guidance of a philosophical priesthood, than that of hotter and more enervating regions; and the manufacture of linen and woollen fabrics must have occupied the attention of the Druids from their earliest settlement in western Europe, and kept pace with the progressive stages of agricultural advancement and of productive labour. The laina was a Gaulish term for a woollen cassock of native manufacture, the weaving of which occupied great numbers of the population.—(*Vide* Plautus.)

The gauna was another species of coarse covering of wool peculiar to them, according to Varro; while the bardo-cucullus, or purple mantle of the bardic costume, affords another specimen of early manufacture.

After the Romans had succeeded in wresting the government of Britain from druidical sway, and in appropriating her resources to the imperial treasury,

[8] The small rounded and hollow grit-stones, which are found in great abundance among the remains of the ancient circular habitations, were not intended for grinding corn, but for dressing flax and hemp, and worked by the hand. Hence the term "breunaru llin a chywarch."

[9] The shuttle appears to be a corruption from esgudull, the diminutive of esgud, a shoe, which it resembles—*Greek*, skyteus.

Venta Belgarum became the emporium for supplying the imperial wardrobe and the army clothing; and such was the importance attached to the skill employed in the manufacture of sails, linen, counterpanes, &c., that the looms of the district were placed under the superintendence of an officer specially appointed for the purpose. Abundant evidence may be brought in proof that the art of dyeing, and of extracting various colours from plants and minerals, was well known to the inhabitants of western Europe, and practised, not in painting their bodies, but in the manufacture of clothing, a party-coloured vest being a peculiar costume which distinguished one of the largest provinces into which Gaul was divided. From the term glastennen, as applied to the holm, or scarlet oak, it may reasonably be conjectured not only that the bark was used in the process of making leather, but that the oak-dust and apple were also used as articles for dyeing, and that this was the colouring material to which Cæsar applies the term *glastum*. To the practice of dyeing may be added the fulling, or *panning*, process, as equally well known. The Greeks claim the invention on the part of Nicias of Megara, a philosopher of the Socratic school; but the pretensions of the Gauls rest on better grounds, as it is asserted by Pliny that the manufacture of soap, the most material article in the fulling process, had its origin in Gaul. The same observation will apply to the kneading trough, or the art of making bread. The invention of the bolting sieve, composed of horse hair, for purifying flour, or separating the *sîl* from the husk, is attributed by Pliny to the Gauls; and the substitution of bread for gruel did not

take place at Rome till after the annexation of Gallia Narbonensis to her territorial possessions, or about 150 years before the invasion of Julius Cæsar.[1] The popina leads us to the brewery; and here we have ample authority for stating that the process of making a fermented liquor from barley formed a characteristic feature in the domestic economy of the Celtic tribes,[2] and that the Germans are entitled to the credit of adding a due proportion of the lupulus, or hop plant, to improve its flavour.

That the Britons adopted artificial means for increasing the fertility of the soil, and that the art of manuring land was in a considerable state of advancement before the Roman invasion, may be inferred from the agricultural terms of native origin in which the language abounds. Marl, or *mwrl*, so called from its friability, was one of the materials used by them, according to the testimony of Pliny. The use of lime as a cement shows that the

[1] The British *sîl* takes precedence of the Latin siligo. The Roman etymologist is much puzzled as to the etymon of popina, which the British pobi would have explained. The British *tylino*, to knead, bears some analogy to *telia*, the Greek term for the kneading trough, or rather perhaps to *telinon*, the farina of the red-bearded wheat, called *brana*, formerly cultivated in Gaul, and no longer known to exist.

[2] Welsh ale was highly valued and in great demand during the Saxon heptarchy. The Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 852, records the grant of the villa of Sleaford, in Lincoln, for supplying the monastery of Peterborough with ten mittans of Welsh ale, or ten sextaries or quarts, as it is translated, a quantity very disproportioned to so large and productive a parish. Mittan, however, is derived from myd, or mydd and myddi, a capacious wooden vessel of a circular form, more of the nature of a vat or hogshead, and peculiar to the Britons. The western nations had their *casks*, when the Greeks used skins for their fermented liquors; though Pseusippus, a Grecian, is said to have been the first cooper.

process of calcination was well known, and applied to a variety of purposes. The manufacture of salt, and the fusion of metals, both as sources of revenue and articles of commerce, may easily be traced to the druidical period; while gold ornaments, as articles of costume for the neck and arms,[3] were in high estimation among the Celts at a remote period. The great abundance of tri-coloured beads found in Britain cannot well be accounted for, except upon the supposition that the art of manufacturing them was known to the Druids. The use of the blow-pipe by which they were formed, and its resemblance to a serpent, has led to an extraordinary delusion on the subject of their production. Pliny was so far imposed upon, in having the process described to him as practised in Gaul, as to assert that they were produced by the blowing of snakes. Glain natron, or glass beads, formed by the fusion of sand and natron, (the usual ingredients,) by means of the blow-pipe, agrees so nearly in sound with glain nadron, or snake beads, as to justify the only reasonable solution of such an extraordinary phenomenon as that of the production of beads by the hissing of snakes, as attested by the Roman naturalist.

The ingenuity displayed by the Celts in their modes of warfare, which enabled them at various periods to overrun Europe, and to extend their conquests into Asia Minor, in which expeditions we have reason to infer that Britain had no inconsiderable share, proves at least that they were on a par with some of the most celebrated nations of antiquity. In their adoption of inflammable

[3] The Latins borrowed the term monile, for a necklace, from the Celtic mwnwg-dlws, or ornament for the mwnwg, or neck.

balls for setting fire to the enemy's entrenchments, and in the application of moveable iron shields for subterranean operations in undermining their outworks, as described by Cæsar, we may discern a gradual approach to the destructive elements of modern warfare; while the invention of the rudder, (Greek, ρυτηρ, habena,) and the double pronged anchor, by the early navigators of the Western or Hyperborean Sea, and introduced from thence into Greece by Anacharsis, above five centuries before the Christian æra, present historical facts of equal importance to those already enumerated; all of them tending to confirm the doubt entertained by Aristotle, whether to ascribe the origin and progress of the useful arts and sciences to the sages of western Europe, or to the light of oriental philosophy.

A

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

USED FOR

ARTICLES

OF

BRITISH DRESS AND ARMOUR.

BY THE

REV. J. WILLIAMS, M.A., (AB ITHEL,)

Llanymowddwy.

A GLOSSARY, &c.

A.

Achen—A coat of arms. It has a particular reference to the lineage of the bearer.

> "The long-mane dragon's *achen* we view,
> And see the brightening silver hue."
>
> *Iolo Goch*, 1370–1420, *relative to the arms of Mortimer.*

Achire—A raiment peculiar, as it would appear from the etymology of the word, to a person of gentle birth.

Achris—This seems to be a similar description of covering.

Adfach—The beard of a dart, or hook.

Adoew, called also Gotoew—a spur. Llywarch Hen, in the sixth century, speaking of the battle of Llongborth, in which Geraint ab Erbin was slain, says that he saw there the "quick-impelling *gotoew*;" and he relates of one of his own sons that he wore "the golden *gotoew*." Iolo Goch describes Mortimer as having "golden *gotoew*;" and O. ab Ll. Moel, 1430–1460, compliments some one by saying that he "ought to have golden *gotoew*."

Aerbar—The spear of slaughter.

AERWY—A collar or chain. In ancient times it was a badge of distinction, worn by warriors.

> "A golden *aerwy* will be sent to some slaughter,
> On his goodly neck, bright and fresh."
>
> *G. ab Ieuan Hen*, A.D. 1460.

In the institution of the Round Table, established by Rhys ab Tewdwr in the eleventh century, the ribbon, which the bards wore on their arm, just below the shoulder joint, indicative of their several degrees, was designated *aerwy* and also *amrwy*. The armlet of the Druid-bard was white; that of the Privileged-bard sky-blue; and that of the Ovate green; whilst the aspirant or disciple wore one which exhibited a combination of these three colours. When the bards had abandoned the general use of their official robes, the *aerwy* was "considered of equal value, and representing the same honour with the entire dress."—(*Iolo MSS.*, p. 633.)

AES—A buckler or target, carried in the left hand, or on the left arm, which were hence denominated, respectively, "llaw aswy," and "braich aswy," *i*, *e.*, the shield hand or arm. The heroes of the Gododin are represented by Aneurin as "armed with the *aes*." From that poem we also learn that the *aes* was sometimes made of wood :—

> "When Cydywal hastened to battle, he raised the shout,
> With the early dawn he dealt out tribulation,
> And left the *splintered aesawr* scattered about."

The original is "aesawr dellt." It is not quite clear whether the expression refers to the formation of the *aes* as being composed of laths, or merely to its shat-

tered condition; neither view, however, would militate against the fact of its material being wood. But we find that it was also made of steel. Thus Prydydd y Moch, 1160–1220, says of Gruffydd ab Cynan that

"He formed the sudden conflict in the protection of an *aes of steel*."

Nor was it always light; for the Prydydd Bychan, 1210–1260, speaks of Meredydd ab Owain as armed with

"A broken, red, *heavy aes*."

The *aes* was doubtless the same with the *aspis*, which both Herodian and Dion Cassius represent as being used by the Britons.

Albrys—The catapulta, or the cross-bow.

"Send through him from the *albrys* another wound."
Dafydd ab Gwilym, 1330–1370.

In the Armorican dialect this instrument is similarly called "albalastr;" and as there was no extensive intercourse between the Welsh and Bretons subsequently to the sixth century, we may fairly date words, this among others, which are common to the languages of both people, at least as early as that era.

Alfarch—A spear.

Amadrwy—A purfle about a woman's gown; the train or trail of a gown.

Amaerwy—A hem, a skirt, a border, welt or guard about a coat or gown, a fringe of a garment, a selvedge. Taliesin, in the sixth century, speaks of a "silver *amaerwy*."

Ambais—A safeguard; a kind of woman's riding dress.

AMDAWD—Raiment.

"He was the stately Owain, sure pledge of baptism,
Wearing an *amdawd* of cerulean hue."

Gwalchmai, 1150–1190.

AMDE—A covering. It seems to have been a mark of honour; for Taliesin thus alludes to it:—

"He that knows the ingenious art
Which is hid by the discreet ovate,
Will give me an *amde*,
When he ascends from the gate."

And elsewhere he represents the prince of Rheged as

"The chief of men, and the *amde* of warriors."

AMDO—A covering on all sides. It commonly signifies a shroud or winding-sheet.

AMDORCH—An encircling wreath.

AMDRWS—A garment that covers all round, from "trws," a trouse.

AMGLWM—A clasper.

AMLAW—A glove.

"A steel *amlaw* round the shaft of his dart."

Lewis Mon, 1480–1520.

AMORCHUDD—A cover on all sides.

AMRWYM—A bandage.

AMWE—A selvedge, or skirting.

AMWISG—A covering; it commonly signifies a shroud.

"The gallant chief, not unconspicuous
Was his steel *amwisg*, among the brave."

D. ab Edmund, A.D. 1450.

ARCHEN—A shoe.

"In the month of December dirty is the *archen*,
Heavy is the ground—the sun seems drowsy."

Aneurin, 510–560.

ARCHENAD—The same as the preceding.

"In the month of May,
Merry is the old man without *archenad.*"

Aneurin.

From this extract it appears that our ancestors occasionally, in the summer at least, went about without shoes. In the Laws of Hywel Dda, it is decreed that the chamber-maid of the palace should have, amongst other things, the queen's old *archenad.* The same laws provide, moreover, that the watchman and the woodman should be supplied respectively with *archenad* at the king's expense. Kilhwch, one of the heroes of the Mabinogion, is described as having "precious gold, of the value of three hundred kine, upon his *archenad*, and upon his stirrups, from his knee to the tip of his toe."

ARCHRE—Raiment; clothes.

ARCHRO—Clothes; dress.

ARF—A weapon.

"There are three lawful *arfau:* a sword, a spear, and a bow with twelve arrows in a quiver. And every man of family is required to have them ready, with a view to withstand any invasion which may be caused by the forces of the border country, or of aliens, and other depredators. And *arfau* are not to be allowed to any one who is not a native Cymro, or an alien in the third degree, for the purpose of preventing treason and waylaying.—*Laws of Dyfnwal Moelmud,* B.C. 430.

ARFEILYN—Sashoons, a kind of leather bandages for the small of the leg, used for preserving boots from wrinkling.

