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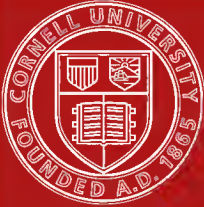
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THE GODODIN

OF

92

ANEURIN GWAWDRYDD:

AN

English Translation,

WITH COPIOUS EXPLANATORY NOTES;

A LIFE OF ANEURIN;

AND

SEVERAL LENGTHY DISSERTATIONS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE
"GODODIN", AND THE BATTLE OF CATTRAETH.

BY THE LATE

THOMAS STEPHENS 1821-75

(AUTHOR OF "THE LITERATURE OF THE KYMEY".)

EDITED BY

THOMAS POWEL, M.A.

PRINTED FOR THE

Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion

BY

WHITING & CO., 30 & 32, SARDINIA STREET, W.C.

1888.

PREFACE.

THE present work on the *Gododin* was written by Mr. Stephens for the Abergavenny Eisteddfod of 1853, the tenth of the brilliant series of Eisteddfodau held under the auspices of Cymreigyddion y Fenni. At an earlier meeting, in October 1845, a "Subscription Prize of Twelve Guineas" had been announced "for the best English Prose Translation of *The Gododin*, with explanatory notes." The subject had been selected by Dr. Carl Meyer, who also subscribed ten guineas of the prize, the remainder having been promised by "A Lady". In October 1848, when the next Eisteddfod took place, there was apparently no competition for this prize, and the announcement was renewed. At the succeeding Eisteddfod, held on the 12th and 13th of October 1853, Mr. Stephens was the only competitor, though it appears that a copy of Ab Ithel's printed translation, which had been published during the previous year, was sent in without the author's knowledge. Neither of the translators had adopted the mode of treatment desired by the adjudicator, who was Dr. Meyer himself; and consequently, while he did "not refuse to the authors the full praise which they had deserved for their patriotic zeal, etc.", he withheld the prize. This decision provoked some

controversy, in which Mr. Stephens, however, took no part. But Dr. Meyer's adjudication was criticised by the Rev. J. Hughes (*Carn Ingli*) and the Rev. John Williams (*Ab Ithel*), in some "Remarks" which appear in the separate Report of the Eisteddfod, issued from the office of the *Carnarvon and Denbigh Herald*.

In consenting to the publication of this work after the lapse of so many years, the sole object of Mr. Stephens's representatives was to place the results of his labours before students of Welsh literature, as a contribution to the study of the *Gododin*. To do full justice to the author's philological and historical acumen, it must be borne in mind that the translation was written more than thirty years ago. In Mr. Stephens's own estimation the historical illustrations constitute the chief merit of the work; and it will be perceived that in these and the Introductory Essay he had on certain points anticipated by a whole generation conclusions which have been subsequently drawn by other writers.

It may perhaps be well to add that Mr. Stephens had in later years seen no reason to change his opinion on the subject of the *Gododin* and its relation to the battle of Catraeth. Mr. Skene's statement on this point in *The Four Ancient Books of Wales* (ii, 365) appears liable to be misunderstood as suggesting a greater change of opinion on Mr. Stephens's part than perhaps Mr. Skene had intended to imply. That Mr. Stephens had not abandoned his early view of the identity of Catraeth and Cataracton, and of the general significance of Aneurin's poem, will be seen from the following note by Mr. Llywarch

Reynolds, B.A., of Merthyr Tydvil, an intimate friend of Mr. Stephens.

“ OLD CHURCH PLACE, MERTHYR TYDVIL,
“ 30th January 1888.

“ MY DEAR POWEL,

“ I am very glad to hear that the concluding part of Stephens's work on the *Gododin*, which you are editing for the *Cymmrodorion*, is about to appear. Referring to the statement made by Mr. Skene in his remarks upon the *Gododin*, in *The Four Ancient Books of Wales* (ii, 365), to the effect that Stephens had abandoned the opinion announced in his *Literature of the Kymry* that the *Catraeth* of the *Gododin* was identical with ‘Cataracton’ and ‘Catterick’, it may interest you to learn that I had a conversation with Mr. Stephens upon the subject in the year 1869, in the course of which I asked him whether Mr. Skene's statement was true. Mr. Stephens replied that Mr. Skene was misinformed, and that he (Mr. Stephens) had not changed his opinion upon the point in question.

“ Should you think proper to mention this in your preface, you are quite at liberty to make what use you like of this letter.

“ Yours truly,

“ LLYWARCH REYNOLDS.”

In accordance with the main object of publication already stated, the work has been printed with very little modification beyond the omission of a few passages marked by the author himself. The Editor's chief task has been to verify or (more frequently) to supply references, and to compile the Index appended to the work. Whatever notes the editor is personally responsible for, have been enclosed in square brackets.

Of the principles which guided him in the formation of his text, the author gives no account beyond what appears on p. 139. The copies to which he refers are those used by Ab

Ithel, and are designated in the same way (*vide* Ab Ithel's *Gododin*, p. x) :—

1. The *Myvyrian* copy.
2. Rev. David Ellis's first copy.
3. " " second copy.
4. Davydd Thomas's MS.
5. Rev. Evan Evans's readings.
6. Paul Panton's readings given in the *Myvyrian*.
7. Rev. E. Davies's MS., known as the *Book of Aneurin*,
13th century.
8. Dr. Meyer's transcript.

Hearty thanks are tendered to the Rev. D. Silvan Evans, B.D., for permission, very readily granted, to use his translation of verses xciii ff., which appears in *The Four Ancient Books of Wales*; and to the Editorial Committee of the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for leave to reprint the papers found in the Appendix, pp. 356 ff.

It has been a source of much regret to the Editor that the repeated and prolonged attacks of illness by which he has been prostrated from time to time during the course of publication, have so materially delayed the completion of the work.

CONTENTS.

		PAGE
Original Title-page	-	1
Note to the Adjudicator	-	2
PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION		3-138
The Life of Aneurin		3-24
Introduction		25-106
Section I. — The Subject of the Gododin	26-53	
Section II.—The People of North Britain	53-81	
Section III.—Social History	81-106	
Roman Britain		107-138
THE GODODIN		- 139-355
Verse	I. To Owen	140
„	II. „ Madoc ab Brwyn	142
„	III. „ Manawyd ab Llyr	146
„	IV. „ Cyssul (son of Ysgyran)	148
„	V. „ Hyvaidd Hir	150
„	VI. „ the son of Botgad	154
„	VII. „ Gwarthan ab Dunawd	154
„	VIII.	156
„	IX. „ the son of Kian	156
„	X. „ the same	160
„	XI.	162
„	XII.	164
„	XIII. „ Tudvwlech (son of Kilydd)	166
„	XIV. „ the same	170
„	XV. „ the same	172
„	XVI. „ the same	176
„	XVII. „ Medel and Gwrveling	178
„	XVIII. 1. To Three Novantian Chiefs	180
„	„ 2. To Three British Chiefs	184
„	XIX. To Cydywal (son of Syvno)	186
„	XX. „ Present (son of Pêl)	188

Verse	XXI. To The Men of Aeron	190
"	XXII. " The Son of Kian	192
"	XXIII. " Breint (son of Bleidgi)	194
"	XXIV. " Bndvan (son of Bleidvan)	196
"	XXV. " Gwenabwy (son of Gwen)	198
"	XXVI. " Marchleu (son of Caradog)	200
"	XXVII. " Isaac (son of Gwyddno)	204
"	XXVIII. " Ceredig ab Cunedda	204
"	XXIX. " the same	210
"	XXX. " the Memory of Caradoc Vreich- vras and Gwrien	210
"	XXXI. " Caradoc and other chiefs	218
"	XXXII. " Gwlyget of Gododin	222
"	XXXIII. " Rhuvawn Hir	224
"	XXXIV. " Wid, son of Peithan	226
"	XXXV. " Moryen	230
"	XXXVI. " Cynon ab Clydno Eiddin	234
"	XXXVII. " Elphin, son of Urien	236
"	XXXVIII. " the same	238
"	XXXIX (A), XXXIX	240
"	XL. To Gwenabwy, Bradwen or Mor- yen ?	242
"	XLI.	244
"	XLII. To Bradwen	246
"	XLIII and XLIV. To Cynhaval, son of Argad	246
"	XLV. The Bard's Imprisonment	249
"	XLVI. To Keneu, son of Llywarch	250
"	XLVII. " Heilyn	252
"	XLVIII. " Gwarthan ab Dunawd	254
"	XLIX. " Rhys, son of Morial	258
"	L. " Adonwy	258
"	LI. " the same	260
"	LII. " Gododin	262
"	LIII. " Gwarthan (?) or Elphin (?)	266
"	LIV. " Moryal (?)	266
"	LV. " the same (?)	268
"	LVI.	268
"	LVII. To Cynon ab Clydno Eiddin	268
"	LVIII. " Eidol (ab Ner ?)	274
"	LIX. " the Retinue of Mynyddog	278
"	LX. " the same	278
"	LXI. " Present and Aeddan	280
"	LXII. " Merin, son of Madyen	286
"	LXIII. " Kibno, son of Gwen	290
"	LXIV. " Gwaednerth ab Llywri	292

Verse	LXV.	To Cynon of Aeron	-	294
"	LXVI.	" Kynddilig of Aeron		294
"	LXVII.	" Mynyddog (and his wife?)	-	298
"	LXVIII.	Details of the War		300
"	LXIX.	To Eidol	-	300
"	LXX.	" the same	-	302
"	LXXI.	" the same		304
"	LXXII.	" the same	-	304
"	LXXIII.	" Gwarthan ab Dunawd	-	304
"	LXXIV.	" the same	-	306
"	LXXV.	" the same		306
"	LXXVI.	" the same		308
"	LXXVII.	" Heiddyn Hir		308
"	LXXVIII.	" the same		308
"	LXXIX.	" the same		310
"	LXXX.	" Nwython and Donald Brec		310
"	LXXXI.	" Kynddilig		316
"	LXXXII.	" Nudd (?), son of Keidiaw		318
"	LXXXIII.	" Rhuvawn, Gwion, Gwgan and Gwlyged	-	320
"	LXXXIV.	" Gwlyged		320
"	LXXXV.	" the same	-	322
"	LXXXVI.			322
"	LXXXVII.	To Gereint (ab Erbin?)		324
"	LXXXVIII.			326
"	LXXXIX.	To Cas, son of Saidi		328
"	XC.	" Aeddan ab Ervei and Garthwys Hir	-	332
"	XCI.	" Dinogad ab Cynan Garwyn		332
"	XCII.	" Gwair, son of Mervarch		336
GORCHAN MAELDERW.				
	Verses	XCIII, and XCIV		338
Verse	XCv.	To Bleiddig, son of Eli	-	340
"	xcvi.	" Tudvwlech, son of Kilydd		340
"	xcvii.	" Merin ab Madyen	-	342
"	xcviii.	" Kyhuran ab Cian		342
"	xcix.	" the same	-	344
"	c.	" Gwaednerth ab Eleri	-	344
"	ci.		-	346
"	cii.	" Madoc of Elved	-	346
"	ciii.	" the Son of Nwython		346
"	civ, cv.		-	348
"	cvl, cvii.		-	350
"	cviii.	" Cynhaval	-	350
"	cix.	" Gwarthan ab Dunawd (?)	-	352
"	cx.	" Gupno, son of Gwen	-	352

APPENDIX	356-391
The Poems of Taliesin:	
Marwnad Cunedda	356-376
Marwnad Aeddon o Von	376-391
General Index	393-432
Index of Proper Names in the <i>Gododin</i>	433-438
Names of Persons	433-436
Names of Places	436-438
Index of First Lines of Verses	438-440

CORRIGENDA.

- Page 6, last line, for "*Mon. Hist. Britt.*," read "*Mon. Hist. Brit.*": the same correction to be made in the notes on pp. 30, 31, 37, 38, 39, 40 41, 60, 63.
- „ 11, l. 10, for "the son of," read "the father of."
- „ 44, l. 6, for "Amoric," read "Armoric."
- „ 69, l. 11, for "p. 200," read "p. 290."
- „ 77, l. 8, for "529B," read "525B."
- „ 127, l. 26, for "Clwyd," read "Clyde."
- „ „ ll. 27, 28, for "Brittania," read "Britannia."
- „ 154, l. 9 from bottom, for "Maitrum," read "Maitrun."
- „ 160, l. 14, for "Gwyngwm," read "Gwyngwn."
- „ 175, l. 15 from bottom, for "Dyvwlich," read "Kyvwlich."
- „ „ last line, for "Beddaw," read "Clywed."
- „ 180, l. 7 from bottom, for "mean companions," read "mead companions."
- „ 186, l. 12 from bottom, for "Brittanice," read "Britannice."
- „ 188, l. 1, for "e eneit¹¹," read "e¹¹ eneit."
- „ 195, l. 21, for "Brain," read "Bran."
- „ 205, ll. 19, 22, for "Maelgwyn," read "Maelgwn."
- „ 207, last line, for "Cambro-Briton," read "Cambrian Register."
- „ 214, ll. 25, 26, for "Legendary Life of St. Collen," read "legendary life of St. Collen."
- „ 217, last line, for "Arch. Britt.," read "Arch. Brit."
- „ 218, l. 3 from below, for "round," read "wound."
- „ 221, l. 4, for "Peledur," read "Peredur."
- „ 224, l. 16, for "will not give," read "will not give it."
- „ 225, l. 24, for "Gwawrnwy," read "Gawrnwy."
- „ 228, l. 14, for "name of the stone," read "name on the stone."
- „ 230, l. 3 from below, insert full stop after "Urien Rheged."
- „ 236, l. 11, for "of dodes," read "ef dodes."
- „ „ l. 21, for "Nolcit," read "Noleit."
- „ 248, l. 4 from below, for "Cardoc," read "Caradoc."
- „ 251, l. 16, for "LXVI," read "XLVI."
- „ 256, l. 12, for "Dalfirw," read "Dalfriw."
- „ 267, l. 3 from below, for "Dunawt," read "Dunaut."
- „ 294, l. 3, for "Ardylecawc," read "Ardyledawc."
- „ 313, l. 9, for "his father," read "his grandfather."
- „ 318, l. 13 from below, for "Deira," read "of Deira."
- „ 333, l. 7, for "Addan," read "Aeddan."
- „ 338, l. 11 from below, for "Geirwerydd," read "Gweirwerydd."

THE GODODIN
OF
ANEURIN GWAWDRYDD :

AN
ENGLISH TRANSLATION,
WITH COPIOUS EXPLANATORY NOTES;
A LIFE OF ANEURIN;
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SEVERAL LENGTHY DISSERTATIONS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE
"GODODIN",
AND THE
BATTLE OF CATTRAETH.

BY (THE SPIRIT OF THE BARD, OR)
YSBRYD ANEURIN.

N O T E.

The composition of long essays leaves but little leisure for revision, and still less inclination; and, therefore, if in the following pages the pen has occasionally slipped, or if any grievous injury has been inflicted upon the venerable head of Priscian, the author has to observe that slipshod authorship is one of the results of the prize system, and that the nine years allowed by Horace for correction have not yet expired.

One thing more. There is an industry which only ministers to *labours of love*. It will be left to the judge to determine, whether the small prize¹ offered in this case has been the inspiring motive to the composition of so large and elaborate a work, or a pure and patriotic desire to claim for the bard of the *Gododin* a status in European literature, and an honoured niche in the temple of fame.

Go forth, then, and say, that—

OLD ANEURIN WAS TRUE POET AND TRUE MAN!

¹ [The prize offered was £12:12:0.]

THE LIFE OF ANEURIN.

THE author of the *Gododin* was a person named Aneurin, who, at the battle of Catteraeth, appears to have worn the garb of the Bardic order, and at another time to have officiated in a priestly character; but when he lived is uncertain, and who he was has been the subject of discussion. The materials for his biography are nearly all comprised in the poem which has immortalised his name among the Kymric people; and the determination of his parentage, local habitation, and age is, therefore, contingent upon the date of that poem. His era has fluctuated in accordance with varying Gododinian theories, and accordingly it becomes our duty thoroughly to investigate the subject, and to take nothing for granted that we find in memoirs of the bard; for, on examination, it will be found that former biographies are merely echoes of each other, mixed up with the crude speculations of the respective writers. The facts are very few in number, and only to be ascertained by diligent enquiry; and it is to be regretted that the three former translators were all destitute of the critical spirit. The first and ablest of the three had the misfortune to live in the days of Jacob Bryant, and lost his way in the labyrinth of mythology; the second (Probert), and most sagacious, lacked courage to express his convictions, and expose the errors of the recognised authorities; and the third, a scholar and a gentleman, lacks the power to doubt, and, believing in the *Cambrian Biography* as he would in Holy Writ, has suffered himself to be led astray.

The first translator was the Rev. Edward Davies, author of the *Celtic Researches*, who, in his *Mythology of the Druids*, holds that the *Gododin* has reference to the reported massacre at Stonehenge. He fixes the date of this supposed event in 472; to accord therewith he cites Edward Lhuyd, to show that the bard was living as early as A.D. 510; and he states, in continuation, that Lhuyd refers the era of the *Gododin* to that year, "probably upon the authority of the ancient MS., which he quotes in the same passage" (p. 321). This probability may be disposed of satisfactorily; the MS. to which Lhuyd refers has been lost from the Hengwrt Library, and is supposed to be the very MS. which Mr. Davies was then using; and if it had contained any such assertion, he would have known it as well. We have, therefore, only to estimate the value of the statement made by Lhuyd. The same author, in reference to Taliesin, states (*Arch. Brit.*, 263) that he flourished "*circa medium Seculi Sexti*"; and he places Llywarch Hên in 590. Now, as Aneurin and Taliesin appear from the poems of both to have been contemporaries, of whom the former also seems to have been the junior, we must place him half a century later; and if we bear in mind that he was released from prison¹ by the son of Llywarch, we cannot hold until we descend into the seventh century. Mr. Davies, indeed, endeavours to show that the Llywarch of the *Gododin* was not the old bard; but we learn from the poem itself that one of the sons² of Llywarch Hên fell in the battle of Catteraeth, and, therefore, his theory falls to the ground.

Next in chronological order comes the *Cambrian Biography* of Mr. William Owen, afterwards Dr. Owen Pughe, whose biography of Aneurin has formed the basis of all the subsequent memoirs. In that article we are told,—

I. That Aneurin was "a chieftain among the Ottadinian Britons".

¹ [See verse xlvi, with the author's note.]

² [See verse xxxi.]

II. That "he flourished early in the sixth century, lost his territories in the North, as is supposed, about 540 and took refuge with the famous congregation of Catwg, in the country of the Silures, where he died about A.D. 570".

III. That Iolo Morganwg supposed Aneurin and Gildas to be the same person.

IV. That "he is called Aneurin y Coed Aur ab Caw o Gwm Cawlwyd in the Genealogy of the British saints".

Let us discuss these propositions *seriatim*. The assertion that Aneurin was a warrior and a chieftain among the Otta-deni has been repeated by Davies, Probert, the author of *The Cambrian Plutarch*, and Professor Rees, and all of them represent him to have been in arms at the battle of Cattraeth, where he was taken prisoner; but the evidence of the poem is quite opposed to any such assumption. Mr. Williams ab Ithel has had the sagacity to see this, and supports his opinion with the following judicious remarks:—

"Aneurin does not appear to have been present at Cattraeth in any other capacity than that of a herald bard. Besides the absence of any intimation to the contrary, we think the passages where he compares Owen to himself, and where he makes proposals at the conference,¹ and, above all, where he attributes his safety to his "gwenwawd",² conclusive on the subject. His heraldic character would be recognised by all nations, according to the universal law of warfare, whereas it is very improbable that any poetic effusion which he might have delivered could have influence upon a people

¹ [Stanza lii, which Mr. Williams considers to refer to a conference between the Cymry and their enemies, at which the "Saxon herald" killed "the British bard Owain", "whose voice was like that of Aneurin", for so he translates the last line of the stanza. (Williams' *Gododin*, pp. 7 and 154.) Cf. also Williams' stanza xciii, which Mr. Stephens regards as a mere variant of lii; his translation, too, of the latter differs materially from that of Williams.]

² [Stanza xxi, l. 233.]

whose language differed so materially from his own.”—Preface iv.

Of the three passages here cited, I rely only on the last, where he says that the effusion of his blood was spared on account of his pleasing muse; and upon the much stronger one in *Gorchan Cynvelyn*, where he calls himself “a son of the sacred fire”, and states that his friends paid a ransom apportioned to his priestly character.¹

II. The battle of Cattræth is dated 540 by Mr. Owen, because Ida is supposed to have been the Saxon leader; and Probert and Parry have adopted the same conclusion. The opponents of Ida and his son Theodric, according to Nennius,² were Urien, Rhydderch Hael, Morgant, and Gwallog; but Ida, who reigned until 559 or 560, did not land in Northumbria until 547; and was only succeeded by Theodric from 579 to 586. The *Gododin* does not name one of those heroes; but it does state that the grandson of Gwallog fell at Cattræth; and therefore 540 is just three generations too early. Gwallog, to oppose Theodric, must have been living about 580; Dunawd ab Pabo, who married his daughter Dwywe, did not die until 595; and therefore his son Gwarthan ab Dwywe could not have fallen before the year 603, to which I assign the battle of Cattræth. The second date

¹ [“ A minneu om Creu dychyorant
Mab coelcerth uyguerth a unaethant
O eur pur a dur ac ariant.”

Myv. Arch., i, 61=Gee's edition, p. 54.

See also Skene's *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 96, where the lines are given with some slight differences, the only material variation, however, being the evidently erroneous *oni* for *om*, though the latter is adopted in the translation (vol. i, 414), which is as follows:—

“ And me, on account of my blood they deplored,
Son of the omen pile, my ransom they contributed,
Of pure gold, and steel and silver.”]

² [“ Nennius und Gildas, ex recensione Stevenson herausgegeben von San-Marte,” sec. 63, p. 72.—*Mon. Hist. Britt.*, p. 75.]

given by Mr. Owen also rests upon the assumption that Gildas and Aneurin were the same person. Gildas died in 570, and therefore it was asserted that Aneurin died in that year. Probert, Parry, and Rees deny this identity; but the two former retain the date notwithstanding. Mr. Williams ab Ithel refers the battle to 570; and Iolo Morganwg (*Lyric Poems*, vol. ii, p. 11) states that Aneurin wrote about 550; but these dates are all too early.

III. Iolo Morganwg considered Gildas and Aneurin to have been the same person; and his argument is thus stated by Mr. Owen: "It has been supposed, with good reason, by one of the ablest antiquaries of this age, that Aneurin was no other person than the celebrated Gildas, the latter being only his ecclesiastical appellation, which he took after a very common practice in those times. The probability of such a supposition rests upon these grounds. Aneurin, as well as Gildas, is reckoned among the children of Caw in our old MSS.; but both do not occur as such in the same lists; for in those where Aneurin is said to be the son of Caw, the other is omitted; and on the contrary, where Gildas is inserted, the other is left out; and as a further corroboration, on considering the import of the two appellations, the latter has the appearance of being a translation of the other, in the same manner as we find Pelagius for Morgant, and similar instances." Mr. Probert had the sagacity to perceive that Gildas and Aneurin could not have been the same person; and Professor Rees afterwards developed the difference of character still more fully; but in the sequel, it will be found that these persons were intimately related to each other. Their identity certainly cannot be admitted: Gildas was the son of Caw; we shall presently endeavour to show that Aneurin was not: Gildas was a preacher of the Gospel; Aneurin was an odd compound of Christianity and Paganism: the one spent his youth in Ireland, the other never

appears to have left Britain: the one was the author of two Latin works, the *Epistle*, and the *History of the Britons*; the other never appears to have composed anything but Kymric poetry: the one was a virulent and bigoted monk, who delighted in reviling his countrymen; the other, without palliating the drunkenness which led to their defeat at Cattraeth, extols the bravery which half redeems their character, and paints their faults with the sparing hand of a genial poet: the one was the contemporary of Arthur, the other only knew him historically: the one only appears to have known the Princes of the South, the other was better acquainted with those of the North: the one makes no allusion to the battle of Cattraeth, though it was one of the turning points in the life of the other: the one died in 570, the other was at the battle of Cattraeth in 603, and performing priestly duties on the hills of Doon in 642. Hence it must be clear that Aneurin and Gildas are not two names for the same person. What, then, is the truth contained in the suggestion of Mr. Edward Williams (*Iolo Morganwg*)? On examination of the *Iolo MSS.* we find the case much stronger than he has put it. One list of the children of Caw names both Gildas and Aneurin, and another names Gildas, but adds the epithet, "Coed Aur" to his brother Aeddan; but in all the other lists we have either Gildas or Aneurin, Aneuryn y Coed Aur, and Auryn y Coed Aur, and Gildas is variously named Gildas, Gildas ab Caw, Gildas the Prophet, Gildas y Coed Aur, Aur y Coed Aur, and Euryn y Coed Aur. The inferences fairly deducible from these MSS. are these:—

1. That Gildas and Euryn y Coed Aur were the same person.
2. That Aneurin and Euryn y Coed Aur are also identical.

The first of these positions appears to be right: Gildas is expressly stated (*Iolo MSS.*, 516) in several places, to be the person named Euryn y Coed Aur; Euryn and Gildas are

convertible terms, the latter being a monkish translation of the former, which was probably the original name. But a little attention will show that the second proposition is not so accurate as the first. Gildas may be, and probably is, a translation of Euryn; but it is not a translation of An-Eurin, or An-Euryn; nor is An-Euryn a translation of Gildas. The derivative prefix AN gives the word a new and essentially different meaning; and Euryn and An-Euryn stand to each other in well defined relationship. The word *An*, probably the same as *Han*, has the meaning of a descendant, derivative or sprung from. *Anvab*, is an old name for a male child, Merddin having been called *An vap y lleian*, before he received a proper name; and we have another instance of the use of the word in the following old Englyn:

“Bed An ap llian ymnewais
 Vynyd lluagor llew Emreis
 Prif ddewin merdin Emreis.”

Myv., i, 78. [Gee's edition, 65.]

If this view be sound, the discrepancy may easily be reconciled. Gildas, born in the year of the battle of Badon (A.D. 516), was fifty-five years old at his death (570); and as he had several sons, it is quite possible that one of the youngest might have been at Cattraeth in 603, and living even as late as 642. Aneurin is therefore more likely to have been the son of Gildas, or Euryn, than to have been that person himself. And as this suggestion removes all the chronological difficulties which beset the authorship of the *Gododin*, I shall henceforth treat that as an ascertained fact. Another thought, of less moment, but interesting as a further development of the same theory, may be here stated. One of the family names was Ane, or Anev. Gildas had a brother so called; and if we assume that he called his son by the same name, viz., Ane ap Euryn, we have a plausible theory for the formation of the Bard's name. But whether his

name was originally Aneurin, or a corruption of Ane ap Euryn, is of no consequence. That he was the son of Gildas is to me clear; and that he was a younger son, may be demonstrated from the following passage in the Gododinian fragments appended to *Gorchan Maelderw* (*Myv.* i, 86).¹

“Em ladaut lu mawr i guert
 I adrawd ladaud map Nuithon
 * * * *
 Ny wisguis i mil i mil luit heinim
 I guaiw ae ysguit nae gledyf nae gyllell
 No neim ab Nuithon gur a vei well.”

“There was slain a host great in value.
 I relate that the son of Nwython was there slain.
 * * * * *
 Of all the warriors there wore not
 Spear and shield, sword or knife,
 One who was a better man than my nephew, the
 son of Nwython.

It may be doubted whether “Neim”, in the original, is a proper name; but if it be borne in mind that Aneurin never uses the form *ab*, but always uses *mab* in full, it will be clear that the proper reading is “Nei mab Nuithon”. Gildas had several sons, and among them one named Noethan or Nwython; and the fact that the son of Nwython was the nephew of Aneurin shows,—

1. That Aneurin was the son of Gildas; and,
2. That the bard was probably a younger son, as his nephew was a warrior of prowess when he fell at Cattræth, and as he survived his nephew by full forty years. Using the facts developed by this discussion, I present the following pages as the best memoir of the bard that the scanty materials enable me to furnish.

CAW, variously named Cau, Caunus, and Naw, was the lord of a district called Cawllog, or Cwm Cawlwyd, which Dr. Owen Pughe once thought to be bordering on Strath

¹ [Gee's edition, p. 71, col. ii. See also Skene's *Four Ancient Books*, i, 422; and ii, 103.]

Clyde (*Cambro-Briton, sub Caw*), and afterwards to have been Glenco in the Highlands (quoted in Probert's *Gododin*, p. 9). The Rev. John Williams ab Ithel, quoting a monkish chronicler,¹ places it in Strath Clyde, and supposes its etymology to be Caw Clwyd, or Clwyd Caw, *i.e.*, the Clyde of Caw²; but does *Arecluta* denote the Vale of Clyde, or the rock of Dunbarton, Alcluyd, or Alltelwyd? According to mediæval writers, it is the latter; and if so, Caw must have been the King of Strath Clyde before Tudwal, the son of Rhydderch Hael, took possession of that seat of government. The *Memorials of the Saints*³ relate that he was driven from his possessions by the Picts and Scots, and compelled to take refuge in Wales; and as his location was on the frontier of the Picts and Scots, the fact is extremely probable. At that time, that is, about the second quarter of the sixth century, Maelgwn Gwynedd reigned in Gwynedd, and Arthur in Gwent and Morganwg; and lands were assigned to one portion of the Caw family at Twrcelyn in Anglesey by the one, while the other afforded protection to another portion in Siluria. If we could trust in tradition, we might conclude that Caw himself stayed at Twrcelyn, whilst Huail, his eldest son, came to Gwent; and if we consult Rees' *Saints*, we should probably be able to determine the location of the sons of the Lord of Cawllwg from the churches dedicated to their memory.⁴

He appears to have had a large family. The numbers vary in the several records, and fluctuate between the extremes of ten and twenty-one, the numbers being respectively 10, 15, 16, 16, 17, 17, 20, and 21 (*Iolo MSS.*, 508, 515, 540,

¹ *A Life of Gildas, from the monastery of Fleury in France*, published by Johannes a Bosco, and quoted by Usher, in which it is said that Caunus lived in Arecluta. (Rees' *Welsh Saints*, 224.)

² [Williams' *Y Gododin*, p. iii.]

³ [*Iolo MSS.*, pp. 101, 109, 110, 116, 136, 143, 147.]

⁴ [Rees' *Welsh Saints*, pp. 224-232.]

546). Professor Rees supposes that some of these must have been grandchildren; but, however that may be, it suffices for our purpose that all the accounts agree in assigning to him a son named Euryn y Coed Aur, Gildas, Gildas *Sapiens*, Gildas *Badonicus*, or Gildas *Albanus*, and other names already cited. He appears to have been born prior to the expulsion of the family from the North; hence the surname *Albanus*. He informs us that he was born in the year of the battle of Badon (A.D. 516); hence the epithet *Badonicus*. And for his *History* and *Epistle* he was styled *Sapiens*. It will here be seen that I reject the distinction between Gildas *Albanus* and the person surnamed *Badonicus*; and as nearly all the writers on this subject have disagreed, I shall follow the last, and, to my judgment, best authority—the Editor of the *Monumenta Historica* (Preface, p. 60). In his thirtieth or thirty-fourth year (A.D. 550) he went abroad to Brittany, and it is generally allowed that his *Epistle* was written in Armorica. Upon his return, he abode for some time at Llancarvan, and was requested by Saint Cadocus to direct the studies of the school at that place for one year, which he undertook and performed, to the great advantage of the scholars, desiring no other reward than their prayers (Rees' *Welsh Saints*, 226). After this, the two saints withdrew to two small islands, not far distant, intending to spend their days in retirement (*Ibid*). And it would seem that his *History* was written about this time, for it contains internal evidence of having been written when he was forty-four, *i.e.*, in 560. Five years afterwards we read¹ of his going to Ireland (A.D. 565, *Navigatio Gildae in Hybernia*); and there he appears to have remained until the death of his patron in 569, after which he returned to his native country, and spent the last year of his life at Glastonbury. Rees, following the monkish biographers, places his visit to Ireland in the early part of his life, but the

¹ [*Annales Cambriæ: CXXI Annus, i.c.*, 565.]

Annales Cambriæ must be regarded as the best authority. We have here attributed to him only two works, but Bale assigns to him, and to his other self, Albanus, a great many more; and, whether he wrote them all or not, we have already furnished abundant proof that he was a man of high reputation. That he was acquainted with classic literature is evident from his *History*, in which we find traces of Rufinus, Eusebius, the Epistles of Jerome, and the Ecclesiastical History of Sulpicius Severus; that the age in which he lived was one in which the remains of Roman civilisation still existed is equally clear, and we may conclude that Aneurin, his son, was a man of some consideration. The fact of being the grandson of a kinglet was not without its weight with his contemporaries; and the erudition of his father, coupled with the training which we may conclude him to have received at the College of Llanveithin (Llancarvan), will account for the classic conception of the *Gododin*, and the high moral tone which pervades the poem, and the intellectual culture so evident throughout.

Aneurin, as we contend, was the son of Gildas, and the inheritor of much of his father's learning, without his bigotry and austerity. Of his youth we know nothing certain; but that he was not trained to arms, as is asserted in the *Cambrian Plutarch*, may fairly be presumed from the character of his father, and the description given of himself in the *Gododin*. But though our information respecting his youth is uncertain, there is a passage in that poem tending to show that he was educated at Llancarvan, or, as it was anciently called, Llanveithin. Gwarthan ab Dunawd, a chieftain with whom Aneurin appears to have associated in his earlier years, before Gwarthan was slain at Cattræth, is said to have been a confessor to Catwg, at his College of Llancarvan; and Aneurin corroborates the statement when, speaking of his patron, he says,—

“Nyt oed gyngorwann
Wael y rac Lan¹ Veithin.” V. lii.

He was not weak or mean
In council at Llanveithin.”

As the latter part of his life was spent in the North, it is most likely that his connection with Cattwg's College took place in his youth. If so, his acquaintance with Aneurin may have taken place there; and the bard may have accompanied him to the North on the death of his father, in 595,² or his prior resignation. The allusion to Llanveithin certainly identifies both parties with that college: and when this fact is taken in conjunction with Gildas' connection therewith, it becomes extremely probable that Aneurin was educated there.

Of his subsequent career we know but little more; but upon balancing the probabilities of the case, it would seem that his acquaintance with the North took place before the date above given. Taliesin, in a poem addressed to Urien Rheged, and certainly written or sung before 584, names Aneurin in connection with the kings of North Britain; and therefore it is probable that the acquaintance between the two bards revealed in the passage,

¹ This reading is open to doubt. Three manuscripts, with the probabilities afforded by the good sense of that reading, have “Lan Veithin”; while a larger number of manuscripts have “tan veithin”, which has no sense at all.

[It will be seen, however, that Mr. Stephens adopts the reading, “tan veithin”, in his text, and translates the two lines—

“He was not weak in advice,
Nor mean before the banquet fire (of Gwylyget?)

Mr. Williams ab Ithel seems to have been equally undecided; for, in his text (p. 45), he inserts, “tan veithin”, while his translation (p. 154), has “in front of Llanveithin”. He appears to have been unable to make anything of “tan veithin”, with regard to which, he writes, “query, tân eithin, gorze fire?”]

² A.D. 595. “Dunaut rex moritur.”—*Annales Cambriæ*.

“A un eu enu Aneuryn guautryd Auenyd
A minneu Dalyesin o lann llyn geirionnydd.”¹

Do I know Aneurin, the flowing-songed minstrel,
And I, Taliesin, from the banks of Llyn Geirionydd?

existed as early as 580 or thereabouts. If so, Gwarthan had taken his father's place before the death of that kinglet; and by assuming the resignation of the latter, we are enabled to reconcile the date of his death with his reputed saintship and connection with Bangor.

It is evident that during his stay with Gwarthan in Galloway, and at the battle of Catteraeth, Aneurin assumed the bardic character, and wore the external insignia of that order; but at what period he took that distinctive name cannot be exactly defined, and the form by which he became so is equally involved in obscurity. According to Iolo Morganwg,² Bard, Druid, and Ovate were three gradations of one order, and if so, Aneurin went through the ceremony now prescribed to aspirants for bardic honours; but as the Glamorgan system has no foundation in history, no countenance from the poems of the early bards, and rests only on a misconception of the classic authorities, we may safely refuse to recognise its usages as any criterion whereby to form an idea of what Bardism was in the age of Aneurin. An examination of the original authorities will show this very clearly. Strabo,³ speaking of the Gauls, says:—“Παρὰ πᾶσι ὡς ἐπίπαν τρία φύλα τῶν τιμωμένων διαφερόντως ἐστί, Βάρδοι τε καὶ Οὐάτεις καὶ Δρύιδαι. Βάρδοι μὲν ἕμνηται καὶ ποιηταί, Οὐάτεις δὲ ἱεροποιοὶ καὶ φυσιολόγοι Δρυΐδαι δὲ πρὸς τῇ φυσιολογίᾳ τὴν ἠθικὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἀσκοῦσι.”

¹ [“Anrec Urien.”—*Myv. Arch.*, i, 51=p. 47, Gee's edition; Skene's *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 293.]

² [See Owen's *Heroic Elegies of Llywarch Hén*, p. xxxvi; and also *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 54-6: translation, pp. 437 and the following.]

³ [Strabonis *Geographica recensuit Gustavus Kramer* (Berolini, 1844), lib. iv, cap. 4, sec. 4.]

Diodorus Siculus¹ describes them in the same way, but in a different order. Strabo names them Bards, Ovates, and Druids; and Diodorus speaks of Bards, Druids, and *Manteis*, the Greek word for prophet being substituted for the Keltic Ovates. So much as we know of Greek usage tends to show that the Bards, Druids, and Ovates are here described in the inverse order of their importance. The *mantis* among the Greeks was a much more important person than the *poet*: and Strabo thinks it sufficient to say that the bards were chanters and poets, while he describes the functions of the Druids at great length. We also learn that these were not *grades* of one order, but distinct tribes or classes, such as singers, physicians, and priests are in our own day. The form of initiation into the bardic order, if there was any, is to us unknown, and, therefore, though we know that the *Caw* was the most exalted order of bards in that day,² all we know respecting Aneurin on this head is that he first appears to us in the bardic character. The duty of the *Bardd Teulu*, according to the laws of Howell Dda,³ was to sing *The Supremacy of Britain* before the army in going to war; and it is probable that Aneurin attended at Cattræth in that character. At any rate he was so distin-

¹ [Diodorus Siculus (*ex recensione L. Dindorfii*, Lipsiæ, 1828), lib. v, cap. 31:—“Εἰσὶ δὲ παρ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ ποιητὰὶ μελῶν, οὓς βάρδους ὀνομάζουσιν· οὗτοι δὲ μετ’ ὀργάνων ταῖς λύραις ὁμοίων ᾄδοντες οὓς μὲν ὕμνουσιν οὓς δὲ βλασφημοῦσι. Φιλόσοφοί τε τινὲς εἰσὶ καὶ θεολόγοι περίττωσ τιμώμενοι, οὓς δρουῖδας ὀνομάζουσι. Χρῶνται δὲ καὶ μάντεσιν, ἀποδοχῆς μεγάλης ἀξιοῦντες αὐτούς· κ. τ. λ.]

² [See Dr. J. D. Rhys' *Cambrobryannicæ Cymræcæve Linguæ Institutiones et Rudimenta* (London, 1892), p. 303; and *Iolo MSS.*, p. 217: translation, p. 632.]

³ [“Eν a dyly buſc neu ſc o'r anrait a gſnel y teulu yn gorgſlad, gſedi yd el i'r brenin y traian. Yntau a dyly pan ranoent yr anrait canu Unpeniaet Prydyn.” He is to have a cow or an ox from the booty obtained by the household from a border-country, after a third has gone to the king; and he is, when they share the spoil, to sing the “Monarchy of Britain” to them.—*Myv. Arch.*, Gee's edition, pp. 968B and 1019B.]

guished from the other Britons that his life was held sacred even by the victorious Saxons; and we have his own authority for the assertion that his life was spared on account either of his bardic or of his priestly character. Which was his real character is uncertain, for in the one place¹ he describes himself to be a bard, and in the other,² a priest; but as we have observed already, he acted in both capacities.

When the defeat of the Britons at Cattræth became apparent, Aneurin sought safety in flight :

“When the host of Pryder approached me,
I hastened to put on the *funis* (veil).
With the *funis* flowing free,
I ran with vigour,
Weeping on the way.”³

But he failed to effect his escape: he was overtaken and made prisoner; and his condition in the hands of his captors is described in the poem :

“With sand under foot,
Extended was my leg, and bound
In the subterranean house; (and)
An iron chain
About my two knees.”⁴

In the verse immediately following he names his deliverer :

“‘The hero of the North’ was the man who did the deed.
Gentle-breasted and generous! There has not sprung,
Earth does not sustain, nor has mother born,
So illustrious and powerful a steel-clad warrior.
From the power of the sword, illustrious is its protection,
From the horrid prison of earth he brought me,—
From the place of death, from a hateful region;
Ceneu, son of Llywarch, energetic hero!”

In *Gorchan Cynvelyn* he gives another account of his release, but if the ordinary translations of this verse were strictly

¹ [Verse xxi.]

² [Verse lxxxvi.]

² [Verse lxxx.]

⁴ [Verse xlv.]

accurate, the two relations would be inconsistent. Davies and Williams translate the line—

“O nerth e cledyf claer e hamuc
 em duc,”

in these words,

“By the force of the bright (gleaming—Wms.) sword he protected me.” and accordingly his release would appear to have been a feat of arms, but *Gorchan Cynvelyn*¹ flatly contradicts such an assumption—

“Three men, three score and three hundred
 Went to the battle of Cattræth ; (but)
 Of those who advanced,
 From the influence of the ministrants of mead,
 Save three, none returned,
 Cynon and Cadreith and Cadlew of Cadnant,
 And I, whose blood they (my countrymen, or friends) deplored,
*A son of the sacred fire, my value they made up,
 Of pure gold, silver, and steel.*
 Heaven, not protection, they obtained :
 In the pre-eminent song of Cynvelyn they glide together.”

Here we have a distinct account of a ransom paid for his release, and this is the most probable account of the transaction. The two relations, as they here stand, are certainly contradictory, and if we were compelled to take our choice, we should adopt the latter ; but in reality the inconsistency exists only in the two translations above named. Probert, with a correcter judgment, translates the line differently—

“From the power of the sword, illustrious to defend ;”

and the first part of this line is a strictly accurate translation of the original. Here the discrepancy does not arise, and the two statements become the complements of each other. The friends of Aneurin paid for his release a ransom in gold, silver, and steel proportioned to so dignified a per-

¹ [*Myv. Arch.*, i, 61 ; Gee's edition, p. 54 ; *Four Ancient Books*, vol. ii, p. 96.]

sonage as one of the sons of the sacred fire. Ceneu ab Llywarch appears to have been the active agent in that business, and this version well accords with the character of that "generous and gentle-hearted" chieftain. We are not informed how long the bard remained in captivity, but it is not probable that he would have been left in the hands of the Saxons for any length of time, and we cannot be far wrong if we date his release and captivity in the same year, *i.e.*, 603.

Aneurin, now that his friend and patron had fallen in battle, returned to Wales, and for many years he did not revisit the North, for in one verse he expressly states—

"Since the delightful pillar of battle (*i.e.*, Gwarthan) was pierced,
Since Aneurin was underground,
Have not I been separated from Gododin?"—Verse xciii.

Here, then, we have one of the many facts which show that Wales was the stand-point from which the bard composed the *Gododin*, but it is not easy to assign him any fixed residence in the Principality. It is, indeed, asserted that he resided for some time at the Court of King Arthur, but this rests upon the assumption of his identity with Gildas, and a cursory examination of dates will show that Arthur had departed this life full seventy years before. Mr. Humphreys Parry suggests another location. "We learn from some ancient documents that he took refuge among the inmates of Cadog's College, at Llancarvan, apparently the favoured resort of the piety and learning of that age. Here it was, in all probability, that he contracted that intimacy with the celebrated Taliesin, to which both bards bear testimony, and which the congeniality of their genius and disposition must have favoured in a peculiar degree—

" — Arcades ambo,
Et cantare pares."

The same passage in Aneurin that records the friendship

between the two poets, seems also to indicate that the *Gododin*, his chief production, was composed in the propitious seclusion of Cadog's College, for he distinctly mentions Taliesin's privity to his intention of writing this poem" (*Cambrian Plutarch*). Here again the evidence is the assumed identity of the father and the son, and the conclusion certainly does not follow from the premises, nor is it consistent with the positive assertion of Taliesin¹ that his residence was at Llyn Geirionydd in Carnarvonshire. That Aneurin may have resided at Llancarvan is quite possible, and that he had well matured his design is very evident, for the conception of the *Gododin* is a very unique fact in Cambrian literature; but that it was composed at Llancarvan, or that the bard spent any considerable part of his time there, is opposed to the inference fairly deducible from his works. It is a common mistake to assume the *Gododin* was the only work of Aneurin, for many of his verses form no part of that poem. Two of them² are addressed to Ceredig, who appears to have lived in Cardiganshire, and others³ are addressed to the bard's relative, Cynddillig of Aeron, in the same county. Others are addressed to Marchleu,⁴ the son of Caradog Vreichvras (?), in Radnorshire; and to Aeddon⁵ o Vôn, and other persons in North Wales; and we may safely infer from these collective evidences that, like other bards, Aneurin was in the habit of visiting various parts of the country, and of taking up his residence with the various chieftains to whom his verses were addressed.

Many of these verses were composed in the latter part of

¹ [In the poem called *Anrec Urien*, in which occurs the line "A minneu DalYESIN o lann llyn geirionnydd", as it is given in *Myv. Arch.*, i, 51; Gee's edition, p. 47A; or "Minneu dalyessin o ia6n llyn geirionnyd", as it appears in Skene's *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 293.]

² [Verses xxviii and xxix.]

³ [Verses lxvi and lxxxi.]

⁴ [Verse xxvi.]

⁵ [Verse xc, or v. lxxxix, l. 845, of Williams's edition.]

his life, and extend over a period of thirty years, from the elegiac stanzas on Ceredig (*circa* 616) to the last verse¹ (*circa* 642); but of all the poems of Aneurin, the *Gododin* appears to have been the first. It was probably composed within the ten years immediately following the events it records, and the passage in which he reveals his acquaintance with Taliesin shows that the subject had taken a firm hold of his mind. The passage is as follows²—

“Of mead from the horn,
 And of the host of Cattræth,
 I, Aneurin, will compose
 What is known to Taliesin,
 Who participates in my design.
 He will not sing a *Gododin*,
 Of what followed (the carouse) before the break of day.”

The version here given of the last two lines differs essentially from those of my predecessors, each of which differs from the other, but I flatter myself that “*Neu cheing e Ododin*” admits of no translation but the one here given. If so, it would appear that our bard had urged Taliesin to take that subject in hand, and that the elder bard declined to do so, but encouraged Aneurin to carry out his own design. And we have cause to be grateful that he did so, for it is clear that the design as it existed in the mind of the younger bard was quite alien to the habits of thought revealed in the poems of the elder. The one was a Cambrian bard only, an able one it is true; but still merely a bard. To make my meaning more clear, it will be well to state that the bard was usually a song-maker only, inspired only when experiencing lordly hospitality and generosity, and composing no songs except to flatter the pride and extol the actions of the various heads of houses by whom he was

¹ [Verse lxxx, referring to the death of Donald Brec. See the author's notes to that verse.]

² [Verse xlv.]

entertained. All the poems of Taliesin are of this class; all of them are addressed to certain chieftains; most of them are dedicated to Urien Rheged; and the bard seldom had any higher conception of his duty than to make himself the mouthpiece of laudation—

“Until I grow old, and meet inevitable death,
May I never smile if I praise not Urien.”

*Gwaith Argoed Llwyvain.*¹

Aneurin, on the contrary, was a scholar. The moral aim of the poem being the reprobation of drunkenness raises him above his order, and the name given to his work furnishes conclusive evidence of classic training. In the sense in which epic and lyric stand to each other in the relation of objectivity and subjectivity, the *Gododin* may be said to be an epic poem, and though three of the shorter poems of Taliesin, such as *Gwaith Gwenystrad*, may be called minor epics, this is the sole poem in Cambrian literature worthy of the name. The genius of the people is essentially lyric, but from the frequent recurrence of such phrases as “a *Gododin*”, “the *Gododin* relates”, “does not the *Gododin* relate?” and “it is not stated in the *Gododin*”, it is evident that Aneurin was acquainted by name at least with the great classic poems; and I will not hesitate to assert my belief that he had the *Iliad* and the *Aeneid* in his mind’s eye when he gave his poem the designation of THE GODODIN.

The chief poem was probably composed while the subject was fresh in the author’s mind, and if we date it *circa* A.D. 610, we cannot be much in error. It is not easy to fix the date of the other verses, but we can form some faint idea of the time when two or three of them were composed. Thus, with respect to Ceredic, the king paramount of that day, we

¹ [*Myv. Arch.*, i, 53; Gee’s edition, 48B; *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 189, 190.]

are informed in the *Annales Cambriæ* when he died,—“A.D. 616, Ceretic obiit”; and, accordingly, we cannot assign the elegiac verses upon that monarch to any earlier date. The verse addressed to Dinogad,¹ the son of Cynan Garwyn, cannot be assigned to any date anterior to 629, since it implies the death of his father, who was living in that year; and that which records the death of Donald Brec² cannot have been composed before 642, when that king of the Scots was slain by Owain, king of Strathclyde, whose territory Donald had invaded.

Of his later years we have also but few particulars, but from the verse alluded to (*i.e.*, verse lxxx), it appears that in his old age he again paid a visit to North Britain, and took up his residence in Galloway with his brother Nwython. Here he again appears in a priestly character, and describes himself to have been engaged in conducting sacrifice at the sacred fire when he saw the men of Nwython defeated at Rhe-degein (Stranraer), and also saw ravens gnawing the head of Donald Brec. The last event took place in the month of December 642, and it is probable that the other occurred in the same year. But it does not seem that he remained there long after that date, for the verse affords internal evidence of having been composed in the Principality, and, therefore, he must have returned to conclude his life in Wales. He had many friends and relations in Dyfed and in Anglesey, and among the former might be named his marked favourite Cynddillig of Aeron; but whether he spent his last days among his relations or at the College of Cattwg must remain in doubt. At the time of his death he must have been far gone in years, but, according to the *Triads*, he was not permitted to die in peace, for he was slain by the hand of one Eiddin ab Enygan, of whom we know nothing but this infamy. The blow was called an “accursed

¹ [Verse xci = verse xc of Williams's edition.]

² [Verse lxxx]

stroke", and is thus described:¹ "The three accursed hatchet strokes of the Isle of Britain—the blow of Eidyn in the head of Aneurin, the blow in the head of Iago ab Beli, and the blow in the head of Golyddan the Bard." And in another *Triad* we have—"The three accursed murders of the Isle of Britain—Eidyn, son of Einygan, slew Aneurin of the Flowing muse, the chief of Bards; and Llawgad Trwm, from the borders of Edinburgh, slew Avaon, the son of Taliesin; and Llovan Llawddivo slew Urien, the son of Cynvarch." This is all that is known of Aneurin Gwawdrydd. PEACE BE TO HIS SOUL AND HONOURED BE HIS MEMORY.

¹ [The *Triads* quoted are to be found in *Myv. Arch.*, ii, 9, 65; Gee's edition, pp. 390, 405; *Trioedd Ynys Prydain: Cyfres i*, 37, 38; *Cyfres iii*, 47, 48.]

INTRODUCTION.

ONE of the most difficult questions in the history of Cambrian literature arises from the consideration of the poem called the *Gododin*. Its language, from its antiquity, is difficult to be understood by those who are averse to the laborious study of ancient literature, and as it evidently refers to a very remote period, and then only occupies a brief space of time, many, and, indeed, most of its allusions are intelligible only to the antiquary ; for though every age has an abundance of small magnates and celebrities, few of them find a place in the page of history. For this reason, though many persons have been, and are, willing to give opinions respecting the *Gododin*, there are not more than half-a-dozen Welshmen that have ever studied the poem ; and though there are many points of agreement between them, these differ in their explanations of the subject and contents of this antique production. This is not a fact that need occasion any surprise, for the obscurity of its allusions demands a protracted study, and whoever would hope to render it intelligible, must be prepared to treat the *Gododin* as he would an ancient classic, and devote all the energies of his mind to master its contents, to appreciate its character and to make it understood. It is, by common consent, referred to a period when the history of Britain is involved in utter chaos ; and as, in common with the poems of Taliesin, it is remarkable for the terseness of its language and the pregnancy of its meaning, it is rationally inferred that a contemporary poem of more than 900 lines must possess a very large amount of historical significance. The existence of

such a poem is a fact of considerable interest, and a poem of that length, besides being in itself a proof of a high state of intellectual culture, must contain many valuable illustrations of the manners, customs, and history of the period. All admit the poem to be old, but those who have been at the pains of translating it, assign it to very different periods, and, therefore, the value of the poem is but imperfectly understood, for until the date of the poem can be satisfactorily determined, we cannot avail ourselves of its historical illustrations. This, therefore, must be the first subject for our consideration, and as the conclusions of former writers are so discordant as to render futile all attempts at reconciliation, we must inquire for ourselves. We must also, in prosecuting this inquiry, dismiss from our minds all preconceived notions, and be content to permit the facts to produce their own impressions, for our own conclusions will be valueless unless we proceed according to the strict principles of inductive logic.

SECTION I.—THE SUBJECT OF THE “GODODIN”.

What is the subject of the *Gododin*? By common consent it is admitted to be “the battle of Cattræth”, for from this conclusion there is but one dissentient; and that this conclusion is strictly correct, appears from the words of the poet, who calls it “breithell Cattræth”, which admits of no other interpretation. But what is the meaning of the term Cattræth? Some persons, imbued with the fondness for etymological trifling, so frequent among my countrymen, promptly reply, that the word is compounded of *cad* and *træth*, and means “the battle of the strand”; but, as it appears to me that the first step in historical criticism is to eschew etymology, I do not attach much importance to explanations of this kind, which, in reality, explain nothing, and provoke more questions than those they pretend to answer. In this

instance, the answer is clearly unsound, for in two separate poems, neither having reference to the *Gododin*, and both written before the battle of Cattræth was fought, we meet with the same word. In the one case¹ it is said, "The men of Cattræth arose with the dawn", and followed Urien to battle. The phrase is *gwyr Cattræth*, just as we would say *gwyr Aberhonddu* for the men of Brecon, or *gwyr Caerfyrddin* for the men of Carmarthen; but no such phrase is used in the *Gododin*, and it must be clear that Cattræth, like Carmarthen and Brecon, is the name of a place, town, or district. The other instance² establishes this beyond dispute, for in another poem, Taliesin calls Urien "Lord of Cattræth", as we say King of England or President of France. The battle of the strand, indeed! Such a thought could only have found place in the mind of a word-monger. Do we term Waterloo "the battle of the plain", or would we call Nelson's victory of Trafalgar the battle of the sea? Enough.

Cattræth is a proper name. Iolo Morganwg, Dr. Owen Pughe, Mr. Humphreys Parry, the Revs. John and Robert Williams, the late Rev. Thomas Price, and Mr. Probert all emphatically affirm this. But where is Cattræth? A person, quoted by Mr. Probert, affirms—and the Rev. J. Williams lends his countenance to the assertion—that CATTRÆTH is another form of CATRAIL, the name of the Roman road which runs from Longtown, in Cumberland, across the south of Scotland to Melross, near Galashiels, where it forms a junction with the Watling Street. He says:—"The name of this road is 'the Catrail' (British, Cadrail, *i.e.*, a war fence), and it is supposed to be the same as Cattræth, from which it varies but little in sound. This idea is strengthened by

¹ ["Gwaith Gwenystrad."—*Myv. Arch.*, vol. i, p. 52; Gee's edition, p. 47; Skene's *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 192.]

² ["Yspeil Taliesin."—*Myv. Arch.*, vol. i, p. 57; Gee's Edition, p. 51; *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 183.]

translating the words, *Gwyr a aeth Gattræth*, the warriors went to Cattræth—'The warriors went (*i.e.*, *walked*) the Cattræth'. That the line will bear this translation is unquestionable, but there are several hints given in the poem to prove that Cattræth was a British town and apparently one of consequence."¹ That there is a *Catrail* in the locality here named is a fact, but that the thing so called was a Roman road, is not so clear: for Sir Walter Scott, who ought to be a good authority on the topography of the border district, says it is "a huge ditch".² *Catrail*, even if it were a Roman road, would not pass for Cattræth, for Roman roads were to be found elsewhere, and therefore the battle of the *Catrail*, or war-fence, is too indefinite. A much better argument might be urged in favour of the place called *Catterlen*, in Cumberland, which also lies near the old Roman road from Carlisle to York (*Iter viii*); but though Mr. Probert states

¹ [Probert's *Gododin* (London, 1820), pp. 13, 14.]

² *Sir Tristram*, edited by Sir Walter Scott. Third edition. (Edinburgh, 1811.) Introduction, p. xxxvii. "Accordingly, the modern Welsh are as well versed in the poetry of the Cumraig and the Strath-clwyd Britons, as in that of their native bards; and it is chiefly from them that we learn the obscure contentions which these north-western Britons maintained against the Saxon invaders. The disputed frontier, instead of extending across the island, as the more modern division of England and Scotland, appears to have run longitudinally, from north to south, in an irregular line, beginning at the mountains of Cumberland, including the high grounds of Liddesdale and Teviotdale, together with Ettrick Forest and Tweeddale; thus connecting a long tract of mountainous country with the head of Clydesdale, the district which gave name to the petty kingdom."*

* "The vestiges of a huge ditch may be traced from the junction of the Gala and the Tweed, and running thence south-westward through the upper part of Roxburghshire, and into Liddesdale. It is called the Cat-Rael, or Cat-rail, and has certainly been a landmark betwixt the Gothic invaders, who possessed the lower country, and the indigenous Celts, who were driven to the mountains. Tradition says that it was dug to divide the Peghts and Bretts, *i.e.*, Picts and Britons."

that the line *Gwyr a aeth Cattræth* will bear to be translated "The warriors walked the Cattræth," the assertion is not correct. The strict literal meaning of those words is this—

"*Gwyr a aeth Cattræth.*"

"Men did go Cattræth."

By men the bard meant warriors; but it is evident the translator, to convey the meaning of the original, must introduce a preposition before the last word; yet what is the preposition here understood? It is of importance to understand this, for upon that single point turn one half of the difficulties of translation. Mr. Probert boldly inserts the preposition "to", and I have no doubt that in this instance he is right in so doing. But we also meet quite as often with the words—

"*Gwyr a aeth Ododin.*"

"Warriors did go Ododin."

Here, again, Mr. Probert interpolated the preposition "to", but without the least propriety. The persons on the march were *byddin Ododin*, the army of Ododin; but to say that the army of Ododin went to Ododin, would be as absurd as if we were to say the army of England marched into England. In Ododin and Cattræth we have the points of departure and destination; and it is quite clear that the army went *from* Ododin *to* Cattræth. In another respect Mr. Probert appears to be more correct. He inclines to the belief that Cattræth was a town, and in this respect he is undoubtedly correct, for in one place the poet calls it¹ "Catt-

¹ [This expression is found in a fragmentary poem printed in the *Myv. Arch.* (vol. i, p. 180; Gee's edition, p. 133, col. 2), and there said to be taken "from a part of an old MS. book found at Gogerddan in the year 1759". The words are "Cattræth fawr vygedauc", and occur in line 31 of the poem, which Mr. Stephens regards as an elegy on Cadwallon, and assigns to Avan Verddig, the bard of that king.]

raeth, the great and glorious"; and in another,¹ he says, "Merry was the army *before* Cattraeth".

Here, then, we have gone two steps in advance. Cattraeth was a town in the vicinity of the district of the Ottadeni, not so near as to be within their boundary, for it was in the territories occupied by their enemies.

These, we are told, were Saxons (verses xiii, li) occupying the districts of Deira and Bernicia, the modern Northumberland and York (verses v, ix, xviii, xlvi). Let us then seek for Cattraeth in that locality. Two points of departure are named in the *Gododin*. One part of the army came from Edinburgh (verse xiii, line 113; verse xviii, line 183) and the Gododinians proper came from Berwick-on-Tweed ("O Dindywyt yn dyvu Wyt yn dyuovu", verse xlvi), marching obliquely. These would, therefore, meet at Carlisle. Following the Roman road from thence we come, on our way to York, to the Roman town of Cataractonium, now called Catterick. Here, then, is a place which has all the appearances of being the place we seek. It is in the vicinity of the Ottadeni, yet not within their boundary, being one of the towns of the Brigantes; it was at that time a British town, probably in the possession of the Urien family; it was near Leavington (Llwyvenydd), one of the residences of the Lord of Cattraeth; it was bordering upon, if not within the limits of Deira and Bernicia, the inhabitants of which districts were the opponents of the Ottadeni in this war; and the name bears such a close resemblance to Cattraeth, that we may conclude that to be the British name of this Roman town. However, as this latter point may not be quite apparent to superficial observers, I will endeavour to make it a little clearer. The name is variously written Caturhactonium² (Ptolemy), Cattaractonum, Cattaractoni, and Cataracton

¹ [Verse lix, line 582: "Rac Cattraeth oed fraeth eu llu.]

² [Κατουρβακτόνιον: *Mon. Hist. Britt.*, p. xiv.]

(Richard of Cirencester), Cataract (Bede), and Catterick. If we strike off the Roman termination, we shall have the word as it exists in Bede, who names the place twice,¹ and each time calls it Cataract. Cataract, by striking out the vowel becomes Cattract or Cattract. If we prosecute our researches a little further we shall find that *ct* is not a Kymric termination, and in the Welsh there are no words ending in *ct*, except one or two which have been introduced from the Latin. We must seek for the Kymric termination which corresponds to the *ct* of the Romans, and in so doing we may avail ourselves of the ingenious suggestion made by Dr. Owen Pughe, that the *ct* of the Romans is our *th*, as Peithyw for Poictou. This suggestion appears to be founded in truth, as will be seen from the following comparison :—

Pict-i	corresponds to	Peith-wyr.
Lac, lact-is	„	Llaeth.
Tractat-us	„	Traethawd.
Doct-us	„	Doeth.
Rect-us	„	Rhaith.
Stucia	„	Ystwyth.
Sagitta	„	Saeth.
Fact-um	„	Ffaiith.
Effect-us	„	Effaiith.
etc.,	etc.,	etc.

and in this manner Cataract and Cattraeth are shown to be the same.

Having proceeded thus far, we come next to inquire when this battle of Cattraeth took place ; and to answer that question, we must have recourse to the internal evidence supplied by the poem, for we have no direct external history of any battle so called. The evidence furnished in the poem itself consists of the names of persons, and of allusions to certain battles that had taken place before. In the first class of evidence we have the following names, viz. :—

¹ *Hist. Eccl.*, lib. ii, cap. 14, et cap. 20; *Mon. Hist. Britt.*, p. 166B and p. 172c.

- Adonwy, father of Math, v. li.
 Aeddan ab Eryai, v. xc.
 Aeddan ab Gavran, King of the Scots, who died in 606 [acc. to *Tighern*; or 607, acc. to *Annales Cambriæ*], v. lxi.
 (Bedwyr), the son of Ferawc, v. xxxv.
 Beli, v. xxxix.
 Bleidic, son of Eli, v. xciv.
 Botgad, The son of, v. vi.
 Bradwen, daughter of Llyr ab Brochwel, v. li.
 Budvan, the son of Bleidvan, v. xxiv.
 Caradoc (Vreichyras?), v. xxx.
 Cas, the Tall, v. lxxxix.
 Ceidio, The son of, v. lxxxii.
 Ceneu, the son of Llywarch, v. xlvi.
 Ceredig, the British king who died 616 (*Annales Cambriæ*), v. xxviii.
 Cian, The son of, v. ix.
 Cihno, or Gupno, the son of Gwen, v. lxiii.
 Cydywal, the son of Syvno, v. xix.
 Cynddillig of Aeron, vv. lxvi, lxxxi.
 Cynhaval ab Argad, vv. xliii, xliv.
 Cynon of Aeron, v. xviii.
 Cynon ab Clydno Eiddin, v. lvii.
 Cynrein of Aeron, v. xviii.
 Cynric, *ibid.*
 Cynvan, v. xxxi.
 (Cyssul?), the son of Ysgyran, v. iv.
 Cyvwlch, the Tall, v. xv.
 Dinogad ab Cynan Garwyn ab Brochwel, v. xci.
 Distar } sons of Moryal, q. v.
 Disteir }
 Donald Brec, Death of, 642; v. lxxx.
 Dwywe, the daughter of Gwallog ab Lleenog, v. lii.
 Eidol (ab Ner?), v. lviii.
 Elfin, the son of Urien probably, v. xxxvii.
 Eudav the Tall, Daughter of, v. lxvii.
 Garthwys Hir, v. xc.
 Geraint (ab Erbin?), v. lxxxvii.
 Greid, the son of Hoewgi, v. xxiii.
 Gwædnerth, the son of Llywri, v. lxiv.
 Gwair Hir, the son of Mervarch, v. xcii.
 Gwarthan, the son of Dunawd, who died in 595 (*Annales Cambriæ*), v. lii.

- Gwawrddur, v. xxxi.
 Gwenabwy, the son of Gwen, v. xxv.
 Gwgawn Gleddyvrudd, battle of Bangor 607, (*Triads*)¹, v. xxxi.
 Gwiawn, v. xxxi.
 Gwlyged of Gododin, v. xxxii.
 Gwriad, v. xxx.
 Gwrien, v. xxx.
 Gwrvellling, the Stout, v. xvii.
 Gwynn, vv. xxx, xxxi.
 Heiddyn Hir, v. lxxvii.
 Heilyn, v. xlvii.
 Hwrreith ab Beli ab Rhun ab Maelgwn Gwynedd, v. lviii.
 Hyveidd Hir, the son of Caradog Vreichvras, v. v.
 Ieuan, v. xxxi.
 Isaac, the son of Gwyddno Garanhir, v. xxvii.
 Madoc (the son of Brwyn ?), v. ii.
 Madoc (ab Ilywarch Hen ?), v. xxxi.
 Manawydd, the son of Llyr ab Brochwel Powys, v. iii.
 Marchlew (the son of Caradoc Vreichvras ?), v. xxvi.
 Medel, the son of Llywarch, v. xvii.
 Merin ab Madyen, v. lxix.
 Moryen (son of Caradawc ?), v. xxxv.
 Morial ab Cyndrwyn, the brother of Cynddylan, Prince of Powys (Lhuyd's *Arch. Britt. sub* Llywarch Hen, p. 261, col. 1—"Moryal, *Condolani frater*"). His sons, Rhys, Rhodri, Pwyll, Disteir, Distar, and Rhychwardd, mentioned, v. xlix.
 Myuyddog Eiddin, v. x.
 Nwython, The men of, v. lxxx ; the son of, v. ciii.
 Owen, a young chieftain, v. i.
 Owen, the son of Eulad, v. xxx.
 Peredur Arveu Dur, v. xxxi.
 Pherawc, or Ferawc, The son of, v. xxxv.
 Present, the son of Peul, v. lxi.
 Pryder, King of Deira, The Host of, v. lxxxvi.
 Pwyll, the son of Morial, q. v.
 Pyll ab Llywarch Hen, v. xxxi.
 Rheiddwn ab Beli ab Rhun ab Maelgwn Gwynedd, v. lviii.
 Rhodri ab Morial, q. v.
 Rhuvawn Hir, the son of Gwyddno, v. xxxiii.

¹ [*Triodd Ynys Prydain: Cyfres I*, 66 ; *Myv. Arch.*, ii, 15 ; Gee's edition, p. 392. For some account of the battle of Bangor, *i.e.*, Bangor Iscoed, see Price, *Hanes Cymru*, t. d., 303.]

Rhychwardd } sons of Morial, q. v.
 Rhys }
 Taliesin, v. xlv.
 Tudvwlch, the son of Eilydd or Kilydd, v. xiii.
 Twrch, v. xxxix.
 Uphin, or Uffin, v. lxxxii.
 Wid, the son of Baeddan, v. xxxiv.¹

In this list of names there are several unknown to fame, and there are several of whom we only learn by calculation that they lived at the close of the sixth century; but it also happens that for the biography of a few of the persons here named we have authentic data of a precise kind. For instance, we know that Aeddan ab Gavran died about 606, and that though he fought several times against the Saxons, the only battle in which he was defeated was that of 603. Dunawd, the son of Pabo, died in 595; and his son Gwarthan fell in the battle of Cattræth. Two, at least, of the sons of Llywarch Hen² were in this battle, and, probably, one of his grandsons³; and he lived until 642, if not longer, though he was then a very old man. Two also of the sons of Gwyddno Garanhir⁴, are here named, and he is known to have lived in the sixth century. Then we have one known grandchild and three supposed grandchildren of Brochwel Powys⁵, who was living as late as 610 or 613. Ceredic, the successor of Maelgwn Gwynedd, was one of the contemporaries of Aneurin, who here records his death, which took

¹ [In the author's MS. the names of the above list are given in the order in which they occur in the poem. It has been thought more convenient to arrange them alphabetically; a few names have also been inserted to complete the list. Reference is made to the verses under which the several personages are discussed in the author's notes.]

² [Pyll and Ceneu, mentioned in verses xxxi and xlvi respectively.]

³ [Gweuabwy, son of Gwen, verse xxv, etc.]

⁴ [Isaac, verse xxvii; and Rhuvawn Hir, verses xxxiii and lxxxiii.]

⁵ [Manawyd, verse iii; Bradwen, daughter of Llyr, verses xl and li; Dinogad, verse xci.]

place in 616. And then we have Wid, the son of Baeddan, whose father fell in battle in 580, and whose brother fought in the battle of 603, and slew the brother of Ethelfrith, the Northumbrian king. Here, then, in the death of Aeddan, in 606, we have clear proof that the battle of Cattraeth must have taken place before that, while there are strong presumptive evidences that it was the battle of 603. Further inquiry confirms this presumption.

The second class of internal evidences consists of allusions to other battles, which had taken place before, and fortunately the date of one of these is well ascertained. In verse iii, speaking of the person named Manawyd, whom I suppose to be Manawyddan ab Llyr ab Brochwel, the bard says :

“Rac ergyt Catvannan catwyt,”

He was preserved from the blow of Mannan fight.

Again, speaking of Twrch, he says (verse xxxix) :

“Catvannan er acnt clotwawr,”

At the battle of Mannan and before Alclwyd he was greatly praised ;

And again, speaking of “Present mab Pel” (verse lxi) :—

“Yng ystryng ystre

Ac adan gatvannan cochre

Veirch marchawc godrud e more”—

Resistless in the narrow course (dale)

As Aeddan of the blood-stained steeds of Mannan fight,

That morning he was an eager rider.

This battle of Mannan took place about 582, as we learn from the *Annals of Ulster* and *Tighernac*—“Anno Domini DLXXXI°, Bellum Manonn in quo victor erat Aedhan mac Gabhrain.”¹

¹ [Such is the entry as it is given in Skene's *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, p. 345. “The date of the Christian era given” (in these *Annals*) “is one year behind the true date.” Under the next year another “battle of Manonn” is recorded : “Anno Domini DLXXXII°, Bellum Manonn, fere alios” or “*fri Aedhan*”, against Aedhan, as it appears in the Trin. Coll. MS. In the *Annals of Tighernac* are found corresponding entries, in which, however, there is some confusion.]

Here, then, we have two limits within which our further inquiries must be confined. The battle of Cattræth took place before the year 606 and after 582, but there is a certain objectivity in the allusions of the bard, which shows that the battle of Mannan had occurred several years before, for he speaks of that as men spoke of the battle of Waterloo some twenty years ago¹; and if we add twenty years to 582, we shall probably be near the date of the battle of Cattræth. But let us examine further. The next battle fought by Aeddan was that of Lleithredh² in 590, in which he appears to have been victorious; and therefore that cannot have been the battle of Cattræth, from which he fled with a broken shield and a routed army. In 598 we read of the battle of Kirkin, "in quo victus est Aedhan"; and again we find an entry of the event which corresponds to the battle of Cattræth, under the years 599 and 600. In the *Annals of Ulster* we have the first date³—"Anno Domini DXC°IX°, Bellum Saxonum in quo victus est Aedhan"; but in the *Annals of Tighernac* it is placed in 600—(anno DC) "A battle of the Saxons with Aedan, in which fell Eanfraich, brother of Etalfraich, slain by Maeluma, son of Baedan, 'in quo victor erat'", probably meaning Ethelfrith. This is evidently the same event as that which is recorded in the *Saxon Chronicle* in the year 603, for Aeddan is there mentioned by name, and it is found, upon examination, that there is a difference of three years between the Irish and Saxon chronicles. The death of King

¹ [It is to be borne in mind that these words were written in 1852.]

² [This event is thus recorded in the two chronicles:—*Annals of Ulster*: "Anno Domini DLXXX°IX°, Bellum Leithreid la Aedan ic Gabran." *Annals of Tighernac*: "Cath Leithrig la h-Aedhan mic Gabran", i.e., Battle of Leithrig by Aedhan, son of Gabran. These chronicles are written partly in Latin, partly in Irish.]

³ [As already explained in Skene's words, "the date given" (in the *Ulster Annals*) "is one year behind the true date", so that the correct date is 600.]

Conail is placed in 574 by the one and in 577 by the other ; the battle of Fethern is dated respectively 581 and 584 ; and the battle of Lleithredh appears in the latter chronicle in 593. If we add to this that there is no entry of a similar import in the *Saxon Chronicle* in 599 or 600, nor in the Irish chronicles in 603, we shall have raised a fair presumption that the two records refer to the same event.

But how shall we connect this event with the battle of Cattræth ? On the Scottish side this is easy. Aeddan was in the battle of Cattræth, and he was in the battle of Degstan ; he was one of a great host in the one case, and he came with a large army in the other ; in the one case he escaped with a broken shield, while in the other it is said that he fled with but a few companions ; the battle of Cattræth was a terrible defeat, and the battle of Degstan was so complete a rout that it entirely broke the power of the North Britons. On the English side the coincidences are equally striking, and there is not a single incident named in the Saxon records, which has not its counterpart in the battle of Cattræth, as recorded in the *Gododin*.¹ On the one side it is said

¹ [As the author makes several references to the accounts given by Bede and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* of the battle of Degstan, it may be well to transcribe the passages referred to. Bede (*Hist. Eccl.*, i, 34) writes as follows :—" His temporibus regno Nordanhymbroꝝ præfuit rex fortissimus et gloriæ cupidissimus Aedilfrid, qui plus omnibus Anglorum primatibus gentem vastavit Brittonum ; . . . Unde motus ejus profectibus Aedan rex Scottorum qui Britanniam inhabitant, venit contra eum cum inmenso ac forti exercitu ; sed cum paucis aufugit victus. Siquidem in loco celeberrimo qui dicitur Degsastan, id est, Degsa lapis, omnis pene ejus est caesus exercitus. In qua etiam pugna Theobald frater Aedilfridi, cum omni illo quem ipse ducebat exercitu peremptus est. Quod videlicet bellum Aedilfrid anno ab Incarnatione Domini sexcentesimo tertio, regni autem sui, quod viginti et quatuor annis tenuit, anno undecimo perfecit : porro Focatis anno, qui tum Romani regni apicem tenebat, primo. Neque ex eo tempore quisquam regum Scottorum in Brittania adversus gentem Anglorum usque ad hanc diem in praelium venire audebat" (*Mon. Hist. Britt.*, pp. 144, 145).

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* gives the following account of the battle :

that the Britons were led into the country by Hering, the son of Hussa ; on the other, it is evident that they were the aggressors. On the one side it was stated that the British armament was numerous and powerful, and from the *Gododin* there were 300 chieftains wearing golden torques. Ethelfrith fought against his will, says Malmesbury :¹ “ on Thursday there came overtures of peace,” says the *Gododin*.² Theobald, the brother of Ethelfrith, was killed with almost all the forces he commanded, says Bede ; Eanfrith, the brother of Ethelfrith, was slain by Maeluma, the son of Bæddan, says Tighernach ; and “ five battalions of the puny men of Deivr and Bryneich fell before the blade of Hyveidd Hir,” are the words of Aneurin³. Ethelfrith had a dearly-bought victory, says the one : “ if they were slain, they also slew seven times as many Lloegrians,” forms the Gododinian counterpart.⁴ In the one case, a fine army without any lack of valour sustains a defeat from inferior numbers, and in the other we have precisely the same result with a most significant explanation. There must, therefore, have been some agent at work besides Saxon valour to effect the defeat of an army superior in numbers, and acknowledged to have under-

—“ An. 603. This year there was a battle at Aegesan-stane” (or “ Egesan-stane”, as the name appears in two MSS.).

The account in another copy is longer :—“ An. 603. This year Aegthan, King of the Scots, fought against the Dalreods and against Aethelferth, King of the North-humbrians at Daegsanstane (or “ Daegstane” in one MS.), and they slew almost all his army. There Theobald, Aethelferth’s brother, was slain with all his band. Since then no king of the Scots has dared to lead an army against this nation. Hering, the son of Hussa, led the enemy thither”. As the editor of *Mon. Hist. Britt.* (p. 305) observes, “ there is some confusion here ; the Dalreods were Edan’s subjects.”]

¹ [*William of Malmesbury, De Gestis Regum*, lib. i, cap. 3.]

² [“ Diuyeu cennadau amodet” is the statement in *Gorchan Maelderw*, in a passage which appears to be a variant of verse lxxviii of the *Gododin*.]

³ [Verse v, lines 49, 50.]

⁴ [“ Scith gymeint o loegrwys a ladassant”. Verse lvi.]

stood and practised the Roman art of war (Henry of Huntingdon¹); and we can have no hesitation in believing that the true clue to this mystery is that which is supplied by Aneurin—the Britons feasted themselves overnight upon wine and mead, and went to battle in a state of helpless intoxication.

From these facts it becomes extremely probable that the Degasstan and Cattræth are two names for the same event; but as it is necessary to establish their relation with more certainty, we must discuss the subject still more minutely. The name of the scene of contest appears to have undergone some variations. In Bede it is called Degasstane, which is explained to be “the stone of Degsa”, and in two MS. copies of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* it is called Ege-sanstane, while a third has Aegesanstane. English antiquaries have hitherto sought only for a place named Degstan, and have been singularly unsuccessful. The fact, however, need occasion no surprise, for the oldest authorities themselves do not appear to be too well informed. The first authority is Bede—unless the *Chronicle* be drawn from earlier materials—and he, who is usually minute in his descriptions, writes vaguely that Daegsastan was “a celebrated place”. The place has since been named Daegsanstane, Dexestane, and Daegstan; but though each succeeding copyist affirms it to be “a celebrated place”, no one appears to have known where it was; and Malmesbury²

¹ [Henrici Huntendun. *Hist. Anglorum*, lib. ii, A.D. 591 (*Mon. Hist. Brit.*, p. 714 D):—“Cum autem Brittones, more Romanorum, acies distincte admoverent, Saxones vero audacter et confuse irruerent, maximum proelium factum est, concessitque Deus victoriam Britannis”. Such is Henry’s account of the battle fought “Apud Wodnesbirue”, the “Wodnesbeorge” of the *Saxon Chronicle*, when the superior organisation and discipline of the Britons secured the defeat of the Saxons and the expulsion of Ceawlin.]

² [*De Gestis Regum*, lib. i, cap. 3.]

clearly shows that he did not, for he calls it "a celebrated place *in those parts*", *i.e.*, in Northumbria. It has been thought¹ to be Dalston, near Carlisle, or Dawston, in Jedburgh, but neither of those names resembles this in sound, and they are both far removed from the place where we should expect to find Daegstan. It is quite clear that the Britons were the invaders in this case, and therefore we should expect to find the scene of contest in the dominions of Ethelfrith. And there, in fact, we do find it. Daegsastan, according to Bede, is "Degsa lapis", but as Daegsastane would mean "the daystone", we cannot get much sense out of that. It is probably a mistake for Aegesanstane, which is much more significant. Resolved into its Anglo-Saxon elements, that would signify "The Stone of Slaughter" (Bosworth's *Dictionary*); and this appears since to have been changed into Siggeston and Sigston, a word of similar import, meaning "The Stone of Victory". There is a place so called to the west of Catterick, and I have no doubt that Siggeston in the North Riding of Yorkshire was the scene of this conflict.

But why is the scene of conflict called by these different names? This is easily explained. The *Gododin* leads us to infer that Cattræth was rather the place of encampment than that of the conflict. The Britons remained at Cattræth for a whole week, and as they sallied out from thence to meet the enemy, we conclude that the battle took place, not at Cattræth, but in the vicinity of that place. It is, therefore, probable that the actual scene of conflict is better represented by Sigston than by Catterick. We can, however, easily understand that Cattræth would be the name used by the Britons from its familiarity, while Siggeston would be preferred by the victors. Indeed, we sometimes see attempts

¹ [See *Mon. Hist. Britt.*, p. 145, note (a) by the Rev. John Sharpe, one of the editors of that work.]

to disguise defeat by this use of double names. What the victors call the battle of Waterloo is known to the French as that of Mont St. Jean; the battle of Blenheim of English history is better known in Germany as that of Hochstädt; and at the period now under consideration, the Meigen¹ of the Kymry is the Heathfield of the Saxons, Heavenfield² corresponds to Cadscaul, and the Cocboy³ of the one is the Maes Elved of the other.

I have now gone over the whole ground, and, unless I have very greatly overrated the value of my argument, the battle of Cattraeth will in future be identified with that of Daegstan, the locality will no longer remain in doubt, and

¹ [At the battle of Meigen Cadwallawn ab Cadvan and Penda of Mercia defeated and slew Edwin of Northumbria on the 12th of October 633 (not the 14th, as Schulz says in his note). This is the "bellum Meicen" of Nennius (Stevenson's *Nennius*, by San-Marte, sec. 61, p. 71—*Mon. Hist. Britt.*, 75 B); the "Gueith Meiceren" of the *Annales Cambriæ*, clxxxvi anno, *i.e.*, 630; and the "prælium Haethfelth" of Beda (*Hist. Eccl.*, ii, 20). The scene of it is supposed to have been Hatfield in Yorkshire.]

² ["Catscaul" is the name given by Nennius (Stevenson's *Nennius* by San-Marte, sec. 64, p. 73—*Mon. Hist. Britt.*, 76 B) to the battle at which Cadwallawn was slain by Oswald in 634 or 635. In *Annales Cambriæ*, A.D. 631, the form is "Cantscaul". It has been plausibly suggested that "Catscaul" is a corruption of "'Cat-is-gual', id est 'pugna infra murum,'" *i.e.*, the wall of Severus (*Mon. Hist. Britt.*, 76 B. n. d.). Bede (*H. E.*, iii, 2) says that place was called "lingua Anglorum 'Hefenfelth', quod dici potest Latine Caelestis Campus". On the battle itself, see, among others, Price (*Hanes Cymru*, t. d., 307) and Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, i, 71.]

³ [Of this battle Nennius (sec. 65) says that Penda "fecit bellum Cocboy, in quo cecidit Eoua filius Pippa, frater ejus, rex Merciorum", and that the victory was gained "per diabolicam artem". In *Annales Cambriæ*, the battle is placed in the year 644. Bede (*H. E.*, iii, 9) says the battle was fought "in loco qui lingua Anglorum nuncupatur Maserfelth". In the *Saxon Chronicle*, A.D. 642, the form of the name is "Maser-feld", which also reappears in Florence of Worcester; Henry of Huntingdon has "Mesafeld", while Gaimar has in one passage (line 1,291) "Mcsersfeld", and in another (line 2,101) "Mescsesfeld".]

the subject of the *Gododin* must now be so apparent that all who run may read.

Here then have we obtained the following results :—

- I. The subject of the *Gododin* is the battle of Cattræth.
- II. The Roman town of Cataracton was the modern Catterick, the Cataract of Bede, and the Cattræth of the Britons.
- III. The battle of Cattræth was the same as that of Aegeanstan, or Daegstan, which took place in 600 or 603, but which of those dates is accurate cannot now be ascertained, for there is a difference of three years between the chronology of the Saxons and that of the Irish and Cambrian annals.

Having thus laid down our own conclusions, it now becomes our duty to take into consideration the opinions already published by other writers. The first speculation that I am acquainted with respecting the site of Cattræth was advanced by the late Mr. Edward Williams, who (A.D. 1794) appended the following note to one of his poems—“Cattræth, probably Caturactonium, in Yorkshire, for the battle was fought near the river Derwenydd, or Derwent” (*Lyric Poems*, vol. ii, 16). The reason here given is essentially unsound, for there are three Derwents in North Britain—one in Cumberland, another in Yorkshire, and the third in Derbyshire—and the verse¹ in which the River Derwent is named certainly has no reference to the battle of Cattræth; but the conclusion commands our assent, and appears to be sound, as we have already endeavoured to show. Some twenty years ago, as I am informed by Mr. Rees of Llandovery, the same theory was advanced by a writer in *Seren Gomer*; and it has more recently been put forward by the present writer in *The Literature of the Kymry* (p. 11). The assumption of the identity of Cataracton and Cattræth is in unison with the views here advanced, but further inquiry would have shown that Cattræth was a friendly town.

¹ [Verse xc.]

The first real attempt to fix the significance of the *Gododin* was made by the Rev. Edward Davies in *The Mythology of the Druids*, and his exposition is at once so able and so thoroughly erroneous as to demand critical dissection. He asserts :—

I. That the subject of the poem is, the massacre of the Britons at Stonehenge in 472.

II. That Gododin was not the country of the Ottadeni, but a British word composed of *God*, a partial covering; and *Din*, a fence or outwork.

III. That Gododin and Cattraeth mean the same thing, and are used as convertible terms.

IV. That Cattraeth is not the name of a place, but a contraction of *Cadeiriawith*, the language of the chair of presidency, and is figuratively used for the great temple at Stonehenge.

We have already cursorily alluded to the first proposition. In the biography of Aneurin we have shown that Aneurin was not born for nearly a century after 472, and we rest our case upon the evidence of the whole poem, upon the historical data therein contained, and upon the overwhelming evidence adduced in the preceding dissertations. And if any further proof of the essential unsoundness of his hypothesis were at all necessary, it is furnished by the fact that Mr. Davies is compelled to resolve into myths all the proper names mentioned in the poem, and by his abortive attempt to get rid of Ceneu ab Llywarch, while the hypothesis of the present writer is established by the conclusive fact that it does no violence to any historical fact, and is in perfect harmony with the dates usually assigned to the actors named in the poem. It seeks no aid from etymology, accepts all the proper names in their concrete forms, needs no mythic explanations to resolve sturdy warriors into airy nothings, and is confirmed by all the known facts of contemporaneous history. Another of the proofs on which Mr. Davies' theory

mainly rests has been taken away by the Rev. Thomas Price. The word *breithell*, in his translation, is not a *battle*, but a *mixed assembly*; but Mr. Price, in reviewing his arguments, clearly shows that both the *breithell* of the Kymry, and the Amoric *brezel* denote "a battle";¹ and the unanimous voice of all other inquirers distinctly affirms that the *breithell* of the bard denotes a hostile conflict and nothing else.

II. With respect to the second proposition, it is unnecessary for me to do more than state that where Gododin has been used to denote the country of the Ottadeni, as it has been by Nennius and is by Aneurin, as Mr. Davies himself admits, no amount of etymological ingenuity will suffice to unsettle that signification. A little reflection shows the unsoundness of the assertion, and the common sense of my predecessors has led them to reject as unworthy of serious discussion this futile attempt to get rid of a concrete name.

III. "In several passages of the poem we find that Gododin means the same as Cattræth" (p. 323). Gododin, says he, "is descriptive of the British temples or sanctuaries, which were open at top, yet protected by a surrounding rampart or bank": and Cattræth, "the language of the chair", is figuratively applied to the great temple itself. This is remarkably lucid. "A partially covered fence or out work", is an uncovered temple *open at top*; and "the language of the chair" is a figurative expression for the great temple, just as the sermon preached in a church is a figurative expression for the church itself! But Mr. Davies goes further than this, and asserts or implies that the bard uses Gododin and Cattræth as convertible terms: this I deny.

From internal evidence we know that "the army of Gododin" went *from* their own country *to* some other place, and the rules of grammar are in consistency therewith. We shall see further on that Cattræth also is a point of departure.

¹ [*Hancs Cymru*, p. 241.]

IV. Cattraeth is an abbreviation of "Cadeiriaith", *the language of the chair*. If so, "Urien, Lord of Cattraeth", should have been called "Lord of the language of the chair"! and the "men of Cattraeth" who followed him to battle with the dawn, were not soldiers, but the "men of the language of the chair"! Really the absurdities of etymologists have well deserved the contempt which has been brought upon them; and we can lament that so great a man as Davies should have gone so far astray.

Mr. Humphreys Parry thought that Cattraeth was not a proper name, but a compound of *Cad* and *traeth*; and a correspondent of *Notes and Queries*¹ has lately revived the notion, but as the argument has been already² disposed of, we need not return to it here.

Next in the order of time is the theory advanced by Mr. Probert. This also has been discussed already;³ but as it has been revived by the last translator of the poem, it will be well to examine it more critically. The passage is somewhat long, but will justify quotation in its full length. Mr. Williams develops his theory in these words:—"After the Saxons had finally established themselves on the Eastern Coast, in the fore-mentioned countries, an immense rampart, extending nearly from the Solway to the Firth of Forth, was erected either with the view of checking their further progress westward, or else by mutual consent of the two nations, as a mere line of demarcation between their respective dominions. This wall cannot have an earlier date, for it runs through the middle of the country originally occupied by the Gadeni, and could not of course have been constructed as a rampart by them; nor can it be referred to a more recent period, as there could be no reason for forming such a fence after the Saxons had intruded upon the whole country

¹ [*Notes and Queries*, 1st series, v. 164.]

² [Page 27.]

³ [Pages 27-29.]

which it divides. This was the famous CATRAIL, which we presume to be identical with CATTRAETH, where the disastrous battle of that name, as sung by Aneurin, was fought.

“The whole course of the Catrail, which may be traced from the vicinity of Galashiels to Peel-fell is upwards of forty-five miles. The most entire parts of it show that it was originally a broad and deep fosse; having on each side a rampart which was formed of the natural soil, that was thrown from the ditch, intermixed with some stones. Its dimensions vary in different places, which may be owing to its remains being more or less perfect. In those parts where it is pretty entire, the fosse is twenty-seven, twenty-six, and twenty-five feet broad; but on those places where the rampart has been most demolished, the fosse only measures twenty-two-and-a-half, twenty, and eighteen feet, and in one place, only sixteen feet wide. As the ramparts sloped on the inside it is obvious that in proportion as they were demolished, the width of the fosse within would be diminished. In some of the most entire parts the ramparts are from six to seven and even nine or ten feet high, and from eight to ten and twelve feet thick. They are no doubt less now than they were originally, owing to the effects of time and tillage. (Chalmers’s *Caledonia*, v. i, pp. 239, etc.)

“Such is the Catrail, and were it identical with Cattraeth, we should naturally expect to meet with some allusions to a work of that description in the body of the poem. Nor are we herein disappointed, for the expression ‘ffosawd’ (line 231), ‘clawdd’ (line 289), ‘ffin’ (line 386), ‘cladd clodvawr’ (line 393), ‘goglawdd’ (line 534), ‘clawdd gwernin’ (line 607), and ‘gorffin Gododin’ (line 713), are undoubtedly such allusions, though we readily admit that some of them may, and probably do, refer to the ordinary circular forts of the Britons, of which there are several along the line. It may be added here that Taliesin, in his description of the battle of

Gwenystrad¹, where the men of Cattræth fought under Urien, speaks of a 'govwr', or an intrenchment, that was 'assailed by the laborious toil of warriors'. Having thus satisfied ourselves as to the nature and locality of Cattræth, the general subject of the poem becomes apparent. It was a battle fought at the barrier in question between the Cymry and the Saxons, the most extended in its design and operations on the part of the former, as it proved to them the most disastrous in its results, of all that had hitherto taken place between the two people in that part of the island." (*Introduction*, pp. 4-6.)

Catrail is said to mean "the war-fence"; but, passing by the interpretation, is it sure that we have here the correct form of the word? On the side of the old military road from Carlisle to Catterick is a place called *Catterlen*. Both words seem to have the same signification and to be the same, but the etymology of the one will not suit the other. Why may not the word mean "the war-trail"? for *trail* is not a Saxon word. In that case the word would be an appropriate description of the military road, along which the Britons entered the Saxon territories, and *vice versa*. Mr. Williams assumes *Cad-rhail* and *Cad-rhaith* to be the same; but *Rhail*, according to Richards' *Dictionary*, is "a paddle-staff"; and *Rhaith*, according to the same authority, is "a judicial oath". *Cad rhaith*, therefore, would mean "the war of justice" or "legal war", and not "the legal war-fence". Catrail and Cattræth do not resemble each other, nor are they convertible terms.²

¹ [*Myv. Arch.*, i, 52—Gee's edition, p. 47.]

² [*Cad rhaith*, as a phrase, would probably signify "the war of justice"; but *Cad-raith*, as a compound, must (on the analogy of Welsh compounds in general, and of such forms as *cad-faes*, a battle-field; *cad-farch*, a war-horse; *cad-gi*, a war-dog; *cad-lef*, a war-cry; in particular) mean the "law of war", *jus belli*. It is hard to see how either *cad rhaith* or *cad-raith* could ever have been supposed to mean "the legal war-fence", whatever that may be.]

In the second place, there is no evidence in the poem that the battle was fought near any barrier of the kind described, but as Mr. Williams professes to find such evidence, we must examine his statements.

I. The word "ffossawd" occurs in line 231—

"Ni diengis namyn tri o wrhydri fossawt",

and is thus translated by him—

"But three escaped by valour from the funeral fosse".

Here "ffossawd" is translated as a noun; but in line 239 we have the expression "gwedy fossawt", where the word is evidently a verb. Mr. Williams has a note¹ to show that *ffossawd* means a fosse; so it does, and something more. *Ffos* is the Welsh word for a ditch, derived from the Latin *fossa*; but the termination *-awd* is here superadded, and that always denotes an action: e.g., *ffon*, a staff; *ffonawd*, a blow from a staff; *dwrn*, a fist; *dyrnawd*, a fist-blow; *bwyell*, a hatchet; *bwyellawd*, a hatchet-blow. In Latin, *fossa* is "a ditch", etc.; *fossor* is "a ditcher"; *fossus* is *dug*, WOUNDED OR PIERCED; and *fosso*, *fossare*, is "to dig", etc. Here, then, we find that *ffossawd* may mean wounding; but if we go further, we find that the word is not a compound of *ffôs* and *-awd*, but of *ffoss* and *-awd*; and Richards states that *ffoss* and *ffossiwn* is a sword (a falchion); and that *ffossod* or *ffossawd* is a sword-blow. *Ffossawd*, therefore, is not a ditch or trench.

II. The word *clawdd* occurs in line 289, but it has been mistranslated. The word when used as a noun means a *ditch*; but in this line it is a verb, signifying to "sheathe" a weapon.

III. *Ffin*, a boundary, does not occur in line 386; the word there is *fin*, edge, i.e., the edge of the sword.

IV. *Cladd clodvawr* does not occur in line 393; the "a

¹ [*Y Gododin*, trans., p. 113.]

clat" of a solitary copy cannot outweigh the authority of all the others, even if it were not clear that Aclut or Alelwyd is here meant.

v. *Dygoglawd* is not a noun, signifying "an encampment", but a verb denoting the "murmuring" of the wave.¹

VI. *Clawdd gwernin* certainly denotes an entrenchment, but whether it was anything more than the usual entrenchment taught the Britons by the Roman legions is doubtful. It certainly affords but slender support to Williams' theory.

VII. *Gorffin Gododin*. That Gododin had "an extreme boundary" is most likely; that the Lord of Gododin (for he is the person alluded to) should be buried there is not surprising; but how does that prove that the battle was fought at the Catrail?

From this examination it must now be evident that the Catrail was not the Cattraeth of the poet; but as we are here attempting to settle the question at once and for ever, we must enter into a patient examination of all the passages in which that word occurs. The clear determination of the signification of this word has been much retarded by its supposed identity with Gododin, and therefore we must embrace such passages also as include that word.

I. In verse vi we have "Gwyr a aeth Ododin". By a most singular perverseness Williams ranks the three districts of Gododin, Deivyr, and Bryneich as being opposed to the Britons on this occasion, *i.e.*, Gododin was opposed to itself! And, therefore, we need not be surprised that he translates these words, "The heroes marched to Gododin". But why to Gododin? The mark of the dative case *y* or *e* is generally, if not invariably, placed before the noun; and in this

¹ [In his note to the translation of the line Mr. Williams gives as an alternative rendering, "The bright wave murmured along on its pilgrimage". Williams' *Gododin*, p. 156.]

poem we have such instances as “Kynt y vwyt *e* vrein” “Kynt y gic *e* vleid”, “Kynt e vud *e* vran”, “Ket elwynt *e* lanneu.” The grammar of the language is, therefore, clearly in favour of “Ododin” being in the genitive case; and, therefore, the true translation would be “The heroes went *from* Gododin”. The formula “Gwyr a aeth Ododin” is repeated in the following verse (verse vii), and should be translated in the same way, for the heroes here named are twice called “the army of Gododin”,¹ and once “the Britons of Gododin”; and if they went anywhere they must have gone *from* Gododin.

II. We come, in the second place, to consider the signification of Cattræth. The word occurs in the poems of Taliesin in two places, viz. :—

“Ar6yre g6yr Katraeth gan dyd,”²

and

“G6leis í ly6 Katraeth tra mæu.”³

The first of these lines speaks of “the men of Cattræth”, and the latter of Urien Rheged, “the ruler of Cattræth”; and as such expressions have an unmistakable reference to a place called Cattræth—the habitation of men, and therefore a town—the seat of a *lord* or *sovereign*, and therefore the capital of a small kingdom, we cannot suppose it has any reference to the trench called Catrail. These poems were written before the *Gododin*, and therefore the fact that Cattræth is mentioned here is of much service in illustrating the subsequent notice of the place in that poem. Aneurin mentions the place frequently :—

¹ [The expression “bedin Ododin” occurs four times in the poem, viz., in verses iii, xii, xxxv, xlvii. The term “Brython Ododin” appears in verse lxxv.]

² [“Gwaith Gwenystrad”, line 1, *Myv. Arch.*, i, 52 (p. 47 of Gee’s edition). *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 183.]

³ [“Yspeil Taliesin”, *Myv. Arch.*, i, 57 (Gee’s edition, p. 51); *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 192.]

1.	Gwyr a aeth gatraeth oed fraeth eu llu.	Vcrse	viii
2.	" " veduaeth uedwn.	"	ix
3.	" " gan wawr.	"	x
4.	" " " "	"	xi
5.	" " gan dyd.	"	xii
6.	" " " "	"	xiii
7.	Ny chryssiws gatraeth.	"	xiii
8.	Gwyr a aeth gatraeth gan wawr.	"	xiv
9.	O vreithyell gatraeth pan adrodir.	"	xv
10.	Gwyr a aeth gatraeth buant enwawc.	"	xxi
11.	Gwenabwy vab gwenn gynhen gatraeth.	"	xxv
12.	O gatraeth o gymynat.	"	xxx
13. breithyell gatraeth.	"	xxxii
14.	Gwyr a aeth gatraeth yg cat yg gawr.	"	xxxiii
15.	O gatraeth werin.	"	xl
16.	E gatraeth gwerin fraeth fysioglin.	"	liii
17.	Rac catraeth oed fraeth eu llu.	"	lix
18.	O drychan riallu yt gryssyasant Gatraeth tru namen vn gwr nyt atcorsant.	"	lx
19.	Ketwyr am gatraeth a wnaeth brithret.	"	lxiii
20.	Greulet ar gatraeth cochre.	"	lxxvii
21.	Carasswn disgyntu yg catraeth gessevin.	"	lxxxii

Once again the word *Catraeth* occurs—in another poem of the seventh century—and as in these *four and twenty* instances the word always has the same form—always *Catraeth* and never *Catrail*—Mr. Williams' supposition of their identity becomes utterly inadmissible.

The supposed identity of *Gododin* and *Catraeth* is also shown to be unfounded by this enumeration of the cases in which the latter word occurs. The bard twice states that "The heroes went (*to* or *from*) *Gododin*", and he nine times states that "The heroes went to *Catraeth*"; but there is a very marked difference in the incidents associated with the two terms. We learn from the poem that the army were encamped for a week, and that they had "a wine feast and a mead feast" the night before their defeat. Now it is evident that the verses beginning "Gwyr a aeth *Ododin*" refer to their first departure, for no allusion is made to the wine

feast; while it is equally clear that all the verses beginning "Gwyr a aeth Gatraeth" refer to the morning of their defeat, for, in almost every verse, it is stated that they hastened from the feast of wine and mead. It is, therefore, clear, that the first class of verses describes their departure *from* Gododin; it is equally clear, that the events named in the second class occurred a week later than those named in the first; and, from the same data, we may safely infer that Cattræth and Gododin were not convertible terms, and did not refer to the same place.

It, therefore, only remains for us to determine the case of "Gatraeth": genitive or dative it must be, but which? The rules of grammar do not give us as much aid as could be wished here. In both the cases of Gododin and Cattræth our first impulse is to say that the heroes went *to* Gododin and *to* Cattræth: but it would be equally proper (in grammar) to say that they went *from* the one place or the other. In this uncertainty, we must be guided by internal evidence. In the first class of cases, this is in favour of the genitive case; in the latter it is in favour of the dative. One line¹ expressly states that—

"To Cattræth there hastened a loquacious host."

"E gatraeth gwerin fraeth fysgiolin."

Another says,² "The host was loquacious *before* Cattræth;" a third³ locates the contest *about* Cattræth. A subsequent bard (Avan Verddig?) locates the battle there—

"Digones gwydyr gwallauc
Eilywod Gattræth fawr vygedauc."

"The valour of Gwalloc (*i.e.*, Cadwallon) avenged
The disgrace of Cattræth, the great and glorious."

*Elegy on Cadwallon.*⁴

¹ [Verse liii.]

² [Verse lix.]

³ [Verse lxiii.]

⁴ [*Myr. Arch.*, i, 180; Gee's edition, p. 133, col. 2, lines 30, 31]

And Aneurin repeatedly calls the battle “breithyell Cattræth”. The proper translation is, therefore, “The heroes went *from* Gododin”, and “The heroes went *to* Cattræth”—*from* Gododin *to* the encampment “ar llawr Mordei” (verse ii, l. 27), and *from* that encampment *to* the town of Cattræth.

The passage from Avan Verddig (?) has never been cited in connection with the *Gododin*: but it is one of great importance, and lends strong support to the main propositions of the present writer. I date the battle of Cattræth in 603; Cadwallon ravaged Northumbria in 634; and it is evident from the statement that he thus retrieved the disgrace of Cattræth, that the event was still fresh in the public mind. That place is also described by the epithets, “vawr vygedawc”, great and glorious; and hence we conclude that Cattræth was not a trench or boundary, but a place of some note and importance.

Here, then, we pause, in the firm conviction that the positions here laid down have been clearly demonstrated and firmly established; and, if it shall appear that these conclusions are well founded, and that the significance of the *Gododin* is now understood, my labour will not have been in vain. I shall have done some service for one of the ablest of our native bards, and have contributed some little to the elucidation of the early history of Ynys Prydain.

SECTION II.—THE PEOPLE OF NORTH BRITAIN: THEIR SOCIAL HISTORY.

From the foregoing section it will have been already seen that the actors in the scenes recorded by the *Gododin* were for the most part the people of North Britain. We are told, it is true, that the battle of Cattræth was fought by a confederacy consisting of Scots, North Britons, and a very considerable number of persons from the Principality; indeed,

the greater part of the poem may be said to refer to this section of the armament, for the bard views his subject from a standpoint exclusively Welsh, and nearly all the persons named by Aneurin were persons who had gone from Wales, and who were connected with the Principality. This circumstance should not, however, be permitted to militate against the assertion that the battle was fought in North Britain and by North Britons; for, as Aneurin took refuge in Wales after this contest, it was but natural that he should have given prominence to the Cambrian portion of the armament.

It is, therefore, of importance for us to ascertain who were the inhabitants of North Britain at this time. The first notice of this island is that in the *Treatise of the World*¹ (*De Mundo*), attributed to Aristotle, in which Britain is called Albion, and Ireland Ierne; and Festus Avienus, in describing the voyage of Hamilcar the Carthaginian, 500 B.C., informs us that the people were called Albiones. Between that time and the arrival of the Romans both islands appear to have received a new race of inhabitants—the Scotti making their appearance in Ireland, and the Britanni in the larger island.

¹ [*Aristotelis de Mundo*, cap. iii.—“Ἐν ταύτῃ [τῷ Ὠκεανῷ] γε μὴν, νῆσοι μέγισταί τε τυγχάνουσιν οὔσαι δύο, Βρετανικαὶ λεγόμεναι, Ἄλβιον καὶ Ἰέρνη, τῶν προϊστορημένων μείζους, ὑπὲρ τοῦς Κελτοῦς κείμεναι.” This is the first definite “notice of this island” in classical writers, but two other more general references to the British Isles are sometimes quoted, and may be mentioned here. In the spurious Greek poem, attributed to Orpheus, on the Argonautic Expedition, which some suppose may be by Onomacritus, and therefore as old as the end of the sixth, or the beginning of the fifth, century B.C., these islands are referred to as the “Iernian Isles”. Argo says (*Argonautica*, lines 1163, 1164):—

“Νῦν γὰρ δὴ λυγρῇ τε καὶ ἀλγεινῇ κακότητι
Ἐξομαι, ἦν νήσοισιν Ἰερνίσιν ἄσπον ἴκωμαι.”

Herodotus also (Book iii, 115), after acknowledging his imperfect acquaintance with the extreme West of Europe, adds, “οὔτε νήσους αἶδα Κασιπερίδας εὐόσας, ἐκ τῶν ὀ κασιτέρος ἡμῖν φοιτᾷ.”]

The Scotti in the lapse of time appear to have acquired a political pre-eminence in Ireland, to have given it for so many centuries the name of Scotia. To such an extent had their influence prevailed, that in the *Annals of Ulster* and *Tighernac* that country is uniformly so called.

On the other hand, the Britanni had obtained the supremacy in the larger island, or, at all events, in the southern parts thereof; so that when the Romans came here the island was called Britannia. It has retained that name ever since, though, if I may judge from other facts, the name was originally confined to the southern coast of England. The Welsh *Triads* (for which, however, I claim respect only in so far as they are corroborated by better authorities) divide the inhabitants into three classes: the Cymry, the Lloegrians, and the Britons.¹ The Britons, so far as we can now learn their position, occupied the southern and western coasts, and probably were the first arrivals. Then came the Lloegrians from Gascony; these were the Ligurians of France, and the people who gave their name to the river Loire; and they appear to have taken possession of the midland and eastern parts. After these came the Belgae, Coritani, Cangi, and other smaller tribes. These were not of the same race as the Britons; but the Brython, Lloegrians, and Cymry, were said to belong to the same family, and the latter occupied the northern counties, from whence they spread themselves over the Lowlands of Scotland. If the Albiones ever occupied the whole island, it would seem that each successive importation drove them northward, until the population of Alban, the Scottish Highlands, were the sole remaining part of the Albiones, or ancient inhabitants of the island. These are supposed by Mr. Skene² to be the Caledonians of the

¹ [*Trioedd Ynys Prydain*, *Cyfres* iii, 5; *Myv. Arch.*, ii, 58. Gee's edition, p. 400.]

² [Skene's *Highlanders of Scotland*, vol. i, p. 8.]

Romans, the Picts of later history, and the Highlanders of modern times; but the *Triads*¹ recognise no such people as Albiones, claim for the Britons the right of first possession of the island, and assert that the Picts, whom they call Gwyddyl Ffichti, were a colony of Scandinavians, who settled on the eastern coast of the Highlands; and some learned men are inclined to assert that the Picts and the Cymry of the Lowlands differed only in being the wild and tame portions of the same people. Into these questions I do not propose to enter; suffice it, that at the time of the *Gododin* the people of the Highlands were called Picts, while the Cymry were called Britons, and that they were sometimes at war with each other.

It thus appears that while the southern half of the island was divided between the Britons, who had the south-western part, and the Lloegrians, who had the south-eastern part, the northern half was occupied by the Cymry and the Picts. The former occupied the whole territory from the Humber to the Clyde, while the Picts, or Caledonians, had the Highlands of Scotland. These were the positions occupied by these various tribes when the Romans invaded the island. The history of this invasion is well enough known not to require recapitulation here; and, therefore, suffice it to say that Britain became a province of the Roman Empire. They retained possession of the island for four hundred years, and during that time it was distinguished for all the refinement and civilised usages known to the Romans themselves. But it was a difficult conquest, and submitted unquietly to the Roman yoke. From time to time it asserted its independence, and at last, about 406, when the cities of Britain had revolted, and the empire itself was crumbling to decay, the

¹ [*Triodd Ynys Prydain, Cyfres* iii, 7; "Ail (Ciwdawd Ormes), y Gwyddyl Ffichti, addaethant i'r Alban drwy For Llychlyn", *Myv. Arch.*, ii, 58; Gee's edition, p. 410.]

Romans evacuated the island. During the latter years of the Roman occupation, the Picts of Scotland, in conjunction with the Scots of Ireland and some Saxon pirates, caused great injury to the Britons occupying the more civilised parts of the island, and in some of their excursions they penetrated as far as London. About the year 503 a colony of Scots from Ireland settled themselves in Argyle. There they continued to increase in number and influence for several centuries, until at last they subdued the Southern Picts in the ninth century, and ultimately gave their name to the whole of Scotland. These people were generally in alliance with the Britons, but as their strength increased, they ventured once or twice to measure swords with the Strath-Clyde Cymry. We have, therefore, to rank a new race of people in North Britain, and we have to add the Scots of the Western Highlands to the Picts and the Cymry; but our future observations will be exclusively confined to the latter.

The Cymry occupied the whole of the Lowlands and the North of England, and gave their name to the county of Cumberland, the Cumbray Islands in the Firth of Clyde, and, perhaps, to the village of Comrie, near Perth. During the Roman occupation, they were divided into tribes, called respectively *Damnii*, *Novantæ*, *Selgovæ*, *Gadeni*, and *Ottadeni*. These were inhabitants of the Lowlands, or lower half of Scotland, while the people of the North of England were called *Brigantes*, *Parisii*, and *Setantii*. These were situated as follows:—

The *PARISII* occupied part of the East Riding of Yorkshire, the neighbourhood of Flamborough Head. Their chief city was *Petuaria*, which is now known as *Brough-on-Humber*.¹

The *BRIGANTES* were to the north of these. "Their territory stretched from the bounds of the *Parisii* northward to the

¹ [It has by others been identified with *Beverley* and *Auldby*.]

Tyne, and from the Humber and Don to the mountains of Lancashire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland." "Their towns were Epeiacum¹ (*Lanchester*), Vinovium² (*Binchester*), Cambodunum (*Slack*), Cataracton (*Catterick*), Galacum³ (uncertain), Olicana (*Ilkley*), and Isurium.⁴ Eboracum (York) on the Ure was the metropolis, first a colony of the Romans, called Sexta from being the station of the Sixth Legion termed the Victorious, and afterwards distinguished by the presence of many emperors, and raised to the privilege of a municipal city."

The territory occupied by these, joined to that of the Setantii,⁵ formed what was called the Kingdom of Brigantia. This province was divided into two equal parts by a chain of mountains called the Pennine Alps, which, rising on the confines of the Icenii and Cornabii, near the river Trent, extend towards the north in a continued series of fifty miles. The district to the east of these mountains formed the Anglian kingdom of *Deira*, the Deivr of Aneurin, while to the north-east of that was *Bryneich* of the bard or the Northumbrian kingdom of Bernicia.

To the west of this chain were the Setantii. Their cities were Rhigodunum⁶ (*Ribchester*), Coccium (*Blackrode*), and Lugubalium (*Carlisle*). The two last were occupied by Roman garrisons.

¹ [By others identified with *Hexham*, and again with the greatest probability with *Ebchester*.]

² [Called *Vinovia* in the *Itin. Ant.*, and *Vinonia* in the *Notitia Imp.*, and by the Geographer of Ravenna.]

³ [It is mentioned in the 10th Itinerary and has been identified with *Appleby*, *Whallop Castle*, or *Kendal*.]

⁴ [*I.e.*, *Aldborough*, near *Boroughbridge*.]

⁵ [The Setantii were probably a tribe of the Brigantes, and perhaps identical with the Sistentiaci of Ravennas.]

⁶ [Others have identified Coccium with *Ribchester*, and Rhigodunum has been variously identified with *Warrington*, *Manchester*, *Richmond*, and *Rixton*. The similarity of the names decidedly favours the last.]

“The northern frontier of this province was protected by a wall of stupendous magnitude, built by the Romans across the isthmus” from the Tyne to Solway Firth, which was eighty miles in length, fifteen feet high, and nine feet thick. “It had a parapet and ditch, a military road, and was defended by eighteen greater stations, placed at intervals of three to six miles; eighty-three castles, at intervals of six to eight furlongs; and, as it is imagined, a considerable number of turrets placed at shorter distances.”

To the north of this wall were situated those powerful tribes, who, towards the close of the Roman occupation, were known under the name of Mæatae. This term probably meant nothing more than “the men of the plains”, as contradistinguished from the Caledonians, or men of Celyddon; and they probably stood to each other in the same relation as the Highlands and Lowlands in later times, for the Mæatae were probably the same people as the *Mei-wyr* of Aneurin, who calls his countrymen by that name. “They possessed Ottadinia (*Gododin*) towards the east, Gadenia, Selgovia, Novantia, and further north, Damnonia.”

“Nearest the wall dwelt the Gadeni, whose metropolis was Curia.”¹ The site of this town is uncertain. It is probable that Gadenia was the “Goddeu” of Taliesin,² and it is supposed that the Gadeni “occupied the midland parts from the wall probably as far as the Forth” to the west of the Ottadeni (Dr.

¹ [This is the statement of Richard of Cirencester. According to Ptolemy, Curia was a town of the Ottadeni. But it is noticeable that Horsley (*Britannia Romana*, p. 248) puts forward the suggestion that Curia was a town of the Gadeni, and not of the Ottadeni. The place has been identified with *Jedburgh* and *Borthwick*, and by others, with more probability, with *Currie on Gore*.]

² [“Gwaith Argoed Llwyfein”, l. 4: *Myv. Arch.*, vol. i, p. 53.; Gee’s edition, p. 48, col. 2: *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 189. Skene says “Godeu, probably the middle ward of Lanarkshire, and the same as Cadyow” (ii, 414).]

Giles); but if I might judge from the faint light of British poetry, their position was south of Ettrick Mount.

“The Ottadeni were situated nearer the sea”, and are supposed to have stretched along the eastern coast as far as the Firth of Forth. It is possible that at subsequent periods their position was somewhat altered, for after the Angli had taken possession of Northumberland, we find the district of the Ottadeni extending in a south-western direction to the Firth of Solway. Aneurin divides the district into two parts, the north-eastern part or primitive settlement being *traeth Gododin*—the shore of Gododin, under a chief named Heiddyn,¹ and the region about Annandale and Carlisle, where he locates Gwarthan ab Dunawd. Nennius² also affords confirmation of the same view: for he expressly states that the *partes sinistrales* about Carlisle were called *Manau Guotodin*. “Their chief city was Bremenium (*Riechester*, in Northumberland)³ and their rivers Tweed and Alaunus⁴ (*Coquet*), and the two Tinas”, or North and South Tines. The arrival of the Angli forced them northward beyond the Tweed, from whence they appear to have spread themselves in a south-western direction; their position in the time of Aneurin appears to have stretched from sea to sea, from Lucker in the upper part of Northumberland to Lockerby or Lochmaben in Annandale; and their chief town appears to have been situated on the Tweed, being probably Berwick. There is a *Caerwys* also named by the Bard, but whether this was the *Curia* of the *Gadeni*, I am not able to determine.

¹ [See verse lxxviii, with the author's note to the preceding verse.]

² Stevenson's *Nennius*, by San-Marte, sec. 62, p. 72: *Mon. Hist. Britt.*, 75c.]

³ [*Newcastle* has been suggested as the modern representative of Bremenium, and also *Brampton*, which in form corresponds more nearly with the old name.]

⁴ [The editors of *Monumenta Hist. Britt.* suggest that Ptolemy's “outlets of the river Alaunus” may be *Tweedmouth* or *The Alan*; while Horsley thinks the “Alaunus must be *Tweed*”.]

“The SELGOVAE inhabited the country to the west”, “and appear to have occupied the whole of Dumfries-shire and part of Kirkcudbright.” “Their cities were Carbantorigum¹ (*Drumlanrig* or *Kirkcudbright*), Uxellum² (uncertain), and Trimontium,³ which according to ancient documents, was a long time occupied by a Roman garrison”. Ptolemy adds another town to the list, of the name of Corda.⁴ “The principal rivers of this region were Novius, Deva, and partly the Ituha”, being the modern Nith, Dee, and Eden.