ARFWLL—The name of the sword of Trystan, a chieftain of the sixth century.

ARGLWYDDWIALEN—A rod of dominion; a sceptre. Hence a feme covert is said in the Welsh Laws to be under a "matrimonial *arglwyddwialen.*"

ARLEN—A covering veil.

ARLOST—The stock or shaft of a weapon; the butt end.

"The knight passed the *arlost* of his lance through the bridle rein of my horse."—*Lady of the Fountain,* p. 49.

AROLO—A covering, or a shroud.

"I also hastened with *arolooedd (shrouds)* for the Angles; Lamentations were in Lloegria along the path of my hand."
Gwalchmai, 1150–1190.

ARWISG—Upper garment.

ARWYDD—An ensign, banner, or colours; a tabard; *Arm.* "Argoedd." Hywel Foel, 1240–1280, describes Owain Goch's colours as of fine linen, "bliant arwyddion." In the "Dream of Rhonabwy" we read of a troop of men having "arwyddion (*banners*) which were pure white with black points." And in "The Lady of the Fountain," a knight is introduced with an "arwydd (*a tabard*) of black linen about him."

ARWYLWISG—Mourning dress.

ASAFAR—A shield, or buckler. "There were *asafeiriaid* (shield bearers) and infantry innumerable."—*H. Car. Mag.—Mabinogion.*

ASANT—A shield.

ASETH—A kind of small darting spear.

ATTRWS—A second dress, or garment.

ATTUDD—A second cover, or casing.

B.

Balawg—The tongue of a buckle; a fibula; the flap of the breeches; an apron. In the "Mabinogi" of Il. Peredur we read of "a knight bearing the armorial badge of a *balawg* (a fibula)." Likewise, in the "Dream of Rhonabwy," a knight is described as having on his belt "a clasp of ivory, with a *balawg* of jet black upon the clasp;" another, as having "a jet black *balawg* upon a buckle formed of the bone of the sea-horse;" and a third, as having "a *balawg* of yellow gold upon a clasp made of the eyelid of a black sea-horse."

Baner, or Baniar, from *ban*, (high or aloft)—A banner or ensign, on which the chieftain's arms were emblazoned.

"When the generous of the line of Llewelyn comes,
With his *baner* of red and of yellow,
Eager to destroy and to conquer,
He shall in truth possess the border land of Cynfyn."

Goronwy Ddu, 1320–1370.

The Herbert banner is thus described by Lewis Glyn Cothi, 1430–1470:—

"Three lions argent are upon his *baner*,
Three rampant on a field of the rule of R.[1]
Bundles of arrows, numerous as the stars,
Form his badge of honour."

The banner was sometimes hoisted on a proper staff called *manawyd*, mentioned in the "Gododin," and sometimes also on a lance called *paladr*, as we find in the "Dream of Rhonabwy."

[1] *I. e.*, red or gules.

Bangaw—The bandage of honour.

Barddgwccwll—A hood of sky blue, which the privileged Bard wore on all occasions that he officiated, as a graduated badge or literary ornament. This habit was borrowed from the British Bards by the Druids of Gaul, and from them by the Romans, who called it Bardocucullus or the Bard's Cowl.—(See *James' Patriarchal Religion*, &c., p. 75.)

> "Gallia Santonico vestit te *bardocucullo*,
> Cercopithecorum penula nuper erat."
>
> *Mart.*, 14, 128.

Barf—A beard. The Ancient Britons are said to have worn their beard on the upper lip only. The *barf* was looked upon as a sign of manliness, hence Llywarch Hen observes,—

> "Cynddylan, thou comely son of Cyndrwyn,
> It is not proper that a *barf* should be worn round the nose
> By a man who was no better than a maid."
>
> *Elegy on Cynddylan ab Cyndrwyn.*

And of such importance was it to preserve the honour of the beard, that "to wish disgrace upon his *barf*" was one of the three causes for which the Welsh Laws empowered a man to inflict personal castigation upon his wife. Llywarch Hen thus alludes to the disgrace of beards :—

> "When God separates from man,
> When the young separates from the old,
> Forgive to the flyer the disgrace of *barfau*."

Barfle—The crest of a helmet, or beaver.

"And behold Gwrlas, prince of Cornwall, with his legion drawing near to them, and dispersing the Saxons; and what

did Eidol then do, under such encouragement, but took Hengist by the *barfle* of his helmet, and brought him amongst his legion, and cried with all his might, 'Bear down the Saxons under foot.'"—*Gr. ab Arthur.*

Baryflen, or Barywlen—The upper part of a shield. Cynon, in the "Lady of the Fountain," thus describes the mode whereby he protected himself from a terrible shower of hailstones:—

"I turned my horse's flank towards the shower, and placed the beak of my shield over his head and neck, while I held the *barywlen* over my own head; and thus I withstood the shower."

Ber—A spear, or a pike. This is frequently mentioned by Aneurin as one of the weapons of the heroes of Gododin. It was regarded as something similar to the lance alluded to in St. John, xix., 34; for Taliesin, in his "Ode on the Day of Judgment," represents our Saviour as addressing his crucifiers thus:—

"To you there will be no forgiveness,
For piercing me with *berau.*"

Beraes—A buckler; a short shield.

Berllysg—A truncheon. According to the Welsh Laws, the usher of the hall had to carry a *berllysg*, in order to clear the way before the king.

"The door-keeper ought to clear the way for the king with his *berllysg*, and whatever man he may strike at arm's length with his *berllysg*, should such seek for redress, he ought not to have it."

The etymology of the word intimates that his official wand was but of a short size.

Bliant—Fine linen, as cambric or lawn. This word is

of frequent occurrence in the poems and Mabinogion. Thus we read of "a table cloth of *bliant*," and of a "gown or coat of *bliant*." Prydydd y Moch, 1160–1220, thus speaks of Llewelyn ab Iorwerth:—

"A man resisting reproach, powerful in opposing Lloegr
Is Llewelyn, when he is about to march
Before the covering of the shower of royalty,
Clad in green and white *bliant*."

Blif—A warlike engine to shoot stones out of; a catapulta.

"Battering with the *blif*, like a torrent,
The stones of the gloomy walls of Berwick Castle."
Iolo to Edward III.

Bodrwy—A ring worn on the thumb, as we infer from the etymology of the word, viz., *bawd-rhwy*.

Bogel—A boss.

"The man who was in the stead of Arawn struck Hafgan on the centre of the *bogel* of his shield, so that it was cloven in twain."—*Mab. Pwyll prince of Dyfed.*

Boglwm—*Id.*, "Boglwm tarian," the boss of a shield.

Bollt—A bolt, dart, or quarrel, shot out of an engine.

Boreuwisg—A morning dress.

Botas—A buskin; also a boot. The value of *botasau cynnyglog*, (plaited greaves,) is estimated in the Laws of Hywel Dda at fourpence.

Botwm—A button; a boss. Dafydd ab Gwilym calls hazel nuts—

"The pretty *botymau* of the branches of trees."

Both—The boss of a buckler.

Bras—A cross-bow.

"The swift comes from the *bras*."—*Adage.*

Brasliain—A coarse linen cloth.

Brat—A clout or rag. Pwyll, when disguised as a beggar, was clad "in heavy *bratiau*, and wore large clumsy shoes upon his feet."—*Pwyll prince of Dyfed.*

Breichdlws—An ornament for the arm; a bracelet.

Breichled—*Id.*

Breichledr—A bracelet; a leather band for the arm. It seems to have been worn by bowmen, for Lewis Glyn Cothi, in describing the kind of bow he should wish to have, and the manner in which he should handle it, adds in connexion therewith,—

"I will wear a *breichledr*, if I can,
Of gold or of silver."—P. 374.

Breichrwy—A bracelet, worn by distinguished persons of both sexes.

"*Breichrwyau* of gold were round his arms, a profusion of golden rings on his hands, and a wreath of gold round his neck, and a frontlet of gold on his head, keeping up his hair, and he had a magnificent appearance."—*Dream of Maxen Wledig. Mabinogion.*

"Greatly am I made to blush by her that is the colour of the twirling eddies of the wave,
When her breast receives the reflection of the *breichrwy*."
Cynddelw, 1150–1200, *to Efa, daughter of Madawg prince of Powys.*

Breichrwy was another name for the bardic armlet, which, in the Institutes of the Round Table, was called *amrwy* and *aerwy*.—(See *Aerwy*.)

In the Laws of Hywel Dda there is no fixed value attached to the *breichrwy*, but it is directed that it should be appraised upon oath.

Breninwisg—A royal robe.

Brethyn—Cloth; woollen cloth. Mention is made in the "Dream of Rhonabwy," of a "page having two stockings of thin greenish yellow *brethyn* upon his feet;" and in "Pwyll prince of Dyfed," of a "horseman upon a large grey steed, with a hunting horn about his neck, and clad in garments of grey *brethyn*, in the fashion of a hunting garb."

Brethynwisg—A woollen garment. According to the Laws of Hywel Dda, the officers of the royal court were to receive their *brethynwisg* from the king at the festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsunday.

Brithlen—Arras.

Brondor—A breast-plate; also a shield. Cynddelw represents Owain Cyfeiliog as having a *brondor* in both senses of the word.

"A strong *brondor* (breast-plate) has the over-daring one, who habituates the packs of wolves
To tread upon the dead carcases of the plain."

"Terror arises from the din of the blue sea, and a tumult
From the brave with the quick moving *brondor* (shield)."

Broneg—A breastplate; a stomacher.

Bronfoll—*Id.*

Brongengl—A corslet; a poitrel or breast-leather for a horse. The *brongengl*, as a part of horse-gear, is mentioned in the Laws of Hywel Dda.

Bronglwm—A breast-knot.

Brwg—A covering.

Brycan—A rug, blanket, or coverlet; also a clog, brogue, or large shoe, to wear over another. The following extracts refer to it in its former acceptation:—

"The three essentials of a genuine gentleman; a *brycan*, a

harp, and a cauldron; and they are his prime portion."—*Laws of Dyfnwal Moelmud.*

"Three things which are not to be shared with another; a sword, a knife, and a *brycan;* for the owner will keep them by right of law."—*Ib.*

In case of separation between man and wife, when the property is to be divided, the husband is, by the Laws of Hywel Dda, entitled to the *brycan.* In the same code the *brycan* of a freeholder is valued at sixty pence.

In the "Dream of Rhonabwy," we are presented with this description of a couch in a peasant's house:—

"It (the couch) seemed to be made but of a little coarse straw full of dust and vermin, with the stems of boughs sticking up therethrough, for the cattle had eaten all the straw that was placed at the head and the foot; and upon it was stretched an old russet coloured *brycan,* threadbare and ragged; and a coarse sheet, full of slits, was upon the *brycan;* and an ill-stuffed pillow, and a worn out cover, upon the sheet."

Brych—A rough, streaked, or spotted covering; a tartan, or plaid.

"Apud plures extat authores Gallos vestimentis quibusdam usos fuisse, quæ *Brachas* patrio sermone dixerunt; hæc et nostris Britannis communia fuisse docet Martialis versiculus,—

'Quam veteres *Brachæ* Britonis pauperis.'"

Camden.

Brysyll, or Brysgyll—A truncheon; a mace, or sceptre. A *brysyll,* in the hands of a religious man, appears as one of the most primitive objects which the Britons used to swear by; thus we are informed in the Laws of Dyfnwal Moelmud that—

"There are three relics to swear by; the *brysyll* of the minister of religion (golychwydwr), the name of God, and hand joined in hand; and these are called hand relics. There are three other modes of swearing; a declaration upon conscience, a declaration in the face of the sun, and a strong declaration by the protection of God and His truth."—*Triad*, 219.

In the same Laws we also have the following:—

"There are three blows which a lord may administer upon his subject in the exercise of his rule; one with his *brysyll*, viz., his official rod, one with the flat of his sword, and one with the palm of his hand."—*Triad*, 202.

The *brysyll* was also one of the insignia of the bards, and "it denoted privilege; and where there was a sitting in judgment, it was not right to bear any insignia except the *brysyll*."—*Iolo MSS.*, p. 634.