“The NOVANTAE dwelt beyond the” Scottish “Dee, in the extreme western part of the island near the sea, and opposite Ireland”. “They held the south-western district of Scotland from the Dee to the Mull of Galloway; that is, the west of Kirkcudbright and Wigton, and part of the Carrick division of Ayr”. “In this country was the famous Novantum Chersonesus”, which is now known as the Rinns⁵ of Galloway. It “was esteemed by the Ancients to be the most northern promontory of Britain;” but this arose from “an error in the geographical or astronomical observations preserved by

¹ [Others have identified it with *Caerlaverock*.]

² [Supposed by Camden to have been in *Eusedale*, but Horsley identifies this place with *Caerlaverock*.]

³ [Various identified with *Annand*, *Burrenswark Hill*, *Middleby*, and *Longholm*.]

⁴ [This place has been identified with *Cumnock*, and *Castle Over* in *Eskdale*.]

⁵ [This name is evidently the Welsh *rhyn*, a hill, cape, promontory; Corn., *rhyn* and *run*; Bret., *rûn*; Ir. and Gael, *rinn*, with which, probably, we may connect the Gr. $\beta\upsilon\sigma$ stem of $\beta\acute{\iota}\varsigma$, a nose: the Celtic and the Greek words being related as the forms *Naze*, *Ness*, to “nose”. *Rhyn* is common in place-names, especially in the compound *Penrhyn*. *Tal-y-rhyn* is the name of a farm near *Llandovery*. In *Le Gonidec's Dictionary* (s.v. *rûn*), we are told that the root *rûn* is little used, but occurs in local names “*tels que ar Rûn*, la colline; *Penn-ar-run* ou *Penn-ann-rûn*, le bout de la colline; *Méz-ar-rûn* ou *Méz-ann-rûn*, le champ de la colline; *Rû-Stéfan*, pour *Rûn-Stéfan*, le tertre d'Etienne”. Again, in the island of *Islay* we have “*The Rhyngs*” and “*Rhyngs Point*”.]

Ptolemy. The latitudes north of this point appear to have been mistaken for the longitudes, and consequently this part of Britain is thrown to the east", as may be seen in the Ptolemaic map in Pinkerton's *History of Scotland*. "The metropolis of the Novantae was Lucopibia or Casae Candidae". This was *Wigton* according to Horsley, and *Whithern* according to Roy. Ptolemy names another of their towns, viz., Rhetigonium, the modern *Stranraer*, and the *Tref Redegein* named by Aneurin.¹ "Their rivers were the Abravannus,² Iena, and the Deva", which correspond respectively to the modern Luce, Cree, and Dee, of which the latter formed the boundary to the east.

The DAMNII constituted the British kingdom of Strathclyde. They "dwelt to the north of the Novantes, the Selgovae, and the Gadeni; and were separated from them by the Uxellian Mountains". Dr. Giles supposes these to have been the Louthers. "The Damnii were a very powerful people, but lost a considerable portion of their territory when the Antonine wall was built" from the Firth of Forth to the Clyde, across the Isthmus, "being subdued and spoiled by the Caledonians". During the occupation of the Romans there was a garrison placed at Vanduarium³ (*Paisley* or *Renfrew*) to defend the wall. "These people inhabited the principal part of what are called the Lowlands"; and, before the building of this wall by Lollius Urbicus, about 140 A.D., "their territory

¹ [Verse lxxx.]

² [In Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography* (s.v.), an extraordinary suggestion is made relative to the derivation of this name. It is there said that "Abravannus is probably the stream which flows through Loch Ryan into the sea—Ab-Ryan, the offspring of Ryan, being easily convertible into the Roman form of the word, Ab-Ryan-us—Abravannus."]

³ [Vanduaara, in Ptolemy: the weight of opinion appears to be in favour of regarding *Paisley* as its modern representative."]

evidently extended as far as the Grampians, consisting of great part of Ayr, all Renfrew, and Lanark, a considerable part of Stirling, and perhaps Linlithgow." Their cities, as enumerated by Ptolemy, "were Alauna¹ (uncertain), Lindum² (*Ardoch*), and Victoria³ (*Dealgin-ros*), the last being as glorious in reality as in name". These were situated north of the Antonine wall, as also was Alclwyd (Dumbarton), which was called by the Romans Theodosia; after the building of the wall, these fell to the share of the Horestii; but in the lapse of time the Britons appear to have won back a part at least of their former territory, for Alclwyd, which was formerly built by the Romans, was recovered from the Caledonians by Theodosius, in honour of whose name it was called Theodosia. This was in A.D. 368; and after that time the Britons retained this town with its adjoining province. It was the seat of Rhydderch Hael and the kings of Strathclyde; and the modern name Dumbarton, which is well known to be a corruption of Dun-Britton, the city of the Britons, is a living attestation of British occupation. The bulk of the territory of the Damnii at and after the departure of the Romans, was situated to the south of the Firths of Forth and Clyde, which in the seventh century formed the boundaries between them and the Picts. In this district they formed the British kingdom of Strathclyde, and the names of their towns were Colania, Vanduara, and Coria.⁴

¹ [Horsley and the Editors of the *Monumenta Hist. Britt.* give *Camelon* in Stirling as the representative of Alauna.]

² [Lindum has by others been identified with *Linlithgow* and *Kirkintulloch*.]

³ [By others identified with *Abernethy*, not far from *Perth*.]

⁴ [Colania has been identified with either *Carstairs* or *Crawford* (*Mon. Hist. Britt.*); but Latham, in Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Geog.*, suggests that Coria may be represented by *Crawford* and Colania by *Carstairs*.]

Such was the population of Scotland and the north of England, within a century and a half of the event recorded in the *Gododin*. From that part we will take up their history, and bring it down to the final cessation of Cymric independence in North Britain, as several of the allusions in the poem cannot otherwise be well understood. The first post-Roman notice we have of the kingdom of Strathclyde occurs in the *Life of St. Ninian*, where mention is made of a King Total. It is probable that it formed one of the principles of Roman policy, to permit a certain portion of authority to the British kings, during their occupation of the island; for we know that Cogidunus was permitted to retain his power, subject to the Roman supremacy. The same principle was observed in their Eastern conquests, and it is scarcely possible for us to account for the importance attained by large numbers of native Britons upon any other assumption. Long before they evacuated the island, the people were in a state of insurrection; and immediately on their departure, we find native chieftains everywhere rising into distinction, and afterwards becoming heads of families. The Total here named was probably the father of Rhydderch Hael, whose family traced its origin to the Emperor Maximus, who is better known in the Cambrian Annals by the name of Maxen Wledig. Rhydderch Hael, king of Dumbarton, was the son of Tudwal Tudglyd, the son of Kedig, the son of Dyvynwal Hen, the son of Ednyved, the son of Maxen Wledig. Of King Total, or Tudwal, but little else is known than that he was a persecutor of the Christian missionaries. For his persecution of St. Ninian, he was afflicted with blindness "by the celestial judge"; but having invoked the aid of that saint, his sight was restored to him, and he became a good Christian, and "ready to revenge all disobedience and injury offered to the servants of Christ". These events are placed about A.D. 390 or 400. Ninian's

conversion of the Picts is placed by Bede¹ in 394, and the death of Ninian is placed by Bale in 432; but I had rather believe that the monkish biographer has made a slip of a century, than that there were two Tudwals in the same locality, within a century of each other, when the pedigree names but one. I should, therefore, place the reign about 540. It is not easy to determine who his successor was. The old poem, called *Kyuoessi Myrddin agbendyd ychbaer*,² places the kings of North Britain in the following order; viz., Rhydderch, Morgan the Great, the son of Sadyrnin (Saturninus), and Urien; but the *Life of St. Kentigern* makes Morgan precede Rhydderch; and we know that Urien died before either of the other two. It is, however, to be borne in mind that the kingship, meant by the British authorities, was that of commander-in-chief of the Cimbric forces. Urien, in his own right, was a king of the North Riding of Yorkshire, but extending, probably, as far west as the Lancashire mountains; but, on account of his warlike qualities, he was elected to be the commander in time of war; and so with the others, each retained his own kingship, but during times of war each was subject to the authority of the *Gwledig*, or supreme king. Taliesin³ makes the kings of North Britain to be thirteen in number; and at the period under consideration, we know the names of a great number of contemporary kinglets, viz.:—

Rhydderch Hael, King of Strathclyde.
Morgan ab Sadyrnin.

¹ [Bedaes *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. iii, cap. 4. *Monum. Hist. Brit.*, 176 A. This refers to the conversion of the Southern Picts. The Northern were, according to the same authority, converted by Columba in 565.]

² *Myv. Arch.*, i, 139; Gee's ed., p. 108; *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 218.

³ [*Anrec Urien: Myv. Arch.*, i, 51; Gee's ed., p. 47; *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 293:—

“Lletaf y gled. balch ygkynted
Or tri theyrn ar dec or gogled.”]

Gwenddolau ab Ceidio, probably north of Alclwyd.
 Eliffer Gosgorddvawr.
 Dunawd, the son of Pabo.
 Gwallawg ab Lleenawg.
 Ceneu, the son of Coel Godebog.
 Urien of Rheged.
 Bran, the son of Mellyrn.
 Nudd Hael, the son of Senyllt.

These persons were also frequently related to each other. Eliffer, Pabo, and Ceidio were three brothers; and consequently Gwenddolau, Dunawd, and the sons of Eliffer, were cousins; Eliffer, also, was the brother-in-law of Urien, having married his sister Eurddyl; and, at a subsequent period, Gwarthan, the son of Dunawd, married Dwywe, the daughter of Gwallog. Such was the position of affairs in North Britain in the middle of the sixth century; and such were the persons swaying political power, when there occurred a series of events which, in the end, led to the overthrow of the British power.

The event here alluded to was the arrival of the Saxons, meaning, by that term, the whole Anglo-Saxon family. It is usual to date their arrival in 449, but the story of Hengist and Gwrtheyrn meets with but little acceptance in modern times; and it is reasonably concluded that there were Saxon settlements on the eastern coast of England long before the departure of the Romans, for that was called the Saxon shore, *Littus Saxonicum*, in their official documents. However, for a long period, their settlements were confined to the southern part of the island; and it is only in the middle of the sixth century that the Angli settled themselves in the North in any considerable numbers. "The Trans-Humbrane countries were exposed at an early period to the attacks of the Jutes and Saxons. Some chroniclers say that Octa and Ebusa, sons of Hengist, conquered a portion of the country. At the onset, the invaders made little progress. The

Britons of the neighbouring Reged and Strathclyde, governed by valiant princes, the descendants of the Roman Maximus, appear to have possessed more unity than their brethren of the South; and their efforts supported the population of Deira and Bernicia in resisting their enemies. The scale was evenly poised, until the English Ida landed at the promontory called Flamborough Head¹ with forty vessels, all manned with chosen warriors." This was in 547, or a little before; and to this date we may probably refer the battle of *Argoed Llwyvain*; for the residence of Urien is said to have been at Llwyvenydd (Leavington), and immediately adjoining that was the great forest of Durham, which, unreclaimed by man, was abandoned to the wild deer. Of this battle we have a graphic account in one of the poems of Taliesin,² and we cannot do better than to give it entire in English:—

THE BATTLE OF ARGOED LLWYVAIN.

“ On Saturday morning there was a great battle
 From sunrise to sunset.
 The Flamebearer (Ida)³ marched in four divisions.
 Goddeu and Rheged to array themselves
 Came from Argoed to Arvynydd:
 They had not to wait the length of a day.
 The Flamebearer shouted, with great boasting:
 ‘Will they give hostages? Are they ready?’
 Owain shouted, uplifting his spear:
 ‘We will not give (hostages). They are not—will not be ready!’
 And Ceneu, the son of Coel, would be a raging lion
 Ere he’d pay the ransom of anyone.
 Then shouted Urien, lord of the plain:

¹ Palgrave’s *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, p. 43.

² [*Góeith Argoet Llwyfein*; *Myv. Arch.*, i, 53; Gee’s edit., p. 48; *Four Ancient Books*, i, 365; ii, 189.]

³ [“The Flamebearer”, *Fflamddwyn*, has generally been identified with Ida; but Skene thinks the name was applied rather to Theodric, son of Ida, *Four Ancient Books*, i, 232; ii, 413; and I learn from a note in Stephens’s MSS., communicated by Mr. Reynolds, that subsequently to the writing of this work, Stephens himself had independently come to the same conclusion.]

' Since the torque-wearing kindred are assembled,
 We will exalt our banner above the hill,
 We will face up the hill side ;
 And we will exalt the javelins above men's heads,
 And attack the Flamebearer in his encampment,
 And we will fight with him and his ally,'
 And from the battle of Argoed Llwyvain
 There was many a corpse.
 Ravens were reddened by the blood of warriors,
 And the multitude hastened with the news.
 I will remember the year to the end of my days,
 And until I grow old and meet inevitable death,
 May I never smile if I praise not Urien.'

Ida appears to have suffered too much in this engagement to measure swords with Urien a second time; and, as we find him settled further north, he probably tried his fortune in Bernicia.¹ Here he appears to have been more successful. His success, however, appears to have been due to diplomacy, as much as to martial prowess; for the Triads² state that he married Bun, the daughter of a chieftain named Culvynawyd, and thus obtained a pacific settlement. "Ida erected a tower, or fortress, which was at first surrounded with a hedge, and afterwards with a wall (*Anglo-Sax. Chron.*, sub anno 547). This was at once his castle and his palace; and so deeply were the Britons humiliated by this token of his power, that they named it *Din-guarth* '*Bryneich*'³—the shame of Bernicia—though he named it Bebbanburgh, in honour of Bebba, probably his first wife. This name has since been corrupted into *Bamborough*: the massy keep is yet standing; and the voyager, following the course of the Abbess of St. Hilda, may yet see

¹ May not Ida have settled at first in the East Riding and Flam-borough be named, after him, Tre Flam-ddwyn?

² [*Trioedd Ynys Prydain: Cyfres* i, 56; "Teir anniweirwraig Y.P. Teir-ferched Culfynawyt Prydein. Essyllt Fyngwen gordder Trystan, a phen arwen gwreig Owein mab Urien, a Bun gwreig Fflam-ddwyn."—*Myv. Arch.*, ii, 14; Gee's edit., p. 392.]

³ [Nennius, von San-Marte, sec. 61, p. 71: *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, 75c.]

“ King Ida’s Castle huge and square,
From its tall rock look grimly down,
And on the swelling ocean frown.”

(Palgrave, *Anglo-Saxons*, pp. 43, 44.)

After a reign of twelve years (*Anglo-Sax. Chron.*, an. 547), Ida died, having fallen (according to British accounts¹) by the hand of Owen ab Urien. He left behind him six sons by his queens, and six by his concubines.²

With regard to his successors, the authorities differ; the *Chronologia* appended to Bede (*Mon. Hist. Brit.*, p. 200) places them in the following order:—

Glappa, succeeding in 559, reigned one year.

Adda reigned eight years.

Ethelric reigned four years.

Theodric reigned seven years.

Fridwald reigned six years.

Hussa reigned seven years.

This will bring us down to about 593, when, if not before, Bryneich was brought under the rule of the kings of Deira.

¹ [Mr. Stephens here no doubt refers to the poem attributed to Taliesin, called *Marwnad Owein ap Urien Reged*, a verse of which is thus given in the *Myv. Arch.*, i, 59; Gee’s ed., p. 53:—

“ Pan laddawdd Owein Fflamddwyn
Nid oedd fwyn
Og ef cysgeid.”

Carnhuanawc (*Hanes Cymru*, p. 284) agrees with Stephens in understanding these words to imply that Owein slew “Fflamddwyn”. But in *The Four Ancient Books of Wales*, ii, 199, the reading is different,

“ Pan lada6d owein fflamd6yn. nyt oed u6y noc et kysceit,”

and the first words are rendered (vol. i, 366) “When Fflamddwyn killed Owain”, which we are assured in a note (ii, 418) “is the natural construction”. If by “natural” is meant “in accordance with Welsh usage”, then the assertion cannot be accepted; and the translation so defended, though possible and harmonising well enough with the context, becomes doubtful when two such scholars as Price and Stephens agree in rejecting it.]

² “Hic ex reginis sex filios, Addam, Bælricum, Theodricum, Æthelricum, Theodherum, Osmerum, et sex habuit ex pellicibus, Occ, Alricum, Eccam, Oswold, Sogor, Sogotherum.”—Florence of Worcester, sub anno 547. *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, p. 524.

The kingdom of Deira was founded by Ella in 559, though Urien appears still to have maintained his own. Ella died in 588, when he was succeeded by Ethelric, who united Deivr and Bryneich under his own sway, until he was succeeded, in 593, by Ethelfrith, the victor at Cattræth. Theodric, probably, began to reign in 572; but as the Angli and Britons appear to have had no wars of magnitude up to that time, we will turn for a little while to the history of the Britons themselves.

It has often been the case with the Kymric princes, that when the pressure from without has been removed, their alliances fall asunder, and they begin to quarrel among themselves: and thus we find that Urien was at war with his neighbours, or they with him. Llywarch Hên, in his *Elegy*, enumerates his opponents:—

“Dunawd, the knight of the warring field, would fiercely rage,
With a mind determined to make a dead corpse,
Against the quick onset of Owain.

“Dunawd, the hasty chief, would fiercely rage,
With mind elated for the battle,
Against the conflict of Pasgen.

“Gwallawg, the knight of tumult, would violently rave,
With a mind determined to try the sharpest edge,
Against the conflict of Elphin.”¹

¹ [These verses, and that which follows, are thus given by Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 271 (*Myv. Arch.*, i, 105; Gee's edit., p. 86):—

xxxvi “P6yllei duna6t marcha6c g6ein.
Erechwyd g6neuthur kelein :
Yn erbyn cryssed owein.”

xxxvij “P6yllei duna6t vd pressen.
Erechwyd g6neuthur catwen :
Yn erbyn kyfryssed pasgen.”

xxxviiij “P6yllei walla6c marcha6c trin.
Erechwyd g6neuthur dyuin :
Yn erbyn kyfryssed elphin.”

ii “Dym kyuarwydyat vn h6ch
Dywal : dywedit yn dr6s llech.
Duna6t uab pabo ny tech.”]

Owen, Pasgen, and Elphin, were the sons of Urien ; and probably these events took place about 560. From another verse in the same poem we learn that Dunawd's patrimony lay west of Urien's :—

“ Let me be guided onward, thou ashen-thruster,
Fiercely was it said in the pass of Llech,
' Dunawd, the son of Pabo, will never fly'.”

The Llech of this verse is probably the place called Leck, in Lancashire, a little to the south of the Westmoreland border. Dunawd and Gwallawc appear to have occupied portions of Westmoreland and Cumberland, and when Gwallog retired to Wales, the property appears to have been transferred to Dunawd, who had married his daughter, and from him to his son Gwarthan. It would seem that either before or after 560, the chieftains of the North, under the guidance of Urien, came to Wales, and there fought several battles against the Irish settlers on the Western coast. Gwallog formed part of this expedition, and afterwards settled in Merionethshire. In this campaign there was a battle at Berwyn dale, at Pencoed, and in Aeron ; and some members of Urien's family appear to have settled about Loughor and Gower.

Other conflicts took place in the North. An alliance was formed between Aeddan ab Gavran, Gwenddolau ab Ceidio, Morgant ab Sadyrnin, and the sons of Eliffer, to dispossess Rhydderch Hael of his dominions, on account of his advocacy of Christianity and persecution of the pagan Druids. They succeeded in their object, expelled Rhydderch from his kingdom, and so completely ransacked his capital that it did not retain food for a gnat. There was, however, a day of retribution in store. Rhydderch formed an alliance with the Southern Kings ; and Urien, Gwallawc, Nudd Hael, and others came to his assistance. Other actors there were also.

Judging from the *Triads*,¹ Dunawd took the part of Gwenddolau, as also did Bran and Mellyrn. On the other hand, Maelgwn Gwynedd, Dywel ab Erbin, Twrch ab Arthan, and Elgan Hen, appear to have sided with Rhydderch. The *Triads*¹ call this one of the "frivolous battles" of Ynys Prydain, being fought for an eagle's nest, which may be a metaphorical name for Dumbarton. This conflict took place at [Arderydd] Airdrie, near Glasgow, in 577, and 80,000 men are said to have fallen in the fight. This is most probably a great exaggeration; but the battle was decisive, and ensured both the personal triumph of Rhydderch and that of Christianity. Gwenddolau and his allies were defeated with great loss; and he himself, who was called one of the "three bulls of battle",² was slain. His tribe, however, which is said to have numbered 2,100 warriors, maintained a struggling contest for six weeks longer, and seven score of his friends, including Merddin, the bard, took refuge in the wood of Celyddon, until they became sprites, and were compelled to submit by starvation. There is a description of this battle in an old poem attributed to Merddin,³ in which are contained several traits of undoubted antiquity. After that battle Merddin came southward; and was buried at Bardsey Island.

Return we to narrate the conflict of the Cymry and the Saxons. According to the arrangement of the Northumbrian reigns in Bede, Theodric began to reign in 572. He appears to have been a man of some energy; and, feeling that the Anglian power was increasing, he appears to have

¹ [For the details see the following *Triads*: *Teir ofergat*, i, 47; iii, 50; *Teir drut aerfa*, i, 46; iii, 52; *Tri diweir deulu*, i, 34; ii, 41; iii, 80; *Tri Marchlwyth*, ii, 11.]

² [*Triodd Ynys Prydain*: *Cyfres* i, 12; *Cyfres* iii, 72.—Vide *Myv. Arch.*, ii, 4, 69; Gee's edition, pp. 389, 407.]

³ [The poem referred to is probably that in the "Black Book of Caer-marthen" fol. 1.a., and given by Skene in *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 3. See also *Myv. Arch.*, i, 48; Gee's edit., p. 45.]

aimed at extending his territory or plundering his neighbours. Rhydderch Hen, Morgan, Gwallawg, and Urien, are said to have distinguished themselves about this time by opposing the Angli, and Nennius¹ especially names Urien and his sons as the opponents of Theodric. Taliesin names the battle of Gwenystrad as one of the brilliant exploits of Urien ; and, as concurring facts lead me to place the scene of this battle in Winsterdale, in Westmoreland, it is probable that Theodric had invaded that country. Urien, who had on a previous occasion signalised himself at Llech Wen Galysten (Gayles, near Cattræth, or Leak, near Nether Silton) probably against Ella, on which occasion he was wounded, appears to have hastened to the relief of Gwallawc. The conflict is described by the bard.²

THE BATTLE OF GWENYSTRAD.

“ Extol the warriors, who on *Cattræth’s* lawn
Went forth to battle with the rising dawn.
Victorious *Urien’s* praise the Bard next sings,
The first of heroes and the shield of kings.

“ The British host, impatient for the fray,
Repair’d to *Gwenystrad* in firm array.
As when the ocean with tremendous roar,
By tempests driven, overwhelms the shore ;
So furious is their onset thro’ the field,
Nor vales, nor woods, the spoilers shelter yield.

“ But near the fort the conflict fiercer raged,
For heroes at the pass the foe engaged :
There Horror stalk’d in hideous forms around,
While blood in purple streams deluged the ground :
And ere the long disputed fort they gain,
What numbers lifeless strew th’ ensanguin’d plain !

¹ [Stevenson’s *Nennius*, by San-Marte, sect. 63, p. 72 ; *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, 75D.]

² [See Edward Jones, *Musical and Poetical Relicks of the Welsh Bards*, 2nd edit. (London, 1794), p. 20.]

Chiefs, that rush'd on the hostile rank as fast
 As chaff is whirl'd before the northern blast,
 See mangled lie!—ne'er, when the battle ceas'd,
 Shall they again among their kindred feast.
 Batter'd their arms, their garments dyed in gore,
 And desolation marks their path no more.

“ See *Reged's* dauntless Christian Chief appear,
 And consternation seize the Saxon rear !
 At *Llechwen—Galysten*, on *Urien's* brow
 Destruction as terrific frown'd as now :
 His sword with slaughter'd foes o'erspread the field ;
 And prov'd his arm, his people's strongest shield.
 For war, *Euronwy*, may thy bosom glow,
 And till death bids my numbers cease to flow :
 May Peace to me her balmy sweets ne'er bring,
 If I can *Urien's* praise forget to sing !”

The united forces of Urien and Gwallawc were eminently triumphant. Theodric was defeated: the victory was followed up, and in the end he was compelled to leave the mainland and take refuge in the island of Lindisfarne (Med-caut, *Nennius*), where he was shut up for three days and nights. From thence we may conclude that he was liberated on terms; but, rankling under the shame of defeat, he courted the alliance of Ceawlin, King of the West Saxons, who was then distinguishing himself in the South. In 574 (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 577), Ceawlin and his son Cuthwine came to the North. To oppose this confederacy, the Britons, who had formerly been in alliance with Gavran, King of the Scots, sought the assistance of his successor, Conall. The opposing forces met at Durham, and victory declared for the Saxons. Conall fell in the fight, and Ceawlin, on his return, slew Cynddylan and Caranmail, princes of Powys, and captured three British cities, viz., Bath, Gloster, and Cirencester.

Aeddán ab Gavran succeeded Conall as King of the Scots, and one of his first acts was to join Gwenddolau ab Ceidio.

In 580, according to the *Annales Cambriae*, there occurred an event which is somewhat singular, and strikingly illus-

trates the request made to Marius by the Cimbri to name a day on which to fight them. We find allusions to a similar practice in our early literature ; and the *Triads* furnish us with a case in point. One of the three faithless tribes was that of Eliffer of the Great Retinue, and its infamy arose from the following circumstances. Gwrgi and Peredur, the sons of Eliffer, had an appointment to fight with Eata Glinmawr¹ (a great-grandson of Ida) at *Caer Greu* ; but their followers absconded the night before, and both were slain in consequence (*Triodd Y. P. Cyfres* i, 35 ; *Cyfres* ii, 42 ; *Cyfres* iii, 81 ; *Myv. Arch.*, ii, 8, 16, 70 : Gee's edition, pp. 390, 398, 408). This event is placed in 580 in the *Annales Cambriae* ; but in the *Æra Cambro-Britannica*, it is placed in 584, and it is possible that it may have some reference to the battle of *Mathreu*, or *Miathorum*, as it is named by *Adomnan*.

A few years afterwards, when *Theodric* had been succeeded by *Fredwald*, the *Angli* and *West Saxons* appear once more in alliance. In the meantime, *Urien* had been appointed commander-in-chief, on account of his military prowess and skill in the art of war. He had the honour of being accounted one of "the three bulls of battle"; but his exaltation excited the envy of *Morgan* and other chieftains ; and the effect of this jealousy appeared at the battle of *Mathreu*, in 584. To meet the formidable alliance of the *Anglo-Saxons*, *Urien* sent messages to his allies, and to the *British chiefs*. The *Scots* came (*Buchanan*), but many of the *Britons* neglected the *Saxons* (*Taliesin*) ; and consequently they had to fight with insufficient forces. The vanguard of the *West Saxons*, under *Cutha*, were attacked immediately, their commander was slain, and his army completely routed. In the meantime, the *Angles* had effected a junction with the rear-guard, under *Ceawlin* in person ; the

¹ *Nennius*, sec. 61 ; *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, 75B.

Britons were attacked in turn and defeated (Buchanan). Urien, at the instigation of Morgan, fell by the hand of an assassin named Llovan Llaw Ddifrod (Llywarch Hên¹), and Ceawlin wrathfully returned to the South. This battle was fought at Fethanlea (Frethern), in Northumberland, and is the *Miathorum bellum* of Adomnan and the Mathreu of Taliesin.

In the same year, or in that immediately following, Aeddan ab Gavran was again in arms, and became the victor at the battle of Mannan. This is sometimes supposed to have been fought in the Isle of Man; but as the battle is named Mannan in the *Gododin*, and not Mannaw, I am satisfied that it took place either at Clackmannan, or at Slamannan, possibly the latter. There were many British chieftains in the engagement, and it is probable that the opponents were the Angli, who, upon the strength of the victory of Mathreu, allied themselves with the Picts, and thought they might venture northwards to invade the dominions of the Scots and Britons. A short time afterwards Aeddan was again in arms against the Saxons, at the battle of Leithrigh, in which he appears to have been the victor. This is variously named the battle of Leithreid, Leithredh, and Leithrigh, which may possibly have taken place at *Leith*, and, as usual, it is dated 589 in the *Ann. Ulton.*, and a year later in *Tighernac*; and, if recorded in the Saxon Annals, would be placed in 593. Indeed, there was a great battle in that year, in which the Britons and Angles were victorious over the West Saxons; but it appears to have taken place further south. And again (595, *Ann. Ulton.*, or 596, *Tighernac*) was fought the battle of Kirkin, in which he appears to have been

¹ [*Marwnad Urien Reged*, verse xlvi, as given in the *Myv. Arch.*, i, 106; Gee's edition, p. 86; but verse xlv of the older version from the "Red Book of Hergest", printed by Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 272. See also *Triads*, series i, 38, series iii, 47, in which the assassination of Urien is described as one of the *Teir ansfad gyflafan* of the Isle of Britain.]

defeated and his sons slain, viz., Bran, Domaugort, Eochach-find, and Arthur.

In both these instances the Saxons were the aggressors, and it is evident that the Angli were now under the government of an able and energetic ruler; and an examination of the list of kings will reveal the fact. Ida, having died in 559, was succeeded (Florence of Worcester, *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, 529B, 639B) by his first-born

Adda, who reigned seven years—559 to 566;

Clappa reigned five years—566 to 571;

Theodulf reigned one year—571 to 572;

Freothwulf reigned seven years—572 to 579;

Theodric, son of Ida, reigned seven years—579 to 586;

Ethelric, son of Ida, reigned two years—586 to 588—while Ella yet lived; and upon the death of that monarch, he expelled his infant son Edwin from the kingdom, and reigned himself for five years more over the united kingdoms of Deivr and Bryneich—588 to 593. Upon the death of Ethelric in 593, he was succeeded by his son Ethelfrid. This man was the Ethelfred *Fleisawr* ("vastator vel depopulator") of Nennius;¹ and the "Mwg-mawr-drefydd"² of Llywarch Hên. He appears to have been a man of much ability; and ultimately proved a terrible scourge to the Britons of the North and of Wales. His portrait has been finely drawn by Malmesbury: "Ethelfrid, the eldest of Ethelric's sons, compensated the greenness of his years by the maturity of his conduct. He began at first vigorously to defend his own territories, afterwards eagerly to invade his neighbours, and to seek occasion for signaling himself on all sides. Many wars were begun by him with foresight, and terminated with

¹ [Stevenson's *Nennius* by San-Marte, sect. 57, p. 70; *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, 74B.]

² [See the poems relating to "Mwg Mawr Drefydd" in Skene's *Four Ancient Books*, vol. i, pp. 319—335.]

success, as he was neither restrained from duty by indolence, nor precipitated into rashness by courage." (Giles' *Trans.*, Bohn's edit., p. 43.) But we must look to Bede for a right description of the man :—

"At this time Ethelfrid, a most worthy king, and ambitious of glory, governed the kingdom of the Northumbrians, and ravaged the Britons more than all the great men of the English, insomuch that he might be compared to Saul, once king of the Israelites, excepting only in this, that he was ignorant of the true religion. For he conquered more territories from the Britons, either making them tributary or driving the inhabitants clean out, and planting English in their places, than any other king or tribune. To him might justly be applied the saying of the Patriarch, blessing his son in the person of Saul, ' Benjamin shall ravin as a wolf: in the morning he shall devour the prey, and at night he shall divide the spoil.'"—(*Bedæ Hist. Eccl.*, i, 34 : Bohn's edit., p. 61.) His incursions greatly annoyed the Scots and North Britons; and, smarting under the pain of two successive defeats, they determined to form a powerful combination and crush him at one blow. The preliminaries were well arranged; an alliance was formed with the Britons of Wales; and the rendezvous appears to have been Cattraeth. At the appointed time, "in the season of tempests, and in a tempestuous season", the war commenced. The veteran King of the Scots came with the eagerness of youth, though seventy winters had flown over his head; and in his train came Tudwylch the Tall, Chief of the Isle of Egg, whose towering ambition overtopped all the rest. British names also appear in the bardic muster roll; and Maeluma the son of Baeddan, with Wid his unflinching brother, hastened to the fray. The Northern Britons, too, came all with one accord; three princes of the Novantæ came with their contingents at their back: Gwarthan ab Dunawd, "the beloved tower of battle",

came with the men of Western Gododin ; and Heiddin Hir, "the monstrous feeder", brought the men of Lothian. All these met at the modern capital of Scotland, under the direction of Mynyddog Eiddin, leader of that splendid retinue, affluent in gold and sparkling wine, which was destined to leave but one weak survivor : and merry was the meeting of the panting warriors. "The minstrels sang of war" ; "sparkling was the horn in the halls of Eiddin" ; and "pompously was ordered the intoxicating mead."

" At the hour when the Sun,
Ruler of the whole beautiful Heaven
Of the Isle of Britain,
Ascends the Eastern sky"—

"three men, three score and three hundred warriors, wearing golden torques," issued from Edinburgh in glittering array ; and direful was the flight before the clattering shields of the pursuing warriors. From the town of Tweed they came, forming in ranks before the general, and shouting with united voices. At Cattræth they met the Britons, who had come in force to protect the small remnant of the Deivyrian natives. The *elite* of the Welsh warriors appear to have hastened to meet their northern brethren, for they form nine-tenths of the persons named by the Bard. Having joined their forces, they put themselves on the offensive ; and Ethelfrith, alarmed by this well appointed and formidable armament, sent Twrch ab Arthan to offer terms of peace ; but the offer was rejected, and hostilities commenced. They appear, first of all, to have encountered Theodbald, the brother of Ethelfrith, in command of the men of Deira ; "a hundred score of the puny men of Deivr fell before the blades of Hyvaidd Hir" ; the Guisborough division ("Cangen Caerwys" ?) was completely annihilated ; and Theodbald himself fell by the hand of Maeluma, the son of Baeddan. Their success in the first engagement seems to have satisfied these

warriors; for we are informed that on Saturday, the day after this conflict, they remained quiescent; and on Sunday they feasted upon the wine and mead of the sea houses (*i. e.*, of the enemy?) and upon the dainties provided by the tenants of Mynyddog. This is the great feast, so frequently named by the Bard;—*hinc illae lacrymae*,—and this was the source of their subsequent defeat. With the exception of Cynon of Aeron, nearly all the chieftains partook to excess of this intoxicating banquet; the wealth of Edinburgh was applied to its production; all that the refinement of the time supplied appears to have been called into requisition; and Gwlyged of Gododin, the steward of the feast, has been celebrated ever since, as the possessor of one of the thirteen British curiosities—a drinking-horn, that never requires re-filling; but they were doomed to drink the cup of bitterness to the very dregs; “clear mead was their liquor, and became their poison; and true was the destiny sworn to Tudvwlch, and to Cyvwlch proved, that if they drink sparkling mead by light of torch, long would be its woe, though sweet its taste”. That night they slept upon sheepskins, provided by the attentive Gwlyged; but the morning sun found them suffering from their debauch; and they rushed into battle in a state of such helpless intoxication, that many fell headlong from their horses, when in the act of striking. The skilful warriors rose together, and many performed prodigies of valour. Morien, the noisy brawler of the preceding night, deserved the mead horns by his valour in the fight: men fell like rushes before the blade of Cynon, the son of Clydno, who was generous as he was brave, and as kind-hearted as he was polite. The son of Bodgad inflicted terrible chastisement upon the foe; Tudvwlch tore up the enemy with his pike, and made bloody the station of the son of Eilydd; and Merin ab Madyein justified the reputation obtained at Wednesbury, when his method of fighting *more Romanorum*,

won the applause of allies, and the admiration of defeated foes; but all was of no avail. Tedbald, it is true, and all his army, had been swept off as by a mighty whirlwind; but the subsequent imprudence of the Britons brought disgrace upon the best of battles. If the Britons were slain, they also slew, and seven times their number of slaughtered Lloegrians told a tale of desperate valour; but of the retinue of Mynyddog, consisting of three hundred chieftains, wearing the insignia of nobility, there escaped but one weak and tottering arm; and before the tent of Madoc, in the retreat, there returned scarce one out of a hundred warriors. Terrible was the onset of the mounted warriors; they cut down the Saxons, and gave them no quarter; but the flower of British chivalry found a gory bed at the stone of slaughter; and the roaring voice of Ethelfrith in pursuit, as the flying warriors ran breathless before the wind, was a startling proof of most lamentable defeat. The victory was obtained at an enormous cost; but it decided the fate of North Britain. Soon afterwards, the kingdom of Northumbria included the monastery of Abercorn; and a full century elapsed before the Britons had ceased to bewail the slaughter of Cattrath, and were again enabled to make head against the English power.

SECTION III.—SOCIAL HISTORY.

Having thus rapidly sketched the political history of North Britain, after the Romans had left the island, their social history will also form an interesting subject of inquiry. It is a very common error to believe that the natives of Britain were no better than painted and skin-clad savages; for the accounts of the Romans themselves furnish incidental evidences that the Britons were, in reality, far advanced in civilization; and, from the discrepancy between their professions and their practice, we learn that their descriptions

are not to be very implicitly relied upon. Cæsar found savages on the coast of Kent; but it also appears that the land was parcelled out into fields with order and regularity; that the savages were in the habit of cultivating corn, and of carrying on an extensive commerce with the neighbouring Gauls. They were inferior to the Romans in the use of arms; but their war-chariots spread terror in the Roman ranks wherever they appeared, and their foot had skill enough to retreat without great loss, when the fortune of the day proved adverse. The same great general wrote home to say that there were no spoils to reward the enterprise, and yet attempted to impose a tribute upon the island, in which there was no gold nor silver; and Cicero¹ advises his friend Trebatius to avoid an encounter with an armed British charioteer, and to hasten his return by the first *essedum* he could meet with from an island where there was no silver, and where but few slaves could be found learned or skilled in music. On becoming better acquainted with Britain, they found it to contain gold² in abundance; but learned slaves they never found there, for the people would never submit to servitude, though they might permit themselves to be governed; and we know that, with respect to education, the British nobles were far in advance of their conquerors, inasmuch as they never entrusted slaves with the education of their children—Druidism, Bardism, and Minstrelsy being privileged crafts which none but free-born Britons were allowed to practice. Appian³ states that Hadrian held half the island, that the other half was considered useless, and that the Emperor derived no profit

¹ [Cic. ad Trebatium Epp., 6, 7, 16; *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, pp. lxxxvii, lxxxviii.]

² [Strabo: *Geographiæ* lib. iv, c. 5, § 2; C. Taciti, *de Vita Agricolaë*, c. 12; *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, pp. vi 2, xliii.]

³ [Appiani *Roman. Hist. Præf.*, § 5; *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, 1 2.]

from the part he held; but he was very loth to part with it; and if it yielded him no revenue, the fact was due to the peculation of his servants, rather than to the poverty of the island, for at a subsequent period, the Emperor Julian¹ found it of more service.

When the Romans first became acquainted with the Britons, we find among them an organised priesthood, possessing celebrity abroad and influence at home²: the verses of the Druids indicate the existence of a poetical literature; and, as twenty years were required to master the stores of Druidic learning, we are warranted in the belief that they had systems of philosophy sufficiently developed to justify the assertion of Diogenes Laertius and the doubt of Aristotle, that philosophy came from the West. We also find that the people of the island were divided into tribes, having recognised locations, inhabiting towns fortified by art, and containing numerous populations; and the confederacy, under Caswallon (Cassivellaunus), presents the outline of a political system. The occasional indications of mural structures and of mechanical contrivances, which appear in the classic historians, render it desirable for us to become acquainted with the inner life of the British aborigines.

The first indications of the state of the island appear in ancient mythologies, from which we learn that at a very early period it was distinguished as a commercial and corn-growing country. These may be deemed to be somewhat uncertain historical evidences, and they are so; but as historical facts are found by careful induction to form the basis of fables and legends, they are not without their significance. 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

¹ [Zosimi *Historiæ Novæ*, iii, 5; *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, lxxvi.]

² [C. J. Cæsar, *de Bello Gallico*, vi, 13; *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, xxxiii, 2.]

be traced. Hecateus, an ancient writer quoted by Diodorus Siculus,¹ represents the island as highly favoured by Apollo, and so fertile as to produce two crops of corn annually; and the author of the Argonautic poem² describes Britain as being in a more especial manner the residence of Ceres, from the abundance and fertility of the soil. Strabo³ 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 Samothrace, 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 doctrines of Druidism. The historical records and traditions which are assumed to have 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 connection with it, must have had 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*⁴ represent as retiring from the turmoils of continental dis-

¹ [Diodori Siculi *Bibliothecæ Historicæ* lib. ii, c. 47.]

² [*Orpheus*, vv. 1187-8. He calls it εὐρέα δώματ' ἀνάσσης Δημητρός, "The spacious palace of Queen Ceres."]

³ [Strabo, *Geographiæ* lib. iv, c. 4, § 6, quoting Artemidorus; *Mon. Hist. Brit.* vi.]

⁴ [*Triodd Ynys Prydain, Cyfres* iii, 4, 5. *Myv. Arch.*, ii, pp. 57, 58; Gee's ed., p. 400.]

turbances, 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 era, 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 cultivation of the soil enjoyed especial protection under the laws which extended the privileges of sanctuary to the plough and the highways, which forbade that any implement 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.¹

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

¹ This whole paragraph has been taken from an ingenious Essay by the Rev. John Jones, Llanllyfni, on *The State of Agriculture under the Druidical System*; and on the ante-Roman part of this section I have done but little else than rearrange the matter of that Essay.

Etruria, and that the terms by which they are designated belong to a period beyond the reach of any European annals. 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 land, 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. On the very first visit of Cæsar, he found the eastern coast regularly subdivided; and in reaping one corn *field*, which had been designedly left unreaped, one Roman legion was all but completely destroyed.¹

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 bore was that of an agricultural and trading community. It was from hence that Gaul derived her supplies,² which enabled her to contend against the legions of Rome; and the assistance thus afforded formed the leading pretence for the invasion. The Gauls knew but little of the island, excepting only the sea-coast and the parts opposite to Gaul; and it is supposed that none but privileged merchants were permitted to approach her ports and estuaries; but however this may have been, it is evident that there was an extensive commerce carried on

¹ [C. J. Cæsar, *de Bello Gallico*, lib. iv, c. 32.]

² [*Ib.*, lib. iii, c. 9, "auxilia ex Britannia arcessunt". Cf. lib. iv, c. 20.]

between the Britons and the Gallic merchants named by Cæsar; and it is also equally clear that the transactions were of such importance as to render the merchants disinclined to give him any information upon the subject. The existence of mercantile intercourse was quite patent; but when Cæsar had called the merchants together they could neither inform him of the largeness of the island, nor what, nor how powerful, the nations were that inhabited it, nor of their customs, art of war, or the harbours fit to receive large ships. On the arrivals of the legions they found themselves in the midst of an agricultural province; the fields were covered with waving corn; the Roman soldiers went out foraging, and daily brought in supplies of British wheat; and when the natives had gathered in their harvest they sacrificed one field of corn, in order to tempt the legions to destruction.

On his subsequent visit, Cæsar having progressed further inward, found the country thickly populated, having houses like the Gauls, and having cattle, fowls, and geese in great abundance.¹

There are good reasons for the belief 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 for its friability, was one of the materials used by them, according to the authority of Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, lib., xvii, § 4); and the use of lime as a cement shows that the process of calcination was well known, and applied to a variety of purposes. The Britons, also, appear to have known the value of bone-dust, thus anticipating Liebig; and an interesting anecdote is told

¹ [C. J. Cæsar, *de Bello Gallico*, lib. v, c. 12. "Hominum est infinita multitudo creberrimaque ædificia, fere Gallicis consimilia; pecorum magnus numerus."]

in the *Iolo MSS.* (597-600), of the manner in which this discovery was made.

Implements of husbandry, and several kinds of wheel-carriages appear to have been in general use before the Roman eagle visited the British shores ; and it is very probable that they borrowed the invention of water-mills from the British aborigines. Before the invasion these were unknown in Italy ; but soon afterwards the idea was made known there ; and the application of water, as a motive power for machinery, became a subject of speculation in the reign of Augustus. Vitruvius [x, 5] describes the machinery by which corn might be ground, but does not give it the name of a mill ; and a Greek writer, of the same Augustan period, Antipater of Thessalonica, in an epigram addressed to handmaids, has dressed up the same idea. 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." Mr. Jones ingeniously argues in favour of its British origin ; and the *Triads*¹ certainly impute its invention to a person named Coel ab Cyllin.

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 improvement 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 in shipbuilding and in the erection of stone edifices, and that those terms which designate mechanical appliances, implements of husbandry,

¹ [*Triodd Ynys Prydain* : *Cyffres* iii, 91. *Myv. Arch.*, ii, p. 71 ; Gee's edn., p. 409.]

domestic utensils, etc., 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. 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 covered with hides, and composed of oziars, the latter were built of oak boards, with iron bolts, and furnished with chain-cables.

The Britons possessed various kinds of vehicles, and the skill displayed in the adaptation of the wheel and axle to carriages of various descriptions, both excited the astonishment of the Romans and gave an impulse to imitation; nor can we account for the adoption at Rome of the Celtic terms, *essedum*, *rheda*, *benna*, *p̄etoritum*, and 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. One of the ruder kinds was the *currus*, which was used for the conveyance of military stores. The *currus*, if it be not the same as the *covinus*, was a carriage of greater pretension: it is called "currus nobilis", by Lucan,¹ and used to be ornamented with paint, as is shown by the words of Propertius², "pictoque Britannia curru". Jornandes³ identifies the *currus falcatus* with the *essedum*; but, in reality, the armed chariot was another kind, being the *covinus*, a carriage having scythes fixed to the axle, the driver of which was called *covinarius*. This name,

¹ [*Pharsalia*, lib. iii, v. 76; *Mon. Hist. Brit.* xci.]

² [Propertii lib. iv, 3, 7; *Mon. Hist. Brit.* lxxxix.]

³ [*Jornandis de Rebus Geticis*, c. ii; *Mon. Hist. Brit.* lxxxiii.]

though it is now lost, as well as the carriage itself, yet has its root in the word *cywain*, which signifies carrying in a carriage; *cywain gwair* is the Welsh term used for hauling hay. The *rheda* was a carriage of a larger size: the term is mentioned by Quintilian¹ as a Gaulish word; and Suetonius² describes the vehicle so-called. It resembled the Roman *carruca*, had four wheels, and was rather a large carriage; the name of its driver was *rhedarius* or *carrucarius*. Dr. Meyrick³ states that "this word is not now to be found in the British language, but evidently appears to have been used by them from the word *rhediad*, which signifies a course, *rhedeg*, to run, and *rhedegva*, a race, which no doubt are derived from the same source". But is not this the *rhodawc*, which we find named at a later period, in the poems of Aneurin? "The principal war chariot was the *essedum*, which Cæsar, Virgil, and Propertius agree in ascribing to the Britons. It was chiefly remarkable for its swiftness, and the skill and dexterity of its driver *essedarius*," who, according to Tacitus,¹ was the person of most distinction, the fighting men being his dependants. *Essedum* is supposed to have been the same word as *eistedd* or *eis-sedd*; and, if so, it afforded sitting accommodation. "It seems to have pleased the Romans so greatly that it was afterwards adopted at Rome for common use. Great attention must have been paid to this exercise; and the perfection it arrived at" was due to the fact that the driving of a carriage and riding formed one of the four-and-twenty British games. We are fortunate enough to possess a description of their mode of warfare from an accomplished eye witness, that is, from the pen of Cæsar; and the following ample account of the skill and dexterity of the British youths, therefore, acquires additional interest.

¹ [*Inst. Orat.* i, 5, 57, 68; *Agricola*, c. 12; *Mon. Hist. Brit.* xlii 2.]

² [*Suetonius in vita Neronis*, 30.]

³ [*The History and Antiquities of the County of Cardigan* (London, 1808), Introduction, p. clxxi.]

“This is the nature of the *essedum* fighting. They first scour up and down on every side, throwing their darts, creating disorder among the ranks by the terror of their horses, and noise of their wheel chariots, and when they are got among the troops of horse they leap out and fight on foot. Meantime the charioteers retire to a little distance from the field, and place themselves in such a manner, that if the others are overpowered by the number of the enemy, they may be secure to make good their retreat. Thus they act with the agility of cavalry, and the steadiness of infantry, in battle, and become so expert by constant practice, that in declivities and precipices they can stop their horses on full speed, and on a sudden check and turn them, run along the pole, rest on the harness, and then as quickly dart into their chariots again. They frequently retreat on purpose, and after they have drawn our men a little way from the main body, leap from their poles, and wage an unequal war on foot, making it alike dangerous to pursue or retire.”—*Bell. Gall.*, lib. iv, 33 ; lib. v, 16.

These war chariots caused much inconvenience to the forces of Cæsar.¹ We learn from the biographer of Agricola that they spread consternation among the Romans in the battle of the Grampians²; and Virgil (*Georg.*, iii, 204) finely describes the prowess of the charioteers, who

“..... fearless rushing 'mid the ranks of war,
O'er routed armies wheel the Belgic car.”

Sotheby.

These chariots were very numerous at that period; and some notion may be formed of their number, when Caswallon, after his defeat, and after disbanding his forces, retained “*only four thousand chariots*”.³ The Britons were noted, not

¹ [C. J. Cæsar, *de Bello Gall.*, lib. v, c. 16 ; Dio Cassius, *Historiæ Romanæ* lib. xl, § 2 ; *Mon. Hist. Brit.* lii 2.] ² [*Agricola*, c. 36.]

³ [*Bell. Gall.*, lib. v, c. 19.]

only for wheel carriages, but also for the breed and management of horses, which Dio Cassius describes to be small and fleet, as they still are. It also appears that their *harnais*, a genuine British word, was elaborately formed and figured, as we are informed by the poet Propertius,¹ one of the contemporaries of Julius Cæsar, who says :—

“ *Esseda caelatis siste Britannia jugis.*”

And, indeed, it would seem that they prided themselves much upon the decoration of their horses, for the term *seirch*, by which harness is described in the *Gododin*, denotes silken trappings, as it is most probably derived from the Latin *sericus*.

The Britons also appear to have been acquainted with some of the chemical processes used in manufactures; and of their skill in metallurgy, we yet possess undoubted evidence. The golden torques and armlets which constituted the principal ornaments of the British chieftain are often of the most exquisite workmanship. The few specimens of their defensive armour which remain to us are both skilfully and elegantly fabricated; and in those curious instruments called celts, which have so long constituted the torment of antiquaries, and which are invariably found by analysis to consist of ten parts of copper, combined with one of tin, we have abundant proof that they were well acquainted with the means of tempering no very tractable materials for domestic or warlike uses. These processes bespeak the antecedent process of reduction from the native ores; and in the reduction of iron, copper, and tin, we have an early anticipation of the ironworks of South Wales, Staffordshire, and Scotland, the tin works of Glamorganshire, and the copper works of Swansea. The fusion and welding of iron is indicated by the ringed iron currency; and we know, further, that lead, silver, and gold were well known to the same

¹ [Propertii lib. ii, 1, 76.]

people. The employment of a metallic circulating medium is very plainly indicated by the specimens of that golden ring money which is considered so precious an addition to our cabinets and museums; and the editor of the *Monumenta Historica*, p. cli, gives his sanction to the statement that the Britons had a regular coinage before the arrival of the Romans.¹

The manufacture of salt was known to them, and the great abundance of tricoloured 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. Pliny² 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, unless he was self-deceived. *Glain natron*, or glass beads, formed by the fusion of sand and natron (the usual ingredients), by means of a blowpipe, 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. Nor were they unacquainted with what may be termed the domestic arts. Mr. Jones, with much plausibility, argues that the cultivation of flax and the manufacture of linen were not unknown. He says, "The Druidical order, like the priesthood of Egypt, was distinguished by the wearing of linen robes, from which we may safely infer that flax and hemp were articles of cultivation in Britain at the earliest period; and that they were em-

¹ [See also Evans' *Coins of the Ancient Britons*, p. 31. "We may regard it as, to say the least of it, highly probable that there was a native coinage in some parts of Britain as early as 150 B.C., if not earlier." See also p. 42 of the same work.]

² [*Hist. Nat.* lib. xxix, § 12; *Mon. Hist. Brit.* cv.]

ployed 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. The terms belonging to the art and the 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." The dress of the Britons has been a matter of dispute; some persons have asserted that they were naked savages having no covering but skins, and others claim for them the use of more perfect habiliments; but both parties having extended these inductions too far, have committed the error of extending to the whole that which was true only of a part. Cæsar¹ informs us that the Britons *of the interior* were clad in skins. but he also informs us that the people on the sea-coast were more civilised. At the same time he gives us room to infer that this civilisation embraced the use of artificial garments; and Strabo, writing a few years later, assures us that the inhabitants (of Kent, Cornwall, and Devon) had black cloaks, were clad in tunics reaching to the feet, and girt about the breast, walked about with staves ("like furies in a tragedy," says Meyrick, p. cxcii), and were bearded like goats (*Mon. Hist. Excerpta de Britannia*, p. v, 2). We also learn from Varro² that the nobler Britons were in the habit of wearing robes, one of which he describes to be a thick hairy garment, which they called *Gaunacum*, in which we recognise the English *gown*, and Welsh *gŵn*. In Gaul great numbers of the population were occupied in weaving a woollen cassock called *laina*; and as this was probably the *Uvain*, or the *gwlanen*, of the Cymry, the same remark will apply to this island. The *bardocucullus* was also a Celtic garment; and in his *Glossary of British Terms*, the Rev. J. Williams gives us the full account of it.

¹ [*Bell. Gall.* lib. v, c. 14; *Mon. Hist. Brit.* xxxii.]

² [*De Lingua Latina*, v. 167.]

“*Barddgvccoll*. 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 (James’ *Patriarchal Religion, etc.*, p. 75).

“*Gallia Santonico vestit te bardocucullo,
Cercopithecorum penula nuper erat.*”

Martial, xiv, 128.

And now let me close this catalogue with Strabo’s description of the Gallic bards (lib. iv, c. 4, § 4: *Monumenta Hist.*, civ), which will apply equally well to their British brethren.

“Three classes among them are held in distinguished veneration, the Bards, Ovates, and Druids They wear gold, having collars thereof on their necks, and bracelets on their arms and wrists; and dignified persons are clad in dyed garments embroidered with gold.” After the Romans had succeeded in wresting the government from Druidical sway, and in appropriating her resources to the imperial treasury, 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, etc., that the looms of the district were placed under the superintendence of an officer specially appointed for the purpose.

“All the Britons in general,” says Cæsar, “paint themselves with woad, which gives a bluish cast to the skin, and makes them look dreadful in battle” (Duncan’s translation). Most classic writers corroborate the statement; but the fullest account is given by Herodian (*Mon. Hist. Brit.* lxiv) who states that “they puncture their bodies with pictured forms of every sort of animals, on which account they wear no clothing, lest they should hide the figures on their body”. To obtain this blue colour, which, in

fact, was neither more nor less than *indigo*, *glastum*, or the *lliw glas* of the present day, bespoke some intelligence ; and we find, on inquiry, that abundant evidence may be brought to prove 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. Mr. Jones adds that “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 Caesar applies the term *glastum*”; but, as I do not know that Mr. Jones is accurate in this respect, the passage has been specially marked as a quotation.

To the practice of dyeing may be added the fulling or panning process, as equally well known. The Greeks claimed 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 *sh* 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 Narbonnensis to her territorial possessions. The *popina*, derived from the British *pobi*, leads us to the brewery ; and here we have ample authority for stating that the process of making fermented liquor formed a characteristic feature in the domestic economy of the Celtic tribes, and that the Ger-

mans are entitled to the credit of adding a due proportion of the *lupulus*, or hop-plant, to improve its flavour. This was the *curmi* of Dioscorides,¹ and the *curw* of the Cymry, so much in favour with the monks of Peterborough; but the favourite drink was "the sweet, yellow, and inspiring mead", which was made from honey. The Picts are also said to have made a favourite beverage from heather bloom.

In person, the Britons were taller than the Gauls; their hair was less yellow, and their frames were slighter; and Strabo,² in proof of the greatness of their stature, states that he saw some British youth at Rome, who were taller by half a foot than the tallest of Romans. They wore their hair long, the Silures being centuries afterwards called "the long-haired Gwentians"³ by the bard Taliesin; and they shaved all the body, except the head and upper lip (Cæsar⁴); but they were distorted in their lower limbs, and were in other respects not symmetrical in their conformation (Strabo²). Ten or twelve of them (says Cæsar⁴) live together, having their wives in common, especially brothers, or parents and children, but the issue is always ascribed to him who first espoused the mother. This statement has been indignantly denied by the modern Kymry; but such denials cannot outweigh positive testimony; and there are many allusions in the romances and lives of the saints, to a state of society in which the parental and matrimonial ties were exceedingly lax. I cannot bring myself to believe that Cæsar made such an assertion without authority, but the statement cannot be altogether true. We have the testimony of the same writer that the manners of the Gauls and Britons were very similar; and from the

¹ [*De Medica Materia*, lib. ii, c. 110; *Mon. Hist. Brit.* xc.]

² [*Geographiæ* lib. iv, c. 5, § 2.]

³ ["G6enh6ys g6allthiryon," an expression which occurs in *Kanu y C6r6f*, Stanza ii, line 23, *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 167: *Myv. Arch.*, i, 40; Gee's ed., p. 39.]

⁴ [*Bell. Gall.*, lib. v, c. 14.]

known existence of similar customs in both countries, we are prepared to confirm his remarks ; but, for the same reason we cannot admit that upon this point their customs could have been diametrically opposed. Speaking of the Gauls, he says : “ They never suffer their children to come openly into their presence until they are of an age to bear arms : for the appearance of a son in public with his father, before he has reached the age of manhood, is accounted dishonourable.” This implies the existence of a system of fosterage, such as prevailed in Wales, even to the sixteenth century. The sons of a chieftain were never brought up under the parental roof, but were sent to be brought up by some chieftain related to their parents ; and they never appeared at home until they were of age, and able to bear arms. We may, therefore, conclude that parents and children did not live together ; that the whole family slept together on the same floor we can believe ; but we may also assert, as a general rule, that such a custom was not inconsistent with chastity. Again, we find in Gaul that the relation of husband and wife was regulated by law ; and, therefore, we cannot admit that such a law was unknown to the Britons.

Such is a picture of the Britons before the arrival of the Romans. It has been drawn by a hand, perhaps, too partial ; and, perchance, it may be deemed to be overcharged ; but, by the common consent of modern historians, it is admitted that the Britons had made considerable advances in civilisation. Cæsar says (*Bell. Gall.*, v, 21) that “ a town among the Britons was nothing more than a thick wood, fortified with a ditch and rampart, to serve as a place of retreat against the incursions of their enemies though (the capital of Caswallon), was extremely strong, both by nature and art.” Strabo¹ also states

¹ [*Geographiæ* lib. iv, c. 5, § 2; *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, vii. See also a similar statement in Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliothecæ Historicæ* lib. v, c. 21, and in Jornandes, *de Rebus Geticis*, c. ii; *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, pp. ii 2, lxxxiii.]

that the habitations of the Britons were mean, and were constructed, for the most part, of reeds, or of wood. But we must either conclude that these descriptions are imperfect and one-sided, or that the people had made most extraordinary advances before the arrival of Claudius: for the capture of Camalodunum, the capital of Cynvelyn, was trumpeted forth as a great event;¹ and the great glory of Vespasian rested upon the subjection of twenty towns on the banks of the Avon and the Thames.² Besides, what had become of the country “full of houses, built after the manner of the Gauls”? Vespasian subdued “viginti oppida”; and *oppidum* means a WALLED CITY. The “mirificae moles” of Cicero³ could not have been an oratorical fiction; and the magnificent and important London, which astonished the Romans, could not have been the erection of a day.⁴ Finally, we might dwell upon the majestic temples of Stonehenge and Abury—those wonderful proofs of a labour, of which the method and the resources remain unexplained to the present hour. We might also point, with triumph, to their knowledge of fortification, and to the singular skill in castrametation displayed in numerous British encampments; and if these evidences were insufficient, we might cite those means of internal communication, which, constructed at a period long anterior to the approach of the eagles of the Cæsars, suffer, in some instances, but little in comparison with the most striking labours of the kind which are left to testify of the science and industry of Imperial Rome (Hollings on *Roman Leicester*). It is impossible

¹ [See Dio Cassius, *Hist. Rom.*, lib. lx, § 22; *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. lv.]

² [C. Suetonius Tranquillus, *de XII Cæsaribus*, lib. x, c. 4; Eutropius, *Hist. Rom.*, lib. vii, c. 19; *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, pp. l, lxxii.]

³ [*Ad Atticum*, lib. iv, ep. 16. “Constat enim aditus insulae esse munitos mirificis molibus”; *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. lxxxviii.]

⁴ [“Londinium.. ..copia negotiatorum et com meatuum maxime celebre.” Tacitus, *Annals*, xiv, 33. “Lundinium vetus oppidum”: Ammianus Marcellinus, *Historiarum* lib. xxvii, c. 9; *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, pp. xxxviii 2, lxxiii 2.]

for us to contemplate these facts, and admit that Cæsar and his contemporaries have given the world a fair representation of the British isles: a profound mystery appears to have overhung the domestic and political state of this country; and when this veil had been removed, the reality proved to be utterly at variance with the preconceptions of the Romans, and the crude notions of modern readers. There was, doubtless, some truth in the less favourable picture, and we can easily credit the assertions of both parties without falling into the error of supposing them to be inconsistent. Thatched roofs are still very common in Wales; and in the rural districts it is not by any means a rare thing to find the single cow of a poor proprietor housed in a wattled tenement. Social contrasts exist everywhere. In the handsome town of Frankfort I recently saw a team of oxen, with ropes to their horns as their only harness; and from what I afterwards saw in Baden and other places, I found that while the towns rivalled in splendour those of any other country, the country people were as primitive in their habits as those of the rudest parts of Wales. The town is not a fair representative of the country, nor are the rural districts fair types of the town; and, therefore, we can easily conceive that much rudeness may exist in the one, while a much higher state of culture prevailed in the other. This is but the natural result of society. Where man is gregarious, he is also an improving and refining animal; and the existence of towns is an evidence of an intelligent population, of commercial transactions, and of the existence of art and science.

These remarks lead us naturally to the consideration of British commerce; and the facts which have been already detailed fully warrant the conclusion arrived at by Mr. Jones, and expressed in the following passage:—

“Commerce and handicraft must of necessity have received a great impulse from such a state of agricultural activity and

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 incentive 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 there were numerous cities 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."

The Britons and the Gauls had frequent intercourse with each other. One of the Kings of the Gallic Suessiones was reported to be King of Britain also, before the time of Cæsar. The Gauls and Belgæ frequently sent their youth hither to complete their education, the prevalent opinion being that the schools of Britain afforded very superior advantages. We know from Cæsar, that in his day there existed an extensive and regular commercial intercourse between the two countries; and the Gauls, in their wars with him, received assistance from the Britons *in provisions*, according to Mr. Jones; but *in men*, according to the *Triads*¹ and the meaning of *auxilia*, the term used by Cæsar (*De Bello Gall.*, lib. ii, cc. 4, 14; lib. iii, c. 9; lib. iv, c. 20; lib. vi, c. 13). But the commerce of the island dates from a much earlier period; and the Britons were known, not only to those neighbouring nations, but also to some that lay at no small distance from them, long before they made the acquaintance of Cæsar. The Phœnicians and Carthaginians traded to this island many ages before the Romans made their appearance in these western parts of Europe.

¹ [*Triodd Ynys Prydain*, Cyfres i, 40; ii, 5; iii, 14.]

The Phœnicians were the first commercial people who became acquainted with the Britons; and those bold adventurers in navigation and traffic, having planted colonies at Carthage and Cadiz, and ranging along the borders of the great untraversed ocean of the West, reached the southwestern promontories of Britain, and entered into a trading correspondence with the inhabitants. "The real singularity," says Whitaker,¹ "and commercial consequence of the voyage gave great reputation to the officer that conducted it, and have occasioned the name of Midacritus to be transmitted with honour to posterity. Midacritus brought the first vessels of the Phœnicians to our coasts"; and it was he who "opened the first commerce of the Phœnicians with our fathers. He found the country to abound particularly with *tin*, which was equally useful and rare. He trafficked with the Britons for it, and he returned home with a valuable cargo of the metal (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, lib. vii, c. 56). Such was the first effort of the commercial genius of Britain, which was afterwards to conduct the vessels of the island to the shores of Carthage and Tyre, and even to raise the Britons superior in boldness and skill to the Phœnicians." This was before the time of Herodotus, and about five centuries before the era of Christ. The trade was opened with the natives of the Cassiterides, or Scilly Islands, one of which was greatly superior in size to the rest, and denominated Cassiteris Insula, or Tin Island. The cargo which Midacritus brought from this island, and the account which he gave of it, occasioned a regular resort of the Phœnicians to the coast of Scilly. The trade was very advantageous to the State, and the track was solicitously concealed from the public, as well as from the Greeks and Romans, as we learn from a passage in Strabo. "Formerly," says he, "the Phœnicians alone carried on this traffic from Gadeira, concealing the

¹ [*History of Manchester*, vol. ii, p. 168; 2nd ed., 1773.]

passage from every one; and when the Romans followed a certain shipmaster, that they also might find the mart, the shipmaster of jealousy purposely ran his vessel upon a shoal, and, leading on those who followed him into the same destructive disaster, he himself escaped by means of a fragment of the ship, and received from the state the value of the cargo he had lost" (Lib. iii, c. 5, § 11, p. 239, edit. Oxon., 1807: *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, p. v.). "Thus continued the traffic of Britain for nearly three hundred years, being esteemed the most beneficial in Europe, and carefully sought after by all the commercial powers in the Mediterranean. The Greeks of Marseilles first followed the course of the Phœnician voyagers." They employed a citizen named Pytheas¹ to explore all the ocean coasts north of the Straits of Gibraltar; and before the time of Polybius, or about two hundred years before the Christian era, began to share with them in the trade of tin. The Carthaginian commerce declined, the Massilian increased, and in the reign of Augustus, the whole current of the British traffic had been diverted into this channel²; but, unlike the Phœnicians, the Phocæan colony of Marseilles set on foot a commerce which is understood to have been extensive, and carried it on in a manner not unworthy of the present times. Both in modern and in ancient times, Marseilles occupies a prominent position. In olden time, it was the outlet for British produce into the Mediterranean, and at present it is on the highway from England to the East. While this commerce flourished, the internal communication of this island was much improved. "Two roads," says Whitaker,³ "were laid across it, and reached from Sandwich to Carnarvon on one

¹ [This famous navigator is supposed to have lived in the time of Alexander the Great or a little later, *i.e.*, about the middle of the fourth century B.C.]

² [Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliothecæ Historicæ* lib. v, c. 38; *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. iii.]

³ [*History of Manchester*, vol. ii, p. 171.]

side, and from Dorsetshire into Suffolk on the other; and the commerce of the shores was carried along them into the interior parts of the country. The great staple of the tin was no longer settled in a distant part of the island. It was removed from Scilly, and fixed in the Isle of Wight, a central part of the coast, lying equally betwixt the two roads, and better adapted to the new arrangements of the trade. Thither the tin was brought by the Belgæ (?), and thither the foreign merchants resorted with their wares. And the trade was no longer carried on by vessels that coasted tediously along the coasts of Spain and Gaul. The tin," which, according to Posidonius,¹ was not found on the surface, but obtained by mining, "was now transported over the neighbouring channel, and unshipped on the opposite coast"; and it is probable that the agents in this traffic were the Veneti, whose position was about Vannes, to the north of the Loire. These were probably the Gallic merchants named by Cæsar (*Bell. Gall.*, lib. iv, c. 20) [cf. Strabo, *Geographiæ*, lib. iv, c. 4, § 1, p. 271]. "They were the most powerful and considerable of all the nations inhabiting along the sea coast; and that, not only on account of their vast shipping, wherewith they drive a mighty traffic to Britain, and their skill and experience in naval affairs, in which they greatly surpass the other maritime states, but because, lying on a large and open coast, against which the sea rages with great violence, and where the havens, being few in number, are all subject to their jurisdiction, they have most of the nations that trade in those seas tributaries to their state" (*Bell. Gall.*, iii, 8). These, however, were not the only Gauls who traded with the Britons. The Caletes and Lexobii also took part in this traffic; and it would seem that in the reign of Augustus, the Gauls of the Seine had supplanted

¹ [Apud Strabonem: *Geographiæ* lib. iii, c. 5, § 11; *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, p. v 2.]

those of the Loire; for we are informed that the merchandise at that time was taken up the Seine as far as possible, from thence by land on horseback (*Diodorus Siculus*, lib. v, c. 22) to the Rhone (at Chalons?), and from thence down the river to Narbonne and Marseilles (*Strabo*, lib. iv, c. 1, § 14, p. 261). In this state of British commerce, the commodities imported into the island were, according to the same authority :

IMPORTS.—Earthenware ; salt ; brass, both wrought and in bullion (Whitaker) ; brass vessels (Strabo).

A list of the exports is given by Strabo, and, perhaps, in strict propriety, we ought to refer to them as evidences of the state of trade in the time of Augustus ; but, as we have no evidence that any change of moment had taken place in the trade at that period, we may fairly assume those articles to have been exported before the reign of that Emperor. Tin was not, as it had been originally, the only export of the island, for we read of a great number of other articles ; but it still remained the staple article of the foreign trade of Britain. These articles, as named by Strabo,¹ were the following :—

EXPORTS.—*Metals*.—Tin ; gold ; silver ; iron ; lead. *Agricultural Produce* : Hides ; cattle ; corn. Slaves. Dogs, sagacious in hunting, which the Gauls used for war as well as the chase.

Fisheries : Muscle pearls. *Arts and Manufactures* : Necklaces ; ivory bracelets ; amber (toys—Whitaker) ; glass vessels. To these Whitaker adds (on what authority ?) “ Polished horse-bits of bone ; gems.” “ And such like mean merchandize” (Strabo).

I suspect, however, that Whitaker has given a different translation of the Greek words of Strabo from that which has been adopted by Mr. Petrie. The words of the geo-

¹ [*Geographiæ* lib. iii, c. 5, § 11 ; lib. iv, c. 4, § 2 ; see also Pomponius Mela, *De Situ Orbis*, lib. iii, c. 6 ; *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, pp. v 2, vii 1, 2.]

grapher are certainly vague, and would, perhaps, admit of either interpretation; but Mr. Petrie had the truer perception of their real meaning, and, therefore, I prefer adopting his translation. A necklace and a horse-collar are both "encircling" articles, but the latter is not a *shining* ornament, the other is; and, as we know that the Britons were a torque-wearing people, I have no doubt that the British *aurdorch* was the *περιανχένια* of the geographer. And *ἐλεφάντινα ψάλια* indicates ivory rather than bone.

ROMAN BRITAIN.

LET us now proceed to delineate the state of Britain under the Romans, and at the time of the battle of Cattræth, and ascertain the effect produced upon the British aborigines by the government of their Roman masters. The state of Rome at that time is pretty well understood; and, as the people of Italy were much further advanced in civilisation than the isolated Britanni, their settlement here must have produced many marked results.

From an assertion in Strabo¹ that the Romans, making frequent efforts, discovered the passage to Britain, and that Publius Crassus visited the Cassiterides, it would seem that they had been trading with the Britons before the arrival of Cæsar, unless this person be the "young Crassus" named in lib. iii, c. 7, as is supposed by the Editors of the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, (p. 6, note a). If the latter supposition be correct, Crassus must have come over after the expeditions of his commander, and from the statement that the people were then at peace, this view seems probable; but, however that may be, it is clear that in the time of Augustus, the island was in a state of almost intimate union with the Romans, and the commerce between Gaul and Britain was very considerable. The Roman garrisons of Gaul laid taxes upon both the imports to Britain and the exports therefrom. The Britons bore moderate taxes without impatience, though it appears to have been suspected that there was a limit to their endurance; and some idea may be formed as to the extent of the traffic

¹ [*Geographiæ* lib. iii, c. 5, § 11; *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, p. v 2.]

from the fact that the amount realised by taxation was thought to be as much as the net profit likely to result from actual possession of the island (*Strabo*, iv, c. 5, § 3; p. 279). But, however extensive it was before the settlement of the Romans, it instantly received a considerable improvement from them. "This," says Whitaker,¹ "appears from that very remarkable circumstance in the interior history of the island, the sudden rise and commercial importance of London, within a few years after their settlement in the country. The trade was no longer carried on by the two great roads to the southern shore, or the staple continued in the Isle of Wight. The principal commerce still appears to have been confined to the south, and to the counties of Middlesex, Kent, Sussex, and Hampshire. But it was also diffused over the whole extent of the Roman conquests, and carried on directly from the western and eastern shores, as well as the southern. New ports were opened on every side of the island, most, indeed, about the south-eastern angle of it, but some along the eastern and western coasts. Thus Middlesex had the port of London; Kent, the ports of Rhutupae, Dubris, and Lemanis; Sussex, those of Adurnum, Anderida, and Novus; and Hampshire, that of Magnus. And Yorkshire had its port Felix on one side, and Lancashire its port Sistungian on the other. These were evidently the commercial harbours of the Roman Britons The articles introduced into the island at them," in addition to those previously mentioned, comprehended "sugar, pepper, ginger, writing paper, and other similar commodities perhaps besides them. The *saccharum*, or sugar of the Romans, like our own, was the extracted honey of a cane, was brought from Arabia or India, and used only for medical purposes The articles sent out of the island," he adds, "must have been partly the same as before, with the additional ones of *gagates*, or jet, the

² [*History of Manchester*, ii, 174.]

British being the best and most copious in Europe, and of the silvery marl or chalk of Kent and Essex, which was shipped off for the marshy countries on the Rhine; bears for the foreign amphitheatres, baskets, salt, corn and oysters." Lead, cattle, and hides are also mentioned. British dogs, too, are said to have been a very gainful traffic to the Romans. The mechanical arts that had been previously pursued in the country were considerably improved, and arts before unknown were brought into it. The varied treasures of the soil were now first discovered, or better collected; societies were combined into political bodies; the minds of the people were enlightened with learning; the agriculture, manufactures, and commerce of the country were extended and improved; and instead of the rude towns of former times, new cities now sprang up, adorned with temples, courts of justice, dwelling-houses, baths, amphitheatres, and all the insignia of Italian luxury and refinement.

The progress of agriculture first demands attention. Under the influence of Roman discipline, the face of the country assumed a different appearance, and the progress of improvement soon became rapid and extensive. Large tracts, formerly covered with thickets and forests, were now cleared and converted into cultivated fields, producing abundant crops of the finest corn, which, besides supplying the wants of the inhabitants, afforded a large surplus for foreign markets. Marshes also were drained, and the low lands near the sea, usually overflowed by the salt water, were secured by strong embankments, and effectually converted into most excellent pasturage. The whole country was likewise intersected with excellent roads, which were formed with immense skill and labour, and made with the most durable and best materials, and often carried through extensive and almost impassable morasses. The materials for judging the amount of British produce at this time are somewhat scanty, but one

fact alone will show that it was very large. Britain, during its occupation 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; and the Emperor Julian, according to his own written testimony, employed no less than eight hundred vessels in the exportation of corn and flour to supply the towns and fortresses on the Rhine.¹

The efforts of the Romans did not rest here; and not only did they stimulate the growth of produce already known, but they also introduced other articles, until then unknown. Camden² states that vines were grown in this island; but the *Edinburgh Review*³, in a recent number, refuses its assent to the statement, though the evidence of the fact is clear and conclusive. Vopiscus (*Vit. Prob.*, c. 18) expressly states that the Emperor Probus revoked the prohibition to the growth of vines, which had existed since the reign of Domitian, employed his own soldiers to plant vines on the hills of Gaul, Pannonia, and Moesia, and granted to the Gauls, Pannonians, Spaniards, and Britons full liberty to cultivate as many vineyards as they pleased. The fair inference from this is that vines were cultivated in this country from A.D. 280 downwards. It will be said that vines will not grow in Britain, and the authority of Tacitus will be brought forward to support the assertion (*Agri-cola*, c. 5); but we learn from Dr. Arnold that the eastern coast of England is not unsuited for such purposes. He says:—"The eastern coast in summer enjoys a much greater share of steady fine weather and sunshine than the western. Wall-fruit will ripen in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh far more surely than in Westmoreland, and wheat

¹ [Zosimus, *Historiæ Novæ* lib. iii, c. 5; *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, p. lxxvi.]

² [*Britannia*, ed. Gough, vol. i, pp. 111, 121, 267 (London, 1789.)]

³ [Vol. xciv, p. 182.]

grows luxuriantly as far north as Elgin. Still, it is a rarity on the coast of Argyle" (*Hist. Rome*, i, 503, note). This fact will pave the way for the announcement that in this locality wine was grown in the sixth century. Wine is frequently named in the *Gododin*, and it is highly improbable that it would have been drunk so freely if it had been an imported article; but the Bard removes all doubt upon the subject when, speaking of Cynhaval (v. xlv), he says—

“There was no sparing of *the vines* where he came”.

The richness of the province tempted the cupidity of the Picts, Scots, and Saxons; and the latter, after their settlement, used to demand hostages for the payment of a tribute in agricultural produce, an instance of which has been already given (p. 67) in Taliesin's *Argoed Llwyvain*. The Bards encouraged the pursuit of agriculture. Taliesin blames Gwallog ab Lleenog for his negligence in this respect. Llywarch Hen and Aneurin show us that the practice of ploughing the soil had not fallen into disuse after the departure of the Romans; and the frequent allusions in the *Gododin* show us that native wine was abundant, and that the cultivation of the vine was an important element in the agriculture of the sixth century.

Mining also was much attended to by the Romans, for the sake of the gold, silver, iron, lead, and tin which the island contained. There is good reason to believe that they also worked the coal mines of this country. Extensive workings have been found in North Britain, where they were least suspected; and a flint hatchet, found in the collieries of North Wales, shows that the Britons also were in the habit of using that fuel in some localities. But the great object of Roman desire was gold. This was one motive in bringing them over. Cicero¹, indeed, states that not a scruple of gold

¹ [*Ad Trebatium*, ep. 7; *Ad Atticum*, lib. iv, ep. 16; *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, pp. lxxxvii 2, lxxxviii.]

or silver was to be found in the island; but this was a mistake. In the reign of Augustus, gold is enumerated among the British exports; and a few years later, Tacitus names gold as one of the chief products of the country. Mr. Bruce, in his recent work on the Roman wall,¹ has some pertinent observations on this point. "There are few evils," says he, "in the fibres of whose roots the love of money will not be found. Gold was another secret but powerful cause of the hardships which the Romans themselves underwent, and of the countless ills which they mercilessly inflicted upon the miserable islanders. The British chiefs in general appear to have had considerable riches among them. Cæsar, according to Strabo, acquired a large booty in his two descents upon our shore. Prasutagus, the King of the Iceni, died possessed of very great wealth. To a few states in the south, and within a few years after their first subjection, the philosophical Seneca lent more than £480,000 of our money upon good security, and at exorbitant interest. Severus got a prodigious mass of riches in this land." The poems of the British bards sparkle with allusions to golden ornaments. "Golden spurs", "gold-tipped drinking horns", "golden torques", and "gold shields" are spoken of very frequently in the *Gododin*, and by Llywarch Hen; and the golden breast-plate dug from the tumulus of Beli ab Benlli gawr is a sufficient attestation that the Bardic poems are descriptive of actual facts. If further proof were necessary, the earth yields them in abundance; and, the torques, or collars for the neck, armillæ, and bracelets for the arms and wrists, with the breast-plates and body armour of pure gold, all attest the abundance of the precious metals in this country in early times, and add to the probability, which is confirmed by other evidence, that prior to the Roman era our islands abounded in native gold. The same fact is attested by the existence of gold mines in modern

¹ [Second ed., p. 30, London, 1853.]

times. Camden mentions gold and silver mines in Cornwall, silver in Flintshire, and gold in Scotland; and a writer¹ in the *Cambrian Register* (vol. iii, p. 37) endeavours to show that there were gold mines at Caio, in Caermarthenshire. Dr. Borlase, in his *History of Cornwall* (p. 214), relates that so late as the year 1753, several pieces of gold were found in what the miners call stream tin; and silver is now got in considerable quantities from several of our lead ores. Mr. Pennant² has a curious paper on the gold mines of Scotland; and it is supposed that the gold sported by the heroes of Aneurin was obtained from Crawford Moor. It is a fact universally acknowledged that gold in considerable quantities has been discovered there at different periods since the accession of the House of Stewart to the throne of Scotland. It appears from the records of that kingdom that the beautiful gold coins struck by King James V, and distinguished by the name of Bonnet pieces, were fabricated of materials found in the mines of the country. James IV and his son contracted with a company of Germans to work these mines. Cornelius, the principal miner, was a man of superior talent and distinguished abilities, and while unmolested, they collected grains of native gold in such profusion that at the marriage of King James V to the daughter of the King of France, a number of covered dishes were placed before the guests, by way of dessert, filled with gold coins formed of metal extracted from the mines of Scotland; but the civil commotions and political tempests of the reign of Queen Mary, and the minority of James VI, drove them from the country. A late Lady Selkirk used to wear, appended to her watch chain, a piece of gold of considerable magnitude,

¹ [Rev. Eliezer Williams, M.A.: *An Inquiry into the Situation of the Gold Mines of the Ancient Britons*, reprinted in his English works, London, 1840.]

² [*Tour in Scotland*, p. 416, fifth ed., London, 1790.]

which had been found by a shepherd in the fosses of Crawford Moor, and small pieces are still found in the rivulets which intersect the moor. There was another gold mine at Warlock Head, on the estate of the Duke of Queensberry. Medals of this were struck at Edinburgh at the coronation of Charles I; and as late as 1820, it was worked without much success by a company of Germans.

Another effect of Roman influence is found in the dress and arms of the Britons. It is evident that the Britons did not immediately change their dress on the arrival of their conquerors, from the description of Boadicea given by Xiphiline¹:—"She was of the largest size, most terrible of aspect, most savage of countenance, and harsh of voice, having a profusion of yellow hair, which fell down to her hips, and wearing a large golden collar. She had on a party-coloured vest, drawn close about her bosom, and over this she wore a thick mantle connected by a clasp. Such was her usual dress, but at this time she also bore a spear, that she might appear more formidable" (*Monum. Hist. Brit.*, p. lvi). And from the account given by Herodian, it is clear that the inhabitants of Scotland were far from being assimilated to Roman fashions even in the time of Severus. In the time of Agricola, it would seem that the Roman habit began to be held in honour, and the toga was frequently worn; and there are certainly numerous allusions in the *Gododin* to the "garments of excessive whiteness" worn by the British chiefs, which could be no other than the Roman toga (See Carr's *Roman Antiq.*, 310). But whether the British *pais* (Latin *peza*) be of Roman origin may admit of doubt. It does not correspond in colour to the *tunica* of the Romans, which was a white woollen vest without sleeves, fastened by a girdle, and reaching to the knee, though the

¹ [Joannis Xiphilini *Epitomes Dionis Cassii*, lib. lxii, § 1; *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, p. lvi.]

form of the garments is not dissimilar. The *pairis* is best represented by the Highland kilt, and it is probable that the dress of the Gael is a fair representation of that of the Britons generally. The kilt was generally made of plaid woollen cloth, of which the Welsh and the Gael are still passionate admirers ; but it was sometimes made of the skins of animals, as was one named by Aneurin, v. xci :—

“ Peis Dinogad e vreith vreith
O grwyn balaot banvreith.”

Dinogad's kilt was very stripy—
Made of the skins of front-streaked wolf-cubs.

But the most marked evidence of Roman influence is found in the implements of warfare. When the Britons first became known to the Romans, their implements of war were the chariot, the occupants of which bore a dart or javelin, and the short spear, used by the infantry, with a bell at the nether end. At all events, these are the only weapons named by Cæsar, and it is possible that these may have been the sole equipments of the Southern Britons ; but if so, the North Britons were differently armed, for Tacitus¹ represents them to have been armed with a large sword, the *cleddyfawr* of the *Gododin*, and *claymore* of the Highlanders, and a *brevis cetra*, or short target. To these Herodian² adds a spear, and Dio Niceus swells the catalogue with a dagger. But after the departure of the Romans, we find from our poets that the Britons had adopted many of the Roman weapons. Herodian informs us that the Britons had neither breast-plate nor helmet ; but in the *Gododin* we read of *dur arben-nawr* [v. xiv] and *pedryollt bennawr* [v. xi], “steel helmets and square head-pieces” ; and one hero is specially described as “the steel armed Peredur” [v. xxxi]. In the

¹ [*Agricola*, c. 36.]

² [*Mon. Hist. Brit.*, lxiv.]

same poem we also read [v. xxxiii] that in the battle of Cattræth there were

“ Powerful steeds, dark brown trappings (*seirch*, *i.e.*, *sericæ*, or silken trappings) and shields,
 With flying javelins and piercing lances,
 Claymores and shining (*llurygau*, *i.e.*, *loricæ* of the Romans) coats of mail.”

And the remains of Benlli gawr show that breast-plates of gold were known in the sixth century. The small target was exchanged for the *ysgwyd*, or Roman shield (*scutum*); and the barelegged Britons in the same period wore the *ocrea*, or greave, a species of boot, fortified with iron, and worn on the right leg, which the soldiers were taught to advance when they engaged in close combat with the sword (*Veget.*, ii, 15, 16). This was the British *achre*, or *achwre*, usually supposed to have been some garment. The Britons, however, appear to have retained their small shield *aesawr*, or *aspis*; but their *cylchwy* was probably the round shield of the Roman *velites*, or light-armed troops, and the *calch*, usually thought to be enamelled armour, seems to be derived from the Latin *calceus*. The sword was called by various names, and we read of the *clddyfawr*, the long sword or claymore; the *glaisf*, or bent scimitar, borne by the target-bearing and gleave-bearing men of Gwynedd; and the *llain* or *llafn*. And of the genus spear we meet with many of the Roman varieties. The dart, or javelin, was called *piccell*, *lluchwaew*, and *gaflach*; the spear-handle was called *paladr*; and of this weapon there were several kinds—the *gwaew*, *par*, *per* or *ysper*, *dysgiar*, *pilan* (Roman *pilum*), *rhaidd*, *rhain*, and *cigwain*, or hunting spear. The pike introduced by the legions was named *cethrawr*, *rhethren*, *rhon*, and *saffwy*; and the lance was named *gwaell* and *llafnawr*. The latter is frequently named in the *Gododin*, and appears to have been a truly formidable weapon, being seven feet long, of which the blade, formed like a sword, was three feet in length. Bronze *llavnawr* were used in Wales as late as the time of

Owen Glyndwr, as several have been found in places where he fought his battles.¹

In the art of war, also, the Britons appear to have profited much from their Roman instructors. Some of the native princes displayed eminent abilities in the conduct of war. Cassibellaunus, Caractacus, and Galgacus, all formed combined movements and enlarged plans of operation, and contrived stratagems and surprises which would have done honour to the greatest captains of Greece and Rome. Their choice of ground for battle was almost invariably judicious, and they availed themselves of the advantages of the country on all occasions. In the laborious art of fortifying, defending, or attacking camps, castles, and towns, they were, however, deficient. Their strongest places were surrounded only by a shallow ditch and a mud wall, while some of their towns had nothing but a parapet of felled trees placed lengthwise. The Roman camps, on the contrary, were always strongly fortified, though made to be occupied only for a night; but, as the war proceeded, we frequently find the Britons giving more attention to the defence of their night camps, and some of the most permanent positions they took up were strengthened with deep ditches and stone walls. During the Roman occupation of the island, the natives learnt their art of war; and when they departed, the lessons were not forgotten, even though the legionary discipline had been much relaxed towards the close of their residence here. In the sixth century we meet with various evidences of this fact. When Urien Rheged opposed Ida, he threw up an encampment, as appears from the poems of Taliesin, for it is expressly stated that "Owen ascended the *fossawd*"; and that term, notwithstanding Pughe's dictum to the contrary, is the Cymric form of the Latin *fossa*. From the same poem we learn that Urien was commander of the cavalry,

¹ [Cf. Meyrick's *Hist. and Antiquities of the County of Cardigan*, p. clxx.]

“Udd yr Echwydd”, *i.e.*, *Equites*;¹ and it thus becomes apparent that the Britons retained the Roman practice of having separate commanders for the cavalry and infantry. The *Gododin*, too, represents the British army to have formed an encampment, prior to the battle of Cattræth; for we several times read of *ffossawd*, rampart, and *pengarthan* [v. xxxiv], the top of the camp. We also read of *pymwnts* [vv. v, xviii, xxxiii], or leaders of cohorts of five hundred each, *dragons* [vv. xxii, xxv] of two hundred, and *cwns* [v. xviii] of one hundred men. And, indeed, it is scarcely possible for us to peruse the verses of Aneurin without being reminded at every step of the tactics of the legions. When the Roman generals addressed the army, the soldiers testified approbation by beating on their shields with their spears. They rose up together (*consurgebant*), and they rushed to the charge with a great shout. Now this is precisely what we find in the *Gododin*:—“The skilful warriors uprose together,” says Aneurin in one place [v. lv]. “Men went to Cattræth at the shout,” are his words in another place [v. xxxiii].

“To form ranks before the leader,
From the town of Tweed
We came marching obliquely,”

are his words at one time [v. xlvi]; and “loud as thunder was the din of the shields” are his expressions in verse xiv. Among the Romans, the light troops began the battle by throwing their javelins at the enemy; and of the Britons it is said, that they strewed the javelins between the armies [vv. xxxviii, liii]. At the battle of Wednesbury (Staffordshire), Merinab Madyein won great honour by his management of the British forces. He obtained the cognomen of *Mur Catwilet*², or pillar of strategy [v.

¹ [The reference is to *Gwaith Argoed Llwyfain*, line 13. A translation of the whole poem has already been given on p. 67, on reference to which it will be seen that the author here offers a rendering of the passage different from that generally given.]

² [But is not *catwilet*, rather, the same as the Irish *caithmhleadh*, a battle-champion, hero, soldier?]

lxii]; and the Saxons attributed their defeat to the superior discipline of the Britons, and to the fact that they fought after the manner of the Romans. It is probable that the British army was drawn up in a semicircle, and that this was the favourite form, for Llywarch Hen describes the battle as "*y gad gyngrwn*", and Aneurin, speaking of Cattræth [v. xviii], applies the same designation; but whether this was the *acies sinuata* or the *acies flexa* is not clear. This much, however, is clear—that the art of war was much better known to the Britons than to the Saxons; and perhaps I could not more appropriately conclude this parallel than by quoting the words of Henry of Huntingdon, A.D. 594:—"Tertio autem post hunc anno Britanni et Saxones bellum constituerunt apud Wednesbirue. Cum autem Brittones more Romanorum acies distincte admoverent, Saxones vero audacter et confuse irruerent, maximum proelium factum est, concessitque Deus victoriam Britannis. Saxones vero quanto in bellis præstantiores esse solebant, tanto in fuga seniores effecti valde contriti sunt." (*Monum. Hist. Brit.*, p. 714.)

With respect to religion, the government of the Imperial city was less satisfactory. After extirpating the Druids as an order, they introduced their own Paganism, and Roman Britain presented types of almost every form of religion then known in the world. The Romans brought with them their own Pantheon; and as the auxiliaries embraced every nation owning the Imperial sway, we meet with a great variety of religions, each worshipping their native deities. This subject has been well illustrated in a late number of the *Edinburgh Review* (July 1851), and, therefore, I shall avail myself of the words of the reviewer [p. 187, ff.]:—

"We have twenty-three towns, commencing with Wallsend (*Segedunum*) and Newcastle (*Pons Ælii*) on the Tyne, and stretching across the island, among which we find, on the suspicious policy of universal conquest, no two con-

secutive towns belonging to people of the same nation. If we begin with *Vindolana*, we have a town of Gauls, then one of Asturians, next, a town of Dalmatians, and so on, in succession, Dacians, Moors, Lergi (from what country is uncertain), Spaniards, and Thracians. Probably all these different populations had adopted Roman manners; it is, at least, certain that among the numerous articles found on the sites they occupied, everything is purely Roman. Most of them, however, seem to have brought with them the religion and worship which they had learnt from their forefathers; and strange, indeed, must have been the variety of religious creeds existing in this island under Roman sway. Excavations on Roman sites have in general been rich in monuments of religious worship. Almost every town appears to have had its temples and altars to the chief deities of Rome; but with these we find a singular mixture of Eastern deities and gods from Africa, from Germany, from Gaul, and from other countries. We learn from an inscription at York that a legate of the sixth legion built in Eburacum a temple dedicated to Serapis. The same place has also contributed a monument relating to the worship of Mithras, and another dedicated to the *deae matres*, or popular deities, of 'Africa, Italy, and Gaul'. The god Belatucadrus (probably a Syrian deity, if not the same as Mars) was adored on the banks of the Irthing in Cumberland, and at Netherby in Westmoreland. At Chester there was a god who is described in the inscription by a mixed Roman and Barbaric name, Jupiter Tanaros, supposed to be the Teutonic Thunr or Thor. A cohort of Dacians in Cumberland worshipped a deity named Cocidius. An altar has been found at Netherby dedicated *Deo Mogonti*; and one or two in the county of Durham, dedicated *Deo Vitiri*,—whom Horsley calls a local deity worshipped in this country. At *Corstopitum* (Corbridge, in Northumberland) have been found altars inscribed

in Greek to the Tyrian Hercules and to Astarte..... Altars to Jupiter, Mars, Minerva, etc., prevail everywhere, and all nations seem to have agreed in giving the first honour to them as the deities of all-conquering Rome. At the station of Maryport, on the Solway Firth, a remarkably ornamented altar was found, bearing the following inscription:—

‘ Genio Loci,
Fortunæ reduci,
Romæ æternæ,
et fato bono,
Gaius Cornelius,
Peregrinus,
tribunus cohortis,
ex provincia
Mauritanæ Cæsariensis.....’

‘ To the genius of the place,
to returning fortune,
to eternal Rome,
and to propitious fate,
Gaius Cornelius
Peregrinus,
tribune of a cohort,
from the province of
Mauritania Cæsariensis.....’

“Fortune seems to have been rather a favourite deity among the stations on the Wall; and it appears that many of the nations brought together to colonise this district adored the sun under different characters. Mithras, indeed evidently was popular everywhere. A Mithraic cave at Housesteads (*Borcovicus*, occupied by the Tungri) contained altars and various implements of worship. Several of the altars were dedicated to Mithras by name. Another sculpture, also relating to the same deity, was found at *Cilburnum*, a post of the Astures; while a slab at Carvoran contained a poetical declaration of the belief of the dedicator in the Syrian goddess. Carvoran occupies the site of the Roman *Magna*,¹ the post of the Dalmatian cohort. At Birdoswald (*Amboglana*), the hunters of the Dacian cohort had erected an altar to Silvanus, the divinity of the woods. At Risingham (*Habitancum*), a small altar, put up by some soldier, to the nymphs, with the following not very intelligible inscription, has outlived more valuable memorials,—

‘ Somnio præmonitus miles hanc ponere jussit
Aram quæ Fabio nupta est Nymphis venerandis.’

¹ [After “*Magna*”, Mr. Stephens inserts in brackets “*Caer-vaur*”.]

“An altar found at Rutchester (*Vindobala*) was dedicated to the gods of the mountains. Others at Thirlwall Castle, and at Benwell (*Condercum*), were dedicated to the god Vitres or Viteres, which is explained as perhaps referring to the Scandinavian Vithirs or Odin. Another, at the former of these places, informs us of the existence of a *dea Hamia*, while several altars along this line of towns bear witness to the favour with which the *deae matres* were regarded.”

It is probable, however, that the religion of the Romans and their auxiliaries never took any deep root among the British aborigines, and that they retained their own religious usages. All these temples and altars were standing, and their worship in full vigour, when the Romans left the island, and it is probable some of them existed in the sixth and seventh centuries; for when Aneurin says—

“They (the men of Gododin) removed the treasures for their gain;
Every image is not for the good of the vale” (verse lxxv),

he probably referred to some of these; but the Britons still adhered to their household gods. They still retained much of the patriarchal usages; and though the Romans broke the power of the Druidic hierarchy, the people still adhered to their groves and altars. The departure of the Romans afforded a fine opportunity for the revival of the old religion; but its days were numbered, and it was destined to fade away before the lustre of the Christian Church. But though Christianity began to spread itself among the Britons even in Apostolic times, its progress was certainly not rapid during the Roman sway, and, long afterwards, the old religion was still in force; for as late as the eleventh century it existed even among the Anglo-Britons, as King Edgar (958-975) enjoined his clergy to be diligent in withdrawing the people from the worship of trees, stones, and fountains, and from other evil practices; and King Canute (1017-1035) prohibited the worship of heathen gods, of the sun, moon,

fire, rivers, fountains, rocks, or trees, etc., some of which were known British usages. In the days of Aneurin, Christianity was becoming the dominant religion; but the *Gododin* also reveals the existence of other forms of worship. The "images" alluded to seem to bespeak remnants of Roman paganism. The assertion that Syvno the diviner had sold his soul to "the spirits of the mountains" [v. xix] indicates the existence of pantheistic ideas; and from the direct statement [v. lviii] that Eiddol worshipped at the shrine of Bud-dugre, we are enabled clearly to ascertain that divine honours were paid to Victoria, or the goddess of Victory. Cuhelyn,¹ in one of his poems, censures the worship of Ogyrven; and as the poems of the Bards become better understood, we shall probably discover other evidences to the same effect.

Aneurin's own theology appears to have been of the composite order; like that of many of his contemporaries, it was made up of heterogeneous materials; fragments of the expiring religion clung to the new; it became a proverb that the tolerance of the cromlech facilitated the reception of the Gospel (*Da yw'r maen gyda'r efengyl*), and the bard in his own person combined the practice of pagan usages with the profession of doctrinal Christianity. In *Gorchan Cynvelyn*² he says that his life was spared by the Saxons, and his ransom paid by the Britons, because he was "a son of the sacred fire, *mab coelcerth*", or, in other words, one of the priests of Baal, Beli, or Apollo; and in the *Gododin* (verse lxxx) he says:

"I saw men in array, from the upland of Doon,
While taking sacrifice to the sacred fire."

Another reading has, "while sacrifice descended upon the sacred fire". I have used the term "sacred fire" for *coelcerth*,

¹ [See *The Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. ii, p. 5, and the translator's notes, *ib.* pp. 324-5; *Myv. Arch.*, i, 164; Gee's edition, pp. 124-5. See also Rhys's *Lectures on Welsh Philology*, 2nd ed., pp. 302-7.]

² [See above, p. 18.]

though well aware that the advocates of bardic perfection deny that the Britons ever were a fire-worshipping people; but the speculations of the Glamorgan school have ceased to command respect, and are no longer accepted as authentic history. In all cases the term *coel* was associated with and indicative of religious ideas, as in *coel-fain*, *coel-bren*; and it is still used in the same sense in *hen goel*, an old belief, and *coel-grefydd*, the usual term for superstition. The words of Aneurin can refer to nothing less important than an act of sacrificial worship. Ausonius tells us that Apollo and Beli were the same divinity, and that Beli was a Gallic deity; and as the Britons worshipped the same deities as the Gauls, we can have but little doubt that the act of Aneurin was one of fire-worship. This adoration of *Belatucadrus*, "the mighty god Beli", took place at stated intervals, twice a year at least, in the Calends of May and November. The Catholic Church, wherever its power was acknowledged, endeavoured to supersede this half-yearly festival, and substituting Christian for pagan sentiments, caused it to be held at Midsummer Eve and Christmas Eve, June 24th and Dec. 24th; and accordingly the beacon fires of York, Leicester, and the Midland counties, were held at Midsummer (St. John's Day), for the custom has continued down to modern times (Daye's *Yorkshire*, p. 90; and Hollings on *Roman Leicester*). The true time was the 1st of May and the 1st of November. In Scotland the month of May is still held in pagan reverence: during that month there is neither marrying nor giving in marriage;¹ and the Highlanders have a proverb in connection with May-Day, which is not now understood:

"Woe to the mother of a wizard's son when
Beltan (May-day) falls on a Thursday."

(*Camb. and Caledon. Mag.*, v. 564.)

¹ "During the month of May, in Scotland, there is neither marrying nor giving in marriage: Scotland spurns a Papal and she allows a pagan interdict. For one month out of twelve a solemn suspension of Chris-

Beltan, according to Mr. Owen,¹ afterwards Dr. W. O. Pughe, means the *Fire of Budding* (*Tán Bal*), or *Fire of Vegetation* (*Tan Balant*); but I have no great respect for these assertions, and prefer the explanation given by antiquaries of Ireland and Scotland—that of the *Fire of Beli* or Baal. There is a hill in Perthshire called Tulloch-Baalteine, or the Mount of Baal's Fire; within the range of this eminence three hills of Baal are distinctly visible (*Camb. and Caledon. Mag.*, v, 415); and the custom of offering sacrifices on May-day still survives in some parts of Scotland. This custom has been fully described by Sir John Sinclair in his *Statistical Account of Scotland* (vol. xi, p. 620), whose statement will be found below.² In Wales the May festival ap-

tianity silently takes place as regards one capital concern of life; and the nation to that extent re-enters upon its ancient allegiance to the heathen pantheon.—Thomas de Quincey in Hogg's *Instructor*, July 1852, p. 293. ¹ [*The Heroic Elegies of Llywarch Hen*, p. 121.]

² “Upon the first day of May, which is called *Baltan*, or *Bâl-tein* day, all the boys in the township or hamlet meet in the moors. They cut a table in the green sod, of a round figure, by casting a trench in the ground, of such circumference as to hold the whole company. They kindle a fire, and dress a repast of eggs and milk in the consistence of a custard. They knead a cake of oatmeal, which is toasted at the embers against a stone. After the custard is eaten up, they divide the cake into so many portions, as similar as possible to one another in size and shape, as there are persons in the company. They daub one of these portions over with charcoal until it be perfectly black. They put all the bits of the cake into a bonnet. Every one, blindfold, draws out a portion. He who holds the bonnet is entitled to the last bit. Whoever draws the black bit is the *devoted* person who is to be sacrificed to *Baal*, whose favour they mean to implore, in rendering the year productive of the sustenance of man and beast.” Sir John further states that the unfortunate youth is compelled to pass three times through the fire; and he supposes it to be the remnant of a Druidic custom brought from the East. Pennant, in addition to eggs and milk, enumerates butter, whiskey, oatmeal, and ale; and states that a portion of the mixture is poured on the ground as a drink offering. Then each takes a cake having nine lumps on it, each lump being for a separate divinity, such as the preserver of cattle, sheep, etc., or the destroyer thereof, and all turn their faces towards the fire: each then

pears to have fallen into disuse; but they have preserved that of November; and the fire on All Saints' Eve is currently known by the designation of *Coelcerth*. The custom of lighting beacon fires at that period is only now expiring; men now living inform me that they have assisted in lighting these fires; and both Richards and Dr. W. O. Pughe refer to them as well-known facts. It is probable that Aneurin refers to the *Coelcerth*, or November fire; and it is certain that one of the events which he witnessed from the hills of Doon took place at the end of the year 642. Hence it is clear that Aneurin had some remnant of the pagan priesthood still clinging to him, and that, as late as the middle of the 7th century, Druidism still existed in the south of Scotland, notwithstanding that the first Christian church in that country was established at Whithern, and that Cyndeyrn had made a special mission to Galloway to reclaim the people to the light of the Gospel. But Aneurin in some way reconciled this paganism with his profession of Christianity, for in one place he seems to assert that he performed the rite of baptism: in another [v. viii] he says that the warriors should have gone to churches to do penance; and, again [v. xxix], he commends the soul of Ceredic to the care of "the Trinity in perfect Unity".

The political condition of Roman Britain also deserves our attention. This has been well developed by the erudite Whitaker in his *History of Manchester*; an abridgment of his chap. viii, bk. i, is given in the *Cambrian Register*, vol. 3, p. 25; and I do not know that I can do better than to copy the

takes a portion of the cake, and, throwing it over his head, says: "This I give to thee, preserve thou my horses; this to thee, preserve thou my sheep," etc. In the same manner they say to inimical existences: "This I give to thee, O fox! spare thou my lambs; this to thee, O hooded crow! this to thee, O eagle!" etc. After performing this ceremony they eat up the mixture, and, in conclusion, hide the remainder.—Pennant's *Tour in Scotland*, 1775, vol. i, p. 97 (8vo., Dublin); Rev. W. Roberts' *Crefydd yr Oesoedd Tywyll*, t. d. 97.

chief part thereof. "The Roman Empire", says the writer, "was generally divided into provinces, each of which was governed by its own Prætor and Quæstor; the former was charged with the whole administration of the government; and the latter deputed to manage the finances under him. This was the case in this island. The conquered regions of Britain were divided into six provinces; and these provinces were governed by six Prætors and six Quæstors. Each province formed a distinct government. They all acknowledged one head within the island, and were all subject to the authority of the Proconsul, Legate, or Vicar of Britain. The Prætor always resided in the chief town of the province. There was his mansion-house, denominated Palatium, or Domus Palatina, by the Romans. In this was assembled the principal court of justice; judicial determinations were made by the Prætor; and the imperial decrees and prætorial edicts promulged by his ministers. Other courts were opened under his commission in the other towns of the province, in which his deputies presided, inferior causes were determined, and the decrees and edicts equally promulged. Each prætor had many of these deputies under him, as each province had many of these towns. Britannia Prima comprised about forty; Britannia Secunda fifteen, Flavia fifty, Valentia ten, and Maxima twenty-five. Britain, from the southern sea to the Firths of Forth and Clwyd, at the close of the first century, had one hundred and forty towns in all." *Britannia Prima* was the whole district south of the Thames; *Britannia Secunda* included modern Wales, with the counties of Salop, Hereford, and Monmouth, and portions of Worcester and Gloucester; *Flavia* included the eastern and midland parts, north of the Thames, and south of the Humber, Don, and Mersey; *Maxima*, or *Maxima Cæsariensis*, included the modern counties of Durham, Westmoreland, York, and Cumberland; and *Valentia* and *Vespasiana* in-

cluded the Highlands and Lowlands of Scotland, with the chief part of Northumberland. Cattræth was in the province of *Maxima*, and Gododin in the neighbouring province of *Valentia*.

The towns above alluded to were of different magnitude and civil importance, and varied greatly, not only in their political rank, but also in their internal constitution. These were distinguished from each other by the names of *Municipia*, *Coloniæ*, *Civitates Latio jure donatæ*, and *Stipendiariæ*, the four classes of towns being here placed in the order of their political importance.

The *MUNICIPIA* were those of most consideration, and those which enjoyed most Roman privileges. Of these there were but two :

Verolamium (Ὀύρολάμιον, Ptolemy), near St. Albans.

Eboracum (Ἐβόρακον), now York; quarters of the 6th Legion, and apparently the residence of the Roman Emperors when in Britain.

Next to these in rank were the *COLONIÆ*, which were nine in number.

Londinium (Λονδίμιον), or *Augusta*, now London, mentioned by Tacitus as a place of great trade, though not spoken of in his time as a colony.

Camulodunum (Καμουλόδυνον), now Colchester or Maldon ?

Rhotupix (Ῥουτούπια), now Richborough, near Sandwich.

Aquæ Solis, now Bath.

Isca, now Caerleon.

Deva, now Chester; quarters of Legio xx.

Glevum or *Claudia*, now Gloucester.

Lindum, now Lincoln.

Camboricum, now Cambridge. (*Penny Cyclopædia*.)

These were settlements of Roman citizens, which served to diffuse their language, religion, and arts, and to secure the

supremacy of Rome, and which have been well delineated by the learned Whitaker in the following passage:¹ “The commencement of the Roman colonies was nearly coeval with that of the Roman conquests. But the first that was planted in any of the provinces was projected by the genius of the celebrated Caius Gracchus, and settled upon the site of the memorable Carthage, and others were established on the same principle in Britain, Claudius settling a strong body of veterans at Camalodunum, the first of all the Roman colonies in Britain, and he and the succeeding legates fixing no less than eight others in other quarters of the island..... That colony was esteemed as the headquarters of the legion, where some of the principal cohorts were lodged, the eagle was repositied, and the commander was resident. Such was Deva for the twentieth Valerian Victorious, Eboracum for the sixth Victorious, Caerleon for the second Augustan, and Glevum for the seventh Twin Claudian. And the rest were peopled by the other cohorts of these legions”; so “Caerleon, London, and Richborough, were all peopled by those of the second Augustan: and the tenth Antonian was lodged in the common stations, as the tenth legion had three, the twelfth five, and the twenty-second six, in Germany and Gaul. Thus were large bodies of the soldiery kept together by the Romans at Richborough, London, Colchester, Chesterford, Lincoln, and York, along the eastern side of the island, and at Bath, Gloucester, Caerleon, and Chester, upon the western, ready at once to suppress any insurrection at home, and repel any invasion from abroad; and the Roman legionaries lived together without any great intermixture of the natives, allowing few probably to reside with them but the useful traders and necessary servants. As their government was partly civil, the legionary colonists were subject to the Roman laws, were governed by their own senators or *de-*

¹ [*History of Manchester*, vol. i, pp. 325 *seq.*, 2nd ed., 1773.]

curiones, and enjoyed all the privileges of Roman citizens. And, as it was equally military, they strengthened their towns with regular fortifications, and guarded them with regular watches, had their names retained upon the quartermaster's roll, and were obliged to march at the general's command. But as in a series of years the number of males in the colonies would necessarily increase, and as they were all of them legionaries by birth, upon any military exigence a draught would be made out of the colonists, and such a number levied as was requisite to the occasion. And these towns naturally assumed the names of the legions to which the colonists belonged, frequently in accompaniment, and sometimes in supersedence of their British appellations."

The Britons did not at first mix much with their conquerors; but, on the contrary, they appear to have lived apart, each having their special towns and separate places of abode. The Romans occupied the *Municipia* and *Coloniæ*; but we must seek the Britons among the two inferior classes of towns. Of these, the foremost in point of rank were the *CIVITATES LATIO JURE DONATÆ*, or towns possessing Latin or Roman privileges, though not to the same extent as the *Municipia* and *Coloniæ*. These were probably British towns to which those privileges had been granted; and we learn that they were ten in number, viz.:

Durnomagus, now Castor on Nene, or Water Newton.

CATARRACTON (*Catarractoni*, Itin. Anton.; Κατουρράκτωνιον, Ptol.), now Catterick in Yorkshire.

Cambodunum, now Slack in Yorkshire.

Coccium, now Ribchester, Lancashire.

Lugubalia, now Carlisle.

Pteroton, Burgh Head, Morayshire, Scotland.

Victoria, now Dealgin Ross, Perthshire.

Theodosia, Dumbarton.

Corinium, now Cirencester.

Sorbiodunum, now Old Sarum.

The Latin privilege here alluded to "was an exemption from the ordinary jurisdiction of the prætor; and the inhabitants of a Latin town were no longer governed by a foreign præfect and a foreign quæstor, but by a quæstor and præfect elected among themselves. A Briton was their president, a Briton their justiciary, and a Briton was their tax-gatherer, and every inhabitant of such a town that had borne the offices of prætor or quæstor was immediately entitled to the privileges of a Roman citizen. These rights the Romans first communicated to the conquered Latins, and afterwards extended to all the Italians. Cæsar seems to have been the first that carried them beyond the bounds of Italy, and conferred them upon a provincial town. *Novum Comum* certainly, and probably *Nemausis* in Gaul, received this distinction from him, and were, perhaps, the first provincial towns that received it" (Whitaker).¹ It was afterwards bestowed upon the British cities above named. We here discern the elements from which British society was re-constructed on the departure of the Romans. It was one of the maxims of Roman policy, as developed by Tacitus in the *Life of Agricola*, not to destroy the power of the sovereigns thus subdued, but, on the contrary, to maintain them in a state of nominal independence, as is now done in India by the British Government, and thus to strengthen the Imperial power by means of their influence over their native subjects. This was done by Lucius Verus in the East, and by Agricola in Britain; and it is probable that it remained a part of the Imperial policy while the legions remained in the island; the præfect of one of these British cities became the chief or king of the district. Many of these cities, such as Victoria, Theodosia, Lugubalia, Catarracton, and Rigodunum, became the seats of sovereignty, and many of the heads of British

¹ [*Ibi supra*, i, 325.]

families sprang into note soon after the departure of the legions.

The STIPENDIARLÆ were the tributary or tribute-paying towns, and as such were subject to all the provincial regimen. Of these towns we are furnished with the names of twelve, viz.:

Venta Silurum, Caerwent, Monmouthshire.

Venta Belgarum (Οὐέντα), Winchester, Herts.

Venta Icenorum (Οὐέντα), Caystor, near Norwich.

Segontium, Caer-Seiont, Carnarvon.

Muridunum, Seaton, near Colyton, Devon.

Ragæ, now Leicester.

Cantiopolis or *Durovernum*, Canterbury.

Durinum, Dorchester.

Isca, now Exeter.

Bremenium, Riechester in Northumberland, the capital of the Ottadeni

Vindonum, near Andover, Hants. (*Penny Cyclopædia*.)

Durobrivæ, now Rochester.

Each of these was governed by a particular commandant, the deputy of the prætor, a merely annual officer. This prefect acted as an ædile, and therefore had the whole prætorial authority over the town and its vicinity or dependencies delegated to him.¹ But the garrison in the station must have been independent of him, and subject immediately to the pretorial authority. Like the prætor he had his quæstor with him, appointed no doubt by the provincial quæstor, and authorised to receive the taxes of the town. These officers in the Roman government made a very conspicuous appearance. By the former was all the discipline of the civil polity regulated, and all the taxation economy was adjusted by the latter.

¹ The Bards frequently allude to an officer whom they call *Maer*, the modern mayor, who was entrusted with the defence of towns. Were the *Maer* and the ædile the same officer?

“The payments, assessed on the provincial Britons, consisted of four or five different articles. One was an imposition upon burials, which is particularly urged as a grievance by the spirited Boadicea. Another was a capitation tax, which is likewise insisted upon by that British heroine. A third was a cess upon lands, which amounted to two shillings in the pound, or a tenth of the annual produce in everything that was raised from seed, and to four shillings, or a fifth, in all that was raised from plants. A fourth was an imposition upon cattle. And all the commercial imports and exports were subject to particular charges. Such, in general, were the taxes of our British ancestors under the government of the Romans. And as they were the badges of the Roman dominion over them, they were naturally disliked by a newly-conquered people. As they were embittered to their minds by the natural haughtiness and insolence of a victorious soldiery in general, and of the Roman in particular, they were as naturally hated by a gallant one. But they were not oppressive in themselves. They were merely an equivalent, in all probability, to the duties which they had formerly rendered to their own sovereigns. The amount of them was scarcely sufficient to answer the expenses of the civil and military establishments in the island. And the weight was certainly light; as the smallness of the collections at last stimulated the policy of avarice to abolish all the provincial taxes, and substitute even the Roman in their stead” (Whitaker¹).

The Roman yoke appears to have been at first borne with much impatience; but the Britons afterwards became better reconciled thereto, and a good understanding sprang up in time between them and their governors. “The privilege of Roman citizenship was frequently communicated to individuals among the Britons, and at last bestowed upon all of

¹ [Vol. i, p. 324.]

them. In the towns distinguished by the Latin liberties, it became the common right of all that had borne the office of aedile or quaestor in them. But when philosophy and Antoninus Pius were invested with the Imperial authority, those narrow restraints were taken away, and the Roman citizenship was extended to every Briton of property and worth. It ought to have extended to all..... And the cunning avarice of Caracalla communicated what the virtuous wisdom of Pius should have bestowed. By this act, the lower 'orders of Britons were freed from a disgraceful punishment, and no longer liable to be scourged with rods.' And the higher orders were delivered from a disgraceful exclusion, and admitted to a participation of marriages and a communion of honours with the Romans. And all the inhabitants now created citizens of Rome were raised to a footing of equality with their Roman masters, empowered to elect their own officers, and at liberty to be governed by their own townsmen,"¹ from which it may be justly inferred that the Romans granted what they were either afraid or unable to withhold.

The Britons, both before and after the Roman occupation, were celebrated for their addiction to, and skill in, the chase. Dio Niceus informs us that the Northern Britons lived by the chase; and Strabo states that the dogs of the Britons possessed such celebrity from the excellence of their training that they are named among the articles which were regularly exported from the island. In the succeeding period, we hear but little respecting the practice of hunting; but a century and a half after the departure of the Romans, we learn from the *Gododin* that the chase was held in great esteem; and we are indebted to the bard for a spirited description of Cynan Garwyn, in the verse [xci] addressed to his son Dinogad,—

¹ [Whitaker, vol. i, p. 329.]

“ When thy father went hunting
 With the spearstaff on his shoulder and the haft in his hand,
 He would call his well-trained dogs (and cry)—
 ‘ Mark, grasp, catch, catch, bring, bring !’
 He slew fish from a coracle,
 As a lion slays a fox.
 When thy father went to the mountain
 He brought back the chief of the roebucks,
 The largest boar, the finest stag,
 The fattest spotted grouse,
 And the noblest fish from the falls of Derwent.
 Of the boars which thy father reached
 With the flesh-hook on the point of his elm-staff,
 Did not all die ? Did not their swiftness cease ?”