Bwa—A bow. (See *Arf.*)

"Better the use of the sickle than the *bwa*."—*Aneurin.*

The value of a *bwa*, with twelve arrows, is estimated in Hywel Dda's Laws at fourpence. The *bwa* was generally made of yew; yet we read in the "Lady of the Fountain" of "an ivory *bwa*, strung with the sinews of the stag," and in Lewis Glyn Cothi of "steel *bwaau*." In a tale, written apparently in the fourteenth century, Gwgan the Bard longs to have "a bow of red yew in his hand, ready bent, with a tough tight string, and a straight round shaft, with a compass-rounded nock, and long slender feathers fastened on with green silk, and a steel head, heavy and thick, and an inch across, of a green blue temper, that would draw blood out of a weathercock." (See *Lady of the Fountain. Notes.*)

It was customary to gild bows in the fourteenth century, as the following lines of Dafydd ab Gwilym testify :—

"The vilest *bwa* that e'er was framed of yew,
That in the hand abruptly snaps in two,
When all its faults are varnished o'er with gold,
Looks strong, and fair, and faultless, and—is sold."—*Ibid.*

Bwccled—A buckler. *Arm.* Bouelezer.

Bwyell—An axe, or hatchet. There were several sorts of *bwyell;* such as *bwyell lydan*, a working hatchet; *bwyell hir*, and *bwyell gynnud*, an axe to fell timber; *bwyell arf*, *arf-fwyell*, and *bwyell ennilleg*, a battle-axe.

In the Laws of Hywel Dda the *bwyell lydan* is valued at fourpence; the *bwyell cynnud* at twopence; the *bwyell arf*, or *bwyell ennilleg* at twopence; and the *bwyell fechan* (small axe) at one penny.

The king's woodman was entitled to protection as far as he could throw his *bwyell.*—*Welsh Laws.*

The socket of a *bwyell cynnud* was one of the three things which the palace smith was obliged to make gratuitously for the use of the royal household.—*Ibid.*

The king could demand a man, a horse, and a *bwyell* to make tents with, from every township under villain soccage tenure.—*Ibid.*

In the division of goods between man and wife, the former claimed the *bwyell cynnud*, and the latter the *bwyell lydan.*—*Ibid.*

That the *bwyell* was used as a weapon of war in the sixth century, appears from the following triad :—

"The three accursed *bwyellawd* (battle-axe strokes) of the

Isle of Britain; the *bwyellawd* of Eiddyn on the head of Aneurin, the *bwyellawd* on the head of Iago the son of Beli, and the *bwyellawd* on the head of Golyddan the bard."

The *bwyell* is reckoned as one of the insignia of the Bards:—

"The *bwyell* is the symbol of science and of its improvement; and the bards of Glamorgan bear it through privilege of the chair: and the *bwyell* has privilege, viz., the person who bears it by warrant of the judgment of the chair, is authorised to show improvement in knowledge and science before the chair and *gorsedd;* and he has precedence in that, and his word is warranted."—*Iolo MSS.*, p. 633.

C.

Cadach—A piece of cloth; a kerchief; a swaddling clout.

"Caeo is famous for its thorny hedges,
Its clamour and fleas, and the prosecution of thieves,
The selling of goats upon credit, its trees,
And its variegated *cadachau*."

Characteristics of parts of Wales (Mediæval).
Apud Myv. Arch., i., p. 541.

Cadas—A kind of stuff, or cloth.

"A robe of silk and *cadas*."—*D. ab Gwilym.*

"Not in precious gold, nor *cadas*,
A troublesome load, but in a pale covering."

S. Ceri, 1520.

Cadbais—A coat of mail; a corslet. Llywarch Hen represents Caranmael as wearing the *cadbais* of Cynddylan on the field of battle.

"When Caranmael put on the *cadbais* of Cynddylan,
And lifted up and shook his ashen spear,
From his mouth the Frank would not get the word of peace."
Elegy on Cynddylan.

CADFAN—The martial horn; from *cad* (a battle) and *ban* (loud).

CADFWYELL—A battle-axe. See *Bwyell.*

CADGORN—The horn of battle. It would appear from the following passage that drinking-horns were, occasionally at least, used as such:—

"A baron—
The shrill blower of *cadgyrn,* the ample mead horns."
Llyw. Ben Twrch, 1450–1480.

CADSEIRCH—War harness. One of the chiefs of Gododin

"Supported martial steeds, and *cadseirch,*
Drenched with gore on the red-stained field of Cattraeth."
Aneurin.

CADWAEW—A war lance.

CADWEN—A chain; a bandage.

CADWY—A rug; a covering.

CADWYN—A chain. It was of gold, and worn by warrior chiefs. Thus Llywarch Hen describes Cynddylan prince of Powys, as—

"Cynddylan, eminent for sagacity of thought,
Cadwynawg (wearing the chain), foremost in the host,
The protector of Tren, whilst he lived."
Elegy on Cynddylan.

CAE—A ring; a necklace; an ornamental wreath. Some of the chiefs of Gododin were decked with a *cae.*

"*Caeog* (adorned with his wreath) was the leader, the wolf of the holme,
Amber beads in ringlets encircled his temples."—*Aneurin.*

One of the Mabinogion, describing Elen, daughter of Eudaf, and sister of Cynan Meiriadog, says of her,—

"The maid was clothed in robes of white silk, and her bosom was decked with *caeau* of ruddy gold."—*Dream of Maxen Wledig.*

In another of these tales the dress of Owain, the son of Urien, is thus described :—

"The next day at noon Owain arrayed himself in a coat, and a surcoat, and a mantle of yellow satin, upon which was a broad band of gold lace; and on his feet were high shoes of variegated leather, which were fastened by golden *caeau* in the form of lions."—*Lady of the Fountain.*

A *Cae* was to be valued on oath.—*Myv. Arch.*, iii., p. 424.

Caead—A clasp. A young page in the Tale of "Rhonabwy" had "over his hose, shoes of parti-coloured leather, fastened at the insteps with golden *caeadau.*" —P. 407.

Caerawg—This epithet, applied to a particular kind of cloth, signifies "kersey-woven," and is so used because of the similitude of the texture to the work in stone walls, the primary meaning of *caerawg* being mural. Lady Charlotte Guest has, in the subjoined passage, translated it by the term "diapered," which she considers as more appropriate in reference to satin, and which Warton (*Eng. Poe.*, ii., 9, 1824) believes properly to signify "embroidering on a rich ground, as tissue, cloth of gold," &c.

"On Whit Tuesday, as the king sat at the banquet, lo! there entered a tall, fair-headed youth, clad in a coat and a surcoat of *caerawg* satin, and a golden-hilted sword about his

neck, and low shoes of leather upon his feet."—*Geraint ab Erbin.*

CALCH—Enamelled armour. It is a word of frequent occurrence in the Welsh poems, *e. g.* :—

"Sweetly sang the birds on the fragrant blossomed apple tree,
Over the head of Gwen, before he was covered with sod.
He used to fracture the *calch* of old Llywarch!"

Ll. Hen on Old Age.

"They shattered the *calch* on the faces of Cyndrwynwyn's sons."

Meigant, 600–650.

"The wrathful blade would slay,
The azure tinted *calch* would gleam."—*Cynddelw.*

CALCHDO, and CALCHDOED—An enamelled covering; painted armour.

"Violent was the destruction of the flank and front of the towns,
And the breaking of the *calchdoedd* of the land on the third day after."

Meilyr, 1120–1160.

CAP—A cap.

CAPAN—A cap, or hat. Myrddin Wyllt (530–600) thus addresses a person bearing the name of Yscolan, (*q.* St. Columba ?) :—

"Black is thy steed—black thy *capan,*
Black thy head—thyself art black,
Black thy pate—art thou Yscolan ?"

Myv. Arch., i., p. 132.

We read in the Welsh Laws that

"The king gave to the church of Menevia two choral *capanau* of velvet."

Also,—

"The head groom is entitled to the king's pluvial *capanau,*

and his old saddles of the colour of their wood, and his old cast off bridles, and his old cast off spurs."

In the same Laws we find that a *capan dinesig* (a civil cap) is valued at twenty-four pence.

CARAI—A bandage, or lace; a thong. *Carai Esgid*, a shoe-latchet. *Esgidiau Careiawg*, or shoes having latchets, are estimated in the Laws of Hywel Dda at twopence.

CARDDAGL—A skirt.

CARN—The haft, or hilt of a weapon.

"She opened a wooden casket, and drew forth a razor, whose *carn* was of ivory, and upon which were two rivets of gold."—*Lady of the Fountain.*

CARNIAL—A shoe sole.

CARP—A clout, a rag. In reference to our blessed Saviour's nativity, Madawg ap Gwalter (A.D. 1250) observes,—

"Instead of fine linen
About His bed, were seen *carpiau.*"
Myv. Arch., i., p. 406.

CASMAI—A set of ornaments.

"Around him were *casmai,*
And the flowers of the charming branches of May."
D. ab Gwilym.

CASUL—A casula, or chasuble; the priest's vestment. Taliesin, probably in his character of Druid, says of himself,—

"I have been the weigher of the falling drops,
Dressed in my *casul,* and furnished with my bowl."
Myv. Arch., i., p. 31.

CAW—A band, or wrapper. CAWIAU—Swaddling clouts.

"The bard's armlet is worn on the arm, below the shoulder joint, and in Gwynedd it was anciently called *Caw*, as also in Deheubarth, and often in Glamorgan it was so called likewise; therefore the bard was called the Bard *Caw* [or the Bard of the band], after he had received the order of the Pen Cerdd [or the Chief of Song], and the three Beirdd *Caw* included the Privardd [Chief Bard], the Ovydd [Ovate], and the Derwyddvardd [or the Druid Bard], otherwise called Privardd, or Bardd Glâs, Arwyddvardd or Gwyn Vardd, [the Bard of the Sign, or the White Bard,] and the Bargadvardd and Cylvardd."—*Iolo MSS.*, p. 632.

Cedaflen—A napkin.

Ceitlen—A smock frock.

Cethrawr—A pike. It was a weapon used in the battle of Cattraeth, in the sixth century.

"The envious, the fickle, and the base.
Would he tear and pierce with a *cethrawr*."—*Gododin.*

It cannot be the same as the "brevis *cetra*," which, according to Tacitus, formed a part of the armour of the ancient Britons, and which is described as a shield or target made of leather, very light, and of a circular form. A *cethrawr* is valued in the Welsh Laws at fourpence.

Cewyn—A small bandage; a clout.

Cigwain—A flesh-fork; also a spear used for hunting purposes. Thus we read of one of the heroes of Gododin,—

"As many as thy father could reach,
With his *cigwain*,
Of wild boars, lions, and foxes,
It was certain death to them all, unless they proved too nimble." *Aneurin.*

It was likewise used as a military weapon. For instance, Cynddelw thus observes of Owain Gwynedd,—

"A prosperous lord, ruddy was his *cigwain*."

The domestic *cigwain* of a king was estimated at twenty-four pence; that of a *freeholder* at twelve pence.

Cledd, Cleddeu, and Cleddyf—A sword. The *cleddyf* was one of the three lawful arms (see *Arf*). In the old Law Triads, the value of a white-hilted *cleddyf* is twenty-four pence; if it be brittle-edged (hardened), sixteen pence; and, if it has a round handle, twelve pence. According to the code, which was revised and settled by Hywel Dda, a brittle-edged *cleddyf* is valued at twelve pence; a round-hilted one at sixteen pence; and the white-hilted one at twenty-four pence. In Roman times the northern Britons used very large swords, *ingentes gladii*.—See *Tacitus*.

Lewis Glyn Cothi has written a poem to beg a *cleddyf* from Dafydd ab Gutyn, from which we may learn what were looked upon in his days as the essentials of a good sword. The following are the lines which bear more immediately upon the subject; and, as it would be difficult to convey the full and precise meaning of the author through the medium of a translation, we shall give them in their original dress:—

"Y mae 'n ei gylch, er mwyn ei gil,
Dwrn byr mor durn a baril;
Y mae pais o'r garnais gwyn,
A chramp mal cylch ar impyn;
Mae gwregys fforchog gogam,
A chrys o goed a chroes gam;

Wrth y groes, wedi'r weithiaw,
Y mae yn lled i'm no llaw;
Mae blaen arno fo yn fain
Fal nodwydd neu flaen adain;
Blaen yw fal diflaen y dart,
Dur awchus yw o drichwart;
Croes wen rhag rhyw was annoeth,
Croes naid, o'i uncrys yn noeth;
Llain las wrth ddarllen ei liw,
Llen wydr fal ellyn ydyw;
Goleu yw hwn fal bagl hir,
A gloew ydyw fal glodir;
Lleiddiad fal cyllell Iuddew,
A thra llym fal ysgythr llew."—V. iii.

We read in the "Mabinogion" of a "three-edged *cleddyf*."—*Dream of Rhonabwy*, p. 407.

The *cleddyf* hung on the left side of the bearer; hence the word *cledd* signifies both a sword and the left hand; also, the north, from its being on the left of a person looking eastward, even as the *deheu*, or south, is on his right.

Clos—A pair of breeches.

Clwpa—A club.

"Geraint followed the giants, and overtook them. And each of them was greater of stature than three other men, and a huge *clwpa* was on the shoulder of each."—*Geraint ab Erbin*, p. 130.

Dau wr a chlwpa, the play of cat and trap.

Clwt—A clout; a piece of cloth.

"A *clwt* is better than a hole."—*Adage.*

Cnap—A boss; a button.

"A little way from them, I saw a man in the prime of life, with his beard newly shorn, clad in a robe and a mantle of

yellow satin; and round the top of his mantle was a band of gold lace. On his feet were shoes of variegated leather, fastened by two *cnapau* of gold."—*Lady of the Fountain.*

Cob—A cloak; a mantle; a cope.

Cochl—A mantle, probably, as we infer from the etymology of the word, of a red colour.

Cod—A bag, or pouch; a wrapper.

"If thou shouldest go to the region of the south,
Thou wilt be like the badger in a *cod.*"—*D. ab Gwilym.*

The origin of the game of "Badger in the *Cod*" is described in the Mabinogi of Pwyll prince of Dyfed.

Coesarn—A boot.

Coler—A collar.

Cordwal—Leather. It occurs in the Mabinogion, and is there evidently intended for the French Cordouan or Cordovan leather, which derived its name from Cordova, where it was manufactured.

"On his feet were shoes of variegated *cordwal.*"
See *Lady of the Fountain.*

Corn—A horn; a trumpet.

"There are three trumpet progressions; the gathering of a country according to the heads of families and chiefs of clans, the *corn* of harvest, and the *corn* of war and battle against the oppression of adjoining countries and aliens."—*Laws of Dyfnwal Moelmud.*

Coron—A crown. The following passage from Brut y Tywysogion (*Myv. Arch.*, ii., p. 481), seems to imply that the *coron* was not used by the Welsh as a regal badge previous to the reign of Rhodri Mawr, in the ninth century:—

"These (Cadell, Anarawd and Merfyn) were called the

three diademed princes, because they, contrary to all that preceded them, wore frontlets about their *coronau*, like the kings of other countries; whereas, before that time, the kings and princes of the Welsh nation wore only golden chains."

CORONIG—A bandlet; a coronet.

COWYLL—A garment, or cloak, with a veil, presented by the husband to his bride on the morning after marriage. —See *Laws of Hywel Dda.*

CRIB—A comb. It is valued in the Laws at one penny.

CRIMOGAU—Greaves, or armour for the legs.

"He was arrayed in a coat of armour, with *crimogau* round his legs and his thighs."—*Mabinogion.*

CRUD—A cover; a case; armour.

"The three warriors of the isle of Britain that wore golden *crud.*"—See *Triad* 124.

"A stream of blood upon his *crud,*
The *crud* of the victorious sovereign, chief of the country."
Cynddelw to Hywel son of Owain.

CRYS—A loose, or flowing garment; a shirt, or shift. Llywarch Hen carried the head of Urien in his *crys.*

"I bear in my *crys* a head; the head of Urien,
That governed a court with mildness,
And on his white bosom the sable raven doth glut."
Elegy on Urien Rheged.

And Golyddan (560–630) says of the few Cimbrian soldiers who once returned from the field of battle,—

"They told a tale of peace to their wives,
Who smelled their *crysau* full of gore."
Myv. Arch., i., p. 157.

In the tale of the "Lady of the Fountain," Cynon,

in narrating one of his adventures, thus alludes to the treatment which he received from certain young ladies :—

"The fourth six took off my soiled garments, and placed others upon me, namely, a *crys*, and a doublet of fine linen, and a robe, and a surcoat, and a mantle of yellow satin, with a broad gold band upon the mantle."

The handmaid of the queen was, according to the Laws of Hywel Dda, entitled to the cast-off *crysau* of her royal mistress. The same Laws gave a freeholder's wife full permission to give away her mantle, her *crys*, her shoes, her head-cloth, and her meat and drink, as as well as to lend all her furniture.

A *crys* and trowsers together were valued at twenty-four pence.

Crysbais—Waistcoat; an under vest.

Cryslain—The opening, or bosom, of a shirt.

Cunnellt—Weapons of war; from *cun* (a chief), and *dellt* (splints).

Curan—A boot, a buskin.

"Should any man strike a slave, he must pay him twelve lawful pence;—that is to say, six for three cubits of white home-spun cloth, wherewith to make him a coat in which to cut gorse; and three for trousers; and one for *curanau* and mittens; and one for a hedging bill; and one for a rope, twelve cubits long, or for an axe, if he be a woodman."—*Welsh Laws.*

Curas—A cuiras, or a coat of mail. In the middle ages the men of Tegeingl were remarkable for their awkwardness in the *curas*.

"Common in Tegeingl is the awkward in a *curas*

At all times;—and nobles in city
And plain continually without substance, without grace."
Myv. Arch., i., p. 541.

Cwcwll—A cowl. The men of Powys are described by Cynddelw as—

"Scattering in the battle, harmless before a *cwcwll*."
Myv. Arch., i., p. 256.

Cwfl—A hood, or cowl.

"Black is thy *cwfl*, thy note is good,
Likewise thy robe, thou bird of harmonious language."
D. ab Gwilym to a Blackbird.

Cwflen—A cap or hat; a hunting cap.

Cwlbren—A bludgeon.

Cwlen—A hat.

Cwnsallt—A military garment; a general's robe; a cloak, or cassock, worn over armour; a military cloak on which were set the arms, badges, or cognizance of the general or soldiers; the cloak of an herald-at-arms.

"The maid gave to Peredur armour, and a *cwnsallt* of fine red over the armour; and he was called the knight of the red *cwnsallt*."—*Hanes Peredur. Mabinogion.*

"A *cwnsallt* of yellow diapred satin was upon the knight, and the borders of the *cwnsallt* were blue."—*The Dream of Rhonabwy.*

"There was a *cwnsallt* upon him, and upon his horse, divided in two parts, white and black, and the borders of the *cwnsallt* were of golden purple. And above the *cwnsallt* he wore a sword, three-edged and bright, with a golden hilt."—*Ibid.*

In the *Llyfr Meddygon Myddfai* (A.D. 1230) the leaves of the asparagus, as well as the fennel, are said to resemble the *cwnsallt*.

Cwran—Same as Curan.

"The chief huntsman, if he is not arrested before his getting out of bed, and the putting on his *cwranau*, ought not to answer to any one with respect to a claim that may be demanded of him."—*Laws of Hywel Dda.*

Cyfegydd—A pickaxe.

Cyflegr—A gun. Its etymology *cyd* (together) and *llegr* (that braces or clasps) would of course imply something very different to the modern gun.

Cyfrau—Ornaments, jewels.

"Glittering are the tops of the cresses; warlike is the steed;
Trees are fair *cyfrau* of the ground;
Joyful is the soul with the one it loves."—*Llywarch Hen.*

Cyfrwym—A bandage.

Cylchwy—A shield, or buckler; as the name implies, of a circular or round shape. This word is of frequent occurrence in the compositions of the early bards; *e. g.*:—

"His *cylchwy* was winged with fire for the slaughter."
Aneurin apud Gododin.

"The army of Cadwallon encamped on the Wye,
The common men, after passing the water,
Following to the battle of *cylchwy*."—*Llywarch Hen.*

"With the circle of ruddy gems on my golden *cylchwy*."
Taliesin.

"On the ridge of Llech Vaelwy they shattered the *cylchwy*."
Ibid.

"Gleaming is my sword, swift as lightning it protects the brave,
Glittering is the gold on my *cylchwy*."—*Gwalchmai.*"

Cyllell—A knife. It would seem from Taliesin that

in his day the *cyllell* was regarded as an inferior weapon of war, for he says,—

"The swords of the men of conflict will not stab the puny *cyllellawr* (dagger drawer).

In the romance of "The Lady of the Fountain," mention is made of

"*Cylleill* with blades of gold, and with the hilts of the bone of the whale."

In the Laws of Hywel Dda, a *cyllell glun*, or a dagger, is valued at one penny.

Cynfas—A sheet of cloth; a bed sheet.

Chwarel—A dart, a javelin.

"When the bones shall receive the pang
Of death, with his swift *chwarelau*,
Then will life be at awful pause."—*D. ab Gwilym.*

D.

Dart—A dart.

"Illtyd Farchog bore for his arms, argent, three masts, three castle tops, or, and six *darts*, or. The three masts for the three schools, and the three castle tops for the three colleges of saints, and the six gold *darts* for the six churches, which he founded for teaching the Christian religion."—*Iolo MSS.*, p. 556.

A poet, supposed to be Dafydd Nanmor, A.D. 1460, prays that Henry VII. might be protected, among other things, from

"A stone out of a tower, and the edge of a *dart*."

Again,—

"From a leopard, a *dart*, and the teeth of a monster."
Ibid., pp. 313, 314.

Diddosben—Head-covering.

Diflaen—The beard, or beard-point of a dart, or arrow. Lewis Glyn Cothi says of the point of the sword, which he wished to receive from Dafydd ab Gutyn, (see Cledd)—

"It has a sharp point,
Like that of a needle, or the point of a wing;
A point like the *diflaen* of a dart."

Dillad—Apparel, or clothes. It is similarly called in the Breton dialect *Dillat*, and in the Cornish, *Dill-adzhas*.

"Nobility will lead,
Dillad will shelter."—*Adage.*

Dillyn—A jewel; an ornament.

Durdorch—The ring of an habergeon.

"Who would make a track, when there should be occasion,
For the coats of *durdyrch?*"
O. ab Llywelyn Moel, A.D. 1450.

Dwgan—A trull, a drab.

Dyrnflaidd—A kind of iron club having spikes on the striking end; a halbert. Dafydd Nanmor (as is supposed) says in reference to Henry VII.:—

"Fine is his head, which a whirler or bow,
Or battle-axe, or *dyrnflaidd*, will not dare to strike."
Iolo MSS., p. 313.

Dyrnfol—A gauntlet, or splint; mitten; hedging mitten. This is the word which we have translated *mittens* in the extract from the Welsh Laws, *sub voce* Curan. Lewis Glyn Cothi speaks of

"*Dyrnfolau* of the combat, made of steel."

Dysgiar—A spear. From this comes the term *dysgiawr* (a levelling or slicing), used by Aneurin in the following line of the Gododin :—

"It was the *dysgiawr* (levelling) of privilege to kill him on the breach."

E.

Eiddoed—A banner, or a standard. The word is used by Taliesin—

"Urien, lord of the cultivated plain, answered again,
If there be a meeting because of kindred,
We will lift up an *eiddoed* above the mountain."
The battle of Argoed Llwyfan.

"Humble and trembling that saw Llwyfenydd,
With a conspicuous *eiddoed* in the second place;
A battle in the ford of Alclyd, a battle at the confluence."
Ode to Urien.

Eigrau—Stockings without feet. They are otherwise called *bacsau*, and *hosanau pen geist*.

Eirionyn—A border; the list of cloth; the edge or selvedge; any border set on for ornament; a ruffle.

Em—A jewel; a gem. Some of the heroes of Gododin were decked with gems.

"The warriors marched to Gododin; their leader laughed
As his *em* army went down to the terrific toil."—*Aneurin.*

Taliesin speaks of a wreath of ruddy *emau* (rubies)—

"Rhudd em fy nghylchwy."—*Cad Goddeu.*

ENHUDDED—A covering.

"Our lord, of a race liberal of treasure,
Comes to day under the *enhudded*."
Gr. ab Gweflyn, A.D. 1400.

ERGYRWAEW—A thrusting spear; an impelled, or flying spear.

"A vehement *ergyrwaew* before his shield."
O. Cyfeiliawg, 1160.

ESGID—*Cor.* "Esgiz." A shoe.