But though we find no account of the chase during the Roman period, there are some indications of the Latin influence preserved in the laws of Howel. It seems to have been an established maxim of Imperial policy, or rather of the early jurisprudence of the Roman people, to invest the right of such things as had no master with those who were the first possessors ; and wild beasts, birds, and fishes became the property of those who could first take them (Meyrick's *Cardiganshire*, clxxix). The Welsh laws differed in this respect very widely from the harsh game laws of the Norman conquerors ; and as they were in perfect conformity to the above principle of Roman law, I incline to the belief that the free spirit of Cambrian law in reference to game was due to the influence of Latin jurisprudence. In the tenth century, the Welsh were celebrated for their skill in hunting, and it is evident, both from Cambrian and Saxon authorities, that hunting, fishing, and falconry were well known in Wales, as well as that wolves, bears, and wild boars, abounded in this island at that time. “ Dogs of sagacious scent to discover the retreats and hiding places of wild beasts, and birds trained to make prey of others in the air” (Malmesbury¹),

¹ [Willelmi Malesbiriensis *Gesta Regum Anglorum* recensuit T. D. Hardy, lib. ii, § 134.]

were named among the articles of tribute demanded by Athelstan from the king of North Wales (A.D. 926); and Edgar afterwards commuted the tribute for an annual payment of three hundred wolves, which was paid for four years, until the wolves were nearly exterminated.¹ In the Welsh laws, hunting the fox, hare, and roebuck, were called clamorous diversions; hunting the bear, squirrel, martin, or cock-of-the-wood, were called barking diversions, because the animals ran up the trees; and hunting the stag, pursuing a swarm of bees, and taking a salmon, whether with spear or net, were called common diversions, because every person present at the death, and even a stranger passing by, had a right to a share. The same free spirit prevails throughout the whole of the hunting laws.

It would seem that we have another indication of Roman government in the establishment of shops or places for the sale of merchandise, and in the adoption of fixed prices for the goods sold. The *Gododin* reveals the existence of such trade regulations in relation to wine shops; we have already stated that the drinks of the Britons were mead, ale, and wine; and it would seem that there were standard prices for their sale. Aneurin, speaking of one [v. ii], says: "He was a protector before the fair, he would pay for mead"; of another, "Silver for drink, yea gold he would pay"; and of Cynhaval ab Argad he says:

"Vines were not hoarded where he was,
And tho' there were a hundred men in one house,
He would dispel all cares:
The chief of men would pay the standard price."

(Verse xliii).

Such allusions reveal the existence of internal order, regular government, and advanced civilization.

¹ [Willelmi Malesbiriensis *Gesta Regum Anglorum* recensuit, T. D. Hardy, lib. ii, § 55.]

Such is a brief outline of the state of Britain under the Romans; and from the illustrations afforded by the *Gododin* we may safely infer that during the interval between the departure of the legions and the battle of Cattraeth, the Britons had not degenerated, even if they had not improved. Some persons assert that the Britons lost more than they gained during the Roman government; but my researches tend to establish a different conclusion. It may be true that they substituted the vices of refinement for the virtues of the rude state; that they introduced effeminacy among the natives by substituting the arts of peace for those of war; that they drafted the British youth to foreign stations, degraded the national character, and annihilated the independence of the country; but in reality this catalogue of charges is only the usual indictment of barbarism against civilization. It may be that civilization is an evil; but it is one which is preferred by collective man to that ruder state which fascinates the Rousseau school; and in this instance it was no worse than is usually the case. The maxims of Roman policy formed the wisdom of succeeding Cymry; the magnificent roads formed by the Imperial engineers have served the people ever since, for they still exist as the mail roads of the present day; the Roman jurisprudence was the parent of the *lex non scripta* of modern Britain; and the *Municipia* and other cities of that great people were the fruitful sources of the boroughs of England, and that passion for local government which resists the prevalent tendency to centralization, and forms the strong bulwark of British independence. For a time the national character was degraded, and the independence of the people trodden underfoot; but from the time when resistance ceased, there dawned a new era upon the British mind; concession after concession was granted to the people; and from the time when all the Britons became Roman citizens, their liberty was secured, and their progress

was onward evermore. Thenceforth the island became fruitful in "tyrants"; the cities of Britain asserted their freedom; the legions could no longer retain their own; and Honorius had to address them as independent powers. It is not likely they lost ground afterwards until subdued by the Saxons. What Roman Britain was, that was the Britain of the *Gododin*.

THE GODODIN.

IN the following pages the Cymric text has been given on one page and the translation on the opposite side. To the text, which has been formed by a careful collation of *eight* manuscripts, various readings have been placed as foot-notes; and a considerable number of new verses, never before thought to belong to the *Gododin*, have been added to the usual text, from the MS. containing Gorchan Maelderw, *which is certainly older than any copy of the "Gododin" now in existence.* To the translation have been added critical foot-notes, and also a very large number of historical illustrations, which may be said to form the chief merit of the present work, these immediately following the verses which they illustrate.

Y GODODIN.

I.

Gredyf gwr oed gwas
 Gwrhyt am¹ dias
 March² mwth myngvras
 A³ dan vordwyt mygrwas⁴
 Ysgwyt ysgauyn lledan 5
 Ar bedrein mein vuan⁵
 Kledyvawr⁶ glas glan
 Ethy eur aphan⁷
 Ny⁸ bi⁹ efo¹⁰ vi
 Cas e¹¹ rof a¹² thi 10

¹ Four MSS. 4, 6, 7, 8, read thus; and four others 1, 2, 3, 5, read *Gwlyr un dias*, which, so far as I know, has no intelligible meaning.

² Two MSS. only 3, 5, read thus, but *mein vuan*, in line 6, inclines me to prefer the singular *March* to the plural *Meirch* of 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8.

³ Various written: *y*, 1, 2; *o*, 3; and *a*, which is sanctioned by the majority. ⁴ Four MSS. 1, 2, 3, 5; four others read *meygrwas*.

⁵ *Unam*, 2, 5; *dinam*, 3; *unam neu vuan*, 6; *buan* (*Myv.*). ⁶ *Cleddyfwr*, 3; *Cledyvar*, 6. ⁷ *Athan*, 6. ⁸ *Ni*, 3. ⁹ *Bu*, 2, 3. ¹⁰ One MS. only, but all the others are meaningless. ¹¹ *Y*, 1, 2, 5, not in 3.

¹² *Rhof*, 1, 2, 3.

I. The subject of this verse has been a sore perplexity to all the translators of the *Gododin*. Mr. Williams assumes it to be Owain ab Urien Rheged, but advances so many doubts that his assumption has only the similarity of names to recommend it; and as the name Owain was rather common in North Britain about this period, that fact becomes a very unsafe guide. For instance, we have Owen ab Urien, Owen, King of Strathclyde, Owen, Prince of Eg, and the youth here named by Aneurin. Who was this Owen? If *Marro* be a proper name, he was the son of some unknown chieftain named Marro or Marco; but if,

THE GODODIN OF ANEURIN GWAWDRYDD.

I.

TO OWEN.

(Ab Gwarthan ab Dunawd Pabo ?)

The youth had the attributes of manhood;¹
 He panted for² the tumult;
 A swift, thick-maned steed
 Ran under the thighs of the majestic youth.³
 A broad light shield
 Hung on the crupper of his fleet and slender filly;
 His sword was blue and bright,
 His garb was ermined, and his spurs were gold.⁴
 There was not on my part
 Enmity between me and thee.

¹ It might be well at the outset to state in detail my reasons for departing from the versions given of the *Gododin* by Davies, Probert, and Williams. By doing this with respect to the first verse, it will not be necessary for me to state my reasons at length in subsequent cases, as it will appear that the work has been thoroughly matured. Williams' first line is over refined. *Gwas* implies being young in years; and to state that a youth was a young man is tautology; Aneurin does not say so. *Oed* is the verb *oedd*.

² "Gallant in the din of war," Williams: Aneurin has *am dias*, "for the tumult".

³ Williams persists in making him a hero; Aneurin speaks of a boy.

⁴ Golden spurs were frequently worn by the British chiefs. Llywarch Hen describes one of his sons to have worn them. (*Elegies*, p. 131.)

as I assume, *Marro* be a name for the lord of a country (see Richards' *Dictionary*), then shall we find his father was the Lord of Gododin, whom, in subsequent verses, we find to be Gwarthan, the son of Dunawd ab Pabo Post Prydain, by Dwywe the daughter of Gwallog ab Lleenog. The assumption corresponds well with the character and description of the youth, and furnishes a reason for the prominence given to him in the poem. If we adopt the rejected reading, *Marco* would probably be March ab Meirchion, the King Mark of romance.

Gwell gwneif a thi¹³
 Ar wawt dy voli
 Kynt y¹⁴ waet elawr¹⁵
 Nogyt¹⁶ y¹⁷ neithiawr
 Kynt y¹⁸ vwyt¹⁹ y²⁰ vrein 15
 Noc y²¹ argyurein²²
 Ku kyueillt ewein²³
 Kwl y²⁴ uot a²⁵ dan vrein²⁶
 Marth²⁷ ym pa vro
 Llad un mab marro.²⁸ 20

II.

Kayawc kynhorawc¹ men y delhei²
 Diffun ymlaen bun med a³ dalhei
 Twll⁴ tal y⁵ rodawr ene⁶ klywei
 Awr⁷ ny⁸ rodei nawd⁹ mein dilynei

¹³ This line is wanting in 1, 2, 3, 5. ¹⁴ *I*, 1, 2, 3, 6. ¹⁵ *E lawr*, 4, 6.
¹⁶ *No gyt*, 1, 2; *Nag iti*, 3. ¹⁷ *I*, 1, 2. ¹⁸ *I*, 2, 6; *o*, 3. ¹⁹ *Uwyd*, 1;
wayd, 2; *waet*, 4. ²⁰ *I*, 1, 2, 3, 4. ²¹ *Yr*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ²² *Argynrein*
 1, 2, 3; *argyvrain*, 6; *angyrein*, 5. ²³ *Euein*, 1, 2, 5; *Owain*, 2. ²⁴ *I*, 3.
²⁵ *Y*, 1, 2; *o*, 3. ²⁶ This verse is not in 3. ²⁷ *March*, 1, 2, 3, 5.
²⁸ *Marco*, 1, 2, 3. The rhyme alone would here show the best reading.

¹ Three copies have *kynhaiawg* 1, 2, 3. The other, *kynhorawc*, "fore-
 most", is quoted by Meugant, circa 635. ² *Dehai*, 1. ³ *Y*, 3.
⁴ *Twyll*, 5. ⁵ *I*, 1, 2, 3. ⁶ *Yn y*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁷ *Aur*, 1, 2, 3, 5.
⁸ *Ni*, 1, 2, 3, 4. ⁹ *Neud*, 2, 3, 5.

II. Mr. Probert takes "Cayawc" and "Caeawc", the initial words of this and the three following stanzas, to be a proper name, though he seems to have been unacquainted with the chief of that name, who appears to have been a son of Cyndrwyn, and brother of Cynddylan, Prince of Powys. Llywarch Hen, in the elegy on Cynddylan, appears to name such a person:—

Better will I do to thee,⁵
 To celebrate thy praise in song.
 Sooner came the bloody bier
 Than for thee the nuptial feast ;
 Sooner wert thou food for ravens,
 Than came the nuptial dowry.
 Dear companion, Owen !
 Alas ! that ravens should feed upon him.
 Well known to me is the vale
 Where our chieftain's only son was slain.

II.

To MADOC AB BRWYN (ab Cunedda Wledig).

Torque-wearing ! foremost¹ wherever he came,
 Unabashed² in maiden presence, he would pay for mead ;
 Pierced was the front of his shield, when he heard the war-
 shout ;
 He gave no quarter to the many he pursued,

⁵ Or, " will it be to thee".

¹ I here translate *kynhorawc* ; Williams has *kynhorawc* in his text, and *kynhaiawc*, after the example of Davies, in his translation.

² Williams, following Davies, translates *diffun*, " by his troop unattended" ; but his laboured note appears to me to be wrong. Probert, assuming it to be *diffyn*, renders it " protector", and certainly has more warrant for so doing ; but *ffun*, *ffunen* also means " a veil" ; and *diffun* has probably the same meaning as *diffuant*, " without dissimulation".

" Ystavell Cynddylan ys peithiawg heno,
 Gwedy cedwyr voddawg,
 Elvan, Cynddylan, Caeawg." (*Heroic Elegies*, p. 78.)

W. Owen, in translating this verse, assumes " Caeawg" to be a proper name :—

" The hall of Cynddylan is openly exposed to night,
 After being the contented resort of warriors,
 Elvan, Cynddylan, and Caeog!"

Ni¹⁰ chilyei o gamhawn eny¹¹ verei—waet 25
 Mab¹² brwyn gomynei gwyr nyt¹³ echei¹⁴
 Nys¹⁵ adrawd Gododin¹⁶ ar llawr mordei
 Rac pebyll madawc pan atcoryei
 Namen un gwr¹⁷ ogant eny¹⁸ delhei¹⁹.

¹⁰ *Ny*, 1, 6. ¹¹ *Yn y*, 1, 2, 5; *un o'i*, 3. ¹² *Mab*, 3; *Mal*, all the others. ¹³ *Gwyrnyd*, 6. ¹⁴ *Elhei*, 1, 2, 5; *eche (elei)*, 6; *elei*, 3. ¹⁵ *Nis*, 3. ¹⁶ *Gwawdodyn*, 3. ¹⁷ Not in 1, 2, 3. ¹⁸ *Yn y*, 1, 2, 5; *yno*, 3. ¹⁹ In 7 this stanza and the following form but one verse.

There is, however, just room to doubt that "Caeawg" is a proper name. A various reading was *Cueawc*, and if it be a proper name, history makes no mention of the person so designated. Further, within twenty years of the supposed composition of the *Gododin*, Meugant (*circa* 635) quotes the phrase "Caeawc kynhorawc", and applies it to Cadwallon ab Cadvan. This fact proves that the word in the text is not a proper name; and the same quotation proving the propriety of reading *kynhorawc* instead of *kynhaiawc*, goes far to destroy the applicability of Williams' ingenious note on *taiogion*. Davies' note is false in its statement of facts, as verse iv shows that the Briton chiefs did wear wreaths of amber beads.

Who then is the subject of the verse? Most probably Madoc ab Brwyn, the grandson of Cunedda Wledig. Cunedda is called by Williams "King of Strathclyde"; but the poem of Taliesin called *Marwnad Cunedda*, shows his dominions to have been Cumberland and his residence Carlisle:—

"Ergrynaw Cuneddaf creisserydd
 Ynghaer Weir a chaer Liwelydd."

(*Myv. Arch.*, i, 71.)

And probably his grandson inherited his possessions. But here we meet the great difficulty always encountered in treating of Cunedda, who certainly appears to have been much antedated. He is said to have commenced his reign in A.D. 329 and to have died in 389 (Owen's *Cambrian Biography*). A better authority places him between 400 and 433 (Rees' *Welsh Saints*, p. 109); but I suspect that even that date is too

Nor would he retreat from fight while blood was flowing ;
 The son³ of Brwyn cut down warriors ; he would not yield.
 The Gododin does not relate, that on the coast of the sea-
 houses,⁴

Before the tent of Madoc, when he returned,
 There came more than one man in a hundred.

³ If we read *mal brwyn* instead of *mab brwyn* (the son of Brwyn), the translation would be, " Like rushes he cut down men " ; but though this is the most poetical, the other is the truer reading.

⁴ *Mordei*, says Williams, is the name of a district ; it is not so. (See v. xix.)

early, for Taliesin, living in 610, could not have written his elegy, in which he asserts himself to have personally known Cunedda ; and his grandson could scarcely have been in the battle of Cattræth in 603. Further, we have in the following lines a proof that he fought against the invaders of Bernicia :—

“ Ganwaith cyn bu lleith dorglwyd
 Duchludent wys *bryneich* ymmhlymnwyd
 Ef caned rhag ei ofn ai arswyd oergerdd
 Cyn bu dayr dogyn ei dwed.”

Myv. Arch., i, 71 [Gee's ed., p. 61].

Now as the Jutes and Saxons were not in force in Northumberland until Ida came, about 547, we must bring him down to the beginning of the sixth century. It is also said that Brwyn, his son, was a celebrated warrior fighting against the Saxons (*Williams' Biographical Dictionary*, s. v. Brwyn) ; and therefore there is no improbability in assuming the hero in the text to have been Madoc ab Brwyn ab Cunedda, of whom we have the following account :—

“ Madog ab Brwyn, a chieftain who lived about the middle of the sixth century (it should have been, in the latter half of the sixth and beginning of the seventh century). He is recorded in the *Triads* as one of the three ' eurgelein ' or golden corpses of the Isle of Britain ; for when they were killed in battle, their weight in gold was given to have their bodies restored. The two others were Ceugant Beilliawg and Rhuawn Bevr. (*Myv. Arch.*, ii, 15, 16, 69) ” ; *Williams' Biogr. Dict.*

Llywarch Hen had a son named Brwyn (*Heroic Elegies*, p. vii, note) ; but there is no account of him, nor of his having a son named Madoc.

III.

Kaeawc kynnivyat kywlat¹ erwyt² 30
 Ruthyr eryr en y llyr³ pan llithywyt
 E amot⁴ a vu not a gatwyt⁵
 Gwell a wnaeth e aruaeth ny gilywyt⁶
 Rac bedin ododin⁷ odechwyt⁸
 Hyder⁹ gymhell ar vreithel vanawyt 35
 Ny¹⁰ nodi nac ysgeth¹¹ nac ysgwyt

¹ *Cyvat*, 1, 2, 6; *cyflad*, 3. ² *E rwyt*, 4, 6. ³ *Y llyr*, 1, 2, 3, 5; *ebyr* in Williams' text and MS. Paul Panton; but the following line in *Addfwyneu Taliesin* has determined my preference:

"Atuyn Eryr ar lan llyr pan llanhwy."—*Myv.* i, 28 [Gee, p. 30].

⁴ *Arnot* in Williams' text; *yamot*, 1; *y amot*, 2, 4, 5; *i ammod*, 3.

⁵ The choice is difficult; 1, 2, 3, 5, read *garwyt*: both are good. ⁶ *Ni*, 2, 3, 4. ⁷ *Wawdodyn*, 3. ⁸ *O dechwyt*, 1, 2, 3. ⁹ *Hydr*, 8.

¹⁰ *Ni*, 3. ¹¹ *Yscell*, 6; *osgeth*, 3, 5.

III. In suggesting that Manawyd was a proper name, Mr. Williams is entitled to the honour of a discovery; though he seems to have had no notion who this person was; but what he left undone I must endeavour to complete. It is commonly believed that Manawyddan ab Llyr was the son of Llyr Llediaith, who was supposed to have been the grandfather of Caractacus. But is this the fact? It is true that there is a tale which makes him the brother of Bran ab Llyr; and it is true that two copies of the *Triads* also make him the son of Llyr Llediaith; but it is also true that one copy leaves out the Llediaith, and only has Manawyddan ab Llyr; and the three copies include him as a triad with Llywarch Hen and Gwgan Gwron, two men living in the sixth century. Apart from, and in addition to these considerations, we find that in the *Mabinogi* of Kilhwch and Olwen he is called simply "Manawyddan ab Llyr", and *made the contemporary of Arthur*. In the poetical dialogue between Arthur, Cai, and Glewlwyd, we find him in the same company (*Myv.* i, 167; Gee, 127). Lastly, in a poem addressed "To the Sons of Llyr ab Brochwel Powys", we find Manawyd, probably the same person as Manawyddan, described as being living at the close of the sixth century:—

"Ys cyweir fy nghadair ynghaer Sidi

Nis plawdd haint a henaint a fo yndi

Ys GWYR Manawyd a Phryderi."—*Myv.* i, 67 [Gee, p. 58].

III.

TO MANAWYD AB LLYR (ab Brochwel Powys).

Torque-wearing tormentor with conflicting pikes,
 Rushing like the eagle on the strand when allured :
 His promise¹ was a mark that was beloved ;
 Better did he perform. His custom was not to retreat.
 Before the army of Gododin, if there was shrinking,
 Manawydd boldly provoked the battle ;
 Neither spear nor shield gave protection from him.

¹ My translation differs *in toto* from that of Mr. Williams in every line of this verse. I will, therefore, only dwell on two points. Line 3: here, as elsewhere, he vitiates his translation by assuming that armorial bearings were known in the sixth century. The opinion is novel, opposed to all received opinions, and should first be proved. He has an interesting note on line 2.

It must, therefore, be clear either that this poem has been misnamed, or that Manawyddan was living in the sixth century. Of Llyr, the son of Brochwel, we hear nothing; but there was such a person (Rees' *Saints*, 161); and, possibly, he may be the same person as Llyr Llyuddog, of whom we have the following notice:—

“Llyr Llyuddog, or of the numerous host, a chieftain who lived in the beginning of the sixth century. He is recorded as one of Arthur's three chiefs of cavalry, the others being Caradawg Vreichvras, and Menwaed of Arllechwedd” (Williams' *Biog. Dict.*; *Myv. Arch.*, ii, 5). It seems, therefore, somewhat probable that Manawyddan was the son of one of the latter Llyrs, and that the reference to Llyr Llediaith is a mistake. It is a striking confirmation of this view, that Bronwen, the sister of Bran and Manawyddan, should be buried in Anglesey. Ynys Bronwen and Twr Bronwen are in North Wales, and not in the country of Llyr Llediaith—Morganwg.

The battle of Mannan took place in 582, between Aeddan ab Gavran, with his allies the men of Strathclyde and Northern Britons on the one side, and the Picts of the Highlands on the other. It was fought probably at Clackmannan; and Aeddan was the victor. It took place some years before the battle of Cattaeth, and it furnishes us with the clue to the true date of this poem.

Ny¹² ellir anet¹³ ry vaethpwy¹⁴
 Rac ergyt catvannan¹⁵ catwy¹⁶.

IV.

Kaeawc kynhorawc bleid e¹ maran
 Gwevrwr godrwyaw² torchawr am rann 40
 Bu gwevrwr³ gwerthvawr gwerth gwin vann⁴

¹² *Ni*, 3. ¹³ *Enet*, 2; *aned*, 3. ¹⁴ *Vaethuwy*, 1, 2, 3; *vaethwyd*, 5.
¹⁵ *Cadfannau*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ¹⁶ In 7, these two lines are one.

¹ *Bleide*, 1; *bleiddie*, 2, 3; *bled e*, 5. ² *Godrwyawr*, 1, 2, 3, 5; *godiwawr*, 4; *Godrwawr*, Williams' text. ³ *Gowrawr*, 5. ⁴ *Gwinvan*, 1; *gwinvain*, 2, 3; *gwrnvan*, 5. The line in 6 is thus—*Gwevrwr godiwawr gwerthvawr gwinvan*.

iv. Who was the son of Ysgyran? And, first of all, who was Ysgyran himself? Mr. Williams has given up the inquiry in despair, and says, "Who Ysgyran or Cyran (the *ys* being a mere prefix) was, we have no means of knowing, as the name does not occur anywhere in history". But I believe that the man and his son can yet be identified.

And first, then, of Ysgyran. Among the *Englymion Beddau*, we meet with the following verse:—

"Cigleu don drom dra thywawd,
 Am vedd Dysgyrnin Dysgyveddawd
 Aches trwm angwres pechawd."—*Myv.* i, 78 [Gee, 65].

"A sullen wave beyond the strand
 Speaks of Dysgyrnin Dysgyveddawd's grave.
 Heavy is the mind impelled by sin."

It is not easy, with our modern notions, to perceive the applicability of this censorious moral to one who is designated a "learning-drinker"; but when we bear in mind that the occurrence of the word "sin" shows this verse to have been composed in a religious or rather theological age, and that the monks feigned that all knowledge-seekers were in league with the powers of darkness, we see our way out of this difficulty. Further on we shall find it stated that, "Syvno the diviner sold his soul to the surface sprites" (see v. xix); and a similar assertion seems to

No dainties would be found in the habitation of the Chief ;
He escaped from the blows of Mannan fight.²

IV.

To CYSSUL (the son of Ysgyran).

Foremost torque-wearing¹ wolf of the strand,
With an amber-wreath encircling his temples :
Precious was the amber, costly the wine-place.²

² A correct translation of this and the other lines, in which Cadvanan is mentioned, furnishes the clue to the date of the *Gododin*. Williams has rejected the true rendering, and adopted a false one.

¹ This verse brings to light the errors which Davies and Williams have committed in translating the adjective *Caeawc*, which, according to them, means, "wreathed" with amber beads; but here we have the wreath of amber beads mentioned in addition to the "cae", or neck enclosure, which was in fact *the golden torque* so often mentioned.

² Or, "The precious amber became (was) the price of the wine feast."

be implied here; but in former times there was evidently a legend attached to the name, which is now lost. The *Triads* assign him the honours of bardism, and claim the same honour for his sons, of whom it is said, "tri meib o feirdd oeddynt". In the *Cambrian Biography* he is said to be the son of *Dysgeddawg*, and Williams, *Biog. Dict.*, sub *Disgyveddawg*, falls into the same error; but it is quite clear that *dysgyveddawg*, variously written *dysgyveddawd*, *disgyvyndawd*, and *disgyfdod*, is an epithet, and that the proper name is *Disgyrnin*. In a various reading of the above verse the name is written *Disgyrin*, and that is so near an approach to *Ysgyran*, that we need not doubt their identity; for of that we have this further confirmation. We learn from the *Triads* that the dominions of *Disgyrin* were in *Deivyr* and *Bryneich*—*Northumberland* and *York*; and from the expressions in the line,

"Kyt dyffei Gwynedd a Gogledd ei rann",

we are justified in concluding that the dominions of the son of *Ysgyran* were midway between *Gwynedd* and *Scotland*.

Assuming the identity of these two names, *Ysgyran* had three sons, of whom we find the following notice:—

"The three men who were bards, who performed the three good slaughters of the Isle of Britain. *Gall*, the son of *Dysgyvedawg*, who slew the two birds of the White Lake, belonging to *Gwendolau* ab

Ef gwrthodes gwrys gwyar⁵ disgrein
 Ket⁶ dyffei wyned a gogledd e⁷ rann
 O gussyl mab ysgyran⁸
 Ysgwydawr⁹ angkyuan.

45

V.

Kaeawc kynhorawc aruawc eg gawr¹
 Kyn no diw e gwr² gwrdd eg gwyawr³
 Kynran⁴ en⁵ racwan rac⁶ bydinawr

⁵ *Gwyr*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁶ *Kyt*, 6; *yt*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁷ *Ei*, 1, 2, 5; *eu*, 3.
⁸ Wanting in 5. ⁹ *Ysgwyd wr*, 1, 2, 3; *ysgwydwr*, 5.

¹ *Yggawr*, 1; *yn gawr*, 2; *yn gawr*, 3. ² *Cyno diwygwr*, 1, 5; *cynno-
 diw y gwr*, 2; *cyn od i'w y gwr*, 3. ³ *Eggwyawr*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁴ *Cyrran*,
 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁵ *Ein*, 4. ⁶ *Rai*, 2.

Ceidiaw,¹ which were enriched with rings (yokes) of gold, and which devoured two Cymric bodies daily to their dinner, and two to their supper. Second, Ysgavnell, the son of Dysgyvedawg, who slew Ethelfled (Ethelfrith, probably), King of Lloegria, who required every night two Cymric virgins, whom he first violated, and next day devoured. Third, Difiedel the son of Dysgyvedawg, who slew Gwrgi Garwlwyd, who was married to Edelfled's sister, and who, like Edelfled himself, slaughtered and betrayed the Cymry; and this Gwrgi required daily a Cymric man and woman, whom he ate; and on Saturday, to avoid breaking the Sabbath, he slew two Cambrians of each sex. And three sons of bards were the three men who performed the three meritorious slaughters" (*Myv.* ii, p. 65; *Tr.* 46).

These are also mentioned as the three monarchs of Deivyr and Bryneich. Of these three, the person named in the *Gododin* was probably Ysgavnell. The poem implies that the son of Ysgyran was great in council; and Ysgavnell was celebrated for his wisdom. Here is one of his sayings:—

¹ Another MS. states that they guarded the gold and silver treasures of Gwenddolau.

The hero disdained the force of humble men (enemies).
 Gwynedd and the North took his part in council.
 The son of Ysgyran
 Was a broken-shielded hero.

V.

To HYVAIDD HIR (ab Caradoc Vreichvras).

A torque-wearer,¹ foremost armed at the war shout,
 Before his death the hero was powerful in the gory fight,
 In the front rank, marching before the army.

¹ In a short note to the preceding verse, I have endeavoured to show that the *Kaeawc* was the *aurdorch*, which was a mark of nobility in these warriors. This ornament is frequently spoken of collectively; but unless *Kaeawc* be an indication of it, we have no notice of the *aurdorch* in connection with an individual warrior. Three hundred of these warriors had the *aurdorch*, and Llywarch Hen is careful to describe his twenty-four sons to be *aurdorchoigion*. The torque was a bar

“ A glyweisti a gant Ysgafnell
 Vab Dysgyvndaut katgymell
 Nyt anregit tlaut o bell.”—*Myv.* i, 173 [Gee, p. 129].

“ Hast thou heard the saying of Ysgavnell,
 The son of Disgyvndawd, the battle-provoker,
 The poor are not enriched from afar ?”

Disgyrnin here appears in another character; and it is quite possible that his combativeness may have brought upon him the monkish censure, above described.

Up to this point we have been reasoning upon the assumption that “Cyssul” is not a proper name; but now I propose to abandon that conclusion. Cyssul is most probably a proper name. Stand forth Tyssul, son of (Ys or St.) Corun! Thou art the man! He is numbered among the British saints (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, p. 209), but history makes no further mention of his name. I need scarcely state that there is no incompatibility between a warrior and a British saint.

Corun was the son of Ceredic ab Cunedda Wledig. He had also a son named Carannog, who is also called Carantocus and Cernach, and who was a very celebrated saint. These names run very much into each other; Ysgyran is not unlike Yscaran (og) and Ys Cernach is not unlike Disgyrnin. For a long legend of Saint Carannog or Cernach, see Rees' *Saints*, p. 209-211.

Kwydei⁷ pym pymwnt rac⁸ y lafnawr⁹
 O wyr deivyr a brennych dychiawr¹⁰ 50
 Ugein cant¹¹ eu diuant¹² en un awr¹³
 Kynt y¹⁴ gie e¹⁵ vleid¹⁶ nogyt¹⁷ e¹⁸ neithyawr¹⁹
 Kynt e²⁰ vud²¹ e²² vran nogyt²³ e allawr²⁴
 Kyn noe²⁵ argyurein²⁶ e waet elawr²⁷
 Gwerth med eg kynted gan lliwedawr²⁸ 55
 Hyueid²⁹ hir ermygir tra vo kerdawr.³⁰

⁷ *Cwyd ei*, 2, 3. ⁸ *Rac* is not in 2. ⁹ *Y la wr (lafnawr)*, 6; *y ta awr*, 1; *yt a awr*, 2; *it i awr*, 3. ¹⁰ *Dychrawr*, 1, 2, 3, 5.
¹¹ *Ugeincant*, 1. ¹² *Divant*, 1, 2, 3. ¹³ *Unawr*, 1, 2, 3. ¹⁴ *O*, 3.
¹⁵ *I*, 3. ¹⁶ *Flaidd*, 3. ¹⁷ *Noc yt*, 1; *nog it*, 3. ¹⁸ *I*, 3. ¹⁹ *Allawr*, 8.
²⁰ *I*, 3. ²¹ *Vydd*, 2. ²² *I*, 3. ²³ *Noc yt y*, 1, 2; *nag iti*, 3; *noc yty*, 6. ²⁴ *Elawr*, 1, 2, 5; *clawr*, 3; line not in 7. ²⁵ *Noc*, 8.
²⁶ *Argyurein*, 6; *argywrain*, 4. ²⁷ Line not in 1, 2, 3. ²⁸ *Lleisedawr*, 8; *liwed awr*, 1, 2, 3. ²⁹ *Kyneid*, 1, 2, 3. ³⁰ In 7 this and the preceding line are one. * According to Pughe's translation of "Mwnt" (*vide Dict.*) this number would be 2,500,000! "Pymwnt" probably means battalion.

v. Hyvaidd is, or rather was, a common name among the Britons, as we read of Hyfaidd, Hyfaidd Unllen, Hyfaidd Hir ab Bleiddian, and Hyfaidd Hir ab Caradoc Vreichvras. Williams assumes the person here spoken of to be the son of Bleiddian or Bleiddig Sant, otherwise named Lupus, who accompanied Garmon to Britain about 420 A.D.; the son of Lupus could scarcely have been living, much less have been unmarried in 603. Hyfaidd Unlenn is named in the *Mabinogi* of Kilhwch and Olwen, as being among the contemporaries, who is supposed to have died in 542. (*Mabinogion*, vol. ii, 261.)

But it is probable that the person alluded to by Taliesin in his Ode to Urien Rheged:—

"Hyveidd a Gododin a lleu towys."—*Myv. Arch.*, i, 57.

"Hyveidd and Gododin, and the lion-leading (*i.e.* Urien)":

and also in the lines:—

"Haearduddur, a Hyfeidd a Gwallawg,
 Ac Owen mon Maelgynig ddefawd,
 A wnaw peithwyr gorweiddiawg".—*Ibid.*, i, 64.

Five battalions fell before his blade
 Of the wailing men of Deira and Bernicia²;
 Twenty hundred were destroyed in one hour.
 Sooner art thou flesh for wolves than for thee the nuptial feast;
 Sooner art thou food for ravens than for thee the marriage
 altar;
 Before the nuptial dowry³ came his bloody bier,
 The price of mead in the hall among the drinking throng :
 Hyveidd the tall will be celebrated while a minstrel lives.

of gold, of greater or less artistic ornamentation, terminating at the end in a *cae-ad*, a clasp or hook, and an eye. It was *not* a chain. See Stephens' *Lit. of the Kymry* [2nd ed., p. 45, note].¹

Beads also were worn in wreaths by British warriors, as appears from the fact of beads of amber being found in the barrows on Salisbury Plain, which had been dug about 1800. In several of these graves pieces of amber like beads have been met with; and in one, as many beads were found as would have made a wreath. (Turner's *Vindication of the Bards*, 208-209. See also Williams' *Biog. Dict. sub Benlli Gawr*.)

² Deivyr and Bryneich were Deira (Yorkshire), and Bernicia (Northumberland), Durham being a portion of each of these.

³ Here, as in verse 1, I have taken *argyfrein* to have been the early form of which the later *argyvreu* was a corruption. In general this word means a woman's dowry. (Owen's *Laws of Howel*, vol. i, 82, 88, 456, and vol. ii, 70.) It also means implements of trade (vol. ii, 492).

“Haearddur and Hyveidd and Gwallawg,
 And Owain of Mon of Maelgwnian manner,
 Would prostrate the ravagers”:

was not Hyveidd Unllen, but Hyvaidd Hir, the son of Caradawc Vreichvras. This may however be called in question. So young a man as Hyveidd Hir could not well have been the contemporary of Gwallawg; and the safest conclusion appears to be that Taliesin's hero was Hyveidd Unllen, and that of Aneurin Hyveidd ab Caradoc—the affix Hir being added for distinction. The son of Caradoc also resembles our hero in this—he died childless.

¹ [This note is not in the first edition. See p. 54.]

VI.

Gwyr a aeth ododin¹ chwerthin ognaw
 Chwerw en² trin a llain en emdullyaw³
 Byrr vlyned en⁴ hed yd ynt⁵ endaw
 Mab botgat gwnaeth gwynnyeith⁶ gwreith⁷ e law⁸ 60
 Ket⁹ elwynt e¹⁰ lanneu e¹¹ benydyaw
 A hen a yeueing a hydyr a¹² llaw¹³
 Dadyl diheu¹⁴ anghau y¹⁵ eu treidaw.¹⁶

VII.

Gwyr a aeth ododin¹ chwerthin² wanar
 Disgynnyeis³ em⁴ bedin trin diachar⁵ 65

¹ *Wawdodyn*, 3. ² *Chwerwyn*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ³ *Ymduliaw*, 1, 2, 3.
⁴ Not in 2. ⁵ *Uddynt*, 1, 2, 3. ⁶ *Guynyeth*, 1; *gwynyeth*, 2; *gwyni-*
aeth, 3. ⁷ *Gunith*, 1; *gwreth*, 4. ⁸ *Ei*, 2, 3. ⁹ *Cyt*, 1, 2, 3. ¹⁰ *I*,
 3. ¹¹ *I*, 3. ¹² Wanting in 4, 6. ¹³ *Allaw*, 1, 2, 4, 6. ¹⁴ *Dithau*,
 4. ¹⁵ *Yn*, 1, 2, 3, 4. ¹⁶ This and the preceding line are one in 4.

¹ *Wawdodyn*, 3. ² *Chwerth*, 4. ³ *Digynny ei*, 1, 2, 3; *disgyn uei*
 (*disgynmais*), 6; *disgynas*, 4; *disgynnei*, 5. ⁴ *Im*, 4. ⁵ The end of a
 verse in 4.

VI. Gognaw was probably the son of Botgad; but who was Botgad? Williams gives no answer, and appears to have overlooked some passages in Rees' *Saints*, p. 203, which have reference to a person of that name. Ricemarchus, in his *Life of St. David*, states that two saints named Boducat and Maitrum, of the province of Kidwelly, submitted themselves to him. "Duo quoque Sancti, Boducat et Maitrum in provincia Cetgueli, dederunt sibi manus." Now supposing these persons to be identical, Boducat at one period of his life, and probably its close, was a saint in the province of Kidwelly, which had then recently been recovered from the Irish by Urien Rheged, with whom Boducat probably came from North Britain.

Davies, as usual, finds a Saxon origin, and makes the words of the text refer to Hengist, son of Wetgisse.

VI.

To the son of Botgad.

The warriors left¹ Gododin, and Gognaw was laughing ;
 Bitter was he in fight, with the sword forcing his way.
 Short was the year of peace they had enjoyed.
 The son of Botgat inflicted pain—vigorous was his hand.
 They should have gone to churches to do penance,
 Old and young, bold and powerful.
 The inevitable strife of death was about to pierce them.

VII.

The warriors marched from Gododin, and laughing was our
 lord ;
 I descended in the army to the terrific combat.

¹ Williams translates this “to Gododin”; but the bard in another place (v. xlviij) remarks :—

“ O Dindywyt yn dyvuwyd yn dyuovu”.

“ From the town of Tweed we came,” etc.

Davies translates the first line thus: “The heroes went to Gododin cheerful and sprightly.” Probert: “The heroes marched to Gododin, with sportive energy.” Williams: “The heroes marched to Gododin and Gognaw laughed.”

It will thus be seen that by making *Gognaw* a proper name, he differs from his predecessors ; and he cites in support of his version a passage from *Taliesin* :—

“ Gognaw must have been the son of Botgad. The name, as well as that of the preceding hero, occurs in an ode which *Taliesin* addressed to *Gwallawg ab Lleenawg* :—

“ ‘ Gognaw ei brawd digones.’ ”

On referring to *Taliesin*'s ode, I find that the line in the original is “Gognaw ei brod digones”; in the various readings, *Gognaw* is written *Gognaaw*, and instead of *brod* we read *brawd*; but the passage is rather obscure. However, on careful consideration, I find that the probabilities are in his favour, and I have therefore adopted his reading.

vii. The first line has been variously rendered. Mr. Williams gives the

Wy lledi⁶ a llavnawr heb⁷ vawr drydar
Colovyn glyw reithuyw⁸ rodi arwar.

VIII.

Gwyr a aeth gatraeth oed fraeth eu¹ llu
Glasved eu hancwyn a² gwenwyn vu
Trychant trwy beiryant en cattau
A gwedy elwch tawelwch vu
Ket³ elwynt e⁴ lanneu e⁵ benydu
Dadyl dieu⁶ anghew y⁷ eu treudu.⁸

IX.

Gwyr a aeth gatraeth veduaeth¹ uedwn²
Fyryf³ frwythlawn⁴ oed cam nas kymhwyllwn 75

⁶ *Wyledi*, 2, 3. ⁷ *Eb*, 1, 2, 3. ⁸ *Reithvyw*, 1, 2, 3, 4.

¹ *Y*, 1, 2, 4; *O*, 3. ² *Ae*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ³ *Cyt*, 1, 2, 3. ⁴ *I*, 3
⁵ *I*, 3. ⁶ *Diheu*, 2, 3, 4. ⁷ *O*, 3; *yn*, 6. ⁸ *Eudu*, 2.

¹ *Vedvaeth*, 1, 2, 4. ² *Vedwn*, 1, 2, 4. ³ *Phyru*, 1, 2, 3.
⁴ *Fruythlawn*, 1.

word *Gwanar* as a proper name. That *Gwanar* has been used as a proper name admits of no doubt, as in the case of *Gwanar ab Lliaws ab Nwyvre*, who lived before the Christian era (*Triads*, series i, 40; ii, 5; iii, 14); but the passage cited by him from *Taliesin* is open to two objections. 1st, the poem called *Mic Dinbych* is certainly not the production of that bard; and 2nd, in the following line,

“Clod wasgar a Gwanar ydd ymddullyn”,

it is certainly not a proper name. I therefore reject his reading and adopt the version given by Richards in his *Dictionary*. “*Gwanar*, s. Lord”.

“Peidiwch, gwybyddwch mai fi yw,
Eich unig Dduw a'ch gwanar”.

Edmund Prys in *Psalm* xlvii, 10.

If this view be correct, the person here designated “leader” or “Lord” was the superior of *Aneuriu*, *Gwarthan ab Dunawd*, Lord of *Gododin*, and that such is the meaning of the word, appears from the contrast drawn between a temporal ruler, and the pillar of the living law, viz. *Christ*.

They slew with their blades without much clamour,
Until the supporter of the living law gave them rest.¹

VIII.

The heroes marched to Cattræth, loquacious was the host ;
Blue mead was their drink, and proved their poison.
They cut through embattling arms ;²
And after the shout of joy, there was silence.
They should have gone to churches to do penance :
The inevitable strife of death was about to pierce them.

IX.

To the Son of Kian.

The heroes went to Cattræth from the wine-feast,
Firm and vigorous. It were unjust not to speak

¹ Or,

“Until (Christ) the ruling pillar of the living law gave them peace.”

² The third line is difficult to translate ; and it may be

“They cut their way through fighting engines of war.”

Or, “They hewed a path with engines of war.”

Or, better still,

“Three hundred with engines, or chariots, making war.”

It is possible that allusions here are made to the war chariots, mentioned by Julius Cæsar.

For information respecting Gododin, Cattræth, Deira and Bernicia, see preceding dissertation on *The Battle of Cattræth*.

IX. It has already been remarked that the poem called *Gorchan Mael-derw*, as printed in the *Myvyrian Archæology*, vol. i, pp. 84-8, contains many verses originally belonging to the *Gododin*, but which are not to be found in any existing copy of that poem. This MS. contains, among many others, two verses relating to the subject of the present stanza. Here is one of them :—

“Pan gyrchei yg kywlat e glod oed anvonawc,
Ef dilydei win gwr eurdorchawc,
Ef rodei gloywdull glan y gwychiawc ;
Ardwyey can wr arwr mynawc ;
Anvonawc eissyllut alltud marchawc,
Un maban e gian o dra bannawc.”

E am⁵ lavnawr coch gorvawr gwrnw
 Dwys dengyn ed⁶ emledyn aergwn⁷
 Ar deulu brenneych beych⁸ barnasswn
 Dilyw dyn en vyw nys adawsswn⁹

⁵ *Eam*, 1. ⁶ *Yd*, 1, 2; *ydd*, 3. ⁷ *Oergwn*, 2, 3. ⁸ *Be ich*, 1, 2, 3.
⁹ *Gadausswn*, 1, 2, 3; *adasswn*, 8.

Gorchan Maelderw is in a wretched condition in respect of preservation; and translation, never very easy in the case of the older bards, is here more difficult than when we have to do with the Gododin texts, all of which are certainly more modern than the MS. of *Gorchan Maelderw*. These lines in English would read thus:—

“When he went forth in the country his praise went before;
 He poured out wine; he was a golden-torque wearer,
 He afforded a bright example, handsome and gorgeous;
 He led a hundred men, he was a courteous warrior;
 He was a sent offspring, a banished knight,
 Only son of Kian from the transmontane country.”

There is a mystery with regard to this person which we in vain seek to fathom; but we have further particulars respecting him in another verse, which also is to be found only in *Gorchan Maelderw*:—

“Scwyt dan wodef ny ystyngei,
 Rac neb wyneb cared erythvaccei;
 Diryeit o eirch meirch yg kyndor
 Awr gwryawr hein (kein?)
 Gwaewawr kelin creudei,
 Pan wanet yg kyueillt ef gwanei.
 Ereill nyt oed amevyl yt a dyceei,
 Dyvit en kadw ryt kein asmyceei,
 Pan dyduc Kyhuran clotvan Mordei.”

We have here the name of Aneurin's friend, which is not in the other verses; and the lines may be translated thus:—

“His shield under compulsion he would not lower;
 Before no one would he simulate friendship;
 His servants in waiting brought the steeds to the entrance
 At the shout of the splendid hero:
 His spear reached the enemy,
 And when my friend was pierced, he pierced in return.
 Those he brought with him were men free from shame;
 He was diligent in keeping the ford: brightly was
 Kyhuran honoured when he came to the illustrious place of the sea-
 houses.”

Of blades reddened, large, and murky ;
 Obstinate and fiercely did the war-dogs fight.
 Tribe of Bernicia ! were I to judge you,
 I would not leave alive the image of a man.

We need not detail the reasons which lead us to conclude that these verses relate to the same person ; as that must be quite clear to any one who peruses them ; and the assertion of close friendship runs through them all. It thus appears that the bard's friend was named Kyhuran, which we may safely assume was the name of the son of Kian. Kyhuran is not mentioned in history, but living about this period there was a warrior named Kyhoret ; and so celebrated was this warrior for his social, domestic, and warlike merits, that he has obtained the flattering epithet of *eil Cyman*, or like that fine specimen of knighthood, Cynon ab Clydno Eiddin. Such a person the bard describes his friend to have been. If, therefore, we assume their identity, we find the following notices of the man :—

“ Tri ymladdfarch ynys Prydein ; Lluagor march Caradoc Vreich-
 vras, a Melyngan mangre march Llew Llaw gyffes, ag Awyddawc
 freichir march Cynhored eil Cynon.” (*Myv.* ii, 21 ; Gee, p. 394.)

In other copies of the *Triads*, the name is written *Kishored eil Kynan*, and *Kyhoret eil Cyman*, and under the latter designation we find him alluded to in *Englynion y Beddau* :—

“ Bet Kennin henben yn aelwyd, dinorben,
 Bet Airgwl in dyved,
 Yn ryt Gynan gyhoret.” (*Myv.* i, 82 ; Gee, p. 68.)

Aneurin again refers to his friend in v. xxii, and that I believe is all that is known respecting him.

Of Kian also, the notices are few and far between. In one of the verses quoted he is called *Kian of the stone of Gwynnwn* ; and in the other he is called *Kian from Trabannawg*, the latter term being by Williams used as a proper name. Of the first designation, another illustration occurs in the *Historia Britonum*, attributed to Nennius :—

“ Item. Talhaern Tataguen in poemate claruit, et Neiren, et Tali-
 iessin, et Bluchbard, et Cian qui vocatur Gueinthguaut simul uno
 tempore in poemate Britannico claruerunt.”

In the note to the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, p. 75, it is suggested that *Gueinthguaut* may mean “*Musæ venustæ*” ; but instead of being an adjective signifying elegant or graceful, the word *gueinth* appears to

Kyueillt a golleis diffleis vedwn¹⁰ 80
 Rugyl en emwrthryn rynn riadwn
 Ny mennws gwrawl gwadawl chwegrwn
 Maban y gian o vaen gwynngwn.¹¹

X.

Gwyr a aeth gatraeth gan wawr
 Traudynt en¹ hed eu² hofnawr³ 85

¹⁰ *Odown*, 1; *oedwn*, 2, 3, 4, 8. ¹¹ "Un maban e gian o dra bannawc" (*Gorchan Maelderw*).

¹ *Eu*, 4. ² *En*, 5; *yn*, 2, 3. ³ *Eofnawr*, 3.

me to be a noun identical with *gweinydd* or *gwahennydd*; and the compound epithet would be Cian, *the pourer out of song*. Williams considers Gueinthguaut and Gwyngwm to be identical, but I do not agree with him. The present writer has introduced the theory of Count Villemarqué, which explains the awkward fact that this Kian, so celebrated in his own day, has left no poems behind him, or rather that none have come down to us, by the hypothesis that he must have left this country and emigrated to Brittany, as the name of Gwenchlan appears among the Armorican bards.¹ This, however, is not very probable; and if the evidence bears upon the point in any way, it is in favour of his having emigrated from Brittany here. He is also referred to in the poem called *Angar Cyvyndawd*, in these terms:—

"Cian pan ddarvu,
 Lliaws gyvolu." (*Myv. Arch.*, i, 34; Gee, p. 35.)

"When Cian sang the praise of many."

And it is evident that there were poems in existence in the middle ages which have not come down to us; but it may be doubted that the Cian mentioned by Rees can be the same person. It is, however, just probable that the saint of 634 may be Cian the bard.

If Gwyngwn be a proper name, it was, probably, that of Gwyngeneu, the son of Paulinus, who was living about the years 500-542 (*Rees' Saints*, 237), or less probably, Gwynnog ab Gildas, living between 542 and 566, and the near relation of Aneurin.

¹ [*Lit. of the Kymry*, p. 211; 2nd ed., 202; *De la Villemarqué, Les Bardes Bretons, Poèmes du vi^e. Siècle*, p. 261, n. 10.]

A friend I lost, though unhurt myself,
 While he was skilfully opposing the progress of the roarer.
 He asked no dower from his father-in-law,
 Son of Kian from the stone of Gwyngwn.

X.

To the same person.

Warriors went to Cattræth with the dawn ;
 They showed their fear in the flight.¹

¹ In translating this line I differ widely from both Davies and Williams, who have taken the word *hed* to be *hedd*, peace, and not *hed*, flight. Probert comes nearer the mark.

x. We here come in contact with the most important and conspicuous personage mentioned in the *Gododin*, the prime mover of the war, and one of the greatest sufferers from its disastrous result. In this verse, where the bard, naturally enough, assumes his local habitation to be well known, he is called Mynyddawg, the Courteous ; but in the *Triads*, written in Wales at a greater distance from the North, and by persons not natives of Scotland or the North of England, he is called Mynyddawg of Eiddin, or Edinburgh. It has been already shown that the people of Scotland at this period were Kymry ; and those who bear this in mind will not be surprised to find in our hero one of the ancient Kymric Lords of the "city of palaces". This poem clearly attributes the war to his instigation ; and the campaign is said to have been undertaken

"Ar neges Mynyddawc mynawc maon,
 A merch Eudaf hir." (Verse lxxvii.)

But what the cause of quarrel was, and in what relation Mynyddawg stood to the daughter of Eudaf the Tall, whether as husband or protector, it is not now easy to understand. Yet it appears clear that he had succeeded in organising a formidable confederacy ; every section of the British people appears to have been represented in this national armament. They came from the Highlands of Scotland, and the Lowlands of Cardiganshire ; from the Novantæ of Wigton, and the Scots of Argyle, the haters of the Angles appear to have flocked to his standard ; and the accounts on both sides unite in declaring, that but for their drunken carouse, the victory must have been theirs. On this occasion his tenants appear to have made common cause with their superior, and all vied in their exhibition of hospitality to the allies

Milcant a thrychant a emdaflawr⁴
 Gwyarllt gwynnodynt⁵ waewawr⁶
 Ef gorsaf yng gwriaf⁷ eg gwryawr⁸
 Rac gosgord Mynyddawc mwynawr.

XI.

Gwyr a aeth Gatraeth gan wawr 90
 Dygynllyrrws eu hoet eu hananawr¹
 Med evynt melyn melyn² maglawr
 Blwydyn bu llewyn llawer³ kerdawr
 Coch eu cledyvawr⁴ na phurawr⁵

⁴ *Em daflawr*, 1; *am daflawr*, 2, 3. ⁵ *A gwynnodynt*, 1, 2, 3. ⁶ *Waeu-
lawr*, 1, 2; *waewlawr*, 3, 5. ⁷ *Engwriaf*, 2, 3, 5. ⁸ *Enguriawr*, 3.

¹ *Haganawr (hanianawr)*, 6; *hanganawr*, 2; *hanganawr*, 3. ² *Melys
melyn*, 3. ³ *Llawen*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁴ *Cleddyfeu'r*, 3. ⁵ *Phlawr*, 1, 2;
Phluawr, 3, 5; *phlurawr (phurawr)*, 6.

whom they had invited. The main part of the feast appears to have been supplied by the dependents of Mynyddawg, and the mead which converted a partial victory into a complete defeat, was given from the best of motives, and indulged in not without some show of justification. It has been made the subject of much censure, that these warriors indulged in this carouse "before the battle of Cattraeth". And this arises in some measure from a misconception, for the carouse took place not before a great engagement, but after a partial victory. But as Marengo had its *Dessaix*, so Cattraeth had its *Ethelfrith*; the Saxons lost the first battle, and won the second.

The conduct of the retinue of Mynyddawg on this occasion became proverbial, and they are enumerated in the *Triads* in most worshipful company:—

"The three amiable retinues of the Isle of Britain: The retinue of Belyn, the son of Cynvelyn, in the army of Caractacus ab Bran; the retinue of Mynyddawg Eiddin at Cattraeth; and the retinue of Drywon, the son of Nudd the Generous, in the battle of Arderydd, in the North. And they were so called, because every one in those retinues went unasked and at his own cost, and without demanding either pay or reward from either prince or country; and they are hence called the three amiable retinues." (*Myv.* ii, p. 69; *Gee's ed.* 408; *Trial* 79.)

Mr. Probert conjectures that Mynyddawg was the Commander-in-

A hundred thousand against three hundred contended,
 And gory became their whitened lances.¹
 In his station he² was "the bravest of the brave"
 Before the retinue of Mynyddawg the courteous.

XI.

Warriors went from Cattraeth with the dawn,
 And their contemporaries commended their enterprise.³
 They drank mead, yellow, sweet, and ensnaring;
 And that year many minstrels were merry.⁴
 Redder were their swords than their plumes,⁵

¹ In rendering this line, all three differ; and mine differs from all the others. The next verse explains the meaning of "whitened lances", where it will be seen that there was a practice among them of whitening their spear handles.

² The "he" of this line was probably the subject of the preceding verse.

³ This line has been variously rendered, and each new translation educes a different meaning. It may therefore be well for me to show my reasons for departing from the versions of my predecessors. *Dygymyrrws* is evidently a verb of the third person singular, and the noun pertaining thereto is *eu hoet*, "their age"; *dygymyrrws* comes from the noun *cymyred*, "honour", etc., from which we derive the verb *cymyrru*, to "honour" or "commend". In the next place we have a various reading, *hanyanawr* "spirit", or "enterprise"; and *hanganawr*, "necessity", or "misfortune"; but I cannot see any other justification of Davies' rendering it "connections" or "relatives" than the doubt respecting the readings. *Anianawd* is "temperament". Strictly speaking, *eu hoet* should be "their age"; but the bard's meaning is brought out more fully by "their contemporaries".

⁴ Here again we all differ; why, I cannot imagine.

⁵ The rendering of Probert and Williams here adopted is certainly ingenious and probable. It is supported by a passage in *Llywarch Hen*, where plumes are clearly named:—

"Gwedy meirch hywedd, a chochwedd ddillad,
 A phluawr melyn,
 Main vy nghoes, nid oes ym dremyn."

Chief on this occasion. I do not recollect that it is so stated in any part of the *Gododin*, but we shall have additional light upon this point as we proceed.

Eu llain gwyngalch a phedryollt⁶ bennawr 95
 Rac gosgord mynydawc mwynvawr.

XII.

Gwyr a aeth gatraeth gan dyd
 Neus goreu o gadeu gewilid
 Wy gwnaethant en geugant gelorwyd
 A llavnawr¹ llawn annawd² em³ bedyd 100

⁶ *Phedryolet*, 1, 2, 3.

¹ *Llafn aur*, 1, 2, 3. ² *Anawdd*, 3. ³ *Ym*, 3.

XII. Here, again, I am compelled to differ very widely from my predecessors, who seem to me to have shut their eyes, while the meaning of the verse lay plain and palpable before them. Williams has a long note on *ceugant*, which he translates into "infinite". There is an adage, "Ceugant yw angen", which may be rendered, "Death is certain", or "Certain is death"; but we should not say, "Death is infinite". He also cites a passage from the Welsh Laws, which makes it a marvel that he should afterwards have gone astray :—

"Tri phrenn yssyd ryd eu llad yn fforest y brenhin, prennp crip eglwys; a phrenn peleidyr a wnelher reit y brenhin ohonunt; a *phrenn elor*."

"There are three trees which are free to be cut in the king's forest : timber for the roof of a church, timber for spear-shafts applied to the use of the king, and timber for a bier." (Owen's *Welsh Laws*, vol. i, 448.)

Another question which Williams has evaded turns up in this verse, and that is with respect to baptism. It is quite clear that Christianity at this period had taken deep root in the country, and the matter-of-course manner in which the usage of baptism is introduced shows that religious rites were fully established. The question, therefore, is, not whether baptism was known or practised, but who formed the priesthood, and in what relation did the priest and the bard stand to each other? One author¹ asserts, and another² credits the assertion, that bard and priest were frequently the same person, and that without relinquishing bardism the order embraced Christianity. This, indeed, was probably the actual fact, but this has not been proved as yet.

¹ Owen: *Heroic Elegies of Llywarch Hen*, Preface.

² Williams' *Eccles. Antiq. of the Cymry*, p. 61.

Their blades were whitelimed,¹ and square helmets
Had they before the retinue of Mynyddawg the courteous.

XII.

Warriors went from Cattræth with the day,
From the best of wars, did there not come disgrace?
They caused bier-timber to become necessary;
With the sword (at work) baptism was full difficult;

“After the sleek tractable steeds, and garments of ruddy hue,
And the waving yellow plumes,
Slender is my leg, my piercing look is gone.”

(*Heroic Elegies*, p. 92.)

Here is clear proof that plumes were worn by the Kymric warriors, and that they prided themselves upon such ornaments; and it is to be noted further, that the old copyists of the *Gododin* have been much divided in opinion, between *pluawr*, plumes, and *phurawr*, purer: The latter appears to me the better reading; and I think the following rendering to be better than any yet proposed:—

“Their swords were reddened, and no purer (or clearer)
Were their whitelimed lances, and quadrangular helmets,
Before the retinue of Mynyddawg the Courteous.”

¹ White was a colour indicative of purity, and was much prized by the old Kymry; they whitelimed their houses, and gave that clean and cheerful appearance which all admire, and which, judging from the encomiums of Davydd ab Gwilym and other bards, was much admired by the people themselves. They whitelimed the handles of their spears and lances from the same feeling, and in order to make them glisten in the sunshine. This was the emblem of peace and purity worn by Druids, bards, and priesthood; and this was also the colour worn by some of the higher class heroes mentioned in this poem, as appears from the line—

“Arth arwynawl drwsiad”¹ (Verse lxii)—

applied to the much exalted hero, Merin ab Madyein, of whom it is said, *mat yth anet*, “blessed was thy birth.”

There are many facts which countenance such a conclusion, but so important a part of religious history as the transition from Druidism to Christianity should be made the subject of careful inquiry, and not be

¹ [An alternative reading not adopted by the translator in his text.]

Goreu yw lwn⁴ kyn⁵ kystlwn kerennyd
 Enneint⁶ creu ac angeu oe hennyd
 Ræ bediu Ododin⁷ pan vudyd
 Neus goreu deu⁸ bwylyat neirthyat gwychyd ?⁹

XIII.

Gwr a aeth gatraeth gan dyd¹ 105
 Ne² llewes ef vedgwyn³ veinoethyd⁴
 Bu truan gyuateau⁵ gyvluyd
 E⁶ neges ef or drachwres drenghidyd⁸

⁴ *Hyn*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁵ This word is wanting in 2. ⁶ *Enueint*, 4; *e meint*, 6. ⁷ *Wawdodyn pan fu ddydd*, 3; *ododin pan vu ddydd*, 1, 2, 4. ⁸ *Dan*, 1, 2, 3. ⁹ *Gwythyd*, 4; this line is not in 6.

¹ This line is not in 6. ² *Ni*, 3, 5. ³ *Vedd gwyn*, 1, 2, 3. ⁴ *Vei noethydd*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁵ *Gynatcan*, 1, 2, 3; *gyvatgan*, 6. ⁶ *I*, 3. ⁷ *O*, 1, 2, 3. ⁸ *Dringhedydd*, 1, 2, 3, 5.

allowed to consist of a few loose assertions. It seems quite clear that baptism was performed by the bards. Taliesin says:—

“Dwfr dyfnav
 Bendigwyf clav
 Ac oe herwyd
 Yr æ Kaffo
 Kynvinaul vo
 Yn dragywyd.” (*Myv.* i, 50; Gee’s ed., 46.)

“With the deepest water
 I will bless the sick,
 And from that cause
 Whoever has it,
 Blessed will he be
 To all eternity.”

and thus appears to have taken upon himself the sacerdotal function. In the same manner we find similar pretensions advanced by Aneurin, for we shall find him in 642 sacrificing at a beacon-fire, and here he appears in the character of a priest. It is impossible to translate the words *em* or *ym bedyd* into any other words than “my baptism”: Williams has done so, but incorrectly.

Better is this, before the alliance of kindred,
 The unction of gore, and a death from home.
 Before the army of Gododin when it became day,
 Were it not better that discretion had tempered the strength
 of the brave ?

XIII.

To TUDVWLCH (the son of Kilydd).

A hero went from Cattræth with the day.
 On that night serene he quaffed no white mead,¹
 Miserable, though success was predicted,
 Proved his mission, ambitious aspirer!²

¹ The "Ne" in this line has been converted into an affirmation, because it was supposed to be inconsistent with v. xiv, but there is in truth no inconsistency between them.

² A better translation would be :—

“Proverbially wretched was the success
 Of his mission, ambitious aspirer!”

XIII. Tudvwlich, the hero of this poem, was the son of Kilydd ab Caw, the brother apparently of Kilhwch, the lover of Olwen, and the nephew of Aneurin. This fact will explain the peculiar fondness shown for him by the bard, who makes him the subject of several verses. These will follow in their appropriate places, but there are others which will find a fitting place here. *Gorchan Maelderw* contains several lines not in the ordinary *Gododin*, which have a reference to this young hero :—

“Angor deor daen
 Saph saphwy graen
 Anysgoget vaen
 Blaen bedin.

“Arall arlwy
 Treis tra chynnivyn rwy
 Gobrwy gordwy
 Lain.

“Euwir yth elwir oth gywir weithret
 Rettor rwyvyadur mur pob kyvyeith
 Tutvwlich treissic aer caer o dileith (godileith).”

(*Myv.* i, 85, 86; Gee's ed., 70.)

Ny⁹ chryssiws gatraeth

Mawr mor ehelaeth

110

E¹⁰ aruaeth uch arwyd

Ny¹¹ bu mor gyffor¹²

O eidyn esgor

A esgarei¹³ oswyd

⁹ *Ni*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 8. ¹⁰ *O*, 3. ¹¹ *Ni*, 3. ¹² *Gyvor*, 1, 2, 3, 5.
¹³ *O ysgar ei*, 1, 2, 3, 5.

These lines, with little alteration, save a change of name, occur again in verse 72, and, therefore, need not be translated here. At a subsequent period Aneurin addressed to him another poem, known as *Gorchan Tudvwlch*, which we propose to append to the *Gododin*, in order to include the whole works of that bard. At the battle of Cattrath our hero appears to have been a young man, and his lordship was known as that of Eg. In what part of North Britain that was is now uncertain, but that there was a territorial domain, and that it is not a creation of mine, appears clearly from the following notice:—“DCCXXV. Congal Mac Maille anfa Brecc Fortren et Oan princeps Ega, moriuntur. “D.C.C.XXV. Congal Mac Maille anfa Brecc Fortren (probably, King of Fortren) and Owen, Prince of Eg, died.” (Ritson’s *Caledonians*, i, 223.) And, in another place, mention is made of “the Sept of Egtach”. I here make no mention of the evidence afforded in this verse itself, as other writers have rendered the word *ech* in a different way, each, as usual, differing widely from the others.

Of Tudvwlch nothing further appears to be known. There is Tudvwlch, son of Lliwydd, mentioned in the *Liber Landavensis*, p. 616, as having made a grant to St. Januarius; the grant is attested by Bishop Teilo himself, and as Teilo and Tudvwlch ab Kilydd were contemporaries, it is just possible that the two Tudvwlchs may be identical.

Ech, Egg, Eigg, or Egtach.

On carefully considering all the facts of this case, I have come to the conclusion that the *ech* of the text is a proper name, and that Tudvwlch, the son of Kilydd, was Lord of Egg or Eigg, one of the western islands of Scotland.

Johnson, in his *Tour in the Hebrides*, did not visit this island, and, therefore, I am compelled to take as the best account now at hand, a descriptive sketch which appears in a current periodical. “Eigg, forming one of the Hebrides on the western coast of Scotland, presents a rocky, precipitous shore, seeming in some places to be inaccessible

There hastened not to Cattraeth,
 Beneath a standard,
 A chief with so vast a design ;
 From the fort of Eiddin
 There came none so instrumental³
 To scatter about the foe.

³ It is very difficult to hit upon the meaning of *cyffor* in this line. Is it *cyfor*, "full"; or *cyffyr*, "tool" or "instrument"?

except to the clanging sea-fowl, screaming and clamouring around the almost perpendicular sheets of naked rock, against which the sea rushes and roars with terrific grandeur. There are also vast caverns opening wide their gloomy jaws, as if to swallow up the heavy, unbroken seas as they come sweeping on; and huge fragments of granite, bathed by the booming waves, are heaped around in wild sublimity.

“The inhabitants of Egg were a wild, lawless race, consorting with hordes of pirates infesting the neighbouring countries; and, although the narrow sounds which separate these rocky isles abounded with the finest salmon, and some sections in the interior presented rich tracts for cultivation, yet these rude men, preferring rapine to peaceful industry, subsisted by petty depredations upon their neighbours of the adjacent isles, between whom and them there were constant feuds.”

Towards the close of the sixteenth century, this island was occupied by the Clan Ranald, a portion of the then diminishing family of the Macdonalds. Against that clan the rising family of the Macleods of Sky “had long been in a state of irritation, in consequence of the bad treatment which a daughter of Macleod of Glenelg had some time before experienced from her husband, the captain of Clan Ranald, and they only waited for a fitting occasion to satisfy their vengeance on that ground.¹ Towards the close of the sixteenth century an opportunity presented itself, when a small party of Macleods having accidentally landed on the island of Egg, they were first received with hospitality, but having been guilty of some incivilities to the young women of the island, the inhabitants resented it so far as to bind them hand and foot and turn them adrift in their boat, to perish if assistance did not reach them; they had the good fortune, however, to be met by a boat of their own clansmen and brought to Dunbegan (the fortress of their chief), where they gave an account of the treatment they had

¹ I copy this from Skene's *Highlanders*, vol. ii, p. 277.

Tutuwlch hir¹⁴ ech e¹⁵ dir ae dreuyd¹⁶ 115
 Ef lladel¹⁷ Sacson seithuet dyd
 Perheit¹⁸ y¹⁹ wrhyt²⁰ en wrvyd²¹
 Ae govein gan e gein²² gyweithyd
 Pan dyvu dutvwlch dut²³ nerthyd
 Oet gwaetlan²⁴ gwyaluan²⁵ vab Kilyd.²⁶ 120

XIV.

Gwyr¹ a aeth gatracth gan wawr
 Wyneb udyn ysgorva ysgwydawr
 Crei kyrchynt² kynnullynt³ reiawr⁴
 En gynuan⁵ mal taran twryf aessawr

¹⁴ *Tudwlc hir*, 1, 2; *tudfwlch ir*, 3. ¹⁵ *O*, 3. ¹⁶ *Dreuydd*, 1, 2; *trewydd*, 3; *dreuyd*, 8; *drefydd*, 7. ¹⁷ *Lladd ei*, 1, 2; *a ladd ei*, 3. ¹⁸ *Parheid*, 3. ¹⁹ *Ei*, 1, 2, 3. ²⁰ *Wrhyt*, 2, 3. ²¹ *Wr rhydd*, 1, 2, 3, 5; *wrryd*, 8. ²² *Ugein*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ²³ *Drut*, 2, 3. ²⁴ *Gwaedlain*, 3; *gwaethan*, 4. ²⁵ *Gwyalfain*, 3; *gwyaluan*, 4. ²⁶ *Eilydd*, 1, 2, 3, 5.

¹ *Gwr* in Williams' text; *gwyr*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ² *Cynhynt*, 4, 6. ³ *Cynhynt*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁴ *Treiawr*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁵ *Gynuan*, 1; *cynwan*, 5.

met with. Macleod eagerly availed himself of the opportunity of executing his long meditated revenge on the Clan Ranald, and having manned his galleys, set sail for the island of Egg. When the inhabitants became aware of his approach, and feeling conscious of their inability to offer any effectual resistance against the force that threatened them, they took refuge, along with their wives and families, to the amount of two hundred, in a large cave, the situation and difficult discovery of which rendered it admirably adapted for concealment. Here, for two days, they succeeded in eluding the pursuit of the Macleods, which was pursued with ineffectual industry, until at length their retreat was discovered in consequence of their impatience having led them to send forth a scout; when they refused to surrender themselves to the pleasure of the Macleods, he caused the stream of water which fell over the entrance of the cave to be turned aside, and having collected all the combustibles to be found on the island, had them piled up against the entrance, and so furious a fire maintained for many hours, that every creature within was suffocated, thus, at one blow,

Tudvwelch the Tall, lord of the land and towns of Eg,
 He slaughtered the Saxons on the seventh day.
 If his vigour continues, he will become a hero,
 And be remembered by his fair associate.
 When Tudvwelch came, supporter of the country,
 The station of the son of Kilydd became a plain of blood.

XIV.

To the same person.

Men went from Cattraeth with the dawn,
 With their faces to the birthplace of shields;
 They sought blood, they assembled spears,
 And sounding thunder-like was the din of shields.

exterminating the entire population of the island. This atrocity was one of the worst instances arising out of the feuds which at that period distracted the whole Highlands, and by which one family rose upon the ruin of another."

It appears from Johnson's *Tour* that Eigg and Canna are the only islands where the Roman Catholic religion still continued, and he seems afterwards to have regretted that he had not visited them, as he says:—"If we had travelled with more leisure it had not been fit to have neglected the Popish islands. Popery is favourable to ceremony, and among ignorant nations, ceremony is the only preservative of tradition. Since Protestantism was extended to the savage parts of Scotland, it has, perhaps, been one of the chief labours of the ministers to abolish stated observances, because they continued the remembrance of the former religion. We, therefore, who came to hear old traditions and see antiquated manners, should probably have found them amongst the Papists." (Page 144.)

In or about 1600, the population is said to have been about 200; and by the census of 1841, the island maintained 546 persons. Assuming *Ech* to be Egg, Tudvwelch's retinue of men above 21 years old would range between 50 and 136, or one-fourth of the whole population.

XIV. This, after much consideration, I deem to be the correct rendering of this verse, which, in the last four lines, presents very great difficulties; but they arise less from any obscurity in the words than from the inability of persons with the mental habits of modern times, to follow the

Gwr gorvynt ⁶ gwr etvynt ⁷ gwr llawr	125
Ef rwygei a chethrei a chethrawr	
Od uch ⁸ lled ⁹ lladei ¹⁰ a ¹¹ llavnawr	
En gystud heyrn dur arbennawr	
E ¹² mordei ystyngei a dyledawr	
Rac erthgi ¹³ erthychei ¹⁴ vydinawr.	130

XV.

O vreithell gatraeth pan adrodir	
Maon dychiorant ¹ eu hoet bu hir	
Edyrn diedyrn amygyn ² dir	
A meibion godebawc gwerin enwir	
Dyforthynt lynyssawr ³ gelorawr hir	135

⁶ *Goruynt*, 8. ⁷ *Etwynt*, 1, 2, 3, 5; *etuynt*, 8. ⁸ *O dduch*, 1; *odduch*, 2; *oeddych*, 3. ⁹ *Lle*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ¹⁰ *Lladdes*, 1, 2, 3. ¹¹ *Y*, 6. ¹² *A*, 3, 5. ¹³ *Erthei*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ¹⁴ *Erthychei*, 1, 2, 3, 5.

¹ *Dychurant*, 1, 2, 3, 5; *dycharant* (*dychiorant*), 6. ² *A mygyn*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ³ *Gowyssawr*, 1, 2, 3, 5.

sudden transitions of the bard, and contemplate the subject from a succession of varying standpoints. Mr. Williams fancies that he detects a proper name in Erthai, and refers to the similar names of the sons of Llywarch Hen, Eithyr, and Erthyr; but the inversion of thought in that case would be very violent, and I submit that a moment's inspection will clearly demonstrate the superiority of the above rendering.

There appears to be no such person as Erthai, nor does the translation require such a personality in the last line. "The steel-clad commander" was most probably the subject of the two preceding and two following verses, viz., the bard's nephew and favourite, Tudvwlch the son of Kilydd, who appears, in common with the other British chiefs, to have worn a steel helmet, the idea of which was borrowed from the head-armour of the Roman legions. And it further appears from this verse that he was taken prisoner by the Saxons. He was probably liberated afterwards on the payment of a ransom.

The envious, the fickle, and the base
 Would he tear and pierce with pikes.
 At the place where he slew with the sword
 The custody of iron fetters befell the chief with the helmet
 of steel;
 The sea-houses were subdued and made tributary;
 And before the roarer (Ethelfrith) the army groaned (in
 flight).

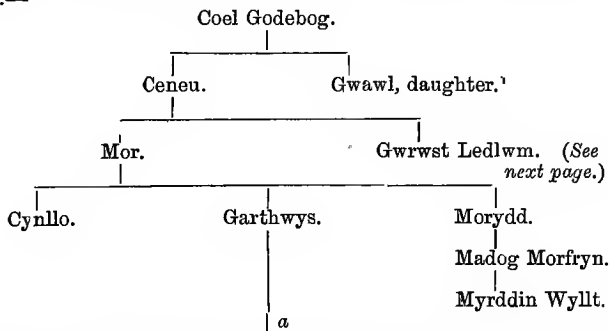
XV.

To the same.

Of the battle of Cattræth, when it is related,
 The wailing of the multitude will long continue.
 (There were) dominions without sovereigns and a smoking
 land!
 And the descendants of Godeboc, a faithful band,
 (Were) borne on long biers to glut the furrowy grave.

xv. Mr. Williams assumes Edeyrn in the third line to have been a proper name—that of Edeyrn, the son of Nudd ab Beli ab Rhun ab Maelgwn ab Caswallon Lawhir ab Einiawn Yrth ab Cunedda ab Edeyrn ab Padarn Beisrudd by Gwawl, the daughter of Coel Godebog. Two difficulties beset this hypothesis: 1st. That he must have died before he was born (upon Probert's hypothesis); Maelgwn himself died in 547, and Edeyrn was four generations removed from him. 2nd. That he belonged to the clan of Cunedda, and not to that of Coel Godebawc.

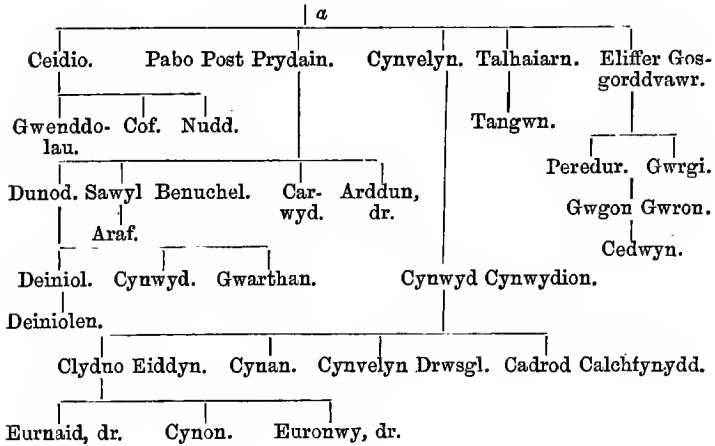
The sons or descendants of Godeboc will appear in the following pedigree:—



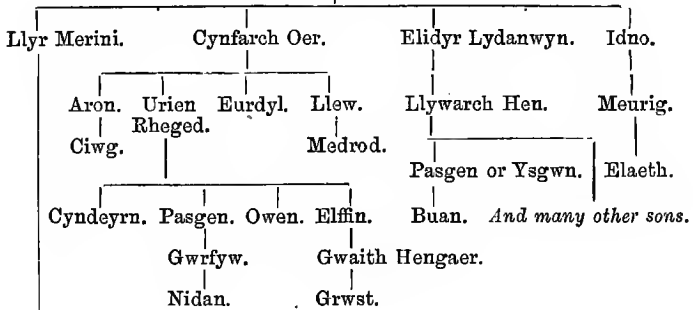
¹ Married Padarn Beisrudd, whose son, Cunedda Wledig, became the founder of another family.

Bu truan⁴ dynghetven anghen gywir
 A dyngwt y dutwlech⁵ a chyvwlech hir
 Ket⁶ yvein ved gloyw wrth leu⁷ babir
 Ket⁸ vei da e⁹ vlas y¹⁰ gas bu hir.

⁴ *Truan*, 1, 2, 3, 5; *tru a*, in Williams' text. ⁵ *Dutwlech*, 1, 2, 3.
⁶ *Cyt*, 1, 2, 3. ⁷ *Lliw*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁸ *Cyt*, 1, 2, 3. ⁹ *Ei*, 1, 2, 3.
¹⁰ *I*, 3.

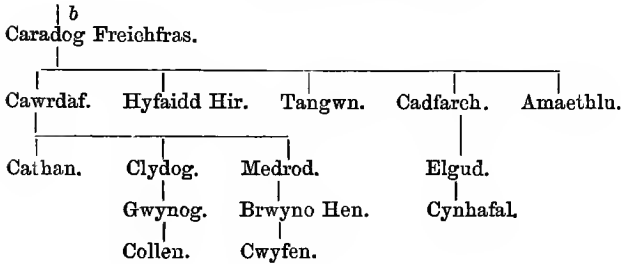
Coel Godebog—*continued.*Gwrwst Ledlwm (*resumed.*)

Meirchion Gul.



b

Wretched was the destiny, decreed through just
Necessity, to Tudvwlech and to Cyvwlech the Tall,
That if they drank clear mead by light of torch,
Though sweet its taste, long would be its woe.

Coel Godebog—*continued.*

It is hence evident that Godebog's progeny must have been numerous at this time, when there were living the children of Caradoc Vreichfras, the sons and grandsons of Llywarch Hen, Elffin the son of Urien, Cynon the son of Clydno Eiddyn, Gwartha ab Dunawd ab Pabo, and many others; but whether any special branch of that family is here alluded to is not easy to determine.

But who was Cyvwlech the Tall? He is again mentioned, along with Tutvwlech, in the poem called *Gorchan Tudvwlech*. In the *Mabinogi* of Kilhwch and Olwen we find Cyfwlech, along with Bwlech and Sefwlech, named as the three sons of Cleddyf Dyvwlech, and we are also told further that they were the grandsons of Cleddyf Divwlech, and that "Their three shields were three gleaming glitterers; their three spears were three pointed piercers; their three swords were three griding gashers; Glas, Glessic, and Gleisad; their three dogs, Call, Cnull, and Cavall; their three horses, Hwyrddyddwg, Drwgdyddwg, and Llwyrdyddwg; their three wives, Och, and Garym, and Diaspad; their three grandchildren, Lluched, and Nved, and Eissiwed; their three daughters, Drwg, and Gwaeth, and Gwaethav Oil; their three handmaids, Eheubryd the daughter of Kyfwlech, Gorascwrn the daughter of Nerth, Ewæden the daughter of Kynvelyn Keudawd Pwyll the half man." [*Mabinogion*, ii, 267.] Much of this is rhapsody; but we learn from the Scottish and Pictish annals that such names as Sevwlch and Selvach were by no means uncommon in North Britain. The Eheubryd here mentioned was not a daughter but a son, as appears from the verse in *Englynion y Beddau*.

XVI.

Blaen echeching ¹ gaer glaer ² negei ³	140
Gwyr gweryd ⁴ gwanar ae dilynei	
Blaen ar e bludue ⁵ dy galonnit ⁶ vual	
Er ewyvnawr ⁷ vordei ⁸	
Blaen gwirawt vragawt ef dybydei	
Blaen eur a phorphor kein as ⁹ mygei	145
Blaen edystrawr ¹⁰ pasc ae gwaredei	
Gwrthlef ¹¹ ac ¹² enw ¹³ bryt ae derllydei ¹⁴	
Blaen erwyre ¹⁵ gawr buduawr ¹⁶ drei	
Arth ¹⁷ en llwrw byth hwyr e techei. ¹⁸	

¹ *Ych echinig*, 1; *ych eching*, 2, 3, 5. ² Not in 1, 2, 3, 5. ³ *Y negei*, 1, 2, 3; *yneglei*, 5; *ewgei*, in Williams's text. ⁴ *Gweryd*, 1, 2, 3, 5; *gweiryd*, in Williams's text. ⁵ *Bluolue*, 2; *vluolve*, 5; not in 3. ⁶ *Dyggollout*, in Williams's; *dy galonnit*, 1, 2, 5; *digalonnit*, 3; *dyggollovid*, 4, 6; *dy gollout*, 6. ⁷ *Ene vwynawr*, Williams; *er ewyvnawr*, 6; *ene wynawr*, 4. ⁸ Line not in 1, 2, 3. ⁹ *Nas*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ¹⁰ *Eddystlawr*, 1, 2, 3. ¹¹ *Gwarth lef*, 1, 2, 3; *gwarthlef*, 5, 6. ¹² *Ag*, 1, 2, 3, 6. ¹³ *Eno*, 1, 5; *enw*, 2, 3; *evo*, 6. ¹⁴ These lines are transposed in 2. ¹⁵ *Arwyre*, 2, 3. ¹⁶ *Buduawr*, 1, 2, 3. ¹⁷ *Arch*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ¹⁸ *Y techei*, 2; *etechei*, 4.

There was, however, a Melangell, daughter of Cyvwlech Addwyn,¹ but it is not probable that the two names indicate the same man. Cyvwlech Addwyn was the son of Ceredig ab Ednyved ab Maxen Wledig, and must have been living before this time. In the *Iolo MSS.*, p. 512, however, there is another generation interposed, and he is described as Cyvwlech ab Tudwal ab Ceredig, etc., and this renders the identity more probable. He appears to have met his death from the hand of Twrch ab Arthan, whom we shall notice further on; and his grave appears to be in Pennant Mountain, Montgomeryshire, from the following notice in the *Englynion y Beddau*:—

“Piau y bet hwn bet Eilivlch hir—[qy. “Cyfwlch hir”?]

Ig gwrth tir Pennant Twrch

Mab Arthan gywlavan gyuulch.” (*Myv.*, i, 80; Gee's ed., 67.)

¹ *Camb. Biog.*, 247.

XVI.

To the same person.

Before the splendid fort of Echeching he would parade,
 And young men followed their leader.
 Ahead of the wolves¹ was thy inspiring² bugle
 In the presence of the delightful sea-houses.
 Foremost he would be with the liquor and the braggett,
 Foremost to honour with gold and fine purple.
 The fleetest of stall-fed steeds delivered him (from danger).
 Reproach³ and a by-name be his who would slay him!
 Foremost to raise the shout at the serviceable ebbing of the
 tide,⁴
 He was a bear in advancing, 'twere long ere he would skulk.

¹ By a reference to the original, it will be seen that the text of this word is utterly unintelligible, and very corrupt. There is no word like *bludue*, but *plude*, a corruption of *bloody*, which occurs in Meigant; but this would be sounded *blidie*, not *bloodwe*, and is most probably a corruption of *bleiddie* wolves, *i.e.*, the warriors.

² There are two readings, each about equally well supported by the number of MSS., and each equally appropriate; the one is "thy inspiring bugle", and the other "thy care-dispelling bugle".

³ Mr. Williams assumes Gwarthlev to be a proper name, but there is no sufficient warrant for so doing, nor any necessity that it should be done. The subject of the verse is, without doubt, "Tudvwlch ab Kilydd."

⁴ I am not satisfied with my own translation, nor with that of any of my predecessors, of this line.

There was an Artban ab Cyvwlch living about 820, when his name appears to a document of gift to Landaff Church. (*Lib. Landav.*, 617.) The verse alluded to respecting Eheubryd is as follows. It occurs in *Myv.*, vol. i, p. 174; Gee's ed., 130 :-

"A glyweisti a gant Eheubryd
 Mab Cyvwlch cyfiawn yspryd
 Gofal dyn Duw ai gweryd."

XVII.

Anawr ¹ gynhoruan ²	150
Huan arwyran ³	
Gwledic gyd ⁴ gyffgein	
Nef enys brydein	
Garw ryt ⁵ rac rynn	
Aes elwrw ⁶ budyn ⁷	155
Bual oed anvyn ⁸	
Eg kynted eidyn	
Erchyd ⁹ ryodres	
Eved ¹⁰ medwawt	
Yuei win gwirawt	160
Oed eruit ¹¹ uedel ¹²	
Yuei ¹³ win gouel ¹⁴	
Aerueid ¹⁵ en arvel ¹⁶	
Aer gennin ¹⁷ vedel	
Aer adan ¹⁸ glaer	165
Kenyn keuit ¹⁹ aer	
Aer seirchyawc ²⁰	

¹ *A naur*, 1, 2; *yn awr*, 3. ² *Gynhornan*, 2, 3; *gynghorvan*, 4.
³ *Ar wyran*, 2. ⁴ *Gyd*, 1, 2, 3, 5; *Gwd*, 4, 6, 7. ⁵ *Rhed*, 3, 5.
⁶ *O lwrw*, 3; *e lwrw*, 4. ⁷ *Byddyn*, 3. ⁸ *Arwyn*, in Williams' text
Anvyn, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁹ *Trihyd*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ¹⁰ *Eved*, 1, 2; *yfed*, 3;
e ved, in Williams'. ¹¹ *Ervid*, 1, 2, 3. ¹² *Vedel*, 1, 2, 3. ¹³ *Ynei*,
1, 2; *yuei*, 3, 6. ¹⁴ *Gowel*, 1, 2, 3, 5, 6. ¹⁵ *Aerveid*, 1, 2, 3, 5; *a erueid*,
6; *a arueid*, 4. ¹⁶ *Arvel*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ¹⁷ *Aer gennyn*, 3; *aergen-*
nin, 5. ¹⁸ *A dan*, 6. ¹⁹ *Cenit*, 1, 2, 3. ²⁰ *Serchiawc*, 1, 2, 3.

XVII. Eidyn, or Eiddyn, or Eiddin, is the name of a town which has survived in "Edinburgh" to the present day. It is known that Dun-Edin is an older form of the name, Dun being merely the Kymric prefix, Din, or town, Din-Eiddin, or Dinas Eiddin, the city of Edin. How it came to have that name is uncertain; but the name is very old, being frequently mentioned by Taliesin, Aneurin and Llywarch, and was given to the place by its Kymric occupants. Some persons suppose that the name is derived from Edwyn, King of Northumbria, who lived about 630; but

XVII.¹

To Medel ab Llywarch Hên and Gwrveling Vreisc.

1.

At the hour when the SUN,
Sovereign of the whole conluent heaven
Of the Isle of Britain,
Ascends the sky from his entering place,
Great was the running before the clattering
Shields of the advancing army.
The horn was sent about
In the hall of Eidin ;
And there was ostentatious ordering
Of the intoxicating mead.

2.

Drinking mead-toasts
He drank spirituous wine.²
Medel was animated ;
He drank transparent wine,
Designing to excel in fight.
Medel the kindler of war,
Bright wing of battle
With us thou obtainedst war,
Harnessed war,

¹ This verse is here given as it appears in Williams edition and in the *Myvyrian* ; but as it is very long, and appears to consist of three parts, it is so divided in the translation.

² Or, " Wine beverage".

it is clear that the place was so named long before his day. It was, in the sixth century, a place of considerable importance, and appears to have given its name to a district as well—perhaps the Edinburghshire of the present day. By *cynted Eidin*, here, I think the bard means the tent of the men of Eiddin,—the followers of Mynyddog—who appear (verse lx) to have supplied the wine and mead which was used on the occasion.

Aer edenawc
 Nyt oed diryf²¹ y²² ysgwyt
 Gan waywawr²³ plymnwyt 170
 Kwydyn²⁴ gyuoedyon²⁵
 Eg cat blymnwyt
 Diessic²⁶ e dias²⁷
 Divevyl²⁸ as²⁹ talas
 Hudid³⁰ e wyllias³¹ 175
 Kyn bu clawr glas
 Bed gwrveling³² vreise.³³

XVIII.

Teithi amgant¹Tri llwry novant²

²¹ *Eiryf*, 5. ²² Not in 1, 2, 3, 5. ²³ *Waeawr*, 1, 2, 3. ²⁴ *Cnydyn*,
 1, 3; *cnyd yn*, 2. ²⁵ *Gynfedyon*, 2, 3; *gyuoedyon*, 6; *gynuoedyon*, 5.
²⁶ *Di yssic*, 1, 2. ²⁷ *Ydias*, 1. ²⁸ *Divevyl*, 1, 2; *difael*, 3. ²⁹ *Ys*, 3.
³⁰ *Huddid*, 3. ³¹ *Ewyllias*, 1, 2, 5; *ewyllias*, 3. ³² *Gwrwelling*, in
 Williams; *gwrveling*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ³³ This is one with the next verse in
 6, 7; in the *Myv.* there is an *hiatus* here.

¹ *Etmygant*, Williams; *amgant*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ² *Nouant*, 4.

xvii, 2. Mr. Williams has given a different version of these lines; he understands *medel* to mean harvest, as in truth, it often does; and he supports his translation with an interesting note, which makes his version plausible, but no more. The line *Cwydyn gyuoedyon*, referring to both the subject of this verse, and that of the next, is the key to the proper rendering of these lines; being plural, the word *Cwydyn*, or *Cwydynt*, shows that the verse is not confined to one person; and the word *cyuoedyon*, men of equal age, or *cynvedyon*, mean companions, in a various reading, taken in connection with the next verse, goes far to justify the tripartite division here adopted.

Medel, the hero, and probably the youthful hero, of this verse, was one of the twenty-four sons of Llywarch Hen; but very little is known of him besides that fact, and that which is here revealed to us, that he fell at the Battle of Cattræth. He is thus mentioned by his father:—

Winged war.

His shield was not markless
From the spears of conflict ;
They fell, of equal age,
In the struggling fight.

3.

He was unshaken in the tumult ;
Reproachlessly he paid (for mead) ;
Fascinating was his manner
Before a green covering
Became the grave of the stout Gwrveling.

XVIII.

Three Novantian Chiefs.

Travelling around came
Three forward Novantians,

“ Maen a madawg a Medel, dewrwyr
Diyssig vroder,
Selyv, Heilyn, Llawr, Lliver”.

“ Maen and Madawg and Medel, valiant men
And unflinching brothers,
Selyv, Heilyn, Llawr and Lliver.”

Owen's *Heroic Elegies*, p. 142. [*Myv.*, i, 118 ; Gee's
ed., 95 ; *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 266.]

XVII, 3. Of Gwrveling nothing further is known than what is here recorded ; and perhaps the fact that he fell young may be the reason of the silence respecting him.

The two last lines seem to refer to a tumulus ; and the following extract will justify my translation. Tacitus, describing the funeral usages of the Germans, says that the tomb was merely a *mound of turf*,—

“ Sepulcrum cespes erigit”.

De Morib. Germ., xxvij.

See also *Annals*, i, 62.

XVIII. This verse enumerates some of the allies of the men of Gododin, and names two classes of them, being those who came from the greatest distance—the Novantæ of South-Western Scotland and the Britons of

Pymwnt a phymcant	180
Trychwn ³ a thrychant ⁴	
Tri si ⁵ chatvarchawc ⁶	
Eidyn euruchawc ⁷	
Tri llu llurugawc	
Tri eur deyrn dorchawc	185
Tri marchawc dywal	
Tri chat ⁸ gyhauual	
Tri chysneit ⁹ kysnar ¹⁰	
Chwerw vysgynt ¹¹ esgar	
Tri en drin en drwm	190
Llew lledynt blwm	
Eur e ¹² gat gyngwrwn	

³ *Erchwn*, 6; *tri chwn*, 3. ⁴ *Thrychant*, 3. ⁵ *Chwech*, 2, 3; *chant*, 6; not in 5. ⁶ *Cad farchawg*, 1, 2, 3. ⁷ *Eu ruchawc*, 4. ⁸ *Chant*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁹ *Chyfneit*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ¹⁰ *Kysmar*, 4. ¹¹ *Chwerfysgynt*, 1, 3, 5; *chwerwys gynt*, 2. ¹² *O gad*, 3; *ynghat*, 5.

South Wales. In the translation, therefore, I shall divide it into two parts for the convenience of annotation.

The Novantæ occupied in the Roman times the present county of Wigton, in Scotland, and probably a large portion of Galloway, if not the whole.

They held the south-western district of Scotland from the Dee to the Mull of Galloway; that is, the west of Kirkcudbright and Wigtown, and part of the Carrick division of Ayr; and in addition to their metropolis of Leucopibia, they had another town named *Retigonium* (Stranraer) on the banks of the *Rerigonius Sinus* (Loch Ryan), and as this town is afterwards named by Aneurin, it will be well to bear this in mind.

It is scarcely necessary for me to state that Novant, in the text, is a proper name, even though Davies has translated the line, "three moving bodies", and Probert has done the same. Novant is the exact word which occurs in Novantæ, the diphthong being only the Latin termination. The description "travelling round", confirms this assertion; and in coming from Wigtonshire to Edinburgh they must have done so.

2. Who were the Brython mentioned here? Mr. Williams supposes that they occupied Alban, and adduces in support of his assertion the

Five battalions of five hundred men, }
 Three chiefs with three hundred, }¹
 Three hundred knights of battle, }
 From Eidin came (arrayed) in golden armour
 Three loricated hosts ;
 Three golden-torqued kings ;
 Three fierce knights,
 Three hundred like them ;
 Three of the same order, mutually jealous ;
 Bitterly they scattered the foe.
 Three who were weighty in the conflict,
 Like the lion, their strokes instantly slew :
 Golden heroes of the circling battle.²

¹ The word *pymwnt*, which occurred in verse v, line 49, comes here also. Dr. Pughe says it means 500,000 ; but he cannot have caught the meaning of the word. It is not improbable that *Pymwnt* and *Cwn* are names for military officers. Here, however, I have followed Williams' version.

² "The circling battle" is a common expression. It is used by Llywarch,—

"Gorug ar Loegy'r lu cyngwrn",

[*Myv.*, i, 117 ; Gee's ed., 94 ; *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 264 ; in which the reading is "llu kyndr6yn".]

and probably indicates a practice of drawing up the Kymric forces in a semicircular form, after the fashion of the Romans.

fact that Dunbarton, or Dunbritton, was a British post—but this has very little weight—and the authority of the *Triads*. One of these [*Triodd Ynys Prydain*, *Cyffres* iii, 5 ; *Myv.*, ii, 58 ; Gee's ed., 400] describes the British tribes, thus :—

I. The Kymry, who came *across the Dacian Sea* from Denmark to (most probably) the opposite coast of the North of England.

II. The Lloegrians, who came from Gascony to the opposite British coast ; and

III. The Britons who came from Brittany, and would, probably, have occupied the western and south-western coasts. These, most probably, were the people who occupied Cornwall, Devon and the Principality ; and the facts that Aeron is a district in Cardiganshire, and that a dis-

Tri theyrn maon
 A dyvu o¹³ vrython
 Kynric¹⁴ a chenen¹⁵ 195
 Kynrein o aeron
 Gogyuerchi¹⁶ yn hon
 Deivyr diuerogion
 A dyvu¹⁷ o vrython
 Wr well no chynon 200
 Sarph seri alon.

¹³ Not in 2. ¹⁴ *Kynri*, Williams; *cynric*, 1, 2, 5; *cynfrig*, 3, 5.
¹⁵ *Cherion*, 4. ¹⁶ *Gogyverth*, 1, 2, 3, 5; *gogyuerthi*, 4. ¹⁷ Not in 4.

tinguished warrior of the name of Cenon is buried at Llanbadarn in Cardigan, are strong confirmations of this view.

Cynon or Cenon has been supposed by Mr. Williams to be the son of Clydno Eiddin; and he is so far warranted in making the assertion, that Cynon ab Clydno was at the battle of Cattræth; but he has overlooked the fact that there are two Cynons named by Aneurin, the one being the son of Clydno, and the other the one here named, by way of distinction, Cynon o Aeron. He is probably the person referred to in the following *Englyn* :—

“ Bet Gwalchmai ym pyton
 Ir dilif y dyneton
 In *llan Padarn bet Kinon*.”

(*Myv.*, i, 79; Gee's ed., 66; *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 29.)

It is probable that this is Llanbadarn in Cardiganshire, and possibly Llan Badarn Fawr; but, as Llanbadarn Odyn is much nearer Glyn Aeron, some doubt may be entertained upon that point. Of this person there does not appear to be any further knowledge than that he was at the battle of Cattræth, and was one of the few who escaped from that fatal contest. In a subsequent verse [xxi] this deliverance is attributed to his determined bravery; and we hence infer that he with his Briton companions were sober at the time, and that he is the subject of the following verse among *Englynion y Clywed* :—

“ A glyweisti a gant Kynon
 Yn ymoglyt rac meduon
 Cwrw yw alluyd Calon.”

(*Myv.*, i, 174; Gee's ed., 129.)

2.

Three British Chiefs.

Three princes of multitudes
 Came from among the Brython,
 Cynric and Cenon,
 And Cynrein from Aeron,
 To greet with boldness
 The repentant men of Deivyr.
 Came there from among the Brython
 A better man than Cynon ?
 A sullen serpent to his foes !

“ Hast thou heard what Kynon sang,
 When moving from the way of drunkards,
 Beer is the key of the heart ? ”

He is alluded to several times in succeeding verses ; and some lines in *Gorchan Maelderw* also refer to him :—

“ Pan deg y cyvarchant nyt oed hoedyl dianc
 Dialgar Arvon cyrchei eur ceinyo arurchyat
 Urython browys meirch Cynon.”

(*Myr.*, i, 86 ; *Gee's ed.*, 71 ; *Four Anct. Bks.*, ii, 103.)

There is a Cynon named as a companion of St. Cadfan, and the founder of Capel Cynon in Cardiganshire (see Rees's *Welsh Saints*, p. 215) ; but he could scarcely have been the hero of this verse. Did he belong to the Cunedda family ?

Of Kynri, or Kynric, there is nothing known ; but it is not improbable that this was Cynyr Varvdrwch or Ceinvarvawg, the son of Gwron ab Cunedda. His name is variously written Cynir and Cynyr ; and that in the poem assumes the various forms of Kynri, Cynric, and Cynfrig. It has already been shown, both here and in the *Arch. Cambrensis*, that the chronology is no bar to this view ; and if so, that this was not his first achievement in arms, as he assisted in conjunction with his brothers Meilyr and Meigyr, in the reduction of Anglesey. He must, however, have been an old man at this time.

The editor of the *Cambro-Briton*, in reviewing Probert's translation, blamed him for taking Cynrein to be a proper name ; but, though his rendering of Cynrein into “ chief spearman ” is plausible, I consider Williams and Probert to have done well in assuming this to be the name of a man. A person of that name is mentioned in the *Iolo MSS.* (p. 651) :—

XIX.

Eweis y¹ win a med e mordei
 Mawr meint e² vehyr³
 Yg kyuaruot⁴ gwyr
 Bwyt e⁵ eryr erysmygei 205
 Pan gryssyei gydywal kyfdwyreei
 Awr gan wyrd wawr kyni⁶ dodei
 Aessawr dellt ambellt⁷ a adawei⁸
 Pareu rynn rwygyat dygymmynei
 E gat⁹ blaen bragat briwei 210
 Mab Syvno sywedyd ae gwydyei

¹ Not in 2; *o*, 3; *i o*, 5. ² *O*, 3; not in 2. ³ *Uewyr*, i.e., *wewyr*, 5. ⁴ *Ysgyvarvot*, 1, 2, 3. ⁵ *I*, 3, 4. ⁶ *Cyn y*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁷ *Am bellt*, 1, 2, 3. ⁸ *Adawei*, 1, 2, 3, 4; *a dawei*, 8. ⁹ *I gat*, 4; *ynghat*, 3, 5.

"Hast thou heard the saying of Kynrain,
 The chief counsellor of the Island of Britain,
 'Tis better to keep than to pursue?"

Without him the number of three is not complete.

Of "Deivyr diverogion" I have given a novel translation, by assuming the last word to be *edifeirogion*, or repentant persons; and I conceive myself to be justified in this view, by the facts stated in one of the *Triads* [*Myv.*, ii, 58; Gee's ed., 400]:—

"— All the Lloegrians became one people with the Saxons; those only excepted who are found in Cornwall and in the Commot of Carnoban, in Deira and Bernicia."

It is not easy to determine where Carnoban is; but Hughes (*Horæ Britannicæ*, p. 14) thinks it was probably some part of Cumberland. We have here, however, an assertion that the Lloegrians had joined the Angles; but being Britons, their hearts were with their brethren, however they might have been compelled to submit to others; and the passage in the text appears to indicate that they had repented of their allegiance, and wished to emancipate themselves from the Anglian dominion.

(The preceding explanation is, to my mind, on subsequent reflection, less conclusive than the interpretation of *diferogion* given by Mr. Meredith Lloyd (*Cambro-Briton*, i, 414), that it is a compound of a *di*- or *dy-ber-awg*, *ber* being a spear, *berawg*, speared; *diferawg*, in that sense, would be short-speared, javelin-bearing or dart-bearing; and

XIX.

To CYDYWAL (the son of Syvno).

He drank the wine and mead of the sea-houses.

How large was the encampment

Of the assembly of warriors !

Where food for the eagle was smoking (at the fire).

When Cydywal went forth, he joined in raising

The shout at the green dawn. Before he would give (host-ages)

He would leave his shield in splinters on the ground.

He caused a great rent wherever he hewed down.

In battle he would break the foremost rank.

The son of Syvno knew divining,

Deivyr diferogion would be "the short-speared Deivyrians". In the *Kerdd am Veib Llyr*, falsely attributed to Taliesin, the offensive equipments of the Irish are thus described :—

"A Gwyddyl diefyl diferogion",

(*Myv.*, i, 67 ; Gee's ed., 58 ; *Four Anc. Bks.*, ii, 154.)

and in the life of *Gruffudd ab Cynan*, they are called "Gwyddyl *gaflachawg*" [*Myv.*, ii, 593 ; Gee's ed., 727] ; now if *gaflach* and *difer* or *dyfer* (a compound formed like *try-fer*) be the same thing, this interpretation is the right one, for *gaflach* means a short lance or spear, a javelin or a dart.)¹

XIX. Of Cydywal himself, nothing further appears to be known than is here stated ; nor is there anything further known of his father, than that he was possessed of more than the usual amount of knowledge possessed by his contemporaries ; and was hence supposed to have had communication with supernatural beings. He appears to have lived in "blaen Gwynedd". On the confines of Montgomery and Denbigh there is a place called Bwlch Cwm Syvno ; and in the same locality, rising out of this pass, and standing between Moel Ferna and Cadeir Ferwyn, is a hill called Moel Syweddydd, which probably derives its name from Syvno the diviner, or astronomer. There is a person named Siavn Syberw, mentioned in the *Englynion Beddau*. (*Myv.*, i, 82 ; Gee's ed., 68 ; *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 34.)

¹ [This paragraph, written in red ink, was added by the author on a later revision of the essay.]

A werthws¹⁰ e eneit¹¹
 Er¹² wyneb grybwyllyeit¹³
 A llavyn lliveit lladei
 Lledessit ac a thrwys¹⁴ ac affrei¹⁵ 215
 Er amot¹⁶ aruot aruaethei
 Ermygei¹⁷ galaned¹⁸
 O wyr gwychyr gwned
 Em blaen gwyned gwaneit¹⁹.

XX.

Eveis y¹ win a med e mordei 220
 Can yueis disgynneis² rann fin fawd ut³

¹⁰ *Wertho*, 5. ¹¹ *Ei*, 3. ¹² *Yr*, 1, 2. ¹³ *Grybwyllieit*, 1, 2, 3.
¹⁴ *Ag a chrwys*, 1, 2, 3, 5; *ac athrwys*, 4. ¹⁵ *A phrei*, 1, 2, 3, 5; *affrei*
 (*a pharei*), 6. ¹⁶ *A mot*, 1, 2; *y mod*, 3. ¹⁷ *Dirmygei*, 2, 3, 6
¹⁸ *Genedd*, 1, 2, 3. ¹⁹ *Gwnei*, 4; this line is one with the next verse
 in 1 and 7.

¹ *O*, 1, 2, 3. ² *Can*, 1, 2, 5, 6. ³ *Fanlut*, 1, 2, 3, 5.

I flatter myself with being the first to apprehend the true meaning of the lines :—

“ A werthws e eneit
 Er wyneb grybwyllieit.”

The fairy mythology of Wales has received but little attention; but the belief in aerial spirits was very prevalent among the people in former times; and there are rich materials for an interesting essay upon the subject. These are mentioned in the poems of Merddyn, who professes to give the revelations told him by a *chwibleran*;¹ in the *Englynion Misoedd* it is said that in the short nights of July the *Gwylliaid* do not love long conversation.² Prydydd y Moch refers to them frequently. An old poem, attributed to Taliesin, says they sang prophetic songs in the evenings at the Lake of Geirionydd;³ and

¹ [*Myv.*, i, 135; Gee's ed., 116. See also *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 20 and 336, where there is a note from Rev. T. Price's *Literary Remains*, i, 144.]

² [*Myv.*, i, 15; Gee's ed., 21.]

³ [The reference seems to be to *G6a6t Lud y Ma6r*, lines 34-37; *Myv.*, i, 74; Gee's ed., 63; *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 208.]

Who had sold his soul
 To the spirits of the surface.¹
 He slew with a sharpened blade,
 But would himself be slain with a cross and spears.
 It was his custom to appoint hostile meetings;
 He boasted of the corpses
 Of brave and strenuous men,
 Whom he had pierced in the uplands of Gwynedd.

XX.

To PRESENT (the son of Pêl).

He² drank of the wine and mead of the sea-houses;
 And because he drank, he fell by the edge of the sword,

¹ Or, "mountain top".

² This line begins with the word *Eveis*, which Williams takes to be the first person singular instead of the third. According to this interpretation the two first lines would read thus:—

"I drank of the wine and mead,
 And because I drank, I fell by the edge of the sword."

This is scarcely proper language in one whose sacred muse "saved him from the sword", and who survived to write the *Gododin*. *Eveis*, in the grammar of Aneurin, stood for our *yvodd*; the verb was then conjugated thus: *yvais*, "I drank"; *yvaist*, "thou drankest"; and *yveis* or *eveis*, "he drank". The same form occurs in these lines:—

"Ne llewes *ef* ved," etc. (v. xiii)

"Nyt edewes *e* lys," etc. (v. xxv)

where the pronoun *ef* and *e* indicates the person beyond doubt.

Davies, in his *Mythology of the Druids* (p. 153), has given an interesting tale of a similar kind. They also admitted of classification; Myrddin says, that his wits had been abstracted "*gan wyllion mynydd*"; there were also "under-earth sprites" and "above-earth sprites"—the *wyneb grybwylllyeit* of Aneurin; and, in more recent times, a band of robbers called *Gwylliaid Cochion Mawddwy* availed themselves of this national belief.

xx. It may be doubted, from a comparison of the *Gododin* text with that of *Gorchan Maelderw*, whether Present is the subject of this verse, but assuming that to be the case, we shall find another reference to him in verse lxi, which furnishes some further information respecting him.

Nyt didrachywed⁴ colwed drut⁵
 Pan disgynnei bawb ti disgynnot⁶
 Ys deupo gwaeanat⁷ gwerth na phechut⁸
 Present i drawt⁹ oed vreichyawr¹⁰ drut. 225

XXI.

Gwyr a aeth gatraeth buant enwawe
 Gwin a med o¹ eur vu eu gwirawt
 Blwyddyn en erbyn urdyn² deuawt³
 Trywyr a thri ugeint a thrychant eurdorchawc⁴

⁴ *Didrachyvet*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁵ *Cobnet*, 1, 2, 3; *colwed*, *colned*, 5; *colned*, *eofned*, 6. ⁶ *Disgynnat*, 2, 3. ⁷ *Gwaeaned*, 5. ⁸ *Phechawd*, 3.
⁹ *Adrawt*, 1, 2, 4; *addrawd*, 3. ¹⁰ *Vreichvawr*, 1, 2, 3, 5.

¹ *Oc*, 6; *ag*, 3. ² *Tridyn*, 2, 3, 6; *wrdyn*, 5. ³ *Deawd*, 1, 2, 3; *devawd*, 6. ⁴ *Eurdorchawd*, 1.

There is a similar verse given in *Gorchan Maelderw*, in one copy of which (*Myv.*, i, 85; Gee's ed., 70; *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 100) it runs thus :—

“Kein guodeo e kelyo ery vyhyr
 O honaw ar fyscut as eiriangut
 Pan esgynnei bawb ty disgynnut
 Cenei gwin gwaet meirw meint a wanut
 Teir blyned a phedeir
 Tuted en vawr yt vaer
 Asgym myrr hut ath vodi gwas nym gwerth na thechut
 Present kyvadraud oed breichyaul glut.”

And in the other (*Myv.*, i, 62; Gee's ed., 55), thus :—

“Cein guodeo y celyo ery vyhyr
 O honaw aryf yscent
 As eirianghut
 Pan estynnei bawb ti disgymint
 Ceneu gwin gnaet meiru meint a neint
 Teir blyned a phedair tudet en vawr
 Yt vaer asgyni myrr hut
 Ath nedi guas nym gwerth na thechut
 Present cyn adrawd oed breichyaul glut.”

Not without displaying the prowess of a hero.

When all fell, thou didst fall.

When the conflict comes it were better not to have sinned.

Of Present it is related that the hero had a mighty arm.

XXI.

The Men of Aeron.

The warriors went to Cattræth ; they were renowned ;

Wine and mead from golden (horns) was their beverage.

That year, contrary to their dignified custom,

(Of) three warriors, three score, and three hundred wearing
golden torques,

XXI. At first sight, the war-dogs of Aeron here mentioned would appear to be the Cynric and Cynrain mentioned in verse xviii ; but another account of this event shows that such an interpretation would be incorrect.

There is a fuller account of this transaction in the *Gorchan Cynvelyn* of the same bard :—

“ Trywyr a thrygeint a thrychant

Y vreithyel Gattræth ydaethant

Or saul yt gryssiassant

Uch ved venestri

Namyn tri nyd atcorasant (*atcorasant*, 4)

Cynon a Chadraeth (*chatreith*, 4) a Chathleu (*chatlew*, 4)
a gatuant (*o gatnant*, 4).

A minneu om creu”, etc.

(*Myv.*, i, 61 ; *Gee's ed.*, 54 ; *Four Anct. Bks.*, ii, 96.)

“ Three warriors, and three score, and three hundred

To the conflict of Cattræth went forth.

Of those who hastened forth,

From an excess of the mead of the cupbearers,

Three alone returned—

Cynon, and Cadreith, and Cadlew of Cadnant,

And I, whose blood was spared,” etc.

It thus appears that the two persons named Cadreith and Cadlew were the war-dogs alluded to, the others having probably fallen, or escaped in flight, for be it observed that these lines are to be understood literally. They describe those only who escaped by their own bravery ;

Or sawl yt gryssyassant uch gormant wirawt 230
 Ni diengis⁵ namyn tri o wrhydri fossawt
 Deu gatki⁶ aeron a chenon dayrawt⁷
 A minheu om gwaetfreu gwerth vy gwennwawt⁸.

XXII.

Uyg car¹ yng wirwar² nyn gogyffrawt³
 O neb⁴ ony⁵ bei o gwyn dragon ducawt⁶ 235
 Ni didolit yng kynted o ved gwirawt
 Ef⁷ gwnaei⁸ ar beithing⁹ perthyng¹⁰ aruodyawc
 Ef¹¹ disgrein eg cat disgrein en aelawt
 Neus adrawd gododin¹² gwedy ffossawt
 Pan vei¹³ no llivyeu¹⁴ llymach nebawt.¹⁵ 240

⁵ *Diengei*, 1, 2, 3. ⁶ *Gatei*, 2, 3. ⁷ *Daearawt*, 2, 3; *dayarawt*, 1, 5. ⁸ One with the two following verses in 1.

¹ *Vygar*, 1, 2, 3; *llyg car*, 4. ² *Yngwirvar*, 1, 2, 3. ³ *Gogy-yhraut*, 1; *gogyrhawd*, 2; *gogongrawd*, 3; *gogyngrhawd*, 5; (*gogyffrawt*), 6. ⁴ *Heb*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁵ *Ony*, 1, 2, 3. ⁶ *Deu cant*, 1, 2, 5; *decant*, 3; *deueawt (ducawt)*, 6. ⁷ *Es*, 1, 2; *ys*, 3. ⁸ *Gwnei*, 1, 2, 3, 6. ⁹ *Arceithing*, 1, 2, 3; *arcethin*, 5; *arbeithing*, 6. ¹⁰ *Perthin*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ¹¹ *Es*, 1, 2; *ys*, 3. ¹² *Gwawdodyn*, 3. ¹³ Not in 5. ¹⁴ *Llivyeu*, 4; *llivyen (llivyeu)*, 6. ¹⁵ In *Gorchan Maelderw* the two last lines occur thus [*Myv.*, i, 85; *Gee's ed.*, 55: *Four Anct. Bks.*, ii, 101]:—

“Ny sathraut gododin ar glawr fossaut

Pan vei no llif llymach nebawt.” (See notes to v. ix.)

In the translation, Williams follows the text, and I the various reading, —*llivyeu*.

but, as we shall presently see, many escaped in flight, to which allusion has been already made in verse xiv.

Of Cadreith, our only information is the following verse in *Englymion y Clywed*:—

“A glyweisti a gant Cadreith

Fab Porthawr filwr areith

Ni char Dofydd diobeith.”

(*Myv.*, i, 175; *Gee's ed.*, 130.)

“Hast thou heard what was sung by Cadreith

Of warlike speech, the son of Porthawr?

God loves not the despairer!”

Who hastened forward from excess of liquor,
 Three alone escaped by the vigour of their blows—
 Aeron's two war-dogs, and the dauntless Cynon,
 And I who escaped from the shedding of my blood by virtue
 of my sacred muse.¹

XXII.

To the son of Kian.

My friend! In real distress no one comforted us,
 Unless the pleasant dragon (chief) was a leader also.
 He did not abstain in the hall from the beverage of mead;
 He did upon the Picts¹ an appropriate performance.
 He was prostrated in the fight, and his limbs were laid
 low.

Does not the *Gododin* relate, after the gashing,
 That where he was none sawed more keenly?

¹ Or, less literally,

“And I, whose sacred muse spared the streaming of my blood.”

¹ The words in the original are *ar beithing*, on the peithing. Now, according to Mr. Owen, “all words that are common to the Latin and language of the Cymry, that have syllables terminating with CT in the former have always TH to correspond in the latter; hence it seems that PICT and PAITH are the same” (*Heroic Elegies*, p. 79). Taliesin appears to use it in this sense: “A w naw peithwyr gorweiddiawc”.

The speech is in admirable harmony with the character given him in the poem.

Of Cadlew nothing further is known. The Cynon here is most probably not the son of Clydno, but the lord of Glyn Aeron.

XXII. I have headed this verse “To the son of Kian”, in the belief that as Aneurin does not apply the term “my friend” to any other party than the son of Cian named in a former part, this verse must have been addressed to the same person.

XXIII.

Aryf angkynnull¹

Agkyman dull

Anysgoget

Tra chywed² vawrTreiglessyd llawr³

245

Lloegrwys giwet⁴Heissit eis ygkynnor⁵ eis yg cat vereu[Pwys⁶ blaen rydre ferei y⁷ gadeuDryll⁸ kedyr⁹ kat¹⁰Kein¹¹ krysgwydyat¹²

250

Bryt am gorlew¹³Diechwith lam¹⁴Y orwylam¹⁵

Nat ry gigleu.]

¹ *Agceun null*, 2; *angeu'n null*, 3. ² *Trachywed*, 4; *trachiwet*, 5.
³ *Llawer*, 1, 2, 3. ⁴ *Grivet* (?), 7. ⁵ *Ygcynnuor*, 1, 2; *ynghynwr*, 3;
yg cynvor, 5. ⁶ The lines in brackets are interpolated from *Gorch.*
Maelderw, *Myv.*, i, 84; *Gee*, 69; and the various readings from
another MS. of the same poem in *Myv.*, i, 62; *Gee*, 54; *Puys*, 62.
⁷ Not in 62. ⁸ *Dryll*. ⁹ *Cadyr*. ¹⁰ *Cat*. ¹¹ *Cein*. ¹² *Crysgwydyat*.
¹³ *Gorleu*. ¹⁴ *Diechuith lain*. ¹⁵ *Y oruylan*.

XXIII. It is not easy to determine who is the hero of this verse. The ordinary copies of the *Gododin* name him Greit the son of Hoewgi; and *Gorchan Maelderw* has "Breint mab Bleidgi".

Greit the son of Hoewgi is not named in any of our biographical dictionaries, and the only name of the kind occurs in the *Mabinogion*, where (Kilhwch and Olwen) mention is made of a conspicuous hero named Graid, the son of Eri. There was, however, a Hywgi living about this period, as appears in Rees' *Saints*:—

"Hywgi, otherwise Bugi, the father of St. Beuno. He gave all his lands to the endowment of his brother's (Cattwg) college at Llancarfan, where he spent the latter part of his life." (P. 233.)

Hywgi was the son of Gwynllyw Filwr, a chieftain of Gwynllwg in Monmouthshire; and if he was the father of Greit, then that warrior was not at the battle of Cattræth, and was one of those whose names became familiar to Aneurin, after his retreat into Wales.

XXIII.

To BREINT (the son of Bleidgi.)¹

Arms collected

In perfect order

Unshaken !

As the mighty army

Moved along the ground

The Lloegrian host was strewn about :
Destitute at home and miserable in the fight of spears

[Weighty leader of flocking warriors, sturdy were his fights ;

Robust breaker of ranks,

Brilliant obstructor,

Tradition reports his fame.

His unflinching sword

To the over-diffident,

Is it not mentioned ?]

¹ [This heading is written in pencil.]

If we adopt the other name, we shall be equally at a loss to trace his history. There was a Braint Hir living about this period ; but he was alive after the Bard had come to Wales ; and there was a Brain, the son of Aeddan ab Gavran, slain in 596, in fighting against the Saxons. (*Annals of Ulster*.) He is called Brendinus by Buchanan in his *History of Scotland*, and is named as one of the officers of Aeddan, and a near relation. Taking this view of the matter, and assuming him to be a nephew and not a son, then we shall be obliged to conclude that Braint was the son of Eochy, Aeddan's brother. (See Ritson's *Caledonians*, 1, 37.)

Probert supposes Ysperi, in the last line but one, to be a proper name ; there is an Esperir named in *Englynion y Clywed*,¹ and two persons called Yspeni and Esperir Ewingath are named in the *Mabinogi* of Kilhwch and Olwen ; but I have no doubt that he is mistaken in this respect, and that *ysperi* is only the plural of *ysber*, a spear.

The Lloegrwys here named were the same people as the Ligurians of antiquity who occupied Gaul, served under the Carthaginians, and gave their name to the Loire in France. The *Triads* make mention of three

¹ [*Myv. Arch.*, i, 173 ; Gee's ed., 128.]

Goruc ¹⁶ wyr lludw ¹⁷	255
A gwraged gwydw ¹⁸	
Kyn ¹⁹ noe angheu	
Greit vab hoewgir ²⁰	
Ac ysberi ²¹	
Y ²² beri creu. ²³	260

XXIV.

Arwr y ¹ dwy ysgwyt adan	
E dalvrith ac eil tith ² orwydan ³	
Bu trydar en aerure ⁴ bu tan	
Bu ehut ⁵ e waewawr ⁶ bu huan ⁷	
Bu bwyt brein bu bud e ⁸ vran	265
A chyn edewit en rydon ⁹	

¹⁶ *Gorne*, 1, 2, 3, 5; *goruc*, 6. ¹⁷ *Ef gwneei gwyr ludu*, *Myv.* i. 62; *Et gwneei gwyr lludw*, *ib.* 84. ¹⁸ *Gwydn*, 5; *guraged guedu*, *Gorch. M.*, i, 62; *Gorch. M.*, i, 84, as in text. ¹⁹ *Cyn noi*, 1, 2, 3; *Gorch.*, 62, *cyn*; *kyn*, 84. ²⁰ *Breint mab Bleidgi*, *G. M.*, i., 62, 84. ²¹ *Rac ysperi*, *G. M.*, i, 62. ²² *I*, 3; *y* in the *G. M.*, 62, 84. ²³ *Greu* in *G. M.*, i, 62 and 84.

¹ *A*, 3. ² *Eltith*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ³ *Prywdan*, 1, 2; *prydan*, 3; *orwyden* (*orwyd an*), 6. ⁴ *Arvau*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁵ *Hut*, 1, 2, 3. ⁶ *Wawr*, 2, 3, 5; *waawr*, 1. ⁷ *Truan*, 5. ⁸ *I*, 5. ⁹ *Rhydion*, 1, 2, 3, 5.

benevolent tribes who came to the Isle of Britain. These were the Cymry who occupied the North of Britain from Glasgow to Chester, the Britons who occupied Wales and the adjoining counties, and the Lloegrians who occupied the Eastern counties; and these were denominated the three peaceful tribes, inasmuch as they came by mutual consent and permission, and the three were of one language and of one speech. The *Triads* make mention of three usurping tribes also:—the Picts of the Highlands; the Coranians (Coritani) who settled on the banks of the Humber, and on the shore of the German Ocean; and the Saxons. Of the Coranians, it is said that, “on the coming over of the Saxons they united with them, and incorporating themselves with that people they deprived the Lloegrians of their government, by wrong and oppression; and then they deprived the race of the Cymry of the monarchical crown. All the

He made men (turn to) ashes
 And widowed wives
 Before his death.
 Greit the son of Hoewgi¹
 With spears
 Causing gore.

XXIV.

To BUDVAN (the son of Bleidvan).

Warrior of the two shields, and under him
 A tall, grey, and easy-trotting steed !
 He was tumultuous in arms ;² he was a fire ;
 He was the fleeting dawn ;³ he was a sun ;
 He provided food for ravens ; he was of service to the crow ;
 And before he was left at the fords

¹ Or, "Breint the son of Bleidgi."

² Another reading has "Aevre, the hill of battle". I have preferred the V. R. to the text.

³ The text has "Rash were his missiles", but the V. R. appears better.

Lloegrians became one people with the Saxons; those only excepted, who are found in Cornwall, and in the comot of Carnoban (supposed to be some part of Cumberland—Hughes' *Horæ Brit.*, 1, 14) in Deira and Bernicia (*Myv.*, ii, 58; Gee, 401). It is a common error to suppose that the Saxons displaced the native population: the fact was not so; they allied themselves with them and obtained the ascendancy over them; but the natives still retained their lands, and form the bulk of the English people of this day. The invaders were but few in number, and have long since so completely disappeared that the question among ethnologists is: In Saxon England where are the Saxons? By Lloegrians, in the text, is to be understood the native Ligurian Britons in alliance with the Saxons: Lloegr is still the Welsh name for England.

xxiv. The hero of this verse is also unknown to history; but he was a Gwyneddian chief, who had become famous just before the arrival of Aneurin in Wales. There was a Bodvan living about the first quarter of the seventh century, and in the very locality here named; but the

Gan wllith eryr tith tiryon
 Ac o du gwasgar gwanec tu¹¹ bronn
 Beird byt barnant wyr o gallon¹²
 Diebyrth¹³ e gerth¹⁴ e¹⁵ gynghyr 270
 Diua oed e¹⁶ gynrein¹⁷ gan wyr
 A chynn e¹⁸ olo a dan¹⁹ eleirch
 Vre²⁰ ytoed²¹ wryt ene²² arch²³
 Gorgolches²⁴ e gren y seirch
 Budvan vab Bleidvan dihavarch.²⁵ 275

XXV.

Cam e adaw¹ heb gof camb ehelaeth
 Nyt adawei adwy yr adwriaeth

¹¹ *Ty*, 3. ¹² *Galon*, 1, 2, 3. ¹³ *Di ebyrth*, 3. ¹⁴ *Geith*, 1, 2, 3, 5.
¹⁵ *O*, 3. ¹⁶ *O*, 3. ¹⁷ *Gyfrein*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ¹⁸ *I*, 1, 2, 3. ¹⁹ *O dan*,
 1, 2, 3, 5; *a dan*, 8. ²⁰ *Un*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ²¹ *Ytwed*, 2; *yt wed*, 5.
²² *Yn y*, 1, 2; *yn i*, 3, 5. ²³ *Eirch*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ²⁴ *I*, 3. ²⁵ This is joined
 to the next verse in 1, 7.

¹ *Y adaw*, 1; *ydaw*, 2, 5; *y ddau*, 3.

genealogy of this man differs from that of our hero. That, however, is no insuperable objection. By a reference to the note on the next verse it will be seen that Aneurin has a very common habit of giving the name of the maternal parent; and it is possible that Budvan here may be a female name. That supposition would reconcile the two genealogies, but it would still leave some chronological discrepancy, and I subjoin all that is known of Bodvan without affirming his identity with Budvan ab Bleidvan:—

“Bodvan, a saint, the son of Helig ab Glanawg, and brother of Boda. He founded the church of Aber, or Abergwyngregyn, in Caernarvonshire, which parish immediately adjoins the Lavan Sands, which, before the inundation, formed his father's territory. His festival is June 2.” (Williams' *Biog. Dictionary*.)

According to the description, Budvan's grave and Bodfan's church are situated near each other, at the foot of Penmaen Mawr, which is probably the eminence named in the text. But what is meant by the words of the text? Have we here something like the administration of justice

Beneath the dew of Eryri, gentle was his character.³
 Where the wave breaks, near the eminence,
 From which the bards of the world (will) judge the really
 brave.

“No surrender!” was his sign in council;
 His spears were consumed by warriors;⁴
 And before he was laid under stones of the hill,
 He appeared a hero in his shrine;
 His harness was soaked in blood—
 Budvan the active son of Bleidvan.

XXV.

To GWENABWY (the son of Gwenn).

An injury—a great injury—it were to omit his memory.
 He would not leave a pass through cowardice.

³ “Tith tiryon”, evidently refers to the hero of the verse, and not to “eryr”, by which we are doubtless to understand Eryri or Snowdon, as “the dew of an eagle” would be a somewhat unusual expression; but what is *tith*? I conjecture it to be the singular of which *teithi* is the plural, signifying quality, attribute, or characteristic.

⁴ Al. “Consumed were his *kindred* by warriors.”

under the Brehon laws of Ireland, or is there an allusion to the last judgment? There is an evident reference to a belief commonly entertained at that time, and, probably, it formed a part of the Bardic philosophy, that at the last day, the Bards of the world would be assembled together on Penmaen Mawr to distribute the rewards of good and evil, or to adjudicate between the Britons and their enemies. It is a pity that we have no clue to the interpretation of this bardic belief.

XXV. Who is the subject of this poem? It is not at all clear whether Gwen, the parent of Gwenabwy, was a male or female name, as it has been used to denote persons of both sexes. It is not improbable that it may be a female name, as this bard frequently names the female parent (see note to verse xxxiv); and if we adopt this assumption we shall find several ladies so named. Brychan Brycheiniog had a daughter named Gwen; but as she lived long anterior to this period, she could

Nyt edewes e² lys les kerdoryon prydein
 Diw calan yonawr ene³ aruaeth
 Ny⁴ erdit⁴ e dir kevei diffeith 280
 Drachas anias dreic ehelaeth
 Dragon yg gwyar gwedy gwinvaeth.
 Gwenabwy vab gwenn gynhen gatraeth.⁵

XXVI.

Bu gwir¹ mal y meud² e gatlew³
 Ny⁴ deliis meirch neb marchlew⁵ 285
 Heessit waywawr⁶ y glyw
 Y ar⁷ llemenic llwybyr dew⁸
 Keny⁹ vaket am vyrn am borth¹⁰
 Dywal y¹¹ gledyual emborth¹²

² *I*, 3. ³ *Yn y*, 1, 2; *yn i*, 3, 5. ⁴ *Erdir*, 2, 3, 5. ⁵ *Galltraeth*, 1.

¹ *Gwin*, 3. ² *Mead*, 1; *modd*, 3, 5. ³ *Gathleu*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁴ *Ni*, 3.

⁵ *Marchleu*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁶ *Maenor*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁷ *Yar*, 1, 2, 3.

⁸ This and the preceding line are wanting in 6. ⁹ *Ceneu*, 3, 5.

¹⁰ *Vym am borth*, 1, 2, 3; *vyrn amborth*, 5; *vyrn vy mam borth*, 6.

¹¹ *I*, 3. ¹² This line is not in 6. The *Gorch. Maelderw* has a part of this verse:—

“Gen ath diwedus tut leo
 Na deliis meirch neb March lew
 Keny vaccet am byrth amporth
 Oed cadarn e gledyval ynyorth
 Ur rwy ysgeinnyei
 Yonn o bryholl llaw
 Yar vein erch mygedorth.” (*Myv.*, i, 86; *Gee*, 71.)

not have been the person. Cywryd ab Crydon, the bard of Dunawd ab Pabo, also had a daughter named Gwen, who is mentioned in the *Triads* with Creirwy and Arianrod, as one of “the three immaculate ladies of the Isle of Britain” (*Williams’ Biog. Dict.*); but, as her father’s patron was living until 595, she could scarcely have been the mother of one of the heroes of *Cattraeth* in 603.

There was a distinguished warrior named Gwen, being no other than the second of the twenty-four sons of Llywarch Hen. It is just probable that he was the father of our hero, who was probably a young man at

Benefits for the bards of Britain did not leave his Court,
According to custom, on the eve of January.
His land should not be ploughed (by the Saxons); rather
should it be waste.¹

Fierce in disposition was the potent chief.
Gwenabwy, the son of Gwen, after the wine feast
Was a dragon in blood at the strife of Cattræth.

XXVI.

To MARCHLEU (son of Caradoc Vreichvras).

It was true as the songs report,
Marchleu was not overtaken by the steeds of any one.
The lances of the ruler were strewn
Upon Llemenig in the thick path.
Since he was bred amid ambuscades and defiles,
Fierce was his sword in the pass.

¹ This is not a literal version, the original is an elliptical expression, and means more than appears at first sight. In the poems of Llywarch, the same words occur in a fuller form:—

“Nid erddid fy nhir i heb waed.”

“My land should not have been ploughed *without blood*.” (*Her. Eleg.*, 47.)

We should therefore translate the line thus:—

“His land should not be ploughed (by Saxons), it should be a desert”,—that is, he would suffer no encroachment. This line, when taken in connection with that which follows, also admits of another modification of meaning, particularly if we adopt the reading which occurs in the *Myv.* copy, and substitute *cyvei* for *ceuei*, and may be rendered thus:—

“His land should not be ploughed by strange

And hateful cultivators, without a tumult from the potent chief.”

(See Richards, *sub Cyfar*, for an interesting illustration of Brit. Agriculture.)

this time; but, as mention is made in other places of his dexterity, he was probably a brave and skilful chief. He probably fell at Cattræth, as no subsequent mention is made of his name.

xxvi. From the naming of Breiddin, a mountain in Radnorshire, and the allusion to Llemenig as his opponent, we can have but little doubt

Heessyt onn o bedryollt¹³ y law 290
 Y ar¹⁴ veinnyell¹⁵ vygedorth¹⁶
 Yt¹⁷ rannei¹⁸ rygu¹⁹ e²⁰ rywin²¹
 Yt²² ladei a llauyn²³ vreith²⁴ o eithin
 Val pan vel²⁵ medel ar vreithin²⁶
 E gwnaei²⁷ varchlew²⁸ waetlin. 295

¹³ *Bedryolet*, 1, 2, 3. ¹⁴ *Yar*, 1, 2, 3. ¹⁵ *Veingel*, 1, 2, 3. ¹⁶ *Fyg-dorth*, 3. ¹⁷ *It*, 3, 5. ¹⁸ *Vannoi*, 1, 2, 3; *fannei*, 5; *van oi*, 5. ¹⁹ *Ryngu*, 3, 5; *vygu*, 6. ²⁰ Not in the other MSS. ²¹ *Ryvin*, 2, 3, 5; *ryuin*, 1. ²² *Ys*, 2, 3, 5. ²³ *Allauyn*, 1; *allawyn*, 2, 3; *a llawyn*, 4; *a llawyn*, 5. ²⁴ *Vreich*, 1, 2, 3. ²⁵ *Del*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ²⁶ *Vreiddin*, 5, 6. ²⁷ *Gwnei*, 1, 2; *gwneu*, 3. ²⁸ *Varchleu*, 1, 2, 3.

that the hero of this poem is the person called Maethlu or Amaethlu, one of the sons of Caradoc Vreichvras, Lord of Brecknock, of whom we have the following notice :—

“Maethlu or Amaethlu was the brother of Cawrdaf, the founder of Llanfaethlu, Anglesey, and possibly of Llandyfalle, Brecknockshire. The syllable *dy* is introduced into the last name upon the same principle as Llandyfaelog is formed from Maelog; both the names so formed occur in Brecknockshire, while the corresponding appellations omit it. *Festival*, Dec. 26.” (Rees’ *Saints*, p. 270.)

He was the son of Caradoc by Tegau Eurvron, celebrated as one of the three chaste women of the isle of Britain, and as one of the three exalted ladies of the Court of Arthur. There is but little more known of his life than is here stated; it appears from the poem that he was a warrior of reputation, and that he was at war with the chieftains of Powys; and if we may judge from the notice in *Bonedd y Saint*, his *carnedd* and burial place are in Anglesey. (*Myv.*, ii, 40, 73; *Gee*, 428, 410.)

Of Llemenig we have fuller information. He was the son of Mawon or Mahawen ab Cyngen ab Cadell Deyrnllwg. His father was the brother of Brochwel Ysgythrog; and he himself appears to have lived in some part of Powys. He was one of the most distinguished warriors of his day: he is named by the old bard, Llywarch Hen :—

“A carcase shall parch by the side of the fire,
 When I hear the murmur of the thundering din
 Of the host of Llemenig the son of Mahawen.

“A sovereign of a throne, in arms
 In the conspicuous rage of slaughter, conquering,
 See the spreader of flame, the violent Llemenig!”

(*Heroic Elegies*, p. 105.)

Four-sided ashen spears were strewn by his hand
Upon a closely confined funeral pile.

From excessive liberality he would distribute presents to
any one.

He slew with the sword (as one would cut) an armful of
furze.

As it is when reaping time comes on Breiddin,
So Marchleu was when shedding blood.

From a poem, which appears to have been written while Cadwallon was in Ireland, it would seem that Llemenig had been acting somewhat conspicuously, and kept the Irishmen of Mon in check :—

“Llyminawg will come,
He will be prone
 To subjugate Mon,
And destroy Gwynedd
From its extremes to its centre,
From beginning to end,
 And to take its hostages.
Bow his head !
He will bow to no one,
 Neither Cambrians nor Saxons.
There will come a hero from concealment,
Who will cause ruddy stains,
 And battles will excite.
Another will come
With an extensive host
 Giving joy to Britons.” (*Myv.*, 1, 72 ; *Gee*, 61.)

The name is variously written, Llemenig, Llemynawg, Llwmnig, and Llwmhunig ; this chief is named in the romantic poem called “Preidden Annwn” (*Lit. of the Kymry*, p. 193 ; 2nd ed., p. 184) : he is recorded in the *Triads* as one of the three free guests of the Court of Arthur ; and in *Can y Meirch* mention is made of his war-steed :—

“Ysgwyddfrith ysgodig
Gorwydd Llemenig.” (*Myv.*, 1, 44 ; *Gee*, 42.)

He is usually said to have lived in the early part of the sixth century ; but if we suppose him to have lived about 620, we shall be nearer the mark. Llemenig was buried at Llan Elwy, St. Asaph. (*Myv.*, 1, 81 ; *Gee*, 67.)

XXVII.

Issac anuonawc o barth deheu
 Tebic mor lliant y deuodeu¹
 O wyled a llaryed
 A² chein³ yuet med
 Men⁴ yth glawd e⁵ offer e bwyth madeu 300
 Ny⁶ bu hyll⁷ dihyll⁸ na hen⁹ diheu
 Seinnyessyt e¹⁰ gledyf ym penn mameu
 Murgreit¹¹ oed moleit ef mab Gwydneu.

XXVIII.

Keredic¹ caradwy e² glot
 Achubei gwarchatwei not 305

¹ *Y ddevodeu*, 1; *y devo deu*, 2; *ydd efo deu* 3; *y deuadeu*, 4. ² *O*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ³ *Chair*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁴ *Meu*, 1, 2, 5; *mae*, 3. ⁵ Not in 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁶ *Ni*, 1, 2, 3, 6. ⁷ *Hil*, 1, 2, 3, 6. ⁸ *Dihil*, 1, 2, 3, 4. ⁹ *Hen*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ¹⁰ *I*, 3. ¹¹ *Mur greit*, 4. This verse is joined to the preceding in 1; in 4 it is one with the following verse.

¹ *Caredig*, 1, 2, 3. ² *I*, 3.

XXVII. Of this warrior, Isaac, the son of Gwydneu, nothing further is known, than that he appears to have been at the Battle of Cattræth, that he died young and without issue; and that he was the son of Gwyddno Garanhir, so well known for his reputed loss of Cantrev y Gwaelod. Mr. Probert falls into the error of concluding the word *Molet ef*, "praise him", to be a proper name, Moleddev, the son of Gwyddno; but that is clearly a mistake. It should, however, be admitted that we have no other account of Gwyddno's having a son so named; we read of Rhuvawn and Elphin, the sons of Gwyddno; but we find no notice of Isaac, although there is no reason to doubt the correctness of Aneurin.

Gwyddno Garanhir was a bard of an inferior class, and the lord of a district in Cardiganshire, which, according to the story, was covered by the sea in consequence of the drunkenness of Seithenin; but Professor Rees throws much discredit on the tale; and we must class that with the other romantic incidents which connect Gwyddno with the fabulous Taliesin.

XXVII.

To ISAAC (the son of Gwyddno).

Isaac, sent on the part of the South,
 Was in manner like the flowing sea,
 In modesty and mildness
 And pleasant drinking of mead.
 He would sheath his weapon when the revenge was complete ;
 His stock was not unprolific ; he was not old without issue ;
 His sword sounded in the ears of mothers ;
 He was a mighty spirit ; praised was the son of Gwyddneu.

XXVIII.

To CEREDIG ab Cunedda.

Delightful is the praise of Ceredig.
 He preserved—he guarded the country.

XXVIII. The history of this person, whom I have ventured to call the son of Cunedda Wledig, is involved in much difficulty. We are told by Geoffrey of Monmouth, that Maelgwyn Gwynedd was succeeded as Gwledig, King of all the Britons, by a person who was supposed to be sufficiently known by the name of Ceredic ; and Aneurin, whose hero is evidently the same person as the successor of Maelgwyn, in the honorary dignity of “ King of the Kings” of the Britons or Walda, as appears from the insignia of the Gwledig—the golden shield named in the next verse—gives us the single name Ceredic. It is very evident that the person so named was well known in the commencement of the seventh century ; but it is not equally clear who this prince was.

It appears, from an incidental notice in one of the *Triads of the Horses*, that, in addition to Ceredic ab Cunedda, there was another Ceredic, the son of Gwalloc ab Lleenog ; and from the position of Gwalloc as a distinguished warrior living in North Britain, and about the time of this appointment, it is quite possible that a son of his would have a good chance to be elected to the dignity of Gwledig, if he had already distinguished himself as a warrior ; but there is no proof that Ceredic ab Gwallawc had so distinguished himself, as the name itself

Lletvegin is³ tawel kyn⁴ dyuot
 'E⁵ dyd gowyhyd y⁶ wybot

³ *Ys*, 3, 5. ⁴ *Hyn*, 8. ⁵ Not in 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁶ *I*, 3.

only transpires incidentally ; and it is not improbable that there was no such person. The allusion to this name is here :—

“The three illegitimate steeds of the Isle of Britain : Ferlas, the steed of Dalldav eil Kynin ; Gwelugan Gohoewgein, the steed of Caredic ab Guallawc ; and Gurbrith, the steed of Raawt.” (*Myv.*, ii, 19 ; *Gee*, 398.)

This is the only place where we meet with this name ; but if there had been no negative evidence, this would have been proof enough of his existence, and proof presumptive of his being also a warrior. It is found, however, in other copies of this Triad, that while the other names remain, this one disappears.

“The three illegitimate steeds of the Isle of Britain : Ferlas, the steed of Dalldav eil Cuiin ; Rhuddfrych, the steed of Rahawt eil Morgant ; and Gwelwgan Gohoywgein the steed of Morfran eil Tegid.” (*Myv.*, ii, 20 ; *Gee*, 394.)

Here Morvran the son of Tegid, a known warrior, takes the place of the unknown son of Gwallog ; and a third copy, while making some change in the names of the horses, agrees with the latter in the names of the owners :—

“The three illegitimate steeds of the Isle of Britain : Ferlas, the steed of Dalldav eil (or ab) *Cwfin* ; *Arwlvrith*, the steed of Rahawt eil Morgant ; and *Cronach Arwch*, the steed of Morvran eil Tegid.” (*Myv.*, ii, 80 ; *Gee*, 414.)

I have dwelt thus long upon the name of Ceredic ab Gwallog, because there were up to a recent period very great chronological difficulties in the way of accepting Ceredic ab Cunedda to be the hero of Aneurin, and the Gwledig of Geoffrey. Cunedda is said to have ascended the throne of Cumberland in 328, and to have died in 389 (*Owen's Camb. Biog.*) : and Ceredic ab Cunedda is, upon the same authority (*sub voce* Cadvan ab Iago), said to have died in 613, when, assuming him to be born at the first period, he must have been 285 years old ; or 224, if born at the second ! It is, therefore, clear that there is no means of reconciling the two statements of Mr. Owen ; and in my commentary on the *Marwnad Cunedda* of Taliesin (*Arch. Camb.* for January 1852), I have endeavoured to show which is to be sacrificed, and that Cunedda was living about A.D. 550. If this view be correct, and I believe it is, there is no longer any difficulty in accepting Ceredic ab Cunedda as the person we seek ; and adopting

The domesticated prince is silent
 Until the great day (of judgment) comes to pass ;

that assumption, I shall now proceed to detail such portions of his history as can be gathered from the few records of his acts that we have at our command.

Ceredic was the son of Cunedda Wledig, Lord of Cumberland ; and he, with his brothers, recovered a large part of North Wales and the western part of South Wales from the Irish who had settled there since the time of Maximus, A.D. 388. It is not easy to determine the time when this took place ; but it could not have been earlier than the close of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century. After the expulsion of the Gwyddyl, they divided the land which those had possessed among themselves, in accordance with the terms on which their assistance had been sought by the native Britons of the Principality. "Tibion, the eldest son of Cunedda, dying in the Isle of Man, his son Meirion had Cantrev Meirion (or Merioneth) ; Arwystyl had Arwystli : Dunod had Dunodig ; Edeyrn had Edeyrnion ; Mael had Dinmael ; Coel had Coleion ; Dogvael had Dogveilin ; Rhuvon had Rhuvoniog ; Einion had Caer Einion ; Oswal had Osweilin ; and Ceredig had Ceredigion, or the present County of Cardigan." (Owen's *Camb. Biog.*, sub *Cunedda*.) Soon afterwards, Caswallon Law Hir, the son of Einion Yrth ab Cunedda, with some of his cousins, reduced Anglesey, where the remnants of the Gwyddyl had taken refuge. His son Maelgwn became king of North Wales, and in the course of time, being a man of much energy and valour, he was elected by the other kings of the Britons to be their Dominator or *Gwledig*. On his death, he was succeeded by a person named Caredig ; and as our hero had the lion's share of the spoil, and became a man of influence, he had many qualities to recommend him for the office of commander-in-chief of the British Forces. He was a man of known valour, celebrated for his expulsion of the Gwyddyl, a patron of the bards, and a relation to Maelgwn his predecessor : the *Gwledig* appears to have been at all times taken from one of the kings of Gwynedd, Powys or Deheubarth ; and at this time Ceredic was probably one of the most influential men in all Wales ; and therefore we may conclude that Ceredic ab Cunedda was the man.

It is not easy to ascertain the date of this election, on account of the uncertainty respecting the death of Maelgwn. One authority (*Annales Cambrie*) places it in 547 ; others in 552, 560 (Owen), 564 and 567 (Wynne, *Cambro-Briton*, ii, 521-2) ; Wendover in 586 ; Dr. Powel

Ys deupo car kyrd⁷ kyvnot

Y⁸ wlat nef adef atnabot.

⁷ *Cyredd*, 3. ⁸ *O*, 3.

after 581 ; and Sir John Price in 590. I incline to take the date assigned to his death by Wynne, that in 567 ; and therefore the election should be dated about the same period. The history of Cunedda after his elevation to this dignity is only to be found in Geoffrey of Monmouth, who introduces Gormund, or Gorthrum, the Dane and contemporary of Alfred, to fight against Ceredic, *three hundred years* before Gormund came to the island. I must, therefore, endeavour to detach the anachronisms, and present only as much as has the appearance of truth.

“ In the year of grace 586 (567), Malgo, King of the Britons, was succeeded by Careticus, who loved civil wars, and was odious to God and to his subjects. The kings of the Angles and of the Saxons, remarking his unsteadiness, attacked him with one consent, and after many battles drove him from city to city, till at last they chased him beyond the Severn into Wales.” (*Wendover*, Bohn’s ed., vol. i, 51.)

“ On the one part were the Saxons, who were perfidious excommunicated pagans, without baptism and without belief (in Christ) ; and on the other part were the rightful inhabitants of the island, the Britons and their dependents, who were good Christians. And there was enmity between them and the Saxons. The Saxons made war upon King Careticus, and after several battles fought, drove him from city to city, till at length they chased him to Cirencester, and there besieged him. And they went together all unto *Caer Vydau* (*qq.* Bath), to fight with the city and to seek Ceredig and besiege the citizens, without obtaining any success, except losing their men. And they bethought themselves in counsel to catch a large number of sparrows, and fill nutshells with fire and smoking brimstone ; and at night they tied the nutshells to the wings of the birds, and let them loose to fly to the roofs of the houses in the city, and to the ricks of corn and hay. And the wings of the birds fanned the flames and set the shells on fire, until the city was completely burnt by the next morning. This compelled Ceredic to come forth, and give battle to his enemies ; but that availed him nothing, and he was compelled to retreat across the Severn into Wales. The Saxons then made an utter devastation of the country, set fire to the adjacent cities, and continued these outrages, until they had almost burned up the whole surface of the island from the one sea to the other, so that the tillage was everywhere destroyed, and a general destruction made of the husbandmen and clergy with fire

And since the time of the lover of songs has arrived,
 May he know the promised land of heaven!

and sword. This terrible calamity caused the rest to flee whithersoever they had any hopes of safety. (*Giles' Geoffrey*; and *Myv.*, ii, 360; *Gee's ed.*, 471; 547.)

The commander of the Saxons in this war was not "Gormund, King of Africa", as is alleged by Geoffrey, but Ceawlin, the King of the West Saxons, whose exploits on this occasion are thus recorded in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* :—

"A.D. 577.—This year Cuthwine and Ceawlin fought against the Britons, and they slew three kings, Comail, Condidan, and Farinmail, at the place which is called Deorham, and took three cities from them, Gloucester, and Cirencester, and Bath-ceaster."

It has been supposed that two of these kings were Cynddylan, Prince of Salop, and Caranmael his brother: the site of Deorham is not determined, but it is supposed to be Derham(?).

Ceawlin fought against the Britons again, in aid of the Angles, in 584, when the Angles were defeated; but Ceawlin, coming to their assistance, again defeated the British victors; and in 591, he himself was driven out of his country by a coalition of Britons and Angles. He died, or fell in battle, in 593. It does not appear, however, that Ceredic was engaged in these latter conflicts; and after his defeat in 577 he is said to have ceded Lloegria, or the British possessions in the English counties bordering on the Principality, to the Saxons.

It is not easy to discover why Ceredic should have been spoken of thus harshly by Geoffrey; nor can we now discern what were the civil wars alluded to; as he could scarcely have been made answerable for the wars of Iago ab Beli, Cynan Garwyn, and Llemenig. He died in 613, according to Owen; but in the *Annales Cambriæ*, the entry is as follows:—"616 Annus, Ceretic obiit." The editor of the *Monumenta* supposes him to be the Ceredic, King of the Britons, named by Bede (*Book iv*, ch. 23), and the Certic expelled from Elmete by Edwin, son of Alla (*Nennius, Genealogical Appendices*). The last cannot be correct, as Ceredic had ceased to reign nearly ten years before Edwin became King of Northumbria; and the first is only just probable. For the particulars, see the life of St. Hilda (*Bede*, iv, ch. 23).

(On reconsideration, the opinion here given does not appear to be sound; and the discrepancy is easily explained by reference to the different systems of chronology adopted by the Saxon and the Cambrian annalists, which cause the dates of the former to be three years in advance of those of the latter. In the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*,

XXIX.

Keredic ¹ Karadwy gynran	310
Keimyat ² yg cat gouaran ³	
Ysgwyt eur crwydyr ⁴ cadlan	
Gwaewawr ⁵ uswyd agkyuan	
Kledyual dywal diwan ⁶	
Mal gwr catwei wyaluan	315
Kynn kysdud daear hynn ⁷ affan	
O daffar diffynei e vann	
Ys deupo kynnwys yg kyman ⁸	
Can ⁹ drindawt en undawt gyuan. ¹⁰	

XXX.

Pan gryssyei garadawc y ¹ gat	320
Mal ² baed coet ³ trychwn trychyat	

¹ *Caredig*, 1, 3. ² *Ceinyat*, 1, 2; *ceiniad*, 3, 5. ³ *Gowan*, 1, 2, 3, 5.
⁴ *Orwydr*, 1, 2, 3. ⁵ *Gwaecawr*, 1, 2, 3. ⁶ *Divan*, 5. ⁷ *Cyn*, 1, 2, 3, 4.
⁸ *Ygcyman*, 1; *agcyman*, 2, 3; *yg cyfan*, 5. ⁹ *Gan*, 3. ¹⁰ *Gyvan*, 1, 2, 3, 4.

¹ *I*, 3. ² *Mab*, 1, 2, 3. ³ *Coch*, 1, 2, 3.

Edwin is said to have begun his reign in 617; and in the *Annales Cambriæ* we are told "Ceretic obiit, 616." If we add three years to the latter, Ceretic will have died in the second year of Edwin's reign; and in this way it is quite possible that he might have been driven from Elved by the Saxon king, for it would seem that he immediately reduced all Britain to subjection, excepting Kent.)¹

The *Iolo MSS.* contain the following saying, which shows the character of the man, and reveals the cause of the censure:—

"Hast thou heard the saying of Ceredic,
 A wise and select king?
 Every one has his foot on the fallen." (*Iolo MSS.*, 664.)

This was probably the moral drawn from his own experience. Let us rejoice that Aneurin did not swell the crowd of censors, but poured out a graceful tribute to the memory of one who seems to have been an amiable man.

¹ [This paragraph is written on a fly-leaf inserted in the MS. on a revision of the essay by the author.]

XXIX.

To KEREDIC ab Cunedda Wledig.

Ceredig (or Keredic) delightful, foremost
 Contender in the gashing fight ;
 His golden shield ranged through the battlefield ;
 His spear was in fragments shivered ;
 His sword was fierce and strong ;
 And like a hero he maintained his station,
 Prior to the custody of earth, prior to the grave,¹
 He defended his post from a sense of duty.
 May he obtain a perfect reception
 From the Trinity in Unity complete.

XXX.

To the Memory of CARADOC VREICHVRAS and GWRIEN.

When Caradoc hastened to the battle,²
 Like the silvan boar was the down-stroke of the hewer ;

¹ The word in the original is *apan* or *affan*, though not the same as *aphan* in verse 1. Translators do not agree respecting it :—

“*Affan*, s.m. (pan): conflict, uproar, trouble.”—Pughe.

“*Affan*, s.m. *uffern*, *affan*, not high, deep.”—Richards; whom I prefer.

² This verse has been translated by no less than five persons, and as there are minute shades of difference in all, it may be deemed incum-

XXIX. Mr. Probert appends to this and the preceding verse two long notes; the one to show that the last line of verse xxviii embodies the bardic theory respecting the transmigration of souls, and the other to deny that the Trinity here alluded to is that of Christianity. The Bardic theory embodied in the preface to Owen's *Heroic Elegies of Llywarch Hen*, is not yet established; and it may rationally be doubted whether much of it is not the invention of the Bardic Chair of Glamorgan. And as to the Trinity of Plato, the note has nought to recommend it but its ingenuity. It is clear enough that the early Britons were worshippers of one God; but the Trinity of Plato never appears to have been known to them; and the only Trinity they ever knew was that of Athanasius, and of orthodox Christianity.

Tarw bedin en trin gomynyat⁴
 Ef llithyei wydgnw⁵ oe anghat
 Ys vyn tyst⁶ ewein⁷ vab eulat
 A gwryen a gwynn a gwryat

325

⁴ *Gornynyat*, 2, 3. ⁵ *Wyd gwn*, 1, 2. ⁶ *Uy*, 1, 2, 3. ⁷ *Owein*, 3.

xxx. Caradoc, the person named in this and the following verse, is by general consent assumed to be identical with Caradoc Vreichvras, or "brawny-armed", the hero of the romances, and the right-hand man of the celebrated Arthur. Lady Charlotte Guest (*Mabinogion*, ii, 434) asserts that the subject of this verse was the famous hero; the Rev. Thomas Price (*Hanes Cymru*, p. 270) holds the same view; and there is no other difficulty in accepting it than the assertion that he was engaged in the wars of Arthur, whose career was closed in 542. If Caradoc was a man in years in 542, it is not probable that he would have gone all the way from Brecon to Yorkshire in 603; but we know that Llemenig and Llywarch Hen, who lived until 642, are also said to have been the guests of Arthur; and as it is possible that the veteran warrior of 603 might have been the companion of Arthur when young, the discrepancy is not very great.

"Caradawg (Vreichvras) or 'with the brawny arm'," say Owen and Williams, "a distinguished warrior, was the son of Llyr Merini, a prince of Cornwall about the end of the fifth century." Our hero is thus located in Cornwall. Lady Charlotte Guest adopts this assertion, and adds from *Triad* 64 (*Myv.*, ii, 68; Gee's ed., 407) that he was also chief elder of Gelliwig, the royal residence in that part of the island; and Professor Rees appears to assign him the same local habitation, when he states (p. 202)—"that in consequence of the extermination of the race of Cludwyn ab Brychan by Dyfnwal, a Pictish or Caledonian prince, Caradoc Fraichfras, the son of Gwen, the grand-daughter of Brychan, appears to have marched *westward from the Severn*, and to have recovered (from the Gwyddelian settlers in North Wales) the principal part of Brecknockshire, which he transmitted to his descendants." A much more natural account of his settlement in Brecknock than the bringing of him all the way from Cornwall may be obtained from a glance at his genealogical descent. Caradoc was the son of Llyr Merini, the son of Einion Yrth, and grandson of Cunedda Wledig, and, therefore, was of a Cumberland and not a Cornwall family. Llyr Merini probably came to Wales with, or soon after, his brother Caswallon Law Hir, who reduced Anglesey. Indeed, if the conquest of

He was the bull of battle in the cutting down of conflict,
 And allured the wild dogs when he grasped (the spear),
 As is testified to me by Owen the son of Eulad
 And Gwrien and Gwynn and Gwriat.

bent upon me to give the reasons for my own version. First in the order of time comes the Rev. Evan Evans (Ieuan Brydydd Hir), who translated the second line thus:—

“Filius apri sylvestris,” etc. (*Dissert.*, p. 73),

from which it is evident that he had read *mab* for *mal*, *son* for *like*, which is the better reading. Probert has adopted the same reading, and has also read *coch*, red, for *coed*, wood: his version is as follows:—

“A young and ruddy boar”,

which is certainly unwarranted, in addition to being the worse reading. Davies renders it, “Like a wild boar”, and the Rev. T. Price agrees with me. The remainder of the line—“trychwn trychyat”—has been variously rendered—“he cut his way and burst forward” (Davies), “he would fiercely tear” (Probert), “tearing and maiming” (Price), and “qui truncando mutilavit hostes” (Evans), which is the best of the four; but neither appears to convey the exact meaning. An elliptical expression in line 4 has also led to variations:—

Anglesey was the last of the victories over the Irish, the conquest of the Brecknock Gwyddyl by Caradoc must have taken place before, and, consequently, Llyr must have been there at an earlier period. This, however, is only one of the many discrepancies which occur in this part of Cambrian history; and it is more reasonable to suppose that Llyr came here about the beginning of the sixth century. In Wales¹ he appears to have become acquainted with Gwen, the grand-daughter of Brychan Brycheiniog, by whom he had Caradog Freichfras, who succeeded to the Lordship of Brecknock in the right of his mother.

¹ The local habitation of Llyr may be inferred from the following notice:—“Llyr Merini, of the line of Coel and father of Caradog Fraichfras, is classed among the saints. Llanllyr, now called Llanyre, a chapel to Nantmel in Radnorshire and Llanllyr, formerly a nunnery in Cardiganshire, are dedicated either to him or another saint of the name of Llyr, a virgin, whose commemoration was held October 21.” (Rees’ *Welsh Saints*, 169.) Might not the first be named after Llyr, and the second after the virgin?

O gattraeth⁸ o gymynat⁹
 O vryn hydwn kynn caffat

⁸ *Galltraeth*, 1, 2. ⁹ *Gornynyat*, 2, 3.

(Jones' *Hist. Brecknock*, i, 53.) There is no sufficient reason to believe that he ever was located anywhere else. His connection with the North would naturally lead him to join in the Cattræth campaign, from which, having fallen in the fight, he never returned to Brecknock.

The character attributed to him in the text is in admirable keeping with that of the hero of romance, who is usually represented to be a perfect Mars. Several of the *Triads* contain notices of him, in one of which he is called one of the three "Cadwarchawg", or knights of battle of the Isle of Britain; and in an *englyn*, usually attributed to Arthur himself, he is called "Caradawg Colovyn Cymru", or "the pillar of Wales". Another *Triad* celebrates his noble horse Lluagor, "the opener of the host". Caradawg is mentioned by Aneurin in the *Gododin* in terms of high admiration for his exploits at the battle of Cattræth, where he is supposed to have fallen. So celebrated a hero naturally became a distinguished character in romance; so we find accordingly that he is not forgotten in the *Mabinogion*, where he is called "the chief counsellor and cousin of King Arthur" (*Dream of Rhonabwy*). As Caradoc Brise Bras he also occurs in Anglo-Norman romance as one of the principal heroes of the Round Table. Another (?) warrior at the same time is mentioned in the *Legendary Life of St. Collen*, who was called Vreichvras from breaking his arm in the battle of Hiraddug, which injury made that arm larger than the other. (Williams' *Biog. Dict.*)

His wife was the celebrated Tegau Eurvron, who was no less remarkable for her virtue than her beauty. (For some further particulars, see *Mabinogion*, ii, 434-6.)

Gwrin was probably one of the younger sons of Caradoc, as we may conclude from the allusion in the poem to his father. I am not aware that there is any positive authority for this assertion, but there is a Llanwrin¹ in the neighbouring county of Montgomery, which seems to connect a person of that name with the dominions of this family, and

¹ Attributed by Williams' *Biog. Dict.* to Gwrin ab Cynddillig ab Nwython ab Gildas.

From Cattræth, from the cutting down,
From the hill of Hydwn before it was obtained ;

- “ Is lignum (*i.e.*, hastam) ex manu contorsit.” (Evans.) Bad.
 “ He allured the wild dogs | which were ranging at liberty.” (Probert.)
 “ The wild dogs were allured | by the motion of his hand.” (Davies.)
 “ He drew after him the wild dogs | (to the prey) from his hand.”
 (Price.)

Evans has failed to elicit the sense of the line. The latter part of each of the other lines is only a translation of the two words *oe anghat*, “with,” “from,” “or by his hand”. The first part has been correctly rendered by the others, but as there is an ellipse in the last, the variations have arisen from attempts to fill it up. The words, literally translated, would be :—

“ He allured wood-dogs $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{from} \\ \text{with} \\ \text{by} \end{array} \right\}$ his hand (or grasp).”

The fifth translator was the poet Gray, whose spirited version I sub-join :—

“ Have ye seen the tusky boar,
Or the bull with sullen roar,
On surrounding foes advance?
So Caradoc bore his lance.”

the following *englyn* certainly connects a person of that name with Cefn Digoll in the immediate neighbourhood :—

“ E Beteu yn nhir uynyt (Cefn Digoll) yn lluyr
Y guir lluosit
Bet Gwrien guruhd engauat a Lluytawc fab Liwelit.”
(*Myv.*, i, 80 ; Gee’s ed., 67.)

Before taking leave of this family, it is but fair to remark that the authorities do not agree respecting the paternity of Llyr Merini. A MS. quoted in the *Iolo MSS.* twice states him to be the son of Mcirchion, of the line of Coel Godebog (see Rees, p. 103) ; and twice represents him to be the son of Einion Yrth (*Iolo MSS.*, 523-4, 528) ; and another MS. (“ Bonedd y Saint”, *Myv.*, ii, 48 ; Gee, 428) states Caradoc to have been of the line of Cunedda ; Owen (sub *Llyr Merini*) states him to be the son of Einion Yrth.

Gwriad. There is only one person of this name known to Cambrian records that was living about this period, but there was another, a

Gwedy med gloew ar anghat
Ni weles wrien¹⁰ e¹¹ dat.¹²

¹⁰ *Fron*, 1, 2, 3; *urun*, 4; *vrún vel uryen*, 5; *uron*, 6. The Rev. E. Evans, using the same copy as the No. 6 of Williams, *i.e.*, MS. P.P., reads *wrien* here (*Dissertatio de Bardis*, p. 73). Williams' text has *vrún*. ¹¹ *I*, 3. ¹² In 1 this verse does not end here.

brother of Rhodri Mawr, who was slain by the Saxons in Anglesey in A.D. 873. Of the other we have the following notice:—

“Gwriad, the son of Gwrien, in North Britain, is recorded in the *Triads* as one of the three princes of foreign origin who were elected to sovereign rule for their prowess in battle. The other two were Cadavael Wylt, who was made King of North Wales, and Hyvaidd, the son of Bleiddig, who had a principality in South Wales.” Williams further states that he lived in the early part of the sixth century, and fought at the battle of Cattræth, of which the words of Aneurin are no proof.

This was probably the Gwriad of the Bard; but was his father not the Gwrien of the text? I think not, as it is clear that the following *englyn* does not relate to the same person as the preceding; and it is probable that there were two Gwriens:—

“E Beteu ae cut gwitwal
Ny llesseint heb ymtial
Gwrien Morien a Morial.”

It is also probable that the following verse couples Gwrien and Gwriad with Gwen ab Llywarch:—

“Y beteu ae gulich kauad
Gwir ni llesseint in lladrâd
Gwen ac Urien ac Uriad.”

(*Myv.*, i, 79; Gee's ed., 66.)

Of Owen ab Eulad there is nothing known in addition to the notice here made of him, nor is anything further known of Eulad the father. Owen and Williams infer that Eulad fought at Cattræth, but the only authority (Aneurin) does not justify such a conclusion; and if it did, it would have had reference to the son rather than to the father.

Of persons named Gwynn, there were three living about this period:—

1. Gwyn ab Cyndrwyn and brother of Cynddylan, Prince of Powys, named by Llywarch Hen:—

After the clear mead and the grasping (of spears),
Gwrien did not see his father.

“The hall of Cynddylan is gloomy this night,
Bereaved of the sons of Cyndrwyn,
Cynon, and Gwion, and Gwyn.” (*Her. Elegies*, p. 81.)

But it is probable that he is not the person here meant.

II. Gwyn, the son of Cynyr Varvdrwch, a saint who lived in the sixth century. He and his brothers—Gwynno, Gwynnoro, Celynin, and Ceitho—are said to have been born at one birth; and they are the five saints to whom Llanpumsaint in Caermarthenshire is dedicated, as well as the chapel-of-ease called Pumsaint, which formerly existed in the parish of Cynwyl Caio. Their festival was held on the day of All Saints. (*Rees' Saints*, 213.)

III. Gwyn ab Nudd, the grandson of Llyr Merini by Tywynwedd, the daughter of Amlawdd Wledig, and the nephew of Caradoc Vreichvras. (*Iolo MSS.*, 523.) He appears to be the person named by Aneurin:—

“Gwyn ab Nudd was a chieftain who lived in the early (latter) part of the sixth century, and is recorded in the *Triads* as one of the three sublime astronomers of Britain, who by their knowledge of the nature and qualities of the stars, could predict whatever was wished to be known to the end of the world. There is also preserved in the *Myvyrian Archaeology* a dialogue between Gwyn ab Nudd and Gwyddno Garanhir, in which he is represented as a victorious warrior (vols. i, 165; ii, 71; Gee's ed., 126, 409). He is, however, more celebrated in Welsh romance as the King of the Fairies, *Brenhin y Tylwyth Têg*, in which capacity many interesting particulars respecting him have been collected in the notes to Guest's *Mabinogion*, ii, 323.” (*Williams' Biog. Dict.*)

Of Bryn Hydwn, *i.e.*, of its locality, nothing is known. There was a Hydwn Dwn, a son of Ceredig ab Cunedda, who might have given his name to some hill; and it appears that the hall of Cynddylan was situated on the top of the rock of Hydwyth. (*Owen's Heroic Elegies of Llywarch Hen*, p. 77.) There is a Bryn Hynod at the junction of Merioneth and Montgomery, and an abundance of other Bryns as well, but it is more probable that this is Hodnet in the county of Salop. Edward Lhuyd in his *Elucidations of Llywarch Hen*, who names *Carreg Hydwyth*, appends to the name these words: “Hydwyth, *nom. loci*, an Hodnet apud Salopienses?” and, *sub Carreg Hydwyth*, he says: “*Rupes in qua aedes Condolani Uriconi sitæ. An Berry quod à colle supra memorato non longe abest?*” (*Arch. Britt.*, 258, col. 3.)

XXXI.

Gwyr a¹ gryssyasant² buant gytneit³ 330
 Hoedyl verryon⁴ medwon⁵ uch med hidleit
 Gosgord mynydawc enwawc⁶ en reit
 Gwerth eu gwled e⁷ ved vu eu heneit

¹ *Gwyr*, 1. ² *Gryssiast*, 3. ³ *Gytneit*, 2, 3. ⁴ *Hoedlvyrrion*,
 1, 2, 3. ⁵ Not in 4. ⁶ *Eurawc*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁷ *O*, 1, 2, 3, 4.

XXXI. The Caradoc of this verse is the hero of the preceding. There were two persons of the name of Madawc living about this period in addition to the son of Brwyn ab Cunedda, who has been already named. One of these was Madawc the son of Rhun ab Maelgwn, of whom we have the following notice :—

“Madog ab Rhun, a chieftain who lived at the close of the sixth century. He served under Brochwel Yscythrog at the battle of Bangor Orchard in 607 A.D., and is recorded in the *Triads* as one of the three sentinels, ‘tri phorthawr gwaith Perllan Vangor’. The other two were Gwgawn Gleddeyrud and Gwion the son of Cyndrwyn.” (Williams’ *Biog. Dict.*)

The history given in this *Triad* appears to be inaccurate. The battle of Bangor or Chester (Caer Lleon Gawr) is placed by the *Annales Cambriæ* in 613, and no notice is taken of the presence of these three; but if the date here assigned to the battle of Cattraeth be true, they must have been slain ten years before. However, the fact that Madawc ab Rhun is there named with Gwgan and Gwion, who are also named by Aneurin in this verse, makes it probable that the Madawc of this verse was the son of Rhun. But as Madawc is here also named with Pyll, the son of Llywarch Hen, it becomes also probable that Madawc ab Llywarch, the brother of Pyll, may be the man. Between such probabilities it is difficult to decide. Some notice of the son of the old bard has been given already, and his name will again appear in the next paragraph.

Pyll, there need not be much doubt, was the son of Llywarch Hen, and as our whole knowledge of him is embodied in the eloquent words of his father, I shall quote the passage entire :—

“When Pyll was slain gashing was the round,
 And the blood on the hair seemed horrible;
 And on each bank of the Fraw rapid was the stream.

XXXI.

To CARADOC and many other Chiefs.

The warriors hastened, stepping together,
 Short-lived drunkards from clarified mead !
 The retinue of Mynyddog, illustrious in the trial ;¹
 Their souls (lives) were the price of their mead feast.

¹ There are two readings of the original here, both equally good, and each supported by four copies. The other would be :—

“ ————— abounding with gold whenever need.”

“ A room might be formed from the wings of shields,
 Which would hold one standing upright,
 That were broken on the grasp of Pyll.

“ The chosen man amongst my sons,
 When each assaulted the foe,
 Was fair Pyll, raging like fire through flax.

“ Gracefully he placed his thigh over the saddle
 Of his steed, on the near and the farther side,
 Pyll raging like fire through a chimney.

“ He was gentle, with a hand eager for battle ; he was music to the
 mourners ;
 He was a tower of strength on his steed of war ;
 Fair Pyll, fearful in his covering of separation.

“ Should he be at the door of his tent
 On the dark grey steed,
 At the sight a hero would be conceived by the wife of Pyll.

“ There was fractured before Pyll a strong skull.
 Seldom was there before him a coward swindler
 That would not cry out ; the weak is easily satisfied.

“ Fair Pyll ! widely spread his fame.
 Am I not invigorated since that thou hast existed
 As my son, and joyful to have known thee !

“ The best three men under heaven
 That guarded their habitation—
 Pyll, and Selyv, and Sanddev.

Caradawc a madawc pyll ac yeuan
 Gwgawn a gwiawn, gwynn a chynvan, 335
 Peredur arveu dur gwawrdur^s ac aedan
 Achubyat eng gawr ysgwydawr angkyman

^s *Gwawr dur*, 1, 2, 3, 8.

“I gave a shield to Pyll ;

But before he slept, was it not broken ?

Conflict to him was welcome.

“Should Cymry come, and the predatory host of Lloegr,

With number on each side,

Pyll would show them conduct.

“Behold my son that was warlike and faultless ;

The bards will extend his fame where

Pyll would not have gone had he longer lived.

“Nor Pyll nor Madawg would be long-lived

If, according to custom, there was a calling.

Would they give hostages? They would not give hostages; quarter
 they never asked.” (*Heroic Elegies*, pp. 137-140.)

Of the person named Ieuan there is nothing known; but it is probable that this is the same person as the Iaen named in the *Mabinogi* of Kilhwch (p. 260):—

“Teregud the son of Iaen, and Sulyen the son of Iaen, and Bradwen the son of Iaen, and Moren the son of Iaen, and Siawn the son of Iaen, and Caradawc the son of Iaen. They were men of Caerdathal, of Arthur's kindred on the father's side.” (Guest's *Mabinogion*, ii, 260.)

Caerdathal is in Caernarvonshire, crowning the summit of an eminence near Llanrwst, and is peculiar for having large stones set upright to guard its entrance. It was the seat of Math ab Mathonwy before the Gwyddelians were expelled from that part of North Wales, then called Gwynedd. Caerdathal is named by Cynddelw. (*Myv.*, i, 206; Gee's ed., 151; *Cambro Briton*, ii, 3; and Guest's *Mabinogion*, ii, 234.)

Gwgan most likely was Gwgan Gleddyvrud the son of Caradoc Vreichvras. He is recorded in the *Triads* as one of the “three blocks of battle of the Isle of Britain”, the others being Gilbert the son of Cadgyffro and Morvran ab Tegid. He is called, in conjunction with Madoc ap Rhun and Gwion ab Cyndrwyn, one of the three sentinels of the battle of Bangor Orchard. He had a celebrated horse named Bucheslom. A saying of his, or Gwgon Gwron, is preserved in the *Iolo MSS.* (p. 659):—

Caradoc and Madoc, Pyll and Ieuan,
 Gwgan and Gwion, Gwynn and Cynvan,
 Peledur the steel-armed, Gwawrddur and Aeddan,
 Who escaped from the fight with a broken shield ;

“Hast thou heard the saying of Gwgan
 After escaping from the turmoil?
 Great promise and a small gift ;”

And his grave is mentioned (*Myv.*, i, 81 ; Gee’s ed., 67). If he fell at Cattraeth, he was not at the battle of Chester.

Gwion, Gwyn, and Cynvan (Cynan) were probably the sons of Cyndrwyn, named in the verse quoted from *Llywarch Hen*, in the notes to the last verse. Respecting the battle of Bangor, or Chester, the same remark will apply to Gwiawn ; but with respect to Cynvan, it may, perhaps, be doubted whether the person intended is not Cynfar Cadgaddug. The *Iolo MSS.* contain a saying attributed to Gwiawn :—

“Hast thou heard the saying of Gwiawn,
 The observer of accurate sight?
 The mighty God will determine every right.” (P. 658.)

There was a person named Cynvran the son of Brychan. (See Rees and Owen.)

Peredur is one of the most distinguished knights in the whole range of romance ; his adventures have found their way over the greater part of Europe ; and the romance of Peredur finds a place in the early literature of Wales, England, France, Germany, and Scandinavia. Of his real history, however, there is but very little known ; and from the description given in the *Mabinogi* of Peredur ab Evrawc, it would seem that he did not spring from any very distinguished family. “Earl Evrawc owned the earldom of the North, and he had seven sons. And Evrawc maintained himself not so much by his own possessions as by attending tournaments, and wars, and combats. And as it often befalls those who join in encounters and wars, he was slain, and six of his sons likewise. Now, the name of his seventh son was Peredur, and he was the youngest of them.” (*Mabinogion*, v. i, 297.) For further particulars, see the tale itself. Peredur is frequently alluded to by the bards of the Middle Ages in terms illustrative of the high esteem in which his deeds of prowess were then held. Gruffydd ab Meredydd, who flourished about the end of the thirteenth century, in his *Elegy on Tudur ab Goronwy*, one of the ancestors of the House of Tudor, mentions him in the following terms :—

A chet⁹ lledessynt¹⁰ wy lladassan
Neb y¹¹ eu tymhyr nyt atcorsan.¹²

XXXII.

Gwyr a gryssyassant buant gytvaeth ¹	340
Blwydyn od uch ² med mawr eu ³ haruaeth	
Mor dru eu hadrawd wy angawr hiraeth	
Gwenwyn eu hadlam nyt mab ⁴ mam ae ⁵ maeth	
Mor hir eu hetlit ⁶ ac ⁷ eu hetgyllaeth ⁸	
En ol gwyr pebyr temyr gwinvaeth ⁹	345
Gwlyget gododin ¹⁰ en erbyn fraeth	
Ancwyn ¹¹ mynydawe enwawc e gwnaeth	
A phrit er prynu breithyell gatraeth. ¹²	

⁹ *Achet*, 1. ¹⁰ *Lledesid*, 5. ¹¹ *I*, 3. ¹² This is continuation in 1 of verse xxx.

¹ *Gyhaeth*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ² *O dduch*, 1; *oduch*, 2. ³ *Y*, 1, 2, 3.
⁴ Not in 1, 6. ⁵ *Au*, 6. ⁶ *Hedid*, 1, 2; *hediad*, 3. ⁷ *Ag*, 1, 2.
⁸ *Hetgyllaeth*; this and the next are transposed in 1. ⁹ *Gwinsaeth*;
this line is not in 6. ¹⁰ *Gwawdodyn*, 3. ¹¹ *Ancwyn*, 4. ¹² *Gall-
traeth*, 1, 2, 3.

“O bountiful Creator of the radiant sun and waning moon!
Sad is the fall of the chief of valiant deeds;
Eagle of the battle-charges, equal to Peredur—
Tudor, assaulter of the Angles, he who never shunned the fight.”
(*Myv. Arch.*, i, 438; Gee's ed.)

In the old romances he is celebrated as one of those engaged in quest of the San-Graal, in which character he is also spoken of in the *Triads*:

“The three knights of the Court of Arthur who obtained the Greal—Galath the son of Lawnselot du Lak, and Peredur the son of Earl Evrog, and Bort the son of King Bort. The two first were undefiled in body, and the third had only known a woman once, through temptation at the time when he won from the daughter of Brangor, who was an empress in Constantinople, and from whom came the largest family in the world; and from the race of Joseph of Arimathea were descended the whole three, and from the line of David the prophet, as is testified by the story of the Greal.” (*Myv.*, ii, 14; Gee's ed., 392).

“The three knights of the Court of Arthur who kept the Graal—Cadawc the son of Gwynlliw; and Illtyd, knight and saint; and Peredur the son of Evrawc.” (*Myv.*, ii, 75; Gee's ed., 411.)

And if they were slain they also slew :
None returned to their home.

XXXII.

To GWYLYGET of Gododin.

The warriors hastened forward : they had feasted together ;
And that year, over mead, great was their design.
How sad it is to relate the grief caused by their covetousness !
Poison was their choice, though their mothers had not
indulged their sons ;
How long the resentment and the sorrow !
After the valiant warrior, at the hall of the wine feast,
Gwilyget of Gododin for the frank heroes,
The allowance¹ of Mynyddawc was laudably supplied
And dear—as the purchase of the battle of Cattræth.

¹ *Ancwyn*, a dainty delicacy or sweetmeat ; the second course or service ; the dessert ; a customary allowance of meat and drink to officers or attendants at the Court. “The *Penteulu* : his allowance is three messes and three hornfulls of the best liquor that shall be in the house.” (Pughe's *Dict.*)

There is a saying in the *Iolo MSS.* which is attributed to this hero :—

“Hast thou heard the saying of Peredur,
Sovereign of the Isle of Britain ?
Harder is the brave than a blade of steel.” (P. 662.)

Of Gwawrddur also there is nothing known save the fact of his existence and a military reputation. He is named among the knights of Arthur in the romance of *Kilhwch* :—

“And Dnach, and Grathach, and Nerthach, the sons of Gwawrddur Kyruach ; these men came from the confines of hell.” (*Mabinogion*, ii, 259.)

And there is an allusion made to the war-steed of this hero—“March Gwarddur”—in the poem called *Can y Meirch*. (*Myv.*, i, 44 ; Gee's ed., 42.)

The Aeddan of this verse was probably Aeddan ab Gavran, the King of the Scots of Argyle, of whom a long sketch will be appended to verse lxi.

XXXII. Gwilyget, or Gwilyget of Gododin, is mentioned again in verse lxxxiii ; verses lxxxiv and lxxxv appear to refer to the same per-

XXXIII.

Gwyr a aeth gatraeth¹ yg cat yg gawr²
 Nerth meirch a gwrymseirch³ ac ysgwydawr 350
 Peleidy⁴ ar gychwyn a llym waewawr⁵
 A llurugeu claer a chledyuawr

¹ *Galltraeth*, 1, 2, 3. ² *Ygcawr*, 1, 2; *anghawr*, 3. ³ *Gwrwm seirch*, 2. ⁴ *Helydr*, 5. ⁵ *Waeawr*, 1, 2, 3.

son; and verse lxxxvi contains a fuller account of this feast, with glimpses of the domestic arrangements of those early times. This feast gave Gwlyget a wide celebrity, and, accordingly, we find tradition assigning him a celebrated horn, which Kilhwch charged to obtain for his wedding with Olwen:—

“Though thou get this, there is yet that which thou wilt not get. The horn of Gwlgawd Gododin to serve us with liquor that night. He will not give of his own free will, and thou wilt not be able to compel him.” (*Mabinogion*, v. ii, 283.)

It is probable that the horn of Gwlgawd formed one of the curiosities of the Isle of Britain; like “the horn of Bran Galed—what liquor so ever was desired was found therein.” (*Mabinogion*, ii, 354.)

Gwlyget appears to have been the chief of the men of Argoed; and his name is still preserved in Culgaith, the name of a place to the east of Penrith.

XXXIII. Rhuvawn or Rhuvon Befr, *i.e.*, Rhuvon the fair, was, according to some authorities, the son of Deorath Wledig, and, according to others, the son of Gwyddno Garan Hir, the Lord of the upper part of Cardiganshire. Rhuvon lived at the close of the sixth century, and was a favourite with both the bards and the romancists. He is named again in this poem, in conjunction with Gwgan, Gwion, and Gwlyget, as men of the manliness of Gwriaf. He was distinguished, with Rhun ab Maelgwn and Owain ab Urien, as one of the three immaculate princes of Britain. After his fall in battle his relations gave his weight in gold for his body; and on that account, he, and Madog ab Brwyn, and Ceugant Beillio, were called the three golden corpses of the Isle of Britain. Howel ab Owen Gwynedd speaks of his grave thus:—

“A white wave sprays over the grave
 Where rests Rhuvon Bevyr, chief of princes.”

(*Myv.*, i, 277; Gee's ed., 198.)

XXXIII.

To RHUVAWN HIR ab Gwyddno.

Warriors hastened to Cattræth. In the fight, in the shout,
The strength of steeds, and harness, and shields (was shown),
Flying javelins, and sharp spears,
Shining armour and swords.

The bard, Gwilym Ddu, names the river which flows over his grave:—

“ O dudwed fawr lled hyd for llawn yngwy
Hyd Gawrnwy fudd rhwy ar fedd Rhuawn.”
(*Myv.*, i, 411 ; Gee’s ed., 277.)

And the grave itself is thus named in *Englynion y Beddau*:—

“ Neum duc i Elphin
Y brovi vy Martin
Uch Kinran gessefin
Bet Rywawn ry ieuanc daerin.”
(*Myv.*, i, 81 ; Gee’s ed., 67 ; *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 32.)

There is also an elegy in the *Myv.*, which is attributed to his father Gwyddno, and which appears to relate to the subject of this notice, though he is not expressly named in it. This also represents his grave to be on the sea-shore ; and from all these indications I conclude that Rhuvon was buried at the extreme west of Anglesey, where a small river falls into the Camlyn Bay to the north of *Carnedd* Point, and in the region of Gwawrnwy, from whence Llanfair yn Nghornwy derives its name.

Rhuvon died young, but he has very much interested the present writer ; and perhaps the following description of him, as he appeared to the imagination of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, may afford some interest to others:—

“ Then lo ! they heard a mighty sound which was much louder than that which they had heard before ; and when they looked round towards the sound, behold a ruddy youth, without beard or whiskers, noble of mien, and mounted on a stately courser. And from the shoulders and the front of the knees downwards the horse was bay ; and upon the man was a dress of red satin wrought with yellow silk, and yellow were the borders of his scarf. And such parts of his apparel and of the trappings of his horse as were yellow, as yellow were they as the

Ragorei tyllei trwy vydinawr
 Kwydei⁶ bym⁷ pymwnt⁸ rac y lavnawr
 Ruuawn hir⁹ ef rodei¹⁰ eur é¹¹ allawr 355
 A chet a choelvein kein y¹² gerdawr.

XXXIV.

Ny wnaethpwyt neuad mor orchynnan¹
 Mor vawr² mor oruawr³ y gyvlavan

⁶ *Cwyd ei*, 2, 3. ⁷ *Cym*, 1, 2. ⁸ *Pymwynt*, 1, 2; sign of omission in 3. ⁹ *Rhuwawn*, 1, 2; *Rhufain*, 3. ¹⁰ *Eodei*, 1. ¹¹ *I*, 3. ¹² *I*, 3.

¹ *Orehyman*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ² *Ofawr vel owawr*, 5. ³ *O wawr*, 1, 2; *orvawr*, 4, 6; *wawr*, 3.

blossom of the broom; and such as were red, were as ruddy as the ruddiest blood in the world." (*Mabinogion*, ii, 398, 399.)

That is a picture of our hero in undress: here we have him armed:—

"They saw a knight coming towards them on a light grey horse, and the left foreleg of the horse was jet black to the centre of his hoof. And the knight and the horse were fully accoutred with huge heavy blue armour. And a robe of honour of yellow diapered satin was upon the knight, and the borders of the robe were blue. And the housings of the horse were jet black, with borders of bright yellow. And on the thigh of the youth was a sword, long, and three-edged, and heavy. And the scabbard was of red cut leather, and the belt of new red deerskin, having upon it many golden slides and a buckle of the bone of the seahorse, the tongue of which was jet black. A golden helmet was upon the head of the knight, wherein were set sapphire stones of great virtue. And at the top of the helmet, was the figure of a flame-coloured lion, with a fiery red tongue, issuing above a foot from his mouth, and with venomous eyes, crimson-red in his head. And the knight came, bearing in his hand a thick ashen lance, the head whereof, which had been newly steeped in blood, was overlaid with silver." (*Ibid.*, ii, 412, 413.)

One picture more, and I have done:—

"After this they saw a troop coming towards the ford (of Rhyd y Groes on the Severn). 'Iddawc', inquired Rhonabwy, 'to whom does yonder troop belong?' They are the fellows of Rhuvawn

He excelled ; he pierced through the army,
 And five *pymwnts*¹ fell before his blade.
 Rhuvawn the Tall, he gave gold to the altar,
 And to the minstrel, gifts and precious tokens.

XXXIV.

To WID the son of Peithan.

A hall so extensive has not been made,
 So great, so very great was the slaughter :

¹ See *ante* (p. 183) for note on *pymwnt*.

Pebyr the son of Prince Deorthach. And these men are honourably served with meat and bragget, and are freely beloved by the daughters of the kings of the Island of Britain. And this they merit, for they were ever in the front and the rear in every peril. And he saw but one hue upon the men and the horses of this troop, for they were all as red as blood. And when one of the knights rode forth from the troop, he looked like a pillar of fire glancing athwart the sky. And this troop encamped above the ford." (*Ibid.*, ii, 401.)

But was Rhuvawn the son of Deorthach or Gwyddno? It is very difficult to decide. The romances of Rhonabwy and Kilhwch call him the son of Deorath, or Dewrarth, or Deorthach; and the *Triads* are equally divided upon the point. The three copies of "Tri Gwyndeyrn Y. P." call him the son of Deorath (*Myv.*, ii, 3, 6, 62; Gee's ed., 389, 396, 403); and the three copies of "Tri Eurgelein Y. P." read the son of Gwyddno (*Myv.*, ii, 15, 16, 69; Gee's ed., 392, 397, 408). There is, however, no person known in history as Dewrarth, and it is probable that Dewrarth, "the brave bear", may be only an epithet applied to Gwyddno. This supposition would reconcile the discrepancy.

XXXIV. This verse presents several difficulties, the first of which is the occurrence of the three names of Morien, Cenon, and Wid, to whom it is quite clear the last four lines exclusively refer. The first part appears to be prefatory; and the allusion to Cenon can only be divested of its obscurity by some such explanation as the following. Cenon, we have seen already [v. xviii, p. 184], did not join the mead-drinking warriors, but Morien was intoxicated, and would seem to have been reported to have stated that

Dyrlydut⁴ medut⁵ moryen⁶ tanNi thraethei na wnelei⁷ kenon kelein

360

⁴ *Derlyddwyd*, 3. ⁵ *Meddwyd*, 3, 5. ⁶ *Morien*, 1, 2, 3, 4.
⁷ *Welei*, 1, 2, 3, 5.

the abstaining Cenon would not make a corpse, *i. e.*, that he would not kill any of the enemy on the morrow. Aneurin's words appear to be a justification of Morien, and a contradiction of that report. The next difficulty is the allusion to the great stone of Cyhadvan, which has been by Davies translated into "the great stone fence of their common sanctuary"; but the present writer has recently shown that the allusion here made is to a stone of St. Cadvan at Towyn in Merionethshire; and as Aneurin was in Wales at the time he composed the *Gododin*, that fact, taken together with the other fact that the name of the stone is Cuadgan, gives much probability to this speculation. The old bards were more lavish of their vowels than the moderns are; and as they wrote *gredyf* for *greddf*, we need not be surprised at their giving the name Cyadfan with more fulness than it has in its present abbreviated form. *Noc aescyc*, which merely mean *than moves* or *veers* from its place, as a comparative expression, have been taken by Probert and Davies, who have adopted a corrupt reading, to be two proper names, *Noe* and *Escyc*; of which Probert could make nothing, but Davies has enlisted them in the service of his self-constituted mythology. (See *Druids*, pp. 114 and 350.) With respect to *vit*, *uid*, or *wit*, I claim the merit of first discovering that it is a proper name.

Wid, according to Ritson (*Annals of the Caledonians*, vol. i, 202), is the same name as Oith, Gwith, and Foith; and those names frequently occur among the names of the Pictish kings. It is also clear from the *Annals of the Picts* that there was at this particular time a person named Wid living in North Britain among the Picts of Fife. In those *Annals* we find the following notices:—

"D.C. XXXVI. Garnard filius Wid quatuor annis regnavit."

"D.C. XL. Mors Gartna, Mac Foith,
 Brudei filius Wid quinque annis regnavit."

(The *Annals of Ulster* place the death of Garthnaith Mac Oith in 635, and Mors Buidi filii Foith in 640, or just five years earlier in each case; but the *Chronica Pictorum* is the better authority of the two.)

"D C. XLV. Talore frater eorum duodecim annis regnavit."

(*Ritson*, vol. i, 200-201.)

The fiery Morien poured out wine and became intoxicated ;
 (But) he did not say that Cynon would not make a corpse.

“D.C.LIII. Mors Dolairg Mac Foith regis Pictorum.”

(*Annals of Ulster.*)

Here we have no less than three sons of Wid successively reigning as kings of the Southern Picts :—

Annals of Chron.

Ulster. Pict.

630	635	Garnard the son of Wid, reigning four years.
635	640	Brudei the son of Wid, reigning five years.
641	645	Talorg the son of Wid, reigning twelve years.

If we look at these dates, we shall very clearly perceive that, as the Picts, like the Cymry, had no child-kings, the father of these princes must have been living about 603 ; and the fact that he fell at Cattræth supplies a reason why he did not ascend the Pictish throne ; for, on further inquiry, we discover that Wid was one of the fourteen sons of Brudei, the celebrated king who reigned over the Southern Picts from 556 to 586 (Skene's *Highlanders*, vol. i, 250). The existence at this time in North Britain of a chief named Wid may be said to be established.

But why is he called the son of Peithan and not the son of Brudei ? This also admits of an answer. I have already stated that Aneurin frequently describes his heroes by the names of the maternal parents ; and the knowledge of this fact clears up many obscurities. Several cases of this kind will occur as we proceed, in the names of

Gwarthan, the son of Dwywe, da. of Gwallog ; [v. lii]

Present, the son of Poillan, da. of Caw ; [v. lxi]

Meryn, the son of Madrun, da. of Gwrthefyr ; [v. lxii]

Gwaednerth, the son of Eleri ; [v. lxiv]

and here we have

Wid, the son of Peithan, the daughter of Caw,

and sister of Aneurin, and probably the wife of Brudei. This regard for the female parents arose both from the respect entertained for women by the ancient Kymry, and from certain legal reasons to be hereafter named. At the court of the romantic Arthur, women were, as is frequently stated, held in great respect ; and from the writings of the early bards we find that this is no fiction ; for in the early chivalry of that day we may clearly discern the germs of that which

Un⁸ seirchyawc saphwyawc⁹ son¹⁰ edlydan¹¹
 Seinnyessit e¹² gledyf empenn¹³ garthan¹⁴
 Noc¹⁵ ac esgyc¹⁶ carrec¹⁷ vurvawr¹⁸ y chyhadvan¹⁹
 Ny²⁰ mw y gysgogit²¹ wit²² uab peithan²³

XXXV.

Ny wnaethpwyf neuad mor anvonawc¹ 365
 Ony bei voryen² eil caradawc

⁸ *Yn*, 1, 2, 3. ⁹ *Saphwryawc*, 8. ¹⁰ *Ton*, 1, 2, 3. ¹¹ *Llydnan*, 1, 2, 3; *llydvan*, 5; *elydnan*, *elydan*, 6. ¹² *I*, 3. ¹³ *Em penn*, 4. ¹⁴ *Gorchan*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ¹⁵ *Noe*, 1, 2, 3. ¹⁶ *Eseye*, 1, 2; *esaeu*, 3; *yscog*, 5; *escye*, 4, 6; *esgysc*, 8. ¹⁷ *Canec* in Williams' text; *carrec*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. ¹⁸ The word *vur* is not in 1, 2, 3, 5; *vur vawr*, 8. ¹⁹ *Chahydvan*, 6. ²⁰ *Nid*, 6. ²¹ *Ysgogit*, 1, 2, 3. ²² *Vit*, 1, 2; *fyd*, 3; *fid*, 5; *wit*, 6. ²³ *Teithan*, 1, 2, 3. This verse and the next are one in J.

¹ *Annovawc*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ² *Vorgen*, 4.

burst out into full bloom under the auspices of the Normans. The bard Llywarch Hen, when he was "old, decrepid, and triply bent", mourns it as one of his greatest misfortunes that he was "destitute of the love of the maidens", that "young virgins loved him not", and that he had lost "the glancing look so loved by the fair young maidens". In these revelations of his own feelings we have, very clearly portrayed, the spirit of those early times, and we have here evidence enough of a highly chivalrous respect for the female character. In the *Mabinogi* of Kilwch, this feeling is still more fully developed; and the hero adjures Arthur to find him or assist him in finding Olwen, his lady-love,—

"For the sake of the golden-chained daughters of this island. For the sake of Gwenhwyvar its chief lady, and Gwennhwyach her sister; and Rathtyeu the only daughter of Clemenhill, and Rhelemon the daughter of Kai, and Tannwen the daughter of Gweir Datharweintdawg. Gwenn Alarch, the daughter of Kynwyl Canbwch. Eurneid the daughter of Clydno Eiddyn. Eneuawc the daughter of Bedwyr. Enrydreg the daughter of Tudvathar. Gwennwledyr the daughter of Gwaledyr Kyrwach. Erddudaid the daughter of Tryffin. Enrolwen the daughter of Gwdolwyn Gorr. Teleri the daughter of Peul. Indeg the daughter of Garwy Hir. Morvudd the daughter of Urien Rheged Gwenllian Deg, the majestic maiden. Creiddylad (Cordelia) the daughter of Lludd Llaw Ereint. Ellylw the daughter of Neol Kynn-Crog. Essyllt

He was a harness'd and spear'd hero ; and like sonorous brass
Sounded his sword at the top of the encampment :
And Wid the son of Peithan flinch'd no more
Than moves the great pillar-stone of Cadvan.

XXXV.

To MORYEN (son of Caradawc ?).

The hall would not have been made so unruly
But for Moryen, the son of Caradoc,¹

¹ Or, " But that Moryen was like Caradoc."

Vinwen, and Essyllt Vingul. And all these did Kilhwch, the son of Kilydd, adjure to obtain his boon."—(*Mabinogion*, vol. ii, 268, 269.)

The legal, or rather political, reason is alluded to in the following passage from Skene (*Highlanders*, vol. i, p. 40)—" We may infer, first, that the Picts elected their monarchs ; and secondly, that the election was not unlimited in its range, but was confined to some specific class of individuals, otherwise it could not come into doubt ; and thirdly, that when there did exist a doubt as to the proper object of the election, they chose that person most nearly related to the former king *by the female line*." It was therefore important to preserve the names of the maternal parents ; and this fact proves that the females of North Britain were much esteemed.

xxxv. It is not easy to determine who this person was ; but a person of that name is also referred to in the *Mabinogion*, both in *Kilhwch and Rhonabwy*,¹ as " Moryen Mynawc", or the Ruler. In the former he is twice mentioned :—" Bradwen the son of Moren Mynawc, and Moren Mynawc himself " (ii, 259) ; and again, in a passage already quoted, there was a " Morien" called " the son of Iaen of Caernarvonshire, and Bradwen the son of Iaen his brother" (ii, 260). If these notices refer to the same person, then it is probable that he was lord or ruler of the Gwyddyl of Arvon and Anglesea. There is a person named as "Morien Farfawc", or the Bearded, mentioned in the *Triads* (*Myv.*, ii, 64) as one of the three stranger monarchs of the Isle of Britain ; and these facts, coupled with the notice of his grave, tend to show that my conjecture is

¹ [In *The Dream of Rhonabwy* he is called " Moryen Manawc".—*Mab.*, ii, 416.]

Ny diengis en³ trwm elwrw⁴ mynawc
 Dywal dywalach no mab ferawc⁵
 Fer y⁶ law faglei fowys⁷ varchawc
 Glew dias dinas e⁸ lu⁹ ovnawc

370

³ *Un*, 3, 4; *yr eu*, 6. ⁴ *Y lwrw*, 1, 2, 4; *o lwrw*, 3, 5. ⁵ *Pherawc*, 1, 2, 3. ⁶ *I*, 1, 2, 3. ⁷ *Towys*, 2; *tywys*, 3. ⁸ *O*, 3. ⁹ *Bu*, 2.

sound. (The *englyn* has been quoted already in the note on Gwrïen, v. xxx, p. 216.)

In this verse he is called "eil Caradoc", and as that word frequently means *son of*, as well as *second* and *like*, I have ventured to suggest that he might be the son of Caradoc; that, however, is only a conjecture, as the word *eil* does not always bear that construction.

The son of Ferawc or Pherawc was Bedwyr the son of Pedrog, one of the favourite knights of King Arthur, of whom that great hero speaks in these terms: "And as for you, Kai and Bedwyr, I have hope of whatever adventure ye are in quest of, that ye will achieve it. Achieve ye this adventure for me." (*Mabinogion*, ii, p. 297.)

"He rendered his master", says Lady Charlotte Guest, "essential service in the various wars in which he was engaged. In the king's household he filled, too, a very important office, that of Chief Butler, and there is no doubt, from the estimation in which he was ever held by his sovereign, that he acquitted himself equally well of the duties which devolved upon him in that capacity.

His name is often coupled with that of the Seneschal, Sir Kai, and their fortunes in many respects appear to have been very similar. They were the two knights whom Arthur selected as his sole companions in his expedition to St. Michael's Mount, to avenge the death of Helen, the niece of Howel ab Emyr Llydaw. And he took the same means of recompensing the valour and fidelity of both, by bestowing upon each of them the sovereignty of a valuable French province, which Robert of Gloucester quaintly records in these words:—

"He gef þat lond of Normandye Bedwer ys boteler,
 And þat lond of Aungeo Kaxe ys panter." (i, 187.)

Finally, they both shared the same fate, being slain side by side while fighting against the Romans in the last engagement of that war, in which they had so greatly distinguished themselves. Arthur, whose supremacy was established by the event of that glorious encounter, was careful to pay every tribute to the memory of the faithful knights who

He escaped not, though weighty was the forward sovereign ;
 He was fierce, yea, fiercer than the son of Ferawc ;
 Radiant knight ! strong were his hand-brands,
 (And) the hero of tumult was a fortress to a timid army.

had fallen in his service. He caused Bedwyr to be interred at Bayeux, which he had founded himself, as the capital of his Norman dominions, and Kai to be buried at Chinon (or Caen), which town, as Wace informs us, derived its name from that circumstance. The etymology, it must be confessed, is not very apparent." (*Mabinogion*, ii, 166.)

This is a summary of the account given by Geoffrey ; but it is probably altogether untrue ; and it differs very essentially from the account given by Sir Thomas Maelor in his *Morte d'Arthur*, and from the native accounts. According to Sir Thomas, he survived his master for some time, and is pleasantly connected with the mysterious disappearance of that hero. After he had received his fatal wound at the battle of Camlan, Arthur desired Bedwyr to take his celebrated sword Excalibur (the French of "Caledfwlch"), and fling it into the centre of an adjoining lake. "Sir Bedivere departed ; and by the way he beheld that noble sword where the pummell and the haft were all of precious stones, and then hee said to himselfe, 'If I throw this rich sword into the water, thereof shall never come good, but harme and losse.'" And then he hid it under a tree. Having returned, Arthur asked him what he had seen, and he said "nothing but waves and wind". By this Arthur knew that his command had not been complied with, and he sent him again ; but Bedwyr a second time refrained, thinking it a "shame to throw away that noble sword". Again Arthur asked him what he had seen, and received the reply that he had seen "nothing but the water wap and waves waune". He was therefore sent a third time. The sword was flung as far as he could, "and there came an arm above the water and met it, and caught it, and so shooke it thrise and brandished. And then the hand vanished away with the sword in the water." When Bedwyr had returned and reported what he had seen, Arthur desired his attendants to take him to the water. Bedwyr "took King Arthur upon his backe, and so went with him to the waters side. And when they were at the waters side, even fast by the banke hoved a little barge with many faire ladies in it, and among them all was a queene, and all they had blacke hoods, and they wept and shrieked when they saw King Arthur." The king was put softly into the barge which contained three queens ; and these took him out of Bedwyr's sight to Avallon (Glaston-

Rac bedin ododin¹⁰ bu gwasgarawc
 Y gylchwy¹¹ dan y¹² gymwy bu adenawc¹³
 Yn dyd gwyth¹⁴ bu ystwyth neu bwyth atveillyawc
 Dyrlydei¹⁵ vedgyrin eillt mynydawc.

XXXVI.

Ny wnaethpwynt neuad mor diessic 375
 No¹ chynon lary vronn geinnyon² wledig

- ¹⁰ *Wawdodyn*, 3. ¹¹ *Ynghylchwy*, 5. ¹² *O*, 3 ; *i*, 5. ¹³ *Adeuawc*, 6.
¹⁴ *Gwych*, 1, 2, 3, 4. ¹⁵ *Dysllyddei*, 8 ; *derllyddei*, 3.
¹ *Ny*, 1 ; *na*, 3. ² *Glünnyon*, 1, 2, 3.

bury), where Bedwyr found his body next day, and where Bedwyr turned hermit and spent the remainder of his days. (*Morte d'Arthur*, vol. ii, 471, *et seq.*)

Thus far I have followed the romances, in the belief that the last extract states some facts not to be found elsewhere, but which may be true, and which Maelor says are stated upon the authority of documents, in the drawing up of which Bedwyr was in some way instrumental, for it is said :—"This tale Sir Bedivere, knight of the round table, made it plainly to be written." (*Ibid.*, 475.)

We get a few notices of him from other sources ; the *Triads* give us some account of him :—

"The three diademed chiefs of the Isle of Britain : Trystan, the son of Tallwch ; Huail, the son of Caw of Britain, Lord of Cwm Cawlwyd ; and Kai, the son of Kynyr Keinvarvawc ; and one was made ruler over the three, viz., Bedwyr, the son of Pedrawc." (*Myv.*, ii, p. 5 ; Gee's ed., 389, 407.)

And the place of his sepulchre is thus recorded in the *Graves of the Warriors*, together with that of another chieftain, whose name is not given :—

"The grave of the son of Ossvran is in Camlan
 After many a conflict,
 The grave of Bedwyr is in the hill side of Tryvan."

(*Myv. Arch.*, i, 79 ; Gee's ed., 66.)

Lady Charlotte Guest appends to this verse the following comment :—

"There is a lofty mountain bearing the name of *Trivaen*, at the head of the valley of Nantffrancon, in Snowdon. Dunraven Castle, in Gła-

Before the army of Gododin he was a scatterer (of the foe),
 (And) his fiery shield was winged for affliction.
 In the day of wrath he was nimble, his revenge was irreparable:
 He deserved the mead horns of the tenants of Mynyddog.

XXXVI.

To CYNON ab Clydno Eiddin.

None made the hall so free from care
 As Cynon the gentle-hearted, Lord of Clinnion¹

¹ Or "Ceinion".

morganshire, is also, in ancient writings, called Dindryvan, but whether either of these is the place mentioned it is not easy to determine." (*Mabinog.*, ii, 167.)

I incline to believe the place must be Tryvan in North Wales; but there is a verse in Llywarch Hen, which connects him with the South:—

"Lluest Cadwallawn ar Fynnawn Vedwyr
 Rhag milwyr magai dawn;
 Dangosai Gynon yno haeru iawn."

(*Heroic Elegies*, p. 112; *Myv.*, i, 121; Gee's ed., 97;
Four Ancient Books, ii, 278.)

"Cadwallon encamped by the well of Bedwyr;
 With soldiers virtue is cherished;
 There Cynon showed how to assert the right."

From a note by Mr. Owen we learn that this well is in the upper part of Gwaunllwg, Monmouthshire. Bedwyr the bold was evidently the pink of Cambrian knighthood; and the allusion in the text proves both the lateness of the *Gododin* and the historic reality of the Arthurian romances, to the extent of being based upon a nucleus of truth.

xxxvi. This appears to be the person alluded to again in v. lvii, where he is expressly said to be the son of Clydno, and is again described as "Cynon the gentle-hearted". He is not the same person as Cynon of Aeron, but, having been profuse of notes already, I will postpone the notice to verse lvii.

Nyt ef eistedei en tal lleithic
 E neb a wanei nyt atwenit³
 Raclym e⁴ waewawr⁵
 Calch drei⁶ tyllei vydinawr 380
 Rac vuan⁷ y⁸ veirch rac rygiawr⁹
 En dyd gwyth¹⁰ atwyth oed e¹¹ lavnawr
 Pan gryssyei gynon gan wyrd wawr.

XXXVII.

Disgynsit en trwm¹ yg kessevin
 Ef diodes gormes of dodes² fin³ 385
 Ergyr gwayw rieu ryvel chwerthin
 Hut effyt⁴ y⁵ wrhyt⁶ elwry⁷ elfin⁸
 Eithynyn⁹ uoleit¹⁰ mur greit tarw trin.

³ *Adweinit*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁴ *I*, 3. ⁵ *Waeawr*, 1, 2, 3. ⁶ *Calchdei*, 1, 2, 3; *calchdei* vel *calchdei*, 5. ⁷ *Racvuan*, 1, 2, 3. ⁸ *I*, 3. ⁹ *Rhyngiawr*, 3, 5. ¹⁰ *Gwych*, 1, 2, 3. ¹¹ *I*, 3.

¹ *Trwm*, 1. ² *Rhoddes*, 3. ³ *Ffin*, 1, 2, 3. ⁴ *A phyt*, 2, 3. ⁵ *I*, 3. ⁶ *Wrhyt*, 2. ⁷ *Y lwry*, 1, 2, 4; *o lwrw*, 3; *y lwrw*, 5, 6. ⁸ The preceding line comes after this in 1. ⁹ *Eithin yn*, 1, 2, 3, 5; *eithynyt*, 4. ¹⁰ *Noleit*, 1; *oleit*, 2, 3, 5; *voleit*, 3, 4; this verse is one with the two following in 1.

XXXVII. History records the existence of one person named Elffin, who was living about this period; and if romance is to be credited, there was also another. The latter was Elffin, the son of Gwyddno Garanhir, the patron of the romantic Taliesin, whose history, fabulous or real, is thus given :—

“Elffin, the son of Gwyddno ab Gervynion ab Dyvnwal Hên, King of Gwent, was a saint of the college of Illtud, who flourished in the sixth century. It is related of him, that his father Gwyddno had a fishing weir on the shore between the Dyvi and Aberystwyth, the annual profits of which were very considerable. But Elffin was the most unfortunate of men, and nothing prospered in his hands, insomuch that his father was grieved at his ill successes, and feared that he was born in an evil

He would not sit in the upper seat ;
 Whom he pierced was not repierced ;
 His spear was of excessive sharpness ;
 With enamelled arms he bored through the host ;
 Very swift were his steeds before the gentle hero.
 In the day of wrath, destructive was the sword
 Of Cynon when he hastened with the green dawn.

XXXVII.

To ELPHIN the son of Urien Rheged.

Thou descendedst heavily at the onset.
 He suffered oppression ; he fixed boundaries ;
 The thrusting of his spear made the chiefs of war to smile ;
 The forward Elphin was manly as the enchanted Ephid,¹
 Like flaming furze was the tow'ring spirit of the battle-bull.

¹ [The words "the enchanted Ephid", are, in the author's MS., written in pencil and followed by a (?).—Ed.]

hour ; wishing, however, to give the fortunes of his son a further trial, he agreed to allow him the profits of the weir for one whole year. On the morrow Elffin visited the weir and found nothing except a leathern bag fastened to one of the poles. He was immediately upbraided for his ill-luck by his companions, for he had ruined the good fortune of the weir, which before was wont to produce the value of a hundred pounds on May eve. 'Nay,' replied Elffin, 'there might be an equivalent to the hundred pounds in this.' The bag was untied, and the opener of it saw the forehead of a boy, when he exclaimed, '*Llyma dal iesin*.' 'See, here is a noble forehead !' 'Taliesin be his name, then,' replied Elffin ; and taking the child up, he conveyed it carefully to his wife, who nursed it affectionately, and from that time-forward his wealth increased every day. In return for his humanity, Taliesin composed a poem when a child, entitled *The Consolation of Elffin*, to rouse him from the contemplation of his misfortunes, and to cheer him with hopes of future prosperity ; and afterwards, when Elffin was imprisoned in the Castle of Dyganwy by Maelgwn Gwynedd,

XXXVIII.

Disgynsit en trwm yg kesseuin
 Gwerth med yg kynted a gwirawt win 390
 Heyessyt y¹ lafnawr rwg dwy vydin
 Arderchawc varchawc rac gododin²
 Eithynyn³ uoleit⁴ mur greit tarw trin.

¹ A, 3. ² This line is not in 1, 2, 3. ³ *Eithyn yn*, 1, 2, 3, 5.
⁴ *Noleit*, 1; *oleit*, 2, 3, 5.

Taliesin's muse obtained the release of his benefactor. (See *Mabinogi Taliesin* in the *Cambrian Quarterly Magazine*, v. 200, from *Myv. Arch.*, i, 17.)" Williams' *Biog. Dict. Hanes Taliesin* is also printed in Guest's *Mabinogion*, iii, 321-400.

Having given thus much of Elffin's history, let us complete the sketch with a personal description:—

"And a tall auburn-haired youth stood before him (Arthur), with his sheathed sword in his hand, and clad in a coat and a cap of jet black satin. And his face was white as ivory, and his eyebrows black as jet, and such part of his wrist as could be seen between his glove and his sleeve was whiter than the lily, and thicker than a warrior's ankle.'Who was the man?' A youth of froward nature; Elphin the son of Gwyddno." (*Dream of Rhonabwy*, Guest's *Mab.*, ii, 400, 402.)

But, though we have treated of this person at some length, our whole knowledge is derived from our romantic literature, and he is not named at all in our soberer records; and even the former does not attribute to him any such warlike reputation as would justify us in concluding him to be the person named by Aneurin, who appears to have been a distinguished warrior.

Urien Rheged, also, had a son named Elphin, who was living about that time, and probably in the immediate neighbourhood of the fight of Cattaeth. Rheged appears to be the native form of Rhigodunum, the Roman name of Ribchester in Lancashire; but the dominions of Urien appear also to have extended as far east as the river Swale in Yorkshire, if not further, as *Leavington* bears a striking resemblance to Llwlyfenydd (town), named by Taliesin as his seat; and in the poems of that bard Urien is expressly called "The Lord of Cattaeth" [*Yspeil Taliesin*, l. 9].

XXXVIII.

To the same person.

Heavy was the descent at the onset,
 The result of mead in the hall and the beverage of wine ;
 His spears were strewn between two armies,
 Splendid knight in the presence of Gododin,
 Like flame in furze was the tow'ring spirit of the battle-bull.

It is, therefore, clear that Elphin was living in that neighbourhood, and the encroachments he might have suffered from his Anglian neighbours were probably the circumstances alluded to in line 2 of verse xxxvii:—

“Ef diodes gormes ef dodes fin.”

“He suffered oppression ; he fixed (or had to fix) a boundary.”

He is mentioned by Llywarch Hen, in his *Elegy* on Urien Rheged [*Myv.*, i, 105 ; Gee's ed., 86 ; *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 271, 272]:—

“Dunawd, the knight of the warring field, would fiercely rage,
 With a mind determined to make a dead corpse,
 Against the quick onset of Owain.”

“Dunawd, the hasty chief, would fiercely rage,
 With mind elated for the battle,
 Against the conflict of Pasgen.”

“Gwallawg, the knight of tumult, would violently rave,
 With a mind determined to try the sharpest edge,
 Against the conflict of Elphin.” (*Heroic Elegies*, 37.)

“This hearth, will it not be covered with the green sod !
 In the lifetime of Owain and Elphin,
 Its ample pot boiled the prey taken from the foe.” (*Ibid.*, 41.)

The allusions here made are to the contest between Dunawd ab Pabo and Gwalloc ab Lleenog, on the one side, and the sons of Urien, who probably sought to avenge the assassination of their father. Urien had four sons, Owain, Pasgen, Elphin, and Rhiwallawn. Pughe puts them in a different order:—1, Owain ; 2, Pasgen ; 3, Rhiwallawn ; 4, Morvudd, a daughter ; 5, Elphin ; 6, Cadell.

XXXIX (A.)

(Gorchan Maelderw.)

Disgynsit in trum in alavoed dwyrem
 Cintebic e celeo erit migam 395
 Guanannon guirth med guryt muiham
 Ac guich fodyauc guichauc inham
 Eithin uoleit mab bodu at am.

XXXIX.

Disgynsit en trwm rac alauoed¹ wyrein
 Wyre llu llaes² ysgwydawr 400
 Ysgwyt vriw rac biw beli bloedfawr
 Nar od uch³ gwyar fin⁴ festinyawr
 An deliit⁵ kynllwyt y ar⁶ gynghorawr
 Gorwyd gwareuffrith⁷ rin ych eurdorchawr⁸

¹ *Alawvedd*, 1; *alaved*, 2, 3. ² *Lliaws*, 6. ³ *Nar odduch*, 1, 2; *na roddych*, 3. ⁴ *Ffin*, 1, 2, 3. ⁵ *Delut*, 1; *delyd*, 3; *deulut*, 5. ⁶ *Yar*, 1, 2, 3. ⁷ *Gwareeusrith*, 2, 3; *gwareus rith*, 6; *rith* not in 5. ⁸ *Un ytheurdorchawr*, 1; *un yth eurdorchawg*, 2, 3; *rin ych eurdorchawc*, 4; *unyth ych eurdorchawg*, 5; *rin eurdorchawr*, 6. This line is not in 8.

XXXIX (A). We have in this verse a striking example of the fact that the copies of the *Gododin* which we now have are very imperfect. Verse xxxix begins in these with:—

“Disgynsit yn trwm rac alauoed wyrein”;

but the eleven lines which follow end in *-awr*, and not in *-en* or *-ein*; and we must therefore conclude, either that the first line is out of place there, or that according to the usage of the *Gododin*, its use there is justified by its occurrence before, in the verses preceding. If we adopt either of these conclusions, we are compelled to admit, that in the ordinary copies there must be a verse wanting. This we find to be the case; for, on reference to *Gorchan Maelderw* [*Myv.*, i, 61; Gee's ed., 72; *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 104], we there find the missing verse, which is given above. The antiquity of the text renders translation very difficult, and several renderings are conjectural; but as nearly as I can perceive its meaning, it is as above.

XXXIX (A).¹

Heavy was the descent at the rising of the expert ones ;
 Like as ploughs descend into soft ground,
 They pierced ; the result of mead was the manliness of the
 herqes ;
 Pleased were the brave, and bold was their infliction ;
 Like furze in flames was the progress of the son of Bodu(c)at.

XXXIX.

Heavy was the descent at the rising of the dexterous ones ;
 The host arose, the negligent shield-bearer
 Would have a broken shield while lived the loud-voiced Beli.
 When we hastened to where the blood flowed,
 There came to us a grey-headed counsellor,
 Wearing golden torques, upon a playful spotted courser ;

¹ I have here marked this verse xxxix (A) in order not to violate the numbers in Williams' text.

XXXIX. There were two persons named Beli living about this period. One was "Beli, the son of Benlli Gawr, an eminent warrior in North Wales, towards the end of the fifth century ; allusion is made to his burying place in the *Englynion y Beddau*, which is supposed to have been in Llanarmon yn Ial, Denbighshire:—

“ ‘ Who owns the grave in the great plain,
 Proud his hand upon his spear ?
 The grave of Beli the son of Benlli Gawr.’ ”
 (Williams' *Biog. Dict.*)

“ ‘ Pieu y bet yn y maes mawr
 Balch y law ar i lafnawr,
 Bet Beli vab Benlli Gawr.’ ”
 (*Myv.*, i, 82 ; *Gee's ed.*, 68 ; *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 35.)

I incline to believe this person to be the man ; but if Owen, who is followed by Williams, is right in the above date, then the person named by Aneurin was

“ Beli, the son of Rhun ab Maelgwn Gwynedd, (who) succeeded his

Twrch goruc amot emlaen ystre ystrywawr	405
Teilingdeith ⁹ gwrthyat gawr	
An gelwit e nef bit athledhawr ¹⁰	
Emyt ¹¹ ef krennit e gat waewawr	
Catvannan ¹² er aclut ¹³ clotvawr ¹⁴	
No ¹⁵ chynhennit na bei lluw idaw llawr.	410

XL.

Am drynni drylaw drylenn
 Am lwys am diffwys dywarchen
 Am¹ gwydaw gwallt e ar² benn
 Y³ am wyr⁴ eryr gwydyen

⁹ *Teiling deith*, 4. ¹⁰ *Achledawr*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ¹¹ *Y myt*, 4. ¹² *Catvannan*, 1, 2, 3; *cadvannau*, 5; *catvanneu (clotvannan)*, 6. ¹³ *Yra elut*, 1; *yr a elut*, 2, 3; *er a dut*, 4; *yr a dut*, 5; *er a clat*, 6. ¹⁴ *Clotvawr*, 4, 6. ¹⁵ *Ny*, 1, 2, 4; *ni*, 3.

¹ *A*, 1, 2, 3. ² *Yar*, 2; *i ar*, 3; *y vel i ar*, 5; *iar e*, 6. ³ *I*, 3, 6. ⁴ *Awyr*, 1, 2, 3, 5.

father as sovereign prince of North Wales in 586, and died in 599, when he was succeeded by his son Iago." (Williams' *Biog. Dict.*)

Cadvannan was the battle of Mannan, fought in 582, and the allusion to Alcluyd (Dunbarton) is probably a reference to the battle of Arderydd, which took place there in 573. See note on Aeddan ab Gavran, verse lxi.

We learn from various sources that there were several persons of the name of Twrch living about this time. Twrch, the son of Anwas Adein-iog, is named in the *Mabinogi of Kilhwch and Olwen* [*Mab.*, ii, 260]; and Twrch the son of Periv is named in that as well as in the *Dream of Rhonabwy* [*ib.*, ii, 260, 416]; but it is probable that the person here meant was Twrch ab Arthan, or Arthanad, ab Gwrthmwl Wledig. There is a person of that name commemorated in *Englymion y Beddau*, as having slain Cyvwlech the Tall:—

“ Whose grave is this? The grave of Cyvwlech the Tall:
 In the high lands of Pennant, Twrch the son
 Of Arthan was the slayer of Cyvwlech.”

(*Myv.*, 1, 80; Gee's ed., 67; *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 31.)

This person was also opposed to Cynddylan, and then, as now, probably in league with the enemies of the Cymry; and he appears to have

Twrch proposed a reconciliation before the destructive course.
 Worthy was the journey to oppose the raising of the shout ;
 Since he has been called, may he have refuge in heaven ;
 In this world he loved the fight of spears ;
 At Mannan fight and before Alclwyd he was celebrated,
 And it was not just that he should not have had a host and
 land.

XL.

To GWENABWY fab Gwen, BRADWEN, or MORYEN¹?

Where there is ardency, dexterity, and learning,

Where there is a fair and elevated grassland,

Where the hair falls down from the head,

Where the eagle of Gwdion seeks the air,

¹ [This heading is in pencil in the author's MS.—Ed.]

been the person who caused the death of the Prince of Pengwern (Powys):—

“Cynddylan, thy heart is like the ice of winter,
 Thou wert pierced by Twrch through the head :
 Thou hast given the ale of Tren.

“Cynddylan the hungry boar, a depredator as a lion bold,
 Or like a wolf tracing the fallen carcase :
 Twrch will not restore the patrimony of his sire.”

(*Heroic Elegies of Llywarch Hen*, 71, 73.)

Our scanty knowledge of the history of these times prevents us from discovering the relation of Twrch to Cynddylan and Cyvwlech, and leaves in profound obscurity the allusions made to some injustice which was done to him in depriving him of his land, and causing him to take refuge among the Angles.

XL. It is not easy to determine whether Bradwen in this place is a masculine or feminine name ; if it be the former, then the person is the Bradwen named in the *Mabinogi* of Kilhwch, who was either the brother or the son of Morien, unless there is some mistake there [*Mab.*, ii, 259, 260]. To add to our perplexity, Bradwen occurs at subsequent periods as a masculine name. But to the best of my judgment, Bradwen in this place is a female name, and the person so named is no other than Branwen the daughter of Llyr, the subject of one of the *Mabinogion* [iii, 79-140]. We will return to this topic, but for the present let us proceed.

Gwyduc⁵ neus amuc ac⁶ wayw⁷. 415
 Ardullyat⁸ diwyllyat e⁹ berchen
 Amuc moryen¹⁰ gwenwawt¹¹
 Murdyn¹² a chyvrannv penn
 Prif eg weryt¹³ ac an nerth¹⁴ ac am hen¹⁵
 Trywyr¹⁶ yr¹⁷ bod bun bratwen 420
 Deudec gwenabwy vab gwen (A).¹⁸

XLI.

Am drynni¹ drylaw drylenn
 Gweinydyawr ysgwydawr yg gweithyen²
 En aryal cledyual³ am benn
 En lloegyr drychyon rac trychant⁴ unben 425
 A dalwy⁵ mwng bleid heb prenn⁶
 En e⁷ law⁸ gnawt gwychnawt eny⁹ lenn

⁵ *Gwydu*, 4. ⁶ *Ae*, 1, 2, 3, 6. ⁷ *Waen*, 1, 2, 3, 5; *væw*, 6.
⁸ *Arddwliad*, 3. ⁹ *I*, 3. ¹⁰ *Morgen*, 4. ¹¹ *Gwennawt*, 1, 2, 5.
¹² *Nurdyn*, 4, 6. ¹³ *Egweyrd*, 1, 2, 3. ¹⁴ *Annerth*, 3; *ammerth*, 6.
¹⁵ *Amhen*, 3. ¹⁶ *Trywyr*, 1, 3. ¹⁷ *Er*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ¹⁸ This verse is
 one with the four following in 1.

¹ *Amdrynni*, 1. ² *Yngweithen*, 1, 2, 3. ³ *Cadwal*, 2. ⁴ *Racdry-*
chant, 1; *raedrychant*, 2; *r oedd drychant*, 3; *rydrychant*, 5. ⁵ *Daly*, 5.
⁶ *Penn*, 1, 2, 5, 6. ⁷ *Eno*, 4. ⁸ *Glaw*, 1, 2, 5; *gwlaw*, 3. ⁹ *Yn y*,
 1, 2; *yn i*, 3.

(A) Verse xcvi, in Williams' text, is a variation of this:—

“ Am drynnv¹ drylav² drylen
 Am lws am diffwys dywarchen
 Trihuc³ baruaut⁴ dreis dili plec hen⁵
 Atguuc⁶ emorem⁷ ae⁸ guiau⁹ hem¹⁰
 Hancai¹¹ ureuer uragdenn¹²
 At¹³ gwyr a gwydyl a phrydein

¹ *Amdrynni*, 1. ² *Drilau*, 1. ³ *Tri chue*, 1, 2; *tri chwe*, 3; *tri*
hwe, 4; *tri hue*, *tri chwe*, 5. ⁴ *Barnuant*, 1, 2; *barnwawd*, 3; *barraut*
 and *barrawd*, 5; *barent*, 8. ⁵ *Plynin*, 1, 2, 3, 5; *plycein*, 6. ⁶ *At-*
guuc, 1, 2; *atgwne*, 3; *atguue*, 4; *atgure*, 5. ⁷ *Ymorien*, 1, 2, 5;
i morien, 3. ⁸ *A*, 3. ⁹ *Gwian*, 1, 3, 5; *guian*, 2. ¹⁰ *Hen*, 1, 2, 3, 5.
¹¹ *E anceu*, 2; *E' angeu*, 3; *E anceu*, *angeu*, 5. ¹² *Vreuer vraden*,
 1, 2, 3, 5. ¹³ *A*, 3.

Where the skilful defend with the spear,
 Where cultivation enriches the owner,
 Morien defended the pleasing muse :
 There were men on ramparts and distribution of heads.
 He was the prime of the youth, and for strength
 Was equal to three men ; but the lady Bradwen liked
 The dexterity of Gwenabwy, the son of Gwen.

XLI.

Where there is ardency, dexterity, and learning,
 Where shields are supplied in¹ conflicts,
 And the sword is waved about the head in mirth,
 (In Lloegria warriors contend before the sovereign),
 And where men hold a wolf's mane without a stick in the
 hand,
 And customary is hospitality in the cloister²,

¹ ["Mimic" (?) supplied in pencil.]

² [Or, "protection from the church", in pencil.]

At gu kelein rein rud¹⁴ guen
 Deheuec gwenauwy¹⁵ mab gwen."

¹⁴ *Veinrudd*, 1, 2, 3 ; *vein rud*, 5. ¹⁵ *Guenau ung*, 1, 2 ; *gwenabwy*, 3.

(A) Verse xcvii, in Williams' text, is a variation of this:—

" Am¹ giniav drylav² drylen
 Trym³ dwys tra diffwys dywarchen
 Kemp e⁴ lumen arwr⁵ baruawt⁶ asgell⁷
 Vreith⁸ edrych⁹ eidyn a breithell
 Goruchyd¹⁰ y¹¹ lav loften¹²
 Ar gynt a gwydyl a phryden
 A chynhyo¹³ mwng bleid heb pren¹⁴
 Eny law gnawt gwychlaut ene lenn
 Prytwyf ny bei marw moren¹⁵
 Deheuec gwenabwy mab gwen."

¹ *Ar*, 1, 2, 3. ² *Drylawt*, 2, 5. ³ *Trum*, 2 ; *trum*, 3. ⁴ *Y*, 1, 2, 3 ;
 o, 8. ⁵ *Ar wr*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁶ *Carwawt*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁷ *Asget*, 1, 2, 3, 5.
⁸ *Arreith*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁹ *Edryth*, 4. ¹⁰ *Gorchudd*, 3, 5. ¹¹ *Ei*, 3.
¹² *Loften*, 1, 2, 3, 4. ¹³ *Chyngo*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ¹⁴ *Ben*, 5. ¹⁵ *Moryen*,
 1, 2, 3, 5.

O¹⁰ gyurang¹¹ gwyth¹² ac¹³ asgen
Trenghis ni diengis bratwen.

XLII.

Eur¹ ar vur caer krysgwrwydyat² 430

Aer cret ty na thaer³ aer vlodyat⁴

Un⁵ ara ae⁶ leissyar⁷ argatwyt⁸

Adar brwydryat⁹

Syll o virein

Neus adrawd a vo mwy 435

O damweinnyeit¹⁰ llwy.

Od amluch lliuanat¹¹

XLIII AND XLIV.

Neus adrawd a vo mwy

Enawr¹ blygeint²

¹⁰ This word is not in 1, 2, 3, 5. ¹¹ *Gyvrang*, 1, 2, 3, 6; *gyvrang*, 8.

¹² *Gwych*, 4. ¹³ *Ag*, 1.

¹ *Ac ar*, 6. ² *Ysgrwydiat*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ³ *Chaer*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁴ *Ae vlodyat*, 1, 2; *aeflodiad*, 3; *aer olodiat*, 6. ⁵ *Yn*, 1, 2, 3, 6. ⁶ *Ai*, 6.

⁷ *Lyssur*, 1, 2, 3, 5; *leissyr* (*lavurleissyar*), 6. ⁸ *Ar gatwyt*, 1, 2.

⁹ *Crwydryar*, 1; *crwydryat*, 2; *crwydrad*, 3; *brwydryar*, 4; *crwydryar*, *crwydrad*, 5. ¹⁰ *Ddanwynyeit*, 6; 1, 2, 3 have neither this nor the

two following lines. ¹¹ In Williams' copy there are three other lines in this verse, but in my opinion they belong to the next.

¹ *Yn llawr*, 6; *en awr*, 8. ² *Bylgeint*, 5, 6.

XLII. There is another copy of this verse and part of the next:—

“Eur ar mur caer crisgwitiat
Dair caret na hair air mlodyat
Un S sara secisiar argouduit
Adar bro uual pelloid
Mirein nis adrawd a uo byv o dam gweinieit
Lui o dam lan
Luch livanat nys adrawd
A vo biw en did pleimieit
Na bei cinaval cinelweit.”

(*Gorch. Mael. Myv.*, i, 86; *Gee's ed.*, 71; *Four Anct. Bks.*, ii, 103.)

Here, again, we have an illustration of the imperfection of our ordinary copies; the three lines which are placed here at the beginning of verse xliii, and at the end of verse xlii, did not, it is probable, form

From the conflict of wrath and injury
Bradwen perished and did not escape.

XLII.

To BRADWEN.

On the ramparts of the fort lay the golden (corpse),
Obstruction of battle :
Believest thou that they will not have a war-shout ?¹
Softened were the voices in the brakes
Of the wandering birds
On seeing the fair body.
Will there not be relating again
Of that which befell the paragon
At the stream of Amlwch ?²

XLIII AND XLIV.

To CYNHAVAL, the Son of Argad.

Will it not be related hereafter,
That at the dawn of day

¹ [Or, "A war-shout will not be had", in pencil.]

² [Or, "At the Lake of Llivon", in pencil.]

part of either when originally composed, and it is not improbable that they appear in their proper connection in the following verse from *Gorchan Maelderw* :—

“Hurtrevit clair Cinteiluad
Claer cleu na clair air uener sehic
Am sutseic sic sac adleo gogyuurd gogymrat
Edili edili ui puillyat
Nys adrawd gododiu in dit pleigheit
Na bei cyuhauual citeluat.
Llavnaur led rud laun ciuachlud
Guron guorut y maran laun gur leidyat
Laguen utat stadal vleidyat.”

(*Myv.*, i, 87 ; *Gee's ed.*, 72 ; *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 105.)

Without these lines verse xliii would be without a subject ; and it is for the same reason that I have added the concluding four lines, which form part of this verse in the Myvyrian copy, but which Williams has printed separately in verse xliv.

XLIII and XLIV. There were two persons living about this period

Na bei kynhawal³ kynheilweing⁴ 440
 Pan vuost di⁵ kynnivyn⁶ clot
 En amwyn tywyssen gordirot
 O haedot en gelwit⁷ redyrch⁸ gwyr not
 Oed dor diachor⁹ diachor din drei¹⁰
 Oed mynut wrth olut¹¹ ae kyrchei 445
 Oed dinas¹² e vedin ae¹³ cretei
 Ny elwit gwinwit men na bei

Ket¹⁴ bei¹⁵ kann wr¹⁶ en vu ty
 Atwen ovalon¹⁷ keny
 Pen gwyr¹⁸ tal being¹⁹ a dely 450

XLV.

Nyt wyf vynawc blin
 Ny dialaf vy ordin¹

³ *Cynhafal*, 1, 2, 3, 5; *kynawel*, 4. ⁴ *Cynheilw*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁵ *I*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁶ *Cynnyvin*, 1; *cynnyvin*, 2, 3; *kynnyssyn*, 5. ⁷ *Gelwir* (*gelwid*), 6. ⁸ *Edrych* (*redyrch*), 6. ⁹ *Oedd drei dor* (*diachor oedd dor*), 6. ¹⁰ These two lines are one in 1, 2, 3, 5, thus:—*O haedot* (*haeddod*, 3; *haedod*, 5) *diachor* (*ddiachor*, 3) *din drei* (*dre*, 5). ¹¹ *Wrtholut*, 2. ¹² *Diwas*, 1, 2, 3; *divas* (*dinas*), 6. ¹³ *Ae i*, 1, 3; *ac i*, 2, 5. ¹⁴ *Cyt*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ¹⁵ *Bei*, 1, 2, 3, 4. ¹⁶ *Cann wr*, 1; *cannwr*, 2, 3. ¹⁷ *O valon*, 2. ¹⁸ *Pen y gwyr*, 1, 2, 3. ¹⁹ *Talbeing*, 1, 2, 3.

¹ This line is not in 1, 2, 3, 4.

of the name of Cynhafal. One was Cynhafal ab Elgud ab Cadvarch ab Caradawg Vreichvras, by Tubrawst, the daughter of Tuthlwyniaid, who was a saint living in the seventh century, and the founder of the church of Llangynhafal, in Denbighshire. His commemoration is October 5 (Rees' *Saints*, 295). He could not have been the hero of Aneurin, as we have no account of any military exploits of his; and, as he was the great-grandson of Cardoc Vreichvras, he lived, it is probable, towards the latter half of the century.

Cynhaval, the son of Argad, was the other, and most probably the person named by Aneurin. He flourished about the beginning of the

Cynhaval was not supported,
 When thou whose praise is familiar
 Wast protecting the corn of the uplands ?
 On thy account "forward men of mark" were we called.
 He was an irresistible protector of the brilliant town ;
 He was a mountain by the wealth of whoever sought him ;
 He was a fortress to an army who trusted in him.
 There was no sparing of vines where he was ;
 Though there were an hundred men in one house,
 The song should dispel their cares,
 And the chief of men would pay the standard price.

XLV.

(The Bard's Imprisonment.)

I am not wilfully vexatious,
 I will not avenge the past,

seventh century (Owen), and was the person named in the following Triad :—

"The three bull-chiefs of the Isle of Britain. Elmur the son of Cadegyrr [son of Cibddar ; *Triads*, series iii, 73], Cynhaval the son of Argad, and Avaon the son of Taliesin : and these three were bards (sons of bards in another copy), and they feared nothing in war and battle, but rushed forward without any dread of being slain." [*Trioedd Ynys Prydain*, series i, 13 ; ii, 27 ; iii, 73.]

This character corresponds with that of Aneurin's hero ; and the fact that he was either a bard himself, or was the son of a bard, probably gave an additional charm to his military prowess in the eyes of Aneurin ; but there is nothing known to be the literary production of either father or son.