"Three makers of golden shoes, of the isle of Britain; Caswallawn the son of Beli, when he went as far as Gascony to obtain Flur the daughter of Mygnach Gorr, who had been carried thither to Cæsar the Emperor, by one called Mwrchan the Thief, king of that country, and friend of Julius Cæsar, and Caswallawn brought her back to the isle of Britain; Manawyddan the son of Llyr Llediaith, when he was as far as Dyfed laying restrictions; Llew Llaw Gyffes, when he was along with Gwydion the son of Don, seeking a name and arms from Arianrod, his mother."—*Triad* 124.

Manawyddan, in the "Mabinogion," bought the leather ready dressed; and he caused the best goldsmith in the town to make clasps for the shoes, and to gild the clasps. See *Manawyddan the son of Llyr*, p. 169. Probably *mynawyd* (an awl) receives its name from this celebrated shoemaker.

According to the Laws of Hywel Dda, the queen's handmaid was entitled to the old *esgidiau* of her royal mistress.

ETHY—A spur. The first chieftain celebrated in the Gododin wore a "golden *ethy*."

EURDALAETH—A gold fillet, or coronet.

EURDORCH—A golden collar, being an ornament of distinction worn by the ancient warriors of Britain.

"Of those who went to Cattraeth, being *eurdorchogion* (wearers of the golden chain),
Upon the message of Mynyddawg, sovereign of the people,
There came not honourably, in behalf of the Brython,
To Gododin, a hero from afar, superior to Cynon."

Aneurin.

"Four-and-twenty sons I have had,
Eurdorchawg (wearing the golden chain) leaders of armies;
Gwen was the best of them."—*Llywarch Hen.*

EUREM—A golden jewel.

EURFODRWY—A gold ring.

EURGORON—A gold crown.

EURLIN—The raw silk.

EURRWY—A gold ring.

EURYSGWYD—A gold shield. Several of the British chieftains are represented as wearing gold shields in the sixth century. Thus Llywarch Hen,—

"A second time I saw, after that conflict,
Aur ysgwyd on the shoulder of Urien."

And Aneurin, speaking of Ceredig, says that—

"His *ysgwyd aur* dazzled the field of battle."

F.

FFAL—The heel of a shoe.

FFALING—A mantle; a cloak.

"Like the Irishman for the *ffaling*."—*Adage.*

"Guto made a cotton *ffaling*."

Guto y Glyn, A.D. 1450.

Ffedawg—An apron. The word is evidently a contraction of *arffedawg*, which comes from *arffed*, the lap.

Ffedawnen—A neckcloth, or cravat.

Ffil—A quick dart.

Fflaw—A dart; a banner.

"A bright *fflaw*, from every battle obtaining hostages."
Cywrysedd Gwynedd a Dehau.

Ffon—A staff, or stick; a cudgel. *Ffon ddwybig*, a quarter-staff.

Ffonwaew—A javelin.

Ffunen—A band; a lace; a riband; a head-band.

"Through the window give me the *ffunen*
Of thy generous mother, to cover my head."
D. ab Edmwnt, A.D. 1450.

The legal value of a *ffunen* was fourpence.—*H. Dda.*

Ffunenig—A bandlet, or a lace.

Ffyd—Coverings, or garments.

"Envious also, divested of his *ffyd*
Is the bishop; miserable the reflection."
Dr. S. Cent, 1420–1470.

G.

Gaflach—A barbed or bearded spear. Peredur struck a knight "with a sharp pointed *gaflach*, and it hit him in the eye, and came out at the back of his neck, so that he instantly fell down lifeless."—*Peredur ab Efrawg.* This weapon however seems to have been more peculiar to the Irish, who were hence denominated *Gwyddyl gaflachawg*. See *sub voce Glaif.*

GARDAS and GARDYS—A garter; from *gar* the shank, or lower part of the thigh.

GEFYN—A fetter; a gyve; a manacle; a shackle.

GEM—A gem; a jewel.

> "There is a broche in the *gem* of his girdle."
>
> *Tudur Aled*, A.D. 1490.

See also *Em*.

GLAIF—A crooked sword; a scimitar; a glaive. According to the Laws of Dyfnwal Moelmud, "the three essentials of a vassal were a fireside, a *glaif*, and a trough."—*Myv. Arch.*, iii., p. 316. But the *glaif* was not confined to vassals, at least in more recent times, for we have Einiawn ab Madawg Rhahawd, 1230–1270, thus speaking of Gruffydd ab Llywelyn:—

> "Usual to thee to have the red and dashing *glaif* over the mane of the steed."—*Myv. Arch.*, i., p. 392.

The Gwyneddians, or men of North Wales, who fought under Gruffydd ab Cynan, were distinguished for their use of the *glaif* and *tarian*, as appears from the following extract:—

> "The kings, therefore, began to retreat, when they beheld the multitude of victorious bands, and the camps of King Gruffydd, and his banners displayed against them, and the men of Denmark with their two-edged axes, and the dart-bearing Gwyddelians with their iron balls full of spikes, and the Gwyneddians *gleifiawc* (with scimitars) and shield-bearing."—*Myv. Arch.*, ii., p. 593.

GLAIN—A jewel; a bead. *Glain nod*, a prime jewel. *Glain nadron*, transparent stones, or adder stones, worn by the different orders of bards, each having its appropriate colour; the blue ones belonged to the

presiding Bards, the white to the Druids, the green to the Ovates, and the three colours blended to the disciples. Pliny believed them to have been produced by the blowing of snakes. The truth seems to be, however, that they were glass beads, formed by the fusion of sand and *natron* by means of the blowpipe, which in shape resembled a serpent. This latter circumstance, together with the close agreement in sound between *natron* and *nadron* evidently occasioned the mistake as to their production and real nature.

Glasgaen—A blue covering, or armour. As early as the time of Julius Cæsar the Britons knew how to dye blue; and it is supposed from the term *glastenneu*, as applied to the holm, or scarlet-oak, that the oak dust and apple formed the colouring material to which Cæsar applied the term *glastum*.

"Who is the youth that wears the *glasgaen;*
What hero is he that proudly leads the way?"

Elegy on Llewelyn ap Madawg,
A.D. 1290–1340.

Gleindorch—A circlet of beads; a bead necklace.

Godre—A skirt, border, or edge.

Godrwy—A wreath; a chain.

"Adorned with a wreath was the leader, the wolf of the holme.
Amber beads *godrwyawr* (in ringlets) encircled his temples."

Gododin.

Gol—A covering.

"The opposing party reply, claiming a contrary turn,
The same is Rhodri, liberal of *golodd.*"

Gwalchmai, 1150–1190.

Goloed—A covering; a vestment.

"Gruffydd of a fiery disposition,
And the bold frame of Hywel with a conspicuous *goloed*,
And for whom I bear the longest affection."—*Id.*

Gorbais—Upper coat.

Gordudd—An outer covering.

Gordudded—An over cover.

Gordd-dorch—A collar; a chain, or torque for the neck.

"Eudaf, as seen by Maxen Wledig in his Dream, had a golden *gordd-dorch* about his neck."—*Mabinogi.*

Gorthorch—A superior wreath; a torque; a collar. Myrddin Wyllt wore a golden *gorthorch* in that battle where his patron Gwenddoleu fell.

"In the battle of Arderydd of gold was my *gorthorch*."
Myrddin 530–600.

Gorwisg—An outer garment.

Gotoew—A spur. Llywarch Hen speaks with pride of one of his sons as wearing golden *gotoew*.

"Whilst I was of the age of yonder youth,
That wears the golden *ottoew*,
It was with velocity I pushed the spear."
Elegy on Old Age.

Gra—The down, nap, or frieze of cloth; cloth with nap upon it.

The bed which the maiden in the "Lady of the Fountain" prepared for Owain, "was meet for Arthur himself; it was of scarlet, and *gra*, and satin, and sendall, and fine linen."—P. 57.

Grain—A ring. *Grain-fys*, the ring-finger.

Gwaedlain—A bloody blade. One of the heroes of Gododin

"Gwyalfain the son of Eilydd wielded a *gwaedlain*."

Aneurin.

Gwaedlen—A blood veil; a bloody veil.

"He was seen—
With a *gwaedlen* conspicuous round his head,
And there was blood and food for crows,
And the raven on the corpse,
And the foes were of hope bereft."

Ll. P. Moch to Llywelyn I.

Gwaeg—A fibula; a clasp; a buckle; the tongue of a buckle. Cynon, narrating an adventure in the "Lady of the Fountain," says,—

"I approached the castle, and there I beheld two youths, with yellow curling hair, each with a frontlet of gold upon his head, and clad in a garment of yellow satin; and they had gold *gwaegau* upon their insteps."—P. 41.

Gwaell—A lance. A knight in the "Dream of Rhonabwy" had "in his hand a blue-shafted *gwaell*, but from the haft to the point it was stained crimson-red with the blood of the ravens and their plumage."—P. 411.

Gwaew—A spear, lance, or pike; a javelin. Also the rod of the apparitor, which he used in summoning persons to appear.

According to the Laws of Dyfnwal Moelmud, the *gwaew* was one of "three legal weapons" which it was required of every head of family to provide himself with. See *Arf.* The *gwaew* head was one of the three things for which the court smith was to receive payment. The value of the *gwaew* in Hywel Dda's Code was fourpence.—*Myv. Arch.*, iii., 423. The

length of the apparitor's *gwaew* was to be three cubits; two of which were to be behind, and one before him.—*Ibid.*, p. 374.

Gwaewffon—A javelin. Same as *ffonwaew*.

Gwaewlorf—The staff or shaft of a lance.

> "Rhys, the best son of the champion of Mon,
> With the hasty *gwaewlorf*, of Llywelyn's race."
>
> *T. Aled.*

Gwaewsaeth—A dart, or javelin.

Gwain—A scabbard; a sheath. In the "Dream of Rhonabwy" we read of a page who "bore a heavy three-edged sword with a golden hilt, in a *gwain* of black leather tipped with fine gold."—P. 407. Also, of another, who had "in his hand a huge, heavy, three-edged sword, with a *gwain* of red deer hide, tipped with gold."—P. 408. Again, of one who "had upon his thigh a large gold-hilted one-edged sword, in a *gwain* of light blue, and tipped with Spanish laton."—P. 411. The *gwain* of another was of "red cut leather."—P. 412. Some *gweiniau* were made of wood. Kai addressed Gwrnach the giant in "Kilhwch and Olwen," after this manner:—

> "It is thy *gwain* that hath rusted thy sword; give it to me, that I may take out the wooden sides of it, and put in new ones."—P. 295.

Gwalc—The cock of a hat. *Het walciawg*, a cocked hat.

> "When the men shall be *walciawg*,
> And the women high crested,
> And the youths with flaunting wings
> And light steps, will all this be."
>
> *Gronw Ddu*, 1400.

Gwald—A hem; a welt. *Gwald esgid*, a shoe welt.

Gwaldas and Gwaltes—*Idem.*

Gwallt—The hair of the head. The Bards and Druids in ancient times wore their hair short.—*James' Patriarchal Religion*, p. 75. With the people it was otherwise, "capilloque sunt promisso," says Cæsar.—*De Bel. Gal.*, v. Tacitus describes the Silurians as having, for the most part, curly hair,—"torti plerumque crines." Taliesin speaks of the people of Gwent, in the sixth century, as being long-haired, "gwallthirion."

> "Greatly fearful the perjury
> Of the Gwenhwys with the long hair."

Giraldus Cambrensis says of the Welsh in the twelfth century, that the men and women cut their hair close round to the ears and eyes. In the succeeding century, however, the fashion was altered; for we are informed that Dafydd ab Gwilym, and the young men of his day, wore their hair long. In the eighth century, it was the custom of people of consideration to have their children's hair cut the first time by persons for whom they had a particular honour and esteem, who, in virtue of this ceremony, were reputed a sort of spiritual parents, or godfathers to them. In the Mabinogi of "Kilhwch and Olwen," this same custom appears. "Arthur is thy cousin," said Kilydd to his son; "go, therefore, unto Arthur, to cut thy *gwallt*, and ask this of him as a boon."—P. 252. It would seem from the Mabinogion that *gwallt* of a yellow colour was the favourite in mediæval times.