The two lines referring to the vine and the standard price should merit a moment's notice. Some doubt that the vine was introduced here by the Romans : here is confirmation of the fact asserted of Probus, who is said to have brought that plant to this country. The existence of a standard price is a proof of civilisation, of the existence of commercial institutions.

XLV. It is not necessary to make any observation upon the intimacy

Ny chwardaf y² chwerthin
 O dan³ droet⁴ ronin
 Ystynnawc vyg glin⁵ 455
 A bundat⁶ y
 En ty⁷ deyeryn
 Cadwyn heyernyn
 Am ben vyn⁸ deulin
 O ved o vuelin⁹ 460
 O gatraeth werin¹⁰
 Mi na¹¹ vi¹² aneurin
 Ys gwyr talyessin
 Oveg kywrenhin¹³
 Neu cheing¹⁴ e¹⁵ ododin 465
 Kynn gwawr dyd dilin.

XLVI.

Goroled¹, gogled gwr ae goruc
 Llary vronn haeladon² ny essayllut³

² *I*, 3. ³ *Adan*, 1, 2. ⁴ *Draed*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁵ *Fy nglin*, 3.
⁶ *Bun ddad*, 3; this line is not in 4, 6, 7. ⁷ *Yn y ty*, 1, 2, 3. ⁸ *Vy*,
 1, 2, 3. ⁹ This line is not in 1, 2, 3, 4. ¹⁰ *Wnin*, 1, 2, 3; line
 not in 6. ¹¹ *A na*, 1, 2; *a wna*, 3, 5. ¹² *I*, 5. ¹³ *Cywrenhin*, 1, 2,
 3, 4; vel *cyfrenmin*, 5. ¹⁴ *Chenig*, 1, 2; *chynig*, 3. ¹⁵ Not in 1, 2, 3, 5.
¹ *Gwroled*, 3, 5. ² *Haelad*, 2; *haela don*, 6. ³ *Yssylluc*, 6.

here displayed between the two chief bards of the sixth century; on
 the imprisonment we shall speak in the next note. Davies translates
 the last two lines thus:—

“ And thus a sonnet of the Gododin
 Is finished before the break of day.”

And upon the strength of this very incorrect translation, he asserts
 that he finds “Aneurin amusing the tedious nights of his imprisonment
 with the composition of his sonnets”; but, if these lines prove any-

I will not forbid laughter.
 With sand under foot,
 Stretched out were my legs
 And bound,
 In the subterranean house ;
 And an iron chain
 Bound my knees together.
 Of mead from the buffalo horn,
 And of the host of Cattræth
 I Aneurin will do
 What is known to Taliesin,
 Who participates in my design.
 Will I not sing of Gododin
 Before and after the break of day ?

LXVI.

To KENEU, the Son of Llywarch.

(The Bard's Release.)

The Pride of the North was the man who did the deed.
 Mild bosomed ! from a generous race he had sprung ;

thing at all, they prove that the *Gododin* was not begun until long after his release, when he was in Wales, and in the enjoyment of intercourse with his senior, the bard Taliesin. For further observations, see Critical Introduction.

XLVI. In rendering the fifth line, I have here followed Davies, but the line admits of another translation ; and as the present statement of the manner of his release is not consistent with a more explicit statement, which is given by the bard in another place, it is probable that we have not given the exact version in the text. As it stands now, it would appear that Aneurin was released through the valour of the son of Llywarch ; but in *Gorchan Cynvelyn* [see p. 18] he says :—

Nyt emda⁴ daer nyt emduc⁵
 Mam mor⁶ eiryau gadarn haearn gaduc 470
 O nerth e cledyf clauer e⁷ hamuc
 O garchar anwar⁸ daear em⁹ duc
 O gyvle anghau o anghar dut
 Keneu vab Llywarch dihouarch drut¹⁰

XLVII.

Nyt ef borthi¹ gwarth gorsed² - 475
 Senyllt ae³ lestri llawn med
 Godolei⁴ gledy⁵ e⁶ gared
 Godolei⁷ lemeen⁸ e⁹ ryuel
 Dyfforthsei¹⁰ lynwyssawr¹¹ oe¹² vreych
 Rac bedin ododin¹³ a brennych 480
 Guawt ene¹⁴ neuad vyth meirch
 Gwyar a gwrymseirch
 Keingyell¹⁵ hiryll oe law
 Ac en elyd bryssiaw

⁴ *Am dda*, 3. ⁵ *Yon duc*, 1, 2; *ion ddug*, 3. ⁶ *Mir*, 1, 2, 3.
⁷ *Ei*, 3. ⁸ *Anwar*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁹ *Ym or im*, 5. ¹⁰ This and the next
 verse form one in 7, and in I it forms one with the five which follow.

¹ *Borthi*, 1. ² *I gorsedd*, 3. ³ *Ai*, 1, 2, 3. ⁴ *Goddolei*, 1, 2, 3, 5.
⁵ *I gleddy*, 6. ⁶ *I*, 3, 6. ⁷ *Goddolei*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁸ *Lemeen*, 1, 2, 3, 5;
lemen (*lemen*), 6. ⁹ *O*, 3, 5, 6. ¹⁰ *Dyphorth sei*, 1, 2, 3, 5; *dyphorthi*,
 4, 6. ¹¹ *Yn mwysawr*, 1, 2, 3; *yn mwysawc*, 5. ¹² *O*, 1, 2, 3, 5.
¹³ *Gwawdodyn*, 3. ¹⁴ *Yn y*, 1, 2, 3. ¹⁵ *Ceyng y el*, 1.

“Mab coelcerth ugyuerth a unaethant
 O eur pur a dur ac ariant.”

“Being a son of the beacon fire, they made up my price,
 Of pure gold and steel and silver.”

This account differs essentially from that given in this verse, and attributes his release to more persons than one, and no warrantable modification of line 5 will reconcile the two descriptions. I have, therefore, to leave the line as it is; but the other version may be submitted as well:—

Earth does not support, nor has mother borne,
 A bright visaged hero so strong when clad in steel.
 By the force of the bright protecting sword,
 He brought me from a cruel prison of earth,
 From an unlovely region, from the place of death,
 Keneu the bold and active son of Llywarch.

XLVII.

TO HEILYN.¹

He would not be stingy in supporting a Gorsedd,
 The seneschal had his vessels full of mead ;
 He would bestow swords on his friends,
 He would endow them with banners for the war,
 And before the army of Gododin and Bryneich
 He supplied the pools (with blood) by his arm.
 Habitual in his hall would be steeds
 And dusky harness and clotted gore.
 Bright flew the javelin from his hand
 And hastened on its onward path.

¹ [The heading is written in pencil.]

“ From the power of the sword, which is brilliant in defence,
 From a cruel prison of earth he brought me,” etc.

Cenau, the son of Llywarch, is a character almost wholly unknown in the Cymric annals which have come down to us ; and but that Mr. Owen places him among the twenty-four sons of Llywarch Hen, we might almost doubt that the Llywarch of Aneurin was the old hard. It should also be noted that in the enumeration of his sons by Llywarch himself, Cenau is not mentioned, and Heilyn takes his place ; but this is not an insuperable objection, as Pasgen, or Ysgwn, another son of the old hard, is also omitted. There is nothing known respecting him beyond what is here stated.

XLVII. There is but one Heilyn known to fame who was living at this period ; but there are others named in various places. The Dynevor pedigree attributes a son of that name to Caradoc Vreichyras ; there is a Heilyn named in some verses [*Myv.*, i, 165 ; *Gee's ed.*, 125 ; *Four*

Gwen ac ymhyrdwen hyrdbleit 485
 Disserch a serch ar tro¹⁶
 Gwyr nyt oedyn drych draet¹⁷ fo¹⁸
 Heilyn achubyat pob bro.

XLVIII.

Llech leutu¹ tut leu² leudvre
 Gododin³ ystre 490
 Ystre ragno ar y anghat⁴
 Angat gynghor e⁵ leuuer cat
 Cangen⁶ gaerwys
 Keui⁷ drilllywys⁸
 .Tymor dymhestyl⁹ tymhestyl dymor 495
 E¹⁰ beri restyr rac riallu

¹⁶ *Artro*, 4. ¹⁷ *Drychdraet*, 4. ¹⁸ *Dro*, 2, 3; *ffo*, 4.

¹ *Leucu*, 1, 5; *leueu*, 2, 3. ² Not in 4, 6, 7. ³ *Gwawdodyn*, 3.
⁴ This line is not in 1, 2, 3. ⁵ *I*, 1, 2, 3. ⁶ *Cangeu*, 2, 3. ⁷ *Ceny*,
 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁸ *Duliwys*, 1, 2, 3, 5; *drillwys*, 6. ⁹ *Tymor dymhestyl* is
 not in 3. ¹⁰ *I*, 3; *i et y*, 5.

Ancient Books, ii, 56] attributed to Gwyddno, as a son of his, if the word *heilyn* in that poem is a proper name, and not an epithet applied to Rhuvawn Bevyr; and in the poem called "Kadeir Teyrnon" (*Myv.*, i, 65; Gee's ed., 56; *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 155), usually, but wrongly, attributed to Taliesin, there occur the lines:—

"Teyrnon henwr
 Heilyn pasgadwr" (*i.e.*, Heilyn the feeder),

which clearly refers to the subject of this verse. In the present state of our knowledge, we cannot, perhaps, do better than assume Heilyn to have been the son of Llywarch Hen. There is a person of that name named in the pedigree of Llywarch, and the old bard enumerates him among his sons:—

"Maen and Madawg and Medel, valiant men,
 And brothers not refractory,
 Selyv, Heilyn, Llawr, and Lliver." (*Heroic Elegies*, p. 142.)

XLVIII. Davies supposes these proper names to designate the scenes of hostile encounters, though he was at a loss to determine where they

His smile became a frown in attack,
 And he was alternately pleasing and disagreeable.
 His warriors did not show their feet in flight—
 Heilyn! the saviour of all the vales!

XLVIII.

To GWARTHAN ab Dunawd.

Llech (the stone or pass of) Lleutu, the land of Lleudvre,
 The vale of Gododin,
 And the strand of Rhagno was in his grasp;
 His hand in council was for the splendour of battle;
 The Caerwys contingent
 Were placed in order,
 In the season of tempest, in a tempestuous season,
 To form ranks before the leader.

lay. This was a natural consequence of his false chronology; but if I held the same views, it would be easy to find not only a plausible, but also a probable historical explanation. For instance, let us take the first line of the original:—

“Llech Lleutu (or lleucu) tud leu leudvre.”

Assuming the Llech Lleucu to be the proper reading (“the stone of lleucu”), we find an historical account to correspond:—

“DLXXVI. The battle of Loco in Kentire,” etc. (*Annals of Ulster*). But that was a family feud among the Scots of Argyle. Again, Davies, without warrant, puts Llech as a prefix to Tudleu, making the stone of Titleu. Nennius [*Nennius und Gildas von San-Marte*, § 44, p. 57; *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, p. 694] speaks of a battle between Vortimer and the Saxons, at the “Lapis Tituli”, on the Gallic shore. This is usually thought to be a mistake for “Lapis Populi”—Folkstone; but most probably Folkstone was The Folk’s town—that is, the Nor(th)folk and the Su(th)folk; and *lapis Tituli* had, it is probable, some connection with the second king of the East Anglians of Norfolk and Suffolk, who is variously named Tidil (Nennius), Tytla, Titell, and Titulus (Florence of Worcester), Titilus (H. of Huntingdon), and Tytilus (Bede). This is open to two objections—1st, the East Anglians were

O dindywyt¹¹ yn dyvu

Wyt¹² yn dywovu¹³

Dwys yd wodyn¹⁴

Llym yt wenyn

500

Llwyr genyn llu

Ysgwyt rugyn

Rac tarw trin

Y dal vriw¹⁵ vu¹⁶ (A)

¹¹ *O dindoyt*, 1; *odin dovyt*, 2, 3, 5. ¹² *Wyh*, 2. ¹³ *Dy uovu*, 1; *dy uosu*, 2; *dywo dyvu*, 4; *dyuovu*, 6; this line is not in 3, and it is indistinct in 2. ¹⁴ *Uodyn*, 1, 2; *fodyn*, 5. ¹⁵ *Dalfirw*, 3, 5. ¹⁶ This verse is thus given in another MS:—

“Leech leud ud tut leuvre

Gododin stre stre

Ancat ancat cyngor cyngor

Tymestyl trameryn lestyr trameryn lu

Heidilyawn lu meidlyawn let lin lu

O dindywyt yn dyowu

Sewyt grugyn y ractaryf trun tal briw bu.”

(*Gorchan Maelderw*; *Myv.*, i, 86; *Gee's ed.*, 71;

Four Ancient Books, ii, 103.)

(A) Verse xciv in Williams' *Gododin* is a second copy of this:—

“Llech¹ llefdir aryf gardith tith ragon²

Tec ware rac gododin³ ystre anhon

Ry duc diwyll o win bebyll ar lles tymyr⁴

Tymor tymestyl tra merin llestyr

Tra merin llu llu meithlyon

Kein gadrawt rwyd⁵ rac riallu

O dindywyt⁶ en dyuuwyt⁷ yn dyvuu⁸

Ysgwyt⁹ rugyn rac doleu trin tal vriw¹⁰ vu.”

¹ *Llech*, 4. ² *Tithragon*, 1, 2, 3, 5; *lith ragon*, 8. ³ *Gwawdodyn*, 3. ⁴ *Llestymyr*, 4. ⁵ *Rhwyd*, 4. ⁶ *Dinguyt*, 1; *drinuyt*, 2; *dringuyd*, 3; *dinguyt* and *ddinguyd*, 5. ⁷ *Dwynwyt*, 1, 2, 5; *dwynwyd dywnuyt*, 3, 6. ⁸ *Dyonn*, 1, 2, 6; *duou*, 3; *ddyoun*, 4. ⁹ *Ys gwyt*, 1. ¹⁰ *Talorin*, 1, 2, 3, 5; *talvriw*, 6.

too far; and 2nd, the word *leu* is a corrupt reading. *Lleudvre* is more promising, and might be assumed to refer to the following event:—

“DXC. The battle of Leithvedh (qy. Leithredh), by Aodan mac Gauran.” *An. Ult.* (*Ritson's Annals*, ii, 36.)

From the town of Tweed
 We came marching forward ;
 Ardently they purposed,
 Keenly would they pierce,
 And unanimously sang the host.
 The sportive shields
 Were shivered in fragments
 In the presence of the bull of battle.

But, upon careful consideration, I have come to the conclusion that the bard is here simply enumerating the possessions of his chief, Gwarthan, the son of Dunawd, one of the lords of Gododin. *Llech Lleutu* is probably some pass so named; and is in all likelihood the pass which was defended by Dunawd, the father of Gwarthan, against the onset of Urien Rheged:—

“Dywal dywedud yn nrws Llech
 Dunawd vab Pabo ni thech.” (*Heroic Elegies*, p. 22.)

“Fiercely was it said in the passage of Llech,
 Dunawd the son of Pabo will never fly.”

In a subsequent verse [see note (A), p. 256], *Ystre anhon*, Annandale, is added to these names; and in that immediate neighbourhood we find two places which may correspond to *tud leudvre*, or *tud leuvre*, the land of Leuvre, which may be either Leversdale, in Cumberland, or the district wherein Caerlaverock stands. *Ystre Gododin* is probably Tweeddale; and *Ystre Ragno* may probably be recognised as Raesknow, in the upper part of Teviotdale. *Dindywyt* is literally the town of the Tueda, the Roman name for the Tweed; and it is possible that the place called Duddo may be the town here named.

(These names are in the immediate neighbourhood of Annandale:—

Ystre Ragno—Storeknow, a tributary to the Esk.

Tud-leu—qy. Land of Ley, another small stream close by Leyhead.

Lleudvre—Leversdale.

Llech Leutu—qy. Liddel-dale.

There is a *Leck* just within the North Lancaster boundary, which probably was the Llech of Dunawd.)¹

¹ [Note inserted on a separate slip.—Ed.]

XLIX.

Erkryn ¹ e ² alon ar ³ af (ar) ⁴	505
Er y ⁵ brwydrin trin trachuar	
Kwr e vankeirw ⁶	
Am gwr e vanncarw ⁷	
Byssed brych briwant ⁸ barr	
Am bwyll am disteir am distar ⁹	510
Am bwyll am rodic ¹⁰ am rychward ¹¹	
Ys bro ys ¹² brys treullyawt rys	
En riwdrec ¹³ ni ¹⁴ hu wy ¹⁵ ny gaffo e ¹⁶ neges	
Nyt anghwy a wanwy ¹⁷ odiwes.	

L.

Ny mat wanpwytysgwyt	515
Ar gynwal ¹ carnwyt	
Ny mat dodes y ² vordwyt	
Ar vreichir mein-llwyt ³	
Gell e baladyr gell	
Gellach e ⁴ obell ⁵	520
Y mae dy wr ene ⁶ gell	
En cnoi anghell	
Bwch ⁷ bud oe law ⁸ idaw	
Poet ⁹ ymbell angell. ¹⁰	

¹ *Er kryn*, 8. ² *O*, 3. ³ Not in 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁴ *Ar af*, 1, 2, 5; *af ar*, 3; *araf*, 4. ⁵ *Y*, 3; *ery*, 4. ⁶ *Van ceirw*, 1; this line is not in 2, 3. ⁷ *Van carw*, 2, 3. ⁸ *Briwaut*, 6. ⁹ This line is not in 1, 2, 3, 4. ¹⁰ *Rhodri*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ¹¹ *Rychwedd*, 2, 3. ¹² *Ys broys*, 1, 2, 5; *ysbroys*, 3. ¹³ *Rhin drec*, 1, 2, 3; *rhindrec*, 5; ¹⁴ *Nid*, 3. ¹⁵ Not in 1, 2, 3, 5. ¹⁶ *I*, 3, 5. ¹⁷ *O vanny*, 1, 2, 3; *o vann y*, *vel o fan*, 5; *a wa mvy*, 6.

¹ *Grymal*, 1, 2, 3; *grymal*. *vel grymial*, 5. ² *I*, 3. ³ The rest of the verse is not in 3. ⁴ Not in 1, 2. ⁵ *O bell*, 1, 2. ⁶ *Yn y*, 1, 2, 5. ⁷ *Bwch aut hwch*, 2; *hwch*, 5. ⁸ *Lawr*, 2. ⁹ *Poet poet*, 1, 2, 6. ¹⁰ Not in 1, 7.

XLIX. If Rhys in this verse is a proper name, the scene is probably in Wales, as the only person of that name at this period was the son of Morial:—

XLIX.

To RHYS the son of Morial.

His enemies tremble wherever he goes ;
 He was active in the conflicting flight ;
 The deer on the hill top are nimble,
 And like a deer on the hill top was he ;
 Freckled fingers broke spears,
 For Pwyll and Distair and Distar ;
 For Pwyll and Rhodic and Rhychwardd.
 The valley was quickly consumed¹ by Rhys,
 In armour. He is not bold who fails of his purpose ;
 He does not escape who is pierced by a pursuer.

L.

To ADONWY. (Query Mathonwy of Caer Dathal.)

He is not estimable whose shield was pierced
 Upon the crupper of his steed ;
 He is not estimable who placed his thigh
 Upon a tall and slender grey steed ;
 His bay spear was bay still,
 And his saddle bayer yet.²
 Thy husband³ is in the pantry,
 Gnawing the foreleg of a buck ;
 Assistance from his hand will come—
 When the foreleg is far away !⁴

¹ Or, "traversed".

² *I.e.*, not discoloured by blood.

³ *I.e.*, the husband of Bradwen.

⁴ See an amusing version of this verse in Davies' *Druids*, p. 360.

"The sod of Ercal is on the ashes of fierce men,
 Of the progeny of Morial ;
 And after Rhys there is great murmuring of woe."

This verse occurs in Llywarch Hen's "Elegy on Cynddylan ab Cyndrwyn" (*Heroic Elegies*, p. 93 ; *Myv.*, i, 112 ; Gee's ed., 90 ; *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 288), and Pwyll, Distair, Distar, Rhodri, and

LI.

Da y doeth¹ adonwy atwen 525
 Ym adawssut² wenn heli bratwen
 Gwnelut lladut³ llosgut
 No moryen ny waeth⁴ wnelut
 Ny delyeist nac eithaf na chynhor⁵
 Ysgwn drem⁶ dibennor 530
 (Ni weleis or mor bwyr mor
 Marchauc a vei waeth no odgur)
 Ny weleist e morchwyd mawr marchogion
 Wynedin⁷ ny⁸ rodin nawd y Saesson. (A)

¹ *Daeth*, 1, 2, 5; this verse is not in 3. ² *Ym a dawssyt*, 1, 2; *ymadawssyt*, 5. ³ *Leadut*, 1. ⁴ *Naeth*, 1, 2; *vaeth*, 5; *waeth (uaeth)*, 6. ⁵ *Chynghor*, 1, 2. ⁶ *Drein*, 1, 2, 5. ⁷ *Ny leddin*, 1, 2, 5; *wy nedin*, 4, 6. ⁸ *Ny*, 2, 4.

(A) "Da dyvot adonwy adonwy am adaussut
 A wnelei vratwen gwnelut lladut llosgut
 Ny chetweist nac eithaf na chynnor (*chynghor*, 1)
 Ysgwn tref dy beuwel (*bennel*, 1) ny weleis or mor
 Bwyr mor marchauc a vei waeth no odgur."

(*Gorch. Maelderw.*)

Rhychwardd, in conjunction with Rhys, were probably the persons referred to as the "fierce men of the progeny of Morial."

Morial is frequently named about this period. The bard Meugant speaks of an expedition of his to *Caer Lwydecoed* (Lincoln), from whence he brought a booty of fifteen hundred head of cattle [*Myv.*, i, 160; *Gee's ed.*, 122]; he is alluded to in the *Mabinogi* of *Branwen* [*Mab.*, iii, 124], and is named with honour in *Englynion y Beddau*. (See *ante*, note on v. xxx, p. 216.)

LI. Adonwy is a name wholly unknown to the Cambrian annals; but from its resemblance to *Daronwy* and *Mathonwy*, it is evidently the name of one of the Irish settlers in Gwynedd, which at this time consisted of *Mon* and *Arvon*; and from that fact, as well as the association of the name with the lamentable fate of *Bradwen*, the daughter of *Llyr*, I am led to conclude that *Matholweh*, the husband of *Bradwen*, *Mathonwy*, the father of *Math ab Mathonwy* of *Caer Dathal* in *Arvon*, and the *Adonwy* of *Aneurin* are in reality the same person.

Of *Mathonwy* there is but little known, as he is only once named else-

LI.

To ADONWY. (Mathonwy ?)

Well did Adonwy come to the fair !
 The fair Bradwen thou leftest in the sea!¹
 Thou wouldst perform, slay, and burn ;
 Thou wouldst not accomplish less than Morien !
 Thou keptst neither a boundary nor a pass,
 Thou whose uplifted head is helmetless.
 (From sea to sea, I have not seen
 A worse knight than he was.)
 Thou sawest not the mighty swell of the warriors :
 They hewed and gave no quarter to the Saxons !

¹ Or, according to *Gorch. Mael.* :

“Thou promisedst to avenge what he (Morien) had done to Bradwen.”

where, except in connection with the famous magician and king of Gwynedd—his son Math. In *Cerdd Daronwy* (*Myv.*, i, 63 ; Gee's ed., p. 55 ; *Four Ancient Books*, i, 269 ; ii, 147) Mathonwy himself is said to have been a diviner, probably in mistake for the son, and his magic wand receives complimentary notice ; and in the *Iolo MSS.*, p. 471, there is attributed to him the following pedigree :—

“Math, the son of Mathonwy, the son of Trathol, 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.”

In the paragraph from which this extract is taken, this Irish invasion is dated at the commencement “A.D. 267”, and it is said that they were expelled, after a settlement of 129 years, by the sons of Cunedda, whom we have placed at the beginning of the sixth century. There is, therefore, no dependence whatever to be placed upon the date here given. Mathonwy is here said to be the grandson of Gwdion, but the *Mabinogion* reverse this order, and make Gwdion to be the contemporary of Math, the son of Mathonwy, his superior lord ; and Math was the contemporary of Manawyddan ab Llyr ab Brochwel Powys, who lived in the seventh century. Mathonwy was, therefore, living contemporaneously with Aneurin.

So much for the gentleman ; now for the lady. If I am right in my conclusion, the Bradwen of Aneurin is the same person as Branwen, the daughter of Llyr ; and verses xl, xli, xlii, l, and li present to us the

LII.

Gododin¹ gomynaf² dy blegyt 535

Tynoeu³ dra thrumein⁴ drum essyth⁵

- ¹ *Gwawdodyn*, 3. ² *Gofynaf*, 5. ³ *Tyno eu*, 1; *ty noeu*, 2.
⁴ *Thrinuein*, 1; *thrynein*, 2, 3; *thrinvein*, 5. ⁵ *Drinnessyt*, 1, 2, 3, 5.

actual facts on which the romance of Branwen was afterwards founded. These facts, it is true, are, after all, but few in number, and those not by any means clearly developed; but, so far as they can be discerned, they are the following:—

I. That Bradwen was the wife of Adonwy or Mathonwy.

II. That (in a passage-at-arms between Morien and Gwenabwy, the son of Gwen?) the lady Bradwen gave the preference to the dexterity of Gwenabwy over the physical power of Morien.

III. That “from the conflict of wrath and mischief, Bradwen perished, and did not escape”.

IV. That the body was placed upon the rampart after, according to some readings, it had lain in the sea.

V. That Bradwen received her death from Morien.

VI. That the cowardly Adonwy neglected to avenge her.

VII. That there would be a war to avenge her death.

There are two other accounts of this transaction, which agree for the most part with the verses of Aneurin. One of these is the following *Triad*:—

“The three direful blows of the Isle of Britain: the blow given by Matholwch, the Irishman, to Branwen, the daughter of Llyr; the blow given to Gwenhwyvar by Gwenhwyvach, which caused the battle of Camlan; and the blow given by Golyddan to Cadwaladr the Blessed.”—*Myv.*, ii, 11; Gee’s ed., 396.

And the other account is that furnished in the *Mabinogi* of Branwen, of which the following synopsis will contain all the material facts:—

Bendigeid Vran, the son of Llyr, was the crowned king of this island, and he was exalted from the crown of London. And one afternoon he was at Harlech in Ardudwy (Merionethshire), looking over the sea, and with him were his brothers by the mother’s side, Nissyen and Evnissyen, and his brother Manawyddan ab Llyr. And they saw thirteen ships coming towards them from the south of Ireland—Matholwch, the King of Ireland, coming to ask the hand of Branwen, the sister of Bran. She was given to him in marriage, but Evnissyen, who was a quarrelsome man, maimed the horses of Matholwch, and he was departing in anger, when Bran caused the injury to be repaired through the

LII.

To GODODIN.

Gododin ! much I desire thy parts,—
The dales beyond the ridge of the steep mountain

good offices of Manawyddan, Hyveidd Hir, and others. After he had retired to Ireland, and Branwen had been with him one year, there arose a tumult in the country, and his relations blamed Matholwch for not avenging the injury done to his horses, notwithstanding that other colts had been given him instead, in the commot since called Talebolion (Anglesey); and the vengeance they took was to drive away Branwen from the same chamber with him, and to make her cook for the court, and cause the butcher, after he had cut up the meat, to give her every day a blow on the ear. She was thus treated for three years, and as all communication with the Island of the Mighty (Britain) was cut off, Bran did not hear of his sister's maltreatment; but Branwen reared a starling in the cover of the kneading trough, and she taught it to speak, and what kind of man her brother was. She then gave it a letter, which the bird brought to Bran at *Caer Seiont* in *Arvon*; and Bran determined to avenge the injuries of his sister. He went over to Ireland for that purpose, and left *Caradoc*, his son, at *Edeyrnion* (a commot in *Merionethshire*) with seven knights to take charge of the *Island of the Mighty*; but he was slain in Ireland, and seven only of his followers returned, bringing with them his head, and Branwen. And they came to land at *Aber Alaw* in *Talebolion*, and sat down to rest. And Branwen looked towards Ireland, and towards the *Island of the Mighty*, to see if she could descry them. "Alas," said she, "woe is me that I was ever born; two islands have been destroyed because of me!" Then she uttered a long groan, and there broke her heart. And they made for her a four-sided grave, and buried her upon the banks of the *Alaw* (*Anglesea*, where her remains were found in 1813, as here described). The head of Bran was buried at the *White Mount*, *London* (probably *Bryngwyn* in *Anglesey*, or the *Gwynfryn* in *Merionethshire*).

The grandiloquence of this tale will scarcely deceive anyone; and I need scarcely remark that Bran ab Llyr Llediaith, son of the King of *London*, was nothing more than a petty lord of *Merioneth*. The same remark will explain why *Anglesey* has been exaggerated into *Ireland*; and as all the names of places are in *Gwynedd*, we have not much difficulty in coming to the conclusion that *Mona* was the scene of these events. If proof were wanting, we have it in the fact that Bran, with his provisions on his back, waded across the sea (*Menai*) to *Ireland*!

Gwas chwant y⁶ ariant heb⁷ emwyt⁸
 O gyssul⁹ mab dwywei¹⁰ dy wrhyt
 Nyt oed¹¹ gynghor wann¹²
 Wael¹³ y¹⁴ rac tan¹⁵ veithin 540
 O lychwr y¹⁶ lychwr luch bin¹⁷
 Luchdor y¹⁸ borfor¹⁹ beryerin²⁰
 Llad gwaws²¹ gwan maws mur²² trin
 Anysgarat²³ ac²⁴ vu²⁵ y nat²⁶ ac Aneurin. (A)

⁶ *I*, 3. ⁷ *Hem*, 8. ⁸ *Ymwyt*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁹ *Gyssu*, 4. ¹⁰ *Dwyre*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ¹¹ *Ced*, 6. ¹² *Gyngor uann*, 1; *ynghoruan*, 2; *gynghorwan*, 3; *gynghorfan*, 5. ¹³ *Uael*, 1, 2; *hael*, 5. ¹⁴ Not in 1, 2, 3, 5. ¹⁵ *Lan*, 1, 2, 3. ¹⁶ *I*, 3. ¹⁷ *Luthbin*, 1, 5; *luthvin*, 2; *luthfin*, 3; *lwch bin*, 6. ¹⁸ *I*, 3. ¹⁹ *Bor for*, 8. ²⁰ *Beryenin*, 4. ²¹ *Gnaws*, 1, 2, 3; *graws*, 5. ²² *Gwyr*, 4. ²³ *Anys garat*, 1. ²⁴ Not in 1, 2, 3. ²⁵ *Un*, 4, 6. ²⁶ *Ynat*, 1, 2, 5; *yn ad*, 3.

(A) Verse xciii, in Williams' copy, is a various reading of this:—

“ Gododin gomynnaf¹ oth hlegyt
 Yg gwyd² cant en aryal en³ emwyt⁴ *
 A guarchan⁵ mab dwywei da wrhyt
 Poet yno en vn tyno treissyt
 Er pan want maws mor trin⁶
 Er pan aeth daear ar aneirin
 Mi neut⁷ ysgaras nat a gododin.

¹ *Gofynnaf*, 5. ² *Yg uydd*, 1; *ygwydd*, 5; *ynghwydd*, 2; *ys gwyd*, 8. ³ *Yr*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁴ *Enwyt*, 1, 2; *enwyd*, 3; *enwyt*, 5. ⁵ *Gwarthan*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁶ *Mur trin*, 1, 2, 3, 4; *murtrin*, 5. ⁷ *Neit*, 1, 2, 3, 5.

But the chief difficulty is historical, not geographical. Bran ab Llyr Llediaith, according to the biographers, was King of the Silures, and father of the world-famous Caractacus; but according to my researches, he lived not at Dunraven in Glamorganshire, but at Harlech in Merionethshire—not in A.D. 51, but about A.D. 620. His father Llyr, the father of Branwen, or Bradwen, and Cordelia, the King Lear of Shakespere, was the son of Brochwel, Prince of Powys; and the story respecting the introduction of Christianity into this island by Bran ab Llyr Llediaith is wholly unfounded, as the only Bran ab Llyr known to the Cambrian annals, when carefully examined, is this grandson of Brochwel's and contemporary of Aneurin.

Let us, therefore, bring these various accounts together. Aneurin

Where [the slave to the love of money is without self-control].¹
 From the counsel of the son of Dwywe was thy heroism ;
 He was not weak in advice,
 Nor mean before the banquet fire (of Gwylyget ?).
 From Lucker to Lockerby, Lochmaben,
 There is an open door for the purple-wearing pilgrim (bard).
 The pitiful slaughter and piercing of the delightful pillar of
 conflict
 Has been the cause of separating thee from Aneurin.

¹ [The bracketed words are Mr. Silvan Evans' rendering of the line, which is untranslated in Stephens' MS.—Ed.]

and the *Triads* seem to speak of some single injury. The bard and the romance acquit the husband of being the chief offender. The bard says the event occurred "Od amlwch llivanat", at the lake or waters of Llivanat; and Aber Alaw, where Branwen was buried, is in the commot of Llivon in Anglesey. The bard places the scene where the eagle of Gwydion (King of Mona) hovers in the air; and the romance does the same. The bard predicts war; the romance relates that it took place; and the poem called *Cerdd i Veib Llyr ab Brychwel Powys* identifies the story with the sons of Brochwel (*Myv.*, i, 66; Gee's ed., 57; *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 153). The romance connects Ebnissyen with the fortunes of Bradwen; and the *Englymion* identify him with those of Bradwen:—

"Oet ef Kyfnissen y holi galanas

Guawrut grut aten

A chen buir but bet Bradwen." (*Myv.*, i, 82; Gee's ed., 68.)

An interesting account of the opening of her tumulus in 1813 was furnished to the *Cambro-Briton* (vol. ii, p. 71) by Sir R. C. Hoare. The place was still called Ynys Bronwen; and the name is also preserved in Penrhos Brydwen, in the same immediate locality. Harlech Castle is also called Twr Bronwen.

LII. The subject of this verse is the country of the Ottadini, which, from this and other authorities, we find to have extended from Lucker in Northumberland, on the coast of the German Ocean, to Lockerby, near Lochmaben in Galloway, near the Frith of Solway; and this verse, in connection with one of the preceding, and two which will presently follow, clearly show that the dominion of the Ottadini stretched right across from Berwick to Annandale, from the German to the Irish Sea. It is usually supposed to have extended north and

LIII.

Kywyrein ketwyr kywrennin¹ 545
 E² gatraeth gwerin fraeth fysgyolin³
 Gwerth med yg kynted a gwirawt win
 Heyessit e lavnawr rwng dwy vedin
 Arderchauc varchawc rac Gododin⁴
 Eithiny⁵ voleit⁶ murgreit⁷ tarw trin. 550

LIV.

Kywyrein ketwyr kywrenhin¹
 Gwlat atvel² gochlywer³ eu⁴ dilin⁵
 Dygoglawd⁶ ton bevyr beryerin
 Men⁷ yd ynt⁸ eilyassaf⁹ elein

¹ *Cynrennin*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ² *I*, 3. ³ *Wysgiolin*, 3. ⁴ *Gwawdodin*, 3.
⁵ *Eith iwyn*, 1; *eith iwyn*, 2; *eithin yn*, 3, 6. ⁶ *Uoleit*, 4; *noleit*, 6.
⁷ *Mur greit*, 1, 2, 3, 6.

¹ *Cynrenhin*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ² *Atvet*, 1, 5; *atuet*, 2; *adued*, 3. ³ *Gochlywet*, 1, 2, 3, 5; *gychlywer*, 6. ⁴ *Ei*, 2. ⁵ *Dilyn*, 4; there is a mark of omission between this word and the next in 8. ⁶ *Dy goglawd*, 1, 2, 3.
⁷ *Mein*, 2, 3. ⁸ *Ydynt*, 1, 2, 3. ⁹ *Heliessynt*, 3; *heliessynt eilyassaf*, 4; *eliassaf*, 5.

south, from Berwick to Edinburgh; but Nennius describes a part of Cumberland by the name of *Manau Guotodin*; and these notices in Aneurin, taken in conjunction with the words of Nennius, point out the true position of the Gododinian district. Lucker and Lockerby were the two boundaries north-west and south-west, and the latter place is situate near Birrenswork Hill, a Roman encampment or station in former periods.

The hero of the verse was Gwarthan ab Dunawd, to whom reference has been already made. Dunawd, like his son, was Lord of Gododin; he married a lady named Dwywe, who was the daughter of Gwallog ab Lleuog, and is numbered among the British saints; and by her he had several sons, amongst others, Gwarthan the son of Dwywe, here named. The fullest notice of him occurs in the *Iolo MSS.* (p. 556):—

“Gwarthan the son of Dunawd, the son of Pabo Post Prydain, was confessor to Cattwg in the College of Germanus, and Cattwg sent him and his brothers, Deiniol and Cynwyl, as instructors to Bangor in

LIII

To GWARTHAN ab Dunawd (?) or ELPHIN (?)

The skilful warriors rose together ;
 And to Cattræth there hastened a loquacious host—
 The result of mead in the hall and the beverage of wine.
 His spears were strewn between two armies,
 Illustrious knight in the presence of Gododin!
 Like furze in flames was the towering spirit of the battle-
 bull.

LIV.

To MORYAL. (?)

The skilful warriors rose together¹ ;
 The invader of the country heard their pursuit,
 Where murmurs that radiant pilgrim, the ocean wave,
 When the fawns are in fullest harmony.

¹ The last word of line 1 is *cynrenhin*—"foremost" or "front-sharing", in 1, 2, 3, 5.

Maelor, on the banks of the Dee; and in consequence of the wisdom and piety of these three brothers it became the most eminent of all the Bangors of the Island of Britain; and it was demolished by the pagan Saxons in the battle of Bangor Orchard, and then were killed many of the saints; and others escaped and became saints in the Bangor of Bardsey, and thence Bardsey became possessed of the most numerous assemblage of saints, and the most celebrated for learning, of all the Bangors of North Wales; and enjoyed gifts from kings, and nobles, and gentry more than did any other. Gwarthan was slain by the pagan Saxons in their wars in the North (Cattræth). His church is Llanwarthen in the Vale of Clwyd."

In this paragraph it is not easy to distinguish the historic truth from the clerical fiction. The unity of testimony makes it probable that the son of Dunawd could scarcely have been an abbot there, as the *Annales Cambriæ*, a much better authority than *Achau'r Saint*, under the year 595, says, "Dunawt rex moritur." And there is still less reason to believe that Gwarthan was a monk at any part of his life; certain it is, that like many other reputed saints, he lived and died a warrior.

O brei¹⁰ vrych ny welych weyelin¹¹ 555
 Ny chemyd¹² haed ud¹³ a gordin
 Ny phyrth meuyI moryal eu dilin
 Llavy¹⁴ durawt¹⁵ barawt e¹⁶ waetlin¹⁷

LV.

Kywyrein ketwyr kywrenhin
 Gwlat atvel gochlywer eu dilin¹ 560
 Ef lladawd a chymaw² allain
 A charnedawr tra gogyhwc³ gwyr trin.

LVI.

Kywyrein¹ ketwyr hyuaruuant²
 Y gyt³ en vn vryt⁴ yt gyrchassant
 Byrr eu hoedyl hir eu hoet ar eu carant 565
 Seith gymeint o loegrwys a ladassant
 O gyvryssed⁵ gwraged gwyth⁶ a wnaethant
 Llawer mam ae deigy⁷ ar⁷ y⁸ hamrant.

LVII.

Ni wnaethpwy^t neuad mor dianaf
 Lew mor hael baran llew llwybyr vwyhaf¹ 570

¹⁰ *Bei*, 3. ¹¹ *Ueyelin*, 1; *lleyelin*, 2, 3, 5. ¹² *Cheny^t*, 2, 3, 5.
¹³ *Haedud*, 1, 2, 3, 5, 8. ¹⁴ *Dawn*, 5. ¹⁵ *Durat*, 4. ¹⁶ *I*, 3.
¹⁷ *Uaeth lin*, 1, 2; in 4 the last two lines of the succeeding verse have been added to this.

¹ These two lines are not in 2, 3, 4. ² *Chammawⁿ*, 3, 5. ³ *Gogyhne*, 1, 2, 3; *gogyh^{ue}*, 5; *gogyh^{wc}* (*gogyh^{wc}*), 6.

¹ *Cywyrein*, 1, 2, 3. ² *Cywaruuant*, 1, 2, 3, 4. ³ *Ygyt*, 1; *ygcyt*, 2; *ynghyd*, 3, 5. ⁴ *Unvryt*, 1, 2, 3. ⁵ *Gyurysed*, 1; *gyvryssed*, 2, 3, 5.
⁶ *Gwy^{ch}*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁷ Not in 4. ⁸ *Ei*, 1, 2, 3, 4.

¹ *Mwyaf*, 1, 2, 3, 5; *vwynaf*, 8.

LV. "Ef lladawd", in the third line, means literally "he slew"; and if there be any reference to an individual, that person would probably be the hero named in an antecedent verse; or if we take the rules of

From a rugged summit you cannot see a small twig :
 The placid and the impulsive will not agree.
 Morial¹ in pursuit did not sustain disgrace,
 With his steel blade prone to the shedding of blood.

LV.

To MORYAL. (?)

The skilful warriors rose together ;
 The invader of the country heard their pursuit.
 There was slaying in the battle with blades,
 And heaps (of dead) from the contact of warriors.

LVI.

The co-rising warriors met together,
 And all with one accord hastened forward :
 Short were their lives, but long to their friends will be their
 memory.
 Seven times as many Lloegrans were by them slain :
 There was screaming from the assembling of women,
 And there were tears on the eyelids of many mothers.

LVII.

To CYNON ab Clydno Eiddin.

The hall was not made so free from defect,
 As by that fairest offspring, the mild-bosomed Cynon,

¹ Moryal, translated "the dawn" in Probert, and the "sea-rovers" in Davies, seems to be a proper name, being the person named by Llywarch Hen and Meugant. (See note to v. xlix.)

grammar for our guide, the pronoun refers to the invader of the country, *i.e.*, the Saxon ; but as the practice of Aneurin is frequently at variance with strict grammatical constructions, there is not much dependence to be placed upon it in this case. Upon the whole, the rendering in the text appears to me to be the most correct.

LVII. The subject of this verse and of verse xxxvi is one of the most

A chynon laryvronn adon² deccaf
 Dinas y dias ar llet eithaf
 Dor angor bedin bud³ eilyassaf
 Or⁴ sawl a weleis ac awelav

² *A don*, 1, 2, 5; *ar don*, 3. ³ This word is not in 2. ⁴ *Er*, 1, 2, 3, 5.

brilliant characters in Welsh romance, and appears at all times to have been held in high estimation.

From the name by which he is generally distinguished from the other Cynons of Cambrian history, we learn that Clydno Eiddin, or Clydno of Edinburgh, his father, had come originally from the North, and taken up his residence in Wales; and from a comparison of various scattered fragments and unconnected allusions, we are led to conclude that his place of abode was in the Cantrev of Lleyn in Caernarvonshire, on the shore of St. George's Channel. This conclusion is founded on the following data:—1. Risierdyn, a bard living in the fourteenth century, records the burial of one Hywel ap Gruffuth in the church of St. Beuno, compares that warrior with Clydno in point of bravery, as will be seen from the following translation of the lines:—

“The red-weaponed chief, the ruler of the golden region of costly wine,
 Saint Beuno's blessed choir now conceals;
 The mighty high-famed leader, daring as *Clydno*,
 Silent are his remains within their oaken cell.”

(Guest's *Mabinogion*, i, 97; *Myv.*, i, 432; Gee's ed., 290.)

Llan-Beuno is situated in the district here named, and is not far from Pwllheli; and as there appears something more than chance in this association of Clydno with that place, I incline to believe that the residence of the father of Cynon was in that neighbourhood.

2. In one of the preceding verses (xxxvi) Cynon is described as being

“The gentle bosomed Lord of Clinion”;

and as *Clynog*, in the same locality, bears a close resemblance to Clinion, that fact confirms the above conclusion. 3. And, thirdly, we find from *Englynion y Beddau* that Cynon's remains were buried in that vicinity:—

“Bet gur gwaud urtin
 In uchel titin in isel gwelitin
 Bet Cynon mab Clytno Idin.

“Piau y bet y dann y brinn
 Bet gur gwrnt yng kiuiscin
 Bet Kinon mab Clytno Idin.

Nor a lion so generous as the lion of greatest course.
 He was the fortress of the tumult along the boundary,
 The guard anchor of an army, the friend of harmony.
 Of all I saw, and shall see in the world,

“Bet Run mab Pyd yn Ergrid avon

In oervel ig guerid

Bet Kinon yn Reon Rid.”

(*Myv.*, i, 79 ; *Gee's ed.*, 66 ; *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 29.)

“The grave of a warrior of high renown

Is in a lofty region; but lowly is the bed,—

The grave of Kynon the son of Clydno Eiddin.

“Whose is the grave beneath the hill?

It is the grave of a warrior valiant in the conflict,

The grave of Kynon the son of Clydno Eiddin.

“The grave of Kinon is in the ford of Rheon.”

The ford of Rheon is frequently named by the bards, although its site is no longer exactly known; but we may obtain an approximation. Gwilym Ddu, living about 1350, speaks of the men of “Arvon is Reon Ryd” [*Myv.*, i, 409 ; *Gee's ed.*, 276]. We may, therefore, conclude that this ford was on the boundary line of the two Arvons—Is Arvon, or the northern part, and Uch Arvon, or the southern part. Upper and lower in that neighbourhood have reference to the position of the Snowdon range, and not, as is generally the case, with reference to position north and south. Uch Arvon, in that case, would be south of this ford; and a line dividing Arvon east and west would leave Clynog just within the southern boundary. We may, therefore, conclude that this was the local habitation of our hero: now for the man himself.

Cynon figures prominently in the *Mabinogion*, and particularly in that of *Iarlles y Ffynnon*, where, contrary to the usages of chivalry, he has the candour to relate an adventure which he failed to achieve. He is frequently named in the *Triads*:—

“Three counselling knights were in the Court of Arthur, which were Cynon the son of Clydno Eiddin, Aron the son of Kynfarch ab Meirchion Gul, and Llywarch Hen ab Elidir Lydanwyn. And these three knights were the counsellors of Arthur, and whatever dangers threatened him in any of his wars, they counselled him, so that none were able to overcome Arthur; and thus he conquered all nations through three things which followed him; and these were good hope, and the consecrated arms which had been sent him, and the virtue of his

Ymyt⁵ en emdwyn⁶ aryf gryt gwryt gwryaf 575
 Ef lladei oswyd a llavyn llymaf
 Mal brwyn⁷ yt gwydynt rac y⁸ adaf
 Mab klytno clot hir⁹ canaf
 Yty¹⁰ or clot heb or heb¹¹ eithaf.¹²

⁵ *Ymmyd*, 3; *y myt*, 4. ⁶ *Yn dwyn*, 5. ⁷ *O brwyn*, 2. ⁸ *I*, 3.
⁹ *Clothir*, 1. ¹⁰ *Y ty*, 1, 2, 3; *i ti*, 5. ¹¹ *Oreb*, 5. ¹² *Ertheiaf*, 5.

warriors; and through these he came to wear twelve crowns upon his head, and he became Emperor of Rome."

This, be it observed, is not history, but romance. The Court of Arthur is itself a fiction; and Arthur must have been dead half a century before the era of Cynon. In another place, this *Triad* has the following addition:—

"And he (Arthur) had nothing but success when he acted by the advice which he received from them, and reverses when he did not follow their counsel."

Kynon, or Cynon, is also called one of "the three ardent lovers", on account of his passion for Morvyth, daughter of Urien Rheged, and sister of Owen, the hero of *Iarllles y Ffynnon*:—

"The three ardent lovers of the Island of Britain, Caswallon, the son of Beli, for Flur, the daughter of Mugnach Gorr; and Trystan, the son of Talluch, for Yseult, the wife of March ab Meirchion, his uncle; and Kynon, the son of Clydno Eiddin, for Morvyth, the daughter of Urien."

Kynon is frequently mentioned by the bards of the Middle Ages, and celebrated both for his bravery and for his devotion as a lover. It is in the latter character that he is alluded to by Gruffudd ab Meredith, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, who compares the force of his own passion to that of Kynon for Morvyth, and that of Uther Pendragon for the fair Ygraine:—

"O gariad Eigr deg eirian
 A chariad glwysferch Urien
 Echwynawdd Bardd ar harddlun
 Uchenaid Uthr a Chynon." [*Myv.*, i, 457; Gee's ed., 305.]

Lady Charlotte Guest, to whom I am indebted for the materials of this note, translates these lines thus:—

"As the sigh of Uther for the love of Ygraine, the fair and splendid;
 And the sigh of Kynon for the love of the beauteous daughter of Urien;
 Such is the sigh of the bard for the lovely object of his affections."

(*Mabinogion*, i, 95.)

Bearing arms, he who shouted with the manliness of Gwriaf,
 Slew enemies with the keenest blade :
 They fell like rushes before his arm.
 Son of Clydno ! enduring praise will I sing
 To thee whose fame is without limit or boundary.

Cynon, as described by Aueurin, is a very paragon of bravery and amiability. There is, however, a serious imputation cast upon his character, which deserves to be mentioned, if only for the purpose of contradiction :—

“The three execrable slaughters of the Isle of Britain :—Eiddyn, the son of Einygan, who slew Aneurin of the flowing muse, the King of Bards; Llawgad Trwm Bargawd Eiddyn, who slew Afaon, the son of Taliesin ; and Llofan Llawddino, who slew Uryen ab Cynfarch.”

Instead of Llovan, one copy of the *Triads* reads :—“ Cynon, the son of Clydno Eiddin, and Dyvynawl, the son of Mynyddawe Eiddin”;¹ but the testimony of Llywarch Hen is decisive upon this point, and there need be no doubt that the imputation is false, and that Llovan was the assassin [*Myv.*, i, 106 ; *Gee's ed.*, 86 ; *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 272].

According to the *Myv. Argh.* (iii, 38; *Gee's ed.*, 776) Cynon was educated at the College of Llancarvan, and is said to have answered one of the seven questions proposed by Cattwg Ddoeth, the President, as follows :—

“ What is man's fairest quality ?

Answer : Sincerity.”

In an antecedent verse (xxi, p. 193), Aneurin states that the only persons who escaped from Cattræth through their valour were “ Cynon the dauntless and Aeron's two dogs of war” ; and Lady Guest asserts this Cynon to have been our hero. This verse in my translation has been given already. I now subjoin Gray's version :—

“ To Cattræth's Vale in glitt'ring row
 Thrice two hundred warriors go :
 Every warrior's manly neck
 Chains of regal honour deck,
 Wreath'd in many a golden link :
 From the golden cup they drink
 Nectar that the bees produce,
 Or the grape's extatic juice.
 Flush'd with mirth and hope they burn :
 But none from Cattræth's Vale return,

¹ [*Triodd Ynys Prydain, Cyf.* i, 38 ; iii, 47 ; *Myv.*, ii, 9, 65, 77 ; *Gee's ed.*, 390, 405, 413. See also *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 462].

LVIII.

O winveith a medweith¹

580

Dygodolyn² gwnlleith³

Mam hwrreith

Eidol enyal

¹ *Meddveith*, 1, 2, 3. ² *Dygoddolyn*, 1, 5; *dygodd o lyn*, 3. ³ *Gwnlleith*, 1, 2, 3, 5.

Save Aëron brave and Conan strong
 (Bursting through the bloody throng),
 And I, the meanest of them all,
 That live to weep and sing their fall."

We are not in a position to determine whether this Cynon was the son of Clydno or Cynon of Aeron; but from the fact that one was buried at Llanbadarn in Cardigan, and the other in Arvon, there can be but little doubt that both escaped with life from that fatal fray.

In *Gorch. Maelderw*, Cynon and Arvon are thoroughly identified :—

"Pan deg y cyvarchant nyt oed hoedyl dianc
 Dialgar Arvon cyrchei eur ceinyo arurthyat
 Urython browys meirch Cynon."

(*Myv.*, i, 86; Gee's ed., 71; *Four Anct. Books*, ii, 103.)

LVIII. Of the persons named in this verse our knowledge is very limited indeed; of Rheiddun all we know is that he is three times named in the *Mabinogi* of Kilhwch among the knights of Arthur, as Rheidwn Arwy, Rheidwn son of Beli [*Mab.*, ii, 261], and Rheidwn the son of Eli Atver [*ib.*, 311]; for we may conclude these to be only various names for one person. The only Beli whom we know to have died about this period was Beli the son of Rhun ab Maelgwn. He may have left a widow, and Rheiddun may have been his son, for it is evident that this "Ruler of Tumult" was a man of high social as well as military position. Of Hwrreith we know nothing, save that he was the brother of Rheiddun. In a poem professing to be a dialogue between Merddin and Taliesin, we read of two persons named Errith and Curritth, who are named in connection with Maelgwn Gwynedd and others; and it is just probable that they may be different forms of the names of Rheiddun and Hwrreith.—(*Myv.*, i, 48; Gee's ed., 45; *Four Anct. Books*, ii, 3.)

Eidol, also, is but little known. In the *Mabinogi* of Kilhwch we meet him under three designations—Eidiol the son of Ner [p. 263], Eidiol

LVIII.

To EIDOL (ab Ner?)

From the wine feast and mead feast,
 Glutted were the slaughtering dogs¹
 Of the mother of Hwrreith :
 Eidol in the desert

¹ There are two readings of the original here, which very materially alter its signification. I have followed Williams' text; but if we adopt the other reading, the translation would run thus:—

“From the wine and mead feast they were glutted.
 I know that the mother of Hwrreith slew
 Eidol in the desert.”

Probert has a modification of this view.

the son of Aer [p. 296], and Eiddon Vawrvrydig [p. 261], which, it is probable, are only various names for one person; but we know but little of his history beyond what is here stated, and the facts unfolded by Cuhelyn in his ode to this hero, which we here present entire:—

“Vehement as an angry wolf!
 Of the nature of the law of steel
 Was his customary judgment.
 Eidiol was a man
 Of the best conduct,
 And remarkably wise.
 A wrathful fiery leader
 On the part of the Britons
 In the work of combustion.
 Customary was much singing,
 Customary was metricity,
 And a mead feast congress.
 The mead and wine were divided
 By the knight of the battle field
 In small measures.
 Skilful rampart of the boundary,
 Delightful Peter of the four quarters,
 Wealthy supporter of the choirs (churches).
 The attribute of the brawny chief,
 His attribute with the spear
 Was that of a conquering warrior.

Ermygei rac vre ⁴	
Rac bronn budugre	585
Breein ⁵ dwyre	
Wybyr ysgynnyal	
Kynrein en kwydaw ⁶	
Val glas heit ⁷ arnaw	
Heb giliaw gyhau ⁸	590
Synnwyr ystwyr ystemel ⁹	
Y ar ¹⁰ weillyon ¹¹ gwebyl ¹²	
Ac ardemyl gledyual	
Blaen ancwyn ¹³ anhun ¹⁴	
Hediw ¹⁵ an ¹⁶ dihun	595
Mam ¹⁷ reidun ¹⁸ rwyf trydar.	

⁴ *Racvre*, 1, 2, 3, 4. ⁵ *Brein*, 2, 3. ⁶ *Cynyddaw*, 1, 2, 3, 5.
⁷ *Glasheid*, 3. ⁸ *Gyhau*, 4. ⁹ *Ystemel*, 1, 2; *ystymmeid*, 3. ¹⁰ *Yar*,
1, 2, 6; *yr*, 3. ¹¹ *Neilyon*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ¹² *Gwevyl*, 2, 3. ¹³ *Anewyn*,
1. ¹⁴ Not in 4. ¹⁵ *Hedin*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. ¹⁶ *Ar*, 1, 2, 3, 5.
¹⁷ *Nam*, 6. ¹⁸ *Reiddyn*, 1.

To the Mayor a brilliant verse,
A pleasing song would be raised
In the language of panegyric.
Death was the hateful lot
Of the Mayor of the palace,
Magnificent and wise.
An active reaper, (or active in reaping)
The honey of Bardism
Was courteous and wrathful.
In the moment of passion
He was like the drunken sea
Rolling over the strand.
The marrow of brilliant songs,
The study of choirs, (he was)
A type not easily matched.
A minister (*i.e.*, distributor of mead) he would be,
Possessor of mead,
Of smooth eulogy.

Was worshipping before the mount,
 In the presence of Buddugre.¹
 Like crows rising
 To ascend the sky,
 The kindred fell
 Like a blue swarm upon him,
 Leaving no semblance of escape.
 From the pallor of the lip
 And the keenness of the sword,
 They warily surrounded him.
 Watchfulness before² enjoyment ;
 To-day there awakens us
 The mother of Rheiddun—the Ruler of Tumult.

¹ The goddess of war. "Buddygre, *s.m. pl. t.* on (buddyg-rhe). The impeller or hastener to victory ; the demon of war." (Pnghe's *Dictionary*.)

² *I.e.*, "should precede enjoyment".

Music he sang
 Like a golden hymn
 At the place of——.
 In the work of lances, rushing,
 In the bursting of valour, destructive,
 Were the virtues of the lord.
 With an oath he rushed forth,
 With an oath he commanded
 To bind the (sovereign?).
 Like the bursting of a terrible gale,
 Like the pervading course of fire,
 Was he in war against the sons (of Beli?).
 Red gold he deserves,
 Renowned overwelmer,
 He shall be defended blamless.
 Affluence he provided,
 And shelter he rendered,
 And rewards he gave for song.
 Pre-eminent he was ;
 He gave protection
 From the violence of a foe.

LIX.

O winveith a medweith¹ yd² aethant
 E³ genhyn⁴ llurugogyon
 Nys gwn lleith lletkynt
 Cyn llwyded⁵ eu lleas dydaruu 600
 Rac catraeth oed fraeth eu llu
 O osgord vynydawc⁶ wawr⁷ dru
 O drychant namen vn gwr ny dyuu.⁸

LX.

O winveith¹ a medveith² yt gryssyasant
 Gwyr en reit moleit eneit dichwant 605
 Gloew dull y³ am drull⁴ yt gytvaethant⁵
 Gwin a med⁶ amall⁷ a amucasant⁸
 O osgord vynydawc⁹ am¹⁰ dwyf¹¹ atveillyawc¹²
 A rwyf a golleis om¹³ gwir garant
 O drychan riallu yt gryssyasant 610
 Gatraeth tru namen vn gwr¹⁴ nyt atcorasant¹⁵. (A)

¹ *Meddveith*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ² *Ydd*, 1, 3. ³ *I*, 3. ⁴ *Gynhen*, 1, 3, 5.
⁵ *Lwyred*, 2, 3; *llwydred* (*llwyred*), 6. ⁶ *Vynyddawr*, 1, 2, 3, 5.
⁷ *Vawr*, 1, 2, 3, 4. ⁸ This verse is one with the following four in 1.

¹ *Winveith*, 5. ² *Medweith*, 5. ³ *I*, 3. ⁴ *Drulyt*, 1, 2; *detrull yd*, 3. ⁵ *Gyvaethant*, 8. ⁶ *Mel*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁷ *A mal*, 1, 2, 3, 6; *a mal arral*, 5. ⁸ *A muesant*, 1; *amwesant*, 2, 3, 6; *a amuesant*, 4; *a amuscant*, 8. ⁹ *Vynydawr*, 2, 3, 5. ¹⁰ *An*, 4; *au* (*an*), 6. ¹¹ *Duy*, 1; *dwy*, 2, 3, 5. ¹² *Atvylawr*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ¹³ *Am*, 1, 2, 3. ¹⁴ This word is not in 4. ¹⁵ *Atcorasant*, 4; this verse and the following are one in 8.

(A) The copy of this verse in *Gorchan Maelderw* has a few variations from the text:—

“ O osgord mynydawc pan gryssiassant
 Gloyw dull e am drull yt gynuoethant
 O ancwyr Vynydawc handit trislawn vymbryt
 Rwy e ry golleis y om gwir garant
 O drychan eurdorchawc a gryssyws Gatraeth
 Tru namen un gwr nyt anghassant.”

(*Myv.*, i, 86; Gee's ed., 71; *Four Anct. Books*, ii, 102.)

He kept the law ;
 Lamentable was his fate
 Before the residence of Ogyrven.

LIX.

The Retinue of MYNYDDOG.

From the wine feast and the mead feast they hastened,
 To the contention of mail-clad warriors ;
 I know of no slaughter so rapid,
 So complete became their destruction.
 Before Cattræth the host was talkative,
 But of the retinue of Mynyddog, great is the pity,
 Of three hundred warriors, there returned but one.

LX.

To the Retinue of MYNYDDOG.

From the wine and mead feast they hastened,
 Heroes entitled to the praise of liberal souls ;
 In bright order round the board they feasted together,
 Enjoying wine and mirth and mead.
 Because of the retinue of Mynyddog we were undone,
 And I lost a ruler who was a true friend :
 Of three hundred leaders who hastened to Cattræth,
 Alas ! there returned but one warrior.

Instead of a tear shed over him,
 May his soul be gratified
 With this tribute from Cuhelin."

For the original, see *Myv.*, i, 164 ; Gee's ed., 124. We have here a few facts for the construction of a biography. *Caer Ogyrfan*, according to Owen's map, was in the commot of *Cynllaith*, near *Oswestry*, on the borders of *Montgomery* and *Salop* ; and therefore we may conclude that *Eidol* was the lord of that district or of some other in that neighbourhood. The allusion to "*rhyfel febin*" explains that which is implied by *Aneurin*, that *Eidol* had been at war with *Hwrreith* and *Rheiddun* ; and that one or both had either fallen in the conflict or been taken captive and bound. He subsequently fell a victim to the revenge of their mother ; who, having armed her retainers, set upon him when alone, and put him to death. *Aneurin* again recurs to him in some of the subsequent verses [lxi, lxxii] ; and both *Aneurin* and *Cuhelin* describe him to have been a

LXI.

Hv bydei yg kywyrein¹ present mal² pel
 Ar y³ e hu⁴ bydei⁵ ene⁶ nei atre

¹ *Ygcywrein*, 1, 2, 3, 5; *ynghywrein*, 6. ² *Mab*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ³ *I*, 3.
⁴ *Ehu*, 1, 5; *echu*, 2; *echw*, 3, 5. ⁵ *Beddei*, 1. ⁶ *Yn y*, 1, 2; *oni*, 3.

liberal patron of the bards. The occurrence of *Caer Ogyrfan* in the commot of *Cynllaith* may perhaps justify another translation of the text in this way:—

“From the wine and mead feast they were glutted.
 At *Cynllaith*
 The mother of *Hwrreith*
 Was avenged upon *Eidol*.”

LXI. Of *Present* himself there appears to be nothing known beyond what is here related, and that is scanty enough; and of his father we know but little more. *Pêl* is probably another form of *Peulan*, the second syllable being left out, as was frequently the case; and it is in this form that the name occurs in one of the *Mabinogion*, where (*Kilhwch*, ii, 268) mention is made of “*Teleri* the daughter of *Peul*”. *Peulan* was one of the children of *Pawl Hen* (*Paulinus*), and the founder of *Llanbeulan* in *Anglesey*. (*Rees' Saints*, 237.) *Present* the son of *Pêl* has been named already in verse xx, where he is also highly extolled for his bravery; and it certainly is no mean compliment to compare him to the victor of *Mannan*, whom we shall now proceed to notice.

Aeddan ab Gavran, better known as *Aeddan Vradawg*, or *Aeddan the Treacherous*, was the son of *Gavran*, King of the Scots, who had settled in *Argyle*, and who, according to the *Scottish Chronicle*, was the son of *Domangart*, the son of *Fergus*, the founder of the *Dalriadic*, or *Scottish kingdom*. *Gavran*, according to the *Welsh accounts*, was the son of *Dywynwal Hen*, and by *Lleian*, the daughter of *Brychan Brycheiniog*, who was married to him. He is said to have had several sons, among whom was the subject of this notice; but this account, though given in the *Triads*, is scarcely trustworthy—as, among other reasons, the person named *Dywynwal Hen* is also said to have been a King of *Gwent*! We must look for the *Scottish monarchs* further north. This is probably a blunder. *Gavran* succeeded his brother *Comgal* as King of the Scots in 538, and reigned twenty-two years. On his death, in 560, he was succeeded by *Conal*, the son of *Comgal*; and, on the death of *Conal* in 574, *Aeddan*, the son of *Gavran*, became King of the *Dalriad Scots*. On succeeding to the throne, “*Aidan* went over to the *Isle of Hyona*, and

LXI.

To PRESENT, the son of Pel, and AEDDAN ab Gavran.

Bold at the rising together was Present the son of PÈL,¹
And restless, from the time he left home,

¹ Four copies read "Present like Pèl", and four read "Present the son of Pèl". I have followed the latter.

was there ordained and inaugurated by the abbot, St. Columba, according to the ceremonial of the *liber vitreus*, the cover of which is supposed to have been encrusted with chrystal. F. Martene, a learned Benedictine, says, in his work *De Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus*, that this inauguration of Aidan is the most ancient account that, after all his researches, he had found as to the benediction or inauguration of kings. There can be no doubt, however, that the ceremony was practised long before the time of Aidan" (Browne's *History of the Highlands*, p. 66). He was not, however, left to enjoy undisputed possession; for, soon after, Duncan, the son of Conal, took up arms against him, and the issue was decided at the battle of Loco in Kentire, where Duncan fell, and also many of the allies of the sons of Gavran (*Annals of Ulster*).¹ O'Flaherty calls this the battle of Dealgan; and it is not improbable that this was the event alluded to in the dialogue between Merddin and Taliesin [*Myv.*, i, 48; Gee's ed., 45; *Four Anct. Books*, ii, 3], as Elgan is there shown to be a conspicuous actor, and the battle of Arderydd is said to be at hand. It is also very likely that Duncan, on this occasion, was aided by Rhydderch Hael, King of Strathclyde, and that Morgan ab Sadurnin and Gwenddolau ab Ceidio took the part of Aeddán; for we find that St. Kentigern was expelled the country by Morgan, and that Rhydderch, the patron of that saint, the first Bishop of Glasgow, was compelled to suffer the same fate. This was probably the cause which led Aeddán and

¹ [The record of this event in the *Annals of Tighernac* and in the *Annals of Ulster*, as given by Skene (*Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, pp. 67, 345), is as follows:—

Tighernac.

574. *Cath Delgon a Cindtíre in quo Dunchadh mac Conaill mic Comgaill et alii multi de sociis filiorum Garbain ceciderunt.*

Annals of Ulster.

576. *Bellum Telocho i Ciunnítre, sintilla leprae et habundantia nuncum, in quo ceciderunt Duncath mac Conail meic Comgaill et alii multi de sociis filiorum Gabhrain.*

In the *Annals of Ulster* "Bellum Telocho" is again given under the following year.]

Hut amuc⁷ ododin⁸O win a med en dieding⁹

615

⁷ *A mug*, 6. ⁸ *Wawdodyn*, 3, 5. ⁹ *Diedin*, 3; *ddiedin*, 5.

Gwenddolau to make their hostile visit to the court of Rhydderch (Dumbarton), where "they destroyed all the men and cattle, meat and drink, that they could lay hold of, without leaving behind as much as would feed a gnat" (*Triads*; *Myv.*, ii, 66; Gee's ed 406). The following year (577) Rhydderch recovered his possessions, with the assistance of the other Kymric kings, by the battle of Arderydd (Airdrie), near Glasgow. This battle was fought on the one side by Rhydderch Hael; Drywon, the son of Nudd Hael, and his tribe, who came at their own cost, without asking for fee or reward from country or sovereign, and guarded the passes of Airdrie; and by the other Cambrian kings of North Britain, who were favourable to him and to the progress of Christianity. On the other side were Aeddan ab Gavran; Gwenddolau ab Ceidio, King of the Cymry, who bordered on the forest of Celyddon; Cynvelyn Drwsgl; and the cousins of Gwenddolau, Dunawd the son of Pabo, and Gwrgi and Peredur, the sons of Eliffer Gosgorddvawr (Pabo and Eliffer being the brothers of Ceidio). In the *Triads* this is said to have been a battle fought for a lark's nest, which is probably a metaphorical description of the rock of Dumbarton; and eighty thousand men are said to have fallen in the conflict (*Myv.*, ii, p. 66; Gee's ed., 405). This is probably an over-statement; but the battle was decisive in its results. Aeddan was routed, with much loss; Gwenddolau was slain; and the bard Merddin ab Morvryn, who was a man of distinction, and wore the golden torque of nobility, became insane from the defeat and death of his friend and chief, the son of Ceidio. Gwenddolau himself was a pagan, though a man of great bravery and personal prowess. He is called one of "the three bulls of battle"; his retinue, one of "the three faithful tribes", numbering 2,100 persons, continued the contest for six weeks after the fall of the chief; and Merddin was one of the seven score and seven fugitives who became sprites in the forest of Celyddon (*Myv.*, ii, pp. 69, 70; Gee's ed., 407, 408).

Three years afterwards (580), we find Aeddan again in arms, but we are not told what was his success, and all that is said is—

" Expedition to Orkney by Aedan son of Gabran".¹

(*Annals of Ulster.*)

¹ [*Fecht orc la haedan ic Gabrain.*—Skene's *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, p. 345.]

Until the enjoyment
At Gododin of the wine and mead.

The next great event in the life of Aeddan was the battle of Mannan, fought probably at Clackmannan, on the Firth of Forth, in 582. This is the event three times alluded to by Aneurin [verses iii, xxxix, lxi]; and as the poem informs us that Twrch ab Arthan and Manawyd were there present, it is probable that his opponent was Brude, King of the Picts of Fortren, and that Aeddan was indebted in some measure for his victory to his Strathclyde allies. From this time forward there was a close alliance between the King of the Scots and the Cymry of Strathclyde. Two years after this, we find these allied forces in arms against an alliance of the Picts and Saxons, when there took place the bloody battle of Fethanlea, on Stanmore, in the west of Northumberland. This is the battle of Machreu of Taliesin, and the *Bellum Miathorum* of Adomnan; and there were on the one side Aeddan, the Strathclyde Cymry, Urien Rheged, as commander-in-chief, and Maelgwn Gwynedd (?); while on the other hand were Brudei, King of the Picts, the Angles of Northumberland, and the West Saxons, under Ceaulin and his brother Cutha (*Ang. Saxon Chron.*, A.D. 584). The fullest account of this battle is given by Buchanan, in his *History of Scotland* (London: Fisher, 1840), p. 107, and we here subjoin it:—

“The Saxons, not satisfied with their large dominions, kindled a new war between the Scots and Picts. The chief author and incendiary in this contest was Ethelfrid, King of Northumberland, a covetous man, who was weary of peace, out of a craving desire to enlarge his territories. He persuaded the Picts—though not very easily, and much against the inclination of Brudeus—to seize cattle in the lands of the Scots, judging that this would produce a new war. Aidanus, being well apprised of the treachery of the Saxons, in order to strengthen himself with foreign aid, renewed the ancient league with Malgo the Briton. He also sent his son Grifinus, and his sister's son Brendinus, the military chief of Eubonia (qy. Greit vab Hoewgi, and Breint vab Bleidgi), now called the Isle of Man, with troops; who, joining those of the Britons, entered Northumberland, and, after three days' march, came up with the enemy. The Northumbrians, however, declined an engagement, because they expected the arrival of Ceulinus, King of the East (West) Saxons, a very warlike man, who was coming with great forces. But the Scots and Britons intercepting Ceulinus, fell upon him in the march, and wholly destroyed the van of his army, which was a long way before the rest, together with his son (brother) Cutha. They durst not, how-

Yng ystryng ystre
 Ac adan gatvannan¹⁰ cochre
 Veirch marchawc godrud e more¹¹

¹⁰ *Catvannau*, 5. ¹¹ *Ym more*, 3 ; *emore*, 4 ; *y more*, vel *ym more*, 5.

ever, attack those behind, lest they should be circumvented and surrounded by Ethelfrid, who was at no great distance. The two kings of the Saxons having joined, renewed the fight, with much slaughter on both sides, and the Scots and Britons were vanquished and put to flight. There were slain of the Scottish nobles, Grifinus, and Brendinus ; while of the opposite army, Ethelfrid lost one of his eyes, and Brudeus was carried wounded out of the field, to the great astonishment and dismay of his party." And of Ceaulin it is said that "he took many towns and spoils innumerable, and, wrathful, he thence returned to his own." (*Ang. Saxon Chron.*).

This statement embodies the leading facts ; but Buchanan is wrong in making Ethelfrid so conspicuous an actor, as he only succeeded to the throne of Nerthumbria in 593—nine years afterwards. In 590 we find Aeddan again in the field against the Saxons in the battle of Leithredh. In this battle, "his two sons, Arthur and Eocha-fin, were slain, with upwards of three hundred of his men ; a circumstance which renders the supposition probable that the armies of those times were far from numerous, and that the conflicts partook little of the regular system of modern warfare". This remark is made by Dr. Browne ; but it is not altogether correct, as the chiefs were probably the only persons included in that number. Adomnan, who is the authority for the three hundred, states that they fell at the battle of the *Miathi*, or Fethan-lea ; and it is not improbable that the fact has reference to the three hundred that fell at Cattræth. "Another battle was fought at K̄irkinn in 598, between Aidan and the Saxons, in which he appears to have had the disadvantage, and in which he lost Domangart, his son ; and in 603 he was finally defeated" at the battle of Digston, which we assume to be identical with Cattræth, and from which he fled for his life with but few followers. This was his last military exploit. "These wars weakened the powers of the Dalriads very considerably ; and it was not till after a long period that they again ventured to meet the Saxons in the field. During a short season of repose, Aidan, attended by St. Columba, went to the celebrated council of Drum-keat in Ulster, in the year 590. In this council he claimed the principality of Dalriada, the land of his fathers, and obtained an exemption from doing homage to the Kings of Ireland, which

In the narrow valley he was resistless
 As Aeddán, owner of the red-stained steeds of Mannan fight :
 He was an eager rider at the morning dawn.

his ancestors, it would appear, had been accustomed to pay. Aidan died in 605, at the advanced age of eighty, and was buried in the church of Kil-keran, the ruins of which are still to be seen in the midst of Campbellton." (Browne's *Highlands*, p. 69.) The *Chron. Regum Scotorum* places his death in 608, and O'Flaherty in 606, aged seventy-eight, after a reign of thirty-four years.

He is called in the *Triads* [*Cyfrs*, i, 46 ; iii, 45, 52] Aeddán Vradawg, or the Treacherous ; but the composer of the *Triads* committed an error in supposing him to have been a Cymro, and in assigning an alliance with the Saxons as the reason of this epithet ; but as Aeddán never was in alliance with the Saxons, the charge is false and the explanation untrue, and probably the real reason was the alliance with Gwenddolau.¹

Aeddán had a brother named Eogain or Eochy, whom St. Columba originally wished to have instituted in his place, but, having received a supernatural admonition, he placed Aidan on the Scottish throne. Eogain assisted his brother in his wars, and died in 595. Aeddán had several sons, named Eochy Buidhe, Eochy Finn, Arthur, Bran, Domangart, Doman, and Conad. The second and third fell at the battle of Lleithredh. Of two others we have the following notice :—

"DXXCVI. Jugulatio filiorum Aodhain, Brain et Doman." (*Ann. Ul.*)²

Domangart fell at Kirkinn in 598, and Conad was drowned in the sea in 622 ; and Eochy Buidhe, or the Yellow, alone mounted the throne of

¹ [The epithet *Bradawg* may have been by misapprehension transferred to Aeddán from his father Gavran, to whom it is applied in one copy, B, of the *Annales Cambriæ*, s.a. 558, "Gawran Wradouc filius Dinwarch obiit."]

² [The above is the entry as given by Ritson. In Skene's *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, p. 346, it is as follows, "Jugulatio filiorum Aedain .i. Brain et Domangart". Tighernac's account (*ib.*, 68) is fuller, "Jugulatio filiorum Aedan, .i. Bran et Domangort et Eochach find et Artuir i cath chirchind in quo victus est Aedhan". Adamnan's statement that Artur and Eochoid Find, two of Aidan's sons, fell in the *bellum Miathorum*, leads Skene (*Celtic Scotland*, i, 161, note 81) to identify the latter with the battle of Kirkinn, which he dates 596.]

LXII.

Angor dewr daen	
Sarph seri raen	620
Sengi wrymgaen ¹	
Emlaen bedin	
Arth ² i arwynawl drussyawr ³ dreissyawr	
Sengi waewawr ⁴	
En dyd cadyawr ⁵	625
Yg clawd gwernin	
Eil nedic ⁶ nar ⁷	
Neus duc drwy var	
Gwled y ⁸ adar	
O ⁹ drydar drin	630

¹ *Urym gaem*, 2, 3. ² *Ayth*, 1, 2; *ath*, 3; *aeth*, vel *ath*, 5. ³ *Drussyawr*, 1, 2, 4; *drusiad*, 3, 5. ⁴ *Uaenawr*, 1; *vaenawr*, 2, 3, 5; *waywawr*, 6. ⁵ *Cadwynawr*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁶ *Redic*, 2, 3, 5. ⁷ *Na'r*, 3; *yn ar*, 5. ⁸ *I*, 3. ⁹ Not in 1, 2, 3, 5.

Dabriada. The *Triads* [*Cyffres*, iii, 10] attribute to Aeddan another son named Gavran; but this is probably only another blunder, as the other authorities name no such person. This fiction is, however, pretty enough, and the two little poems of Mrs. Hemans, *The Green Isle of the Ocean* and *The Sea Song of Gavran*, tempt me to copy her explanatory note:—

“The Green Islands of Ocean, or Green Spots of the Floods, called in the *Triads* ‘Gwerddonan Llion’ (respecting which some remarkable superstitions have been preserved in Wales), were supposed to be the abode of the Fair Family, or souls of the virtuous Druids, who could not enter the Christian heaven, but were permitted to enjoy this paradise of their own. Gafran, a distinguished British chieftain of the fifth century, went on a voyage with his family to discover these islands; but they were never heard of afterwards. This event, the voyage of Merddin Emrys with his twelve bards, and the expedition of Madog, were called the three losses by disappearance of the Island of Britain.” The historical fact which underlies this tale is probably the following:—

“DCXXII. Conangus regis Aidani filius mari demersus.”

(*Tigernach*, as quoted in *O’Flaherty*.)

“622. Conad, the son of King Aidan, drowned in the sea.” But where he was drowned, or what he sought, is not stated, and perhaps, after all,

LXII.

To MERIN, the Son of Madyen,
 Anchor of the scattered brave !
 A sullen serpent causing grief,¹
 Thou tramplest in seamed armour
 In the van of the army.
 A bear in white garment was the spoiler !
 Thou trampledst the spears
 In the day of battle,
 At the camp on the plain.
 Like the mangling Ner,
 Did he not bring in his rage
 A feast for birds
 From the tumult of conflict ?

¹ Or, "A serpent furious to cause grief"

there may be some truth in the tale about *Gwerddonau Llïon*, substituting Conan or Conad for Gavran.¹

LXII. In *Gorchan Maelderw* this verse is followed by another

¹ [In connection with this interesting suggestion, Tighernac's account may be worth giving in full:—"Conaing mac Aedain mic Gabrain dimersus est. Bimudine eiceas cecinit.

"Tonda mara morglan
 Grian rodotoicsitar,
 Ma crach, fleachadh fuid
 For Conaing cond coseatar.
 In bean rola a mong find
 In churac fri Conaing,
 Iacd ro tibhi agen
 Andiu fri Bili tortan."

"The resplendent billows of the sea,
 The sun that raised them,
 My grief, the pale storms
 Against Conang with his army ;
 The woman of the fair locks
 Was in the curach with Conang ;
 Lamentation for mirth with us
 This day at Bili Tortan."

Skene's *Chron. of Picts and Scots*, 69.]

Kywir¹⁰ yth elwir oth¹¹ enwir weithret
 Ractaf¹² ruyuyadur mur catuilet¹³
 Merin a madyein¹⁴ mat yth anet. (A)

¹⁰ *Gwir*, 3. ¹¹ Word not in 1, 2, 3. ¹² *Rhagan*, 1; *rhagaf*, 2; *rhynghaf*, 3; *raccaf*, 4; *ragaf*, al. *rhynghaf*, al. *ractaf*, 5; *rhagaf*, (*rhagor*, *rhactaf*), 6. ¹³ *Cadwilied*, 3; *cadwilet*, vel *cadwilied*, 5. ¹⁴ *Madyen*, 1, 2.

(A) This verse also occurs in *Gorchan Maelderw* [*Myv.*, i, 86; Gee's ed., 71; *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 101], with some important variations, which, as they are adopted in the translation, are here subjoined :—

“ Angor deor dain
 Saph saffwy graen
 Blaen bedin
 Enwir yt elwir oth gywir gverit
 Kywir yth elwir oth gywir weithret
 Rector rwyvyadur mur pob kiwet
 Meryn mab madyeith mat yth anet.”

which appears to refer to the same person, and which we here subjoin :—

“ Aches guolouy
 Glasvleid duuyr
 Dias diliu
 Angor deor dain
 Anyswguaen
 En blaen bedin
 Ledrud levir
 A meirch a gwyr
 Rac Gododin
 Re cw gyvarch
 Kywyrein bard
 Keinre tot tarth
 Rac garth merin.”

(*Myv.*, i, 86; Gee's ed., 71; *Four Anct. Books*, ii, 101.)

There was a person of the name of Merin living about this period, as may be understood from the following notice :—

“ Merin, or Merini ab Seithenyn, presumed to be the founder of Llanferin, or Llanfetherin, Monmouthshire. Bodferin, the signification of which implies the place of his residence, is the name of a chapel under Llanicstin. Festival, January 6th.” (Rees' *Saints*, 236.)

Rightly art thou named from thy faithful deed
 "Foremost of Leaders", "Tower of the Guiders of War",
 Merin, son of Madyen, blessed was thy birth!

This is most probably the hero of this verse, and Garthmerin is probably identical with the Bodferin here named; but I cannot establish the identity of the son of Madyen and the son of Seithenin, and I can offer nothing better than a conjecture upon the subject. May not Madyen be the name of the mother? And may not Madrun, the daughter of Gwrthevyr Vendigaid, be the same person as the Madyen here named? At first sight there will appear several chronological difficulties; but a little examination will show them to be founded in misconception. First, Professor Rees places (p. 135) Gwrthevyr before 457 A.D.; but it is to be borne in mind that there were two Gwrthevyr, and Gwrthevyr Vendigaid, the father of Madrun, was the immediate predecessor of Maelgwn in the list of British kings. Madrun was married to Ynyr Gwent, whom Rees, to suit the time of the first Gwrthevyr, places between 464 and 500; but Ynyr was one of the patriots of Taliesin, and is shown in the poem called *Gwaith Dyffryn Guarant* (*Myv.*, i, 40; Gee's ed., 39; *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 167) to have been the contemporary of Maelgwn. A son of his would, therefore, be in the prime of life at the time assigned to Merin, and, therefore, there is no chronological difficulty in accepting the following hypothesis. After the death of Ynyr, his widow may have married Seithenin, and have given birth to Merin; and in this way we might be able to understand the reason why the name of Merin should be perpetuated in the two extremes of Wales—within the dominions of Ynyr Gwent, as well as in the county of Seithenin in Carnarvon. This, be it observed, is only a conjecture. I have no authority for the assumption further than what is here stated, but I know of nothing to the contrary. Garthmadrun was an old name for a part of Brecknock.

What was the faithful or perfect deed here alluded to? The only answer I can give is the following extract from George Buchanan. I must, however, premise that, instead of Ethelfrid, we ought to place his father Ethelric, and of "in the following summer", we should read, with the *Saxon Chronicle*, "seven years after the battle of Frethern", which would be (584+7) 591.

"The following summer, Ethelfrid united his forces with those of the Picts, and marched into Galloway, supposing he should find all things in great consternation, on account of their ill-success in the preceding year. But Aidanus (Aeddan ab Gavran), coming with his forces thither

LXIII.

Ardyledawc¹ canu kyman² caffat³
 Ketwyr am gatraeth a wnaeth brithret 635
 Brithwy⁴ a wyar⁵ sathar sanget
 Sengi wit⁶ gwned⁷ bual am dal med⁸
 A chalaned kyuurynge⁹
 Nyt¹⁰ adrawd¹¹ kibno wede kyffro
 Ket¹² bei kymun¹³ keui¹⁴ dayret.¹⁵ (A) 640

¹ *Ar dyledawr*, 1, 2; *ardyledawr*, 5. ² *Cymain*, 3; *cyfan*, 5.
³ *Caffed*, 3, 5. ⁴ *Brith*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁵ *Uyar*, 1. ⁶ *Sengwŷyd*, 3, 5.
⁷ *Gwynedd*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁸ *Dalmedd*, 1, 5. ⁹ *Cyuyringet*, 1; *cyuiringet*,
 2; *cywiringed*, 3; *kyuirynge*, al. *cyfringed*, 5. ¹⁰ *Ni*, 6. ¹¹ *Ardrawdd*,
 1. ¹² *Cyffro cad*, 1, 2, 3, 5, 6. ¹³ *Cymain*, 3. ¹⁴ *Cein*, 1, 2, 3, 5.
¹⁵ *Daret*, 1, 2, 3, 5; in 1, 2, 3, 5, *wedy cyffro cat* comes at the end of
 the verse.

(A) This verse also occurs in *Gorchan Maellerw*, and is there followed by another verse to the same person, which is not to be found in the ordinary copies of the *Gododin* :—

“Erdiledaf canu ciman caffā in cetwir
 Am Gatraeth ri gvanaid brit rec
 Brit gue ad guiar sathar sanget
 Sengit guit guned
 Dial am dal med o galanet
 Cives riget nis cibno guedi cyffro cat
 Cevei cimwyn idau civi daeret
 Llithyessit adar ada am edismyccaf
 Edeuuniat eithuauat aruhicat
 Et guisgus awr ig kinnor gaur
 Ig cin varan edeuinieit ballauc
 Tal gellauc cat tridid engiriawl
 Etlinaut gaur arth arwynawl
 Ar grugiat guor vlodyat erigliriat
 Hir lu cem bu gupno mah gwen gat.”

(*Myv.*, i, 88; *Gee's ed.*, 72; *Skene's Four Ancient Books*, ii, 106.)

sooner than his enemies thought, set upon the straggling plunderers, and drove them, full of terror, to their camp. Thus, having chastised their rashness, and supposing they would remain quiet during the night, he passed by their camp, and joined the Britons. The allied armies then pitched their tents in a narrow valley of Annandale, and their enemies, as being sure of their destruction, beset the passages entering it. But they,

LXIII.

To KIBNO, the son of Gwen.

It is incumbent upon me to sing how much was obtained
By the warriors who created a tumult about Cattraeth :
There was confusion and gore, treading and trampling ;
Valour was trodden upon, the bugle was interrupted,
And carnage intervened.

Cibno does not relate

That the feasting was so eager

After the stirring up of battle.

after fortifying their camp, as if they intended to keep that ground, took an opportunity in the night, when the tide was out, to pass over a ford, which, though full of dangerous quicksands, was well known to them ; and so they marched into Cumberland, and afterwards into Northumberland, making great havoc in every place to which they came. The enemy followed them closely, and when they came in sight of one another, both armies prepared for the fight. The Scots and Britons made four commanders, in addition to what they had before, who were noble persons of great experience in military affairs, that so the common soldiers might have a greater number of captains to restrain their impetuosity and guide them properly. These superadded officers were Constantine and Mencrius (Merin ab Madyen?), both Britons ; and Calenus and Murdacus, who were Scots. By their conduct and encouragement, the soldiers fell upon the enemy with such spirit, that they were presently broken and put to flight. There goes a report that Columba, being then in the Isle of Icolmkill, told his companions of this victory at the same hour in which it was obtained. Of the Saxon nobles there were slain in the fight, Ciolinus and Vitellius, both great warriors, and of noble descent." This appears incorrect with respect to Ceaulin, who survived the defeat, but was expelled his kingdom, and died two years later, in 593. Vitellius was probably Titylus, King of the East Anglians of Norfolk, who had settled themselves in the island about that time ; and if we admit the reading of *Llech titleu*, in verse xlviij, the stone of Titil would probably be Dilston in the centre of Northumberland.

This was, therefore, an event which might well reflect credit upon the leading actors, and it is probable that this was the event alluded to in connection with Merin.

LXIII. Of this person there is nothing known beyond what is stated

LXIV.

Ardyledawc canu kyman¹ ovri²
 Twryf tan atharan aryuerthi
 Gwrhyt arderchawc varchawc mysgi
 Ruduedel³ ryuel a eiduni
 Gwr gwned⁴ divudyawc dimyngyei⁵ 645
 Y gat or⁶ meint gwlat yd y klywi⁷
 Ae⁸ ysgwyt⁹ ar y ysgwyd hut¹⁰ arolli
 Wayw¹¹ mal gwin gloew o wydyr lestri
 Aryant am yued¹² eur dylyi
 Gwinvaeth oed waetnerth¹³ vab¹⁴ llywri. 650

¹ *Cyfan*, 5. ² *O vri*, 1, 2, 3, 4. ³ *Rudd vedel*, 1; *rhudd fedd*, 3.
⁴ *Gwynedd*, 3. ⁵ *Dimynygei*, 8. ⁶ *Er*, 3. ⁷ *Yt glywei*, 5. ⁸ *Ac*,
 2, 3, 5. ⁹ *Ysgwydd*, 3. ¹⁰ *Hut a roli*, 1, 2; *aroli, vel arholi*, 5.
¹¹ *Llaen*, 1, 2; *llain*, 3, 5. ¹² *Y ved*, 4, 6. ¹³ *Vaelnerth*, 2, 3.
¹⁴ Not in 1, 2, 3.

in one of the *Gorchan Maelderw* verses [see note (A), p. 290], that he was the son of Gwen, and consequently the brother of Gwenabwy. He appears to have survived the conflict.

LXIV. This verse was one of the specimens of Aneurin's poetry selected by the author of the *Dissertatio de Bardis*; and, from the Latin version of the Rev. Evan Evans, the poet Gray has furnished the following amplification of the first four lines, the name Conan being substituted for Gwaednerth:—

"Conan's name, my lay, rehearse,
 Build to him the lofty verse,
 Sacred tribute of the bard,
 Verse, the hero's sole reward.
 As the flame's devouring force;
 As the whirlwind in its course;
 As the thunder's fiery stroke,
 Glancing on the shiver'd oak;
 Did the sword of Conan mow
 The crimson harvest of the foe."

(Masou's *Gray*, p. 424.)

LXIV.

To GWAEDNERTH ab Llywri.

It is a duty to sing of the great glory,
 As that of tumultuous fire, thunder and torrents,
 Of the exalted heroism of the knight of contest,
 Who vowed the red harvest of war!
 Hero, whose toil was destructive! He loved to have
 War of a magnitude that the country should hear of it.
 With his shield upon his shoulder, and his rolling
 Spear sparkling like clear wine in glass vessels:
 Silver, yea, gold, for drink he would pay,—
 A feaster on wine was Gwaednerth the son of Llywri.

Gorchan Maelderw also contains an additional verse addressed to this person, of which the ordinary copies of the poems of Aneurin furnish no trace:—

“Ardwy nef adef eidun gwalat
 Gwae ni rac galar ai auar gwastat
 Pan doethan deon o Dineidin parth
 Deetholwyd pob doeth wlat
 Ynghyfryssed a Lloegyrllyud amhad
 Naw ugain am un a beithynad
 Ardemyl meirch a seirch a seric dillad
 Ardweyl Waetnerth e gerth or gat.”

(*Myv.*, i, 86; *Gee's ed.*, 71; *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 102.)

And therefore we may infer that Gwaednerth was a man of distinction; but who the person was, is not so easily determined.¹

¹ He was the son of Morgan Mwynfawr of Morgauwg, by Elivri, or Llywri, the daughter of Urien Rheged. The following references, prepared for the purpose, will serve as guide at some future period:—

“Eliwri, daughter of Urien, married to Morgan.” (*Iolo MSS.*, 458.)

“Gwaednerth ab Gwallonir”, a different man, apparently, though King of Gwent, is named in *Liber Landavensis*, 388, 392, 393.

“Gwaednerth, son of Morgan.” (*Ibid.*, 425, 430, 431, 432, 433, 441.)

“Gwaednerth.” (*Ibid.*, 427, 447, 463.)

[Note inserted on revision.—Ed.]

LXV.

Ardylecawe canu clær orchyrdon¹
 A gwedy dyrreith dylleinw aeron²
 Dimcones³ lovlén benn eryron
 Llwyth⁴ ef gorevwyth y ysgylvyon⁵
 Or a aeth gatraeth o eur dorchogyon⁶ 655
 Ar neges mynydawe mynawe maon
 Ny doeth⁷ en diwarth o barth⁸ vrython
 Ododin⁹ wr bell well no chynon¹⁰

LXVI.

Ardyledawe canu kenian¹ kywreint²
 Llawen llogell byt³ bu didichwant⁴ 660

¹ *Orchorddion*, 3, 5. ² *Avon*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ³ *Digones*, 5. ⁴ *Clwyth*, 8; between this word and the next there is a sign of omission in 1, 2, 3. ⁵ *Ysgyolion*, 1, 2; *ysgolion*, 3; *ysgylfyon*, 4; *ysgyflion*, 5. ⁶ *Aurdorchogion*, 1, 2, 3; *eurdorchogyon*, 4. ⁷ *Ddaeth*, 2, 3, 5. ⁸ Not in 2, 3. ⁹ *Wawdodyn*, 3; from this to the end of the poem the verses are not divided in 1. ¹⁰ There is another copy of this verse in *Gorchau Maelderw*, which is much fuller than this, and contains several lines not given here:—

“Erdyledam canu i cenon cig ueren
 In guarth ac cin bu diuant dileit
 Aeron riussit i loflen ar pen erirhon luit
 E rauit goreu buit i iglivon
 Ar les minidawc marchawc maon
 Em dodes-itu ar gwasu galon
 Ar gatraeth oed fraeth eurdorchogyon
 Wy gueniut lledint seivogyon
 Ond ech eu temyr treis canaon
 Oed odit i mit o barth vrython
 Gododin o bell guell no chenen.”

(*Myv.*, i, 87; *Gee's ed.*, 72; *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 106.)

¹ *Cemam*, 1; *ceman*, al. *cyfan*, 5. ² *Cynreint*, 1, 2, 3, 5.
³ *Bu*, 5. ⁴ “Erdiledaf canu ciman ci guerenit
 Llawen llogell bit budit dit di.”

(*Gorch. Mael.*; *Myv.*, i, 88.)

LXV. This was probably the Cynon from Aeron, of whom a long notice has been already given, appended to v. xviii (p. 184).

LXV.

To CYNON of Aeron.

It is a duty to sing of the illustrious strangers,
 Who, after the impulsion (of spears), replenished Aeron.
 His hand satiated the hunger of the grey eagles ;
 He gave the best of food to the beasts of prey.
 Of those who went to Cattræth wearing golden torques,
 Upon the business of Mynyddog, the Ruler of Multitudes,
 There came not without reproach, on the part of
 The Britons of Gododin, a much better man than Cynon.

LXVI.

To KYNDILIG of Aeron.

It is a duty to sing of the skilful songster :
 Depository of the world's joys, he was free from greed.

LXVI. The Eidol whose harmonies or love of song are here extolled was probably the subject of v. lviii, already noticed (p. 274) ; but as the following *Englynion Beddau*, which probably refer to him, were there omitted, they are given here :—

“ Pieu y bet hun bet hun a hun
 Gowin ymi mi ae gun
 Bet ew bet Eitew oet hun
 A bet Eidal tal ysgun
 “ Eitew ac Eidal diessic Alltudion
 Kanawon cylchuydrei
 Meekid meibion Meigen meirch mei.”

(*Myv.*, i, 81 ; *Gee's ed.*, 67 ; *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 32.)

It is not easy to determine who Cynddilig was. There were two persons of that name living about this period. One was Cynddilig ab Caw, and brother of Aneurin ; the other was Cynddilig ab Nwython ab Caw, the nephew of the bard ; and probably the subject of this verse was either the one or the other of these two.

There was also another person of that name living perhaps about this period, as we learn from *Englynion y Beddau* :—

Hu mynnei eng kylch byt⁵ eidol anant⁶
 Yr eur a meirch mawr a med⁷ medweint
 Namen ene⁸ delei⁹ o vyt hoffieint
 Kyndilic aeron wyr enouant.¹⁰

⁵ The words *hu mynnei eng kylch byt* are not in 2, 3, 4. ⁶ *Eidolanant* not in 4. ⁷ *Meddw*, 2, 3, 5. ⁸ *Yn y*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁹ *Ddylai*, 5.
¹⁰ *En-o uant*, 1; *en o gant*, 2; *un o gant*, 3; *en e novant*, al. *un o gant*, 5.

“Kian a ud diffaith Cnud
 Draw o tuch pen bet Alltud
 Bet Cindilic mab Corknud.” (*Myv.*, i, 81.)

But this person is better known as Eiddilic Cor. Lady Charlotte Guest (*Mabinogion*, ii, 428) identifies this person with the treacherous Iddawc Cordd (or Corn) Prydain; and Williams, yielding too ready an assent to an unfounded implication, has adopted her statement (*Eminent Welshmen*, p. 92); but Owen exercised a sounder discretion in keeping Iddawc and Eiddilic apart, as I cannot find any warrant for assuming their identity. Eiddilic is twice named in the *Triads*:—

“The three stubborn men of the Isle of Britain, who could not be diverted from their purposes: Trystan the son of Tallwch, Gweirwerydd Vawr, and Eiddilic Cor.” (*Myv.*, ii, 19, 69; Gee’s ed., 393, 408.)

“The three Illusion and Phantasm men of the Isle of Britain: Math ab Mathonwy, who showed his art to Gwdion, the son of Don; Menw vab Teirgwaedd, who taught his magic to Uther Pendragon; and Rhuddlwm Gawr, who learnt his art from Eiddic Gorr”, or Eiddilic the Dwarf. (*Myv.*, ii, 7, 71; Gee’s ed., 390, 409.)

It is in the latter character of magician that Davydd ab Gwilym refers to him:—

“Tri milwyr gynt, trem olud,
 A wyddyn’ cyn no hyn hud;
 Cad brofiad ceidw brif enw,
 Cyntaf, addfwynaf, oedd Feuw.
 Ar ail fydd dydd da ddeall,
 Eiddilic Cor, Wyddel call;
 ‘Trydydd oedd ger muroedd Mon,
 Maeth, rhwy’ arfaeth rhi Arfon.”

(*Pocms*, p. 207.)

Boldly he demanded about the world, with the harmonies of
 Eidol,
 Gold, and tall steeds, and intoxicating mead.
 Wherever he came he was world-beloved,
 Kynddilig of Aeron, the grandson of Novant.¹

¹ Or Enovant.

Williams (*Eminent Welshmen, s.v. Cynddilig*) states (after Owen) that Cynddilig Cor Cnud is the person named by Aneurin; but as the distinctive epithet Cor Cnud is not appended to the person named by the bard, the assertion is not entitled to implicit credence.

Llywarch Hen had a son named Cynddilig, of whom he speaks rather slightly:—

“Thou art no scholar, thou art no hermit,
 A prince thou wilt not be called in the day of conflict,—
 Oh! Cynddilig, why wert thou not a woman?”

(*Myv.*, i, 119; Gee's ed., 95; *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 61.)

But the person who appears to me to satisfy the required conditions is not one of those already named. We have no sufficient authority for identifying the son of Caw or the son of Noethon or Nwython with the district of Aeron. Eiddilic Cor appears to have been an Irishman, and the son of Llywarch is disqualified. Upon the whole, the person named in the following notice appears to me to be the man we seek:—

“Cynddilig, a son of Cennydd ab Gildas (the brother of Aneurin); his memory has been celebrated in the parish of Llanrhystud, in Cardiganshire, on the 1st of November.” (*Rees' Saints*, p. 281.)

We are able to identify this man with Aeron, and as the country of the Novantæ was the residence of the Caw family, “wyr e novant” is probably a delicate way of saying that Cynddilig was the great-grandson of Aneurin's father, Caw, Lord of Cwm Cawlwyd and of some portion of the Novantian people. The Rev. P. Roberts (*Popular Antiquities of the Cymry*, p. 244) says:—“This saint's day is kept in the parish of Rhystud, where, from midday to midnight on the eve of the winter kalends (first of November), the offering of a cock, as a preservative against the whooping-cough, is permitted.” This was copied by Mr. Roberts from an old Welsh account of Saints' Days.

LXVII.

665

Ardyledawc canu claer orchyrdon¹
 Ar neges mynydawc mynawc maon
 A merch Eudaf hir dreis² gwananhon³
 Oed porfor gwisgyadur dir amdrychyon

¹ *Orchorddion*, 3, 5. ² *Dieis*, 1, 2, 3, 5; *dreit* (*dreis*), 6. ³ *Gwanau hon*, 1, 2, 3, 5.

LXVII. Here, again, is one more of the many illustrations afforded by the poems of Aneurin—that we have in the *Gododin* the first forms of many of the legends which in subsequent centuries received the embellishments of fiction. The daughter of Eudaf the Tall, mentioned in this verse, is very probably the lady who has figured so prominently in the hands of monkish chroniclers and in the pages of Cambrian romance.

Eudav, according to *The Dream of Maxen Wledig*, a romance which places Maximus two centuries before his time, was King of Arvon in North Wales; but, according to Geoffrey of Monmouth, Eudav was Earl of Cornwall. According to one authority, Ellen married Maximus, but, according to the other (Geoffrey), Helen married Constantius, and became the mother of Constantine the Great. The lady who married Maximus, according to Geoffrey, was another person not named, the daughter of Eudav, Earl of Cornwall. According to the romance, Elen Luyddawc was the daughter of Eudav of Arvon, and Cynan Meiriadoc was her brother; but, according to Geoffrey, Helen Luyddawg was the daughter of “old King Coel”, and Cynan was no relation of hers, nor was he the brother of the unnamed daughter of Eudav, but only her cousin, the son of Eudav’s brother. The pedigree of Eudav affords us no satisfactory explanation, as may be seen from Rees’ dissection of it (p. 92), and the *Triads* are simply echoes of the romance. It is, therefore, a hopeless task to determine what is truth and what is error here; but it appears to me clear that *Triads*, romance, and the history of Geoffrey are misconceptions and misrepresentations of the actual facts. Professor Rees has already exploded the assertion that Helen was the mother of Constantine (*Saints*, p. 97), and I must now endeavour to complete what he has left undone. There need be no doubt that in Eudav the Tall and his daughter, the contemporaries of Aneurin, we have the original subjects of the tale; as it is highly improbable that there could

LXVII.

To MYNYDDOG (and his Wife ?).

It is a duty to sing of the splendid retinues
 Which went on the business of Mynyddog, the Ruler of Mul-
 titudes,
 And the daughter of Eudav the Tall. Graceful were the
 movements of this lady ;
 And her purple robes were splendid to the sight.

have been two Eudavs and two beautiful daughters within a period of 220 years, in A.D. 380 and A.D. 600. I am, therefore, of opinion that Eudav of the tale was the Eudav (or Octavius) of Aneurin, who lived about 600; but whether he was living in Arvon or in North Britain is uncertain. Perhaps we may on that point trust to romance. Helen, or Elen, was probably the daughter of the Eudav here named, and Mynyddog Eiddin may take the place of Maximus as the husband of this paragon of beauty.

Let us, therefore, treat the lady in accordance with that assumption. Aneurin was much struck with her personal appearance, as well as with the magnificence of her dress; and the following description of her in the *Mabinogi* of Maxen Wledig may not be uninteresting. Maximus fell asleep, and in a dream—

“ Beside a pillar in the hall, he saw a hoary-headed man in a chair of ivory, with the figures of two eagles of ruddy gold thereon. Bracelets of gold were upon his arms, and many rings upon his hands, and a golden torquis about his neck; and his hair was bound with a golden diadem. He was of powerful aspect. A chessboard of gold was before him, and a rod of gold, and a steel file in his hand. And he was carving out chessmen.” That was Eudav.

“ And he saw a maiden sitting before him in a chair of ruddy gold. Not more easy than to gaze upon the sun when brightest, was it to look upon her by reason of her beauty. A vest of white silk was upon the maiden, with clasps of red gold at the breast; and a surcoat of gold tissue was upon her, and a frontlet of red gold upon her head, and rubies and gems were in the frontlet, alternating with pearls and imperial stones. And a girdle of ruddy gold was around her. She was the fairest sight that man ever beheld.” (Guest’s *Mabinogion*, vol. iii, p. 279.)

LXVIII.

Dyfforthes ¹ meiwyr ² molut nyuet	
Baran tan teryd ban gynneuet	670
Duw mawrth gwisgyassant ³ eu ⁴ gwrym ⁵ dudet	
Diw merchyr perideint ⁶ eu calch doet ⁷	
Divyeu bu diheu eu diuoet	
Diw gwener calaned amdyget ⁸	
Diw sadwrn bu divwrn eu kyt weithret	675
Diw sul eu llavneu rud amdyget ⁹	
Diw llun hyt benn clun gwaetlun gwelet	
Neus adrawd gododin ¹⁰ gwedy lludet	
Rac pebyll madawc pan atcoryet ¹¹	
Namen vn gwr o gant ene ¹² delhet. ¹³	680

LXIX.

Moch dwyreawc y¹ more
Kynnif aber rac ystre

¹ *Dyphorthyt*, 2. ² *Meinir*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ³ *Gryssyassant*, 4. ⁴ *Y*, 1, 2, 3. ⁵ *Gwrm*, 5. ⁶ *Priddeint*, 3. ⁷ *Calchdoet*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁸ *Amddygied*, 3. ⁹ *Amdygied*, 3. ¹⁰ *Gwawdodyn*, 3. ¹¹ *Atgored*, 3. ¹² *Yn y*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ¹³ There is another copy of this verse in *Gorchan Maelderw* :—

“Ni forthint, ueiri (*not in* 1) molut muet
Rac trin riallu trin orthoret
Tebihic tan teryd trui cinneuet
Diu mawrth gwisgassant eu cein duhet
Diu merchyr bu guero eu cit unet
Divyei cennadeu amodet
Diu gwener calanet a civrivet
Diu sadwrn bu didwrn eu cit gueithret
Diu sul laveneu rud a at ranhet
Diu llun hyt benn clun gwaet lun gwelet
Nys adrawd gododin guedy lludet
Hir rac pebyll madauc pan atcorhet.”

(*Myv.*, i, 87; *Gce's ed.*, 71; *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 104.)

¹ *Ym*, 1, 2, 3, 5.

LXVIII.

Details of the War.

The warriors bore the praise of purity,
 Resembling the refiner's fire when ignited.¹
 On Tuesday they put on their seamed garments ;
 Wednesday they burnished their enamell'd armour ;
 Thursday their destruction became evident ;
 Friday corpses were brought about ;
 Saturday their joint labour was suspended ;
 Sunday their blades were brought ruddy ;
 Monday blood was seen up to the knee.
 Does not the Gododin relate, after the fatigue,
 That before the tents of Madoc, on their return,
 There came but one man in a hundred ?

LXIX.

To EIDOL.

Early rising in the morning,
 In the conflict at the confluence before the course,

¹ Four copies read *meiniŕ*, a slender woman. If that be correct, these two lines belong to v. lxvii ; but the rhyme is in favour of the copies which read *meiwyŕ*, warriors.

LXVIII. This verse does not call for any special remark further than that the day of the feast is not stated ; but there can be little doubt that it took place the night before the chief battle, *i.e.*, Sunday. In *Gorchan Maelderw*, there is a different statement respecting Thursday, on which it appears that there were "messengers of peace offering terms"; and, from an antecedent verse (xxxix), we learn that these messages came from Ethelfrid, and that Twrch ab Arthan was the messenger. The terms were rejected, and hence Aneurin's remark that "On Thursday their destruction became evident". It is probable that Friday was the day of the defeat of Teodbald and his division, or, perhaps, Sunday.

Bu bwlech bu twlech tande
 Mal twrch y² tywysseist vre
 Bu golut mynut bu lle
 Bu gwyar gweilch gwrymde.³ (A) 685

LXX.

Moch dwyreawc y meityn¹
 O gynnu aber rac fin
 O dywys yn tywys yn dylin²
 Rac cant ef gwant gesseuin 690
 Oed garw y³ gwnaewch chwi waetlin
 Mal yuet med drwy chwerthin
 Oed llew⁴ y lladewch chwi dynin⁵
 Cledyual dywal fysgyolin
 Oed mor diachor yt ladei 695
 Esgar gwr haul⁶ en y⁷ bei. (B)

² Not in 5. ³ *Gwrwnde*, 1, 2; *gwrwmdde*, 3, 5.

¹ *Ym eilin*, 1, 2, 3. ² *Yn lywys dylin*, 1, 2, 3; *yn lywys yn dilin*, 5.

³ Not in 2, 3. ⁴ *Lew*, 1, 2, 3. ⁵ *Dyvin*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁶ *Gyhafel*
 and *gwr havel*, 5. ⁷ *Yn i*, 3.

(A) "Moch aruireit i more
 Icinim apherym rac stre
 Bu ciuarch gueir guiat
 Igein or or cat
 Civeillt ar garat
 Init gene
 Buguolut minut bu le
 Bu guanar gueilgin gwrymde."

(*Gorch. Mael.*; *Myv.*, i, 87; Gee's ed., 72; *Four*
Ancient Books, ii, 105.)

(B) "Moch aruireith i meitit pan cis
 Cinereiu i midiu o douis

There was a breach, there was a flaming pile :
 Like a boar thou ledst to the mount.
 There was a mountain of wealth ; there was a cry ;
 There was the blood of hawks in armour.

LXX.

To EIDOL.

Early rising at matin,
 At the bonfire by the confluence on the boundary,
 He led, and the leader was followed :
 Before a hundred he thrust forward.
 Fiercely you caused bloodshed,
 Like drinking mead through laughter ;
 Boldly you slew the little man,
 With the fierce and ardent sword.
 Since the hero's death there is no one like him,
 So irresistibly did he slay.

In towys enilin
 Rac cant em guant ceseuin
 Oed mor guanauc idinin
 Mal ivet med neu win
 Oed mor diachar
 Yt wanei esgar
 Uid alt guarar gurthyn."

(*Myv.*, i, 87 ; *Gee'e ed.*, 72 ; *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 104.)

LXX. I have placed Eidol at the head of these two verses, in the belief that they, as well as several others which follow, are dedicated to that chief. If this supposition proves correct, the *dynin*, little man, or young man, here alluded to would probably be the person named Hwrreith who was mentioned in the note to v. lviii (p. 274).

LXXI.

Disgynnwys en affwys dra phenn
 Ny deliit kywyt¹ kywrennin benn
 Disgiawr breint vu² e lad ar gangen³
 Kynnedyf y ewein esgynn⁴ ar ystre 700
 Ystwnng kyn gorot goreu gangen
 Dilud dyleyn cathleu⁵ dilen
 Llywy llyvroded rwyh⁶ ac asgen
 Anglas⁷ asswydeu⁸ lovlen
 Dyfforthes ae law luric wehyn 705
 Dymgwallaw⁹ gwledic dal¹⁰
 Oe brid¹¹ brennyal.

LXXII.

Eidol adoer¹ crei grannawr² gwynn
 Dysgiawr pan vei bun barn benn
 Perchen meirch a gwrymseirch³ 710
 Ac ysgwydawr yaen⁴
 Gyuoet a gyueryr esgyn disgyn.

LXXIII.

Aer dywys ry¹ dywys ryvel
 Gwlat gord garei² gwrd uedel
 Gwrdweryt³ gwaet am iroed⁴ 715
 Seirchyawr⁵ am y rud⁶ yt ued

¹ *Cynyt*, 1, 2, 3, 5; *cyuyd*, 6; I have adopted the first of these readings. ² *Ou*, 8. ³ *Gagen*, 1, 2, 3. ⁴ *Esgynias*, 3, 5. ⁵ *Rathleu*, 1, 2, 3. ⁶ *Vraych*, 2, 3. ⁷ *Angas*, 8. ⁸ *Asswyden*, 8; *asswyddeu*, 3; *a swyddeu*, 5. ⁹ *Dymualau*, 1, 2; *dymwalaw*, 3; *dywallaw*, 5. ¹⁰ Not in 3. ¹¹ *Bridd*, 3; *brit*, al. *bridd*, 5.

¹ *Adrer*, 8. ² *Granawar*, 1, 2; *graenawr*, 3; *graianfawr*, al. *granfawr*, 5. ³ *Gwymseirch*, 1. ⁴ Not in 5.

¹ *Y*, 2; *i*, 3. ² *Gar ei*, 5. ³ *Gurd weryt*, 1, 2, 3. ⁴ *Iruedd*, 1, 2, 3; *irved*, 4. ⁵ *Seirchiawc*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁶ *Am grudd*, 1, 2, 3, 5; this line comes after the succeeding one in 1.

LXXI.

To EIDOL.

He descended into the pit head foremost ;
 The huntsman never caught so skilful a head :
 It was a breach of privilege to kill him on a branch.
 Like unto Owen he ascended the course (vale)
 Before his forcible subjection—best of branches.
 There ought to be, and we ought to make him, secular songs ;
 In a fair book let there be placed his ravage and hurtfulness.
 When his sword was to the left of his grasp,
 He held with his armed hand the outpouring cup.
 The sovereign supplied payment
 From his earthen shrine.

LXXII.

To the same person.

Chill is the blood and white the cheek of Eidol.
 It was a breach (of privilege) when a woman's sentence
 Condemned the owner of steeds and strong harness,
 And shields glittering like ice.
 Coeval with the encounter was the ascent and descent.

LXXIII.

To GWARTHAN ab Dunawd.

The war leader led the way to battle ;
 The mallet of the country loved vigorous reaping,
 Vigorous youth, and blood upon the greensward ;
 He possessed armour for the face ;

Seingyat am seirch⁷ seirch seingyat
 Ardelw lleith dygiawr⁸ lludet
 Peleidyf en eis en dechreu cat
 Hynt am oleu bu godeu beleidryal.⁹ 720

LXXIV.

Keint¹ amnat² am dina³ dy gell
 Ac ystauell ytuydei dyrlyydei⁴
 Med melys maglawr
 Gwrys aergynlys⁵ gan wawr⁶
 Ket⁷ lwys lloegrwys lliwedawr 725
 Ry benyt ar hyt yd⁸ allawr
 Eillt wyned klywer e arderched⁹
 Gwananhon¹⁰ byt ved
 Savwy¹¹ cadawwy¹² gwyned
 Tarw bedin treis trin teyrned 730
 Kyn kywesc¹³ daear kyn gorwed
 But orfun¹⁴ gododin bed.

LXXV.

Bedin¹ ordyvnat en agerw
 Mynawc lluydawc² llaw chwerw 735
 Bu doeth a choeth a syberw
 Nyt oed ef wrth gyued gochwerw
 Mudyn geinnyon ar³ y helw
 Nyt oed ar lles⁴ bro pob delw.

⁷ *Veirch*, 6. ⁸ *Drygiawr*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁹ *Beleidryat*, 1, 2, 3, 5.

¹ *Seint*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ² *Amnant*, 1, 2, 3, 5; et *amnewdd*, 5. ³ *Diva*, 1, 2, 5; *difei*, 3; ⁴ *Dyrlyd ei*, 1; (*derllyddei*), 3. ⁵ *Aer gynglys*, 1, 2, 3; *aergynlwys*, 4. ⁶ *Vawr*, 2. ⁷ *Cad*, 3, 5. ⁸ *Y*, 1, 2; *i*, 3, 5. ⁹ *Y ardderchedd*, 1, 2, 4; *i ardderchedd*, 3; ¹⁰ *Guan an hon*, 1; *gwan anhon*, 2, 3, 5. ¹¹ *Et savy*, 5. ¹² *Radanwy*, 1, 2, 3; *radanwy*, 5; *radanwy (radenny, cadawwy)*, 6. ¹³ *Cynnest*, 1, 2, 3, 5; *cywest (cywest)*, 6. ¹⁴ *Orfin*, 1, 2, 3; et *orffin*, 5; *oryn*, 4; *orfun*, 6.

¹ *Byddin*, 1. ² *Luyddauc*, 1, 2, 4, 5. ³ *Ar eu*, 1, 2, 3; *y ar y*, 4. ⁴ *Les*, 1.

And, trampling in harness, the harness trampler
 Like the demon of death produced desolation.
 His spear was at his side at the first onset :
 As soon as there was light, there was suffering from the
 pushing of spears.

LXXIV.

To GWARTHAN ab Dunawd.

They had retribution (?) for consuming thy cell,
 And the hall that was filled
 With sweet intoxicating mead.
 Ardent was the conflict by the palace at the dawn ;
 Delightful the battle—the Lloegrian host
 Did penance stretched about the ground ;
 The free men of Gwynedd heard of his glory,
 And weak is Annandale, since he is in the grave,
 Who held the spear in the conflict of Gwynedd.
 The bill of battle was violent in the conflict of princes
 Before lying in the consociation of earth,
 In his grave on the confines of Gododin.

LXXV.

To the same person.

His army was habituated to mists ;
 Bitterhanded was the bellicose sovereign :
 He was wise, animated, and high minded :
 He was not harsh at the drinking feast.
 They removed treasures for their own profit :
 Every image was not for the good of the vale.

LXXVI.

An gelwir mor a chynnwr ym plymnwyt¹
 Yn tryvrwyt² peleidy'r peleidy'r gogymwyt 740
 Goglyssur heyrn lliveit llawr³ en assed
 Sychyn⁴ yg gorun⁵ en trydar⁶
 Gwr frwythlawn flamdur rac esgar.⁷

LXXVII.

Dyfforthes cat veirch¹ a chatseirch²
 Greulet³ ar gatraeth cochre 745
 Mae⁴ blaenwyd bedin dinus⁵
 Aergi gwyth⁶ gwarth vre⁷
 An⁸ gelwir ny⁹ faw¹⁰ glaer fwyre¹¹
 Echadaf heidyn¹² haearnde.¹³

LXXVIII.

Mynawe gododin traeth e annor¹ 750
 Mynawe am rann kwynhyator²

¹ *Plymnwyt*, 1; *plymwyt*, 2, 3; *plymlwyt*, 4. ² *Tryvrwyt*, 1; *nhryourwyd*, 5. ³ *Llawn*, 1; *llavn*, 2, 3; *llafn et llavn*, 5. ⁴ *Syrchyn*, 1, 2, 3; *syrthyn*, 5; *iyrchyn*, (*sychyn*), 6. ⁵ *Ygcorun*, 1. ⁶ *Yn trydar*, 1; *al. ynryhydar*, 5. ⁷ *Ysgar*, 1.

¹ *Catveirch*, 1, 2, 3. ² *Chadveirch*, 3; *chat seirch*, 4. ³ *Greulyd*, 3. ⁴ *Mac*, 4. ⁵ *Dinas*, 2, 3, 5. ⁶ *Gwyth*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁷ *Guarthvre*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁸ *Au*, 5. ⁹ *Wy*, 5; *ni*, 3. ¹⁰ *Fan*, 1, 2, 3, 5; *flaw*, 6. ¹¹ *Vwyre*, 1; *ffwyre*, 6. ¹² *Heidyn*, 1; *treuddyn*, 2, 3, 5. ¹³ *Haearn de*, 1.

¹ *Traeth y annor*, 1, 2; *traeth i annor*, 3; *traethyannor*, vel *traethiannor*, 5; *traetheannor*, 6. ² *Cwyn hyator*, 2.

LXXVII. If Heiddyn in this last line be not a proper name, the subject of the verse would probably be Gwarthau; but on carefully considering this and the two following verses, I have come to the conclusion that Heiddyn is a proper name.

LXXVI.

To the same person.

We are called "a sea and a tumult" in conflict,
 In the darting of lances—"the lances of destruction",
 Impelling sharpened iron and casting to the ground:
 Like a horned stag in the tumult,
 Was the hero whose flaming steel was fruitful before¹ the foe.

LXXVII.

To HEIDDYN HIR.

His war-horses and war-harness
 Fed with blood the crimson streams of Cattraeth;
 In the front thou wert the fortress of the army,
 And a bold war dog at the disgraceful mount.²
 We were called "the bright radiance of the assault",
 By Heiddyn the iron-clad protector.

LXXVIII.

To HEIDDYN HIR.

The sovereign who protected the strand of Gododin,
 Was a sovereign whose lot we have to bewail.

¹ Or, "Among".

² Bryn Hydwn (?).

The person here named was probably Heiddyn Hir, the person named in the following *Triad*:—

"Tri thrwyddedawg hanfodawg llys Arthur: Llywarch Hen ab Elidir Lydanwyn, Llemmennig, a Heiddyn Hir; sef meib beirdd oeddynt."—[*Triodd Ynys Prydain: Cyfres*, i, 71; ii, 46; iii, 112; *Myv.*, ii, 16, 17, 73; Gee's ed., 392, 398, 410. *Cyf.* i and ii have "Heledd" for "Heiddyn".]

He also appears to be the subject of the two following verses, and was, it is probable, the sovereign of the east coast of Gododin,

Rac eidyn aryal flam nyt atcor
 Ef dodes e dilis³ yg kynhor⁴
 Ef dodes rac trin⁵ tewdor
 En aryal ar dywal⁶ disgynnwys 755
 Can llewes porthes mawrbwys⁷
 O osgord vynydawc ny diangwys
 Namen vn⁸ aryf⁹ amdiffryf¹⁰ amdiffrwys.¹¹

LXXIX.

O gollet¹ moryet ny² bu aessawr
 Dyfforthyn traeth y ennyn³ llawr 760
 Ry duc⁴ oe loflen glas lavnawr
 Peleidyr pwys preiglyn⁵ benn periglaur
 Y ar⁶ orwyd erchlas pen wedawr⁷
 Trindygywd⁸ trwch⁹ trach y¹⁰ lavnawr
 Pan¹¹ orvyd¹² oe gat¹³ ny¹⁴ bu foawr¹⁵ 765
 An dyrllys¹⁶ molet med melys maglawr.

LXXX.

Gweleis y¹ dull² o benn tir adoun³
 Aberth am goelkerth a disgynnyn

³ *Ef dilys*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁴ *Y geynhor*, 1, 2; *i geinhor*, 3. ⁵ *Trusi*, 1, 2, 3, 5; *ractrisi (rhagtrin)*, 6. ⁶ *Drywal*, 1, 2, 3; *arddywal*, 5. ⁷ *Mam bwys*, 1, 2; *mammwys*, 3; *mambwys*, and *mammwys*, 5. ⁸ *Yn*, 1. ⁹ *Arf*, 3. ¹⁰ *Amdiffryf*, 3. ¹¹ *Amdiffrwys*, 5.

¹ *Golet*, 1, 5; *goledl*, 2, 3. ² *Ni*, 3. ³ *Traethiennyn*, 5. ⁴ *Rhy duc*, 1; *rhyduc*, 2; *rhyddug*, 3. ⁵ *Periglyn*, 3. ⁶ *Yar*, 2; *i ar*, 3. ⁷ *Penifeddawr*, 1; *penivudawr*, 2; *penufuddawr*, 3; *pencuedawr*, 5; *penweddawr*, 6. ⁸ *Trin digwydd*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁹ Not in 4. ¹⁰ *I*, 3. ¹¹ *Par*, 1, 2, 3. ¹² *Orwydd*, 1, 3, 5; *oruyd*, 2. ¹³ *Cat*, 1. ¹⁴ *Ni*, 1, 3. ¹⁵ *Ffoawr*, 1. ¹⁶ *Dyrllys*, 1.

¹ *I*, 3. ² *Dwll*, 1, 3; *dwll*, al. *ei ddull*, 5. ³ *Odren*, 1, 2, 3, 5.

LXXX. This verse is very interesting on several accounts; and I shall have occasion to treat of the various points which it embodies at considerable length. First, then, in passing, I may call attention to the second line, which has an evident reference to some Druidic rites; and

Before Eiddyn the ardent flame did not recede;
 He placed determined men in the pass;
 He placed a stout guard before the conflict.
 Ardently did he descend upon the fierce:
 And when feeding he eat a great quantity.
 Of the retinue of Mynyddawc there escaped
 Only one weak and tottering weapon.

LXXIX.

TO HEIDDYN HIR.

From having followed the sea, the defender of the strand
 Bore no shield in the kindling of the land:
 A blue blade he bore in his grasp,
 And a heavy blade endangering the head of the adventurous.
 He rode upon a neat-headed grey steed,
 And in conflict men fell thickly before his blade.
 When vanquished he did not fly from the field:
 He deserved eulogy and the sweet intoxicating mead.

LXXX.

TO NWYTHON and DONALD BREC.

I saw the marshalling from the uplands of Doon,
 While we placed sacrifice upon the beacon fire;

this is the more remarkable, as the country is generally supposed to have been by this time thoroughly Christianised. But, on examination, we find it recorded in Jocelyn's *Life of St. Kentigern* that Galloway, after renouncing Druidism and adopting Christianity, had subsequently relapsed into heathenism, and Kentigern (Cyndeyrn) was sent to reclaim the people of that country; and, therefore, we are led to conclude that some portion of the old Druidic usages maintained a hold upon the people of Scotland even as late as the middle of the seventh century, for it will presently be discovered that one of the events here named occurred in the year 642.

Gweleis oed⁴ kenevin⁵ ar dref redegein⁶

A gwyr nwythyon⁷ ry gollesyn⁸

770

⁴ *Oedd*, 1. ⁵ *Cynevin*, 1. ⁶ *Ffleddegein*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁷ *Unythyon*, 1, 2; *wnythyon*, 3; *mwythyon*, 4; *unythyon*, al. *ufuddion*, 5; *nwythion* (*mwythion*), 6. ⁸ *Gollesyn*, 1, 2, 3.

In the next place, it becomes necessary to fix the site of the town of Rhedegein, which it is probable was the British form of the Roman *Retigon-ium*, or *Stranraer*, in the county of Wigton, Scotland, the chief city of the *Novantæ*. The name is variously given as *Redegein*, *Fledegein*, *Rygywyddyn*, and *Rerygywyddyn*, in the several copies of the *Gododin*, and on inquiry we find that here again there is a close resemblance to the Roman names, *Redegein* and *Retigon-ium*, the name of the town which stood on or near the site of *Stranraer*, are evidently only two forms of the same word; *Rerygywyddyn* is in all probability the British form of *Rerigonius* (*Sinus*), the Roman name for Loch Ryan, on the banks of which that town now stands; and the last syllable of *Stranraer* is probably a portion of the old name *Rerygywyddyn* or *Rerigonium*.

The third point of importance is to ascertain the history of the person named *Dywynwal*. My translation is not strictly in accordance with the original. The text reads:—

“Aphenn dywynwal a *breych* brein ae cnoyn.”

Seven copies support this reading so far as to read *breych* (three copies) and *breich* (four copies), and one only reads *vrych*. “*Breich*”, or “*breych*”, is an *arm*, and “*a breych*” is “and an arm”; and, therefore, the translation would be:—

“And the head of Donald and an arm, ravens gnawed them,”

but one copy reads *vrych* or speckled; and another copy, by omitting the conjunction, and thereby making *breych* an adjective to the noun *Dywynwal*, favours the same conclusion; for *breych*, an arm, cannot be so used, and, therefore, it would seem that *breych* is an error for *brych*, or *vrych*, speckled. In point of authority there are, therefore, two copies in my favour and six against me; but the scale is turned the other way when we find another copy of this verse in verse xcii, wherein the reading *Dywynwal Vrych* is supported by all the copies extant. If to this I add that there was a person so named living at the place and time, the

I saw the vicinity of the town of Redegein,
And the men of Nwython lost the day.

proof will be complete. The word *brych*, by mutation *vrych* in Welsh, has the same signification as Brecc in Erse and Gaelic, and is, in fact, the same word; and it is, therefore, clear that the *Dyvywal Vrych* of Aneurin is the same person as Donald Brecc, the King of the Scots of Argyle. This person was the grandson of Aeddan ab Gavran, and, unlike his father, was frequently at war with the Britons of Strathclyde and Galloway. Aeddan died in 606, 607, or 608, and was succeeded by his son Eochy, who, after a reign of twenty-one years, fell in battle in 629, and gave place to his son Donald Brecc, or the Freckled. This monarch was remarkable for his turbulence, and, after a reign of fourteen years met his death from the Lowland Britons:—

“629. Donald Brecc, the son of Eochy, (became king and) reigned fourteen years.

“637. The battle of Rath (Ireland) and the battle of Saltire in one day were fought. Caol Mac Maolcova, the ally of Donald, was conquered by the Sept of Ewen (Owen).

“638. The battle of Glen Morison, in which the army of Donald Brecc was put to flight, and Etain (or Edin-burgh) was besieged.

“642. Donald Brecc, in the end of the year, in the month of December, at the battle of Fraithe Cairvin (Straith Cairmaic), was killed by Owen, King of the Britons.”—(Ritson's *Annals of the Caledonians*.)

Strath Cormac is in Ireland, and, therefore, we have here to do with Straith Cairvin,¹ which, as *Strath* is the Gaelic or Erse form of the Welsh *Ystrad*, a vale, probably refers to the vale of the river Girvan, in the county of Ayr, which, flowing westward from the hills of Doon, falls into the sea at the town of Girvan, now a fishing station of some importance. This supposition falls in admirably with the requirements of the case, and corresponds with the position of the parties engaged. Donald had probably invaded that district, and King Owen of the Strathclyde Kymry,

¹ [In the *Annals of Tighernac* as given by Skene (*Chron. of the Picts and Scots*, p. 70), Donald Brecc is said to have fallen in “*cath Srathacain*”, the battle of Strathcauin. In the *Annals of Ulster* (*ib.*, 348) the name appears as *Sraith Cairinn*, for which the Trin. Coll. MS. reads *Sraith Cairuin*. Skene takes it to be the vale of Carron.—*Celtic Scotland*, i, 250.]

Gweleis gwyr dullyawr gan awr⁹ adevyn¹⁰

A phenn dyvynwal¹¹ a¹² breych¹³ brein ae cnoyn. (A)

⁹ *Awr*, 1, 2, 3. ¹⁰ *Addewyn*, 1, 2; *addewyn*, 3; *a ddewyn*, 5. ¹¹ *Dyfnual*, 1. ¹² Not in 4. ¹³ *Breich*, 1, 2, 3, 4; *vrych*, 5.

(A) Verse xii in Williams' copy is only another copy of this, and should, therefore, be placed among the various readings, and not made a distinct verse:—

“Gueleys¹ y dull² o bentir a doyn³
 Aberthach coelcerth⁴ a emdygyn⁵
 Gueleys⁶ y deu⁷ oc⁸ eu tre re⁹ ry gwydyn¹⁰
 O eir nwython¹¹ ry godesyn¹²
 Gueleys¹³ y wyr¹⁴ tylluawr¹⁵ gan waur¹⁶ a doyn¹⁷
 A phen dyuywal¹⁸ vrych brein ae cnoyn.¹⁹”

¹ *Gweloys*, 1. ² *Ddull*, 1; not in 5. ³ *Adoen*, 1, 2; *addoen*, 3; *adoen fort. adoyrn*, 5. ⁴ *Goel certh*, 1, 2, 4. ⁵ *Ymddygyn*, 1. ⁶ *Gweleis*, 1. ⁷ *Ddeu*, 1. ⁸ *Ac*, 2, 3. ⁹ Not in 1, 2, 3, 5. ¹⁰ *Gwydydyn*, 2. ¹¹ *Nunythron*, 1, 2, 3; *nynythron et vanythron*, 5. ¹² *Goddessyn*, 1. ¹³ *Gweleis*, 1. ¹⁴ *Uyr*, 1; *myr*, 2, 3. ¹⁵ *Tyll vawr*, 1, 2. ¹⁶ *Uaur*, 1. ¹⁷ *Adoen*, 1, 2, 5; *addoen*, 3. ¹⁸ *Dyvynual*. 1; *dyvynual*, 6. ¹⁹ *Cnoyn*, 1; *enovyn*, 2, 3.

having taken up arms to defend his country, made him pay for his temerity with his life.

Here, then, have we two angles of a triangle to find a third. The place of Donald's defeat and the town of Rhedegein are now given, but where stood the Bard when he viewed the town of Stranraer and the vale of Girvan? Where were the uplands of Doon? There need not be a moment's hesitation. Running north and south, the whole length of the county of Ayr, and close to the back of Stranraer and Girvan, are the range of the hills of Doon, and at the foot are Loch Doon and a river of that name; and a glance at the map will show that the uplands of Adoun, Adoen, Adoyn, or Odren, can be no other than "the banks and braes of bonny Doon", since rendered so famous by the poet Burns, and from which the two stations here named could easily have been seen.

Nwython, whose men suffered defeat at the town of Stranraer, was the near relative of Aneurin, and probably the person so named who appears in the list of the Saints of Britain. He is said to have been a member of the society of Cattwg, Glamorganshire; and it is also stated

I saw marshalled men by the dawn of Doon,
And the head of Donald Brec was gnawed by ravens.

“ that there were formerly chapels dedicated to him and his brother, Gwynnog, under Llangwm Dinmael, Denbighshire” (Rees’ *Saints*, 257). According to the *Iolo MSS.* (p. 540), he was the son of Gildas ab Caw, and had three sons named Cynddilig, Teilo Vyrwallt, and Rhun. The following notice of one of the sons of Nwython occurs in another verse of Aneurin’s not included in the usual copies :—

“ Dim guoin ediu o adam neinim
Un huc an guoloet guoreu edlinet
Em ladaut lu mawr i guert
I adrawd ladaud map Nuithon
O eurdorchogyon cant o deyrnet
Hyt pan grimbuillet
Bu guell prid pan aeth canwyr y Gatraeth
Oid eilth gur gwinvaeth callon ehelaeth
Oid gur luid einym oed luric ceinim
Oid girth oed cuall ar gevin e gavall
Ni wisguis i mil i mil luit heinim
I gnaiw ae ysgwit nae gledyf nae gyllell
No neim ab Nuithon gur a vei well.”

(*Gorch. Maelderw.*; *Myv.*, i, 86 ; Gee’s ed., 71 ;
Four Ancient Books, ii, 103.)

If Neim is here a proper name, Nuithon had a son so called ; but in all probability we ought to read *Nei mab Nwython*, *i.e.*, “ my nephew (Aneurin’s), the son of Nwython”. The reference is probably to Rhun, the son of Nwython, who is named with honour as a Northern warrior, and who, according to the *Mabinogion* [ii, 263], had two other brothers named Llwyddu and Kyledyr Wylt ; but in the same tale there is a Kynedyr Wylt called the son of Hettwn Talaryant [p. 267], and also the son of Hettwn Glafyrawc [p. 289], who was probably the same person. Nwython himself is honourably named in one of the poems of Taliesin [*Myv.*, i, 58 ; Gee’s ed., 52 ; *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 193], but what was the contest alluded to in the text is unknown. There is no notice of the incident in the Scottish annals of that period ; and the fact that it does not seem to have been a war with strangers, confirms a conclusion, which seems to be justified by another copy of this verse, that it was a party feud. In that verse the expressions are :—

“ I saw both (armies) at their town of Rerigwyddyn.”

LXXXI.

Mat vudic¹ ysgavynwyn² asgwrn³ aduaon⁴
 Aelussawc⁵ tebedawc tra mordwy⁶ alon
 Gwrawl amdyvrwys goruawr y⁷ lu 775
 Gwryt vronn gwrvan⁸ gwanan arnaw⁹
 Y¹⁰ gynnedyf disgynnu rac naw riallu
 Yg gwyd gwaed a gwlat a gordiynaw¹¹
 Caraf vy¹² vudic lleithic a vu anaw¹³
 Kyndilic aeron¹⁴ kenhan¹⁵ lew. 780

¹ *Mudic*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ² *Ysgafnuyn*, 1. ³ *Asgwrn*, 4. ⁴ *Addfaon*, 5.
⁵ *Aelussawc*, 1, 2, 3, 4. ⁶ *Tramordwy*, 5. ⁷ *I*, 2, 3. ⁸ *Gurvan*, 6.
⁹ *Arnau*, 6; this line is not in 1, 2, 3. ¹⁰ *O*, 2, 3. ¹¹ *Gordiynau*, 1,
 2, 3; *gordiynau*, *gorddineu*, et *gorddyfnu*, 5. ¹² *Dy*, 1, 2, 3. ¹³ *Anau*,
 1, 2, 3. ¹⁴ *Aron*, 1. ¹⁵ *Cynon*, 3, 5; *cenhan*, 1.

But this throws no additional light respecting the other combatants. That such an event took place admits of but little doubt, as an apparent confirmation of the fact was singularly afforded about twenty years ago, when the Town Council of Stranraer, in ploughing up the High Street with a view to its improvement, turned up a large quantity of human bones, which were afterwards deposited in a large pit dug in the street and covered over. And the event itself might possibly have been that which is hereafter related:—

“A little while before this (*i.e.*, the period when Arthur and his knights went to hunt the *Twrch Trwyth*), *Creiddylad* (*Cordelia*), the daughter of *Lludd Llaw Ereint*, and *Gwythyr*, the son of *Greidawl*, were betrothed. And before she had become his bride, *Gwyn ap Nudd* (*North Britain*) came and carried her away by force; and *Gwythyr*, the son of *Greidawl*, gathered his host together, and went to fight with *Gwyn ap Nudd*. But *Gwyn* overcame him, and captured *Greid*, the son of *Eri*, and *Glinneu*, the son of *Taran*, and *Gwrgwst Ledlwm*, and *Dynvarth*, his son. And he captured *Penn*, the son of *Nethawg*, and *Nwythton*, and *Kyledyr Wyllt*, his son. And they slew *Nwythton*, and took out his heart, and constrained *Kyledyr* to eat the heart of his father. And therefrom *Kyledyr* became mad. When Arthur heard of this, he went to the north, and summoned *Gwyn ap Nudd* before him, and set free the nobles whom he had put in prison, and made peace between *Gwyn ap Nudd* and *Gwythyr*, the son of *Greidawl*. And this was the peace that was made:—

LXXXI.

To KYNDDILLIG.

Delightful, fair, and active victor! Bone of the people,
 With his blue banner for sea-faring foes ;
 Numerous was the host of the brave sailor,
 Who was manly-bosom'd as Gwrvan in the piercing of
 arms :

His custom was to descend before the leader of ships
 In the presence of blood, the country, and the impelling (of
 spears).

I love the victorious slayer, who was destructive,
 Kynddilic of Aeron—the lion's whelp.

that the maiden should remain in her father's house, without advantage to either of them, and that Gwyn ap Nudd and Gwythyr, the son of Greidawl, should fight for her every first of May, from thenceforth until the day of doom, and that whichever of them should then be conqueror should have the maiden."—(*Mabinogi of Kilhwch and Olwen*, ii, 305.)

Should this conjecture be correct, this event must have taken place prior to the battle of Cattræth, as Nwython and the sons of Nudd flourished during the last quarter of the sixth century. Nwython was the contemporary of Gwallawc and Taliesin, and Drywon, the son of Nudd, was a leading actor in the battle of Ardeyrd in 577. We must, therefore, place this event somewhere about 590; and Aneurin has probably included in this verse the events of two distant periods of his life—the one from 580 to 590, and the other in 642: the one prior to his departure from North Britain, the other during a subsequent visit to the land of his birth. Respecting the latter event, we may also remark that, being slain in winter, the body of Donald may have been left in snow; and the fact that ravens abound in this locality and at Carnsmuir is interesting.

LXXXI. The history of Gwrvan, which formerly appears to have been well known, and to have been of some significance, is to us unknown. There is a Gwrvan Gwallt Avwyn mentioned in the *Mabinogi* of Kilhwch [p. 265], and Cynddelw compares Owen Gwynedd to him:—

“Gorfaran gwrfan gorfydai.”

The magnificent Gwrvan overcame.

[*Myv.*, i, 208; Gee's ed., 153.]

LXXXII.

Carasswn disgyntu¹ yg² catraeth gessevin
 Gwert med yg kynted a gwirawt win³
 Carasswn neu chablwys ar llain
 Kyn bu e⁴ leas oe⁵ las uffin⁶
 Carasswn eil clot dyfforthes gwaetlin 785
 Ef dodes e⁷ gledyf yg goethin
 Neus adrawd gwrhyt⁸ rac gododyn
 Na bei mab keidyaw clot vn gwr trin.⁹

¹ *Ddeigynnu*, 1, 2, 3. ² *Y*, 1, 2; *o*, 3; *y* vel *i*, 5. ³ In *Myv.* this line reads *Gwerth medd ygcuntedd a gwirawd gwin.* ⁴ *Y*, 1, 2, 3. ⁵ *Ae*, 1, 2, 3. ⁶ *Wphin et uphin*, 5. ⁷ *Y*, 1, 2, 4; *i*, 3. ⁸ *Gwrtryd*, 3. ⁹ *Gwrtrin*, 2, 8; this line is not in 6.

Kynddilic of Aeron, the hero of the verse, has been noticed already in connection with verse lxvi. He is probably the person called Kynddelic Kyvarwydd, or Kynddelic the Guide, in the *Mabinogi* of Kilhwch, and of whom it is said, "As good a guide was he in a land which he had never seen as he was in his own." [*Mab.*, ii, 214, 270.]

LXXXII. There were living about this period three persons bearing names resembling Uphin. The first in point of time was Iffi, Yffi, Iff, or Yffa, who appears to have been an Anglian chief of distinction, and one of the companions of Ida. Of himself there is but little known, and he is named in history only as the father of Alla or Ella, the first King Deira, who began his reign in 560. If, therefore, the person here named be Iffi, his death had probably taken place after 547 and before 560, and the translation should be,—

"Before he was himself slain, he had slain Uffin:"

and I am inclined to believe that such was the case, from the lines of Taliesin [*Myv.*, i, 40; Gee's ed., 39; *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 167]:—

"I have been in the sea-houses of Uffin,
 In the seas of Gododin." (*Ode to Ynyr Gwent.*)

The Iffi of the Angles and the Uffin of Taliesin are clearly the same person, as the lines here quoted cannot apply to either of the other two, who are also a little too late in point of time to have been visited by Taliesin.

We may, however, for the sake of removing all doubt, indicate the

LXXXII.

To NUDD (?) the son of Keidiaw.

I had loved him who fell at the onset at Cattræth,
The result of mead in the hall and the beverage of wine ;
I had loved him who blasphemed not upon the blade,
Before he was slain he had slain Uffin :¹

I had loved to praise him who fed the bloodstreams:²
He used his sword with animation :

We do not speak of heroism before Gododin

Without praising the son of Keidiaw, as one of the heroes of
conflict.

¹ Or, "Being slain by Uffin".

² Or, "I should have loved praise like his who supported the bloodshed".

names and habitations of the others. Uffa, the first King of the East Angles of Norfolk, began to reign in 571 ; but he was somewhat from the Gododinian frontier. The other was a King of the Mercians, who began to rule in 593, and who is variously named Pybba, Wippa, and Wipha ; but his kingdom was in the centre of the island, and had no connection with the "seas of Gododin".

The hero of the verse is not so easily determined. There were several Ceidios living about this time, viz., Ceidio ab Caw, Ceidio ab Ynyr Gwent, and Ceidio or Ceidiaw ab Garthwys of the line of Coel Godebog ; and, to my thinking, the latter is the person here named. His sons flourished during the period of the Anglian settlement in Bernicia (Northumberland). They were three in number, Gwenddolau, Cof, and Nudd. Gwenddolau fell at the battle of Airdrie in 577, but of the other two we have only the following collective notice :—

"Gwenddolau, Cof, and Nudd were the sons of Ceidio ab Garthwys, a chieftain of North Britain. They were all instructed in the Christian faith in the college of Iltutus, but no other reason is alleged why they should be enumerated among the saints. Gwenddolau was the patron of the bard Myrddin the Caledonian, and was slain at the battle of Arderydd, A.D. 577." (Rees' *Saints*, p. 208.)

Like many others of the assertions made by the *Achau'r Saint*, this story respecting the education of the sons of Ceidio appears to be false.

LXXXIII.

Truan yw gennyf vy¹ gwedy² lludet
 Godef gloes anghen trwy angkyffret³ 790
 Ac eil trwm truan⁴ gennyf vy gwelet
 Dygwydaw⁵ an gwyr ny penn o draet
 Ac ucheneit hir ac eilywet⁶
 En ol gwyr pebyr⁷ temyr⁸ tudwet⁹
 Ruvawn a gwgawn gwiawn a¹⁰ gwlyget 795
 Gwyr gorsaf gwryaf gwrdd¹¹ yg calet
 Ys deupo eu heneit wy wedy trinet
 Kynnwys yg wlat nef adef avneuet.¹²

LXXXIV.

Ef gwrthodes tres tra gwyar llynn
 Ef lladei val¹ dewrdull² nyt³ echyn⁴ 800
 Tavloyw ac ysgeth tavlet wydrin⁵
 A med rac teyrned tavlei vedin⁶
 Menit⁷ y gynghor⁸ men na leveri⁹
 Lliaws ac vei anwaws¹⁰ nyt odewyt¹¹
 Rac ruthyr bwylyadeu¹² a chledyvawr 805
 Lliveit handit gwelir llavar¹³ lleir.¹⁴

¹ This word is not in 1, 2, 3. ² This word is not in 5. ³ *Amkyffret*, 4; *agcyffret*, 1. ⁴ *Trinau*, 1, 2, 3. ⁵ *Dygwyddai*, 1, 2; *digwyddai*, 3. ⁶ *Eilyuet*, 1; *a'i chlywed*, 3; *eilyvet*, 8. ⁷ *Pyhyr*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁸ *Tymyr*, 3. ⁹ *Tutuuet*, 1. ¹⁰ Not in 5. ¹¹ *Gwidd*, 1; *gwrdd*, 6. ¹² *Anneuet*, 1, 2, 3; *arneuet*, 8.

¹ Not in 6. ² *Deur dull*, 1; *dewr dull*, 2, 3, 4, 6. ³ *Nad*, 6. ⁴ *Ethyn*, 4; *erchyn*, 1, 6; *echyn et erchyn*, 5. ⁵ *Vrwydrin*, 5. ⁶ *Vyddin*, 1; line not in 2, 3. ⁷ *Meint*, 6. ⁸ The words *menit y gynghor* are not in 1, 2, 3. ⁹ *Lauarei*, 1. ¹⁰ *Annaus*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ¹¹ *Edeint*, 1, 2; *ydyn*, 3; *edewyt*, 4, 6; *edeint et ydyn*, 5. ¹² *Bwyll yaddeu*, 1; *bwyll y adeu*, 2; *bwys 'i adeu*, 4. ¹³ *Lavar*, 1; *lasar*, 5. ¹⁴ *Lein*, 1, 2, 3, 5.

Gwenddolau was a pagan; and one of the other two fell in arms at Cattrath.

LXXXIII.

To RHUVAWN, GWION, GWGAN, and GWLYGET.

Wretched am I, after the exhaustion,
 Suffering the pangs of death in anticipation ;
 And doubly heavy is my grief to have seen
 Our warriors falling headforemost to the ground ;
 And long is the sigh and the reproach
 After the brave heroes of our native land—
 Rhuvawn and Gwgan, Gwion and Gwlyget,
 Men most valiant in their stations and vehement in the
 conflict :
 And may their souls after the contest
 Be contained in the celestial abode, and own its tranquillity.

LXXXIV.

To GWLYGET.

He despised pain, while blood was flowing ;
 He slew like a brave man ; his custom was not to elevate
 The dart and spear ; and as he would toss the glass
 With mead, so would he overthrow an army in the presence
 of princes.
 So great was he in counsel, that where he spoke,
 Many indifferent speakers were not permitted ;
 Before the rush of hatchets and swords,
 His sounding blade would be seen in a sharpened state.

LXXXIII. The persons here named have all been already noticed, Rhuvawn in the note to verse xxxiii ; Gwgan and Gwion, verse xxxi ; and Gwlyget in the note to verse xxxii.

LXXXIV. I have placed the name of Gwlyget at the head of this verse, because it appears to me that he is the subject of this as well as the two following verses.

LXXXV.

Porthloed ¹ vedin ²	
Porthloed ¹ lain	
A llu racwed ³	
En ragyrwed	810
En dyd gwned	
Yg kyvryssed	
Buant gwyhawc ⁴	
Gwede meddawt ⁵	
A med yuet	815
Ny bu waret ⁶	
An gorwylam ⁷	
Enyd frwythlam ⁸	
Pan adroder torret ergyr ⁹	
O veirch a gwyr tyngir tynget ¹⁰	820

LXXXVI.

Pan¹ ym dyvyd² lliaws pryder
Pryderaf fun³

¹ *Porthloedd*, 1. ² *Vyddin*, 1. ³ *Racnedd*, 1, 2, 3. ⁴ *Gwyhawc*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁵ *Medddawt*, 1; *medd-dawd*, 3. ⁶ *Uaret*, 1, 2. ⁷ *Gornylam* vel *goruylam*, 1; *gornylan*, 2, 3; *gorwylan*, 4; *gornylan*, 5. ⁸ *Phrwythlam*, 1; *ffrwythlawn*, 5. ⁹ This word is not in 5; and the line altogether is wanting in 1, 2, 3. ¹⁰ *Tyngir tynget*, are not in 5; *tyngyr*, 1.

¹ *Pam*, 1, 2, 3, 4. ² *Ymddyvydd*, 1, 2, 3. ³ *Ffun*, 1, 2, 3, 5.

LXXXVI. This verse furnishes us with several domestic details, and also with fuller details of the feast. It also adds to the other facts already given respecting Gwlyget, the district in which he lived. He was, it appears, the lord of the men of Argoed. Mr. Probert has the following vague note upon this line:—

“Argoed was included within the ancient kingdom of Cumbria. By Cumbria, the reader must understand the present Cumberland, and a considerable part of Scotland. Argoed ‘lay west of the forest of Celyddon, and was bordered by that wood to the east, as the name implies’. The brave, the generous, and unfortunate Llywarch Hen, their chief, bears ample testimony to the fidelity and attachment of the inhabitants of Argoed to him in all his misfortunes.

LXXXV.

To GWLYGET.

The feeder of the army
 Supported the blade
 (While there was an opposing army,
 In a hostile attitude),
 In the conflict
 On the day of valour.
 They were valorous
 After the mead-feast;
 (But) the drinkers of mead
 Had no deliverance.
 There will be excessive weeping-(even)
 In a fruitful period,
 When it will be related that the onset was broken
 Of the steeds, and of the warriors who had taken the
 oath.¹

LXXXVI.

When the host of Pryder were approaching,
 I hastened the veil :

¹ Or, "Whose fate had been sworn." (See v. xv.)

" ' Before I appeared with crutches, I was eloquent in my complaint,
 It will be extolled, what is not wonderful,
 The men of Argoed have ever supported me.' "

This note does not add much to our own knowledge of the geography of Argoed; but it is possible to come much nearer. The patrimony of Gwlyget could not have lain very far from the scene of contest. His name is preserved in that of a place called "Culgaith", on the northern boundary of Westmoreland; and if we assume Argoed to have been the eastern half of that country, we cannot be very far wrong.

Of Pryder, who appears on this occasion to have been in alliance with Ethelfrith, we have the following account:—

"Pryder, the son of Dolor, chief of the people of Deivyr and Bryneich was distinguished with Tinwaed and Rhineri, under the appellation of the three strong cripples of the Isle of Britain. He lived in the close of the sixth century." (Owen's *Cambrian Biography*.)

Fun en ardec ⁴	
Aryal redec ⁵	
Ar hynt ⁶ wylaw	825
Ku ⁷ kystudywn ⁸	
Ku ⁷ carasswn ⁹	
Kelleic ¹⁰ faw ¹¹	
Ac argoedwys	
Gwae ¹² gordyvnwys	830
Y ¹³ emdullyaw ¹⁴	
Ef dadodes ¹⁵ arlluyd ¹⁶ pwys ar lles ¹⁷ rieu	
Ar dilyvyn ¹⁸ goet	
Ar diliw ¹⁹ hoet	
Yr ²⁰ kyvedeu ²¹	835
Kyvedwogant ²² ef an dyduc ar ²³ dan adloyw ²⁴	
Ac ar groen gwynn goscroyw. ²⁵	

LXXXVII.

Gereint rac deheu ¹ gawr a dodet ²	
Lluch ³ gwynn ⁴ gwynn ⁵ dwell ⁶ ar ysgwyt	
Yor yspar llary ⁷ yor ⁸	840
Molut mynut ⁹ mor	
Gogwneif heissyllut ¹⁰ gwgynei ¹¹ gereint	
Hael mynawc oedut. ¹²	

⁴ *En ar dec*, 1; *un ar deg*, 2, 3, 5. ⁵ *Rodec*, 1. ⁶ *Kynt*, 4.
⁷ *Cu*, 1. ⁸ *Cystiun*, 1; *cystiun*, 2; *gwestiwn*, 3; *cystwywn*, 5.
⁹ *Carassun*, 1. ¹⁰ *Celeic*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ¹¹ *Fau*, 1, 2, 3; *ffaw*, 5, 6.
¹² *Gwal*, 1, 2, 3; *gwall*, 5. ¹³ *I*, 3. ¹⁴ *Em dullyaw*, 1, 2; *yddulicaw*, 3.
¹⁵ *Dyddodes*, 3. ¹⁶ *Ar lwydd*, 1, 2, 3; *ar lluyd*, 4; *ar lwyd*, 5.
¹⁷ *Les*, 1. ¹⁸ *Ardulywn*, 5; *ar dilion*, 6. ¹⁹ *Diliu*, 1. ²⁰ *Or*, 3.
²¹ *Cyveddeu*, 1. ²² *Cyveduogant*, 1. ²³ *At*, 4. ²⁴ *Advoyu*, 1;
adfoyw, 5. ²⁵ *Gosgroyw*, 1. This verse is one with the following in 1, 4.

¹ *Acheu*, 8. ² *Ddodet*, 1. ³ *Lhwch*, 1. ⁴ *Gwyn*, 1. ⁵ This is not in 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁶ *Dull*, 2, 5. ⁷ *Larylw*, 5. ⁸ *Yor*, 4; this is not in 2, 3, 5. ⁹ *Mynyt*, 1. ¹⁰ *Heissyllut*, 1; *heistyd*, 3. ¹¹ *Gugywei*, 1, 2, 3, 5; *gogwnei*, 6. ¹² *Oeddut*, 1; *Edut*, 4.

With veiled countenance,
 I ran with speed,
 And went weeping on my way.
 Affectionately was I afflicted,
 Affectionately did I love
 The glorious retired¹ hero ;
 And the men of Argoed,
 Sad are they who were accustomed
 To the martial array.
 The chief provided largely for the benefit of the chiefs:
 Upon uneven timber
 And upon transparent wine
 They feasted.²
 After they had feasted, he brought us to fires rebrichtened,
 And placed us (to sleep) on white skins unshorn.

'LXXXVII.

To GEREINT (ab Erbin ?).

Gereint raised the war-shout before the south,
 And at the White Lake, the shield was pierced ;
 Old is the spear, and gentle was the ancient chief
 Who is praised on mountain and sea.
 The offspring of Gereint, who was a generous ruler,
 Grew up together, and were equally maintained.

¹ *I.e.*, buried (?).

² Or, " In transparent vessels was the banquet (provided)."

LXXXVII. The hero of this verse appears to have been Gereint ab Erbin, famous for being one of the heroes of Cambrian romance, and a subject of an elegy by Llywarch Hen. He was, as is generally known, the Prince of the Britons of Damnonia, Dyvneint, or Devonshire, and was distinguished for his determined resistance to the progress of the West Saxons. It will, therefore, be seen that this locality corresponds with

LXXXVIII.

Diannot¹ e² glot e glutvan³Diachor angor⁴ ygkyman⁵

845

¹ *Di annot*, 4. ² *Y*, 1 ; *o*, 3. ³ *Ynglhytvan*, 5 ; *y glutvan*, 1.
⁴ *Anghor*, 1. ⁵ *Geyman*, 1 ; *anghyman et anghyvein*, 5.

the statement in the text: Scotland and the North of England were the *Gogledd* of the Kymry of the Principality; and Devon and Cornwall, the south-west of Britain, was also the *Deheu* of the people of Wales; for at the time when Aneurin lived, the Britons had not been insulated in the Principality, but kept up a regular intercourse with their brethren north and south.

We may, therefore, safely assume "the south" of the text to have been the district here named, and Gereint ab Erbin to have been the hero; but as this conclusion does not at first sight appear to be sound, we will dwell a little upon the subject. There were three Gereints ruling in Devon and Cornwall, within a century before and after the period when Aneurin lived. One of these is named [*Anglo-Sax. Chron.*] in 710 as being in arms against the Saxons; but as the Gereint of the text had been dead long before the days of Aneurin, this cannot have been the man. Another, according to the *Liber Landavensis* [pp. 345, 349, 350], was living in 566, when St. Teilo fled to Brittany from the yellow fever, and on the point of death when he returned seven years afterwards. This is all we know respecting him, unless he be identical with the person named in the following *Triad*:—

"The three undescended knights of the Court of Arthur: Eithew the son of Gwrgan, Coleddawg the son of Gwynn, and Geraint Hir the son of Cymmannon Hen; and they were the sons of tenants; but so good was their fame and their qualities for honesty, kindness, gentleness, wisdom, manliness, justice, and mercy, and knowledge of all games and praiseworthy knowledge, in peace and in war, that there was no place suited to them but the Court of Arthur, the privileges of, and the ingress to which they obtained." (*Myv.*, ii, 74; Gee's ed., 411.)

The third person named Gereint, who was connected with the district of Devon and Cornwall, was the son of Erbin, whose biography, as given by Williams, is as follows:—

"Gereint, the son of Erbin ab Cystennyn Gorneu, was a prince of the Britons, who inhabited Dyvnaint or Devon. He is recorded in the *Triads* as one of the three 'llyngesawg', or naval commanders of the

LXXXVIII.

Undisputed was his extending fame,
 Unsurroundable anchor in battle ;

Isle of Britain, the other two being Gwenwynwyn the son of Nav, and March the son of Meirchion. Each of these had six score ships, and six score men in each ship (*Myv.*, ii, 68). He fell fighting valiantly under Arthur against the Saxons at the battle of Llongborth in A.D. 530 ; and we have a beautiful Elegy on him composed by Llywarch Hen, which is printed in the *Myvyrian Archaiology*, and also in Owen's *Heroic Elegies of Llywarch Hen*, 8vo., London, 1792. He is mentioned by Aneurin in terms of high praise in the *Gododin* (*Myv.*, i, 13). Gereint ab Erbin is also considered one of the Welsh saints, and it is said that there was a church dedicated to him at Caer Fawydd, or Hereford. His sons Cyngar, Selyv, Iestyn, and Cado, were also saints and members of the college of St. Garmon. Gereint is the hero of the second *Mabinogi* published by Lady Charlotte Guest."

Of the three persons now named, I believe the son of Erbin to have been the hero of Aneurin. The Gereint of the poem had sons ; and in addition to those already named, the son of Erbin had one named Gadwy or Garwy Hir. The allusion to the swiftness of his steed shows that the bard had in his mind the Elegy by Llywarch, who also extols the personal beauty of the hero, and begins nine of his verses with the words :—

“ Swift racers were under the thigh of Gereint ” (ab Erbin).

That point may, therefore, be said to require no further proof.

The allusion to the White Lake also demands a word of explanation. It is evident that this lake was famous in the days of Aneurin, and it is probable that its celebrity was in some way connected with the following legend :—

“ THE HISTORY OF THE THREE BIRDS OF LLWCH GWYN.

“ Drutwas, the son of Trephin, received from his wife three birds of Llwch Gwyn, (or the White Lake), and they would do whatsoever their master bid them ; and a combat was appointed between Arthur and

¹ “ Adar Llwch Gwyn”, according to Pughe, *sub voce* “ Llwch”, “ is a mythological epithet for vultures”.

Diechyr eryr gwyr govaran⁶
 Trin odef eidef oed⁷ eiryan
 Ragorei veirch racvuan⁸
 En⁹ trin lletvegin¹⁰ gwin o bann
 Kyn¹¹ glasved¹² a glassu en¹³ rann¹⁴ 850
 Bu gwr gwled¹⁵ od¹⁶ uch¹⁷ med¹⁸ mygyr¹⁹ o bann.

LXXXIX.

Dienhyt¹ y² bob llawr llanwet³
 E⁴ hual amhual⁵ afneuet
 Twll⁶ tall⁷ e⁸ rodawr
 Cas o hir⁹ gwythawc 855
 Rywonyawc¹⁰ diffreidyeit¹¹
 Eil gweith gelwideint¹² a mallet¹³
 Yg catveirch¹⁴ a seirch greulet

⁶ *Gouaran*, 1; *gonaran*, 2, 3. ⁷ *Oddef eidef oedd*, 1. ⁸ *Racvuan*, 8. ⁹ *Yn*, 1. ¹⁰ *Lledvegin*, 1. ¹¹ *Cyn*, 1; *yn*, 5. ¹² *Glasvedd*, 1, 2, 3. ¹³ *Yn*, 1, 2, 3. ¹⁴ *Rhann*, 1; this line is not in 5. ¹⁵ *Gwledd*, 1. ¹⁶ Not in 1. ¹⁷ *Uch*, 1, 2, 3, 5; *oduch*, 8. ¹⁸ *Bu gwr o uch gwledd medd*, 6. ¹⁹ *Mygr*, 1.

¹ *Dihenytt*, 1, 4; *dihenydd*, 2, 3, 5. ² *I*, 1, 2, 3; not in 4. ³ *Llanwet*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁴ *Y*, 1, 2; *i*, 3. ⁵ *Am hafal*, 3. ⁶ *Tul*, 1. ⁷ *Tal*, 1, 2, 3. ⁸ *I*, 3. ⁹ *Ohir*, 4. ¹⁰ *Rhyvonyauc*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ¹¹ *Diphrydyeit*, 1; *diphruideit*, 2, 3. ¹² *Gelwident*, 1; *gelwiddent*, 2, 3, 5. ¹³ *A malet*, 1, 2, 3, 5; *amalet*, 4. ¹⁴ *Ygcatveirch*, 1, 2; *yg catveirch*, 4.

Drutwas; and Drutwas sent his birds forth, saying to them, 'Slay the first that comes into the field'; and as Arthur went into the field, the sister of Drutwas, who was Arthur's friend, came and prevented Arthur going into the field, out of affection to each of them; and at last Drutwas came into the field, thinking the birds had slain Arthur, and the birds caught him up, and killed him, and when high in the air, they knew him, and fell to the ground with most doleful lamentations for

Unflinching eagle of forward warriors ;
 He shared in the suffering of conflict ; he was handsome ;
 He excelled for the swiftness of his steeds.
 The domesticated hero loved wine from the bowl ;
 And before his lot became pallor and the green grave,
 He was a feast-man where mead sparkled in the bowl.

LXXXIX.

To CAS the son of Saidi.

The destroyer of all church lands
 Was regardless of parallel fetters ;
 Pierced in front was the shield of Cas the Tall,
 And furious were the defenders of Rhuvoniog ;
 A second time they called out, and the war horses
 Were spread forth, and the harness drenched in gore.

having slain Drutwas, their master ; and the song of the birds of Llwh Gwyn still exists on the strings, which was made at that time to record the event. And from that, Llywarch Hen had the subject, on which he composed the following *Englyn* :—

“ Drutwas the son of Trephin, on the day of combat,
 With toil and exertion,
 A breach of contract committed, formerly,
 And was slain by the birds of Llwh Gwyn.”

(*Iolo MSS.*, p. 600.)

We cannot now ascertain what the truth was which underlies this fiction ; the story in its present form is not ancient, and this species of *Englyn* is not as old as the days of Llywarch ; but there is probably some fact at the base of the story. We learn from another poem called “ *Mic Dinbych*,¹ or ‘The Prospect from Tenby’ (verse ii), that

¹ [*Myv. Arch.*, i, 67 ; *Gee's ed.*, 58 ; *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 168 ; translation, i, 304. For the elegy attributed to Llywarch Hen see *Myv.*, i, 101 ; *Gee's ed.*, 83 ; *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 37, 274.]

Bedin¹⁵ agkysgoget¹⁶ yt vyd¹⁷ cat voryon
Cochro llann bann¹⁸ ry godhet.¹⁹ (A)

860

¹⁵ *Byddin agcusgoget*, 1. ¹⁶ *It*, 3. ¹⁷ *Vyt*, 1. ¹⁸ *Pan*, 1, 2, 3, 4.
¹⁹ *Rygoddet*, 1, 2, 3.

(A) Verse xcv, in Williams' text, is a varied copy of this and the next verse:—

“ Dihenyd y¹ bop² llaur llanwet³
Y haul⁴ amhal⁵ afueuet
Twll tal y⁶ rodauc
Caso o hir⁷ gwychauc
Rywynyauc diffret
Eil with⁸ gwelydeint amallet⁹
Y¹⁰ gat veirch¹¹ ae seirch¹² greulet
Bit en anysgoget bit get
Uoron¹³ gwychyrollyon pan ry¹⁴ godet¹⁵
Trwm¹⁶ en trin a llain yt ladei¹⁷
Gwaro¹⁸ rybud o gat dydygei¹⁹
Gant can²⁰ yg calan darmerthei²¹
Ef gwenit²² a dan²³ vab uruei²⁴
Ef gwenit²⁵ a dan²⁶ dwrch trahauc
Un ricin²⁷ a morwyn a menauc
A chan oed mab brenhin teithiaug
Ud²⁸ gwyndyt gwaet kilyd gwardawc²⁹
Kyn golo gweryt ar grud³⁰ hael etvynt³¹
Doeth dygyrchet y³² get³³ ae glot ae echiauc³⁴
Uot³⁵ hed gorthyn hir o³⁶ orthir rywynauc.³⁷”

¹ *I*, 3. ² *Bob*, 1; *bawb*, 4. ³ *Llanet*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁴ *Haval*, 2, 3. ⁵ *Aml*, 3; *amhaval*, 5. ⁶ *I*, 3. ⁷ *Ohir*, 4. ⁸ *Nith*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ⁹ *A malet*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ¹⁰ *I*, 3. ¹¹ *Gatveirch*, 1, 2, 3, 4; *gatseirch*, 5. ¹² *Eirch*, 1, 2, 3; *serch*, 5. ¹³ *Woron*, 3; *voron*, 5. ¹⁴ Not in 1, 2, 3. ¹⁵ *Goddet*, 1, 3. ¹⁶ *Trum*, 1, 2. ¹⁷ *Y lladei*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ¹⁸ *Gwaew*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ¹⁹ *Dyddiges*, 1. ²⁰ Not in 5. ²¹ *Darmerthi*, 2, 3, 5. ²² *Gweint*, 1, 3; *guneint*, 2. ²³ *Dau*, 1, 2, 3, 4. ²⁴ *Urvei*, 1, 2; *wrfei*, 3; *wrfai et urvei*, 5. ²⁵ *Gweint*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ²⁶ *A dau*, 1, 2, 3, 4. ²⁷ *Urien*, 1, 2, 5. ²⁸ *Yd*, 2; *udd*, 1, 3, 5. ²⁹ *Gwareawc*, 5. ³⁰ *Rudd*, 3; *grud et rudd*, 5. ³¹ *Etvynt*, 1, 2; *edwynt*, 3; *etwynt*, 5. ³² *I*, 3. ³³ *Gat*, 1. ³⁴ *Eichiauc*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ³⁵ *Not*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ³⁶ Not in 3. ³⁷ *Rhywynauc*, 1, 2, 3, 5.

Unshaken legion ! There will be a reddening
Of the land, as at the battle of Morion, when they are
insulted.

the dominions of Gereint were associated with some celebrated lake :—

“ A holy sanctuary there is on a wide lake,
An impregnable fortress, surrounded by the sea.
Demandest thou, Britain, to what is this appropriate ?
At the lake of the Son of Erbin, fat were the cattle,
There was a retinue and song after meat,
And an eagle in the sky and a path through pallid faces,
Before a governing Lord, and flying enemies,
And extending fame, and a Lord of marshalled warriors.”

And we learn from the verses of Aneurin that this lake was the Llwh Gwyn of the preceding tale.

LXXXIX. This was Cas the son of Saidi, “ one of the heroes in the dramatic tales of Arthur”, says Owen, who designates the *Mabinogion* by that term ; but nothing more is known respecting him than that he is named in the *Mabinogi* of Kilhwch [*Mab.*, ii, 265] among the knights of Arthur.

Rhuvoniog is a territorial division in North Wales, and it is probable that the scene of the battle of Moryon is in that country, though I cannot point it out. The place is twice mentioned by the bards in other places [*Myv.*, i, 60, 134 ; Gee’s ed., 53, 105 ; *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 95, 236] :—

“ Cyrreith grad voryon
Adan vorduyt haelon.”

(Aneurin, *Gorchan Cynvelyn.*)

“ Yn Aber Avon y byd llu Mon,
Eingl guedy hinuedon
Hir veryt arwyt Voryon.”

(*Gwasgargerdd Vyrddin.*)

Hendrev Vorion is the name of a farm (valued at £40 a year in 1795), in the parish of Llanaber, above Barmouth, Merionethshire.

XC.

Trwm¹ en² trin a llavyn³ yt lladei⁴
 Garw rybud o gat dydygei
 Cann⁵ calan a darmerthei⁶
 Ef gwenit⁷ adan⁸ vab ervei⁹
 Ef gwenit¹⁰ adan dwrch trahawc¹¹ 865
 Un riei¹² a morwyn a mynawc¹³
 A phan oed¹⁴ mab teyrn teithyawc¹⁵
 Yng gwyndyt gwaed glyt¹⁶ gwardawc
 Kyn¹⁷ golo gweryt ar¹⁸ rud¹⁹
 Llary²⁰ hael etvynt²¹ digythrud 870
 O glot a chet echiawc²²
 Neut bed garhwys hir o dir rywonyawc.²³

XCI.

Peis dinogat e vreith vreith
 O grwyn balaot ban¹ wreith²

¹ *Trum*, 1, 2. ² *Yn*, 1. ³ *Llavynt*, 4. ⁴ *Laddei*, 1. ⁵ *Can*,
 1, 2, 3, 4; *canr*, 8. ⁶ *Ddarmerthei*, 1, 2, 3, 4. ⁷ *Gweinit*,
 1, 2, 3, 4; *gweint*, 5. ⁸ *A dan*, 4. ⁹ *Erfei*, 1. ¹⁰ *Gweint*, 1, 5;
gweinit, 2, 3. ¹¹ Line not in 4. ¹² *Rheiu*, 1. ¹³ *Mynawc*, 1.
¹⁴ *Oedd*, 1. ¹⁵ *Teithiawc*, 1. ¹⁶ *Gwaetglyt*, 4; *gwaedlyd*, 6. ¹⁷ *Cyn*, 1.
¹⁸ *At*, 1, 2, 3. ¹⁹ *Rudd*, 1. ²⁰ *Lary*, 1. ²¹ *Etvynt*, 2, 3, 5.
²² *Eichiawg*, 3; *eichiawc*, 5. ²³ *Rhyvonyawc*, 1, 2, 3, 5.

¹ *Pan*, 4. ² *Ureith*, 1; *vreith*, 2, 3.

xc. The hero of this verse is Garhwys the Tall; but beyond the statements of the text there is nothing known respecting him. There is a Garhwys, the son of Mor ab Cenu ab Coel Godebog, named in the pedigrees; and Mor is known to have settled in the neighbourhood of Rhuvoniog; but, according to the chronology usually assigned to Coel Godebog, his great-grandson could not have been the contemporary of our bard. This objection, however, has but little force, as I have already shown that the chronology of Coel, Cunedda, and others, is very incorrect; and, therefore, until some cause be shown to the contrary, I shall adopt this assumption. [See *Myv.*, ii, 23; Gee's ed., 415; *Iolo MSS.*, 528; Rees' *Welsh Saints*, 103.]

XC.

To AEDDAN ab Ervei and GARTHWYS HIR.

Heavily in battle he slew with his sword,
 And brought away severe indications from battle ;
 A hundred new year's feasts he had provided,
 (When) he served Addan the son of Ervei :
 There served Aeddau, the presuming boar,
 One lady, a maid, and a nobleman ;
 And when the son¹ of a prince was in his glory
 There was among the Gwyneddians a blood-stained protector ;
 Before the sod was placed upon his cheek,
 The gentle and generous departed was a perturbator :
 Retired from pride and glory, is not this the grave
 Of Garthwys the Tall from the land of Rhuvoniog ?

XCI.

To DINOGAD ab Cynan Garwyn.

Dinogad's kilt was very stripy,²
 Made from the skins of front-streaked wolf-cubs ;

¹ Garthwys ?² Lit., "Stripy, stripy".

Aeddau, the son of Ervei, the person introduced parenthetically into this verse, was probably the same person as Aeddau o Vôn, to whom there is an elegy composed by Taliesin [*Myv.*, i, 70; Gee's ed., 60; *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 199]. The present writer has made that poem the subject of an article in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for October 1851, to which the reader is referred for full particulars. Aeddau, it is thought, was Lord of the Irish settlers in Anglesey, and is supposed to have been engaged in the turmoil which cost the life of Iago ab Beli, the King of North Wales. This is supposed by Mr. Basil Jones to be an Irish rebellion, *i.e.*, a rebellion of the Gaels of Anglesea, but we have only the sagacity of that gentleman to defend the supposition ; and all that history relates is the fall of Iago ab Beli, and the temporary elevation of a strange monarch in the person of Cadavael Wylt, the son of Cynvedw, who was not a native Kymro.

XCI. Cynan Garwyn, the father of Dinogad, was the son of Brochwel,

Chwit chwit³ chwidogeith 875
 Gochanwn⁴ gochenyn wyth geith
 Pan elei dy dat ty e⁵ helya
 Llath ar⁶ y⁷ ysgwyd⁸ llory⁹ eny llaw
 Ef gelwi¹⁰ gwn gogyhwch¹¹
 Giff gaff dhaly dhaly dhwc dhwc¹² 880
 Ef¹³ lledi bysc yng corwc¹⁴
 Mal ban¹⁵ llad¹⁶ llew¹⁷ llywywc¹⁸
 Pan elei dy dat ty¹⁹ e²⁰ vynyd
 Dydygei ef²¹ penn²² ywrch²³ pen gwythwch²⁴ penn²² hyd²⁵

³ *Chwnt*, 1; *chuent*, 2, 3; *chwant*, 3; *chwint* (*chwant*), 6. ⁴ *Gochan-*
un, 2, 5. ⁵ *I*, 1, 2, 3; *y*, 4. ⁶ *Or*, 5. ⁷ This is not in 1, 2, 3.
⁸ *Ysgwyt*, 1. ⁹ *Llwry*, 3, 5; *llury*, 1, 2. ¹⁰ *Gelui*, 1; *gelwei*, 4.
¹¹ *Gogyhuc*, 1, 2, 3; *gogyhwc*, 4. ¹² *Giph gaph ddaly ddaly dduc dduc*, 1.
¹³ *Leddi*, 1. ¹⁴ *Ygcoruc*, 1, 2. ¹⁵ *Bar*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ¹⁶ *Ladd*, 1.
¹⁷ *Lew*, 1. ¹⁸ *Llywiuc*, 1, 2, 3; *llywiog*, 5. ¹⁹ *Ti*, 3. ²⁰ *I*, 1, 2, 3.
²¹ Not in 4. ²² *Pen*, 1. ²³ *Y uarch*, 1; *y varch*, 2; *i varch*, 3, 5.
²⁴ *Gwdd hwch*, 1; *guyd hwch*, 2; *gwydd-hwch*, 3. ²⁵ *Hydd*, 1.

Prince of Powys, who commanded at the battle of Bangor in 607; but that command must have been little else than nominal, for the "military affairs of the province were already administered by his son Cynan, who shared largely in the feuds of the times". Aneurin makes him a distinguished hunter; and a poem [*Trawsganu Cynan Garwyn, Myv.*, i, 168; Gee's ed., 80; *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 172] attributed to Taliesin "describes his victorious career along the banks of the Wye, in the Isle of Anglesey, on the hills of Dimetia, and in the region of Brychan; chieftains trembled and fled at his approach, and he slaughtered his enemies with the gory blade" (Rees' *Saints*, 277). He was also engaged in the wars of Cadwallon, and particularly in that series of defeats which took place about 629; and he is thus named by Llywarch Hen (*Elegy on Cadwallon, Myv.*, i, 121; Gee's ed., 97; *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 278):—

"The army of Cadwallon encamped by the well of Bedwyr.
 With soldiers virtue is cherished.
 There Cynon showed how to assert the right."

The name of his horse is given in the *Triads*, where *Du hir tynmedig* is

The tricks of a sly pilferer I would ridicule,
 Eight such slaves I would lampoon.
 When thy father went out hunting,
 With his spear staff on his shoulder, and the haft in his hand,
 He would call to the well-trained dogs :
 Mark, grasp, catch catch, bring bring.
 He killed fish from a coracle
 As a lion would kill the steersman.
 When thy father went to a mountain,
 He brought away the chief of the roebucks, the largest boar,
 the finest stag,

classified among the chief steeds of the Isle of Britain [*Myv.*, ii, 19, 20 ; Gee's ed., 394, 398].

Dinogad was his son, or, rather, one of his sons, for he had one son besides, if not more, and that was the person named Selyv ab Cynan Garwyn, who fell in the battle of Bangor, with the reputation of a great warrior. Dinogad appears to have been a man of a different stamp ; Cambrian history names him but twice, and he is then named in dispraise. He is first named in connection with the battle of Arderydd, in 577, in the following *Triad* (*Myv.*, ii, pp. 7, 20 ; Gee's ed., 394, 396) :—

“The three horse loads of the Isle of Britain :—The second horse load was borne by Cornan, the horse of the sons of Eliffer Gosgorddvawr, which carried Gwrgi and Peredur, sons of Eliffer, Dunawd Ffur, the son of Pabo and Cynvelyn Drwsgl, to inspect the funeral pile of Gwenddolau at Arderydd ; and no one attempted to pursue them except Dinogad, the son of Cynan Garwyn, upon his horse, Kethin the Swift, and he has been censured for the act from that day to this.”

The second notice is that in the text, where he is satirically contrasted with his father, and treated very scornfully indeed, in consequence, perhaps, of having offended the bard, or been stingy in his allowances to the sons of song ; but it is probable that the force of the satire has not been conveyed in the translation. The practice of wearing the skins of animals is very ancient. Tacitus, speaking of the Germans, says :—“They also wear the skins of beasts, which the people near the borders are less curious in selecting or preparing than the more remote inhabitants, who cannot by commerce procure other clothing. These make choice of particular furs, which they variegate with spots and pieces of the skins of marine animals” (*De Morib. Germ.*). Wolf-skins were thus worn by Cambrian warriors as proof of their valour in having slain the

Penn²² grugyar²⁶ vreith o²⁷ venyd²⁸ 885
 Penn²² pysc o rayadyr derwennyd²⁹
 Or sawl yt³⁰ gyrhaedei³¹ dy dat ty ae³² gicwein³³
 O wythwch³⁴ a³⁵ llewyn a llwyuein
 Nyt anghei oll³⁶ ny uei³⁷ oradein.

XCII.

Peum¹ dodyw angkyvrwng² o angkyuarch³ 890
 Nym daw nym dyvyd⁴ a uo trymach⁵
 Ny magwyt yn neuad⁶ a vei lewach
 Noc⁷ ef nac yng cat⁸ a vei wastadach
 Ac ar ryt⁹ benclwyt¹⁰ pennawt¹¹ oed¹² e¹³ veirch
 Pellynic¹⁴ e¹⁵ glot pellws¹⁶ e¹⁷ galch 895
 A chyn golo¹⁸ gweir¹⁹ hir a dan²⁰ dywarch
 Dyrlydei²¹ vedgyrn²² un mab feruarch.²³

²⁶ *Gruciar*, 1. ²⁷ *Ar*, 3. ²⁸ *Vynydd*, 1. ²⁹ *Deruenydd*, 1; *derfenydd*, 3. ³⁰ *A*, 1, 2, 3. ³¹ *Gyrchaeddei*, 1, 2, 3; *gyrchhaeddei*, 5. ³² *Ar*, 1, 2, 3. ³³ *Gieuein*, 1, 2, 3. ³⁴ *Wyth wch*, 1, 2, 3. ³⁵ *Lewyn a luyvein*, 1. ³⁶ *Anghei ol*, 1; *angheiol*, 2; *angheuol*, 3; *anghei v*, 5. ³⁷ *Veï*, 1.

¹ *Pan*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ² *Agcyvung*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ³ *Angcyvarch*, 1. ⁴ *Dovydd*, 1, 2, 3. ⁵ *Trymmach*, 1. ⁶ *Neuadd*, 1. ⁷ *Nog*, 1. ⁸ *Ygcat*, 1. ⁹ *Aryt*, 1, 2; *ar hyd*, 3, 5. ¹⁰ *Ben clwyd*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ¹¹ *Pennant*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ¹² *Oedd*, 1. ¹³ *O*, 2, 3, 5. ¹⁴ *Pellynnig*, 1. ¹⁵ *Y*, 1, 2; *ei*, 3. ¹⁶ *Pellus*, 1, 2, 3, 5. ¹⁷ *Y*, 1, 2; *i*, 3. ¹⁸ *Cholo*, 8. ¹⁹ *Gueir*, 1. ²⁰ *Adan*, 1; *o dan*, 3. ²¹ *Dyr llydei*, 1. ²² *Vedd gyryn*, 1. ²³ *Veruarch*, 1; *Vervarch* and *Ferwarch*, 5; *ferwarch*, 3.

animals from which the skins were taken. Dinogad also hung wolf-skins "on his recreant limbs"; but the bard tauntingly imputes cowardice by calling him a sly pilferer, and by saying that they were skins of young cubs captured while the parent animals were away. We may infer from thence that the kilt, or *pais*, was a garb of very ancient date; the father of Cunedda was surnamed Padarn Beisrudd, or red-kilted; and here is an instance of the variegated kilt worn by Dinogad. The dress worn by old men and domestics were the skins of tame animals, the sheep and the hardy goat. (*Llywarch Hen*, *Elegies*, p. 90.)

The fattest spotted mountain grouse,
 And the noblest fish from the falls of the Derwent.
 Of the boars which thy father reached with the
 Flesh-hook on the point of his elm (spear staff),
 Did not all die? Did not their swiftness cease?

XCI.

To GWAIR, the son of Verwarch.

When non-salutation led to a cessation of intercourse,
 There came not, nor will there come, one more formidable;
 In the hall there was not nursed a bolder man,
 Nor in battle was there one less unshaken;
 His steeds were upon the heights of Pennant,
 His armour was compact, and his fame far extended;
 And before Gwair the Tall lay beneath the sod,
 Mead-horns were replenished by the only son of Ferwarch.¹

¹ Or, "Mervarch".

XCI. Pennant is the name of a mountain in Montgomeryshire; Verwarch, Ferwarch, or Merwarch, was probably the person who at subsequent periods was better known as Mórach Morvran, who lived in that locality, and is named by Owen Cyveiliog in connection with a celebrated feast designated *cyfeddach morach* by that bard as well as by Cynddelw [*Myv.*, ii, 237, 265; Gee's ed., 172, 191]:—

“Kigleu ym Maela6r ga6r va6r vuan
 A gar6 disgyrr g6yr a g6yth er6an;
 Ac ymgynnull am drull am dram6yan
 Fal i bu ym Mangor am ongyr dan;
 Pan 6naeth dau deyrn uch cyrn cyvrnan,
 Pan fu gyfetach Vorach Vorvran.” (*O. Cyveiliog.*)

“In Maelor a great shout was suddenly heard,
 And dreadful were the shrieks of men, and wrathful piercing,
 And collecting round the server of liquor, and journeying about,
 Like there was at Bangor, mid the flash of spears,
 When two princes created discord over drinking-horns,
 At the feast of Morach Morvran.”

XCIII.

Trycan¹ eurdorch a gryssyassant²
 En amwyn breithell bu edrywant
 Ket rylade³ hwy wy ladassant 900
 Ahyt⁴ orfen byt etmyc⁵ vydant
 Ac or sawl a aytham o gyt garant
 Tru namyn un gur nyt englyssant.

XCIV.

Trycant¹ eurdorchauc²
 Gwned gar³ guaenauc⁴ 905
 Trychan trahaavc⁵
 Kyuun⁶ kyuarvavc⁷

¹ *Try can*, 6. ² *Gryssiassant*, 6. ³ *Ry ladei*, 6. ⁴ *A hyt*, 6.
⁵ *Edmyc*, 6.

¹ *Trychant*, 1; *try cant*, 6. ² *Eurdorchauc*, 6. ³ *Gyuedgar*, 1;
gwnedgar, 6. ⁴ *Guaenawc*, 6. ⁵ *Trahauc*, 1; *trahauc*, 6. ⁶ *Cy-
 vun*, 1. ⁷ *Cyuarchauc*, 1; *kyvarvawc*, 6; in 6 this line is one with the
 preceding.

What this quarrel was is now unknown. May it not have been the quarrel between Rheidwn and Eidol?

Gwair the Tall was the only son of Mervarch or Morach, and was probably the subject of the following notice:—"Gwair Gwryd Vawr, or Geirwerydd Vawr, was distinguished as one of the three obstinate chiefs, whom nobody could divert from their design; the other two were Eiddilig and Trystan" (Owen's *Camb. Biog.*). There is nothing further known respecting him [*Trioedd Ynys Prydain: Cyf.*, i, 88; iii, 78; *Myv.*, ii, 19, 69; Gee's ed., 393, 408].

Here, according to the usual copies, the *Gododin* ends, being 92 verses and 878 lines: at the end are usually placed six more verses of 59 lines, making altogether 937 lines and 97 verses, according to Williams' computation; but these additional verses are only variations of some of the others, and should be placed among the various readings, rather than as distinct verses. I have divided verse lxxxix of Williams' into two;

XCIII.

Three hundred golden-torqued ones hastened along
 To engage in the conflict; a sally ensued;
 Although they were killed, they also killed;
 And unto the end of the world honoured they shall be;
 And of those who went in mutual amity,
 Alas! except one man none escaped.

XCIV.

Three hundred wearing the golden torques,
 Fond of valorous toil, and headlong in the course;
 Three hundred haughty ones,
 Unanimous, and equally armed.

and thus my computation of verses gives one more than he has, being 92 in place of 91.

But *Gorchan Maelderw* contains a number of verses evidently belonging to the *Gododin*, which find no place in any of the ordinary copies of that poem; and here they follow in the original; but as the text is very corrupt, no attempt can now be made to accompany them with translations.

[In Mr. Stephens' MS. the text of what follows is simply copied from the *Myv.*, and divided into verses. When a verse has been already quoted in some of the notes in former parts of the Essay, the author has only written down the first line, indicating, however, the number of lines intended to be included in the verse, and referring to the note in which the remainder has been quoted.

For the text as it is here printed the editor is responsible. It is practically that given by Skene in his *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, but slightly modified by the help of the *Myv.* copies. The variations in the copies are noticed throughout. The translation is borrowed from the *Four Ancient Books* without any alteration. The headings to the verses are Mr. Stephens' own.]

Verses XCIII-XCV. For the original text of these verses, see *Myvyrian Archaeology*, i, pp. 62, 85; Gee's ed., 54, 70; *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 99, 100. The translation is from *Four Ancient Books*, i, 417.

Trychan meirch⁸ godrud⁹
 A gryssyws¹⁰ ganthud¹¹
 Trychwn¹² a thrychant 910
 Tru¹³ nyt atcorsant.¹⁴

XCV.

Dywal¹ yg cat² kyniwng³ ygkeni⁴
 Yg kyvrang⁵ nyt oed⁶ dang as gwnehei
 Yn dyd gwyth nyt ef weith gocheli
 Baran baed oed bleidic mab eli 915
 Ervessit⁷ gwin⁸ gwydyr⁹ lestri llawn¹⁰
 Ac en¹¹ dyd camavn¹² camp a¹³ wneei¹⁴
 Y ar aruul¹⁵ kann¹⁶ kynn oe¹⁷ dreghi¹⁸
 Calaned cochwed¹⁹ ae deni.²⁰

XCVI.

Angor deor dain¹ 920
 Sarff² saffwy³ graen
 Anysgoget vaen⁴ blaen bedin⁵
 Arall arlwy⁶
 Treis tra chynnivyn⁷ rwy⁸
 Gobrwy⁹ gordwylain¹⁰ 925

⁸ *Mant*, 1. ⁹ *Godrut*, 1. ¹⁰ *Gryssius*, 1. ¹¹ *Ganthut*, 1. ¹² *Trychun*, 1. ¹³ *Try*, 1. ¹⁴ *Atcorasant*, 1.

¹ *Dyual*, 1. ² *Ygcat*, 1, 6. ³ *Cyrunug*, 1. ⁴ *Ygcyni*, 1; *yg keni*, 6. ⁵ *Yscyvrang*, 1. ⁶ In 1 the line ends *oed bleidic mab eli*, all the intervening words being omitted. ⁷ *Eruyssit*, 1. ⁸ *Guin*, 1. ⁹ *Guydyr*, 1. ¹⁰ *Lawn*, 1. ¹¹ *Yn*, 1. ¹² *Camavn*, 1; *camawn*, 6. ¹³ *Campa*, 1. ¹⁴ *Wnehei*, 6. ¹⁵ *Awyl*, 1. ¹⁶ *Can*, 1. ¹⁷ *Cynn y*, 1; *kyn noe*, 6. ¹⁸ *Drengi*, 1, 6. ¹⁹ *Cochwed*, 1. ²⁰ *Deui*, 6, F. A. B.; in 6 this line is one with the preceding.

¹ *Daen*, 6. ² *Sarph*, 6. ³ *Saffwy*, 1; *saphwy*, 6; *sarffwy*, F. A. B. ⁴ *Uaen*, 1. ⁵ *Bydin*, 1. ⁶ *Aral arlwy*, 1. ⁷ *Trachynivyn*, 1. ⁸ *Ruy*, 1. ⁹ *Gobrwy*, F. A. B.; *gobrwy*, 1. ¹⁰ *Gordwy lain*, 6; *gordwylain*, 1.

Three hundred prancing horses
 Did with them hasten.
 Three chiefs and three hundred,
 Alas! none returned.

XCV.

To BLEIDDIG, the son of Eli.

Furious in the battle, unreceding in distress ;
 In the conflict there was no peace if he acted vigorously ;
 In the day of wrath, shunning was no part of his work ;
 The aspect of a boar had Bleiddig son of Eli ;
 Wine was quaffed in brimful vessels of glass ;
 And the day of battle exploits did he achieve
 On Arvwl Cann, before he died.
 Ruddy-tinted carnage used to attract him.

XCVI.

To TUDVWLCH, the son of Kilydd.

Angor, the scatterer of the brave,
 Serpent with the piercing pike,
 An immovable stone in front of the army ;
 Accustomed to the preparation of attacks,
 And greatly to reward the assaulting lance.

XCVI. Text—*Myv. Arch.*, i, 62, 85 ; Gee's ed., 55, 70 ; *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 101. Translation—*Four Ancient Books*, i, 419.

Enwir yt elwir oth gywir weithret¹¹
 Rettor¹² rwyfyadur¹³ mvr pob kyvyeith¹⁴
 Tutvwlch¹⁵ treissic¹⁶ aer caer o dileith.

XCVII.

Aches guolouy	
Glasvleid duuyr	930
Dias dilin ¹	
Angor deor dain	
Anysgoc vaen ²	
Em ³ blaen bedin	
Letrud ⁴ leuir ⁵	935
A meirch a gwyr	
Rac gododin	
Re cw gyuarch ⁶	
Kywyrein bard	
Kemre ⁷ tot tARTH	940
Rac garth merin.	

XCVIII.

Scwyt dan wodef ny ystyngei	
Rac neb wyneb cared erythuaccei ¹	
Diryeit o eirch meirch yg kyndor	
Aur ² gwryavr ³ hein	945

¹¹ *Werthret*, F. A. B.; in 1 the line is *Enuir ith eluir oth gyuir ueithret*. ¹² *Restor*, F. A. B.; *rector*, 1. ¹³ *Rhuyvyadur*, 1. ¹⁴ *Kynyeith*, F. A. B.; *cyvyeith*, 1. ¹⁵ *Tutvulch*, 1. ¹⁶ *Treissir*, 1. In the note to verse xiii, p. 167, Mr. Stephens has divided this verse into eleven lines; here he makes it nine.

¹ *Dull*, F. A. B. ² *Anyswguæn*, 6. ³ *En*, 6; *ein*, F. A. B. ⁴ *Ledrud*, 6; *let rud*, F. A. B. ⁵ *Levir*, 6. ⁶ *Gyvarch*, 6. ⁷ *Keinre*, 6.

¹ *Erythvaccei*, 6. ² *Awr*, 6. ³ *Gwryavr*, 6.

Perfect art thou called from thy just deed,
 Leader, director, and bulwark of all that are of the same
 language ;
 Tudvwlch, the subduer in battle, the destroyer of Caers.

XCVII.

To MERIN ab Madyen.

Gwolowy secured
 A grey wolf, whose roaring was
 As that of water.¹
 Angor, the scatterer of the brave,
 An immovable stone
 In the front of the army.
 Ruddy radiance,
 And horses, and men were
 In front of Gododin,
 Whence so rapidly ascends the
 Address of the bard
 Of the Cymry, Tottarth,
 In front of Garth Merin.

XCVIII.

To KYHURAN ab Cian.

His shield, with endurance, he would not lower
 Before the face of anyone ; wrong he would not encourage :
 Urgent were the requests for horses in the entrance.
 The gold of the heroes,

¹ Mr. Silvan Evans translates *dull*, the reading of the *Four Ancient Books*.

Gwaewawr kelin creudei
 Pan wanet yg kyueillt⁴ ef gwanei
 Ereill nyt oed amevyl yt a dyccei
 Dyvit en cadwryt⁵ kein asmyccei
 Pan dyduc⁶ Kyhuran clotvan Mordei. 950

XCIX.

Pan gyrchei yg kywlat¹ e glot oed anvonawc²
 Ef dilydei³ win⁴ gwr⁵ eurdorchauc⁶
 Ef rodei gloywdull⁷ glan y gwychiauc⁸
 Ardweyi⁹ kann¹⁰ wr¹¹ arwr¹² mynauc¹³
 Anvonawc¹⁴ eissyllut alltut¹⁵ marchauc¹⁶ 955
 Un maban e¹⁷ gian o dra bannauc.¹⁸

C.

Ardwynef¹ adef eidun gwalat
 Gwae ni rac galar ac² avar³ gwastat
 Pan doethan deon o dineidin parth
 Deetholwyd⁴ pob doeth wlat 960
 Yg kywryssed⁵ a lloegyr lluyd amhat⁶
 Nav⁷ ugeint⁸ am bob⁹ vn am¹⁰ beithynat¹¹
 Ardemyl meirch a seirch a seric dillat¹²
 Ardweyi waetnerth¹³ e gerth or gat.

⁴ *Kyueillt*, 6. ⁵ *Kudw ryt*, 6. ⁶ *Dyduc*, F. A. B.

¹ *Ygcywlat*, 1. ² *Annodauc*, 1; *anvonawc*, 6. ³ *Edihydei*, 1. ⁴ *Rum*, 1.
⁵ *Gwr*, 1. ⁶ *Eurderchauc*, 1; *eurdorchawc*, 6. ⁷ *Gloyu dul*, 1.
⁸ *Gwychauc*, 1; *gwychiawc*, 6. ⁹ *Ardweyi*, 1. ¹⁰ *Can*, 1. ¹¹ *Ur*, 1.
¹² *Arwr*, 1. ¹³ *Mynawc*, 6. In 1, this line and the preceding are transposed.
¹⁴ *Anvonawc*, 6. ¹⁵ *Alltud*, 6. ¹⁶ *Marchawc*, 6.
¹⁷ *Y*, 1. ¹⁸ *Bānawc*, 6.

¹ *Ardwy nef*, 6. ² *Ai*, 6. ³ *Auar*, 6. ⁴ *Deetholwyl*, F. A. B.
⁵ *Ynghyffryssed*, 6. ⁶ *Amhad*, 6. ⁷ *Naw*, 6. ⁸ *Ugain*, 6. ⁹ Not in 6.
¹⁰ *A*, 6. ¹¹ *Beithynad*, 6. ¹² *Dillad*, 6. ¹³ *Wact nerth*, 6.

The crowd of holly lances covered it with gore.
 When his comrade was pierced, he pierced others ;
 Disgrace to thee he would not bring :
 Active in martial valour, he made a noble display,
 When he carried away the famous Cyhuran of Mordei.

XCIX.

To the same person.

When he repaired to his native country, his fame was spread
 abroad ;
 He poured out the wine, the golden-torqued man !
 He would give a gorgeously fine suit to a brave person,
 And check a hundred men, courteous hero !
 And send away the progeny of a foreign knight ;—
 The only son of Cian from beyond Bannawg.

C.

To GWAEDNERTH ab Eleri.

Direct us to heaven, the wished-for home of order !
 Woe to us on account of constant lamentation and grief !
 When the strangers came from Dineiddyn,
 Every wise man was banished the country.
 In the contention with Lloegyr of various conflicts,
 Nine score for every one were made prostrate.
 An array of horses, harness, and silken robes,
 Gwaednerth arranged conspicuously from the battle.

XCIX. Text—*Myv.*, i, 62, 85 ; *Gee's ed.*, 55, 70 ; *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 100, 101. Translation—*Four Ancient Books*, i, 418.

c. Text—*Myv.*, i, 86 ; *Gee's ed.*, 71 ; *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 102. Translation—*Four Ancient Books*, i, 420.

CI.

Gosgord gododin e ar ravn¹ rin 965
 Meirch eiliv² eleirch a seirch gwehin
 Ac yg kynnor llu lliwet disgin
 En amwyn called a med eidin
 O gussyl mynydawc trossassei ysgwydawr
 Kwydassei lafnavr³ ar grannaur gwin 970
 Wy ceri gon gwylaes disgin
 Ny phorthassan warth wyr ny thechyn.

CII.

Neut eryueis¹ y ued² ar yg kerdet³
 Gwinuaeth⁴ rac catraeth yn un gwaret
 Pan ladei⁵ ae⁶ lavnawr ynysgoget 975
 Yn dayr nyt oed wael men yt welet
 Nyt oed hyll ydellyll en emwaret
 Atwythic⁷ scyndauc⁸ madauc⁹ eluet¹⁰.
 Pan dec¹¹ y cyuarchant¹² nyt oed hoedyl dianc
 Dialgur¹³ aruon¹⁴ cyrchei eur ceinyo arurhyat 980
 Urython browys meirch cynon.

CIII.

Dim guoru¹ ediu o adam neimin²
 Un huc an guoloet guoreu edlinet³
 Em ladaut lu maur⁴ i guert i adraut⁵
 Ladaut⁶ map nuithon⁷ o eurdorchogyon 985
 Cant o deyrnet hit⁸ pan grimbuiller⁹

¹ *Rawn*, 6. ² *Eiliw*, 6. ³ *Lavnawr*, 6.

¹ *Ergveis*, 6. ² *Win*, 5. ³ *Herdet*, 6. ⁴ *Gwinvaeth*, 6. ⁵ *Ladhei*,
 F. A. B. ⁶ *Ac*, F. A. B. ⁷ *Adwythic*, 6. ⁸ *Scyndauc*, 6. ⁹ *Mad-*
awc, 6. ¹⁰ *Elvet*, 6. ¹¹ *Deg*, 6. ¹² *Cyuarchant*, 6. ¹³ *Dialgar*, 6.
¹⁴ *Arvon*, 6.

¹ *Guoiu*, 6. ² *Neinim*, 6. ³ *Fdlinet*, 6. ⁴ *Mawr*, 6. ⁵ *Adrawd*,
 6. ⁶ *Ladaud*, 6. ⁷ *Niuthon*, F. A. B. ⁸ *Hyt*, 6. ⁹ *Grimbuillet*, 6.

CI.

The retinue of Gododin rode on
 Swan-coloured horses with quivering manes and drooping
 harness,
 And in front of the host the throng descended,
 In defence of his generalship and the mead of Eiddyn,
 By the advice of Mynyddawg. The shields were moved about,
 The lances fell upon fair brows,
 While the men were languidly dropping like fruit from the tree.
 They bore no reproach, men that did not skulk.

CII.

To MADOC of Elved.

Have I not drunk mead on the march,
 A banquet of wine before Catraeth as a preservative?
 When he made slaughter with his unyielding lance
 In the conflict, it was no inglorious sight to see where thou
 wert.
 A monster was no frightful object to thee while effecting
 deliverance,
 Terrible and shielded Madawg Elved.
 When they fairly met, there was no escaping for life.
 Dialgur of Arvon fetched bright gold at the request
 Of the Brython. High-mettled were the horses of Cynon.

CIII.

To the SON of NWyTHON.

No achievement to-day around Neimyn!
 The same covering envelopes men of the noblest descent.
 A numerous host engaged in battle which is worth relating,
 The son of Nwython killed of the golden-torqued ones
 A hundred chieftains; as far as it is related, the vehemence

CI-CIII. Text—*Myv.*, i, 86; Gee's ed., 71; *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 102, 103. Translation—*Four Ancient Books*, i, 421, 422.

Bu guell prit¹⁰ pan aeth canwyr y gatraeth
 Oid¹¹ eilth gur guinuaeth¹² callon ehelaeth
 Oed¹³ gur luit¹⁴ einim¹⁵ oed luric teinim¹⁶
 Oid¹¹ girth oed cuall ar geuin¹⁷ e gauall¹⁸ 990
 Ny wisguis imil¹⁹ i mil luit heinim
 I guaiu²⁰ ae yscuit²¹ nae²² gledyf nae gyllell
 No neim ab nuithon gur auei²³ well.

CIV.

Tra merin iodeo¹ trileo
 Yg caat tri guaid franc² fraidus leo 995
 Bribon³ a guoreu bar deo
 Gnaut⁴ iar⁵ fisiolin am diffin⁶ gododin
 Im blain trin terhid⁷ rei
 Gnaut⁸ i lluru⁹ alan buan bithei¹⁰
 Gnaut⁸ rac teulu deor em discinhei 1000
 Gnaut⁸ mab golistan cen nei¹¹ bei
 Guledic¹² i tat indeuit a lauarei
 Gnaut¹³ ar les minidauc scuिताur trei
 Guaurud rac ut eidin uruei.¹⁴

CV.

Disgynsit in trum in alauoed¹ dwyrem 1005
 Cintebic e celeo erit migam
 Guannannon² guirth med guryt muiham³
 Ac guich fodiauc⁴ guichauc⁵ inham
 Eithinin⁶ uoleit map⁷ bodu at am.

¹⁰ *Prid*, 6. ¹¹ *Ord*, F. A. B. ¹² *Gwinvaeth*, 6. ¹³ *Oid*, 6. ¹⁴ *Luid*, 6.
¹⁵ *Einym*, 6. ¹⁶ *Ceinim*, 6. ¹⁷ *Gevin*, 6. ¹⁸ *Gavall*, 6. ¹⁹ *I mil*, 6.
²⁰ *Guaiw*, 6. ²¹ *Ysgwit*, 6. ²² *Nac*, F. A. B. ²³ *A vei*, 6.

¹ *Sodeo*, 6. ² This word is in brackets in F. A. B. ³ *Bubon*, 6.
⁴ *Gnaut*, 6. ⁵ *I ar*, 6. ⁶ *Fisiolin i amdeffin*, 6. ⁷ *Terhit*, 6.
⁸ *Gnawd*, 6. ⁹ *Lherw*, 6. ¹⁰ *Brithei*, 6. ¹¹ *Cennei*, 6. ¹² *Guletic*, 6.
¹³ *Ganut*, F. A. B. ¹⁴ *Urvei*, 6.

¹ *Alauoed*, 6. ² *Gwanannon*, 6. ³ *Mui hiam*, F. A. B. ⁴ *Fodyauc*, 6.
⁵ *Gwichauc*, 6. ⁶ *Eithin*, 6. ⁷ *Mab*, 6.

Was greater than when a hundred men went to Cattræth.
 He was like a mead-fed hero with a large heart ;
 He was a man of hosts ; energetic was he in his coat of mail ;
 He was a man of conflict, fierce was he on the ridge of Cavall.
 No man among a thousand brave warriors
 Handled a spear, or a shield, or a sword, or a dagger,
 Who was a braver man than Neim, the son of Nwython.

CIV.

While there was a drop they were like three lions in purpose ;
 In the battle, three brave, prompt, active lions.
 Bribon, who wielded the thick lance,
 Accustomed was he to defend Gododin against a hero,
 In the van of battle, against vehement ones,
 Accustomed was he, in the manner of Alan, to be swift ;
 Accustomed was he before a horde of depredators to make a
 descent ;
 Accustomed was the son of Golystan, though he was
 A sovereign, to listen to what his father said ;
 Accustomed was he, in the interest of Mynyddawg, to have
 a perforated shield,
 And a ruddy lance before the vigorous chief of Eiddyn.

CV.

A grievous descent was made in front of the hoarded riches ;
 The first to chase them was a person renowned for activity ;—
 Gwannannon, honoured in the mead banquet, whose prowess
 I will extol ;
 And next to him the brave-minded and heroic
 Eithinyn the renowned, the son of Bodw.

CIV, CV. Text—*Myv.*, i, 86, 87 ; *Gee's ed.*, 71, 72 ; *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 103, 104. Translation—*Four Ancient Books*, i, 422, 423.

CVI.

Guir gormant aethant cennin	1010
Gwinweith a medweith oedyn	
O anwyn mynydauc	
Anthuem ¹ cim mruinauc ²	
O goll gur gunet ³ rin	
Mal taran nem tarhei scuytaur ⁴	1015
Rac rynnaud eithinin.	

CVII.

Guelet e lauanaur ¹ en liwet	
In ciuamuin ² gal galet	
Rac goduryf ³ y aessaur ⁴ godechet	
Techin rac ⁵ eidin vre uruiet ⁶	1020
Meint a gaffeilau nyt atcoryet ⁷	
O hanau ⁸ cuir oed arnav ⁹ ac canet	
Cindinnyauc ¹⁰ calc drei pan griniee grinie ¹¹	
Nit atwanei ¹² ri guanei ri guanet ¹³	
Oed menyech gwedy cuin ¹⁴ i escar i cimluin ¹⁵	1025
Oed guennin hic ¹⁶ carantet ¹⁷	
A chin ¹⁸ i olo atan ¹⁹ tutguet ²⁰ daiar	
Dirlishei etar ²¹ med met.	

CVIII.

Huitreuit ¹ clair cinteiluuat	
Claer cleu na clair	1030
Air uener sehic am sut	
Seic sic sac adleo gogyuurd gogymrat	

¹ *Anthuim*, 6. ² *Mruynawc*, 6; *mruinauc*, F. A. B. ³ *Gwned*, 6.
Yscwytaur, 6.

Lavanaur, 6. ² *Ciuamwin*, 6. ³ *Godwryf*, 6. ⁴ *Aessaur*, 6.
⁵ *Rai*, 6. ⁶ *Uiriet*, 6. ⁷ *Atkorei*, 6. ⁸ *Honau*, 6. ⁹ *Arnaw*, 6.
¹⁰ *Cindynnyauc*, 6; *Cin dinnyauc*, F. A. B. ¹¹ *Grivei*, 6. ¹² *Adwanei*, 6.
¹³ *Riguanet*, 6. ¹⁴ *Cwyn*, F. A. B. ¹⁵ *Icimlian*, F. A. B.
¹⁶ *Guenwin hu*, 6. ¹⁷ *Caraitet*, F. A. B. ¹⁸ *Chyn*, 6. ¹⁹ *A tan*, 6.
²⁰ *Titguet*, F. A. B.; *tut guet*, 6. ²¹ *Efar*, 6.

¹ *Hurtreuit*.

CVI.

Men of excess went with them,
 Who had been revelling in wine and mead
 In the banquet of Mynyddawg.
 We are greatly grieved at the loss
 Of a man of such terrible energy ;
 Like thunder from heaven was the clashing of his shield,
 From the agitation caused by Eithynyn.

CVII.

His lances were seen among the hosts
 Vigorously employed for mutual defence against the foe ;
 Before the din of his shields they concealed themselves,
 They lay hid before Eiddyn, the lofty hill ;
 And of as many as he found none returned ;
 Of him the truth is related and sung :
 Obstinately would he pierce armour, when he caused a
 trembling ;
 And he whom he pierced would not be pierced again.
 Repeated are the lamentations that his presents are gone ;
 His friends were as numerous as bees ;
 And before he was covered under the sward of the earth,
 He caused the mead to flow.

CVIII.

TO CYNHAVAL.

CVI, CVII. Text—*Myv.*, i, 87 ; Gee's ed., 72 ; *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 104, 105. Translation—*Four Ancient Books*, i, 424, 425.

Under verse CVII, Mr. Stephens, adopting the reading of the *Myv.*, writes:—"The proper name in this verse appears to be that of Efar, or Evar, in the last line ; but we have no account of any person of that name."

Edili edili ni² puillyat
 Nys adraud³ gododin in dit pleigheit⁴
 Na bei cinhau⁵ citeluat 1035
 Llafnaur⁶ let⁷ rud laun⁸ cin achlud⁹
 Guron guorut y maran laun⁸ gur leidyat
 Laguen udat¹⁰ stadal vleidiat.¹¹

CIX.

Kyuaruu¹ ac ac érodu leidiat² lu
 Hero³ ny bu ac cihoit ac i hero ni bu 1040
 Hero ciued guec guero
 Gnissint gueuilon⁴ ar e helo
 Nit oed ar les bro bot ero
 Ni cilius⁵ taro trin let un ero
 Traus⁶ y achaus liuir delo⁷ 1045
 Ef quant tra trigant echassaf
 Ef ladei⁸ auet ac eithaf
 Oid guiu e mlaen llu llarahaf
 Godolei o heit meirch e gayaf
 Gochore brein du ar uur 1050
 Caer cein bei⁹ ef arthur
 Rug ciuin uerthi ig disur
 Ig kunnor¹⁰ guernor gaur.

CX.

Edeuuniat eithuuat aruhicat
 Ef¹ guisgus aur² ig cinnor³ gaur 1055
 Ig cin uaran⁴ odeiuiniet⁵ ballauc

² *Ui*, 6. ³ *Adrawd*, 6. ⁴ *Pleigbeit*, F. A. B. ⁵ *Cynhau*, 6.
⁶ *Llafnaur*, 6. ⁷ *Led*, 6. ⁸ *Laim*, F. A. B. ⁹ *Ciuachlud*, 6; *cinach*
lud, F. A. B. ¹⁰ *Udat*, 6. ¹¹ *Vleidyat*, 6.

¹ *Kyvarvu*, 6. ² *Leidyat*, 6. ³ —*ero*, F. A. B. ⁴ *Gueuilon*, 6.
⁵ *Cilius*, 6. ⁶ *Traus*, 6. ⁷ *Liuirdelo*, 6. ⁸ *Ladhei*, F. A. B. ⁹ Not
in 6. ¹⁰ *Kynnor*, 6.

¹ *Et*, 6. ² *Awr*, 6. ³ *Kinnor*. ⁴ *Varan*, 6. ⁵ *Edeiuiniet*, 6.

The Gododin will not relate at the early dawn
 Of any to whom Cynaval was not equal.
 Blade weapons, broad and ruddy, were abundant before he
 was covered,
 The hero who filled the plain with slaughtered men.
 He was a joyous chief, an unflinching wolf-like hero.

CIX.

To G^WARTHAN ab Dunawd (?).

The slayer of hosts is gone to the black glebe :
 A piece of earth has made
 Sweet bitter to the people.
 Withered leaves are driven to and fro on his patrimony ;
 It was not for the advantage of the country that the sod
 (should cover him) ;
 The bull of conflict never retreated the width of an acre.
 Sad is the fate that it should thus be !
 He pierced upwards of three hundred of the foe,
 He slaughtered the centre and the extreme ;
 He was worthy to be at the head of an army, most gentle ;
 He fed his horses upon barley in winter.
 Black ravens croaked on the wall
 Of the beautiful Caer. He was an Arthur
 In the midst of the exhausting conflict,
 In the assault in the pass, like G^wernor the hero.

CX.

To G^UPNO, the son of G^wen.

He put on gold before the battle-shout,
 In the front rank of the accomplished heroes.

CVIII, CIX. Text—*Myv.*, i, 87 ; *Gee's ed.*, 72 ; *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 105-6. Translation—*Four Ancient Books*, i, 425-6.

Tal gellauc cat tridid engiriau⁶
 Erlinaut⁷ gaur arth arwynaul⁸
 Ar guigiat⁹ guor vlodiat¹⁰ erigliriat
 Hir lu cein¹¹ bu gipno¹² mab guengat.¹³ 1060

⁶ *Engiriau*, 6. ⁷ *Etlinaut*, 6. ⁸ *Arwynaul*, 6. ⁹ *Grugiat*, 6.
¹⁰ *Vlodyat*, 6. ¹¹ *Cem*, 6. ¹² *Gupno*, 6. ¹³ *Gwen gat*, 6.

According to Williams' computation, which, however, differs in no way from that in the *Myvyrian*, and is ordinarily adopted, the *Gododin* consists of 937 lines.

That total includes 59 lines, which I throw into the notes or various readings; but it will be seen that my proposed *Gododin* will have rescued for Aneurin no less than 163 lines now lumped together with *Gorchan Maelderw*, but which undoubtedly belonged and belong to the *Gododin* of Aneurin. And thus, instead of 937 lines, the *Gododin* will include no less than 1060 lines.

Cibno, the son of Gwengad, had a long and splendid retinue.

cx. Text—*Myv.*, i, 88; Gee's ed., 72; *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 107.
Translation—*Four Ancient Books*, i, 427.

THE END OF THE GODODIN.

APPENDIX.

THE POEMS OF TALIESIN:

Extracts from a Series of Papers by Mr. STEPHENS, published in the "Archæologia Cambrensis", reprinted by permission of the Editorial Committee.

MARWNAD CUNEDDA.¹

(*Arch. Camb.*, Second Series, vol. iii, pp. 47-64, Jan. 1852.)

THIS poem has been a great stumbling-block in the way of all rational accounts of Taliesin and his poems. Is it an ancient or a modern poem? If read without any misgivings as to the chronology, the poem carries with it all the marks of antiquity; there is an utter absence of any romantic or fictitious element; it has all the appearance of an historical poem, and possesses all the attributes which belong to the other poems of Taliesin. It has the same vigour which marks his best poems to Urien Rheged; the same bold and forcible expression, and the same descriptive excellence. Further, it specifies several historical facts without any exaggeration; relates the transactions of an early period in the precise order that we may expect to find them; and claims, on the part of the bard, a close personal acquaintance with the subject of his elegy. These evidences of genuineness are quite irresistible when considered alone; and it is only when we look at the biography of Cunedda, that we begin to doubt the authenticity of the poem, or seek some hypothesis by which to reconcile the chronology with the assumption that the poem was the work of a person

¹ [Referred to on p. 206.]

living contemporaneously with Cunedda, and that that person was the bard of Urien Rheged—TALIESIN. In order to exhibit the nature of this discrepancy, I will here quote a portion of the article CUNEDDA WLEDIG in Owen's *Cambrian Biography* :—

“Cunedda Wledig, son of Edeyrn ab Padarn with the crimson coat, by Gwawl, daughter of Coel Gobedog. His original patrimony was in Cumberland, and some neighbouring districts, where he began to reign about A. D. 328, and died in 389.”

Professor Rees places him between 400 and 433. We will not now make any comment upon this chronology; but assuming it to be correct, we at once perceive that Taliesin, who was living in 610, could not have written the elegy of a man who is supposed to have lived 220 years before. Henry Jenkins lived to be 169, old Parr to be 142, and Llywarch Hen lived to about the same age; but assuming the bard to have been thirty years of age when he composed this elegy, he would have been $(30 + 610 - 389 =)$ no less than 251 years old at the death of Iago ab Beli in 610; and that is a longer lease of life than men usually obtain. We have therefore to take our choice of three hypotheses :—

I. That the poem is not an ancient composition. This we have rejected.

II. That the author was an earlier Taliesin than the bard of Urien Rheged.

III. That the chronology is incorrect, and that the age of Cunedda has been very much antedated.

The Rev. Edward Davies, in his work on the *Claims of Ossian*, adopts the second alternative, and asserts that Taliesin was not a proper name, but the title of several British bards. (P. 28, *Note*.)

This assumption that Taliesin was a myth, is a natural result of the critical principles adopted by the author of the

Celtic Researches; but it has no foundation in truth. The existence of this early Taliesin is not proved; and the poems of the pseudo-Taliesin profess to be those of the contemporary of Urien and Maelgwn Gwynedd; and therefore there is no warrant for assuming that there ever was more than one Taliesin. It is quite clear that the Taliesin of this poem was a proper name; for he tells us so in the first line—

“Mydwyf Taliessin derydd.”

It therefore becomes our duty to see what can be done with the third hypothesis; as it is quite manifest that none of the usual explanations can be deemed to be at all satisfactory. It will be well, however, to peruse the poem first, and then advance our argument respecting it.

MARWNAD CUNEDDA.

Mydwyf Taliessin derydd
 Gwawd goddolaf fedydd
 Bedydd rhwyf rhifeddan eiddolydd
 Cyfranc allt a gallt ac Echwydd
 Ergrynaw Cuneddaf creisserydd
 Ynghaer Weir a chaer Liwelydd
 Ergrynawd cyfatwt cyfergyr
 Cyfanwaneg tan tra myr ton
 Llupawt glew i gilydd
 Can cafas ei whel uch elfydd
 Mal uchercid¹ gwynt wrth onwydd
 Hefynderrhyn y gwn ei gyfyl
 Kyfachedwyn a choelyn cerenydd
 Gwisgan feirdd cywrein canonhydd
 Marw Cuneddaf agwynaf a gwynid
 Cwynitor tewdor tavidun diarchar

¹ Uchenaid.—Ll. E. D.

Dychyfal dychyfun dyfnveis
 Dyfyngleis dychyfun
 Ymadrawd cwddedawdd caledlwm
 Caletach wrth elyn nog asgwrn
 Ys cynyal Cuneddaf cyn cywys a thydwed
 Ei wyneb a gadwed
 Ganwaith cyn bu lleith dorglwyd
 Duchludent wys bryneich ymmhlymnwyd
 Ef caned rhag Ei ofn ai arswyd oergerdd
 Cyn bu dayr dogyn ei dwed
 Haid hafal am wydwal gwnebrwyd
 Gweineu gwaith llyfredd nog addwyd
 Addoed hun dimyaw a gwynaf
 Am lys am grys Cuneddaf
 Am ryaflaw hallt am hydrfer mor
 Am breidd aswrn a ballaf¹
 Gwawd feirdd a ogon a ogaf²
 Ac ereill a refon a rifaf
 Rhyfeddawr yn erflawdd a naw cant gorwydd
 Cyn cymun Cunedda
 Rym afei biw blith yr Haf
 Rym a fei eddystrawd y gayaf
 Rym a fei win gloyw ag olew
 Rym a fei toraf³ Keith rhag untrew
 Ef dyfal o gressur o gyflew gweladur
 Pennadur pryd llew lludwy uedes⁴ gywlad
 Rhag mab edern cyn edyrn anaelew
 Ef dywal diarchar dieding
 Am ryfreu angeu dychyfung
 Ef goborthi aes yman ragorawl
 Gwir gwrawl oedd ei unbyn

¹ Am beirdd a swrn a ballaf.—Ll. E. D.

² Cyn y rhagflaenol yn.—*Ibid.*

⁴ Uedei.—*Ibid.*

³ Torof.—*Ibid.*

Dymhun a chyfatcun a thal gwin Kamda
Difa hun o Goeling.—*Myv.*, i, 71.

This poem does not call for much critical comment. Its orthography, tested by the occurrence of the *dd*, introduced by Dr. Davies against all rule and reason, shows this copy to have been made in, or subsequent to, the sixteenth century; but its language and composition indicate a high antiquity; and, indeed, it requires but a careful comparison between it and the *Gododin* to show that both poems belong to the same period. It has the same alliteration of initial consonants, the same terseness of expression, and the same phraseological forms as the poems of Aneurin. For instance,—

resemble, “Dychfal, dychyfun, dyfnevis
Dyfngleis dychyfun,”

and, “Meirch mwth myngfras”;

And, “Gwefrawr godrwyawr torchawr am ran
Bu guefraur guerthfawr guerth gwinvan.”

“Rhag mab Edern cyn edyrn anaelew
Ef dywal diarchar dieding”

bear such a close resemblance to the

“Edyrn diedyrn a mygyn dir”

and other lines in Aneurin, that one is almost induced to conclude that Taliesin had shown him his *Marwnad Cunedda*, or that he had seen it before composing the *Gododin*.

One other remark seems called for by the opening lines. The prominence here given to the rite of baptism appears to indicate the progress which Christianity had made in Britain; but the transition from Druidism to Christianity has never yet been treated with the minuteness which it deserves. Mr. Williams, the careful author of the *Ecclesiastical*

tical Antiquities of the Cymry, is the only writer who has attempted to bridge over the chasm ; and even his treatment of it has been more sketchy than it should have been ; but his conclusion is certainly sound—that in some instances the bards of the old worship became the ministers of the new. I have arrived at the same result, but by a different process ; and when the poems of the bards have been subjected to a searching criticism, we shall obtain materials not only for a convincing demonstration of the early Christianity of Britain, but also for an interesting history of the progress which the Gospel made among the inhabitants of this island long prior to the arrival of Augustine. Mr. Hallam some time ago attempted to deny the existence of an early British Church ; but I am convinced that, when the bardic poems have been made to unfold their meaning, this truth will be no longer doubtful. This is scarcely the proper place for a dissertation upon that subject ; but from time to time I shall call attention to such passages as bear upon this point ; and at some future time I may present the whole of them in a collective form. I have stated that the Druids and bards became the ministers of Christianity ; and it should be observed that the bitter antagonism supposed to have existed between them was rather an exception than the rule ; but the Christianity of the bards was not remarkable for purity, as much of the old leaven was still allowed to remain, and instances of apostacy are not unknown. Cuhelyn, and after him Aneurin, appear to have acted in this double capacity. In No. II of this series it was shown that Taliesin did so ; and the prominent place here assigned to the Christian rite of baptism is confirmation strong of the same position. It is now time for us to return to the poem, of which the following is offered as a fair translation :—

THE ELEGY OF CUNEDDA.

I am Taliesin the Ardent!
 In song I will extol Baptism:
 At the baptism of the Ruler, his dales were astonished;
 In conflict on hill, in wood, or on plain,
 Cuneddaf the burner was the cause of tremor.
 In Lancaster and Carlisle,
 There is trepidation on account of the mutual encounter;
 Just as fire surges through the rushes of the field,
 So appeared the brave in pulling down each other.
 When he had his day above the soil,
 He was like the roaring wind, with the ashen spear;
 And it became summer-time for dogs, when he was
 near.¹

He was the protector and friend of the believer,
 And skilful bards he clothed in canonicals;
 The death of Cuneddaf has been mourned, and I mourn it.
 Mourned be the thick door and fearless hurler;
 He could coincide with and agree to a deep design;
 With deep wounding he was accordant.
 His discourse cheered up the poverty stricken;
 But (he was) harder than bone to an enemy.
 In ascending, before (he was placed in) the furrow and
 (under) the sod,
 He kept his face aloft (in battle):
 A hundred times before the guard-gate was slain,
 The inhabitants of Bryneich were borne away from
 conflict.
 There was sung a cold song, from fear and terror of him,
 Before a spot of earth became his dwelling,

¹ *I.e.*, they had abundance of prey.

And before there was a swarm (of beasts of prey) about
 the lowly bed of his countenance,
 Doing a more cowardly work than death.
 I grieve for the wakeless sleep of destiny,
 For the palace, and the shroud of Cuneddaf,
 For the salt tears, for the freely dropping sea,
 And for the prey and the gifts I lose :
 Bards of song will glorify, where I glorify,
 And others will reckon, where I reckon now.
 Wonderful he was in the nimble slaughter with nine
 hundred steeds ;
 Before the cutting down of Cunedda¹
 There was for me a milch cow in summer,
 There was for me a horse in winter,
 There was for me clear wine and oil,
 There was a close door to prevent sneezing.
 They would be slow in starving who ate together in his
 sight.
 A sovereign with the countenance of an excited lion
 possessed the confederated country
 Of the son of Edern. Before the ruler became incurable
 He was fierce, dauntless, and irresistible ;
 His life streams are in the confinement of death.
 He supported the buckler in the celebrated place,
 And truly valorous was his supremacy.
 (But now) there is wakelessness, mutual condolence, and
 a pale forehead :
 A wrong it is, that sleep should consume the *Believer*.

¹ This may be translated, and, perhaps, more properly—

“ Before Cunedda took the (last) communion.”

(See Williams' *Eccles. Antiq.*, p. 284, for remarks illustrative of this practice.)

Such, to the best of my judgment, is a correct English version of this ancient poem. Mr. Davies, in his *Essay on Ossian*, has also given a translation of this poem; and the Rev. J. Williams (*Eccles. Antiq.*) has given his sanction thereto; but I have seldom been able to agree with the renderings of Mr. Davies; and there is scarcely a single line translated in the same way. By way of illustrating this assertion, and of vindicating my own version, I will cite the opening line:—

“Mydwyf Taliessin derydd.”

This has been rendered thus by Davies:—

“I, who am Taliesin, a man of the oaks”;

but the plural of *derwen*, an oak, is *deri*, not *derydd*, which means ardent, vehement, quick, or nimble. In this instance Mr. Williams has improved upon the translation, which he follows in other cases, and he renders the line thus:—

“I, who am Taliesin the Druid.”

Yet the word in the original is not *derwydd*, but *derydd*; and as this word has a meaning sufficiently appropriate, and is in perfect accordance with the bardic practice of eulogising themselves, there is no sufficient reason for substituting another word in its place. What has here been urged respecting the first line will apply to all the others; in all cases I have some reason satisfactory to myself for departing from the other translation; but in no instance have I so departed for the mere sake of creating a difference. Indeed, when beset with a difficulty—and there are several in this poem—I have once or twice thought of sheltering myself under the authority of my predecessor, even while unsatisfied with his views; but further research has generally ridden me of my perplexities; and it is believed that the preceding is a tolerably accurate translation.

Let us therefore proceed to consider the chronological difficulty already shown to exist. Cunedda Wledig is placed by Owen, Rees, and Williams at the close of the fourth century. Are they justified in so doing? After a very careful consideration of the subject, I have come to the conclusion that they are not; and for this assertion I assign the following reasons:—

I.—The evidence on which so great an antiquity is assigned to Cunedda, is in the highest degree unsatisfactory. We have already cited a passage from Owen's *Cambrian Biography*; and let us now quote the article CUNEDDA WLEDIG, as it stands in Williams' *Biographical Dictionary*:—

“CUNEDDA (WLEDIG) was the son of Edeyrn ab Padarn Beisrudd (Padarn the red-kilted), by Gwawl, the daughter of Coel Coedhebawg. He was sovereign of the Strathclyde Britons, where he began to reign about A.D. 328, and he inherited from his mother extensive possessions in Wales. When these were invaded and held in possession by the Irish, Cunedda, having a large family, sent many of his sons to Wales for the purpose of expelling them, in which object they were successful, and they themselves settled in the country. His eldest son, Tybiawn, died in the Isle of Man, but his son, Meirion ab Tybiawn, possessed and gave his name to the cantrev of Meirion, or Merionethshire; Arwystl ab Cunedda had Arwystli, and Einion had Caer Einion, in Montgomeryshire; Ceredig had Ceredigion, or Cardiganshire; Dunod had Dunodig, in Caernarvonshire; Edeyrn had Edeyrnion in Merionethshire; Mael had Dinmael; Coel had Coleion; Dogvael had Dogvaelin; Rhuvon had Rhuvoniog, which are all in Denbighshire; and Oswal had Osweilin, or Oswaldstree, in Shropshire. Several others of his sons and grandsons devoted themselves to religion, when deprived of their territories by the Picts and Saxons. Whence the family of Cunedda is recorded in the *Triads* with those of

Bran and Brychan, as the three 'gwelygordd sanctaidd', or holy families of the isle of Britain, and Cunedda is stated to have been the first who bestowed lands and privileges on the Church in Britain. Cunedda died in A.D. 389."

For this heap of assertions no other authority is cited than *Myv.*, ii, 61, where we shall simply find an account of "The Three Blessed Families," and not a word about the death in A.D. 389. The only authority is Owen, whom the two learned Williamses take for their guide, and he gives no authority at all. Professor Rees, who is generally a most careful and trustworthy writer, rejects Owen's positive and precise dates of 328 and 389; he places the expulsion of the Irish by the sons of Cunedda between 420 and 430; and he assigns as his authorities the Silurian *Achau y Saint*, and Nennius. On referring to *Achau y Saint* (*Iolo MSS.*, p. 122), we find no dates at all; and, so far as these documents are concerned, there is no evidence for placing the expulsion of the Irish in 420. Indeed, if the Silurian documents prove anything at all, they prove that this assertion is incorrect. It is stated (*Iolo MSS.*, 123) that the Irish came hither in the time of Maximus, from 383 to 388; and in other places we are repeatedly told that they remained here 129 years. This brings the date of their expulsion to about A.D. 517. It is, however, to be borne in mind that this is the date when Caswallon Law Hir, the grandson of Cunedda, expelled the Irish from Anglesey. Some allowance must be made—*i.e.*, assuming the truth of the asserted expulsion—for the difference in age between Cunedda's eldest (?) son and his grandson; but a *hundred years* is a little too much; and even then it should be borne in mind that Brochwel Powys was living when his grandson, Selyv ab Cynan Garwyn, fell in mature age, and as a distinguished warrior, at the battle of Bangor, about 613. Let us, therefore, place the exploit of Caswallon Law Hir about 517, and then the expulsion of

the Irish from South Wales would fall somewhat earlier, but certainly not much before 500.

Let us proceed in the next place to consider the passages from Nennius which bear upon this question, and which I will quote from the *Monumenta Historica* :—

“Fili autem Liethan obtinuerunt regionem Dimectorum, ubi civitas est quæ vocatur Mineu, et in aliis regionibus se dilataverunt, id est Guhier, Cetgueli, donec expulsi sunt a Cunedda, et a filiis ejus, ab omnibus regionibus Britannicis.”—(Cap. viii.)

“Mailcunus magnus rex apud Britones regnabat, id est in regione Gwenedotæ, 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, CXLVI. annis ante quam Mailcun regnaret; et Scottos cum ingentissima clade expulerunt ab istis regionibus, et nusquam reversi sunt iterum ad habitandum.”—(P. 75.)

These passages are thus translated by Dr. Giles :—

§ 14.—“The sons of Liethali (Liethan, Bethan, or Vethan) obtained the country of the Dimetæ, where is a city called Menavia (St. David’s), and the province of Guiher (Gower), and Cetgueli, which they held till they were expelled from every part of Britain by Cunedda and his sons.”

§ 62.—“The great king, Mailcun, reigned among the Britons, *i.e.*, in the district of Gwenedota, because his great-great-grandfather¹ Cunedda, with his twelve sons,² had come before from the left hand, *i.e.*, from the country which is called Manau Guotodin (Gododin), 146 years before Mailcun reigned, and expelled the Scots with much slaughter from

¹ Dr. Giles has one generation too many here; both the meaning of *atavus*, great-grandfather, and the genealogy of Maelgwn, convict him of being in error.

² Octo, *eight*, in the original, of which there is no various reading in the *Monumenta*. Cunedda had twelve sons, notwithstanding.

those countries, and they never returned again to inhabit them.”

At first sight the date here given appears fatal to all attempts to bring down Cunedda from the fourth to the sixth century ; but upon close examination even this obstacle gives way. All the accounts agree in fixing the conquest of Gwynedd in the time of Maelgwn's father, Caswallon Law Hir ; and he could not have lived very long, inasmuch as we find his son and successor, Maelgwn, charged by Gildas with defrauding his father's brother¹ of his just rights. Nennius is therefore wrong in asserting that the conquest of Gwynedd was due to Cunedda ; and these considerations tend to show that this event could not have taken place many years before the accession of Maelgwn himself. It is not easy to ascertain the exact date of his death ; Sir John Price places it in 590 ; Mr. Wynne (*Cambrian Register*, ii, p. 521), about 564 ; Mr. Owen, in 560 ; an old document quoted in Wynne's letter, 552 ; the *Annales Cambriæ*, in 547 ; and others in 546. This last was probably the date which Nennius had in view ; 146 years deducted from that gives us A.D. 400, the date generally assigned to *the arrival of the Irish*—not of their expulsion ! The documents which relate the expulsion of the Gwyddel are, generally speaking, not very good authorities ; but there is a striking unanimity in referring the Irish settlement to this period ; and the reason assigned, *i.e.*, the weakness induced by the levies of Maximus, stamps the assertion with probability, particularly when coupled with the fact that in 409 the Romans withdrew from the island. During the Roman occupation such a colonisation could not have taken place, and the people who were too weak to prevent

¹ Probably his uncle, Owain Danwyn, or Einion frenhin, who is by the *Iolo MSS.* said to be the son of Einion Yrth, and by Rees to be the son of Owain Danwyn.

their settlement could scarcely have been strong enough twenty years after to expel them from the island. Indeed, we have the best reasons to believe that they were not in a position to do any such thing, for the Cymry of Strathelyde were unable even to keep the Picts in check without foreign assistance. In 418 Stilicho came over to assist the whining Britons ; and in 435, after much petitioning, Ætius sent them Roman assistance a second time ; and as there is no doubt of their incapacity at that time, the Irish could not have been expelled until the internal strength of the country had become more fully developed. Let us add to this, that as Einion Yrth is only known in pedigrees, and Caswallon Law Hir occupies but a small place in history, it is not unlikely that Maelgwn may have been reigning during the lifetime of Cunedda.

This is borne out in a subsequent passage by Professor Rees. At page 110 he places the conquest by the sons of Cunedda between 420 and 430 ; but at p. 166, speaking of the conquest of Anglesey by the grandson, Caswallon, who was assisted by his cousin, he places it full seventy years later. His words are:—"Though the precise time of the event is not mentioned, there are reasons for supposing that it took place near the close of the (fifth) century." And if so, there are reasons for believing that the lapse of time between the two conquests was nearer seventeen than seventy years.