The Early British Ecclesiastics shaved their hair

from ear to ear across the front of the head, which fashion they probably borrowed from the garland and tiara of the Druids, and not, as was imputed to them by the Romanists, from Simon Magus.—*Eccles. Ant. of the Cymry*, p. 310.

Gwasgawd—A waistcoat.

Gwasgrwym—A bandage; a girdle.

Gwddwgen—A neckcloth; a cravat.

Gwe—A web of cloth.

Gwefr—Amber. Amber beads were borne by military chieftains in the sixth century. See *Godrwy*.

Gwentas—A high shoe; a buskin. In the "Lady of the Fountain" a person is described as having "on his feet two *gwentasau* of variegated leather, fastened by two bosses of gold."—P. 42. Two youths seen by Maxen Wledig in his Dream, "had on their feet *gwentasau* of new Cordova leather, fastened by slides of gold."—P. 279. The legal value of *gwentasau* was one penny.—*Myv. Arch.*, iii., p. 424.

Gwenwisg—A white garment; a surplice.

"Clad in a shroudy *wenwisg*."

D. ab Gwilym, 1400.

Gwisg—A garment; apparel; dress.

Gwisgad—Habiliment.

Gwlanen—A flannel.

Gwrddwaew—A javelin.

Gwrddyn—A dart; a javelin.

"Braint Hir came amongst a group of the mendicants, in the place where the diviner was haranguing them; and without any hesitation, when he got an opportunity for his aim, he lifted a *gwrddyn*, and wounded the diviner."—*Gr. ab Arthur*.

Gwregys—A girdle. So in *Cor. Arm.* "Gouris."

Helen the daughter of Eudaf, as seen by Maxen in his Dream, had a "*gwregys* of ruddy gold around her." —*Dream of Maxen Wledig*, p. 280. A knight in the "Dream of Rhonabwy" had "a sword, the *gwregys* or belt of which was of dark green leather with golden slides and a clasp of ivory upon it, and a buckle of jet black upon the clasp."—P. 411.

A *gwregys* of gold or silver was, according to the Laws of Hywel Dda, to be appraised; if not of those materials, its value was one penny. A trousers *gwregys* is likewise estimated at one penny.

Gwrthfach—The beard or returning point of a weapon.

Gwrydd—A wreath

"An angel's covering of yellow hair,
In a *gwrydd* of gold round the maid's shoulder."
D. ab Gwilym.

H.

Haen—A plait, or fold.

"One *haen* is not shelter enough,
Without another *haen* of stiff hairs like arrow-points."
Iolo Goch.

Haiarnblu—The iron scales used in armour. Lit. iron feathers.

Haiarngaen—A covering of iron; iron armour.

"Does any one ask—Concerns it not men,
Ere the *haiarngaen* be reddened,
What youth is he that wears the blue armour,
What hero is the haughty one in front?"
Llywarch Llaety, 1290–1340.

Hatr, Hatriad—A covering.

Hed—A hat.

Helm—A helmet. The following descriptions of a *helm* occur in the "Dream of Rhonabwy:"—"A *helm* of gold, set with precious stones of great virtue, and at the top of the *helm* the image of a flame-coloured leopard, with two ruby-red stones in its head."—P. 411. "A golden *helm*, wherein were set sapphire stones of great virtue; and at the top of the *helm* the figure of a flame-coloured lion, with a fiery-red tongue, issuing above a foot from his mouth, and with venemous eyes, crimson-red, in his head."—P. 412. "A bright *helm* of yellow laton, with sparkling stones of crystal in it, and at the crest of the *helm* the figure of a griffin, with a stone of many virtues in its head."—P. 414.

It would appear that the *helm* is not identical with the *penffestin*, for it is said that "Peredur attacked a sorceress, and struck her upon the head with his sword, so that he flattened her *helm* and her *penffestin* like a dish upon her head,"—(*Peredur ab Efrawg*, p. 323); and that a knight "overthrew Kai, and struck him with the head of his lance in the forehead, so that it broke his *helm* and the *penffestin*,"—(*Lady of the Fountain*, p. 67), as if they were two distinct things.

Hem—A hem, or border.

Heulrod—A sun cap; a cap to keep off the sun.

> "I have a *heulrod* of the skin of a fish; with that on my head I will stand before Hu, when he is dining; and I will eat with him, and I will drink, without any notice being taken of me."—*H. Car. Mag. Mabinogion.*

Hod—A hood, or cap.

Honfas—A chopping knife. Its value was one penny. —*Myv. Arch.*, iii., 424.

Honffest—A tunic. It was an expensive article of dress, being valued at twenty-four pence.

Hos, Hosan—A hose, or a stocking. We read in the "Dream of Rhonabwy" of "two *hosan* of thin greenish yellow cloth," p. 406; also, of "two *hosan* of fine white buckram," p. 408; and again, of "two *hosan* of fine Totness," p. 409. *Hosanau mawr* are legally valued at eightpence. The groom of the reign was entitled to the king's old *hosanau*.—*Myv. Arch.*, iii., p. 373.

Hosanlawdr—A pair of pantaloons.

Hotan, Hotyn—A cap. The word occurs in "Liber Landavensis." *Hotyn esgid*, the part of a shoe closing over the instep.

Hual—A fetter, or shackle. So in *Arm.*

"The three *aurhualogion* (golden banded chiefs) of the isle of Britain: Rhiwallon Wallt Banhadlen, Rhun the son of Maelgwn, and Cadwaladr the Blessed; they were so called because it was granted to them to wear bands of gold round their arms, knees, and necks, and were therefore invested with regal privilege in every country and dominion in Britain."—*Triad* 28.

Taliesin speaks of "the steel blades, mead, violence, and *hualau* of the men of Cattraeth."—*Myv. Arch.*, i., p. 21.

In the Laws an iron *hual* is valued at one penny; a wooden *hual* at a farthing.—*Myv. Arch.*, iii., p. 424.

Hug—A loose coat, or cloak.

"Reynard, I pray thee, stop the leap,
And tear a corner of the golden *hug*."
R. G. Eryri concerning the Peacock,
A.D. 1420.

Hugan and Hugyn, *dim.—Idem.*

Hwsan—A hood.

Hychwaew—A pushing spear.

"When his sight was darkened the monster became furious; and as the wild boar rushes upon the *hychwaew* of the huntsman, so did he rush at Arthur upon the point of the sword." —*Gr. ab Arthur.*

I.

Irai—A sharp point; a goad.

"Samgar—smote of the Philistines six hundred men with an ox *irai*."—Judges, iii., 31.

Isarn—A bill, scythe, or sickle; a long hatchet; a battle-axe.

"Cutting off her head—
With an *isarn* at one stroke."—*D. ab Gwilym.*

Ll.

Llachbren—A cudgel. Cudgelling is the common diversion among the people of Caermarthenshire, hence they are nicknamed *Llachwyr*, or cudgellers.

Llaesbais—A loose trailing coat. In "Ymarwar Lludd," (*Myv. Arch.*, i., p. 76,) mention is made of a people

"amlaes eu peisiau" (in long robes) as invaders of the isle of Britain.

"Men from a country in Asia, and the region of Capys;
A people of iniquitous design: the land is not known
That was their mother. They made a devious course by sea.
Amlaes eu peisiau, who can equal them?"

Llafn—A blade; a slide.

"They had daggers with *llafneu* (blades) of gold, and with hilts of the bone of the whale."—*Lady of the Fountain,* p. 42.

"Buskins of new cordovan leather on their feet, fastened by *llafneu* (slides) of red gold."—*Dream of Maxen Wledig,* p. 279.

Llafnawr—*Aggr.* Bladed weapons; spears used by the Britons, about seven feet long, nearly three of which length was a blade, like that of a sword. This weapon is frequently mentioned by the earliest bards; for instance, Taliesin observes,—

"Exalted is Rheged of warlike chiefs;
They brandished the *llafnawr* of battle,
Under the round shield of the shout,
The light of which displayed a pale corpse."

Bronze *llafnawr* were used in Wales as late as the time of Owain Glyndwr, as several of them have been found in places where he fought his battles.

Llain—A blade; a sword.

"Heroic suffering, the voice of pain, and a blue *llain* on the thigh,
Will be heard of in Britain."—*Cynddelw,* 1150–1200.

Llarp—A shred; a rag; a clout.

Llath—A rod. Eudaf was seen by Maxen Wledig in

his Dream "with a chessboard of gold before him, and a *llath* of gold, and a steel file in his hand."—P. 279.

LLAWBAN—Felt. *Brethyn llawban*, felt cloth.

LLAWDRYFER—A hand harpoon; a hand dart.

"The foam will guard thee against the *llawdryfer* of a river thief."—*D. ab Gwilym to the Salmon.*

LLAWDR—Trowse, trowsers, or pantaloons; breeches. In the "Lady of the Fountain," Cynon observes of six damsels whom he met with at a certain castle:—"They took off my soiled garments, and placed others upon me; namely, an under vest, and a *llawdr* of fine linen, and a robe, and a surcoat, and a mantle of yellow satin, with a broad gold band upon the mantle."—P. 43. The *llawdr* is generally joined with the *crys*, or under vest; and, in the Laws of Hywel Dda, they are valued together at twenty-four pence, a high price.—(*Myv. Arch.*, iii., p. 424.) In the Triadic Laws, it is enjoined that a knife, a sword, and a *llawdr*, if lost in behalf of a house should not be paid for.—*Myv. Arch.*, iii., p. 323.

The apparitor was entitled at the assize in November to a new coat, under vest, and a *llawdr*, but there was to be no shalloon in his *llawdr*. His clothes were to reach to the tie of the latter garment.—P. 374.

In Cornish *lodr* (pl. *lydraw*) means stockings; "and this has happened," saith E. Lhwyd, "because the old trouse was breeches and stockings in one garment, which is still retained in the Highlands of Scotland, and in several other countries." *Arm.*, *lowzr* and *laurec;* and *lawrega*, or *laureaff*, to put on one's breeches.

Llawes—A sleeve; from *llaw*, a hand.

Llawfwyall—A hand hatchet; valued in the Laws at one penny.

Llen—A veil, a plaid, or a scarf. Giraldus Cambrensis says that the Welsh women of his day covered their heads with a large white veil, folded together in the form of a crown, after the manner of the Parthians. In the "Dream of Rhonabwy," we read of a youth who had "a *llen* (a scarf) with yellow borders.—P. 376. Also of "a troop, whereof every one of the men had a *llen* of white satin, with jet black borders."—P. 403.

Llengel—A veil. Gruffydd ab Meredydd, A.D. 1310–1360, referring to the death of Tudur ap Goronwy, says,—

> "Altogether sad the separation!
> A silent covering *llengel*
> Hides the pensive cheek."
>
> *Myv. Arch.*, i., p. 438.

Llian—A web; linen-cloth. *Llian cri*, unbleached cloth; *llian bras*, coarse cloth; *llian main*, fine linen; *llian brith*, check-cloth; *llian amdo*, a shroud cloth.

Several of the officers of the court were, by Hywel Dda's Laws, entitled to their *llian* from the king or the queen.

Llieinwisg—A linen garment. The same observation will apply here.

Llinon—A shaft.

> "Joy to the arm, and the hard *llinon;*
> Let him kill; let him silence the motley rabble."
>
> *T. Penllyn*, A.D. 1460.

Llinyn—A string.

Cynon, in the "Lady of the Fountain," describes two youths, who had each "an ivory bow, with *llinynau* made of the sinews of the stag."—P. 42.

Llodryn—*Dim.* of Llawdr.

Llogell—A pocket.

Llop—A buskin; a boot.

Llopan—A sort of high shoe; a sock.

Pwyll, in the guise of a mendicant, "was clad in coarse and ragged garments, and wore large *llopanau* upon his feet."—*Pwyll P. of Dyved*, p. 55.

In an old medical work it is stated that "the ashes of old *llopanau* are good against proud flesh."

Llost—A spear; a lance; a javelin.

Lluchwaew—A missive dart; a javelin.

Yspyddaden Penkawr threw three poisoned *lluchwaew* after the messengers that asked his daughter Olwen for Kilhwch the son of Kilydd.—*Kilhwch and Olwen*, p. 277.

Llumman—A flag, ensign, banner or standard.

The word is used by Golyddan, 560–630, in his "Destiny of Britain,"

> "The sacred *llumman* of Dewi will they raise."
>
> *Myv. Arch.*, i., p. 158.

Llummanbren—The staff of a banner, or of a standard.

Llummanig—A banderol.

Lluryg—A lorica; a brigandine; a coat of mail. In the battle fought under Boadicea, the Britons, we are told, had no loricæ.—*Hanes Cymru*, p. 85. They used the same, however, in the sixth century, for Aneurin thus describes the heroes of Gododin:—

"The heroes went to Cattraeth with marshalled array and shout of war,
With powerful steeds, and dark brown harness, and with shields,
With uplifted javelins, and piercing lances,
With glittering *llurygau*, and with swords."

The word also occurs in the poems of Llywarch Hen and Taliesin. According to Hywel Dda's Laws the *lluryg* was to be valued or appraised upon oath.—*Myv. Arch.*, iii., 423.

Llymwydden—A wooden spear.

M.

Maenfan—The beasil of a ring.

Malen—A shield.

"A golden apple on the convex of the *malen*,
And then a spike on the top."
T. Aled, A.D. 1490, *to a Buckler*.

Manawyd—The staff of a banner, or standard.

"There was a confident impelling forward of the *manawyd* of the variegated standard."—*Gododin*.

Maneg—A glove, probably of Roman origin.

"I will not wear any strait *menyg*
Made of sheep skin."—*D. ab Gwilym*.

Mantell—A mantle, or cloak. It was proverbially regarded as the best covering.

"Goreu un tudded *mantell*."

Cynon, in the "Lady of the Fountain," saw "a

man in the prime of life, with his beard newly shorn, clad in a robe and a *mantell* of yellow satin; and round the top of his *mantell* was a band of gold lace." —P. 42.

In the time of Hywel Dda, the chief falconer was entitled to the *mantell* in which the king rode on the three principal festivals. A *mantell* of a dark brown colour, or of superfine quality, was estimated at twenty-four pence.—*Myv. Arch.*, iii., 424.

MARCHAWGWISG—A riding habit; a riding dress.

"Gwenhwyvar and all her women were joyful at her coming, and they took off her *marchawgwisg*, and placed other garments upon her."—*Geraint ab Erbin*, 129.

MEILYNDORCH—A sashoon. From *meilwn*, the small of the leg, and *torch*, a coil.

MEILYNWISG—*Id.*, called also *arfeilyn*.

MODRWY—A ring.

"Delightful again is the maid with a *modrwy*."
Taliesin.

"Bracelets of gold were upon his arms, and many *modrwyau* upon his hands."—*Dream of Maxen Wledig*, p. 279.

According to Hywel Dda's Laws a *modrwy* was to be appraised upon oath.—*Myv. Arch.*, iii., p. 424.

MOLED—A piece of cloth, forming a part of a woman's dress, to cover the head and shoulders; a muffler; a kerchief.

MWGWD—A mask, a vizard.

"Mead will pull off the *mwgwd*."—*Adage.*
"In vino veritas."

MWN—The upper part of the shaft of a weapon, next to the head.

"Peredur beheld two youths enter the hall, and proceed up to the chamber, bearing a spear of mighty size, with three streams of blood flowing from the *mwn* to the ground."—*—Peredur ab Efrawg.*

Mwndlws—A neck ornament; a necklace.
Mwndorch—A collar; a wreath for the neck.
Mynwor—A collar, properly of draught harness.

"Like yellow gold round the foam of the sea,
Are the delicate tresses over her *mynwor*."
D. ab Gwilym to Morfydd's hair.

Mynygldlws—A neck ornament.
Mynygldorch—A collar or wreath for the neck.
Mynyglwisg—A neck-kerchief; a neck-cloth.
Myrierid—Pearls.

"The spreading of my songs before thee,
Be it not like casting *myrierid* before swine."
Ll. P. Moch, 1160–1220.

N.

Nais—A band, or tie.
Neisiad—A kerchief.

O.

Oferdlws—A vain ornament, or jewel; a jewel merely ornamental.

"The judge of the palace claims *oferdlysau,* when his office is pledged to him, namely, a chessboard of whalebone from

the king, and a gold ring from the queen, and another from the domestic bard; and these *oferdlysau* he ought neither to give, nor to sell whilst he lives."—*Welsh Laws.*

Offerengrys—A cope; a sacerdotal vestment.

Offerenwisg—*Id.*

On, Onen—A spear with an ashen shaft. There is very frequent allusion in the Welsh poems to this weapon; *e. g.*, Llywarch Hen says—

"Let the gore be aptly clotted on the *on*."

And again,—

"When Caranmael put on the corslet of Cynddylan,
And lifted up and shook his *onen*,
From his mouth the Frank would not get the word of peace."

And later, Cynddelw, in his Elegy on Ithel son of Cadifor,—

"The ruddy *onen* would kill from his grasping hand."

From this word is formed *ongyr*, an aggregate of spears.

"Bold in slaughter, the swift one went with the gleamings of the *ongyr*,
The eagle of magnificent gift in the moving tents."
Prydydd Breuan, 1300–1360.

P.

Paeled—A skull cap.

"They gave one another blows so boldly fierce, so frequent, and so severely powerful, that their helmets were pierced, and their *paeledau* were broken, and their arms were shattered, and the light of their eyes was darkened by sweat and blood."—*Geraint ab Erbin*, p. 123.

Pais—A coat. The *pais* formed from an early period one of the principal articles of a person's dress, and was of various materials, colours and sizes. In "Peredur ab Efrawg," we read of a knight with an "iron *pais*."—P. 243. Kai told Gwalchmai that "whilst his speech and soft words lasted, a *pais* of thin linen would be armour sufficient for him."—P. 327. Two youths, in the "Lady of the Fountain," wore each a "*pais* of yellow satin."—P. 3. Taliesin speaks of a British tribe that wore "long *peisiau*."—*Myv. Arch.*, i., 76. And in the "Dream of Rhonabwy" we read of a young man "clad in a *pais* of yellow satin, falling as low as the small of his leg, and embroidered with threads of red silk."—P. 408. By the Laws of Hywel Dda, the apparitor of the court was entitled at the November assize to a new *pais*, under-vest, and trousers.—*Myv. Arch.*, iii., 374.

Paladr—A spear-staff; the shaft of a javelin. According to the Triadic Laws, "pren *peleidr*," or a tree whereof to form spear shafts in the king's cause, was regarded as one of "the three free trees in the royal forest."—*Myv. Arch.*, iii., p. 322. The *paladr* is much spoken of in the sixth century, *e. g.*, Aneurin thus writes,—

"The heroes marched to Cattraeth with marshalled array and shout of war,
With powerful steeds, and dark brown harness, and with shields,
With uplifted *peleidyr*, and piercing lances."

Sometimes a flag was attached to the point of the *paladr*. Thus we read in the "Dream of Rhonabwy"

of a youth who had in his hand "a mighty *paladr*, speckled yellow, with a newly sharpened head; and upon the *paladr* a banner displayed."—P. 409.

PALED—A shaft; a javelin; a dart. *Gware paled*, a tilting match.

"After we had completed every thing which appertained to the gods, there happened between two nephews a dispute about the victory at a *gware paled*."—*Gr. ab Arthur.*

PALI—Satin, or velvet; but its exact signification is not quite obvious, as it sometimes seems to imply the one, and sometimes the other, according to the rank of the persons who are represented as wearing it. There is mention in the Mabinogion of *Pali caerawg*, which is translated "diapered satin;" also of *pali melyngoch*, "yellow red satin," which seems to imply that the mediæval weavers of Britain were acquainted with the art of making what are usually called *shot* silks, or silks of two colours predominating interchangeably.

PALL—A mantle; a pall. Owain Cyfeiliog wore a

"*Pall coch.*"—*Myv. Arch.*, i., p. 222.

PAN—Fur; ermine. One of the heroes of Gododin wore

"Golden spurs and *pan*."

PAR—A spear.

"Splintered shields about the ground he left,
And *parau* of awful tearing did he hew down."

Gododin.

PARFAES—A shield.

PELYD—The legs of stockings with the feet cut off; also called *bacsau*.

PENAWR—A headpiece; a helmet.

"The blades glittered on the bright *penawr*."

Taliesin.

PENDEL—A head ornament, or chaplet.

"Brutus put a *pendel* of vine leaves on his head."

Brut y Brenhinoedd.

PENFFESTIN—A helmet.

"Ffrollo struck Arthur on his forehead, so that the sword was blunted on the rings of his *penffestin*."—*Gr. ab Arthur.*

See also *sub voce Helm.*

PENGUWCH—The fore part of any head-covering; a bonnet; a cap.

"Owain struck the knight a blow through his helmet, headpiece, and the crest of his *penguwch*."—*Lady of the Fountain*, 54.

"A yellow *penguwch* used to be worn by a woman newly married."—*Hen Ddefodau.*

The legal value of a *penguwch* was a penny.—*Myv. Arch.*, iii., p. 424.

PENLLIAIN—A head-cloth. It was valued at eightpence. —*Ibid.*

PENLLINYN—A head-band.

PENON—A pennant.

PENRE—A woman's coif or cowl, or hair-lace to truss up the hair.

PENRWYM—*Id.*

PENSEL—A great standard.

"The choicest token with the Irish
Are yellow and red in the front of onset;
Do thou consecrate the *pensel* of Llywelyn;
Do thou lead them on with these two colours."

Iolo Goch to O. Glyndwr.

Penwisg—A head-dress.

Penwn—A banner; a pennon.

Perced—A wrapper.

> "A covering against an angry storm;
> An Irish *perced* of two breadths."
>
> *D. Ll. ab Ll. ab Gruffydd, to a Mantle.* 1480.

Picell—A dart; a javelin.

Picffon—A pike-staff.

Pilan—A spear.

Pilen—A fringe, or border.

Pilwrn—A dart.

Pilyn—A clout; a rag; a piece of any texture used as a covering or garment. *Pilyn gwddf*, a neck-kerchief.

Pilyndawd—A covering, habiliment, garment, or vesture.

Pilys—A covering or robe made of skin; a pelisse.

> "Rhita the giant made a *pilys* of the scalps of the beards of kings."—*Gr. ab Arthur.*

Pilysyn—A robe; a pelisse.

Plethlinyn—A plaited cord, or bobbin.

Plu, Pluf, Pluawr—Plumes; feathers. That military men, as early as the sixth century, wore feathers of particular colours as distinctive badges, is evident from the testimony of the poets of that age. Thus Llywarch Hen says of himself,—

> "After the sleek tractable steeds, and garments of ruddy hue,
> And the yellow *pluawr*,
> Slender is my leg, my piercing look is gone."

And Aneurin, of the heroes of Gododin,—

> "Redder were their swords than their *pluawr*."

Pyrchwyn—The crest of a helmet. It was to be appraised upon oath.—*Myv. Arch.*, iii., 423.

Pyrgwyn—*Id.* See *Penguwch.*

R.

Rhac—The wrest of a cross-bow.

Rhactal—A frontlet; a forehead cloth.

"I beheld two youths with yellow curling hair, each with a *rhactal* of gold upon his head."—*Lady of the Fountain*, 41.

Rhagwisg—A fore-garment; a prior dress.

Rhaidd—A spear.

Rhain—Lances, spears.

"Support each other against them with ruddy *rhain*."
Taliesin.

Rhefawg—A bandage.

"They twisted four rods, and made four *rhefawg* to bind Oliver with."—*H. Car. Mag. Mabinogion.*

Rheiddyn—A dart. In the Gododin, war seems to be personified under the name "mam rheiddyn," the mother of the lance.

Rhestrawg—A plaited target, or buckler.

Rhethren—A pike; a lance. Taliesin, in his Ode to Gwallawg, says,—

"Splendid his commanding *rhethren*."

Rhodawg, Rhodawr—A chariot; a shield. The ancient Britons possessed war chariots of a peculiar construction, having scythes attached to the wheels, calculated to cause no inconsiderable annoyance to the enemy.

Some idea may be had of the force in chariots which they could bring into the field, from Cæsar's account of the number which Cassivellaunus, even when defeated, was able to retain in his service. "Dimissis amplioribus copiis, *millibus circiter quatuor essedariorum relictis.*"—*Cæs. de Bell. Gall.*, l. v., c. 19. At what time the use of these martial vehicles was discontinued we cannot tell. Dr. O. Pughe implies that they were used in the battle of Cattraeth, translating

"Twll tal ei rodawr,"

by the words "the front opening of his *chariot.*" There are other expressions made use of by the poets of a much later date, which convey still more clearly the idea that some of the Welsh chieftains appeared in a chariot on the field of battle. Thus Cynddelw observes in reference to Owain Cyfeiliog, prince of Powys, 1160–1197,—

"Ready in his *rhodawg* to range amid armies."
Myv. Arch., i., p. 221.