II.—Such appears to be a fair conclusion from these premises ; and the evidence supplied by the poem accords well with this supposition. We are told that Cunedda was Lord of Carlisle and Lancaster, that he was an Unben or Gwledig, *i.e.*, King of the Kings of North Britain, and that he warred against the inhabitants of Berenicia, who, in the poems of Llywarch, Taliesin, and Aneurin, are always found to be the Anglian settlers in Northumbria. And thus at one

swoop Cunedda descends into the Saxon era ! The lines are these :—

“ Before the guard-gate was slain,
 A hundred times were the inhabitants of Bryneich borne away from
 conflict.
 From fear and terror of him, cold was the song they sung,
 Before a spot of earth became his share.”

We may safely assume that the Bryneich here mentioned were the Angles of Northumbria ; and it therefore becomes of importance for us to determine the date of this Anglian settlement. This we shall do in the words of Palgrave :—

“ The British kingdoms of Deyfyr and Bryneich (Latinised into Deira and Bernicia), extending from the Humber to the Firth of Forth, were divided from each other by a forest, occupying the tract between the Tyne and the Tees ; and which, unreclaimed by man, was abandoned to the wild deer. Properly speaking, this borderland (now the bishopric of Durham) does not seem originally to have belonged to either kingdom ; but, in subsequent times, the boundary between Deira and Bernicia was usually fixed at the Tyne. The trans-Humbrane countries were exposed at an early period to the attacks of the Jutes and Saxons. Some chroniclers say that Octa and Ebusa, sons of Hengist, conquered a portion of the country. At the onset the invaders made little progress. The Britons of the neighbouring Reged and Strathclyde, governed by valiant princes, the descendants of the Roman Maximus, appear to have possessed more unity than their brethren in the south ; and their efforts supported the population of Deira and Bernicia in resisting their enemies. The scale was evenly poised until the English Ida (before A.D. 547) landed at the promontory called Flamborough Head, with forty vessels, all manned with chosen-warriors. Urien, the hero of the bards, opposed a strenuous resistance, but the Angles had strengthened themselves on the coast. Fresh

reinforcements poured in; and Ida, the 'Bearer of Flame', as he was termed by the Britons, became the master and sovereign of the land which he had assailed. Ida erected a tower or fortress, which was at once his castle and his palace; and so deeply were the Britons humiliated by this token of his power, that they gave the name of 'Gwarth Bryneich', or the *Shame of Bernicia*, to the structure which he had raised. Ida afterwards bestowed this building upon his queen, Bebba, from whom it was, or rather is, denominated *Bebbanburgh*, the burgh or fortress of Bebba, commonly abbreviated into *Bamborough*. The keep yet stands; and the voyager, following the course of the abbess of St. Hilda, may yet see

“ ‘King Ida’s castle huge and square
From its tall rock look grimly down,
And on the swelling ocean frown.’

Ida’s dominions were intersected by tracts still belonging to the Britons, who ultimately yielded to the invaders.”—*Anglo-Saxons*, pp. 43, 44.

Ida reigned twelve years, and fell, about 560, before the victorious blade of Owen ab Urien Rheged. It is therefore all but certain that Cunedda was engaged in the early part of this struggle, and that he fell in one of the great battles fought at that time. It is not improbable that Cunedda may have fallen in the battle of Argoed Llwyvain, described by Taliesin in another poem:—

“Dygryslowys Fflamddwyn yn bedwarllu
Goddeu a Rheged i ymdyllu
Dyfwy o Argoed i Arfynydd.”

“The flamebearer (Ida) approached in four divisions;
Goddeu (Cumberland) and Rheged (Lancaster) to array themselves
Came from Argoed to Arfynydd.”

It is therefore clear that both the forces of the Cunedda family and those of Urien were engaged in that fight; and

those districts are both said to have suffered trepidation from the encounter in which Cunedda fell. Further, the battle-field is called in the one poem "the excellent place"; and the battle itself is described in the other to have been one of great magnitude—

"On the morning of Saturday there was a great battle,
From the rising to the setting of the sun."

From these facts, and the allusion to the Bryneich, I conclude the two poems refer to the same event, which was subsequent to 547; but this is only conjecture.

This brings the close of his life down to 550; and we can now understand the assertion that Urien Rheged co-operated with the sons of Cunedda in expelling the Irish from Gower and South Wales. Prior to the arrival of Ida, the chiefs of the north of England were in a position to accomplish such an undertaking; afterwards the Angles found them employment; and, therefore, we have here another reason for fixing that event about A.D. 500.

The same conclusion is supported by some passages in Llywarch Hen:—

"Trust not Bran, trust not Dunawd,
That thou shalt not find wounded by them
The pastor of the flock of Llanfor, who guides our path."
(Rees.)

The bard spent the latter part of his life at Llanfor, on the Dee, in Merionethshire; and if Rees is right in his translation, Dunod, the son of Cunedda, and lord of the adjoining cantrev of Dunoding, was Llywarch's contemporary, even in his old age. But, in truth, neither Owen nor Rees has given a correct translation. The lines should be read thus:—

"Believe not Bran, believe not Dunawd,
Thou shalt not have from them one blow (in thy cause),
Herdsman of the calves of the paths of Llanvor."

Llywarch lived to about A.D. 642 ; and as this was composed in the latter part of his life, this Dunawd would probably be the son of Pabo Post Prydain. Gwenaseth, the daughter of Rhuvon ab Cunedda, married either Pabo (*Cambrian Biography, sub. "Gwenaseth"*) or Sawyl his son (*Bonedd y Saint, Myv., ii, 27*). Adopting the latter authority (which is of course the best), the granddaughter of Cunedda must have lived in the latter half of the sixth century, as Sawyl was the brother of Dunawd ; and "Dunaut rex moritur" in A.D. 595, according to the *Annales Cambriæ*.

This explanation is in accordance with other events. Professor Rees (p. 136) relates a dispute between a prince named Coroticus and St. Patrick, who denounces him and his followers as pirates and marauders, in a long letter, which is admitted to be the genuine production of that saint. Upon the assumption that Patrick died in 457, the letter is sometimes supposed to have been composed in 450 ; but if we take the date given for his death in the *Annals of Tigernach, viz., 491*, and allow a margin of eleven years, we should, by the same rule, date it in 480. If we take Mr. Owen's figures, and assume Ceredig to be born when his father began to reign, *i.e., in 328*, this prince, who, though a Christian, was still a pirate, had in 450 attained the respectable age of 122. We must, therefore, either abandon Mr. Owen's figures, or deny the identity of Coroticus and Ceredig ab Cunedda. The second date falls in more naturally with the other events ; and the adventurous pirate of 480 might very well have become sobered down into the conqueror of Cardigan at the beginning of the following century.

Other incidental proofs are supplied by the *Gododin*, which shows a grandson and great-grandson of Cunedda to have been present at the battle of Cattræth, the date of which, or at all events an approximation thereto, is obtained in this way. In verse third, Manawydd ab Llyr ab Brochwel, gene-

rally but erroneously called Manawyddan ab Llyr Llediaith, is said to have been “preserved from the blows of Mannan-fight”, and afterwards to have been at the battle of Cattræth. The battle of Mannan took place in 582; *ergo*, the battle of Cattræth was some time afterwards, *i.e.*, according to my hypothesis, in 603. In verse second we find the following lines :—

“ Mab Brwyn gommynai gwyr nytelhei
 Nys adrawdd Gododin ar lawr mordei
 Rac pebyll Madawc pan atcorei
 Namyn un o gant yn y delei.”

Some MSS. read “Mal brwyn”; but the next word would have been “cymmynai”, if that had been the proper reading. Brwyn is not named in the pedigrees of Cunedda, though that monarch is well known to have had a son so named. Brwyn ab Cunedda distinguished himself as a warrior against the Saxons (Williams’ *Biographical Dictionary*), and Madoc ab Brwyn, mentioned in the *Triads*, was probably Cunedda’s grandson. Again, in verse fourth, we have the lines—

“ O gyssul mab Ysgyran
 Ysgwyd wr angyfan.”

This word *cyssul* is usually translated “counsel”; but that does not make very good sense, and I suspect it to be a proper name, that of—

Tyssul ab (Ys or St.) Corun ab Ceredig ab Cunedda. When the time comes, I shall have a word to say respecting the antedating of Coel Godebog, Brychan, and others; but for the present this will suffice.

From these researches we are enabled to obtain the following facts for the biography of Cunedda. He was king of Cumberland. This was the Manau Gododin of Nennius; and we are enabled, from the poems of Aneurin, to determine that the dominions of the Ottadini lay east and south-west,

and not south and north, from Berwick to Edinburgh, as is generally supposed. The poem places his dominions in Cumberland, while Urien had Lancaster; and the *Iolo MSS.* (p. 552) state that he held his court in Carlisle. From the notices of Ceredig and Tybiawn, we learn that his sons were expert sailors, and fond of the sea. He was a man of considerable influence in his own district, and for his military attainments, he was made the Gwledig, or Commander-in-Chief, of the North British forces during the latter part of his lifetime. He could bring into the field 900 horsemen; and this, according to Davies (*Note to his Ossian*, p. 30), was precisely the force assigned to that officer under the Romans, who was styled *Dux Britannixæ* (see Camden's *Introduction*). He took an active part in repelling the Anglian invaders of Northumbria, and fell bravely fighting on the field of battle, in one of those great contests which obtained celebrity from the fact that the Britons came off victorious. Humphrey Llyud conjectures that he had been driven from his possessions by the Saxons, and Professor Rees supposes that he took refuge among his mother's kindred in Wales. For these conjectures there is no foundation in fact; as this poem represents him to have fallen in the arms of victory in his own country, and Carlisle and Lancaster are said to have mourned the result of his hostile encounter with the Angles. His elder sons appear to have emigrated into Wales; but Brwyn appears to have inherited his possessions, and after him his grandson, Madoc ab Brwyn.

No difficulty will now be experienced in attributing this poem to Taliesin. It is, perhaps, one of his earliest productions; its composition indicates a mind in full vigour; and the opening lines are clear evidences that the bard felt himself to be in the full possession of his mental powers. The bard attached himself to the family of his hero; he was a frequent visitor at the court of the heir of Ceredig, at Bangor

Teivy; and the following notice shows him to have drawn his last breath under the hospitable roof of the grandson of Cunedda:—

“Taliesin, in his old age, returned to *Caer-gwyroswydd*, to *Riwallon* the son of *Urien*; after which he visited *Cedig* the son of *Ceredig*, the son of *Cuneddau Wledig*, where he died, and was buried with high honours, such as should always be shown to a man who ranked high among the principal wise men of the Cimbric nation; and *Taliesin*, chief of bards, was the highest of the most exalted class, either in literature, wisdom, the science of vocal song, or any other attainment, whether sacred or profane.”—*Iolo MSS.*, p. 467.

No doubts need now exist that *Ceredig* was the successor of *Maelgwn*, and the person named by *Aneurin*. He died, according to the *Annales Cambriæ*, in A.D. 615, when he must have been an old man.

MARWNAD AEDDON O VON.¹

(*Arch. Camb.*, Second Series, vol. ii, pp. 263-274, Oct. 1851.)

LET us now proceed to discuss another poem. The one selected for this occasion is the elegy of *Aeddon* of *Mona*, which, though referring to, and illustrative of, the existence of “the Gael in *Gwynedd*”, appears to have escaped the notice of the very able and acute author of that essay. The poem occurs in the *Myvyrian Archaiology* (i, p. 70), and runs thus:—

MARWNAD AEDDON O VON.

I.

Echrys Ynyt²

Gwaut hu Ynys

Gwrys gwobretor

¹ [Referred to on p. 333.]

² *Ynyt* is the word in the original, but *Ynys* is the proper reading.

Mon mad gogei
 Gwrhyd Erfei
 Menai ei dor.
 Lleweis wirawd
 Gwin a bragawd
 Gan frawd esgor
 Teyrn wofrwy
 Diwedd pob rhwy
 Rhwyf rewintor.¹
 Tristlawn ddeon
 Yr Arch Aeddon
 Can rychior
 Nid fu nid fi
 Ynghemelrhi
 Ei gyfeissor.
 Pan ddaeth Aeddon
 O wlad Wydion
 Seon tewdor
 Gwenwyn pur ddoeth
 Pedair pennoeth
 Meinoeth tymhor
 Cwyddynt gytoed
 Ni bu clyd coed
 Gwynt yngoror²
 Math ag Eunydd
 Hudwyd gelfydd
 Rydd elfinor
 Ym myw³ Gwydion
 Ac Amaethon
 Atoedd cynghor

¹ This reading is from the MSS. of the Rev. E. Davies; the word in the *Myv.* is *rewintor*.

² *Yngohor*.—MSS. E. D.

³ *Mwy*.—*Ibid.*

Twll tal y rodawg

Ffyrffodiawg

Ffyrffdiachor

Cadarn gyfedd

Ymhob gorsedd

Gwnelid ei fodd

Cu Cynaethwy

Hyd tra fyw fwy

Crybwylltor

Cadarn gyngres

Ei faranrhes

Ni bu werthfor.

[Am bwyf gan Grist

Hyd na bwyf trist

Pan ebostol

Hael Arch Aeddon

Gan Engylion

Cynwysetter.]

II.

Echrys Ynys

Gwawd hwynys

Gwrys gochwymma

Yrhag buddwas

Cymry ddinas

Aros ara

Dragonawl ben

Priodawr perchen

Ym Mretonia

Difa gwledig

Or bendefig

Ae tu terra

Pedeir morwyn
 Wedy eu cwyn
 Dygnawd eu tra
 Erddygnawd wir
 Ar for heb dir
 Hir eu trefra
 Oi wironyn
 Na ddigonyn
 Dim gofetra
 Ceryddus wyf
 Na chrybwyllwyf
 Am rywnel da
 I lwrw lywy
 Pwy gwaharddwy
 Pwy attrefna
 I lwrw Aeddon
 Pwy gyneil Mon
 Mwyn gywala
 [Am bwyf gan Grist
 Hyd na bwyf trist
 O ddrwg o dda
 Rhan trugaredd
 I wlad rhiedd
 Buchedd gyfa.]

TALIESIN.

Like *Anrheg Urien*, this poem has lost its original simplicity. The verses here placed in brackets do not occur in the Rev. Edward Davies' copy; and it is quite probable that these are monkish additions. Excepting the two concluding verses, the first part appears to be tolerably pure; but the Latin terminations of one or two verses in the second part excite my suspicion. Of themselves, these would not be sufficient to invalidate the antiquity and genuineness of the

poem ; but, in truth, the verses, as they stand here, have evidently suffered much from copyists ; and their present orthography is very modern. This is easily proved by the occurrence of the letter *dd*, the history of which is given by Lhuyd with his usual accuracy and minuteness :—

“ *D* in old manuscripts, whether Welsh or Cornish, has two pronunciations ; for, besides the common reading, as in the English and other languages, it serves in the midst and terminations for *dh*, or the English *th*, in *this*, *that*, etc. So *medal* (soft) is to be read *medhal*, etc. The *dd* was introduced to express this sound about the year 1400, and in the time of Henry VIII, etc., *d*, pointed at the top or underneath, by H. Llyud and W. Salisbury, at home ; and by Dr. Gryffydh Roberts and Roger Smith in the Welsh books they printed beyond sea. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Dr. J. D. Rhys, Dr. D. Powel, and others, used *dh*, which was afterwards rejected by Dr. Davies, and *dd* restored.”—*Arch. Britan.*, p. 227.

Another feature provocative of philological comment is the word *Lleweis*, in the third verse of the first part. Probert met with it in translating the *Gododin*, and straightway converted a British chief into a *lioness* ; many Welshmen would probably have done the same ; but the meaning of the word is to *eat* or *drink*. No doubt the term is borrowed from the practices of lions and other animals. But, asks some reader, where did the Kymry become acquainted with the lion ? I know not, unless the Romans brought those animals with them for their gladiatorial shows ; but this is certain, the Kymry knew the animal well. Aneurin looks upon it as the lord of the forest ; and our countrymen, contemplating that animal as the *beau idéal* of a feeder, applied the term “lionize” as a metaphorical description of eating and drinking. The word is obsolete in Wales ;¹ but the

¹ Our learned correspondent is not quite correct in his statement ; the word might be obsolete in South Wales, but certainly it is still very current in the northern portion of the Principality.—Ed. *Arch. Camb.*

term is used in England for an object which is made a show of, as "the lion of a party". See, for instance, the character of Mrs. Leo Hunter, in the *Pickwick Papers*. Another recent instance of word-forming is the name *chick-a-poppo*, given by the Ojibbeways to champagne, in consequence of the *chicking* and *popping* sound attendant upon the opening of bottles of that wine.

One other feature I must notice before laying the translation before the reader, and that is the intense love of nature which is shown in this as well as in all the older poetry of Wales. The author, in this poem, whom we may conclude to have been Taliesin, describes Mona with a devotion worthy of Wordsworth, Tennyson, or the bard who turned up the daisy, as—

"Mona (land of) charming cuckoos."

Our modern bards, almost to a man, have left nature, with all her cuckoos, to sing their own praises. Puritanism has no affection for such simple joys; and but few Cambrian bards would now venture to say they were such lovers of nature, as to have a kind word for the cuckoo. The old bards, however, had more of the milk of human kindness; the cuckoo's note was sweet to the ears of Llywarch Hen; Gwalchmai held communion with it often, as also did Davydd ab Gwilym; and we all respect the genial bard who sang—

"Pwy feddylsai cansai'r gog
Mewn mawnog ar y mynydd?"

It is true that *gogei* may mean *cooks*, and the bards were rather fond of good living; but the other reading is preferable.

The poem, rendered into English, reads somewhat as follows:—

THE ELEGY OF AEDDON OF MONA.

I.

Terrible island !
 Boldly praised island
 Of the severe rewarder !
 Mona ! (land of) charming cuckoos,
 Of the manliness of Ervei ;
 Menai is its portal
 (There) I drank liquor,
 Wine and braggett,
 With a brother—now departed.
 The universal ruler,
 The end of all emulation,
 The ruinator of sovereignty,
 Rueful Destiny !
 Demanded Aeddon,
 For the grave.
 There has not been,
 There will not be, his equal
 In tribulation.
 When Aeddon came
 From the land of Gwydion,¹
 The strong door of Seon ;²
 He was an acute afflictor ;
 In four nocturnal (attacks),
 In the serene season,
 His contemporaries fell ;
 The words afforded no protection,

¹ This was Mona.

² Caer Seiont in Caernarvonshire. The Segontium of the Romans.

The wind was on their skirts,
 Math and Eunydd,¹
 Skilful with the magic wand,
 Set the elements at large ;
 In the time of Gwydion²
 And Amaethon,
 There was counsel.
 Pierced was the front of his shield ;
 He was strong and fortunate,
 Strong and irresistible.
 He was mighty in the carouse ;
 In every congress
 His will was done.
 Kind forerunner,
 While I am living,
 He shall be celebrated.
 The powerful combination
 Of his front rank
 Was not serviceable (to his enemies).
 [May I be with Christ (*i.e.* dead),
 If I am not sorrowful,
 That the generous apostle,
 Demanded Aeddon,
 To be contained
 Among the angels].

¹ This is Math ab Mathonwy, a celebrated character in Welsh romance, who was considered to have excelled all in his power of enchantment. Eunydd, also an enchanter, was the brother of Gwdion ab Don.—See Williams' *Biographical Dictionary* for further particulars of both.

² Gwdion and Amaethon belonged to the Gaelic settlers in Anglesey.—See Williams' *Dictionary* for full particulars respecting them.

II.

Terrible island !
 Boldly praised island
 Of the ardent ruler !
 In the presence of the victor youth,
 The fortress of the Kymry
 Remained tranquil.
 The dragon chief,
 Was a rightful owner
 In Britannia ;
 Consuming dominator,
 Lord of a coast
 Facing land !
 Four damsels,¹
 After their lamentation,
 Will suffer misery.
 In affliction dire,
 On sea without land,
 Tedious will be their existence.
 On account of his integrity,
 There is no cessation
 Of their sorrow.
 I am blameable
 That I do not mention
 The good he did to me.
 For the impetuous paragon,
 Who will prohibit,
 Who will put in order ?
 For the impetuous Aeddon,
 What benign associate
 Will support Mon ?

¹ Sisters of our hero, it is probable.

[May I be with Christ,
 If I am not sorrowful
 For the evil, of the good
 Share of mercy,
 In the land of renown
 And perfect life.] TALIESIN.

It now becomes our duty to give some account of our hero; but this is no easy matter, for our historians and biographers are silent upon the point. Not a scrap of his history is ready made; and therefore we must endeavour to construct it. Aeddon is certainly a Gaelic, and not a Kymric name. There are but three other persons of that name known to Cambrian history, and of these, two were Irish; while the third occurs as a singular exception among Kymric names, viz., that of Aeddan ab Blegored, a Glamorgan man. Of the two others, Aeddan Voeddog, a saint, was connected with Ireland; and Aeddan Vradawg, viz., Aeddan ab Gafran, was king of the Irish-Scots of Argyleshire. Furthermore, the termination *on* is not Cambrian, and has a suspicious affinity with Don, Gwdion, Amaethon, etc. All this, coupled with the association of Aeddon with the names of these Gaelic settlers, lead me to conclude that he was a man of Irish origin, and that as he (probably) lived about 610, the Gael of Anglesey could not have been extirpated by Caswallon Law Hir; for, in addition to the contents of this poem, I shall presently adduce other evidence to prove that Aeddan was a man of some influence, power, and authority. I was at one time of opinion that the verse—

“When Aeddon came
 From the land of Gwydion
 The strong door of Seon,”

would serve for a peg whereon to hang a pro-Gaelic argument, the land of Gwydion being interpreted to mean Ireland;

but from the turn which I have now given to the words, it will be seen that that view is no longer considered tenable yet, though this is one argument less in favour of that conclusion, I consider the view to be still quite sound.

In connexion with this, and the verses which follow it, there is a question of grave import. Coming from Mona, the land of Gwydion, who was King of Anglesey, and the bulwark of *Caer Seon*, against whom did Aeddon make war? Against whom were these four nocturnal enterprises directed? Surely against the King of Gwynedd. But history is silent upon this point, and speaks of no such war. Quite true: such history as we have is silent; but the history of Wales is written in its poetry; and there, as yet, it has never been sought. Let us now see if we cannot make a little history of this matter. The kings of North Wales, in the time of Taliesin, were Maelgwn Gwynedd, Rhun, Beli, and Iago ab Beli. The latter was killed by *one of his own subjects*; and the notices respecting his death are as follows. One *Triad* records the manner of his death:—

“The three evil axe-blows of the isle of Britain: the axe-blow of Eiddyn in the head of Aneurin; the axe-blow in the head of Golyddan the bard; and the axe-blow in the head of Iago ab Beli.”

Another *Triad* states the political position of the striker:—

“And, thirdly, Iago, the son of Beli, who was struck in the head by his own man (or subject).”

And a third names the person:—

“The axe-blow that Cadafael the Wild struck in the head of Iago ab Beli.”

Again, we are further informed that this assassin was made king, in consequence, perhaps, of the death of the monarch he slew:—

“The three vassal-born kings of Britain: Gwiriad, the son of Gwrien, in the North; Hyvaidd, the son of Bleiddig, in South Wales; and Cadafael, the son of Cynfedw, in Gwynedd.”

Why were these men made kings ? Two out of three copies are silent ; the third answers—for their good deeds. I incline to a less Utopian view of this matter. Cadafael is named a wild man—a curious preface to good conduct ; a vassal and subject of Iago ab Beli, and the slayer of his king—a still stranger kind of good conduct. And this man becomes king in Gwynedd. Mark the time, too :—

“ 613. Gueith Cair Legion : et ibi cecidit Selim filii Cinan. Et Iacob filii Beli dormitatio.”¹

Again, in a blundering form :—

“ Cath Cairelegion, ubi sancti occisi sunt ; et cecidit Solon M'Conian rex Bretannorum ; et Cetula rex cecidit ibi.”²

Let us now put these facts together, connect them with the expeditions of Aeddon, and endeavour to discern their true significance.

We have here assumed that the Irish were not extirpated from Anglesey ; and, in fact, there is no reason to think they were. Mr. Jones has omitted one very important point in favour of his argument. Extirpation of races is an idea which has no foundation in fact, and only finds a local habitation in the minds of historians. To subdue a people is possible and conceivable ; but extirpation is a thing unknown. The Romans subdued, but did not destroy ; they did not drive the Gauls from France, nor the Britons from this island ; and the Saxons did not drive the Britons from Lloegria. Conquerors want subjects, not dead bodies ; tillers of the soil, not a soil untilled ; men to do their work for them, not a place to work themselves. In like manner the Kymry wished to cripple the power of the Gael, but not to expel them ; they defeated the Gael in Anglesey, but did not drive them out of it ; the history speaks of conquest and subjugation ; but expulsion is not upon the record : extir-

¹ *Monumenta Brit.*, p. 832.

² *Annal. Tigernach*, anno 613.

pation is not nominated in the bond. By abstaining from putting into the documents that which is not therein stated, we reconcile many seeming discrepancies, and arrive at a clearer conception of what may have been the actual facts. If this be a correct view—if the Kymry scotched the snake, not killed it—we may easily conceive that the people so subdued might have grown in power in the lapse of time, and have panted for an opportunity to emancipate themselves from vassalage and to regain their independence.

Such I conceive to be a true view of the condition of the Gael in Gwynedd in 613. In that year the defeat of Brochwel by Ethelfrid, at the battle of Chester, broke the power of North Wales, and presented the Gael with the wished-for opportunity to rise in rebellion. Cadavael, after the death of Iago, might have been elected king, (for Tiger-nach calls him *Rex*), not of Gwynedd, but of the Gael *in* Gwynedd; these vassals probably rose in rebellion, and it is probable that in checking this rebellion Iago ab Beli lost his life, for the Latin extracts above given clearly place his death posterior to, though in the same year as, the battle of Chester.

* * * * *

There is a passage in Nennius which seems to be inconsistent with these views:—

“Osguid filius Eadlfrid regnavit xxviii annis et sex mensibus. Dum ipse regnabat, venit mortalita hominum, Catgualart regnante apud Brittones post patrem suum, et in eâ periit. Et ipse (*i.e.*, Oswy) occidit Pautha in Campo Gai; et nunc facta est strages Gai Campi, et reges Brittonum interfecti sunt, qui exierant cum rege Pantha in expeditione usque ad urbem quæ vocatur Iudeu. Tunc reddidit Osguid omnes divitias quæ erant cum eo in urbe usque in Manau Pendæ, et Penda distribuit ea regibus Brittonum; id est Atbret Iudeu. Solus autem *Catgabail, rex Guenedotæ regionis*, cum exercitu suo evasit, de nocte consurgens; quapropter vocatus est Catgabail Catguommed.”

Now, if this Catgabail be the same person as Cadavael Wyllt, we shall have two kings of Gwynedd at the same time, viz., Cadavael, King of the Gael of Anglesey and Caernarvon, and Cadwaladr, King of the North Welsh; for it is quite clear that at this time (657) Cadwaladr was living; and as he is usually considered to have been King of all the Britons; it is possible that Cadavael must have been a vassal king of his. If so, Cadavael must have been at this time a man in years, for we find him a distinguished character forty-four years previously, when he had probably succeeded Aeddon as lord of Gwynedd, *i.e.*, Mon and Arvon. But there are reasons for doubting that Cadavael was king for any long period; and it is possible that the Catgabail of Nennius may be another person. The poem called "Kyvoesi Myrddin a Gwenddydd ei chwaer", contains a fuller account of this period than any other document; and in that poem we find the following verses:—

G.—Who will reign after Kadwallon ?

M.—A tall man holding council,

And *Britain under one sceptre*,

The best son of a Kymro, Kadwaladr.

G.—Who will reign after Kadwaladr ?

M.—After Kadwaladr, Idwal (his son).

G.—Who will reign after Idwal ?

M.—Howel the son of KADWAL."

This may have been the person named by Nennius; but nothing more is known of him. But without further inquiry it is difficult to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion.

In this supposed rebellion Aeddon may have taken part, for the night expeditions referred to were clearly directed against Gwynedd; and the poem shows that Mon had cause to dread hostilities from thence, since the bard asks—

"For the impetuous Aeddon,

What benign associate

Will maintain Mon ?"

However this may have been, the success of the rebels was only temporary, for Cadvan, the son of Iago, restored the authority of the kings of North Wales over the subject Gael. Indeed, we may, if necessary, assume these expeditions to have taken place afterwards, as it is probable that much bad feeling existed between the two districts; and it is quite evident that a considerable share of independence was enjoyed by Aeddan, possibly as the result of the rebellion, for he is designated as a rightful ruler in Britannia.

But leaving hypothesis, let us see if we can find any more biographical matter. The bard describes Mona to possess the manliness of Ervei. This Ervei was probably the father of Dillus ab Ervei, the greatest thief in Wales, according to the *Mabinogi* of Kilwch and Olwen; and we are told by Aneurin that Ervei, or Urvei, was at the battle of Cattræth:—

“Gnant ar les Minidauc scuitaur trei
Gnaurut rac ut Eidin Urvei.”

“Customary for the sake of Mynyddawg was a perforated shield;
Red-speared was Urvei before the Lord of Eiddin.”

And Aeddon was the son of Ervei. He is thus spoken of by Aneurin, not in the *Gododin*, but in some of the later verses of that bard:—

“Trum yn trin a llavyn yt laddei
Garw rybydd o gat dydygei
Cant Can Calan a ddarmerthei
Ef gweinit Adan vab Erfei
Ef gweint Adan dwrch trahawc
Un Rhiein a morwyn a mynawc
A phan oedd mab teyrn teithiawc
Udd Gwyndyt gwaedlyd gwardawc.”

These lines may be thus translated:—

“Heavily in conflict he slew with the sword;
Severe indications he brought from battle;
A hundred new year songs he prepared.
There served Adan the son of Ervei,

There served Adan the presumptuous boar,
A lady, a maid, and a nobleman ;
And when the son of a sovereign was a Ruler,
The Lord of the Gwyndyd was a blood-stained protector."

They appear to connect Aeddon with the death of Iago ab Beli ; but most probably "the Lord of the Gwyndyd" was Aeddon himself, as Gwynedd was not used at that time in its present extended sense, and only included Anglesey and Caernarvonshire, instead of the whole of North Wales, as is now the case.

GENERAL INDEX.

- A.
- Ab** never used by Aneurin for *mab*, 10
- Aber Alaw, 263, 265
- Aber Avon, 331
- Abercorn, the monastery of, included in Northumbria, 81
- Abergwyngregyn, church founded by Bodvan, 198
- Aberhonddu, 27
- Abernethy identified with Roman Victoria, 63, *n.* 3
- Aberystwyth, 236
- Abraunnus, a river, the modern Luce, 62
- Abury, the temple of, 99
- Achau y Saint*, the Genealogy of the British saints, quoted, 5, 11, 267, 319, 366
- Achre*, or *achwre*, the meaning of, 116
- Aclut, supposed to be the same as Alclwyd, 35, 49, 242
- Adan, 390, 391 (*see* Aeddan ab Ervei)
- Adda, son of Ida, 69, 77
- Adoen, 314 (*see* Adoun)
- Adomnan, mentioned, 75, 76, 283, 284, 285
- Adonwy, identified with Mathonwy, 32, 259, 260, 261, 262
- Adoun, Adoen, Adoyn, 310, 314 (*see* Doon)
- Adoyn, 314 (*see* Adoun)
- Adurnum, a port, 108
- Addfwynneu Taliesin* (*see* under Taliesin)
- Aedan, 36, 37, *n.* 1, 220, 282, 285, *n.* 2, 289, *n.* (*see* Aeddan ab Gavran)
- Aedhan, 35, 36, 285, *n.* 2 (*see* Aeddan ab Gavran)
- Aedilfrid, 37, *n.* 1 (*see* Ethelfrith)
- Aeddan ab Blegored, 385
- Aeddan, son of Caw, 8
- Aeddan ab Ervei, 32, 333 (*see* Aeddon o Vôn)
- Aeddan ab Gavran, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 71, 74, 76, 147, 195, 220, 221, 223, 242, 256, 280-7, 289, 313, 385
- Aeddan Voeddog, a saint, 385
- Aeddan Vradawg, 280, 385 (*see* Aeddan ab Gavran)
- Aeddon o Vôn, 20, 333, 376-391
- Aegesau-staue, 38, *n.*, 39, 40, 42 (*see* Degstan)
- Aegthan, 38, *n.* (*see* Aeddan ab Gavran)
- Aeneid, the, mentioned, 22
- Aer, 275 (*see* Ner)
- Aera Cambro-Britannica*, 75
- Aeron, 71, 183, 184, 191, 192, 193, 273, 274, 294, 295 (*see* also Cyn-ddilig, Cynon, Cynrein)
- Aesawr*, 116
- Aethelferth, 38 *n.* (*see* Ethelfrith)
- Aetius, assistance sent by, to the Britons, 369
- Affan*, meaning of, 211, *n.*
- Africa, 120, 209
- Agricola mentioned, 114, 131. For *The Life of Agricola*, *see* Tacitus
- Agriculture in Britain in præ-Roman times, 83-88; progress of, under the Romans, 109-111, 201
- Agricultural produce exported from early Britain, 105
- Aidan, 280, 284, 285, 286 (*see* Aeddan ab Gavran)
- Aidanus, 283, 289 (*see* Aeddan ab Gavran)
- Airdrie, 72, 282, 319 (*see* also Arde-rydd)
- Alan, the, identified with *Alaunus*, 60, *n.* 4
- Alan, a hero, 349
- Alauna, a town of the Damnii, 63
- Alaunus, a river, 60
- Alaw, a river of Anglesey, 263
- Alban, the Scottish Highlands, 55, 56, *n.*, 182
- Albanus*, a surname of Gildas, 12, 13
- Albion, an old name for Britain, 54
- Albiones, ancient inhabitants of Albion, or Britain, 54, 55, 56
- Alcluyd, or Alclwyd, 11, 35, 49, 63, 66, 242, 243
- Aldborough (identified with ancient *Isurium*), 58, *n.* 4

- Alexander the Great, 103, *n.* 1.
 Alfred the Great, 208
 All Saints' Eve, the fire on, 126
 Alla (*see* Ella), 209, 318
 Alliteration in Aneurin's poetry, 360
 Alps, the Pennine, 58
 Alricus, a son of Ida, 69 *n.* 2
 Altars to various deities in Roman Britain, 120, 121, 122
 Amaethlu, son of Caradog Vreichvras, 175, 202
 Amaethon mentioned, 377, 383, 385
 Amber. exported from Britain, 105 ; heads worn by British chiefs, 144, 149, 153
 Ambo-glana, an altar at, 121
 Amlawdd Wledig, 217
 Amlwch, 247
 An, meaning of, as a prefix, 9
 Ancwyn, meaning of, 223, *n.*
 Anderida, a port, 108
 Andover, 132
 Ane, brother of Aneurin, 9
 Aneurin, his era, 3 ; Pughe's account of, 4, 5 ; not a warrior chief of Ottadeni but a bard and priest, 5, 6 ; identified with Gildas by Iolo Morganwg. 7 ; reasons against identification, 7, 8 ; son of Gildas, 9, 10, 13 ; educated at Llancarvan, 13 ; known to Taliesin, 14 ; his bardic character, 15 ; at Cattraeth as a bard, 16 ; taken prisoner, 17 ; his ransom, 18 ; returns to Wales, 19 ; where he composed the *Gododin*, 20 ; not his only work, *ib.* ; compared with Taliesin, 21 ; A., a scholar, 22 ; date of *Gododin*, *ib.* ; again visited North Britain, 23 ; his death, 24
 Aneurin contemporary with Ceredig, 34 ; his account of battle and defeat at Cattraeth, 38, 39, 43 ; uses "*Gododin*" for country of Ottadeni, 44, 46 ; his frequent mention of Cattraeth, 50, 53 ; commemorates chiefly natives of Wales, 54 ; refers to Deivr, 58, and Mei-wyr, 59 ; divides district of *Gododin* into two parts, 60 ; calls Retigionium *Tref Redegein*, 62, 90 ; his evidence to state of agriculture, 111 ; the use of gold, 113, and of skins of animals for dress, 115 ; military tactics, 118, 119 ; reference to images, 122 ; his theology a compound of paganism and Christianity, 123, 124, 126 ; reference to hunting, 134, and to existence of trade regulations, 136
 Aneurin's use of words *guas*, *am dias*, 141 ; mention of Hyveidd Hir, 153 ; use of *gwanar*, 156 ; reference to "son of Cian", 156, 158, 159, 160, 193 ; appears as a priest, 166 ; his verses to Tudwloch, his cousin, 167, 168, 172 ; mention of Eiddin, 178, and Retigionium, 182 ; names two Cynons, 184 ; use of words *eveis*, *wyneb grybywyllyeit*, 189 ; *uyg car*, 193 ; his acquaintance with Greit, 194, and with Budvan, 197 ; often distinguishes his heroes by the mother's name, 198, 229 ; mention of Isaac, 204, of Ceredic, 205, 206, 210, of Caradawc, 214, of Gwriad and Eulad, 216, of Gwyn, 217, and of Gwgan and Gwion, 218 ; composed *Gododin* in Wales, 228 ; his sister referred to, 229 ; his mention of Elphin, 238, of Beli, 241, and of Cynhaval, 248, 249 ; his imprisonment, 249 ; supposed by Davies to have composed *Gododin* in prison, 250 ; his release, 251 ; the Llywarch named by A., 253 ; the Adonwy named by A., 260, the same as Mathonwy, who was his contemporary, 261 ; the Bradwen of A. the same as Branwen, *ib.*, 262, 264 ; his account of *Gododin*, 264-6 ; his departure from strict grammatical construction, 269 ; his description of Cynon, 273 ; his account of Eidol, 279 ; reference to battle of Mannan, 283 ; his verses rendered by Gray, 292 ; *Gorchan Maeldero* supplies additions, 293, 315 ; his mention of Cynddilig, 295, 297 ; his poems supply germs of later fictions, 298 ; the "Eudav" of A., 299 ; his account of the battle, 301 ; mention of Dyvynwal Vrych, 313, of Nwython, 314, 315, 317 ; Britons not insulated in Wales in Aneurin's time, 326 ; his praise of Gereint, 327 ; Llwch Gwyn famous in his time, *ib.*, 331 ; his account of Cynan Garwyn, 334 ; portions of *Gorchan Maeldero* belong to his *Gododin*, 354
 Initial alliteration in Aneurin's poetry, 360 ; A. was bard and priest, 361 ; in his poems the men of Bernicia are Angles, 369 ; Aneurin's poems fix position of Ottadeni, 374 ; his

- mention of Ceredig, 376; his assassination, 386; his mention of *Cr. ei*, 390
Anev (see *Ane*)
Angar Cymyrdawd quoted, 160
 Angels, 378, 383
 Anglesey, 11, 23, 147, 185, 202, 207, 212, 213, 216, 225, 231, 263, 265, 280, 333, 334, 366, 369, 383, n. 2, 385, 386, 387, 389 (see also *Mon, Mona*)
 Angli, or Angles, 37, n., 41, n. 2; their kingdom of Deira, 58: their arrival forced Ottadani northward. 60; settled in North about middle of sixth century, 66. 70; power increasing, 72; their British opponents, 73; alliance with West Saxons, 75; battle of Mannan, 76; 77, 161; joined by Lloegrwys, 186; attack Careticus, 208; conflicts with Britons, 209; 222, 239, 243, 255; engaged in *bellum Miathorum*, 283; 291, 318, 319, 331 (*Eingl*), 369, 370, 372, 375 (see *East Anglians*)
 Anglo-Britons retained pagan usages to eleventh century, 122
 Anglo-Norman romance, 214
 Anglo-Saxons, 66, 75, 86; Anglo-Saxon word *Aegesanstane*, 40
Anglo-Saxon Chronicle quoted, 36, 37, 38, 39, 41, n. 3, 63, 69, 74, 209, 283, 284, 289, 326
Annales Cambrie quoted, 12, 13, 14, n. 2, 23, 32, 41, nn., 74, 75, 207, 209, 210, 218, 267, 285, n. 1, 368, 373, 376
 Annals of Irish, Saxons and Welsh differ in dates, 42
Annals of the Caledonians (see *Ritson*)
Annals of the Picts, 228
Annals of Tighernac (see *Tighernac*)
Annals of Ulster quoted, 35, 36, 55, 76, 195, 228, 229, 255, 256, 281, 282, 285
 Annand, 61, n. 3
 Annandale, 60, 257, 265, 290, 307
 Antipater of Thessalonica mentioned, 88
 Antonine Itinerary, 58, nn. 2, 3, 130
 Antonine Wall, the, 62, 63
 Antoninus Pius, 134
 Anwas Adeiniawg, father of *Twrch*, 242
 Aodan mac Gauran, 256 (see *Aeddan ab Gavran*)
 Apollo, 84, 123, 124
 Apostle, 378, 383
 Appian quoted, 82
 Appleby, 58, n. 3
 Aquæ Solis (*Bath*), 128
 Arabia, 108
 Araf ab Sawyl Benuchel, 174
Arbennawr, 115, 172
Archæologia Cambrensis referred to, 185, 206, 333, 356
Archæologia Britannica (see *Lhuyd*)
 Arderydd, 72, 162, 242, 281, 282, 317, 319, 335 (see *Airdrie*)
 Ardoch, 63
 Ardudwy, 262
 Arddun, daughter of Pabo, 174
 Arecluta, 11
 Argad (see *Cynhaval*).
 Argo, the, mentioned, 54, n.
 Argoed, 67, 224, 322, 323, 325
 Argoed Llwyvain, battle of, 67, 68, 371 (see *Gwaith Argoed Llwyvain* under *Taliesin*)
 Argoedwys, 324 (l. 829).
Argonautica, a Greek poem, quoted, 54
Argyfrein, meaning of, 153
 Argyle, 57, 111, 161, 223, 255, 280, 313, 385
 Arianrod, 200
Aristotelis De Mundo quoted, 54
 Aristotle mentioned, 83
 Arllechwedd (see *Menwæd*)
 Armlets, bracelets worn by chiefs and by Druids, 92, 95; ivory bracelets exported, 105, 112
 Armoric word *brezel*, 44; *rân*, 61, n. 5
 Armorica, the *Epistle* of Gildas written in, 12
 Armour of Britons skilfully fabricated, 92
 Arms of Britons, 115, 116
 Army organisation, 118
 Arnold, Dr. Thomas, quoted, 110
 Aron, son of Cynvarch, 174, 271
 Arthan (see *Twrch*)
 Arthan ab Cyvwlch, 177
 Arthanad, otherwise Arthan, 242
 Arthur, king, 8, 11, 19, 146, 147, 202, 203, 212, 214, 220, 222, 223, 229, 230, 232, 233, 271, 272, 274, 309, 316, 326, 327, 328, 331, 352, 353
 Arthur, son of Aeddan, 77, 284, 285
 Arthurian romances, 235
 Arvon, 185, 231, 260, 261, 263; its division into upper and lower, 271; 274, 296, 298, 299, 346, 347, 389
 Arvwl Cann, 340, 341
 Arvynydd, 67, 371
 Arwlvrith, a steed, 206

- Arwystli, 207, 365
 Arwystyl, 207, 365
 Astarte, worshipped in Britain, 121
 Astures, Asturians, serving in Britain, 120, 121
Atbret Iudeu, 388
 Athanasius mentioned, 211
 Athelstan, 136
 Atlantic, the, 94
 Augusta (London), 128
 Augustus, the emperor, 88, 103, 104, 105, 107, 112
 Auldby, 57, *n.*
 Aungeo, 232
 Aur y Coed Aur, 8
Aurdorch, 106, 151, *n.* (*see also* Torque)
 Auryn y Coed Aur, 8
 Ausonius referred to, 124
 Avallon, 233
 Avan Verddig quoted, 29, *n.*, 52, 53
 Avaon, son of Taliesin, 24, 249, 273
 Avienus, Festus, referred to, 54
 Avon, the river, 99
 Awyddawc vreichir, the steed of Cynhored, 159
 Ayr, the county, 61, 63, 182, 313, 314
- B.
- Baal, 123, 125
 Baden mentioned, 100
 Badon, battle of, A.D. 516, 9, 12
Badonicus, surname of Gildas, 12
 Baeddan (*see* Wid, Maeluma)
 Bælicricus, son of Ida, 69, *n.* 2
 Bale, referred to, 13, 65
 Bamborough, 68, 371
 Bangor, Gwarthan's connection with, 15, 266; battle of, 33, 218, 220, 221, 267, 334, 335, 366
 Bangor Deivy, 375
 Bangor of Bardsey, 267
 Bannawg, 345 (*see also* Trabannawg)
 Baptism, performed by Aneurin, 126; 164, 360-2
 Bards, bardic order: garb of, 3; as heralds, 5; order of Bards, 15; the *Caw*, and *Bardd Teulu*, 16; their insignia, 95; encouraged agriculture, 111; allusions in their poems, 112, 123, 132 *n.*; achievements of, 149, 150; white their emblem of peace, 165; "bards of the world", 198, 199, of Britain, 201; bardic theory and Chair of Glamorgan, 211; 220, 221, 224, 228, 272, 342, 343, 357, 361, 362, 363, 381
 Bardism in the age of Aneurin, 15; a privileged craft, 82, 149, 276
Bardo-cucullus, 94, 95
 Bardsey, 72, 267
 Barmouth, 331
 Baskets exported from Britain, 109
 Bath taken by Saxons, 74, 209; the ancient *Aquæ Solis*, 128; a Roman military station, 129, 208
 Bayeux, Bedwyr buried at, 233
 Beads, manufacture of glass, 93; of amber worn, 153
 Bears exported from Britain, 109; abounded in the island in the tenth century, 135
 Bebbra, wife of Ida, 68, 371
 Bebbanburgh, 68, 371
 Bede quoted, 31, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, *nn.*, 42, 65, 69, 72, 78, 209, 255
 Bedivere, 233, 234 (*see* Bedwyr)
 Bedwer, 232 (*see* Bedwyr)
 Bedwyr, son of Ferawc, 32; father of Eneuawc, 230; his place in romance, 232-5; the well of, 334
 Belatucadrus, worshipped in Britain, 120, 124
 Belgæ, 55, 101, 104
 Belgic car, the, 91
 Beli, the god, 123, 124, 125
 Beli ab Benlli Gawr, 32, 112, 240, 241
 Beli, ab Rhun ab Maelgwn Gwynedd, 173, 241, 274, 277, 386 (*see also* Caswallon, Hwrreith, Iago, Rheiddun)
 Beltan, 124, 125
 Belyn, 162
 Benlli Gawr, 116, 153 (*see also* Beli ab Benlli)
Benna, a kind of vehicle, 89
 Benwell, altars at, 122
 Bernicia, 30, 58, 67, 68, 145, 153, 157, 159, 186, 197, 319, 369, 370, 371 (*see* Bryneich and Brennych)
 Berry, 217
 Berwick-on-Tweed, 30, 60, 265, 266, 375
 Berwyn dale, 71
 Bethan, 367 (*see* Liethan)
 Beuno, 194, 270
 Beverley, 57, *n.*
 Binchester, 58
 Birdoswald, 121
 Birrenswork Hill, 61, *n.* 3, 266
 Blackrode, identified with ancient Coccium, 58
Black Book of Caermarthen, 72, *n.* 3
 Blegored, father of Aeddan, 385

- Bleidgi (*see* Breint)
 Bleidic (*see* Bleiddig)
 Bleidvan (*see* Budvan)
 Bleiddian, 152 (*see* Bleiddig and Hyveidd)
 Bleiddig Sant, 152 (*see* also Hyveidd)
 Bleiddig, son of Eli, 32, 340, 341
 Blenheim, battle of, 41
 Blowpipe, use of the, 93
 Bluchhard, a poet, 159
Bludue, meaning of, 176, 177
 Boadicea, description of, by Xiphiline, 114; her grievances, 133
 Boars, wild, abounded in Britain in tenth century, 135
 Boda, son of Helig ab Glanawg, 198
 Bodferin, 288, 289
 Bodgad, 32, 80, 154, 155 (*see* Boducat)
 Boducat, a saint, 154, 241 (*see* Bodgad)
 Bodvan, 197, 198 (*see* Budvan)
 Bodw, 349 (*see* Boducat)
 Bolting-sieve, invention of, by the Gauls, 96
 Bone-dust, its value as manure known to the Britons, 87
Bonedd y Saint referred to, 202, 215, 373
 Bonnet-pieces, 113
 Borcovicus, altars, etc., at, 121
 Borlase, Dr., quoted, 113
 Boroughbridge, 58, n. 4
 Boroughs of England represent Romano-British *Municipia*, 137
 Bort, of romance, 222
 Borthwick, 59, n. 1
 Bosco, Johannes a, his *Life of Gildas*, 11, n.
 Bosworth's *Dictionary* referred to, 40
 Botgad, or Botgat (*see* Bodgad)
 Bracelets (*see* Armlets)
 Bradwen, daughter of Llyr ab Brochwel, 32, 34, n. 5, 243-7, 259, n. 3, 260-4
 Bradwen, son of Iaen, 220, 231
 Bradwen, son of Moren Mynawc, 231
 Brain, 195 (*see* Bran, son of Aeddan ab Gavran)
 Braint Hir, 195
 Brampton, 60, n. 3
 Bran, son of Aeddan ab Gavran, 77, 285
 Bran Galed, the horn of, 224
 Bran, ab Llyr, 146, 147, 262-4, 366
 Bran, son of Mellyrn, 66, 72, 372
 Brangor, 222
 Branwen, daughter of Llyr, 243, 261-5
 Brass, imported into Britain, 105
 Bread, art of making, 96
 Breastplates, 112, 115, 116
 Brecknock, 202, 212, 213, 214, 289
 Brecon, 27
 Brehon Laws, 199
 Breiddin, a mountain, 201, 203
 Breint, son of Bleidgi, 194-197, 283
Breithell, use and meaning of, 26, 44, 53
 Breminium, 60, 132
 Brendinus, an officer of Aeddan ab Gavran, 195, 283, 284
 Brennych, 152, 252 (*see* Bryneich)
 Bretanni, 387 (*see* Britanni)
 Breton (*see* Armoric)
 Bretonia, 378 (*see* Britannia)
 Bretts, *i.e.*, Britons, 28, n.
 Brewing, the art of, known to Britons, 96, 97
Brezel, Armoric cognate of W. *breithell*, 44
 Brigantes, 30, 57, 58, n. 5
 Brigantia, 58
 Britain, Aneurin never left, 8; *Supremacy of Britain*, 16; history in time of *Gododin* obscure, 25; called Albion, 54; became a Roman province, 56; error of ancients respecting its position, 61, 62, 79; natives not savages, 81; gold in, 82; agriculture, 83-86; arts, 89, 93; commerce, 101-106; Roman intercourse, 107; exports of corn and flour, 110; vines grown, *ib.*; religion in Roman B., 119; political condition, 126; six provinces, 127; Roman emperors resided at York, 128; Roman colonies, 129; Agricola's policy, 131; Roman law, 137; cities asserting their freedom, 138; Britain of the *Gododin* had not retrograded
 Bleiddian's arrival, 152; 179, 186, 196; the "bards of B.", 201; 210, 227; "Island of the mighty", 263; saints of, 314; the *Deheu*, 326, 331
 Progress of Christianity in, 360, 361; church in, 366; "B. under one sceptre", 389 (*see* also Britannia and *Triads*)
 Britanni, arrival of, in Britain, 54, 55; 107, 119
 Britannia, 37, n., 55, 86, n. 2, 375 (*Dux Britanniorum*), 384, 390
Britannia Prima, 127
Britannia Secunda, 127
 British Isles 54, n., 84, 100
 British ahorigines, inner life of, 83; invention of water-mills by, 88; effect of Roman government on, 107; re-

- ligion of Romans did not take deep root among, 122
- British army (forces, etc.) at Cattræth numerous, 38; organisation and management of, 118, 119; Ceredig and Cunedda commanders-in-chief of, 207, 37^b
- authorities, meaning of kingship in, 65; their account of the death of Fflamddwyn, 69.
- bards; Owen, 5, n. 1; wore the *bardocucullus*, 95; allusions to use of gold in poems of, 112; Davies supposed Taliesin to be the title of several, 357
- charioteer, reference to by Cicero, 82
- chiefs (chieftains, etc.) in alliance with Urien, 75; at the battle of Mannan, 76; flower of, fell at Cattræth, 81; exquisite workmanship of golden torques and armlets of, 92; possessed considerable riches, 112; dress of, 114; wore golden spurs, 141; wreaths of beads, 153; and steel helmets, 172; address to three, 185; Gavran, 286; Probert's error respecting one, 380
- Church, existence of an early, denied by Hallam, 361
- cities (towns, etc.): Cattræth, a — in Aneurin's time, 28, 30; — captured by Ceaulin, 74; — possessing the *jus Latium*, 130, whose prefects became chiefs of districts on departure of Romans, 131; Dunbarton a —, 63, 180
- commerce, 100-106
- curiosities, the thirteen, 80
- dogs exported, 109
- encampments, 99
- exports in Augustus's time included gold, 112
- families, heads of, springing into note on departure of Romans, 131, 132
- games, the four and twenty, 90
- jet exported, the best and most copious in Europe, 109
- kings (queens, etc.): Ceredig, 32; held power under the Romans, 64; Prasutagus, wealth of, 112; Boadicea, grievances urged by, 133; place of Gwrtheyvr Vendigaid in the list of, 289
- kingdoms, of Strathclyde, 62, 63; of Deivr and Bryneich, 370
- language, *rheda* not now found in, 90
- British names (terms, etc.): *cadrail*, 27; Cattræth, 30; Davies's account of— Gododin and Cattræth, 43; — in the list of chiefs at battle of Cattræth, 78; *harnais*, 92; *pobi*, 96; *aurdorch*, 106; *pais*, 114; *achre*, 116; — of towns sometimes superseded by Roman, 130; Rhedegein, 312
- nobles, education of, 82
- people, every section of, represented in the armament at Cattræth, 161
- poetry, light thrown by, on the position of the Gadeni, 60
- possessions in England ceded by Ceredig, 209
- power, events which led to the overthrow of, 66
- saints, Tyssul, 151, and Dwywe numbered among, 266
- society, reconstruction of, on departure of the Romans, 131
- temples, Davies's account of, 44
- tribes described in the *Triads*, 183
- religious usages, 123
- victory over Ceaulin, 209
- wheat, 87
- youth, skill and dexterity of, 90; taller than Romans, 97; drafted by the Romans to foreign stations, 137
- Britons, bards distinguished among, 17; literature of Strathclyde B. Welsh, 28, n. 2; led against Saxons by Hering, 38; feasted before the battle of Cattræth, 39; B. the aggressors, 40; at Cattræth a week, *ib.*; name familiar to, *ib.*, 42; massacre at Stonehenge, 43; circular forts of, 46, 47; entrenchments of, 49; Gododin not opposed to, *ib.*, 50; position in the island, 55-57; on the Clyde, 63; many attained importance under Romans, 64; more united in Strathclyde, 67; humiliation in Bernicia, 68, 70; struggle with Theodric and Ceaulin, 74-76, and with Ethelfrith 77, 78; combination against him, *ib.*; allies meet at Cattræth, 79; conduct in the battle and result, 81
- Pre-Roman civilisation of, 81; privileged crafts of freeborn, 82; priesthood among, 83; their trade with Gaul, 87; use of manures, *bons-dust*, *ib.*; shipbuilding, 88-9; vehicles, 89, 90; breed of horses,

- 91; acquaintance with chemical processes, 92; coinage, 93; dress, 94; painted their bodies, 95; stature, 97; similar in manners to Gauls, *ib.*; family relations, 98; advance in civilisation, *ib.*; towns, *ib.*; houses, 99; intercourse with Gauls and remoter nations, 101; trade with Phœnicians, 102, and with Gaulish tribes, 104; wore the torque, 106
- Intercourse of Britons with Rome before Cæsar, 107; harbours, 108; cultivation of vine, 110; use of coal, 111; dress, 114; weapons, 115, 116; camps, 117; army organisation, 118; discipline and knowledge of art of war, 119; B. long clung to pagan usages spite of early spread of Christianity, 122, 123; worshipped fire, 124, and same deities as Gauls, *ib.*; occupied the smaller towns, 130; with the *jus Latium*, 131; their taxation, 133; received Roman citizenship, *ib.*, 134; their skill in the chase, 134; their drinks, 136; progress under Roman sway and after, 137
- Chiefs wore wreaths of amber beads, 144, 181; immigration from Brittany, 183, 184; the Lloegrians Britons, 186, 196, 197, 199, 203; their *Gwledig*, 205, 207; their wars under Careticus, 208; struggle with Ceaulin, 209; league with Angles, *ib.*; worshippers of one God, 211, 275; victorious attack on Ceaulin and Cutha, 283, and subsequent defeat, 284; coalition with Aeddán, 290-1, 295; wars with Donald Brecc, 313; Geraint, a prince of B. of Dyvneint, 325-6; B. not then confined to Wales, 326; Cunedda, a prince of Strathclyde, 365; their king Maelgwn, 367; they are aided by Stilicho, 369, 370, 371, 375; not expelled by Romans or Saxons, 387; Cadwaladr, king of all the Britons, 389 (*see* Brittones, Brython, North Britons)
- Brittany, 12, 160, 183, 326
 Brittones, 37, *n.*, 119, 367, 388
 Brochwel Ysgythrog, 34, 202, 218, 264, 265, 333, 366, 388 (*see* also Llyr, Cynan Garwyn, Manawydd)
 Bronwen, 147, 265
 Brough on Humber, 57
 Browne's *History of the Highlands* quoted, 281, 284, 285
- Bruce. Rev. Dr., quoted, 112
 Brude, Brudei, Brudeus, king of the Picts, 228, 229, 283, 284
 Brwyn ab Cunedda, 145, 218, 374, 375 (*see* also Madoc ab Brwyn)
 Brwyn, son of Llywarch Hen, 145
 Brwyno Hen ab Medrod, 175
 Bryant, Jacob, mentioned, 3
 Brychan Brycheiniog, 199, 212, 213, 280, 334, 366, 374
 Bryneich, 38, 49, 58, 69, 70, 77, 149, 150, 153, 253, 323, 359, 362, 370, 372 (*see* also Bernicia, Brennych)
 Bryngwyn, in Anglesey, 263
 Bryn Hydwn, 217, 309, *n.* 2
 Bryn Hynod, 217
 Brython, 50, *n.* 1, 55, 182, 184, 185, 294, 346, 347
 Buan ab Pasgen, or Ysgwn, 174
 Buchanan's *History of Scotland* quoted, 75, 76, 195, 283, 284, 289 ff.
 Bucheslom, a famous horse, 220
 Budvan, son of Bleidvan, 32, 197-9 (*see* Bodvan)
 Buddugre, 123, 276, 277
 Bugi, *i. q.* Hywgi, 194
 Bun, wife of Fflamddwyn, 68
 Burgh Head, 130
 Burns, the poet, referred to, 314, 381
 Bwlch, a character in the Mabinogi of Kilhwch, 175
 Bwlch Cwm Syvno, a pass, 187
Byddin Ododin, the army of Gododin, 29, 50, *n.* 1, 146, 166, 234, 252
- C.
- Cabiri, the, referred to, 84
 Cadavael Wyllt, king of North Wales, 216, 333, 386-9
 Cadawc ab Gwynlliw, 222
 Cadegyrr (*see* Elmur), 249
 Cadeir Ferwyn, a mountain, 187
Cadeir Teyrnnon, a poem, quoted, 254
Cadeiriaiith, supposed by Davies to be the origin of Cattraeth, 43, 45
 Cadell Deyrnllwg, 202
 Cadell ab Urien, 239
 Cadfarch ab Caradog, 175
 Cadgyffro (*see* Gilbert)
Cad gyngrown, 119, 183, *n.* 2
 Cadiz, a colony of Carthage, 102
 Cadlew of Cadnant, 18, 191, 193
 Cadnant, 18, 191
 Cado, a saint, 327
 Cadocus, St., at Llancarvan, 12 (*see* Catwg)
 Cadog, his college at Llancarvan, 19, 20 (*see* Catwg)

- Cadreith, 18, 191, 192
 Cadrod Calchfynydd, 174
 Cadscawl, the battle of, 41
 Cadvan Sant, 185, 228, 231
 Cadvan ab Iago, 206, 390 (*see* Cadwal-lawn)
 Cadvannan, 35, 148 (*Rac ergyt catvannan catwyt*), 149, 242 (*Catvannan er adut clotvawr*), 284 (*ac adan gatvannan cochre*) (*see* Mannan)
 Cadvarch ab Caradog, 248
 Cadwal, a British king, 389
 Cadwaladr Vendigaid, 262, 389
 Cadwallawn ab Cadvan, 29, *n.*, 41, *nn.*, 52, 53, 144, 203, 235, 334, 389
 Cadyow, identified with Godeu by Skene, 59, *n.* 2
Caer, the word explained, 149, *n.* 1
Caead, meaning of, 153, *n.*
Caevoc, meaning of, 142-4, 149, *n.* 1, 151, *n.*
 Caelestis Campus, translation of A.-S. "Hefenfelth", 41, *n.* 2
 Caen, Kai buried at, 233
 Caerdathal in Caernarvonshire, 220, 259, 260
 Caer Einion, named from Einion ab Cunedda, 207, 365
 Caerfyrddin, 27
 Caer Ffawydd (Hereford), 327
 Caer Greu, 75
 Caer Gwroswydd, 376
 Caerlaverock, 61, *nn.* 1, 2, 257
 Caerleon, the Roman Isca, 128, 129
 Caer Liwelydd (Carlisle), 144, 358
 Caer Lwydcoed (Lincoln), 260
 Caer Leon Gawr (Chester), 218
 Caermarthen, 27
 Caermarthenshire, 113, 217
 Caernarvon, 103, 132
 Caernarvonshire, 20, 198, 220, 231, 270, 289, 365, 382, *n.* 2, 389, 391
 Caer Ogyrfan, 279, 280
 Caer Seiont (Segontium), 132, 263, 382, *n.* 2
 Caer Sidi, 146
 Caer Vydau, a city mentioned by Geoffrey of Monmouth, 208
 Caer Weir (Lancaster), 144, 358
 Caer Went (*Venta Silurum*), 132
 Caerwys, 60, 79, 254 (*Cangen gaerwys*), 255
 Caesar, quoted or mentioned, 82, 83, 86, 87, 90-92, 94-98, 100, 101, 104, 107, 112, 115, 131, 157, *n.* 2
 Cai, or Kai, one of Arthur's heroes, 146, 232-4
 Caio, gold mines at, 113, 217
 Cairelegion, Cair Legion, 387 (*see* Caer Leon Gawr and Chester)
Calch, meaning of, 116
 Caledfwlch, Arthur's sword, 233
 Caledonians, the, mentioned, 55, 56, 59, 62, 63, 212
 Calends of May and November, festival on, 124
 Calends of January (*Calan yonawr*), 200
 Calenus, a Scottish commander, 291
 Caletes, a Gaulish tribe, 104
 Call, a dog named in Mabinogi Kilhwch, 175
 Camalodunum, or Camulodunum, the capital of Cunobelinos, 99, 128, 129
 Cambo-dunum (Slack), 58, 130
 Camboricum, 128
Cambrian and Caledonian Magazine quoted, 124, 125, 238
Cambrian Biography, the (*see* under Pughe)
Cambrian Plutarch, the, referred to, 5, 13, 20
Cambrian Register, the, referred to, 113, 126, 207, 368
 Cambrian annals, records, etc., 42, 64, 135, 209, 215, 260, 264; bards, 21, 381; history, 213, 270, 335, 385; knighthood, 235; law, 135; literature, 20, 22, 25; romance, 298, 325; warriors, 54, 335
 Cambrians, 150, 203
Cambro-Briton, the, referred to, 11, 185, 186, 220, 265
 Cambridge, 128
 Camden quoted, 61, *n.* 2, 110, 113, 375
 Camelon (in Stirling), 63, *n.* 1
 Camlan, the battle of, 233, 234, 262
 Camlyn Bay, in Anglesey, 225
 Campbelton mentioned, 285
 Camps of Britons, 117
 Campus Gai, battle of, 388
 Camulodunum (*see* Camalodunum)
Can y Meirch quoted, 203, 223
Cangen Caerwys, 79, 254
 Cangi, a British tribe, 55
 Canna, an island off the west coast of Scotland, 171
 Canterbury, 132
 Cantiiopolis (Canterbury), 132
 Cantred, the, 261
 Cantreds formed at an early time, 85
 Cantrev Meirion (Merioneth), 207
 Cantrev y Gwaelod, 204
 Cantscaul, battle of, 41, *n.* 2
 Canute prohibited heathen worship, 122

- Caol Mac Maolcova, an ally of Donald Brec, 313
- Capel Cynon, 185
- Caracalla, conferred Roman citizenship on Britons, 134
- Caractacus, 117, 146, 162, 264
- Caradawc, son of Iaen, 220
- Caradoc Vreichvras, 20, 32, 147, 159, 175, 202, 211-5, 217-221, 230-2, 243, 253, 263 (*see also* Hyveidd Hir, Marchlew, Moryen)
- Caradoc Brise Bras, 214
- Caranmail, a prince of Powys, 74, 209
- Carannog, or Carantocus, 151
- Carbantorigum, 61
- Cardiganshire, 20, 161, 183, 184, 185, 204, 207, 213, 224, 274, 297, 365, 373
- Caredig (*see* Ceredig)
- Careticus, 208 (*see* Ceredig)
- Carlisle, 28, 30, 40, 47, 58, 60, 130, 144, 362, 369, 375
- Carnedd Point, in Anglesey, 225
- Carnhuanawc (*see* Price)
- Carnoban, the commot of, 186, 197
- Carnsmuir, 317
- Carr's *Roman Antiq.* quoted, 114
- Carreg Hydwyth, 217
- Carrick, in Ayr, 61, 182
- Carron, 313. *n.*
- Carruca*, the Roman, 90
- Carrucarius*, 90
- Carstairs, 63, *n.* 4
- Carthage, 102, 129
- Carthaginians: Hamilcar's voyage, 54; trade with Britain, 101, 103; 195
- Carvoran (Magna), 121
- Carwyd ab Pabo, 174
- Cas, the Tall, 32, 328-331
- Casae Candidae, 62
- Cassiterides, unknown to Herodotus, 54, *n.*; exported tin, 102; visited by P. Crassus, 107
- Cassiteris Insula*, 102
- Cassivellaunus, or Caswallon, 83, 91, 98, 117
- Castle Over, in Eskdale, 61, *n.* 4
- Castor on Nene, 130
- Castrametation, skill of Britons in, 99
- Caswallon ab Beli, 272
- Caswallon Law Hir, 173, 207, 212, 366, 368, 369, 385
- Cataract, Cataracton, Catarracton, Cataractonium, Cattaractonium, Cattaractoni, etc., 30, 31, 42, 58, 130, 131
- Catgabail, rex Guenedotae regionis, 388, 389
- Catgualart, king of the Britons, 388
- Catguommed*, name applied to Catgabail, 388
- Cath Cairelegion, 387 (*see* Chester, battle of)
- Cathan, son of Cawrdaf, 175
- Catholic Church, substituted Christian for pagan festivals, 124
- Cat-Rael, 28, *n.**
- Catrail, the, 27, 28, 46, 47, 49, 50, 51
- Catscaul, battle of, 41
- Catterick, in Yorkshire, 30, 31, 40, 42, 47, 58, 130
- Catterlen, in Cumberland, 28, 47
- Cattle kept and exported by the Britons, 87, 105, 109
- Cattraeth, battle of, 3-5; its date according to Dr. Pughe and others, 6, 7; not mentioned by Gildas, 8; a son of Gildas might have been present, 9, 10; Gwarthan slain at, 13; Aneurin present in his bardic character, 15-18; the subject of the *Gododin*, 21, 26; Cattraeth a proper name of a place, the old Cataractonium, 27-31; evidence of its date, 31, 34-36, and its identity with battle of Degsastan, 36, 37, 39-41; opinions of Iolo Morganwg, 42, Rev. Edward Davies, 43-45, Parry, 45, Probert and Williams ab Ithel, 45-47; use of the name by early writers, 49-51; Cattraeth and Gododin not convertible terms, 51-53; 71, 73; C. the rendezvous of the Britons, 78, 79; disastrous results of the battle, 81; state of Britain at the time of the battle, 107, *seq.*; equipment of the heroes, 116; tactics, 118, 119; Cattraeth in the Roman province of *Maxima Caesariensis*, 128; Britons had not degenerated since departure of Romans, 137. Incidental references, 145, 147, 157, 160-173, 180, 184, 190, 191, 194, 200, 201, 204, 214-6, 218, 221-5, 229, 233, 250, 251, 266, 267, 273, 278, 279, 284, 290, 291, 294, 295, 308, 309, 315, 317-20, 346-9, 373, 374, 390
- Catvannan (*see* Cadvannan)
- Cat Voryon, 330
- Catwg, his college at Lllancarvan, 5, 13, 14, 19, 20, 23, 194, 266, 273, 314
- Caturrhactonium, 30, 42 (*see* Cataract)
- Cau, 10 (*see* Caw)

- Caunus, 10, 11, *n.* 1 (*see* Caw)
 Cavall, a famous dog in the *Mabinogi* of *Kilhwch*, 175
 Cavall, the ridge of, 349
 Caw, an order of bards, 16
 Caw, Cau, Caunus, or Naw, lord of Cwm Cawlwyd, said to be the father of Aneurin, 5, 7, 8; account of, 10-12; father of Peillan, 229; of Cynddilig, 295, 297; and of Ceidio, 319 (*see* also Ceidio, Cilydd, Huail, Peillan, Peithan)
 Cawlog, or Cawllwg, district of, 10 (*see* Cwm Cawlwyd)
 Cawlwyd, Cwm, 5, 10, 11, 234, 297
 Cawrdaf ab Caradog, 175, 202
Cayawc (*see* *Caeawc*)
 Caystor (*Venta Icenorum*), 132
 Ceaulin, or Ceawlin, king of West Saxons, 39, *n.* 1, 74, 75, 76, 209, 283, 284, 291
 Cedig, son of Dyvynwal Hen, 64
 Cedig, son of Ceredig, 376
 Cedwyn, son of Gwgon Gwron, 174
 Cefn Digoll, 215
 Ceidio, 32
 Ceidio, son of Garthwys and father of Gwenddolau and Nudd, 66, 174, 318, 319
 Ceidio ab Caw, 319
 Ceidio ab Ynry Gwent, 319
 Ceinion, or Ceinnyon, a district, 234, 235 (*see* Clippion)
 Ceitho, a saint, 217
 Celts, implements called, 92
 Celts, Celtic tribes, 28, *n.**, 54, *n.*, 96
 Celtic (or Keltic) garments, 94; ovates, 16; terms, 61, *n.* 5. 89
Celtic Researches, *the*, mentioned, 4
 Celyddon, men of, 59; wood of, 72, 232, 322
 Celynin, a saint, 217
 Cement, use of, 88
 Ceneu, son of Coel Godebog, 66, 67, 173
 Ceneu, son of Llywarch Hén, 17, 19, 32, 34, *n.* 2, 43, 251-3
 Cennydd ab Gildas, 297
 Cenon, 184, 185, 227 (*see* Cynon)
Cerdd Daronwy, a poem, referred to, 261
 Ceredig, the British King, 20, 21, 22, 23, 32, 34, 126, 151, 204-211, 217, 365, 373-5
 Ceredig ab Ednyved, 176
 Ceredig ab Gwallog, 205, 206
 Ceredigion, 207, 365
 Ceres, the goddess, 84, 88
 Ceretic, 23, 209, 210 (*see* Ceredig)
 Cernach, same as Carannog, 151
 Certic, expelled from Elmet, 209
 Cetgueli (*i.e.*, Kidwelly), 154, 367
 Cethin Cyvlym, a horse, 335
Cethrawr, a weapon, 116
Cetra, brevis, an arm of the North Britons, 115
 Cetula Rex, 387
Ceugant, meaning of, 164
 Ceugant Beilliawg, 145, 224
 Ceulinus, 283 (*see* Ceaulin)
 Chalmers' *Caledonia* quoted, 46
 Chalons, 105
 Chariots, use of, in Britain, 82, 115, 157, *n.* 2
 Charles I, medals of Scottish gold struck at his coronation, 114
 Charters, Anglo-Saxon, 86
 Chase, skill of the Britons in the, 134-6
 Chester, worship of Tanaros at, 120; the ancient Deva, 128; a Roman military station, 129; Cymry from Glasgow to Chester, 196; battle of, 218, 221, 388
 Chesterford, a Roman military station, 129
 Chinon, Kai buried at, 233
 Christ, 102, 156, 157, 208, 261, 378, 379, 383, 385
 Christian church, 122; era, 35 *n.*, 102. 156; missionaries, 64
 Christianity: Aneurin's profession of, 7, 126; persecution of missionaries by King Totail, 64; Rhydderch a patron of, 71, 72; established in Britain in Apostolic times, 122; practice of pagan usages combined with profession of, 123; substitution of Christian for pagan festivals, 124; relation to bardism and Druidism, 164, 165; doctrine of Trinity, 211; story of its introduction by Bran, 264; progress of in the North, 282; Christian heaven closed to virtuous heathen, 286; partial relapse of people into heathenism, 311; transition from Druidism to, 360, 361
 Christmas Eve, 124
Chronica Pictorum referred to, 228
Chronicles of the Picts and Scots (*see* Skene)
Chronicon Regum Scotorum referred to, 285
Chronologia, *the*, appended to Bede, 69
 Church, at Whithern, 126; privileges bestowed on, by Cunedda, 366
Chwiblician, *the*, of Myrddin, 188

- Cian, or Kian, 32, 157-163, 193, 296, 344, 345
- Cibddar, 249
- Cibno (or Gupno, *q. v.*), son of Gwen, or Gwengad, 32, 291, 354, 355
- Cicero mentioned, 82, 99, 111
- Cigwain*, a weapon, 116
- Cilurnum, a town, 121
- Cilydd (*see* Tudwlch)
- Cimbri, their request to Marius, 75
- Cimbric (for Cymric), 65, 376
- Cindilic, 296 (*see* Cynddilic)
- Ciolinus, 291 (*see* Ceaulin)
- Cirencester taken by Saxons, 74; ancient Corinium, 130; Careticus besieged in, 208, 209
- Civitates Latio jure donatæ*, 128, 130-132
- Ciwg ab Aron, 174
- Clackmannan, 76, 147, 283
- Clan Ranald, 169, 170
- Clappa, son of Ida, 77 (*see* Glappa).
- Claudia (Gloucester), 128
- Claudius, the emperor, 99, 129
- Clawdd*, meaning of, 46, 48, 49
- Claymore, 115, 116
- Cleddywawr*, 115, 116
- Cleddyf Difwlch and Cleddyf Kyfwlch (Dyfwlch in the text erroneously), characters in *Mabinogion*, 175
- Clemenhill, a character in *Mabinogi Kilhwach*, 230
- Clinnion, supposed to be a district, 235, 270 (*see* Ceinion)
- Cludwyn ab Brychan, 212
- Clwyd (*i. e.*, Clyde, *q. v.*), 11
- Clwyd, a river in Wales, 267
- Clyde, a river, 11, 56, 57, 62, 63, 127
- Clydesdale, 28, *n. 2*
- Clydno Eiddin, 174, 184, 230, 235, 270, 272, 273 (*see* Cynon, Eurneid)
- Clydog ab Cawrdaf, 175
- Clynog, 270, 271
- Coal used as fuel by Britons, 111
- Cocboy, battle of, 41
- Coccium, 58, 130
- Cocidius, a deity worshipped by Dacian cohort in Britain, 120
- Coel*, meaning of, 124
- Coel ("old King Cole"), 298
- Coel ab Cunedda, 207, 365
- Coel ab Cyllin, 88
- Coel Godebog, 173-5, 213, 215, 319, 332, 374
- Coelcerth*, 123, 126
- Cof ab Ceidio, 174, 319
- Cogidunus, 64
- Coinage of Britons, 93
- Colania, a town, 63
- Colchester, 128, 129
- Coleddawg, son of Gwynn, 326
- Coleion, a district, 207, 365
- Collars of gold worn by Britons, 95, 114
- Collen ab Gwynog, 175, 214
- Coloniae*, 128-130
- Columba, 65, *n. 1*, 281, 284, 285, 291
- Colyton, 132
- Comail, a British king, 209
- Comgal, King of the Scots, 280, 281, *n.*
- Commerce of Early Britain, 82, 83, 86, 87, 100-109
- Commote, 85
- Comrie, near Perth, 57
- Conad, son of Aeddan ab Gavran 285
- Conall, king of Dalriad Scots 37, 74, 280
- Conan, 292
- Conan, son of Aeddan, 287 (*see* Conad).
- Conang, Conangus, son of Aeddan, 286, 287 (*see* Conan, Conad)
- Condercum, town of Roman Britain, 122
- Condidan, a British king, 209
- Condolanus (*i. e.*, Cynddylan), 33, 217
- Congal Mac Maeleanfaith, 168
- Constantine, a British general, 291
- Constantine the Great, 298
- Constantinople, 222
- Constantius, 298
- Copper, working of, 92
- Coquet, the river, 60
- Coranians (Coritani), 196
- Corbridge, altars at, 120
- Cordea, a town of early Britain, 61
- Cordelia (Creiddylad), 230, 264, 316
- Coria, a town, 63
- Corinium (Cirencester), 130
- Coritani, a people, 55, 196
- Corn, cultivated and exported by Britons, 82-84, 86, 87, 105, 109, 110
- Cornabii, a British people, 58
- Cornan, a famous steed, 335
- Cornelius, a German miner, 113
- Cornelius, Gaius, a Roman officer, 121
- Cornish words, 61, *n. 5*; MSS., 380
- Cornwall, gold and silver mines in, 113; people of, 183, 186, 197; Llyr Merini, a prince of, 212; Eudaw, Earl of, 298; Gereint ab Erbin, 326
- Coroticus, a prince, 373
- Corstopitum (Corbridge), 120
- Corun, a saint, 151, 374
- Corvinwr, said to have introduced use of sail and rudder, 88

- Covinarius*, driver of a
Covinus, 89
 Crassus, P., visited the Cassiterides, 107
 Crawford, the town, 63, *n.* 4
 Crawford Moor, gold obtained from, 113, 114
 Cree, the river, 62
 Creiddylad, 230, 316 (*see also* Cordelia)
 Creirwy, 200
 Cromlech, 123
 Cronach Arwch, a famous steed, 206
 Crydon (*see* Cywryd)
Ct modified to *th*, 31, 193
 Cuadgan, 228
 Cuall, 175
 Cuckoo, the, in poetry, 381
 Cuhelyn, the poet, referred to and quoted, 123, 275-279, 361
 Culgaith, derived from Gwlyget, 224, 323
 Culvynawyd, a chieftain, 68
 Cumberland, 27, 28, 42, 57, 58, 71, 120, 127, 144, 186, 197, 206, 207, 212, 257, 266, 291, 322, 357, 371, 374, 375
 Cumbrey Islands. origin of name, 57
 Cumbria, its extent, 322
 Cumnock, 61, *n.* 4
 Cumraig, 28, *n.* 2
 Cunin, Cwfin, Kynin, father of Dall-dav, 206
 Cunedda, Cunedag, 367 (*see* Cunedda)
 Cunedda Wledig, 144, 145, 173, 185, 206, 207, 208, 212, 215, 261, 332, 336, 356-9, 362, 363, 365-374, 376
 Curia, a town, 59, 60
Curmi (*curuf*, beer) known to Dioscorides, 97
 Currency, the, of the Britons, 92, 93
 Currie-on-Gore, 59, *n.* 1
 Curriith, 274
Currus, a kind of chariot, 89
 Cutha, West Saxon chief, 75, 283
 Cuthwine, son of Ceaulin, 74, 209
 Cwfin, 206 (*see* Cunin)
Cwm, meaning of, 118, 183
Cwrw, early use of, 97, 136, 184
 Cwyven ab Brwyno Hen, 175
 Cydywal ab Syvno, 32, 187
Cyffeddach Morach, 337
Cyffor, meaning of, 169
 Cyhadvan, 228, 230
 Cyhoret, Kyhoret, Kishored, Cynhored, 159
 Cyhuran, Kyhuran, 158, 159, 343-5
Cylchwy, a kind of shield, 116
 Cyllin (*see* Coel)
- Cymmannon Hen, 326
 Cymric (or Kymric) annals, Cenau, son of Llywarch, almost unknown in, 253; forces, probably drawn up in semi-circular form, 183, *n.* 2; forms of words, 31, 117; independence, cessation of, in North Britain, 64; kings assisting Rhydderch Hael, 282; occupants of Edinburgh, 161, 178; poetry, 8; princes, dissensions among, 70; text of *Gododin*, arrangement of, 139; virgins, victims of Edelffied, 150; warriors wore plumes, 165
 Cymro (Kymro), Aeddan erroneously represented in the *Triads* as a, 285; Cadavael Wyllt not a native, 333; Cadwaladr, "the best son of a", 389
 Cymry, or Kymry, Kymric people, 3, 5, *n.* 1, 41, 44, 47, 55, 56, 57, 72, 94, 97, 137, 150, 161, 165, 178, 183, 193, 196, 220, 229, 242, 282, 283, 313, 326, 343, 369, 376, 378, 380, 384, 387, 388 (*see also* Owen, king of Strathclyde)
 Cynan, *i. e.*, Cynon ab Clydno, 159
 Cynan ab Cynwyd Cynwydion, 174
 Cynan Garwyn, 134, 209, 334 (*see* Dinogad, Selyv)
 Cynan Meiriadoc, 298
 Cyndeyrn (St. Kentigern, *q. v.*) 126, 281, 311
 Cyndeyrn ab Urien Rheged, 174
 Cyndrwyn, prince of Powys, 142, 217, 221 (*see also* Cynddylan, Gwion, Gwynn, Morial)
 Cynddelig Cyvarwydd, 318
 Cynddelw, the poet, quoted, 220, 317, 337
 Cynddilil of Aeron, 20, 23, 32, 295-7, 316-8
 Cynddilil ab Caw, 295, 297
 Cynddilil ab Cennydd, 297
 Cynddilil mab Cor Cnud, 296, 297 (*see* Eiddilic Cor)
 Cynddilil ab Llywarch Hen, 297
 Cynddilil ab Nwython, 214, *n.*, 295, 297, 315
 Cynddylan ab Cyndrwyn, 33, 74, 142, 143, 209, 216, 217, 242, 243, 259
 Cyngar, a saint, 327
 Cyngen ab Cadell Deyrnllwg, 202
 Cynhaval ab Argad, 111, 136, 247-9, 351-3
 Cynhaval ab Elgud, 175, 248
 Cynhoret, 159 (*see* Cyhoret)
 Cynir, 185 (*see* Cynyr)

- Cynllaith, the comot of, 279, 280
 Cynllo ab Mor ab Ceneu, 173
 Cynon, 235, 346, 347
 Cynon of Aeron, 18, 32, 80, 184, 185, 191, 193, 229, 235, 274, 294, 295
 Cynon ab Clydno Eiddin, 32, 80, 159, 174, 175, 184, 234-7, 269-274
 Cynon ab Cyndrwyn, 217
 Cynon, companion of St. Cadvan, 185
 Cynrein of Aeron, 32, 184, 185, 191
 Cynric, 32, 184, 185, 191
 Cynvan, 32, 220, 221
 Cynvar Cadgaddug, 221
 Cynvarch Oer ab Meirchion Gul, 24, 174, 271
 Cynvedw, 333, 386
 Cynvelyn (Cunobelinus), 99, 162
 Cynvelyn ab Garthwys, 174
 Cynvelyn Drwsgl, 174, 282, 335
 Cynvelyn Ceudawd Pwyll, 175
 Cynvran ab Brychan, 221
 Cynvrig, 185 (see Cynric)
 Cynwyd Cynwydion, 174
 Cynwyl ab Dunod, 174, 266
 Cynwyl Caio, 217
 Cynyr Varvdrwch, or Ceinvarvawg, 185
 Cyran (Ysgyran), 148
 Cyssul (son of Ysgyran), 32, 149, 151, 374
 Cystennyn Gorneu, 326
 Cywllch, 80, 175, 177, 242, 243
 Cywllch Addwyn, 176
 Cywllch, father of Arthan, 177
Cywain, meaning of word, 90
 Cywryd ab Crydon, 200
- D.
- Dacian Sea, the Kymry came across, 183
 Dacians in Britain, 120, 121
 Daegsanstane, 38, *n.*, 39 (see Degstan)
 Daegsastan, 39, 40 (see Degstan)
 Daegstan, Daegstane, 38, *n.*, 39, 40, 41, 42
 Dagger, a weapon of the Britons, 115
 Dalldaf eil Kynin, 206
 Dalmatians in Britain, 120, 121
 Dalreods, Dalriadic, 38, *n.*, 284
 Dalriada, Dalriadic kingdom, 280, 284, 2-6
 Dalston, (near Carlisle) identified with Degsastan, 40
 Damnii, their position, 57, 62, 63
 Dannonia, 59, 325
 Daronwy, 260, 261
- David, the prophet, 222
 Davies, Rev. Edward, mentioned, 3, 4, 5, 18, 43, 44, 45, 141, 143, 144, 149, 154, 155, 161, 163, 182, 189, 213, 215, 228, 250, 251, 254, 255, 269, 357, 364, 375, 379; special reference to his works: *Celtic Researches*, 4, 358; *The Mythology of the Druids*, 4, 43, 189, 228, 259; *The Claims of Ossian*, 357, 364, 375
 Davies, Dr. John, introduced the combination *dd*, 360, 380
 Davydd ab Gwilym referred to, 165, 296, 381
 Dawston identified with Degsastan, 40
 Daye's *Yorkshire* referred to, 124
Dd introduced, 360, 380
Dea Hamia, worship of, 122
Dea Matres worshipped in Britain, 120, 122
 Dealgan, battle of, 281 (see Delgon)
 Dealgin Ross, in Perthshire, 63, 130
Decuriones, 129, 130
 Dee, river in Scotland, 61, 62, 182
 Dee, river in Wales, 267, 372
 Degsa, 37, *n.*, 39, 40
 Degsastan, 37, *n.*, 39 (see Degstan)
 Degstan (written variously, Daegstane, Daegsanstane, Degsastan, Dexe-stane, Aegesanstane, Egesanstane), battle of, identified with Cattraeth, 37-42
Deheu, meaning of term, 326
 Deheubarth, 207
 Deiniol ab Dunawd, 174, 266
 Deiniolen, son of Deiniol, 174
 Deira, kingdom of, 30, 33, 58, 67, 69, 70, 79, 153, 157, 186, 197, 318, 370 (see also Deivr)
 Deivr, Deivyr, Deyfyr, 38, 49, 58, 70, 77, 79, 149, 150, 152, 153, *n.* 2, 184, 185, 186, 187, 323, 370 (see also Deira, and *Diverogion*)
 Deivyrrians, 79
 Delgon, battle of, 281, *n.* (see Dealgan)
 Denbighshire, 187, 241, 248, 315, 365
 Denmark, 183
Deo Mogonti, altar to, at Netherby, 120
Deo Vitiri, altars to, in Durham, 120
 Deorath Wledig, 224, 227 (see Dewrarth)
 Deorham, battle at, 209
 Deorthach, 227 (see Deorath, Dewrarth)
 De Quincey quoted, 124, *n.*
 Derbyshire, 42
 Derham identified with Deorham, 209
 Derwennydd, a river, 42, 336

- Derwent (*i. q.* Derwennydd, *q. v.*), 42, 135, 337
- Dessaix referred to, 162
- Deva (the Dee), 61, 62
- Deva (Chester) 128, 129
- Devonshire, 132, 183, 325, 326
- Dewrarth, 227 (*see* Deorath, and Deor-thach)
- Dexestane, 39 (*see* Degstan)
- Dialgur, 346, 347
- Dias*, meaning of, 141
- Diaspad, a character in the *Mabinogion*, 175
- Diffedel, son of Dysgyvedawg, 150
- Diffun*, meaning of, 143
- Digston, battle of, 284
- Dilston, in Northumberland, 291
- Dillus ab Ervai, 390
- Dimecti, 367
- Dimetae, 367
- Dimetia, 334 (*see* Dyved)
- Dinas Eiddin (Edinburgh), 178
- Dindryvan, 235
- Dindywyt, 30, 155, 257
- Din-Eiddin, 178 (*see* Edinburgh)
- Dineidin, 293, 344, 345 (*see* Dunedin. Edinburgh)
- Dinguarth Bryneich*, 68, 371
- Dinmael, 207, 365
- Dinogad ab Cyuan Garwyn, 23, 32, 34, *n.* 5, 115, 134, 332-6
- Dinorben, 159
- Dinwarch, father of Gavran, 285
- Dio Cassius, referred to, 92, 99
- Dio Niceus, 115, 134 (*see* also Dio Cassius)
- Diodorus Siculus quoted, 16, 84, 98, *n.*, 103, 105
- Diogenes Laertius referred to, 83
- Dioscorides mentioned, 97
- Disgyrin, 149 (*see* Disgyrnin)
- Disgyrnin, 149, 151
- Disgyvyndawt, 151
- Dissertatio de Bardis* (*see* Evans, Rev. Evan)
- Distar, son of Moryal, 32, 258, 259
- Disteir, son of Moryal, 32, 258, 259
- Diverogion*, meaning of, 184, 186, 187
- Dogs trained and exported by the Britons, 105, 109, 134, 135
- Dogvael, son of Cunedda, 207, 365
- Dogveilin, 207, 365
- Dolarg Mac Foith, 229 (*see* Talorc)
- Dolor, father of Pryder, 323
- Doman (Domangart), son of Aeddán, 285
- Domangart, son of Aeddán, 77, 284, 285
- Domangart. sou of Fergus, 280
- Domestic utensils of Britons, 89
- Domitian, the Emperor, mentioned, 110
- Don, a river in Yorkshire, 58, 127
- Don, father of Gwydion, 261, 385
- Donald Brec, 21, 23, 32, 311 7
- Doon, hills of, 8, 123, 126, 311, 313-5
- Doon, Loch, 314
- Dorchester (Durinum), 132
- Dorsetshire, 104
- Dragon*, a military term, 118
- Dress of Britons, 94, 114
- Drinks of Britons, 136
- Druidic (Druidical) learning, twenty years required to master the stores of, 38; period, traditions handed down from, 84; era, legislation of, 85; order wore linen robes, 93; hierarchy, power of the, broken by the Romans, 122; custom, a remnant of a supposed, 125, *n.* 2; rites, reference in the poem to, 310; usages surviving in seventh century, 311
- Druidism, a privileged craft, 82; doctrines of, compared with Eleusinian mysteries, 84; various orders, 85; impress of on the *Triads*, 88; a supposed relic of, 125, *n.* 2; still existed in Scotland in seventh century, 126, 310, 311; transition to Christianity, 165, 360
- Druids, Strabo's account of, 15, 16; persecuted by Rhydderch Hael, 71; their learning, 83; encouraged agriculture, 84; acquainted with manufacture of glass, 93; their dress, 95; the order crushed by the Romans, 119, 122; white their emblem of peace and purity, 165; the Druidic heaven, 286; became ministers of Christianity, 361; Taliesin represented as a Druid, 364
- Drumkeat, council of, 284
- Drumlanrig (Carbantorigum ?), 61
- Drutwas ab Trephin, 327-9
- Drwg, a female character in *Mabinogion*, 175
- Drwgdyddwg, a famous steed, 175
- Drywon, son of Nudd, 162, 282, 317
- Du hir tynnedig*, the horse of Cyuan Garwyn, 334
- Duach, a knight of Arthur, 223
- Dublin, 261
- Dubris, a port of Roman Britain, 108
- Duddo, (*Dindywyt* ?), 257

- Dumbarton, 11, 63, 64, 72, 130, 183, 282 (see also Alclwyd)
- Dumfriesshire, 61
- Dunaut, 14, n. 2, 267, 373 (see Dunawd)
- Dunawd ab Pabo, 6, 14, n. 2, 34, 70, 71, 72, 174, 200, 239, 257, 266, 267, 282, 335, 373 (see also Gwarthan ab Dunawd)
- Dunbegan, 169
- Dunbritton, 183 (see Dumbarton)
- Duncan, son of Conall, 281
- Dunchadh mac Conall, 281, n.
- Dun-Edin, 178 (see Dineidin, Edinburgh)
- Dunod (see Dunawd)
- Dunod ab Cunedda, 207, 365, 372
- Dunodig, 207, 365, 372
- Dunraven Castle, 234, 264
- Dur* (see Steel)
- Dur arbenmawr*, 115, 172
- Durham, 67, 74, 120, 127, 153, 370
- Durinum (Dorchester), 132
- Durnomagus (Castor-on-Nene, or Water Newton), 130
- Durobrivæ (Rochester), 132
- Durovernum (Canterbury), 132
- Dux Britanniae*, 375
- Dwywe, daughter of Gwallawg, 6, 32, 66, 141, 229, 264-6
- Dy*, use of the prefix in proper names, 202
- Dyeing, art known to Britons, 96
- Dyganwy Castle, Elffin imprisoned in, 237
- Dyggoglawd*, meaning of, 49
- Dyggymyrrus*, force and derivation of the word, 163
- Dynevor pedigree, 253
- Dynvarth, son of Gwrwst Ledlwm, 316
- Dysgeddawg, 149
- Dysgiar*, a weapon, 116
- Dysgyrnin Dysgyveddawd, 148, 149
- Dysgyveddawg, 149, 150
- Dysgyvndaut, Disgyvyndawd, 151
- Dyved, 23, 159 (see Dimetia)
- Dyvi, the river, 236
- Dyvneint, 325, 326
- Dyvnwal, a Caledonian prince, 212
- Dyvnwal Moelmud, 85
- Dyvnwal, or Dyvynwal Hen, 64, 236, 280
- Dyvynawl, son of Mynyddog Eiddin, 273
- Dyvynwal Vrych, 312 (see Donald Brec)
- Dywel ab Erbin, 72
- E.
- Eadlfrid, 388 (see Ethelfrith)
- Eanfraich, brother of Ethelfrith, 36
- Eanfrith (see Eanfraich, and Theobald), 38
- East Riding, 57, 68, n. 1
- East, the, Marseilles on the highway to, 103; Druidic custom brought from, 125, n. 2; Roman policy in, 131
- East Anglians, 255, 291, 319
- Eastern, coast, Saxons established on the, 45; conquests of Rome, 64; deities worshipped in Roman Britain, 120; counties occupied by Lloegrians, 196
- Eata Glinmawr, 75
- Ebchester, 58, n. 1
- Eboracum, or Eburacum, 'ΕΒόρακον, 58, 120, 128, 129
- Ebusa, son of Hengist, 66, 370
- Ecca, son of Ida, 69, n. 2
- Ech (see Egg), 168, 170, 171
- Echeching, 176, 177
- Echwydd*, 118
- Ecclesiastical History* of Sulpicius Severus known to Gildas, 13
- Ecclesiastical Antiquities of the Cymry* referred to, 361, 363, n., 364
- Edan, 38, n. (see Aeddán)
- Edelffed, 150
- Eden, the river, 61
- Edern (see Edeyrn ap Padarn), 359, 360, 363
- Edeyrn ab Cunedda, 207, 365
- Edeyrn ab Nudd, 173
- Edeyrn ap Padarn Beisrudd, 173, 357, 359, 360, 363
- Edeyrnion, 207, 263, 365
- Edgar, the king of the Saxons, 122, 136
- Edinburgh, 24, 30, 79, 80, 110, 114, 161, 178, 179, 182, 266, 270, 313, 375 (see also Dineidin, Dunedin, Eiddin)
- Edinburgh Review* quoted, 110, 119, ff.
- Ednyved, son of Maxen Wledig, 64 (see Dyvynwal Hen)
- Edwin, king of Northumbria, 41, n. 1, 77, 178, 209, 210
- Eg (see Egg)
- Egesanstane, 38, n., 39 (see Degstan)
- Egg, Isle of, 78, 168-171
- Egtach, 168 (see Egg)
- Eheubryd, daughter of Kyvwlech, 175
- Eheubryd, son of Kyvwlech, 175, 177
- Eidal tal ysgun, 295 (see Eidol)

- Eiddic Gorr, 296, the same as
 Eiddlic Cor, 296, 297, 338 (*see* Cyn-
 ddilig Cor Cnuad)
- Eiddin, Eiddyn, Eidyn (ab Einygan),
 23, 24, 273, 386
- Eiddin, Eiddyn, Eidiu, Eidyn (Edin-
 burgh), 79, 168, 169, 178, 179, 182,
 183, 310, 311, 346, 347, 348, 349,
 350, 351, 390 (*see* also Cynon ab
 Clydno, Mynyddog)
- Eiddol, Eidiol, Eidol (ab Ner), 32, 123,
 274, 275, 279, 280, 295, 296, 297,
 301, 303, 304, 305, 338
- Eiddon Vawrvrydig, 275
- Eigg, 168, 171 (*see* Egg)
- Eigr (Ygraine), 272
- Eil*, meaning of, 232
- Eiliwlch Hir, 176
- Eilydd, 80 (*see* Tudwlch)
- Einiawn, or Eiuion, Yrth, 173, 207,
 212, 215, 368 n., 369
- Einion vrenhin, 368, n.
- Einygan, or Enygan, 23, 24, 273 (*see*
 also Eiddin)
- Eissiwed, a character in the *Mabinogi*
 of *Kilhwch*, 175
- Eitew, a hero, 295
- Eithew, son of Gwrgan, 326
- Eithynyn, 348, 349, 350, 351 (*see* *Godod-
 din*, lines 388, 393, 398)
- Eithyr, son of Llwyarch Hen, 172
- Elaeth ab Meurig, 174
- Elen, Ellen, or Helen Luyddawg, 298,
 299
- Ἐλεφάντινα ψάλια, 106
- Eleri, 229 (*see* Llywri)
- Eleusinian mysteries referred to, 84
- Elfin, Elffin (*see* Elphin)
- Elgan Hen, 72, 281
- Elgin, 111
- Elgud, 175 (*see* Cynhaval)
- Eli (*see* Bleidic)
- Eli Atver, 274
- Elidir Lydanwyn, 174 (*see* Llywarch
 Hen)
- Eliffer Gosgorddvawr, 66, 71, 75, 174,
 282, 335 (*see* also Gwrgi, Peredur)
- Elivri (*see* Llywri)
- Elizabeth, Queen, mentioned, 380
- Ella, or Alla, king of Deira, 70, 73, 77,
 318 (*see* also Edwin)
- Ellen (*see* Elen)
- Ellylw, a character in the *Mabinogi* of
Kilhwch, 230
- Elmete, 209 (*see* Elvet)
- Elmur, son of Cadegyrr, 249
- Elphin, Elfin, or Elffin, son of Gwydd-
 no, 204, 225, 236, 238
- Elphin, Elfin, or Elffin, son of Urien,
 32, 70, 71, 174, 175, 236, 237, 238,
 239, 267
- Elvan, a warrior of Powys, 143
- Elved, Elvet, or Elmete, a district, 209,
 210, 346, 347
- Emreis, 9
- Emyr Llydawr, 232
- Eneuwac, daughter of Bedwyr, 230
- England, 27, 28, 29, 55, 57, 64, 66,
 137, 183, 197, 221, 326, 372, 381
- English accounts of the battle of Deg-
 stan, 37; antiquaries' attempts to
 identify the place, 39; counties in-
 cluded under the name Lloegria,
 209; history, battle of Blenheim in,
 41; king Ida, 67; people, Ethel-
 frid's struggles on behalf of the, 78;
 power advanced by the victory at
 Cattraeth, 81; sound *th*, 380; trans-
 lation of *Gweith Argoet Llwyfein*, 67;
 word *gown*, 94
- Englyn*, forms of the, 9, 329
- Englynion y Beddau* quoted, 148, 159,
 175 (should be *Englynion y Clywed*),
 176, 184, 187, 215, 216, 225, 234,
 241, 242, 260, 265, 270, 271, 295
- Englynion y Clywed*, 177, 184, 192,
 195
- Englynion y Misoedd*, 188
- Enrydeg, daughter of Tudvathar, 230
- Enygan (*see* Einygan)
- Enovant, or Novant, 296, 297
- Eocha, Eochach, Eochoid, Eochy find
 or finn, son of Aeddan, 77, 284, 285
- Eochy Buidhe, son of Aeddan, 285,
 313
- Eochy, or Eogan, brother of Aeddan,
 195, 285
- Eogain (*see* Eochy), brother of Aeddan
- Eoua filius Pippa, 41, n. 3
- Epeiacum, 58
- Ephid, 237
- Epistle* of Gildas, 8; written in Ar-
 morica, 12
- Epistles* of Jerome known to Gildas, 13
- Erbin, 325, 331 (*see* also Dywel,
 Geraint)
- Ercal, 259
- Erddudnid, daughter of Tryffin, 230
- Ergrid avon, 271
- Eri, 194
- Errith, 274
- Erse, meaning of *Brecc* in, 313
- Erthai, supposed proper name, 172
- Erthyr, son of Llywarch Hen, 172
- Ervai, or Ervei, 377, 382, 390 (*see* Ae-
 ddan, and Urvei)

- Eryri, 199
 Esk, the river, 257
 Eskdale, 61, *n.* 4
 Esperir Ewingath, 195
Essedarius 90
Essecum, 82, 89, 90, 91
 Essex, 109
 Essyllt Vingul, 231
 Essyllt Vinwen, 230, 231
 Essyllt Vyingwen, 63, *n.* 2
 Etain (identified with Edinburgh in the text, but by Skene, *Chron. Picts and Scots*. cxv, with Caeredin Carriden, Linlithgowshire), 313
 Etalfraich, 36 (*see* Ethelfrith)
 Ethelfed, Edelffed, 150
 Ethelfred, Ethelfrid (*see* Ethelfrith)
 Ethelfrith, Ethelfred, Ethelfrid, Etalfraich, Aedilfrid, Eadlfrid, king of Northumbria, 35, 36, 37, *n.*, 38, 40, 70, 77, 78, 79, 81, 150, 162, 173, 283, 284, 289, 323, 388
 Ethelric, son of Ida, 69, 70, 77, 289
 Etruria, 86, 89
 Ettric Forest, 28, *n.* 2
 Ettric Mount, 60
 Eubonia (Isle of Man), 283
 Eudav the Tall, 32, 161, 298, 299
 Eulad, father of Owen, 216
 Eunydd, 377, 383
 Eurdyl, sister of Urien, 66, 174
 Eurnaïd, daughter of Clydno Eiddin, 174, 230
 Eurolwen, daughter of Gwdolwyn Gorr, 230
 Euronwy, daughter of Clydno, 74, 174
 Europe, 96, 101, 103, 109, 221
 European literature, 2; annals, 86
 Euryn y Coed Aur identified with Gildas, 8, 9, 12
 Eusebius's works known to Gildas, 13
 Eusedale, 61, *n.* 2
 Eutropius referred to, 99, *n.* 2
 Evans, Rev. D. Silvan, B.D., referred to, 265, 343
 Evans, Rev. Evan (Ieuan Brydydd Hir), his *Dissertation de Bardis* quoted, 213, 215, 292
 Evans' *Coins of the Ancient Britons* quoted, 93, *n.* 1
 Evar, Efar, 351
Eveis, meaning of, 189
 Evnissyen, brother of Bran, 262, 265
 Evrawc, father of Peredur, 221
 Ewaeden, daughter of Kynvelyn Keudawd Pwyll, 175
 Ewen (Owen), king of the Britons, 313 (*see* Owen, king of Strathclyde)
 Excalibur, Arthur's sword, 233
 Exeter (*Isca*), 132
 Exports from Britain in early times, 105, 107, 112, 133
 Extirpation of conquered races a fiction of historians, 387
- F.
- Fair Family, the (*see* Tylwyth Teg)
 Fairy mythology of Wales, 188, 189
 Falconry in Wales, 135
 Family organisation among the Britons, 97
 Farinmail, a British king, slain by Ceaulin, 209
 Felix portus, 108
 Female line, election of kings through the, 231
 Ferawc, or Pherawc, father of Bedwyr, 32, 232, 233
 Fergus, king of Dalriada, 230
 Ferias, the steed of Daildav, 206
 Fermented liquors of Britons, 96, 97
 Festus Avienus cited, 54
 Fethanlea, Fethern, or Frethern, battle of, 37, 76, 283, 284, 289
 Fethern (*see* Fethanlea)
Ffin (*Gododin*, l. 385) 46, 48
 Fflamddwyn, 67, 68, *n.* 2, 69, *n.* 1, 371
 Ffledgein (*see* Rhedegein), 312
Ffossawd (*Gododin*, l. 231) meaning of, 46, 48, 117, 118
Ffun, *ffunen*, meaning of, 143, *n.* 2
 Fife, in Scotland, 228
 Fisheries and fishing in early Britain, 105, 135
 Flamborough Head, 57, 67, 68, *n.* 1, 370
 Flamebearer (*see* Fflamddwyn)
Flavia Caesariensis, division of Roman Britain, 127
 Flax cultivated in Britain, 93
 Fleury, monastery of, 11, *n.* 1
 Flintshire, 113
 Florence of Worcester quoted, 41, *n.* 3, 69, *n.* 2, 77, 255
 Flur, daughter of Mugnach Gorr, 272,
 Focas (*i.e.*, Phocas, the Emperor) 37, *n.*
 Foith (*see* Wid)
 Folkstone, 255
 Forth, Firth of, 45, 59, 60, 62, 63, 127, 283, 370
 Fortifications of the Britons, 83, 99, 117
 Fortren, district of Scotland, 168, 283

- Fortune, worshipped in Roman Britain, 121
 Fosterage among the Britons, 98
Four Ancient Books of Wales referred to *passim* (see under Skene)
 Fowls reared by the Britons, 87
 Fox, hunting of, 136
 Fraithe Cairvin, 313 (see Sraith Cairvin)
 France, 11, n. 1, 27, 55, 195, 221, 387
 Frankfurt, mentioned, 100
 Fraw, the river, 218
 French, the, 41
 Freodwald, 75 (see Fridwald)
 Freothwulf, king of the Angles, 77
 Frethern (see Fethanlea)
 Fridwald, Freodwald, king of Northumbria, 69, 75
 Fulling, the process known to the Britons, 96
 Fynnawn Vedwyr, 235
- G.
- Gabhran, 35, 281, n. (see Gavran)
 Gabran, 36, n. 2, 282, 287 (see Gavran)
 Gadeira (Cadiz), 102
 Gadeni, a British tribe, 45, 57, 59, 60, 62
 Gadenia, 59
 Gadwy or Garwy Hir, 230, 327
 Gael, the people, 115, 376, 383, 387, 388, 389, 390
 Gaelic language, 61, n. 5, 313, 385
Gaflach, a weapon of the Celts, 116, 187
Gagates exported from Britain, 108
 Gai Campus, battle of, 388
 Gaimar quoted, 41, n. 3
 Gala river, 28, n.*
 Galacum, a city of Britain, 58
 Galashiels, 27, 46
 Galath, son of Lawnselot du Lac, 222
 Galgacus, his skill as general, 117
 Gall, son of Dysgyvedawg, 149
 Gallia Narbonensis, 96
 Gallic bards, Strabo's description of the, 95; Beli, a Gallic deity, 124; merchants trading with Britain, 104; shore, the, 255; Suessiones, the, settlement of, in Britain, 101
 Galloway, 15, 23, 61, 126, 182, 265, 289, 311, 313
 Galysten, Llech Wen, 73, 74
 Games, the four and twenty British, 90
 Garban (for Gabran, q. v.), 281, n.
 Garmon, the saint, 152; his college, 327
 Garnard, son of Wid, 228, 229
 Garth Madrun, old name for part of Brecknock, 239
 Garthmerin, 289, 342, 343
 Garthwys Hir, 32, 173, 319, 332, 333
 Garwy (also Gadwy) Hir, 230, 327
 Garym, a character in the *Mabinogi* of *Kilrnoch*, 175
 Gascony, the Lloegrians came from, 55, 183
 Gaul, 85, 86, 94, 95, 96, 98, 104, 107, 110, 120, 129, 131, 195
 Gaulish word, *rheda* a, 90
 Gauls, the, 15, 82, 86, 87, 89, 96, 97, 98, 99, 101, 104, 105, 110, 120, 124, 387
Gawnacum, a garment worn by the Britons, 94
 Gauran, 256 (see Gavran)
 Gavran, Gabran, Gabhran, Garban, Gauran, Gawran, father of Aeddan, 35, 36, n. 2, 74, 256, 280, 281, 282, 285, 286, 287
Gavran, the Sea Song of, by Mrs. Hemans, referred to, 286
 Gavran, supposed son of Aeddan, 286
 Gawran Wradouc, 285, n. 1
 Gawrnwy, in Anglesey, 225
 Gayles (perhaps identical with *Galysten*), 73
 Geese reared by the Britons, 87
 Geirionydd, the lake of, mentioned, 15, 20, 183
 Gelligwig, in Cornwall, 212
 Gems exported by the Britons, 105
 Genealogy of the British saints (see *Achau y Saint, Bonedd y Saint*)
 Geoffrey of Monmouth referred to, 205, 206, 208, 209, 233, 298
 Geraint (ab Erbin ?), 32, 324-7, 331
 Geraint Hir, son of Cymmannon Hen, 326
 German Ocean, 196, 265
 German miners in Scotland, 113, 114
 Germans, their customs, 181, 335
 Germanus, St., 266 (see Garmon)
 Gervynion ab Dyrnwal Hen, 236 (see Gwyddno)
 Gibraltar, the Strait of, 103
 Gilbert, son of Cadgyffro, 220
 Gildas, identified by Iolo Morganwg with Aneurin, 5, 7; died in 570, *ib.*; his *Epistle* and *Historia Brittonum*, 8; variously named, 8; born 516 A.D., 9; Aneurin, his son, 10; Life of, from Monastery of Fleury, 11, n. 1; origin of his various surnames, 12; his learning, 13; his connection with the college at Llanveithin, 14;

- 19, 297, 368 (see also Gwynnog, and Nwython)
- Giles, Dr., referred to, 60, 62, 367
- Ginger imported by Roman Britons, 108
- Gipno (see Gupno)
- Girvan, in Scotland, 313, 314
- Glaif*, a weapon of the Britons, 116
- Glain nadron*, a misunderstanding of *glain natron*, 93
- Glamorgan system, 15, 124, 211
- Glamorganshire, 234, 235, 264, 314, 385
- Glanawg (see Helig)
- Glappa, son of Ida, 69 (Clappa, 77)
- Glas, a character in *Kilhwch and Olwen*, 175
- Glasgow, 72, 196, 281, 282
- Glass vessels exported from Britain, 105
- Glastennen*, inference from the name, 96
- Glastonbury, Gildas lived there, 12
- Glastum*, a colouring material, 96
- Gleisad, a character in the *Mabinogi* of *Kilhwch*, 175
- Glen Morison, battle of, 313
- Glenco, identified by some with Cwm Cawlyd, 11
- Glessic, a character in the *Mabinogi* of *Kilhwch*, 175.
- Glevum (Gloucester), 128, 129
- Glewlywd, 146
- Glinneu, son of Taran, 316
- Gloster, taken by Ceaulin and the Saxons, 74, 209; 127, 128, 129
- Goddeu, Godeu, 59, 67, 371
- Godeboc, 173 (see Coel Godebog)
- Gododin (the district), 19, 29; Davies's view of, stated and criticised, 43, 44; *gorffin Gododin*, 49, 306; *Gwyr a aeth Ododin*, *byddin Ododin*, 49-53, 59; *traeth Gododin*, 60, 308; men of Gododin, 79, 122; in the province of Valentia, 128; *rac bedin Ododin*, 146, 234, 252; 152; *Gwyr a aeth Ododin (bis)*, 154, 155; Gwarthan, Lord of, 141, 156, 257; 181; *Gwlyget Gododin*, 222, 223; *rac Gododin*, 238, 288, 318, 342; *Gododin ystre*, 254, 256, 257; *Gododin gomynaf dy blegyt*, 262, 264, note (A); *Hut amuc Ododin*, 282; *o barth vrython Ododin*, 294; Heiddyn Hir of Gododin, 309; the "seas of Gododin", 318, 319; *Gosgord Gododin*, 346; *Gnaut iar fisiolin am diffin Gododin*, 348
- Gododin* (the poem): its author, 3; previous translators, *ib.*; Davies's view of, 4, 6; chronological difficulties, 9; classic conception of, 13; Wales the standpoint of the author, 19; where written, 20; not Aneurin's only work, *ib.*, but his first, 21; its moral aim and epic character, 22; its date, *ib.*; its difficulty, 25; its subject, the battle of Cattaeth, identical with that of Degstan, A.D. 603, 26-53; its scene chiefly North Britain, 53, 56, 64; mention of battle of Mannan, 76; use of word *seirch* in, 92; allusions to wine, 111; to gold, 112; to white garments, 114; arms, 115, 116; military organisation and tactics, 118, 119; religious ideas and rights, 123; the chase, 134, 135; trade regulations, 136; evidence that Britain had not retrograded after departure of the Romans, 137, 138
- Text of the *Gododin*, 138; translators and versions of, 140, 141; *nys adrawd Gododin*, 144, 300, *n.*, 352, 374; date of composition, 144, 149, 235; portions of *Gododin* embodied in *Gorchan Maelderu*, 157, 158, 167, 190, 191, 194, 290, 339; Mynyddog the most conspicuous character in the poem, 161, 163; copyists of, 165, 168, 189; *neus adrawd Gododin*, 192, 300; mention of Caradog in, 214; composed in Wales, 228; imperfect state of the poem, 240; *Neu cheing e Ododin*, 250; contains germs of legends afterwards developed, 298; variations of copies, 312; mention of Gereint, 327; ordinary arrangement of the poem, 338; Stephens' arrangement, 354; relation to *Marwnad Cunedda*, 360; chronological data, 373, 374; meaning of *lleweis* in, 380; 390
- Gododian theories, 3; counterpart to the chroniclers' account of the battle, 38; district, the, 266
- Gododinians, the, 30
- Gogerddan, MS. at, 29, *n.*
- Gogledd, 65, *n.* 3, 149, 150, 326 (see North Britain, the North)
- Gognaw (son of Botgad?) 154, 155
- Gold abundant in Britain, 82; ornaments of, 92; garments embroidered with, 95; exported, 105; mines, 111-114; torques of, 191

- Golyddan, the Bard, 24, 262, 386
 Golystan, Golistan, 348, 349
 Gorasgwrn, daughter of Nerth, 175
Gorchan Cynvelyn quoted, 6, 17, 18, 123, 191, 251, 331
Gorchan Maelderw quoted and referred to, 10, 38, n. 2, 139, 157, 158, 167, 185, 189, 190, 192, 194, 196, 240, 247, 260, 261, 274, 287, 288, 290, 292, 293, 294, 300, 301, 302, 315, 339, 354
Gorchan Tudmwlch referred to, 168, 175
Gorffin Gododin, 46, 49
 Gormund, "King of Africa," 208, 209
 Goronwy (see Tudur)
 Gorthrum, the Dane, 208 (see Gormund)
 Gorthyn Hir, 330, note (A) (see Garthwys Hir)
 Gothic invaders, the, of England, 28, n.*
 Gower, Guhier, Guiher, 71, 367, 372
 Gracchus, Caius, mentioned, 129
 Graid, or Greid, son of Eri, 194, 316
 Grampians, the, 63 ; battle of, 91
 Grathach, son of Gwawrddur Kyruach, 223
 Gray, the poet, quoted, 215, 273, 292
 Greal, Graal, San-Graal, 222
 Grecian traditions about Britain, 83
 Greece, 117
 Greek words, *μάντις*, 61 ; *βίς*, 61, n. 5 ; *περιανχένια*, *ἐλεφάντινα ψάλια*, 105, 106 ; usage, 16 ; poem, *Argonautica*, 54, n. ; geographer, Artemidorus, 84 ; writer, Antipater of Thessalonica, 88
 Greeks, the, 16, 94, 96, 102, 103
Green Isle of the Ocean, the, by Mrs. Hemans, referred to, 286
 Greidawl, 316 (see Gwythyr)
 Greit, son of Hoewgi, 32, 194, 196, 197, 283
 Grifinus, a Scottish chief, 283, 284
 Gruffudd ab Cynan, life of, referred to, 187
 Gruffudd ab Meredydd, 221, 272
 Gruffuth, father of Hywel, 270
 Grwst, son of Gwaith Hengaer, 174
Gueinth, meaning of, 159
 Gueinthguaut, surname of Cian, 159, 160
 Gueith Cair Legion, 387
 Guenedota, 388 (see Gwenedota, Gwynedd)
 Guest, Lady Charlotte, quoted, 232, 234, 270, 272, 273, 296, 327
 Guhier, Guiher (Gower), 367
 Guisborough (identified with Caerwys of Aneurin), 79
 Gupno, or Gipno, 290, note (A), 353, 354 (see Cibno)
 Gurbrith, a famous steed, 206
 Gwaednerth, son of Gwallonir, 293
 Gwaednerth, son of Llywri, 32, 229, 292, 293, 344, 345
Gwaell, a lance, 116
 Gwaeth, and Gwaethav Oll, characters in the *Mabinogi* of *Kilhwch and Olwen*, 175
Gwaew, a spear, 116
 Gwair Gwryd Vawr, 338
 Gwair Hir, son of Mervarch, 32, 336, 337, 338
Gwaith Argoed Llwyvain quoted, 22, 59, 67, 68 (translation), 111, 118
Gwaith Gwenystrad referred to, 22, 27, 47, 50, 73 (translation)
 Gwaith Hengaer, son of Elffin ab Urien, 174
 Gwalchmai, his grave, 184
 Gwalchmai, the poet, mentioned, 381
 Gwaledyr Kyrvach, 230
 Gwalauc, identified with Cadwallon, 52
 Gwallawg, Gwallawc, Gwalloc, Gwalllog ab Lleenog, lived about 580 A.D., 6 ; his connections, 66 ; war with Urien, 70, 239 ; occupied portions of Westmoreland and Cumberland, 71 ; joining expedition against Irish in Wales, settled there, *ib.* ; alliance with Rhydderch, *ib.*, 73 ; struggle with Angli, 73, 74 ; neglect of agriculture, 111 ; 152, 153 ; ode to, by Taliesin, 155 ; 205, 266, 317 (see also Ceredig and Dwywe)
 Gwallonir, 293
 Gwanannon, 348, 349 (see also p. 306, line 728)
 Gwanar ab Lliaws ab Nwyvre, 156
 Gwarthan ab Dunawd, his date, 6 ; a confessor at Llanarvan, 13 ; succeeds his father, 15, 19, 32 ; fell at Cattrath, 34 ; his territory, 60 ; connections in the North, 66, 71, 78, 141, 156, 174, 175, 229, 255, 257 ; sketch of his life, 266, 267 ; 305, 307, 308, 353
 Gwarthlev, in line 147, not a proper name, 177
Gwas, force of the word, 141
Gwasgargerdd Vyrddin, quoted, 331
 Gwaunllwg, 235
 Gwawl, daughter of Coel Godebog, 173, 357, 365
 Gwawrddur, 33, 220, 221, 223
Gwart Lud y Mawr, quoted, 188