The word "rhodiaw," here translated to *range*, but which means literally *to walk*, is evidently more applicable to a chariot than to a shield. Again, Llywarch Llaetty, 1290–1340, in a poem addressed to Madog ab Meredydd, prince of Powys, inquires as follows,—

"To whom belongs the *rhodawg* of the crimson face of the field of slaughter;
And who its desolating wolf on its front;
Who deals wounds above the white prancing steeds;
What his name, whose lot is so glorious?"—P. 416.

He had before inquired respecting his shield.

The chariot was called *Rhodawg*, or *Rhodawr*, from

Rhod, a wheel; and in like manner the term was applied to a shield, on account of its orbed or circular shape. A shield is evidently meant in such passages as the following :—

"The brave and haughty hero with a notched *rhodawg*."
Cynddelw.

"The scattering of the wolf of slaughter with the golden-bossed *rhodawg*."—*Ll. P. Moch.*

Rhon—A pike, or lance.

Rhuchen—A coat; a leathern jerkin. In the Mabinogi of "Kilhwch and Olwen" there is mention made of

"A swineherd with a *rhuchen* of skin about him."

Rhuddbar—A ruddy spear.

Rhuwch—A rough-fringed mantle or garment. Llywarch Hen wore one :—

"Though light some may deem my *rhuwch*."

According to the Laws of Hywel Dda, a free tenant's *rhuwch* was valued at sixty pence, and that of a villain at thirty pence.—*Myv. Arch.*, iii., p. 424.

S.

Sachliain—Sackcloth.

Sachwisg—Sackcloth covering.

Sae—A kind of woollen stuff, say :—

"A robe has been sent to thee,
Beneath the leaves, of black *sae*."—*D ab Gwilym.*

Saeth—An arrow. According to the old Welsh Laws, every master of a family was required to possess a

"bow with twelve *saeth* in a quiver;" and have the the same in readiness against "the attacks of a foreign army, and of strangers, and other depredators." Their legal value was fourpence.

It is not very clear whether the *tela*, which, according to Cæsar, the Britons used in their first engagement with the Romans,

"Alii ab latere aperto, in universos tela conjiciebant."

were arrows, or some other missiles. That the word, in its primary acceptation, referred to the former, is evident from the Laws of Justinian:—

"Telum autem [ut Caius noster ex interpretatione legum duodecim tabularum scriptum reliquit] vulgo quidem id appellatur, quod ab arcu mittitur. Sed et omne significat quod manu cujusque jacitur."

In the "Lady of the Fountain" we read of two youths whose "*saethau* had their shafts of the bone of the whale, and were winged with peacock's feathers." —P. 42. In the tale cited, *sub voce Bwa*, the messenger from the court of North Wales expresses his desire to have "a bow of red yew in his hand, ready bent, with a tough, tight string, and a straight round shaft, with a compass-rounded nock, and long slender feathers, fastened on with green silk, and a steel head, heavy and thick, and an inch across, of a green blue temper, that would draw blood out of a weathercock."

Giraldus Cambrensis states that the people of Gwent excelled as archers, and he gives two or three extraordinary examples in proof of his assertion.

SAFFAR—A spike, a spear.

"They will tremble at their rage, serpents with *saffar* of reproof."—*Cynddelw.*

Saffwn—A beam, or a shaft.

"A *saffwn* of ample wrath is its spike."—*Cynddelw.*

Saffwy—A pike, or lance. This weapon was used in the battle of Cattraeth.

"He would not say but that Cynon should see the corpse
Of one harnessed and *saffwyawc* (holding a pike), and of a wide-spread fame."—*Gododin.*

Said—That part of any tool which goeth into the haft; the hilt, haft, or handle. *Cleddyf crynsaid*, a sword with a round handle.

Saled—An helmet, or headpiece.

"If William will give a steel *saled,*
To fasten the temples comfortably."
G. Glyn, A.D. 1450.

Segan—A covering, a cloak.

"The love *segan* of the ladies;
Guto the panegyrist, a lodger midst mead,
Know that the garment is mine."
Ieuan ap Hywel Swrdwal, 1460.

Sidan—Silk; satin.

Sider—Lace; fringe.

Sindal—Sindon; fine linen; cambric. The word was used by the old writers to signify a thin kind of silk, like cypress.

"The couch which the maiden had prepared for him (Owain) was meet for Arthur himself; it was of scarlet, and fur, and satin, and *sindal,* and fine linen."—*Lady of the Fountain.*

Gwynfardd Brycheiniawg, 1160–1220, in his Ode on St. David, describes him as being robed in *sindal*.

"Dewi son of Sant with a *sindal* vest."

Swch—A soc; a point; the boss of a shield.

"He bore a heavy three-edged sword with a golden hilt, in a scabbard of black leather, having a *swch* of fine gold on the point (*i. e.*, being tipped with fine gold)."—*Dream of Rhonabwy*, p. 407.

To hold the *swch* of a shield upwards was regarded as a signal of peace.

"Behold one of the ships outstripped the others, and they saw a shield lifted up above the side of the ship, and the *swch* of the shield was upwards, in token of peace."—*Branwen*, p. 104.

Sychyn—A soc.

"Impelled are sharp weapons of iron—gashing is the blade,
And with a clang the *sychyn* descends upon the pate."
Gododin.

T.

Tabar—A tabard. The word was known in the sixth century, as it is mentioned by Taliesin.

Taladdurn—A front ornament.

Talaith—Properly a head-band, such as that wherewith a nurse ties the head of a little child; also, a crown, a coronet, a diadem.

"The three *taleithiawg cad* (diademed warriors) of the isle of Britain; Trystan son of Tallwch, Huail son of Caw, and Cai son of Cynyr the handsome knight; and one was *taleith-*

iawg over the three, namely, Bedwyr son of Pedrog."—*Triad* 69. Third Series.

The sons of Rhodri the Great were likewise styled "the three *taleithiawg* princes, by reason that each of them did wear on his helmet a coronet of gold, being a broad head-band indented upwards, set and wrought with precious stones."—*Vide Wynne's Hist. of Wales*, p. 34. Hence also the word came to signify a principality, or a province.

Taleithiig—A fillet, a bandlet.

Targed—A target.

Tarian—A shield. Gwrgan the Freckled, the fiftieth king of Britain, "enacted a law that no one should bear a *tarian*, but only a sword and bow; hence his countrymen became very heroic."—*Iolo MSS.*, p. 351. Ancient writers represent the *tarianau* of the Britons as very small; to which description the specimens which occasionally come to light exactly agree. They seem to have been borne in the hand, rather than on the arm.

A simple *tarian* was valued at eightpence; but should it be of blue or gold enamel, its value was twenty-four pence.—*Myv. Arch.*, iii., p. 423.

Tasel—A bandage; a sash; a fringe; a tassel.

Teddyf—A socket; a hollow for receiving a handle, or the like.

"The smith of the palace ought to perform all the jobs of the palace gratuitously, except three things; those are particularly the rim of a pot, the edge of a coulter, and the *teddyf* of a hatchet and of a spear head."—*Welsh Laws.*

Teisban—A piece of tapestry; a quilt; a hassock.

Teyrndlws—A jewel, or part of the regalia. The ancient *teyrndlysau* of Wales, among which were the *croes naid*, adorned with gold and silver and precious stones, and the crown of King Arthur, were, after the defeat of Dafydd ab Gruffydd, conveyed by Edward I. with magnificent pomp to Westminster Abbey. "Et sic Wallensium gloria ad Anglicos, licet invite, est translata."—*Annal. Waverl. Matth. Westm.*

Teyrnwialen—A sceptre.

Tinbais—A petticoat.

Tlws—A jewel.

Torch—A torques; a collar; a wreath. The nobility and great commanders among the ancient Britons wore golden *tyrch* about their necks, as did also their neighbours in Gaul. Tacitus mentions the *tyrch* among the British spoils exhibited at Rome with the noble captive Caractacus; and Dion Cassius, in his description of Boadicea, tells us, "she wore a large golden torques," &c.—*Hist. Rom.*, l. 62. Frequent allusion is made to the *torch* by the bards of the sixth century; and even as late as the close of the twelfth century we meet with a lord of Iâl wearing the golden chain, and hence denominated *Llewelyn aurdorchog*.

Toron—A mantle, or cloak.

Toryn—A mantle; a cope; or sacerdotal vesture.

"I will not be a carrying *toryn*, nor pluvial cap."—*Adage.*

Trws—A covering garment; a trouse, dress, or habiliment.

Tryfer—A forked spear, or harpoon.

"And the *tryfer* of battle and tumult."—*Iolo Goch.*

Tudded—A covering.

"The groom of the chamber is entitled to all the old clothes of the king, except his Lenten *tudded*."—*Welsh Laws.*

Tuddedyn—A covering.

"Every town-wrought *tuddedyn*, its value is twenty-four pence; every home-spun *tuddedyn*, eightpence."—*Welsh Laws.*

Tul—A shroud.

Tuli—*Id.*

Twli—Buckram; stiff cloth.

Twyg—A garment; a toga. Merddin seems to refer it to the monks in the following lines:—

"I will not receive the communion from accursed monks,
With their *twygau* on their knees,
May I be communicated by God Himself."

Tytmwy—A loop; a clasp; a buckle.

"Derbyniad pen cengl, modrwy yn dal pwrs wrth wregys."
—*J. Davies, D.D.*, 1630.

"It was a *tytmwy* on a gap,
The string of the wood, across a dingle,
Strong was the briar."—*D. ab Gwilym.*

Tywel—A cloth; a towel.

Y.

Ysgarlad—Scarlet. See *Sindal.*

Ysgin—A robe made of skin with the fur on; a pelisse. Rhita Gawr, who lived beyond the historical era of the Britons, is said to have made for himself an *ysgin* from the beards of the princes that he reduced to the rank of

shaved ones, or slaves, on account of their oppression. —*Triad* 54. Third Series. *G. ab Arthur.*

The legal worth of an *ysgin* belonging to the king was one pound; also to the queen one pound; if it belonged to a freeholder or his wife, 120 pence.—*Myv. Arch.*, iii., 424. It was thus a very expensive article of dress.

Ysginawr—A robe. Llywelyn Prydydd y Moch describes Llywelyn ab Iorwerth as invested with

> "An ample *ysginawr*
> Of scarlet, the hue of the gleaming of flames."

Ysgwyd—A shield; a target. The early bards make frequent use of this word in their description of heroes and battles. Urien Rheged had a gold *ysgwyd.*

> "Aur ysgwyd ar ysgwydd Urien."—*Ll. Hen.*

Ysgwydawr—A shield; a target.

> "Have I not been presented by Rhun the magnificent,
> With a hundred swarms, and a hundred *ysgwydawr?*"
> *Ll. Hen.*

Ysgwydrwy—The rim of a shield.

> "My wreath is of ruddy gem,
> Gold my *ysgwydrwy.*"—*Taliesin.*

Ysgwyddlian—A shoulder scarf; an ephod.

Ysgwyddwisg—*Id.*

Ysnoden—A fillet, band, riband or lace; a head-band; a hair lace. *Ysnoden gorni, rhwymyn,* a swaddling band.

"I saw a man in the prime of life, with his beard newly shorn, clad in a robe and a mantle of yellow satin, and round

the top of his mantle was an *ysnoden* of gold lace."—*Lady of the Fountain.*

YSNODENIG—A bandlet.

YSPAR—A spear, or pike.

> "O Graid, son of Hoewgi,
> With thy *ysperi*
> Thou causest an effusion of blood."—*Gododin.*

YSPARDUN—A spur. According to Hywel Dda's Laws, the head groom of the palace was entitled to the king's old *yspardunau.* In the same Code also *yspardunau* of gold are valued at fourpence; of silver, at twopence; of tin or brass, at one penny.

YSPICELL—A dart.

YSTOLA—A scarf; an ephod; a wrapper; a loose gown; a stole.

"They beheld a young man sitting on the right side, being clad in a shining *ystola.*"—*W. Salisbury.*

YSTRAIG—A buckle.

THE END.

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