- lion (*see* Gwydion)
 Iolwyn Gorr, 230
 Ior Datharweiniddawg, 230
 Iorwerydd Vawr, or Gweir gurhyt
 Iwr, 296, 338
 Iolwgan Gohoywgein, a steed, 206
 Ior, daughter or grand-daughter of
 Irychan, 199, 212, 213
 Ior, daughter of Cywryd ab Crydon,
 00
 Ior, son of Llywarch Hen, 200, 216,
 92 (*see also* Cibno, or Gupno, and
 Iwenabwy)
 Ior Alarch, daughter of Kynwyl
 Iorabwch, 230
 Iorabwy, son of Gwen, 32, 34, n. 3,
 1, 199, 200, 201, 243, 244, 245,
 62, 292
 Ioraseth, daughter of Rhuvon ab
 Iorunedda, 373
 Ioranchlan, the bard, 160
 Iornddolau ab Ceidio, a chief of
 North Britain, 66; alliances with
 Iorddan, etc., 71, 72, 74, 281, 282,
 385; his birds, 149; his pedigree,
 74; patron of Myrddin and Pa-
 anism, 319, 320; his death at
 Iorderydd, 319, 335
 Iorenedota, Guenedota, 367, 388
 Iorengad, Guengad, 354, 355
 Iorenhwys (*see* Gwentians)
 Iorenhwyvach, Gwennhwyvach, 230,
 262
 Iorenhwyvar, 230, 262
 Iorennllan Deg, 230
 Iorennwledyr, daughter of Gwaledyr
 Kyrvach, 230
 Iorvent, 11, 236, 280, 293
 Iorventians, the longhaired, "G6en-
 16ys g6allthiryon", 97
 Iorwynwyn, son of Nav, 327
 Iorvenystrad, battle of, 73 (*see* *Gwaith*
Iwenystrad)
 Iorverdonau Llion, 286, 287
 Iorvernor, 352, 353
 Iorrgan, Gwgawn Gleddeyrudd, 33,
 218, 220, 221, 224, 320, 321
 Iorrgan Gwron, 146, 174, 220
 Iorriawn, Gwion, son of Cyndrwyn, 33,
 217, 218, 220, 221, 224, 320, 321
 Iorriylm Ddu, the poet, 225, 271
 Iorririad, 386 (*see* Gwriad)
 Iorriath, 228 (*see* Wid)
 Iorriedig, the title, 65, 205, 206, 207,
 369, 375
 Iorriulgawd Gododin, 224 (*see* Gwlyged)
 Iorriulyged, Gwlyget, Gwlgawd, Gwly-
 lyged, Gwlyget, of Gododin, 14,
 n. 1, 80, 222, 223, 224, 265, 320,
 321, 322, 323
 Iorriwolowy, 342, 343
 Iorriwrgau, 326
 Iorriwrgi, son of Eliffer, 75, 174, 282,
 335
 Iorriwrgi Garlwyd, 150
 Iorriwrgwst (*see* Gwrgwst)
 Iorriwriad, Guriat, Gwryat, or Gwiriad,
 son of Gwrien, 33, 212, 213, 215,
 216, 386
 Iorriwriav, Gwriaf, Gwryaf, 224, 272,
 273
 Iorriwrien, Gwryen, 33, 211, 212, 213,
 214, 215, 216, 217, 232
 Iorriwrien, father of Gwriad, 386 (*see*
 p. 216)
 Iorriwrin ab Cynddilg ab Nwython,
 214, n.
 Iorriwron ab Cunedda, 185
 Iorriwrtheyvyr Vendigaid, 229, 289
 Iorriwrtheyru, the story of, discredited,
 66
 Iorriwrthmwl Wledig, 242
 Iorriwrwan, 316, 317
 Iorriwrveling Vreisc, 33, 179, 180, 181
 Iorriwrvyw ab Pasgen, 174
 Iorriwrgwst, Gwrgwst Ledlwm, 173, 174,
 316
 Iorriwry, the river Wye, 225
 Iorriwyddelians, Gwyddelians settlers in
 North Wales, 212, 220
 Iorriwyddneu, or Gwyddneu, 204, 205 (*see*
 Gwyddno)
 Iorriwyddno Garanhir, Gwyddneu, Gwyd-
 neu, 34, 204, 205, 217, 224, 225,
 227, 236, 254 (*see also* Isaac, Rhu-
 vawn Hir)
 Iorriwyddyl, *diferogion*, *gaflachawg*, 187;
 their expulsion from North Wales
 by Ceredig ab Cunedda, Caswallon
 Law Hir, etc., 207; from Breck-
 nock by Caradog Vreichvras, 212,
 213, 220; Moryen, lord of Gwyddyl
 of Arvon and Anglesey (?), 231; 296,
 368 (*see* Irish, Gwyddelians)
 Iorriwyddyl Ffichti, 56
 Iorriwydion, Gwdion, Gwydyen (son of
 Don), 242, 243, 261, 265, 296, 377,
 382, 383, 385, 386
 Iorriwydyen, 242 (*see* Gwydion)
 Iorriwylyget (*see* Gwlyged)
 Iorriwylliaid, 188
 Iorriwylliaid Cochion Mawddwy, 189
 Iorriwyndyt, 330 (A), 332, 390, 391
 Iorriwynedd, 11, 116, 149, 150 (*Ket dyffei*
wyned a gogled e rann), 151, 187,
 188 (*em blaen gwyned*), 189, 203, 207,

- 220, 260, 261, 263, 306 (*eillt wyned, cadawry gwyned*), 307, 368, 376, 386, 387, 388, 389, 391
- Gwyneddian, Gwyneddians, 197, 333 (*see Gwyndyt*)
- Gwyngeneu, son of Paulinus, 160
- Gwyngwn, 159, 160 (*o vaen gwynngwn*), 161
- Gwynlliw Vilwr, 194, 222
- Gwynllwg, 194
- Gwynn, 33, 212, 213, 216, 220, 221
- Gwynn ab Cyndrwyn, 216, 217
- Gwynn ab Cynyr Varvdrwch, 217
- Gwynn ab Nudd, 217, 316, 317
- Gwynn, father of Coleddawg, 326
- Gwynno, son of Cynyr, 217
- Gwynnog ab Clydog, 175
- Gwynnog ab Gildas, 160, 315
- Gwynnoro, son of Cynyr, 217
- Gwynvryn in Merioneth, 263
- Gwythyr, son of Greidawl, 316, 317
- H.
- Habitancum (Risingham), an altar to the nymphs at, 121
- Hadrian, the emperor, mentioned, 82
- Haearddur, 152, 153
- Haethfelth praelium*, 41, n. 1
- Hamia dea*, an altar to, 122
- Hamilcar, the Carthaginian navigator, 54
- Hampshire, Hants, 108, 132
- Hare, hunting the 136
- Harlech, 262, 264, 265
- Harnais*, a British word, 92
- Hatfield, in Yorkshire, battle at, 41, n. 1
- Heathfield, battle of, 41
- Heavenfield, battle of, 41
- Hebrides, 168
- Hecateus, his account of Britain, 84
- Hefenfelth (Heavenfield), 41, n. 2
- Heiddyn Hir, 33, 60, 79, 308, 309, 311
- Heilyu, 33, 253, 254, 255
- Heilyn ab Caradog Vreichvras, 253
- Heilyn ab Gwyddno (?), 254
- Heilyn ab Llywarch Hen, 254
- Heledd (a variant for "Heiddyn Hir" in *Triads*, i, 71; ii, 46), 309
- Helen, niece of Howel ab Emyr Llydaw, 232
- Helen Luyddawg (*see Elen*)
- Helig ab Glanawg, 198
- Helmets of steel mentioned, 115, 172, 173
- Hemans, Mrs., referred to, 286
- Hendrev Vorion, a farm near Bar-mouth, 331
- Hengist, the Saxon chief, 66, 154, 370
- Hengwrt Library, MS. of *Gododin* lost from, 4
- Henry of Huntingdon cited, 39, n. 1, 41, n. 3, 119, 255
- Henry the Eighth mentioned, 380
- Hercules, the Tyrian, worshipped in Roman Britain, 121
- Hereford, 127, 327
- Hergest, Red Book of, 76, n.
- Hering, son of Hussa, 38
- Herodian, cited, 95, 114, 115
- Herodotus referred to, 54, n., 102
- Hertfordshire, 132
- Hettwn Talaryant, Hettwn Glavyrawc, 315
- Hexham, 58, n. 1
- Hides exported from Roman Britain, 109
- Highlanders, 56, 115, 124
- Highlands, the, 11, 55, 56, 57, 59, 128, 147, 161, 171, 196
- Hiraddug, battle of, 214
- History of the Britons* by Gildas, 8; when written, 12; proves his acquaintance with classical literature, 13
- Hoare, Sir R. C., referred to, 265
- Hochstädt, battle of, 41
- Hodnet, in Salop, 217
- Hoewgi, father of Greid, *q. v.*
- Hogg's *Instructor* quoted, 124, n.
- Hollings' *Roman Leicester* referred to, 99, 124
- Honorius, the Emperor, 138
- Horestii, a British tribe, 63
- Horns for drinking, 112, 224
- Horses of the Britons, 92
- Horsley, author of *Britannia Romana*, referred to, 59, n. 1, 60, n. 4, 61, n. 2, 62, 63, n. 1, 120
- Houses of the Britons, 99
- Housesteads, altars, etc., at, 121
- Howel, son of Cadwal, 389
- Howel ab Emyr Llydaw, 232
- Howel ab Owen Gwynedd, 224
- Howel Dda, his laws referred to, 16, 135, 153, 164
- Hu Gadarn, 84
- Huail, son of Caw, 11, 234
- Hughes's *Horae Britannicae* referred to, 186, 197
- Humber, the river, 56, 58, 127, 196, 370
- Hunter, Mrs. Leo, in the *Pickwick Papers*, 381
- Hunting (*see Chase*)
- Hussa, father of Hering, 38

- Hussa, king of Northumbria, 69
 Hwrreith (ab Beli ap Rhun ?), 33, 274, 275, 279, 280, 303
 Hwyrddwg, a steed, 175
 Hydwn, hill of, 214, 215, 217
 Hydwn Dwn ab Ceredig ab Cunedda, 217
 Hydwyth, the rock of, 217
 Hyona, Isle of, 280
 Hyveidd Hir, son of Caradog Vreich-
 vras, 33, 38, 79, 151, 152, 153, 175, 263
 Hyveidd Hir ab Bleiddian, or Blei-
 ddi, 152, 216, 386
 Hyveidd Unllen, 152, 153
 Hywel ap Gruffuth, 270
 Hywgi, son of Gwynlliw, 194
- L
- Iaen, 220 (see also Bradwen, Morien)
 Iacob filius Beli, 387 (see Iago ab Beli)
 Iago ab Beli, 24, 206, 209, 242, 333, 357, 386, 387, 388, 390, 391
 Ioeni, the British tribe, 53, 112
 Icolmkill, the Isle of, 291
 Ida, supposed by Pughe to have led the Saxons at Catteraeth, 6; his wars in the north, 67-69, 75; his successors, 77, 117, 145, 318, 370-2
 Iddawc Cordd (or Corn) Prydain, 226, 296
 Idno ab Meirchion Gul, 174
 Idwal, son of Cadwaladr, 389
 Iena, an estuary, 62
 Ierne (Ireland), 54
 Iernian Isles, early name for British Islands, 54, n.
 Iestyn, son of Gereint, 327
 Ieuan, 33, 220, 221
 If, Iffi, Yffi, Yffa, an Anglian chief, 318
 Iliad, the, mentioned, 22
 Ilkley (*Olicana*), 58
 Illtyd, Iltutus, knight and saint, 222, 236, 319
 Iltutus, 319 (see Illtyd)
 Implements of husbandry among the Britons, 88
 Imports into early Britain, 105-108, 133
 Indeg, daughter of Garwy Hir, 230
 India, 108, 131
 Indigo, 96
 Iolo Morganwg, referred to, 5, 7, 8, 15, 27, 42
 Iolo MSS. quoted, 8, 11, 15, n. 2, 88, 176, 185, 210, 215, 220, 221, 223, 261, 266, 293, 315, 329, 332, 366, 368, n., 375, 376
 Ireland, 7, 12, 54, 55, 57, 61, 125, 199, 203, 262, 263, 284, 313, 385
 Irish, the, in Wales, 71, 154, 187, 203, 207, 213, 260, 261, 333, 365-369, 372, 385, 387 (see also Gwyddyl)
 Irish annals, 36, 37, 42 (see Annals)
 Irish language, 36, n., 61, n., 313
 Irish Sea, 265
 Iron worked by the Britons, 92, 111; exported, 105
 Irthing, the river, 120
 Isaac, son of Gwyddno, 33, 34, n. 4, 204, 205
 Isca (Caerleon), 128
 Isca (Exeter), 132
 Islay, the island, 61, n. 5
 Israelites, 78
 Isurium (Aldborough), 58
 Italians, citizenship extended to, 131
 Italy, 88, 107, 120, 131
Itinerarium Antonini referred to, 58, n. 2
 Ituna (Eden river), 61
 Iudeu, 388 (see *Afbret Iudeu*)
 Ivory exported from Britain, 105, 106
- J.
- James's *Patriarchal Religion* referred to, 95
 James IV, king of Scotland, 113
 James V, 113
 James VI, 113
 Januarius, St., mentioned, 168
 January, calends of (*Diw calan yonawr*), 200, 201
 Javelin borne by British warriors, 115
 116
 Jedburgh, 40, 59, n. 1
 Jenkins, Henry, his age, 357
 Jerome, his *Epistles* known to Gildas, 13
 Jet exported from Britain, 108
 Jocelyn's *Life of St. Kentigern* referred to, 65, 311
 Johannes a Bosco, published life of Gildas, 11, n. 1
 Johnson's *Tour in the Hebrides* referred to, 168, 171
 Jones, Edward, his *Musical and Poetical Relicks of the Welsh Bards* quoted, 73
 Jones, Rev. W. Basil (now Bishop of St. David's), his *Vestiges of the Gael in Gwynedd* referred to, 333, 387
 Jones, Rev. John, of Llanllivni, his

- essay on *The State of Agriculture under the Druidical System* referred to, 85, 88, 93, 96, 100, 101
- Jones, Theophilus, his *History of Brecknock* referred to, 214
- Jornandes referred to, 89, 98
- Joseph of Arimathea mentioned, 222
- Julian, the Emperor, mentioned, 83, 110
- Jupiter, altars to, common in Roman Britain, 121
- Jupiter Tanaros worshipped in Britain, 120
- Justice, administration of, in Roman Britain, 127
- Jutes, the, in the north of England, 66, 145, 370
- K.
- K. Some forms which the author or MSS. write indifferently with K or C are given only under the latter.
- Kai (see Cai)
- Καυουλόδουνον*, 128 (see Camalodunum)
- Κανυγυρωρυ*, a composition attributed to Taliesin, 97, n. 3
- Κατουβρακτόνιον*, 30, 130 (see also Cata-ract)
- Kaxe, 232 (see Cai)
- Kedig (see Cedig)
- Κελτοί*, 54, n. (see also Celts)
- Kendal, 58, n. 3
- Kennin henben, his grave, 159
- Kent, 82, 108, 109, 210
- Kentigern, Life of St.*, referred to, 65, 311 (see also Cydneyrn)
- Kentire, 255, 281
- Kerdd am Veib Llyr* referred to, 187, 265
- Kian (see Cian)
- Kidwelly, Cetgueli, 154, 367
- Kilhwch, son of Kilydd, and the hero of the *Mabinogi* bearing the name, 167, 231 (see Mabinogion)
- Kilkeran, Aeddan ab Gavran buried in the church of, 285
- Kilt, the, represents the old British *pais*, 115, 333
- Kilydd (see Tudvwlech, Kilhwch)
- Kinon, Kynon, 184 (see Cynon)
- Kirkcudbright, 61, 182
- Kirkinn, battle of, 36, 76, 284, 285
- Kirkintulloch, 63, n. 2
- Kishored eil Kyran, 159 (see Cyhoret)
- Kyhoret (see Cyhoret)
- Kyhuran (see Cyhuran)
- Kyledyr Wyllt, a character in the *Mabinogion*, 315, 316
- Kymry (see Cymry)
- Kynedyr Wyllt, 315 (see Kyledyr)
- Kynhaiawc*, 142, 143, 144
- Kynhorawc*, 142, 143, 144
- Kynin (see Cunin)
- Kynrain, Kynrein, 184, 186 (see Cynrein)
- Kynri, Kynric, 184, 185 (see also Cynric)
- Kynvelyn (see Cynvelyn)
- Kynwyl Canbwch, a character in *Kilhwch and Olwen*, 230
- Kynyr Keinvarwawc (see Cynyr and Cai)
- Kyuoessi Myrddin a Gwendyd y Chwaer* quoted, 65, 389
- Kyvnisen, 265
- Kyvwlech (see Cyvwlich)
- L.
- Laina*, a garment, 94
- Lanarkshire, 59, n. 2, 63
- Lancashire, 58, 65, 71, 108, 130, 238, 257
- Lancaster, 362, 369, 371, 375
- Lance, the, used by the Britons, 116, 201
- Lanchester, 58
- Land parcelled out into fields, etc., by the Britons, 82, 85, 86
- Landaff church, gift to, 177 (see *Liber Landavensis*)
- Lapis Tituli*, battle at, 255
- Latham, Dr. R. G., quoted, 63, n. 4
- Latin privilege (*jus Latium*), 130, 131, 134
- Latin language, words, etc, 31, 36, n. 2, 41, n. 2, 43, 92, 116, 117, 193, 379
- Lawnselot du Lak, 222
- Laws relating to agriculture, 85 (see also Howel Dda)
- Lavan Sands, 198
- Lead known to Britons, 92; exported, 105, 109; mines, 111; silver in ores of, 113
- Leak identified with *Llech Wen Galysten* (?), 73
- Learning in early Britain, 83
- Leather, sails of, 94
- Leavington identified with *Llwyvenydd*, 30, 67, 238
- Leck, in Lancashire, identified with *drws Llech*, 71, 257
- Legions, in Britain, 49, 58, 86, 128, 129, 138
- Legonidec's *Dictionary* referred to, 61, n. 5

- Leicester, 124, 132
 Leith, 76
 Leithreid, 36, *n.*; Leithredh, 76, 284
 (*see* Lleithredh)
 Leithrig, 36, *n.*; Leithrigh, 76 (*see*
 Lleithredh)
 Leithvedh, 256 (*see* Lleithredh)
 Lemanis, a port, 108
 Lergi, in Britain, 120
 Leucopibia, 62, 182
 Leuvre, 256, 257 (*see* Lleudvre)
 Leversdale, 257
 Lexobii, a tribe of Gauls, 104
 Ley, land of, 257
 Leyhead, 257
 Lhuyd (Edward) cited, 4, 33, 217, 380
Liber Landavensis, the, referred to,
 168, 177, 293, 326
 Liddeldale, 257
 Liddesdale, 28, *nn.* 2*
 Liebig, the chemist, mentioned, 87
 Liethali (*see* Liethan)
 Liethan, Liethali, Bethan, Vethan, 367
 Ligurians, the, 55, 195, 197
 Lime used by the Britons, 87
 Lincoln, 128, 129, 260 (*see* Lindum)
 Lindisfarne, the isle of, 74
 Lindum (Lincoln), 128
 Lindum, a town of the Damnii, 63
 Linen supposed to be manufactured
 by the Britons, 93
 Lintlithgow, 63
 Literature cultivated among the
 Britons, 83
Literature of the Kymry referred to, 42,
 153, 160, 203
Littus Saxonicum, the east coast of
 England, so called in Roman docu-
 ments, 66
Llafn, or *Uain*, a weapon, 116
 Llanaber, near Barmouth, 331
 Llanarmon yn Ial, 241
 Llanbadarn, 184, 274
 Llanbadarn Odyn, 184
 Llanbadarn Vawr, 184
 Llanbeulan, in Anglesey, 280
 Llanbeuno, near Pwllheli, 270
 Llancarvan, Gildas lived at, 12, 13;
 Aneurin resided at, 13, 19, 20;
 Hywgi gave his lands to the college,
 194; Cynon educated at, 273
 Llandoverly, 42, 61, *n.* 5
 Llandyvaelog, 202
 Llandyvalle, in Breconshire, 202
 Llanelwy (St. Asaph), 203
 Llangwm Dinmael, Denbighshire, 315
 Llangynhaval, 248
 Llaniestyn, 288
 Llanllyr, in Radnorshire, 213
 Llanllyvni, 85, *n.*
 Llanpumsaint, in Caermarthenshire,
 217
 Llanrhystud, an old custom at, 297
 Llanrwst, 220
 Llanvaethlu, in Anglesey, 202
 Llanvair yng Nghornwy, 225
 Llanveithin (Llancarvan, *q.v.*), the
 college at, 13, 14
 Llanverin, 288
 Llanvetherin, 288
 Llanvor, 372
 Llanwarthen, in the Vale of Clwyd,
 267
 Llanwrin, in Montgomery, 214
 Llanyre (*see* Llanllyr), 213, *n.*
 Llawgad Trwm Bargod, 24, 273
 Llawr, son of Llywarch Hen, 181, 254
 Llech, the pass of, 71, 257
 Llech Lleucu, 254, 255
 Llech Lleutu, 254, 255, 257
 Llech Titleu, or Tudleu, 255, 291
 Llech Wen Galysten, 73, 74
 Lleian, daughter of Brychan, 280
 Lleithredh (Leithredh, Leithreid,
 Leithrig, Leithrigh, Leithvedh),
 battle of, 36, 37, 76, 256, 284, 285
 Llemenig (Llemenic, Llemennig,
 Llemynawg, Llyminawg, Llwminig,
 Llwmlhunig), son of Mawon, 200,
 201, 202, 203, 209, 212, 309
 Llemynawg, 203 (*see* Llemeuig)
 Lleudvre, 254-257
 Llew ab Cynvarch Oer, 174
 Llew Llaw Gyffes, 159
Lleweis, meaning of, 380
 Lleyn, in Caernarvonshire, 270
 Llivanat (*Od ambuch Uivanat*), 246,
 265
 Lliwer ab Llywarch Hen, 181, 254
 Llivon, the lake of, 247, *n.* 2, 265
 Lliwelydd (Lliwelit), father of Llwy-
 ddawg, 215
 Lliwelydd, Caer (Carlisle), 144, 358
 Lloegria, 150, 209, 245, 387 (*see*
 Lloegyrr)
 Lloegrians, 38, 55, 56, 81, 183, 186,
 195, 196, 197, 269, 307 (*see* Lloeg-
 grwys)
 Lloegrwys, 38, *n.*, 194 (*Lloegrwys*
giwet), 268 (*Seith gymeint o loegrwys*
a ladassant), 306 (*Ket lwsys loegrwys*
lliwedawr) (*see* Lloegrians)
 Lloegyrr, Lloegr, 183 (*Gorug ar Loegyrr*
lu cyngrwn, also *llu kyndrwyn*), 197,
 220, 244 (*En loegyrr drychyon rac*
trychant unben), 293 (*Ynghyfryssed a*

- Lloegyr Lluyd amhad*, 344, 345 (see Lloegria)
- Llongborth, battle of, 327
- Llovan Llawddivo, Llawddino, or Llaw Ddivrod, 24, 76, 273
- Lloyd, Mr. Meredith, referred to, 186
- Lluagor, the steed of Caradog Vreichvras, 159, 214
- Lluched, a character in *Kilhwch and Olwen*, 175
- Lluchwaew*, a dart used by Britons, 116
- Lludd Llaw Ereint, 230, 316 (see Creiddylad)
- Lluyd, Humphrey, referred to, 375, 380
- Llwch Gwyn, the white lake, 149, 324, 327, 329, 331
- Llwminig, Llwmhunig (see Llemenig)
- Llwydcoed, Caer (Lincoln), 260
- Llwyddawg, son of Lliwelydd, 215
- Llwydden, brother of Rhun, 315
- Llwyrdyddwg, a horse mentioned in *Kilhwch and Olwen*, 175
- Llwyvenydd, residence of Urien Rheged, 30, 67, 238
- Llychlyn, the sea of, 56, n.; *Llychlyn a Dulyn*, 261
- Llyminawg, 203 (see Llemenig)
- Llyu Geirionydd (see Geirionydd)
- Llyr, a virgin and saint, 213, n.
- Llyr ab Brochwel, 32, 146, 147 (see also Bradwen, Manawyd, Manawyddan)
- Llyr Llediaith, 146, 147, 264
- Llyr Lluyddog, 147
- Llyr Merini, 174, 212, 213, 215, 217
- Llywarch Hen, his date according to Lluyd, 4; according to Davies, not the Llywarch of the *Gododin*, *ib.*; two sons of, at Cattræth, 34; his account of the death of Urien, 76, 273; his "Mwg Mawr Drefydd", 77; references to agriculture, 111; to use of gold, 112; *y gad gyngrwn*, 119, 183; his son's golden spurs, 141; his son Brwyn, 145; mention of, in the *Triads*, 146; his sons *aurdorchoigion*, 151; his sons Eithyr and Erthyr, 172; his pedigree, 174, 175; mentions Edinburgh, 178; his son Medel, 179, 180, 181; his son Gwen, 200, 216; mentions Llemenig, 202; connected with Arthur, 212, 271, 309; his mention of Gwyn ab Cyndrwyn, 216, 221; Lluyd's *Elucidations of*, 217; his son Pyll, 218; bewails his old age, 230; mentions Bedwyr, 235, and Dunawd, 239, 372, 373; his son Ceneu, 253; Heilyn, 254; mention of "the son of Morial", 259, 269; his son Cynddilig, 297; and "the men of Argoed", 322; elegy to Gereint ab Erbin, 325, 327; *Englyn* wrongly assigned to, 329; mentions Cynan Garwyn, 334; his age, 357; his references to men of Berenicia, 369; lived at Llanvor, 372; his date, 373; his poem to the cuckoo, 381. Works of Llywarch Hen quoted: *Canu Maenwyn* (*Myv.*, i, 120), 201; *Canu Llywarch Hen i'w henaint a'i veibion* (*Myv.*, i, 114-120), 181, 183, 218, ff., 254, 297, 372; *Marwnad Cadwallawn vab Cadvan* (*Myv.*, i, 121, 122), 235, 334; *Marwnad Cynddylan ab Cyndrwyn* (*Myv.*, i, 107-114), 143, 163, 202, 217, 259; *Marwnad Urien Reged* (*Myv.*, i, 103-107), 70, 76, 239, 257; *Englyn* assigned to (*Iolo MSS.*, 188), 329 (see also Brwyn, Ceneu, Gwen, Madoc, Medel, Pyll)
- Llywri, Elivri, Eleri, daughter of Urien Rheged, 229, 293 (see also Gwaednerth)
- Lochlyn (see Llychlyn)
- Lochmahen, identified with *tuck bin* (line 541), 60, 265
- Lockerby identified with *Llychwr* (line 541), one of the limits of Gododin, 60, 265, 266
- Loco in Kentire, battle of, 255, 281 (see Delgon, Teloch)
- Loire, the river, 55, 104, 105, 195
- Lollius Urbicus, wall built by, 62
- Londinium, *Λουδίνιον*, 99, 128
- London, 57, 99, 108, 129, 262, 263 (see Londinium)
- Longholm, 61, n. 3
- Longtown, in Cumberland, Roman road from, 27
- Loom, construction and use of, 94
- Lothian, the men of, at Cattræth, 79
- Loughor, settlement of members of Urien's family at, 71
- Louthers, mountains, 62
- Lowlands of Scotland, the, 55, 56, 57, 59, 62, 128
- Lucan quoted, 89
- Luce, the river, 62
- Lucker, in Northumberland one of the limits of Gododin, 60, 265, 266
- Lugubalia, Lugubalium (Carlisle), 58, 130, 131
- Lupulus*, used in making beer, 97
- Lupus, the saint Bleiddian, or Bleiddig, 152

- M.
Mabinogion, Lady Guest's, referred to or quoted, 212, 217, 220, 224, 232, 233, 234, 235, 238, 261, 271, 272, 273, 315, 327, 331. References to particular tales: *Branwen Vereh Llyn* (Guest's *Mabinogion*, iii, 81 ff.), 243, 260, 262, 263; *Breuddwyd Mawen Wledig* (*Mab.*, iii, 261 ff.), 298, 299; *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* (*Mab.*, ii, 369 ff.), 214, 225, 226, 227, 231, 238, 242; *Geraint ab Erbin* (*Mab.*, ii, 5 ff.), 327; *Iarlltes y Ffyn-nawn* (*Mab.*, i, 1 ff.) 271, 272; *Kilhwch ac Olwen* (*Mab.*, ii, 195 ff.), 146, 152, 175, 194, 195, 220, 223, 224, 227, 230, 231, 232, 242, 243, 274, 280, 315-318, 331, 390; *Peredur ab Efrawc* (*Mab.*, i, 233 ff.), 221
 Macdonalds, the, 169
 Machreu, battle of, 283 (*see* Mathreu)
 Macleod of Glenelg, his revenge on Clan Ranald, 169, 170
 Macleods, the, 169, 170
 Madog of Elved (*Atwythie scyndauc madauc eluet*), 346, 347
 Madog, son of Brwyn (?), 33, 81, 143, 144 (*Rac pebyll madauc pan atcoryei*), 145, 224, 300 (*Rac pebyll madauc pan atcoryet*), 301, 374, 375
 Madog ab Llywarch Hen, 33, 181, 218, 220, 221, 254
 Madog Morvryn, son of Morydd, 173
 Madog (ab Owen Gwynedd), 286
 Madog ap Rhun, 218, 220
 Madrun, daughter of Gwrthweyr Vendi-gaid, 229, 289 (*see also* Madyen, Merin)
 Madyen, 289 (*see* Merin)
 Maeatae, a British tribe, 59
 Mael ab Cunedda gave his name to Dinmael, 207, 365
 Maelgwn Gwynedd, Mailcun, Mailcunus, Malgo, mentioned, 11, 33, 34, 72, 173, 205, 207, 208, 237, 274, 283, 289, 358, 367, 368, 369, 376, 386 (*see also* Beli, Hwrreith, Rheiddwn, Rhun)
 Maelog gave his name to Llandyvaelog, 202
 Maelor, Maelawr, 267, 337
 Maelor (Malory), Sir Thomas, referred to, 233, 234
 Maeluma, son of Baedan, his exploits, 36, 38, 78, 79
 Maen ab Llywarch Hen, 181, 254
 Maer, an officer alluded to by the Bards, 132, n.
 Maes Elved, battle of, same as Cocboy, 41
 Maethlu, son of Caradog Vreichvras, 202 (*see* Amaethlu)
 Magna, a Roman station in Britain, Carvoran, 121
 Magnus (portus), a port of Roman Britain, 108
 Mahawen, or Mawon, ab Cyngen, 202 (*see* Llemenig)
 Mail, coats of, *Uurugeu*, referred to by Aneurin, 116, 224 (line 352)
 Mailcun, Mailcunus, 367 (*see* Maelgwn Gwynedd)
 Mairtrun [whence Meidrum or Mydrim, a parish in the hundred of Elved, in the south of Carmarthenshire], a saint, 154
 Maldon (Camulodunum ?), 128
 Malgo, king of the Britons, 208, 283 (*see* Maelgwn)
 Malmesbury (*see* William)
 Man, Isle of, mentioned, 76, 207, 283, 365
 Manau Guotodin, 60, 266, 367, 374
 Manau Peudae, 338
 Manawydd (son of Llyr ab Brochwel), 33, 34, n. 5, 35, 146, 147, 283, 373 (*see* Manawyddan)
 Manawyddan ab Llyr, 35, 146, 147, 261, 262, 263, 374 (*see* Manawydd)
 Manchester, 58, n. 6
Manchester, History of (*see* Whitaker)
 Mannan, or Mannon, the battle of, 35, 36, 76, 147, 149, 242, 243, 280, 283, 285, 374 (*see* Cadvannan)
 Mannaw, 76
Mannon, Bellum, 35, n. (*see* Mannan)
Manteis (*μάντεις*), mentioned by Dioscorus, 16
 Manufactures among the Britons, 105
 Manure used by Britons, 87
 Manuscripts of *Gododin*, 4, 139
 Marcellinus, Ammianus, quoted, 99, n. 4
 March ab Meirchion, 141, 272, 327
 Marchleu, or Marchlew, 20, 33, 201, 202 (*E gwnaei varchlew waetlin*), 203
 Marco, a variant for *Marro* (line 20), 140, 141, 142
 Marengo, the battle of, referred to, 162
 Marius, request made by Cimbri to, 75
 Mark, King, of romance, 141 (*see* March)
 Marl, used by Britons as manure, 87; exported, 109
 Marro, 140, 141, 142 (*Ulad un mab marro*, or *marco*).

- Mars, worshipped in Roman Britain, 120, 121
- Marseilles, trade of, 103, 105
- Martène, the Benedictine, *De Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus* referred to, 281
- Martial, the Roman poet, quoted, 95
- Marwnad Aeddon o Vôn* (see Taliesin)
- Marwnad Cunedda* (see Taliesin)
- Marwnad Owen ab Urien Reged* (see Taliesin)
- Marwnad Urien Reged* (see Llywarch Hên)
- Mary, Queen of Scots, referred to, 113
- Maryport, altar at, 121
- Maserfeld, Maserfelth, Mesafeld, Meserfeld, Mescesfeld, battle of, identified with "bellum Coochoy", 41, *n.* 3
- Math ab Mathonwy, 220, 260, 261, 296, 377, 383
- Matholwch Wyddel, husband of Branwen, 260, 262, 263
- Mathonwy, father of Math, identified with Adonwy of the *Gododân*, 259, 260, 261, 262 (see also Math and Adonwy)
- Mathreu, or Machreu, battle of, identified with Adamnan's "bellum Miathorum", 75, 76, 283
- Mauritania Cæsariensis, the province of, mentioned in an inscription at Maryport, 121
- Mawon (*i. q.* Mahawen, *q. v.*) 202
- May, reverence for the month of, 124, 125
- May-day, superstitious observances on, 124, 125
- Maxen Wledig, 64 (see Maximus, and *Breuddwyd Maxen Wledig, s. v. Mabinogion*)
- Maxima, or Maxima Cæsariensis, a province of Roman Britain, 127, 128
- Maximus, the Emperor, 64, 67, 207, 298, 299, 366, 368, 370
- Mead, a favourite drink of the Britons, 97, 136, 163, 175, 179, 205, 217, 219, 223
- Medcaut, isle of Lindisfarne, Theodric shut up in, 74
- Medel, son of Llywarch, 33, 179, 180, 181, 254
- Mediterranean, the outlet for British produce into, 103
- Medrod ab Cawrdav ab Caradog Vreichvras, 175
- Medrod ab Llew ab Cynvarch, 174
- Megara, Nicias of, mentioned, 96
- Meicen and Meiceren (see Meigen)
- Meigen, Meicen, or Meiceren, battle of, 41
- Meigen, the sons of, mentioned, 295
- Meigyr, son of Gwron ab Cunedda, 185
- Meilir, son of Gwron, 185
- Meirchion, father of March, *q. v.*
- Meirchion Gul, 174, 215, 271
- Meirion ab Tybiawn ab Cunedda, 207, 365
- Meiwyr, identified with the Maetae, 59
- Mela, Pomponius, referred to, 105, *n.*
- Melangell, daughter of Cyvwllch Addwyn, 176
- Mellyrn, a prince of North Britain, 72 (see also Bran)
- Melross, the Catrail ends at, 27
- Melyngan Mangre, the horse of Llew Llaw Gyffes, 159
- Memorials of the Saints in the *Iolo MSS.* quoted, 11 (see also *Acharu y Saint*)
- Menai, the Strait, referred to, 263, 377, 382
- Menavia (St. David's), 367
- Mencrinus, a British commander, 291
- Menw vab Teirgwaedd, 296
- Menwaed of Arllechwedd, 147
- Mercia, Penda, king of, defeated Edwin of Northumbria, 41, *n.* 1
- Mercians, death of Eoua, king of, 41, *n.* 3
- Merddin ab Morvryn, called *An vap y lleian*, 9; poems attributed to, 72, 188, 189, 274, 281; his insanity, 282, 319
- Merddin Emrys, his disappearance, 286
- Meredydd, father of Gruffydd, *q. v.*
- Merin, or Meryn, ab Madyen, Madyein, or Madyeith, 33, 80, 118, 165, 229, 287, 288, 289, 291, 343
- Merin, or Merini, ab Seithenin, identified with the above, 288
- Merionethshire, 71, 207, 217, 228, 262, 263, 264, 331, 365, 372
- Mersey, the river, 127
- Mervarch, Merwarch, Ferwarch, or Verwarch, father of Gwair (*q. v.*), 336, 337, 338
- Mesafeld, Mescesfeld, Meserfeld, battle of, 41, *n.* 3 (see Maserfeld)
- Metallurgy, skill of the Britons in, 92
- Metals exported from Britain, 105
- Meugant, the poet, referred to, 142, 144, 177, 260, 269
- Meurig ab Idno, 174

- Meyrick, Dr., his *History of Cardigan* quoted, 90, 94, 117, 135
- Méz-ar-rûn, Mez-ann-rûn, a Breton place-name, 61, *n.* 5
- Miathorum bellum, 75, 76, 283, 284, 285 (*see* Mathreu)
- Mic Dinbych*, a poem so-called, quoted, 329
- Midacritus, his supposed voyage to Britain, 102
- Middle Ages, the bards of the, 221
- Middleby, 61, *n.* 3
- Middlesex, 108
- Midland counties, the Midsummer beacon fires of, 124
- Midsummer Eve, ancient observances on, 124
- Minerva, altars to, common in Roman Britain, 121
- Mineu (Mynyw), 367
- Mining in Roman Britain, 111 *ff.*
- Minstrelsy, a privileged craft among the Britons, 82
- Mithras, worship of, in Roman Britain, 120, 121
- Moel Verna, a mountain, 187
- Moelmud, Dyrnwal, his code, 85
- Moel Sywedydd, a hill in North Wales, 187
- Moesia mentioned, 110
- Moleddev, supposed son of Gwyddno, 204
- Môn (Anglesey), 203, 260, 296, 331, 377, 379, 384, 389 (*see* Anglesey and Mona)
- Mona, 263, 265, 381, 382, 386, 390 (*see* Anglesey and Môn)
- Monmouthshire, 127, 132, 194, 235, 288
- Mont St. Jean, battle of, 41
- Montgomeryshire, 176, 187, 214, 217, 279, 337, 365
- Monumenta Historica Britannica*, editors of, alluded to, 12, 38, *n.*, 40, 60, *n.* 4, 63, *nn.* 1, 4, 93, 105, 106, 159, 209; references to texts in, *passim*
- Moors, serving as soldiers in Roman legions in Britain, 120
- Mor ab Ceneu ab Coel, 173, 332
- Morach Morvran, identified with Merwarch, or Mervarch of Aneurin, 337
- Morayshire, 130
- Mordei: *ar llawr mordei*, 53, 144, 374; not the name of a district as Williams supposed, 145; *pan dyduc Kyhuran clotvan mordei*, 158, 344, 345; *e mordei ystynget*, etc., 172; *er ewygnawr vordei*, 176; *eveis y win a med e mordei*, 186, 188
- Morddal, said to have introduced into Britain the use of cement in masonry, 88
- Moren (*see* Morien)
- Morgan the Great, Morgant, son of Sadyrnin, a king of North Britain, 6, 65, 71, 73, 75, 76, 281
- Morgan Mwynvawr, of Morganwg, 293
- Morgant, called Pelagius, 7
- Morgant, father of Rahawt, 206
- Morganwg, 11, 147, 293
- Morial or Moryal ab Cyndrwyn, 33, 216, 259, 260, 267, 268 (*Ny phyrth meuyll moryal eu dilin*), 269 (*see also* Distar, Distair, Pwyll, Rhodri, Rhy-chwardd, Rhys)
- Morien, or Moryen (son of Caradawc?), 33, 80, 216, 227, 228 (*Dyrlydud medut moryen tan*), 229, 230 (*ony bei voryen eil caradawc*), 231, 243, 244 (*amuc moryen gwenawut*), 245, 260 (*No moryen ny waeth wnelut*), 261, 262
- Morien, or Moren, son of Iaen, 220, 231
- Morien, or Moren Mynawc, 231
- Morien Varvawc, 231
- Morion, Moryon, the battle of, *cat voryon*, 330, 331
- Morte d'Arthur*, quoted, 233, 234
- Morvran eil Tegit, 206, 220
- Morvudd, daughter of Urien Rheged, 230, 239, 272
- Moryal (*see* Morial)
- Morydd ab Mor ab Ceneu, 173
- Moryen (*see* Morien)
- Moryon (*see* Morion)
- Mugnach Gorr, 272
- Municipia* in Roman Britain, 128; their inhabitants, 130; gave rise to the boroughs of modern England, 137
- Mur catuilet*, meaning of term, 118
- Murdacus, a Scottish commander, 291
- Muridunum (Seaton), 132
- Music, no slaves in Britain skilled in music (Cicero), 82
- Mwg-Mawr Dreydd, Ethelfred so-called by Llywarch Hen, 77
- Murl* (*see* Marl)
- Mynyddog Eiddin, 33, 79, 80, 81, 161-163, 179, 218 (*Gosgord mynyddawc enwawc en reit*), 219, 222 (*Ancwyn mynyddawc enwawc e gwnaeth*), 223, 234 (*Dyrlydey vedgyrn eillt mynyddawc*), 235, 273, 278 (*O osgord*

- vynydawc wawr dru*), 279, 294 (*Ar neges mynydawc mynawc maon*), 295, 298, 299, 310 (*O osgord vynydawc ny diangwys*), 311, 346 (*O gussyl mynydawc trossassei ysgwydawur*), 347, 348 (*Gnaut ar les minidawc scuitaur trei*), 349, 350 (*Gwinweith a medweith oedyn o ancwyn mynydawc*), 351, 390
- Myrddin Wylt, 173 (*see Merddin ab Morvryn*)
- Mythology of the Druids* (*see under Davies*)
- Myvyrian Archaeology*, the, reference to texts in, *passim*; arrangement of *Gododin* in, 354
- N.
- Nautffrancon, 234
- Nantmel, in Radnorshire, 213
- Narbonne, British merchandise taken overland to, 105
- Náv, father of Gwenwynwyn, *q. v.*
- Naw (*see Caw*), 10
- Naze, the point so called, 61, *n. 5*
- Necklaces, exported from Britain, 105, 106
- Neim ab Nuithon, supposed to be for "nei mab Nuithon", 10, 315, 348, 349
- Neimyn, taken to be a place-name, 346, 347 (*see also 315*)
- Neiren, a British poet, 159
- Nelson, referred to, 27
- Nemausus in Gaul received the *Jus Latium* from Cæsar, 131
- Nennius referred to, 41, *nn.*, 44, 60, 68, *n.*, 3, 73, 74, 75, 77, 159, 209, 255, 266, 366, 367, 368, 374, 388, 389
- Neol Kynn-Crog, father of Ellylw, 230
- Ner, 287 (*see also Eidiol*)
- Nerth, a character in the *Mabinogi of Kilhwch and Olwen*, 175
- Nerthach, a character in *Kilhwch and Olwen*. 223
- Ness, a promontory, 61, *n. 5*
- Nethawg, named in the tale of *Kilhwch and Olwen*, 316
- Nether Silton, 73
- Netherby, worship of Belatucadrus at, 120
- Neved, a character in *Kilhwch and Olwen*, 175
- Newcastle-on-Tyne, identified with ancient *Brennium*, 60, *n. 3*, and with *Pons Adii*, 119
- Nicias of Megara, referred to, 96
- Nidan, son of Gwrvyw, 174
- Ninian, St., Life of*, referred to, 64, 65
- Nissyen, brother of Bran, 262
- Nith, the river, 61
- Noethan, 10 (*see Nwython ab Gildas*)
- Noethon (*see Nwython, son of Caw*)
- Nordanhymbri, 37, *n.*
- Norfolk, 255, 291, 319
- Normans, the, game laws of, 135; growth of romance under, 230
- Normandy, given to Bedwer by Arthur, 232
- North Britain, or the North, 5, 8, 12, 14, 17, 19, 23, 42, 53, 54, 57, 64, 65, 66, 71, 74, 77, 81, 111, 140, 151, 154, 161, 162, 163, 175, 196, 205, 214, 216, 221, 228, 229, 231, 267, 270, 282, 299, 316, 317, 319, 369, 386
- North Britons, 37, 53, 54, 78, 115, 147, 375
- North of England, the, 57, 64, 326, 372
- North Riding, the, 40, 65
- Northumbria, 6, 40, 41, *n. 1*, 53, 81, 178, 209, 284, 369, 370, 375
- Northumbrian, Northumbrians, 35, 38, *n.*, 58, 72, 78, 283
- Northumberland, 30, 60, 76, 120, 128, 132, 145, 149, 153, 265, 283, 291, 319
- Norwich, 132
- Notes and Queries*, referred to, 45
- Notitia Imperii*, referred to, 53, *n. 2*
- Novant (*see Enovant*)
- Novantæ, a North British tribe, 57, 61, 62, 78, 161, 180 (*Tri llwry novant*), 181, 182, 297
- Novantia, 59
- Novantium Chersonesus, 61
- November, observances on the first of, 124, 126
- Novius, a river, the Nith, 61
- Novum Comum* received the *Jus Latium* from Cæsar, 131
- Novus Portus, in Sussex, 108
- Nudd ab Beli, 173
- Nudd ab Ceidio, 174, 319
- Nudd Hael ab Senyllt, a king of North Britain, 66, 71, 162, 282, 317
- Nuithon, 10, 315, 346, 348 (*see Nwython*)
- Nwython, or Noethon, son of Caw, 295, 297
- Nwython, Nuithon, Nwythyon, son of Gildas, 10, 23, 33, 214, *n.*, 311-317, 346-349

- O.
 Oco, son of Ida, 69, *n.* 2
 Och, a character in the story of *Kil-
 huch and Olwen*, 175
Ocrea, greave, worn by Britons, 116
 Octa, son of Hengist, 66, 370
 Octavius (Eudav, *q. v.*) 299
 Odin, the deity of the Scandinavians,
 122
 Odren, 310, 314 : a variant for Adoun
Oed (verse i, l. 1), meaning of, 141
 O'Flaherty, referred to, 281, 285, 286
 Ogyrven, 123, 278
 Oith, a northern chief, 228 (*see* Wid)
 Ojibbeways, the, mentioned, 381
 Old Sarum (*Sorbiodunum*), 131
 Olicana (Ilkley), 58
 Olwen, daughter of Ysbaddaden Ben
 Cawr, 167, 230 (*see* also Mabinogion)
 -on as a termination in proper names,
 385
 Onomacritus, poem attributed to, 54, *n.*
 Oriental nations. weaving among, 94
 Orkney, expedition to by, Aedan, 282
 Orpheus, the *Argonautica* attributed
 to, 54, *n.*
 Osguid, filius Eadlfrid, 388
 Osmerus, son of Ida, 69, *n.* 2
 Ossvrán, grave of the son of, 234
 Oswal ab Cunedda, 207, 365
 Oswald, Cadwallawn slain by, 41, *n.* 2
 Oswaldstree (Oswestry), 365
 Osweilin, the patrimony of Oswal,
 207, 365
 Oswestry, 279
 Oswold, son of Ida, 69, *n.* 2
 Ottadini, Ottadini. Ottadinian Brit-
 tons, the British tribe, 4, 5, 30, 43,
 44, 57, 59, 60, 132, 265, 374
 Ottadinia, 59
Oúateis, 15 (*see* Ovates)
Oúévτα, 132 (*see* Venta)
Oυρολαδιον, 128 (*see* Verulamium)
 Ovates, mentioned by Strabo, 15, 16,
 95
 Owain Danwyn, 368, *n.*
 Owen, Owain, Ewein, a Gododinian
 hero, 5, 33, 140, 142, 143, 304, 305
 Owen Cyveiliog, quoted, 337
 Owen, prince of Egg, 140, 168
 Owen, Ewein, son of Eulad, 33, 212,
 213, 216
 Owen Glyndwr, 117
 Owen Gwynedd, 317 (*see* also Howel)
 Owen Mon, 152, 153
 Owen, Owain, Ewen, king of Strath-
 clyde, 23, 140, 313
 Owen, Owain, Owein, son of Urien,
 67, 68, *n.* 2, 69, 70, 71, 117, 140,
 174, 224, 239, 272, 371
 Owen (William) (*see* Pughe)
 Oysters, exported from Britain, 109
- P.
 Pabo Post Prydain, 66, 174, 373 (*see*
 also Dunawd)
 Padarn Beisrudd, 173, 336 (*see* also
 Edeyrn)
Pais, a garment, 114, 115, 332, 336
 Paisley, 62
Paladr, a spear-handle, 116
 Palgrave's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*
 quoted, 67, 68, 69, 370
 Pannonia, vines planted in, 110
 Pantha slain by Oswy, 388 (*see* Penda)
 Paper imported into Britain, 108
Par, a form of spear, 116
 Parisii, their position, 57
 Parr, his great age, 357
 Parry (John Humphreys), referred to,
 5, 6, 7, 19, 27, 45
 Pasgen, or Ysgwn, son of Llywarch
 Hen, 174, 253
 Pasgen, son of Urien, 70, 71, 174, 239
 Patrick, St., his date, 373
 Paulinus, father of Gwyngeneu, 160, 280
 Pawl Hen (*see* Paulinus)
 Pearls exported from Britain, 105
 Pedrog, Pedrawc, father of Bedwyr,
 232, 234
Pedryollt bennawr, 115, 164
 Peel fell, the Catrail extends to, 46
 Peghts (Picts), 28, *n.**
 Peilian, daughter of Caw, 229
 Peithan, daughter of Caw, 229 (*see*
 Wid, Baeddan)
 Peithwyr (Pict-i), 31
 Peithyw (Poictou), 31
 Pelagius mentioned, 7
 Pel (father of Pressent, *q. v.*), 280
 Penance, reference to by Aueurin, 126
 Pen arwen, wife of Owein ab Urien,
 68, *n.* 2
 Pencoed, battle at, 71
 Penda, his wars, 41, *nn.* 1, 3, 388
Pengarthan, a military term, 118
 Pengwern, Cynddylan's capital, 243
 Penmaenmawr, belief connected with,
 198, 199
 Penn, son of Nethawg, 316
 Pennant, Thomas, the antiquary, his
Tour in Scotland quoted, 113, 125
 Pennant, mountain, 176, 337; the
 highlands of, 242
 Penn-ar-run, or Penn-an-run, a Bre-
 ton place-name, 61, *n.* 5

- Pennine Alps, 58
Penny Cyclopaedia, the, referred to, 128, 132
 Penrhos Brydwen, in Anglesey, 265
 Penrhyn, a Welsh place-name, 61, n. 5
 Penrith, in Cumberland, 224
Penteulu, the, his allowance, 223, n. 1
 Pepper imported into Britain, 108
Per, a kind of spear, 116
 Peredur Arveu Dur, 33, 115, 220-223
 Peredur, son of Eliffer, 75, 174, 282, 335
 Περταυχένιον, the British *aurdorch*, 106
 Periv, 242 (see *Twrch*)
 Perth, 57, 63, n. 3
 Perthshire, 125, 130
 Peterborough, the monks of, 97
Petoritum, the Celtic vehicle, adopted by the Romans, 89
 Petrie, Mr., referred to, 105, 106
 Petuaria, the chief town of the Parisii, 57
 Peul, father of Teleri, 230, 280
 Peulan, a saint, 280
Pexa, connected with *pais*, 114
 Pherawc, i. q. Ferawc, q. v.
 Phocæan colony of Marseilles, the, commerce of, 103
 Phœnicians, their supposed intercourse with Britain, 101-103
Piccell, a javelin, 116
Pickwick Papers, *The*, referred to, 381
 Picts, the, 11, 28, n., 31, 56, 57, 65, 76, 97, 111, 147, 193, 196, 212, 228, 229, 231, 283, 289, 365, 369
Pilan, a kind of spear, 116
 Pinkerton's *History of Scotland* referred to, 62
 Pippa, father of Eoua, 41, n. 3
 Plato, the trinity of, 211
 Pliny, his *Natural History* referred to, 87, 93, 96, 102
Pluawr, plumes, 162, 163, 165
 Plumes, use of, by Britons, 163, 165
Poems, Lyric and Pastoral, by Edward Williams, referred to, 7, 42
 Poetry among the Britons, 83; love of nature in poetry of Wales, 381; history of Wales in its poetry, 386
 Poictou, its Welsh form Peithyw, 31
 Polybius referred to, 103
 Pons Aelii, a station in Roman Britain, 119
Popina, connected with Welsh *pobi*, 96
 Porthawr, father of Cadreith, 192
 Ports of Roman Britain, 108
 Posidonius, his account of the British tin trade, 104
 Powel, Dr. David, referred to, 207, 380
 Powys, 202, 207, 243 (see also Brochwel, Cynddylan, Caranmail)
 Prætors, provinces of Roman Britain governed by, 127
 Prasutagus, king of the Iceni, his wealth, 112
 Present, or Present, son of Pel, 33, 35, 189, 190, 191, 229
Preiddeu Annwn quoted, 203
 Price, Sir John, referred to, 208, 368
 Price, Rev. Thomas, *Carnhuanawc*, referred to, 27, 33, n., 41, n. 2, 44, 69, n. 1, 188, n. 1, 212, 213, 215
 Priesthood, an organised, among the Britons, 83; the bards and the, 164, 166; white the emblem of purity adopted by the, 165
 Probert, Mr., the second translator of the *Gododin*, referred to, 3, 5, 6, 7, 11, 18, 27, 28, 29, 45, 141, 142, 143, 155, 161, 162, 163, 173, 182, 185, 195, 204, 211, 213, 215, 228, 269, 322, 380
 Probus, the Emperor, said to have introduced the vine into Britain, 110, 249
 Propertius, the poet, quoted, 89, 90, 92
 Proserpine, the mysteries of, practised in some of the British Isles, 84
 Prydain, Prydein (Britain, q. v.), 53; *kerdoryon prydein*, 200
 Pryder, king of Deira, 17, 33, 322 (*Pan ym dyvyd lliaws pryder*), 323
 Pryderi, son of Pwyll, 146
 Prydydd y Moch, reference to, 188
 Prydyn, Unpeniaet, sung before the host by the *Bardd teulu*, 16, n. 3
 Prys, Archdeacon Edmund, quoted 156
 Pteroton (Burgh Head), 130
 Ptolemy, the geographer, references to, 30, 59, n. 1, 60, n. 4, 61, 62, 63, 128, 130
 Pughe, Dr. W. Owen, referred to, 6, 7, 10, 27, 31, 117, 126, 183, 209, 212, 215, 216, 221, 241, 249, 253, 279, 296, 297, 331, 366, 368, 372. Special references to works of Dr. Pughe: *The Cambrian Biography*, 3, 4, 144, 149, 176, 206, 207, 323, 338, 357, 365, 373; *The Welsh Dictionary*, 152, 223, 277; *The Heroic Elegies of Llywarch Hên*, 15, 125, 141, 143, 145, 164, 181, 193, 201,

- 202, 211, 217, 235, 239, 254, 257, 259, 327, 336
- Pumsaint, near Caio, 217
- Puritanism: its supposed influence on Welsh poetry, 381
- Pwllheli, 270
- Pwyll, son of Morial, 33, 258, 259
- Pybba, 319 (*see* Wipha)
- Pyd, father of Rhun, 271
- Pyll, son of Llywarch Hên, 33, 34, n. 2, 218-221
- Pymwnt*, meaning of, 118, 183; *Kwydei pym pymwnt rac y lafnawr*, 152, 226; *pymwnt a phymcant*, 182
- Pytheas of Massalia, his voyage to Britain, 103
- Q.
- Quæstors, six in Britain, 127
- Queensberry, Duke of, gold mine on the estate of the, 114
- Quintilian mentions *rheda* as a Gaulish word, 90
- R.
- Raawt (*see* Rahawt)
- Radnorshire, 20, 201, 213
- Raesknoh, in Teviotdale, suggested identity of, with *Ystre Ragno*, 257
- Ragae (Leicester), 132
- Rahawt, or Raawt, son of Morgant, the steed of, 206
- Rath, the battle of, 313
- Rathtyeu, daughter of Clemenhill, 230
- Ravennas, the anonymous geographer of Ravenna, referred to, 58, n. 2, 5
- Rees, Professor Rice, his *Essay on the Welsh Saints* referred to, 5, 7, 11, 12, 144, 147, 151, 154, 160, 185, 194, 202, 204, 212, 213, 215, 217, 221, 280, 288, 289, 298, 315, 319, 332, 334, 357, 365, 366, 368, n., 369, 372, 373, 375
- Rees, Mr. William, of Tonn, near Llandovery, referred to, 42
- Religion in Britain under the Romans, 119-126
- Renfrew, 63
- Rerigonius Sinus (Loch Ryan), 182, 312
- Rerigwyddyn, Rerygwyddyn, Rygwyddyn, identified with Rerigonium, 312, 314 (A), 315
- Retigionium (Stranraer), identified with Rhedegein, 62, 182, 312
- Rhagno, *Ystre*, 254, 255, 257
- Rhaidd*, a kind of spear used by the Britons, 116
- Rhail*, meaning of, 47
- Rhain*, a kind of spear, 116
- Rhaith*, meaning of, 47
- Rheda*, a Gaulish chariot, 89, 90
- Rhedarius*, the driver of a *rheda*, 90
- Rhedegein (Stranraer), identified with Retigionium, 23, 62, 312, 313, 314
- Rheged, 67, 74, 238, 370 (*see also* Urien)
- Rheiddwn, Rheidwn, or Rheiddun (ab Beli ab Rhuu ab Maelgwn Gwynedd), 33, 274, 276, 277, 279, 338
- Rheiddun, Reidun, Reiddyn, 274, 276, 277 (*see* Rheiddwn)
- Rheidwn Arwy, 274
- Rheidwn, son of Beli, 274
- Rheidwn, son of Eli Atver, 274
- Rhelemon, daughter of Kai, 230
- Rheon Ryd, the ford of Rheon, 271
- Rhethren*, a kind of pike, 116
- Rhigodunum, or Rigodunum (Rixton?), 58, 181, 238
- Rhine, the river, 109, 110
- Rhineri, one of the three strong cripples, 323
- Rhiwallawn, Rhiwallon, ab Urien, 239, 376
- Rhodawe*, meaning of, 90
- Rhodic, or Rhodri, son of Morial, 33, 258, 259
- Rhodri Mawr, 216
- Rhon*, a kind of pike, 116
- Rhonabwy (*see* under Mabinogion, *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy*)
- Rhone, the river, British merchandise taken overland to, 105
- Rhuawn (or Rhuvawn) Bevr (Bevyr, or Pebyr), Rhuvawn (Rhuvon. Rywawn) Hir, son of Gwyddno, 33, 34, n. 4, 204, 224, 225, 226, 227, 254, 320, 321
- Rhuddlwm Gawr, 296
- Rhuddvrych (otherwise Gurbrith, or Arwlvrith), the steed of Rahawt, 206
- Rhun ab Maelgwn, 224, 386 (*see also* Beli, and Madog ap Rhun)
- Rhun, son of Nwython, 315
- Rhun, mab Pyd, 271
- Rhutupæ, Rhutupiæ, *Ῥουρούπαι*, a port of Roman Britain, 108, 128
- Rhuvawn Bevr (*see* Rhuawn)
- Rhuvawn, or Rhuvon, son of Cunedda, 207, 365, 373
- Rhuvoniog (Rywniawc, Rhyvonyauc, Rhyvynyawc, Rywynauc), the patrimony of Rhuvawn ab Cunedda, 207, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 365

- Rhychwardd, son of Morial, 34, 258, 259, 260
- Rhyd Gynan, the grave of Cyhoret at, 159
- Rhyd y Groes, on the Severn, 226
- Rhydderch Hael, king of Strathclyde, 6, 11, 63, 64, 65, 71, 72, 73, 281, 282
- Rhynns, the, and Rhynns Point, in the isle of Islay, 61, *n.* 5
- Rhys, son of Morial, 34, 258, 259, 260
- Rhys, Dr. J. D., his Welsh Grammar quoted, 16; his system of orthography, 380
- Rhys, Professor John, his *Lectures on Welsh Philology* referred to, 123, *n.* 1
- Ribchester, identified with Rhigodunum, 58, 238; with Coccium, 130
- Ricemarchus, his *Life of St. David* quoted, 154
- Richard of Cirencester mentioned, 59, *n.* 1
- Richards' *Welsh Dictionary*, referred to, 47, 48, 126, 141, 156, 201, 211
- Richborough (Rhutupiae), 128, 129
- Richmond, in Yorkshire, 58, *n.* 6
- Riechester, identified with Bremenium, 60, 132
- Rigodunum (*see* Rhigodunum)
- Ring money, use of, 93
- Rinns of Galloway, the ancient Novantium Chersonesus, 61
- ri's, its Celtic cognates, 61, *n.* 5
- Risierdyn, a bard of the fourteenth century, referred to, 270
- Risingham, an altar to the nymphs at, 121
- Ritson's *Annals*, quoted or referred to, 168, 195, 228, 256, 285, 313
- Rixton, by some identified with Rigodunum, 58, *n.* 6
- Roads in early Britain, 103, 104, 108, 137
- Robert of Gloucester quoted, 232
- Roberts, Dr. Griffith, his orthography, 380
- Roberts, Rev. Peter, his *Popular Antiquities of the Cymry* quoted, 297
- Roberts, Rev. W., his *Crefydd yr Oesoedd Tywyll*, referred to, 126, *n.*
- Rochester (*Durobrivæ*), 132
- Romans, the, mentioned, 31, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 62, 63, 66, 81, 82, 83, 90, 91, 93, 95, 97, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 114, 115, 118, 119, 122, 127, 129, 130, 131, 133, 134, 135, 137, 183, 232, 249, 368, 375, 380, 382, 387
- Rome, 86, 97, 107, 117, 120, 121, 129, 134, 272
- Rousseau referred to, 137
- Ῥουρόνια (*see* Rhutupæ)
- Roxburghshire, 28, *n.**
- Roy (Gen. W.) referred to, 62
- Rudder, the use of a, introduced by Corvinwr, 88
- Rufinus known to Gildas, 13
- Rû-Stéfan, a Breton place-name, 61, *n.* 5
- Rutchester (*Vindobala*), an altar at, 122
- Ryan, Loch, 62, *n.* 2, 182, 312
- Rygwyddyn, 312 (*see* Rerigwyddyn)

S.

- Sabbath, observance of the, by Gwrgi, 150
- Sadyrnin, father of Morgan, 65, 71
- Saeson (Saxons, *q. v.*); *Ef Uladei Saeson seithuet dyd*, 170; *Wynedin ny rodin nawd y Saesson*, 260
- Saffwy, a kind of pike, 116
- Saidi, father of Cas, *q. v.*
- Sail, the use of the, introduced, by Corvinwr, 88
- St. Alban's (*Verulamium*), 128
- St. Asaph, 203
- St. David's, 367
- St. George's Channel, 270
- St. Hilda, the abbess of, referred to, 68, 371; the life of, 209
- St. Kentigern (*see* Kentigern, Cyn-deyrn)
- St. Michael's Mount, Arthur's expedition to, 232
- St. Ninian (*see* Ninian)
- St. Patrick (*see* Patrick)
- Saints of Britain, the, 314, 327
- Salisbury Plain, amber beads found in barrows on, 153
- Salisbury, William, his orthography, 380
- Salop, 127, 209, 217, 279
- Salt, its manufacture known to the Britons, 93; an article of import, 105; exported from Roman Britain, 109
- Saltire, the battle of, 313
- Samothrace, the Cabiri of, 84
- San Graal, the quest of the, 222
- Sanddev, son of Llywarch Hen, 219
- Sandwich, an ancient British road from, 103; 128
- Santonicus bardocucullus*, 95
- Sapicens*, a surname of Gildas, 12 •

- Saturninus, 65 (*see* Sadyrnin)
 Saul, referred to, 78
 Sawyl Benuchel, 174, 373
 Saxon Chronicles, difference of date
 between Irish and, 36, 37, 76, 209
 Saxon shore, the (*Littus Saxonicum*),
 66
 Saxons, the, 5, 17, 19, 28, *n.* 2, 30, 34,
 36, 39, *n.* 1, 41, 41, 45, 47, 57, 66,
 72, 74, 75, 76, 77, 81, 111, 119, 123,
 138, 145, 171, 172, 186, 195, 196,
 197, 201, 203, 208, 209, 216, 255,
 261, 267, 269, 283, 284, 285, 291,
 326, 327, 365, 370, 374, 375, 387 ;
 West Saxons, 74, 75, 76, 283, 325
 Scandinavia, the romance of Peredur
 in the literature of, 221
 Scandinavians, the Picts declared by
 the *Triads* a colony of, 56
 Schools, the, of early Britain, 101
 Schulz, referred to, 41, *n.* 1 (*see* San
 Marte)
 Scilly Islands, identified with the
 Cassiterides, 102 ; 104
 Scotia, the early name of Ireland, 55
 Scotland, 27, 28, 55, 56, 57, 61, 62, 63,
 64, 79, 113, 114, 124, 125, 126, 128,
 130, 149, 161, 168, 171, 181, 182,
 311, 312, 322, 326
 Scots, the, 11, 23, 32, 37, *n.*, 38, *n.*,
 53, 57, 74, 75, 76, 78, 111, 161, 223,
 255, 280, 283, 284, 291, 313, 385
 (*see* Scotti)
 Scott, Sir Walter, quoted, 28
 Scotti, 37, *n.*, 54, 55, 367 (*see also*
 Scots)
Sea Song of Gavran, the, by Mrs.
 Hemans, referred to, 286
 Segedunum (Wallsend), 119
 Segontium, 382, *n.* 2
 Seine, the river, trade from Britain to,
 104, 105
Seirch, connected with *sericus*, 92 ;
nerth meirch a gwrymseirch ac ysg-
wydawr, 116, 224 ; *gorgolches e gren*
y seirch, 198
 Seithenin, his drunkenness, 204
 Seithenin, father of Merin or Merini,
 288, 289
 Selgovae, a Northern tribe, 57, 61, 62
 Selgovia, 59
 Selim, filius Cinan, 387 (*see* Selyv)
 Selkirk, Lady, mentioned, 113
 Selvach, a not uncommon name in
 North Britain, 175
 Selyv ab Cynan Garwyn, 335, 366, 387
 Selyv ab Llywarch Hén, 181, 219
 Selyv ab Gereint, 327
 Seneca, the philosopher, referred to,
 112
 Senyllt (*see* Nudd)
 Seon, identified with Caer Seiont and
 Segontium, 377, 382, 385
 Serapis, a temple to, at York, 120
Seren Gomer, referred to, 42
Sericus, sericæ, connected with *seirch*,
 92, 116
 Setantii, a British tribe, 57, 58
 Severn, the river, 208, 212, 226
 Severus, the emperor, 41, *n.* 2, 112, 114
 Sevwlch, a character in the romance
 of *Kühwch and Olwen*, 175
 Sexta (York), 58
 Shakespere, the *King Lear* of, 264
 Shields, the, of the Britons, use of gold
 on, 112 ; forms of, 116 ; soldiers beat
 upon, 118 ; a golden shield, 205,
 210 (*ysgwyt eur crwydyr cadlan*), 211
 Ships, the, of the Britons, 88, 89
 Shropshire, 365 (*see* Salop)
 Siavn Syberw, mentioned in *Englynion*
y Beddau, 187
 Siawn, son of Iaeln, 220
 Siggeston, Sigston, supposed scene of
 the battle of Aegesanstane, 40
 Silures, a British tribe, 5, 97, 264
 Siluria the territory of the Silures, 11 ;
 Silurian documents, 366
 Silvanus, an altar to, at Birdoswald,
 121
 Silver, in Britain, 82, 92 ; exported
 from, 105 ; silver mines, 111, 112,
 113
 Sinclair, Sir John, his *Statistical Ac-*
count of Scotland quoted, 125
 Sistantiati, a British tribe, 58, *n.* 5
 Sistantian port, in Lancashire, 108
 Skene, W. F., LL.D., works by, re-
 ferred to: *Celtic Scotland*, 285, *n.* 2,
 313, *n.* ; *Chronicles of the Picts and*
Scots, 35, *n.*, 36, *n.* 2, 281, *n.*, 282,
n., 285, *n.* 2, 287, *n.*, 313, *n.* ; *The*
Four Ancient Books of Wales, 6, *n.*
 1, 10, *n.*, 41, *n.* 2, 59, *n.* 2, 67, *n.* 3,
 69, *n.* 1, 339, and for texts *passim* ;
The Highlanders of Scotland, 55, 169,
 229
 Sky, the Macleods of, 169
 Slack (*Cambodunum*), 58, 130
 Slamannan, possible scene of the battle
 of Mannan, 76
 Slaves in early Britain, 82, 105
 Smith, Roger, referred to, 380
 Smith's (Dr. William) *Dictionary of*
Greek and Roman Geography, re-
 ferred to, 62, *n.* 2, 63, *n.* 4

Snowdon, 199, *n.* 3, 234, 271
 Soap, invented by the Gauls, 96
 Sogor, son of Ida, 69, *n.* 2
 Sogotherus, son of Ida, 69, *n.* 2
 Solon M'Conian, 387 (*see* Selyv)
 Solway Firth, 45, 59, 60, 121, 265
 Sorbiodunum (Old Sarum), 131
 South, the, 8, 67, 71, 74, 76, 205
 Spain, 104
 Spaniards, 110, 120
 Spear, used by the Britons, 115; forms of 116; 195, 199, 203, 211
 Spurs, mention of golden, 112, 141
 Straith Cairinn, or Cairuin, 313, *n.*
 Stanmore, in Northumberland, 283
 Steel, helmets of, 115, 172, 173
 Stilicho, assisted the Britons, 369
Stipendiariae of Roman Britain, 128, 132
 Stirling, 63
 Stonehenge, reported massacre at, 4, 43; temple at, 43, 99
 Storeknow, tributary of the Esk, 257
 Strabo, quoted or referred to, 15, 16, 82, 84, 94, 95, 97, 98, 102, 103, 104, 105, 107, 108, 112, 134
 Straith Cairmaic, 313
 Straith Cairvin, 313
 Stranraer, identified with Retigionium and Rhedegein, 23, 62, 182, 312, 314, 316
Strath, Gaelic, equivalent to Welsh *Ystrad*, 313
 Strath Caun, battle of, 313, *n.*
 Strath Cormac, 313
 Strathelwyd, 28, *n.* 2 (*see* Strathclyde)
 Strathclyde, 10, 11, 23, 57, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67, 144, 147, 281, 283, 313, 365, 369, 370
 Stucia (the Ystwyth), 31
 Sussions, a Gallic tribe, 101
 Suetonius, quoted, 90, 99
 Suffolk, 104, 255
 Sugar, imported into Roman Britain, 108
 Sulpicius Severus, *Ecclesiastical History* of, known to Gildas, 13
 Sulyen, son of Iæen, 220
Supremacy of Britain, the (Unbenaceth Prydain), sung by the *Bardd Teulu* before the army, 16
 Sussex, 108
 Swale, the river, 238
 Sword, the, of the Britons, 115; names of, 116
 Syrian gods worshipped in Roman Britain, 120, 121
 Syvno, the diviner, 123, 148, 186, 187

T.

Tacitus, the historian, cited, 112, 128.
 Works of, quoted or referred to: *Agricola*, 82, 90, 91, 110, 115, 131; *Annals*, 99, 181; *De Moribus Germanorum*, 181, 335
Taiogion, 144
 Talebolion, legendary origin of the name, 263
 Talhaern Tataguen, a poet, 159
 Talhaiarn ab Garthwys, 174
 Taliesin, date of according to Lhuyd, 4; acquaintance with Aneurin, 14, 15, 19, 20, 21; characteristics of his poems, 22, 25; named in the *Gododin*, 34, 250, 251; references in his poems to Catraeth, 46, 47, 50; the "Goddeu" of, 59; enumerates thirteen kings of North Britain, 65; his account of the battles of Argoed Llwyvain, 67, 111, and Gwenystrad, 73, and of Mathreu, 75, 76, 283; calls the Silures "long-haired Gwentians", 97; blames Gwallog for his neglect of agriculture, 111; his use of the term *fossawd*, 117; the territories of Cunedda according to, 144; his personal acquaintance with Cunedda, 145; reference to the *Addfwynau* of, 146; Hyveidd mentioned by, 152, 153; use of "Gog-naw" by, 155; *Mic Dinbych*, a poem wrongly attributed to, 156; mentioned by Nennius, 159; his reference to baptism, 166; frequent mention of Edinburgh, 178; *Kerdd am I'eib Llyr*, another poem wrongly assigned to, 187; his reference to *gwiliaid*, 188; fabulous life of, 204, 236-238; *mi na vi aneurin ys gwyr talyessin*, 250, 251; *Kadeir Teyrnon* wrongly attributed to, 254; dialogue between Merddin and, 274, 281; his reference to Ynry Gwent, 289, 318, and to Nwython, 315, 317; the "Uffin" of, 318; his elegy to Aeddán, 333; his poem on Cynan Garwyn, 334. Dissertation on his *Marwnad Cunedda*, 356-376; on his *Marwnad Aeddón o Vón*, 376-391.
 Special reference to particular poems:
Addfwynau Taliesin (Myv., i, 28; Four Ancient Books, ii, 117), 146
Anrec Urien (Myv. Arch., i, 51; Four Anct. Bks., ii, 293), 65
Canu Urien (Myv., i, 57; Four Anct. Bks., ii, 190), 152

- Canu y Cwrfwrf* (*Myv.*, i, 40; *Four Anct. Bks.*, ii, 167), 97
- Gwaith Argoed Llwyfein* (*Myv.*, i, 53; *Four Anct. Bks.*, ii, 189), 59, 67 (translation), 111
- Gwaith Dyffryn Gwarant* (*Myv.*, i, 40; *Four Anct. Bks.*, ii, 167), 289
- Gwaith Gwenystrad* (*Myv.*, i, 52; *Four Anct. Bks.*, ii, 183), 27, 47, 50, 73 (translation)
- Gwawt Lud y Mawr* (*Myv.*, i, 74; *Four Anct. Bks.*, ii, 207), 188
- Marwnad Aeddon o Vôn* (*Myv.*, i, 70; *Four Anct. Bks.*, ii, 199), 333, 376, ff.
- Marwnad Cunedda* (*Myv.*, i, 71; *Four Anct. Bks.*, ii, 200), 144, 206, 356, ff.
- Marwnad Owein ab Urien Reged* (*Myv.*, i, 59; *Four Anct. Bks.*, ii, 199), 69, n.
- Ode to Gwallawc ab Lleenawc* (*Myv.*, i, 63; *Four Anct. Bks.*, ii, 149), 155
- Ode to Ynyr Gwent* (*Myv.*, i, 40; *Four Anct. Bks.*, ii, 167), 318
- Trawsganu Cynan Garwyn* (*Myv.*, i, 168; *Four Anct. Bks.*, ii, 172), 334
- Yspeil Taliesin* (*Myv.*, i, 57; *Four Anct. Bks.*, ii, 192), 27, 50
References to poems wrongly attributed to Taliesin:
- Kadeir Teyrnnon* (*Myv.*, i, 65; *Four Anct. Bks.*, ii, 155), 254
- Kerdd am Veih Llyr* (*Myv.*, i, 67; *Four Anct. Bks.*, ii, 154), 187
- Mic Dinbych* (*Myv.*, i, 67; *Four Anct. Bks.*, ii, 168), 156, 329
- Tallwch (*see* Trystan)
- Talorc, Talorg, son of Wid, Dalorg Mac Foith, 228, 229
- Tal-y-Rhyn, a place-name, 61, n. 5
- Tangwn ab Talhaiarn, 174
- Tangwn ab Caradog Vreichvras, 175
- Tannwen, daughter of Gweir, 230
- Taran, father of Gliuneu, 316
- Target, carried by Britons, 115, 116
- Taxes, laid in Gaul on imports and exports from Britain, 107; various taxes imposed on Roman Britons, 133
- Tedbald, 81 (*see* Theobald)
- Tees, the river, 370
- Tegau Eurvron, 202, 214
- Tegit, father of Morvran, 206
- Teilo, the saint, 168, 326
- Teilo Vyrwallt, 315
- Teleri, daughter of Peul, 230, 280
- Telocho, bellum, in Kantire, 281, n.
- Temples, British, 44, 99; in Roman Britain, 120, 122
- Tenby, 329
- Tennyson referred to, 381
- Teodbald, 301 (*see* Theobald)
- Teregud, son of Iaen, 220
- Teviotdale, 28, n. 2, 257
- Thames, the river, 99, 127
- Theobald, Theodbold, Teodbold, Tedbald, brother of Ethelfrith, 37, n., 38, 79, 81, 301
- Theodherus, son of Ida, 69, n. 2
- Theodosia (Dumbarton), 63, 130, 131
- Theodosius, the emperor, 63
- Theodric, son of Ida, 6, 67, 69, 70, 72, 73, 74, 75, 77
- Theodulf, the Saxon king, 77
- Thirlwall Castle, altars at, 122
- Thor, Thunr, identified with Jupiter Tanaros, 120
- Thracians, serving in Roman legions in Britain, 120
- Thunr (*see* Thor)
- Tibion, Tybiawn ab Cunedda, 207, 365, 375
- Tidil (*see* Titulus)
- Tighernac, the Annals of*, quoted, or referred to, 32, 35, 36, 38, 55, 76, 281, 285, n. 2, 286, 287, n., 313, n., 373, 388
- Tin, use of by Britons, 92; the trade in, 102-104; export of, 105; mines of, 111, 113
- Tiuwæd, one of the three strong cripples, 323
- Titell (*see* Titulus)
- Titilus (*see* Titulus)
- Titileu, 255
- Titulus (Titilus, Tytilus, Titell, Tital, Tidil, Tytla), king of the East Anglians of Norfolk, 255, 291
- Toga*, the, adopted by the Britons, 114
- Torque, of gold, worn as an ornament by British chieftains, 92, 112; identified with the *cae*, 149, and the *aurdoroch*, a mark of distinction, 151, 158, 191
- Total, a North British king, 64
- Tottarth, a bard, 342, 343
- Towns, of the Britons, 83, 98, 117; of Roman Britain, 128-132
- Towyn, in Merionethshire, the stone of St. Cadvan, at, 228
- Trabannawg, 157, 159, 344
- Trade in Roman Britain, 136

- Traeth Gododin*, 60, 308
 Trafalgar, the battle of, referred to, 27
 Trathol, son of Gwydion, and father of Mathonwy, 261
Trawsgunu Cynan Garwyn (see under Taliesin)
 Trebatius, Cicero's letter to, 82
 Tren, the ale of, 243
 Trent, the river, 58
 Trephin, father of Drutwas, 327
Triads, the, statement of, in reference to the death of Aneurin, 23, 24; the battle of Bangor, 33; the ethnology of Britain, 55, 56, 183, 186, 195, 196; the wife of Ffamddwyn, 68; the wars in the North, 72; an old custom in war, 75; the death of Urien, 76, n.; Hu Gadarn, 84; the invention of the water-mill, 88; the use of sail and rudder, and of cement, *ib.*; the intercourse between Britons and Gauls, 101; Madog ab Brwyn, 145, 374; Manawyddan, 146; Syvno, 149; Gwanar ab Lliaws ab Nwyvre, 156; Cynhored, 159; Mynyddawg Eiddin, 161, 162; Gwen, daughter of Cywryd ab Crydon, 200; Tegau Eurvron, 202; Llemeuig, 203; Ceredig, son of Gwallog, 205, 206; Caradog Vreichvas, 212, 214; Gwriad, son of Gwrien, 216; Gwyn ab Nudd, 217; Madog ap Rhun, 218; Gwgan Gleddyvrudd, 220; Peredur, 222; Rhuvawn Bevr, 224, 227; Morien, 231; Bedwyr, 234; Cynhaval ab Argad, 249; Branwen, daughter of Llyr, 262, 265; Cynon, son of Clydno, 271, 272, 273; Aeddán ab Gavran, 280, 285, 286; the battle of Arderydd, 280; Gwenddolau ab Ceidio, 282; Eiddilig, 296; Helen Luyddawg, 298; Heiddyn Hir, 309; Gereint ab Erbin, 326; Cynan Garwyn, 334; Dinogad, son of Cynan, 335; Gwair the Tall, 338; the family of Cunedda, 365; Iago ab Beli, 386; Cadafael the Wild, *ib.*
 Tribes, the Britons divided into, 83
 Trimontium, a town of the Selgovae, 61
 Trinity, the, reference to, in *Gododin*, 126, 210 (*can drindawt en undawt gyuan*), 211
Tristram, Sir, edited by Sir Walter Scott, quoted, 28, n. 2
 Trivaen, 234 (see Tryvan)
 Tryffin, father of Erddudnid, 230
 Trystan ab Tallwch, 68, n. 2, 234, 272, 296, 338
 Tryvan, 234, 235
 Tudleu, or Titleu, a proper name from *tut leu* (line 489), 254, 255
 Tudor, the House of, Tudur ab Goronwy, one of the ancestors of, 221
 Tudur ab Goronwy, 221, 222
 Tudvathar, father of Enrydreg, 230
 Tudvwch, son of Eilydd, or Kilydd, Tudvwch the Tall, 34, 78, 80, 167-172, 174, 175, 341, 342, 343
 Tudvwch, son of Lliwydd, 168
 Tudwal ab Ceredig, 176
 Tudwal Tudglyd, father of Rhydderch Hael, 11, 64, 65
 Tueda, the Tweed, 257
 Tulloch-Baalteine, a hill in Perthshire, 125
 Tungri, serving in the Roman legions in Britain, 121
Tunica, the Roman, not corresponding to British *pais*, 114
 Turner's (Sharon) *Vindication of the British Bards* referred to, 153
 Tweed, the river, 28, n., 60, 79, 118, 155, 257
 Tweeddale, 28, n. 2, 257
 Tweedmouth, 60, n. 4
 Twr Bronwen, Harlech Castle called, 147, 265
 Twrcelyn, in Anglesey, Caw settled at, 11
 Twrch ab Anwas Adeiniog, 242
 Twrch ab Arthan, 34, 35, 72, 79, 176, 242, 243, 283, 301
 Twrch ap Periv, 242
 Tybiawn (see Tibion)
Tylwyth Teg, Y (the Fair family, the Fairies), Gwyn ab Nudd, king of, 217; the abode of, 286 (see also Fairy Mythology, Gwylliaid)
 Tyne, the river, 58, 59, 370
 Tyre, 102
 Tyrian Hercules, the, altars to, at Corstopitum, 121
 Tyssul, the saint, 151, 374
 Tytilus (see Titulus)
 Tytla (see Titulus)
 Tywynwedd, daughter of Amlawdd Wledig, 217

U.

- Uffa, king of the East Angles, 319
 Uffin or Uphin, 34, 318, 319
 Ulster, the council of Drumkeat in, 284
Unben, 369 (see *Gwledig*)

- Unpeniaet Prydyn*, the Monarchy of Britain, to be sung by the *Bardd Teulu* before the army, 16, n. 3
- Uphin (*see* Uffin)
- Ure, the river, 58
- Uriad (*i. q.* Gwriad ?), 216
- Uriconium, 217
- Urien Rheged, son of Cynvarch Oer, 6, 14, 22, 24, 27, 30, 45, 47, 50, 65, 66, 67, 68, 70, 71, 73, 74, 75, 76, 117, 152, 154, 174, 238, 239, 273, 283, 356, 357, 358, 370, 372, 375 (*see also Anrec Urien*, Cyndeyrn, Elphin, Llywri, Morvudd, Pasgen, Owen, Rhiwallon)
- Urien (*i. q.* Gwrien ?), 216
- Uruei, Urvei, 330 (A), 390 (*see* Ervai, and also p. 348, line 1004 of the poem)
- Usher (Archbishop), referred to, 11, n. 1
- Uther Pendragon, 272, 296
- Uxellian Mts., the, 62
- Uxellum, a town of the Selgovae, 61
- V.
- Valentia*, a province of Roman Britain, 127, 128
- Vanduara, 62, n. 3, 63
- Vanduarium, 62
- Vannes, the town of the Veneti, 104
- Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, referred to, 94
- Vegetius cited, 116
- Veneti, a Gaulish tribe, 104
- Venta Belgarum (Winchester), 95, 132
- Venta Icenorum (Caystor), 132
- Venta Silurum (Caerwent), 132
- Verulamium, 128
- Verus, Lucius, referred to, 131
- Verwarch (*see* Mervarch)
- Vespasian, the emperor, achievements of, in Britain, 99
- Vespasiana*, one of the provinces of Roman Britain, 127
- Vicar of Britain, 127
- Victoria, a town of the Damnii, 63, 130, 131
- Villemarqué, Hersart de la, referred to, 160
- Vindobala (Rutchester), an altar at, 122
- Vindolana, a town of Gauls, 120
- Vindonium, 132
- Vine, the, cultivated in Roman Britain, 110, 111, 249 (*see* Wine)
- Vinovia, Vinovium, or Viuonia (Bingchester), 58
- Virgil, referred to, 90, 91
- Vitellius, a Saxon noble, 291
- Viteres or Vitres, a god worshipped in Roman Britain, 122
- Vithirs, a Scandinavian deity, 122
- Vitruvius, referred to, 88
- Vopiscus, cited, 110
- Vortimer, his wars with the Saxons, 255
- W.
- Wace, referred to, 233
- Walda, identified with *Gwledig* (*q. v.*), 205
- Wales, the Principality, Caw takes refuge in, 11; Aneurin's residence in, 19, 20, 23, 54, 194, 195, 197, 228, 251; a contingent from, at Cattraeth, 53, 78, 182; Gwallawg and Urien fight against the Irish in, 71; suffers from Ethelfred, 77; fosterage in, 98; thatched roofs still common in, 100; a flint hatchet found in North, 111; the May festival discontinued in, 125; included in *Britannia Secunda*, 127; hunting, fishing, and falconry, pursued in, 135, 136, 147; *Triads* written in, 161; the Britons of, 183, 196; fairy mythology of, 188; Ceredic's achievements in, 207-209; Caradog in, 212-214; Cadavael and Hyveidd in, 216; the district called Gwynedd, 220, 391; Peredur in the literature of 221; 235, 241, 242, 258, 267; Clydno in, 270; superstitions in, 286; Merin's name in, 289; Eudav, 298; use of *Gogledd* and *Deheu* in, 326; 331, 333; Cunedda's family in, 365, 375; expulsion of Irish from South, 367, 372, 380; love of nature in the older poetry of, 381; history of, in its poetry, 386; effect of battle of Chester on North, 388, 390
- Wall, the, the stations on, 121
- Wallsend (*Segedunum*), 119
- War, the art of, among the Britons, 82, 117-119
- Warlock Head, gold mine at, 114
- Warrington, 58, n. 6
- Waterloo, the battle of, references to, 27, 36, 41
- Watermills, invention of, 88
- Water Newton, 130

- Watling Street, junction of the Catrail with, 27
- Weaving, the art of, in Gaul and Britain, 94
- Wednesbirue, battle at, 119 (*see* Wednesbury)
- Wednesbury (Wednesbirue, Wodnesbirue, Wodnesbeorge), battle at, 39, *n.* 1, 80, 118, 119
- Welsh Saints, the* (*see* Rees)
- Wendover, Roger of, quoted, 207, 208
- Westmoreland, 58, 71, 73, 110, 120, 127, 323
- Wetgisse, father of Hengist, 154
- Whallop Castle, 58, *n.* 3
- Wheat grown by Britons, 87
- Wheel carriages of the Britons, 89-92
- Whitaker's *History of Manchester* quoted, 102, 103, 105, 108, 126, 129, 131, 133, 134
- White, use of, among the old Kymry, 165
- White Lake, the (*see* Llwych Gwyn)
- White Mount, the head of Bran buried at the, 263
- Whithern, identified by Roy with Lucopibia, 62; first Christian church at, 126
- Wid, Foith, Gwith, or Oith, son of Baedan, Baeddán, or Peithan, 34, 35. 78, 227-231
- Wight, Isle of, 104, 108
- Wigton, 61, 62, 161, 182, 312
- William of Malmesbury quoted, 38, 39, 77, 135, 136
- Williams, Edward (*see* Iolo Morganwg)
- Williams, Rev. Eliezer, M.A., referred to, 113
- Williams, Rev. John (Ab Ithel), his *Gododin*, quoted and referred to, 3, 5, 7, 11, 14, *n.* 1, 18, 27, 45-47, 48, 49, 51, 140, 141, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 152, 154, 155, 159, 160, 161, 163, 164, 166, 170, 172, 173, 174, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 182, 183, 184, 185, 189, 192, 216, 230, 241, 244, 245, 246, 247, 256, 264, 275, 314, 330, 338, 354
Glossary of British Terms (*Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1st series, iv), 94, 95. *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of the Cymry*, 164
- Williams, Rev. Robert, M.A., author of *A Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Welshmen*, quoted or referred to, 27, 145, 147, 149, 153, 198, 200, 214, 216, 217, 218, 238, 241, 242, 296, 297, 326, 365, 374, 383, *nn.*
- Winchester (*Venta Belgarum*), 132
- Wine, use of, by the Britons, 111, 136, 158, 178, 187, 189, 191, 201, 223, 319
- Winsterdale, identified with Gwenystrad, 73
- Wipha, Wippa, Pybba, king of the Mercians, 319
- Woad, Britons painted themselves with, 95
- Wodnesbeorge, Wodnesbirue, 39, *n.* 1 (*see* Wednesbury)
- Wolfskins worn, 335
- Wolves in Britain. 135, 136
- Worcester, portions of. included in *Britannia Secunda*, 127
- Wordsworth, the poet, mentioned, 381
- Wye, the rivr, 334
- Wynne, Mr., cited, 207, 208, 368

X.

Xiphilinus, description of Boadicea by, 114

Y.

Yffa, Yffi, 318 (*see* Iff)

Ygraine (Eigr, *q. v.*), 272

Ynyr Gwent, 289, 318, 319

Ynys Bronwen, 147, 265

York, the city, 28, 30, 58, 120, 128, 129

Yorkshire, 30, 40, 41, *n.* 1, 42, 57, 65, 108, 124, 127, 130, 149, 153, 212, 238

Yseult, wife of March, 272

Ysgavnell, son of Dysgyvedawg or Dysgyvndawd, 150, 151

Ysgwn (or Pasgen) ab Llywarch Hen, 174, 253

Ysgwyd, a kind of shield, *scutum*, 116

Ysgyran, 32, 148-151, 374

Yspeil Taliesin (*see* under Taliesin)

Ysper, a kind of spear, 116

Ysperi, line 259, assumed by Probert to be a proper name, 195

Ysporni, 195 (*see* Esperir)

Ystre Anhon, "Annandale". 256, 257

Ystre Gododin, "the Vale of Gododin", 254, 256, 257

Ystre Ragno, "the strand of Rhagno", 254, 257

Ystwyth, the river (*Stucia*), 31

Z.

Zosimus, the historian, referred to, 83, 110

PROPER NAMES IN THE "GODODIN"

According to the versions of Stephens (S.), Williams (W.), and the *Four Ancient Books of Wales* (E.) The names accepted by the three are printed in capitals; the initials attached to the others denote the authorities which regard them as proper names. The numerals refer to the lines of the present edition in which the names occur. As vv. xcii-xcvii of Williams's edition are regarded by Stephens as mere variations of earlier verses of the poem, reference is made to these by the number of the verse in Williams's *Gododin* and in *The Four Ancient Books of Wales* (vol. i) respectively, and by the pages of the present volume, on which the variants are given. References to the verses (xciii-cx, pp. 333-355) introduced from *Gorchan Maelderw* are distinguished by the letters G. M.; and names which occur only in those verses are given by themselves.

I.—NAMES OF PERSONS.

- Adan, 261, E.; (W. "covered" or "wings"; S. "under"); 864, 865, E. W. (S. takes it to be for "Aeddan"); W. v. xcv, E. v. xcii *bis*
- AEDDAN, 336; 617, S. (E. "under"; W. *d dan*", "will go under"), 864, 865, S. (E. and W. "Adan", *q.v.*)
- ADONWY, 525
- Angor, 619, E. W. (S. "anchor"); 845, E. (S. "anchor", W. "anchors"); G. M. 920
- ANEURIN, 462, 544; E. xc, W. xciii, S. p. 264
- ARGOEDWYS, the men of Argoed, 829
- BELI, 401
- BLEIDDVAN, 275
- Boducat, 398, S.; *v.* Bodw
- BODGAD, 60, 79
- Bodw, 1009, E.
- BRADWEN, 420, 429, 526
- Breych, 772, E. (S. and W. for *dyvynwal a breych* adopt *dyvynwal vrych*)
- Brwyn, 26, S. (E. and W. read *mal brwyn*, "like rushes")
- Brych, 509, E. W. (S. "freckled"); 555, E. W. (S. "rugged")
- BRYTHON, 194, 199, 657. G. M. 981
- BUDDVAN, 275
- Buddugre, 585, E. and S. (translated "victory" by W.)
- Cadvan, 363, S. (*y chyhadvan* rendered by E. "from its fixed place", by W. "a co-retreat")
- Caeawg, 21, 30, 39, 46, E. (translated by S. "torque-wearing", by W. "adorned with his wreath")
- CARADAWG, 320, 334, 366
- Cas (or Caso, W.), 855, S. W.; W. xcv, S. p. 330. E. translates *cas ohir* "disagreeable is the delay"
- CEIDIAW, 788
- CENEU, 474
- CEREDIG, 304, 310
- CIAN, 83. G. M. 956
- Cibno, 639, E. S. (W. renders it "cup"); G. M. 1060
- CILYDD, 120; W. xcv, E. xcii, S. p. 330. In the latter passage E. takes the full name to be Cilydd Gwardawg; *v.* Glyd Gwardawg
- CLYDNO, 578
- Colwedd, 222, E. (S. and W. translate by "prowess")
- CYDYWAL, 206
- CYNDILIG, 664, 780
- Cynhaval (E. S.), 440 (W. reads

- kynhavel*, and renders it "morning breeze"; G. M. 1035
- CYNON, 195, 200, 232, 360, 376, 383, 571, 658. G. M. 981
- CYNRIAN, 196
- CYNRIG (or Cynri E.), 195
- Cynt, W. xcvi; v. Gynt
- CYNVAN, 335
- CYVWLOH HIR, 137
- Cywir, 631, W. (E. renders "upright", S. "rightly")
- DINOAD (or Tinogad, W.), 873
- DINUS (E.), 746 (W. translates it "consumer of forts", S. renders *dinas*, "fortress")
- DISTAR, 510
- DISTEIR, 510
- Doleu, E. xci, W. xciv, S. p. 256
- DYVYNWAL VRYCH, 772; W. xcii, E. lxxxix, S. p. 314
- DWYWEI (538, S.); E. xc, W. xciii, S. p. 264
- EIDOL, 583, 661, 708
- Eithiny (E.), 388, 393, 550 (S. and W. translate "furze"); G. M. 1009, 1016
- ELPHIN, 387
- ENOVANT, 664; introduced in the translation by E., and by S. and W. accepted as an alternative for Novant, *q. v.*
- EPHID, 387, doubtfully set down by S. as a man's name; E. and W. consider it a place name
- Erthai (W.), 130. E. reads Erthgi, and S. translates "roaring"
- Erthgi (E.), 130; v. Erthai.
- ERVAL, 864; v. URVEI
- EUDAV HIR, 667
- EULAD, 324
- FERAWG, 368. E. writes Fferawg, and W. Pherawg
- Ferwarch; v. MERWARCH
- Fferwarch; v. MERWARCH
- Fflamddur (E.), or Fflamddwr (W.), 743. S. translates by "flaming steel"
- GARTHWYS Hir, 872
- Gelorwydd (W.), 99. E. translates "biers" and S. "bier-timber"
- GERRAINT, 838, 842
- Glyd Gwardawg (E.), 868. S. and W. read *gwaed glyt gwardawg*, and translate respectively "a blood-stained protector" (S.), and "stained with blood, brought deliverance" (W.). The reading of the variant (E. xcii, W. xcvi, S. p. 330) is "kilyd gwardawc"
- GODEBOG, 134
- Gognaw (S. W.), 57. E. translates "sprightliness"
- GORTHYN Hir, E. xcii, W. xcvi, S. p. 330, takes the place of Garthwys Hir in verse xc (lxxxix in W.), of which S. regards the other as a variant
- Gorwylam (W.), 817. E. translates "they watched" (*gorwylan*), and S. "there will be excessive weeping"
- GRAD, 258
- GWAEDNERTH, 650. G. M. 964
- Gwair (S.), 896. E. and W. render "long grass"
- Gwanar (W.), 64. S. renders "lord"
- Gwarchan, E. xc, W. xciii, S. p. 264 (A)
- Gwarthan is adopted by W. in the translation of v. xciii
- Gwarthlev (W.), 147. S. translates "reproach"; E. reads Gwrthlev as a proper name, and this S. has in the text
- GWAWRDDUR, 336
- Gwaws (E.), 543. S. renders "pitiful", and W. reads *gnaws*
- GWEN, 283, 421 (485, E. and W.; S. translates "smile"), (525, E. and W.; S. renders "the fair"), (526, E.; S. connects *wenn bratwen*, "the fair Bradwen"; and W. *wenn heli*, "the foaming brine"); E. xciii, W. xcvi bis, S. p. 244; E. xciv, W. xcvi, S. p. 245
- GWENABWY, 283, 421; E. xciii, W. xcvi, S. p. 245; E. xciv, W. xcvi, S. p. 245
- GWYDIEN; v. GWYDIEN
- GWGAWN, 335, 795
- GWIAWN, 335, 795
- GWLYGED, 346, 795
- GWRIAD, 325
- GWRIEN, 325 (329, E. and S.; W. reads *wrun*, and renders it "hill")
- Gwrthlev; v. Gwarthlev
- Gwrvan (S.), 776; E. and W. render "loud"
- GWYVELING, 177
- Gwrys (E. W.), 724; S. renders "ardent"

- GWYDIEN, 414
 GWYDDNEU, 303
 Gwyddwg (E. W.), 415. S. translates "the skilful"
 GWYDDYL, E. xciii, W. xcvi, S. p. 244; E. xciv, W. xcvi, S. p. 245
 GWYNGWN, 83
 GWYNN, 325, 335
 Gwynwydd (E. W.), 447. S. "vines"
 Gwyr, E. xciii (W. xcvi renders "the warriors"; see the verse in S. p. 244)
 Gynt, E. xciv, for which W. xcvi takes "Cynt" to be the radical form, supposing them to be "the Cantii, or people of Kent". S. p. 245
- HEIDDYN, 749
 Heilyn (S.) 488. W. renders "generous"; and in E. "general" is doubtless a misprint for "generous"
 HOEWGI, 258
 Hwrreith (E. S.), 582. W. translates "spoliation"
 HYDWN, 327; v. Bryn Hydwn
 HYVEIDD Hir, 56
- IELUAN, 334
 ISAAC, or ISSAC, 296. W. translates "lower down", but in a note says it may be a proper name
- Llemenig (S.), 287. E. "prancing horse", W. "prancing career"
 Llivieu (E.), 240. W. reads *llwyeu*, and renders "dwellings"; S. makes it a verb, "sawed"
 LLGEGRWYS, 246, 566, 725
 LLYWARCH, 474
 LLYWRI, 650
- MADAWG, 28, 334, 679. G. M. 978
 MADIEN, 633
 MANAWYD, 35
 MARCHLEU, 285, 295
 MATTO (E. W.), 20. S. "our chieftain"
 MERIN, 633. G. M. 941 in place name Garth Merin
 MERWARCH, 897. S. gives as alternatives, Ferwarch, Verwarch, regarding them as inflected forms of Merwarch; E. has Fferwarch, and W. Morarch. S. and W. agree in identifying Merwarch with Morach Morvan
 Morarch (W.), 897; v. Merwarch
 MORIAL, 557
 Moried (E. W.), 759; S. "the sea"
- MORIEN, 359, 366, 417, 528; E. xciii, W. xcvi, S. p. 244; E. xciv, W. xcvi, S. p. 245
 Mynawg, 367, E. W.; (S. "sovereign"), 750, 751, E.; (S. W. "sovereign")
 MYNDDAWG, 89, 96, 332, 347, 374, 602, 608, 656, 666, 757. G. M. 969, 1003, 1012
- Neddig Nar (E.), 627. S. regards *nedic* as an epithet, and renders the name "the mangling Ner"; W. translates "the mangling dwarf"
 Ner (S.), 627; v. Neddig Nar
 NOVANT, 179, which S. renders "three forward Novantians", W. "three forward chiefs of the Novantae", and E. "three forward (chiefs or bands) of Novant"; in 664 *wyr enouant* is rendered by E. "the grandson of Enovant", by S. "the g. of Novant", and by W. "one of the Novantian heroes", or "the grandson of Enovant"
 NWTYTHON, 770; E. lxxxix, W. xcii, S. p. 314; G. M. 985, 993
 Nyved (E.), 669. S. renders it "purity", and W. "the Holy One"
- OWAIN, 17, 324, 700
- PEITHAN, 364
 Pél (S.), 612. E. and W. translate "ball"
 PEREDUR, 336
 PHERAWG; v. FERAWG
 Picts (S.), 237
 PRESENT, 225, 612
 Pryder (S. W.), 821; E. "anxiety"
 PWYLL, 510, 511
 PYLL, 334
 PRYDYN, W., xcvi, E. xciii, S. p. 244; W. xcvi, E. xciv, S. p. 245; "the text has *prydein* and *pryden*"
- Rheiddun (E. S.), 596; W. "the Lance"
 Rhodic (S.), 511; v. Rhodri
 Rhodri (W.), 511. E. and S. adopt the reading *rodic*, transliterating "Roddig" and "Rhodic" respectively
 RHUVAWN Hir, 355, 795
 RHYCHWARD, 511
 RHYS, 512
 Roddig (E.), 511; v. Rhodri

- SAEON, 116, 534
 Senyllt (E. W.), 477. S. renders "the seneschal"
 Syll (E. W.), 434; *syll o virein* S. translates "on seeing the fair body"
 SYVNO, 211
- TALIESIN, 463
 Tinogad (W.), 873; *v.* DINOGAD
 Tres (W.), 799. E. translates *tres* by "chain", S. by "pain"
 TUDVWLCH Hir, 115, 119, 137; G. M. 928
 Twrch (E. S.), 405; W. "the boar", or, in a note, "mole"
- UFFIN, 784
 Urien (W.), xcv. E. (xcii) accepts the reading *un riein*, and renders "one damsel"; *v.* S. p. 330 (A)
 URVEI, or URVAI (E. xcii, W. xcv, S. p. 330), for which the corresponding passage *v.* xc, l. 864, has Ervei
 Verwarch; *v.* MERWARCH
 Wid (E. S.), 364. E. modernises it "Gwid" in translation; W. seems to take it to be *fyth*, ever
 YSGYRAN, 44

NAMES OF PERSONS

Occurring only in the verses (XCHII-CX) from "Gorchan Maelderw", pp. 338-355.

- Alan, 999
 Arthur, 1051
- Bleiddig, 915
 Bodw, 1009. S. takes *bodu* at of this line to be for "Boducat" (p. 241)
 Bribon, 996
- Cyhuran, 950
 Cymry, 940
- Dialgur, 980; *v.* l. *dialgar*, revengeful
 Eli, 915
- Golystan, 1001
 Gupno, in the heading to *v.* cx; in the text it is *gipno*, possibly the inflected form of "cipno" or "cibno", *q.v.*
 Gwengad, 1060
 Gwernor, 1053
 Gwolowy, 929
- Neim, 993. *See* p. 315
 Tottarth, 940

II.—NAMES OF PLACES.

- Aclud (E.), 469, which S. identifies with Alclwyd
 ADOYN, 767; E. lxxxix, W. xcii, S. p. 314. The late Professor Evander Evans (*Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1874, p. 122) took it to be a verb, and rendered *o benn tir adoyrn*, "that came from Cantire"; and this Skene accepts in *Celtic Scotland*, i, 250, n. 35
 AERON, 196, 232, 652, 664, 730
 Alclwyd (S.); *v.* Aclud
 Amlwch (S.), 437. The line *Od am-luch llivanat* is rendered by E. and W. "From around the inlet of the flood", and by S. "At the stream of Amlwch", or, alternatively, "At the Lake of Lliwon"
- Annandale (S.), 728; E. "Gwanan-hon"; W. "With his ashen shaft he pierces"
 Arddeg (E.), 823; *Fun en ardec* S. translates "With veiled countenance"; W. reading *un ar deg* renders "Eleven complete battalions"
 Ban Carw (E. W.), 508
 Ban Ceirw (E. W.), 507. S. renders both these by "deer on the hill-top"
 Bludwe (E. W.), 142. S. regards it as a corruption of *bleiddie*, wolves
 Breiddin (S.), 294. E. and W. render *ar wreithin* "in the interval of fine weather"

- Brennych (E.); *v.* BRYNEICH
 BRYDEIN, 153
 BRYNEICH, 50, 78, 480
 Bryn Hydwn (E.), 327; S. and W.
 "the hill of Hydwn"
- CAERWYS, 493
 CATRAETH, 68, 74, 84, 90, 97, 105, 109,
 121, 131, 226, 283, 326, 348, 349,
 461, 546, 601, 611, 635, 655, 745,
 781; G. M. 974, 987
 Ceinnion (S.), 376; variant for "Clin-
 nion". E. translates "valuable trea-
 sures", and W. "saints"
 Clinnion (S.), 376; *v.* Ceinnion
 Clwyd (W.), 654. E. and S. read *llwyt*,
 and render "brown" and "grey"
 respectively
- DEIVYR, 50, 198
 DERWENNYDD, 886
 Dindovydd (W.); *v.* DINDYWYDD
 Din Drei (E. W.), 444; S. "the bril-
 liant town"
 DINDYWYDD, 497 (S. "the town of
 Tweed"); E. xci, W. xciv, S. p. 256
 Dineiddin, G. M. 959
 Doon, the uplands of, identified with
penn tir Adoyn by S.; *v.* Adoyn
 Drum Essyd (E. W.), 536; S. "the
 steep mountain"
 Dyvneint (W.), 498, taking *dyvu wyt*
 as for *dyvnywt*; E. xci, W. xciv,
 S. p. 256, where E. has "Dyv-
 nydd"
 Dyvnywydd (E.), xci; *v.* Dyvneint
- ECHECHING, 140. W. reads "Eching"
 Eching (W.); *v.* ECHECHING
 EDDYN, 113, 157, 183, 752; E. xciv,
 W. xcvi, S. p. 245; G. M. 968, 1004,
 1020, Dineiddin, G. M. 959
 EFFYD (E.) or EPHYD (W.), 387. S.
 with some hesitation sets it down as
 a man's name, EPHID, *q.v.*
 Eryri (S.), 267; E. and W. "eagle"
 Essyd; *v.* Drum Essyd and Tre Essyd
- GODODIN, 34, 57, 64, 103, 346, 371,
 392, 465, 480, 490, 535, 549, 614,
 658, 732, 750 (W. the poem), 787;
 E. xc (W. xciii, S. p. 264) *bis*; E.
 xci (W. xciv, S. p. 265); G. M. 937,
 965, 997
 Gododin as a poem, 27, 239, 678 (750
 W.); G. M. 1034
 GOGLEDD, 43, 467
- Gwananhon (E. S.), 728; G. M. 1007.
 In l. 396 *guanannon* is rendered by
 S. "they pierced"
 GWYNEDD, 43, 219, 727, 729
 GWYNDYD, 868 (*yn gwyndyt*, "among
 the Gwyneddians", S.), E. xcii (W.
 xcvi, S. p. 330). W. renders by
 "Gwynedd" in both passages
- Llanveithin (W.), 540. This Stephens
 adopts on p. 14, but in his text *tan*
veithin, "the banquet fire (of
 Gwlyrget?)" ; E. takes Tan Veithin
 as a place name
 LLECH LLEUFT (or Lleucu), 489
 Llew (W.), 489. E. and S. follow the
 MSS. which omit this word
 LLEUDVRE, 489
 Llŷon (Lake of, S.), 437; *v.* Amlwch
 LLOEGYR, 425; G. M. 961
 Llŷchbin (Lochmaben, S.), 541; E.
 "the edge gleamed"; W. "he re-
 versed", *al.* "the edge of his sword
 gleamed"
 Llŷch Gwynn (S. W.), 839; E. "A
 brilliant gleam"
 Llŷw (E. W.), 436
 Llychwr (S.), 541, *O llychwr y llychwr*,
 "from Lucker to Lockerby"; but E.
 and W. render "From twilight to
 twilight"
- Maddeu (E. W.), 300
 Maen Gwyngwn (E.), 83; S. and W.
 "the stone of Gwyngwn"
 Mannan (S.), 38, 409, 617. In all the
 passages for *catuannau* there is a
 various reading, *catuannau*. E. and
 W. render "warriors"
 Mirein (E. W.), 434; S. "the fair
 body"
 Mordei (E. W.), 27, 129, 143, 202,
 220; G. M. 950
 Morion (S.), 859; E. and W. "nobles"
- Offer (E. W.), 300. S. translates by
 "weapon"
- Pennant (S.), 894; for *ar ryf* (*al. aryt*,
al. ar hyd) *benclwyd pennant* (*al.*
pennawt) S. gives "upon the heights
 of Pennant", E. "on the ford of
 Penclwyd...the best", and W. "on
 the ford of Penclwyd Pennant"
 Penclwyd; *v.* Pennant
 PRYDEIN, 278; E. xciii (W. xcvi, S. p.
 244), E. xciv (W. xcvi, S. p. 245)
v. Prydyn

RHAGNO, 491 Rhiwdrech (E. W.), 513; for <i>en rhiwdrec</i> there is a variant, <i>en rhindrec</i> . S renders "in armour" RHUVONIAWG, 856, 872; E. xcii (W. xcv, S. p. 330) <i>bis</i> . E. adopts the various MS. forms, Rywoniawg, Rywyniawg, and Rywynawg	Tan Veithin (E.), 540; <i>v. Llanveithin Tre Essyd</i> (W.), xciii; or, in a note, "Let it be forcibly seized" (<i>treissytt</i>), and so E. renders; S. p. 264 (A) Tud Lleudvre (E.), 489; S. "the land of Lleudvre". W., reading <i>tut leu leudvre</i> , translates "the land of Lleu, Lleudvre"
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NAMES OF PLACES

Occurring only in the verses from "Gorchan Maelderu".

Arvon, 980 Arvwl Cann, 918 Bannawg, 956 Cavall, 990	Dineiddyn, 959 Elved, 978 Garth Merin, 941 Neimyn, 982
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FIRST LINES OF THE VERSES OF THE "GODODIN".

The verses incorporated from "Gorchan Maelderu" are marked by an asterisk; and the verses of Williams's edition omitted by Stephens are enclosed in brackets.

	PAGE
*Aches guolouy Glasvleid duuyr	verse xcvi . 342
Aer dywys ry dywys ryvel	" lxxiii . 304
Am drynni drylaw drylenn	" xl . 242
Am drynni drylaw drylenn	" xli . 244
(Am drynnv drylav drylen: Wms., v. xcvi)	note (A) . 244
(Am giniav drylav drylen: Wms., v. xcvi)	" (A) . 245
Anawr gynhoruan Huan arwyran	verse xvii . 178
An gelwir mor a chynnwr ym plymnwyt	" lxxvi . 308
*Angor deor dain Sarff saffwy graen	" xcvi . 340
Angor dewr daen Sarph seri raen	" lxii . 286
Ardyledawc canu clae orchyrdon	" lxx . 294
Ardyledawc canu clae orchyrdon	" lxxvii . 298
*Ardwynef adef eidun gwalat	" c . 344
Ardyledawc canu kenian kywreint	" lxvi . 294
Ardyledawc canu kyman caffat	" lxiii . 290
Ardyledawc canu kyman ovri	" lxiv . 292
Arwr y dwy ysgwyt adan	" xxiv . 196
Aryf angkynnull Agkyman dull	" xxiii . 194
Bedin ordyvnat en agerw	" lxxv . 306
Blaen echeching gaer glaer negei	" xvi . 176
Bu gwir mal y meud e gatlew	" xxvi . 200
Cam e adaw heb gof camb ehelaeth	" xxv . 198
Carasswn disgynnu yg catraeth gessevin	" lxxxiii . 318
Da y doeth adonwy atwen	" li . 260
Diannot e glot e glutvan	" lxxxviii . 326
Dienhyt y bob llawr llanwet	" lxxxix . 328

(Dihenyd y bop llaur llanwet: v. xciv in Wms.)	note (A)	330
*Dim guoru ediu o adam neimin	verse ciii	346
Disgynnwys en affwys dra phenn	lxxi	304
Disgynsit en trwm rac alauoed wyrein	xxxix	240
Disgynsit en trwm yg kesseuin	xxxviii	238
Disgynsit en trwm yg kesseuin	xxxvii	236
Disgynsit in trum in alavoed dwyrem	xxxix (A)	240
*Disgynsit in trum in alavoed dwyrem	cv	348
Dyfforthes cat veirch a chatseirch	lxxvii	308
Dyfforthes meiwyrr molut nyuet	lxviii	300
*Dywal yg cat kyniwnng ygkeni	xcv	340
*Edeuuniat eithuauat aruhicat	cx	352
Ef gwrthodes tres tra gwyar llynn	lxxxiv	320
Eidol adoer crei grannawr gwynn	lxxii	304
Erkryn e alon af(ar)	xlix	258
Eur ar vur caer krysgwrwydyat	xliv	246
Eveis y win a med e mordei	xix	186
Eveis y win a med e mordei	xx	188
Gereint rac deheu gawr a dodet	lxxxvii	324
Gododin gomynaf dy blegyt	lii	262
(Gododin gomynnaf oth blegyt: v. xciii in Wms.)	note (A)	264
Goroleod gogledd gwr ae goruc	verse xlvi	250
*Gosgord gododin e ar ravn rin	ci	346
Gredyff gwr oed gwas	i	140
*Guelet e lauanaur eu liwet	cviii	350
(Gueleys y dull o bentir a doyn: v. xcii in Wms.)	note (A)	314
*Guir gormant aethant cennin	verse cvi	350
Gweleis y dull o henn tir adoun	lxxx	310
Gwr a aeth gatraeth gan dyd	xliii	166
Gwyr a aeth gatraeth buant enwawe	xxi	190
Gwyr a aeth gatraeth gan dyd	xii	164
Gwyr a aeth gatraeth gan wawr	x	160
Gwyr a aeth gatraeth gan wawr	xi	162
Gwyr a aeth gatraeth gan wawr	xiv	170
Gwyr a aeth gatraeth oed fraeth eu llu	viii	156
Gwyr a aeth gatraeth veduaeth uedwn	ix	156
Gwyr a aeth gatraeth yg cat yg gawr	xxxiii	224
Gwyr a aeth ododin chwerthin ognaw	vi	154
Gwyr a aeth ododin chwerthin wanar	vii	154
Gwyr a gryssyasant buant gytneit	xxxvi	218
Gwyr a gryssyasant huant gytvaeth	xxxii	222
*Huitreuit clair cinteilluauat	cviii	350
Hv bydei yg kywyrein pressent mal pel	lxi	280
Issac anuonawe o barth deheu	xxvii	204
Kaeawc kynhorawc aruawc eg gawr	v	150
Kaeawc kynhorawc bleid e maran	iv	148
Kaeawc kynniwyat kywlat erwyt	iii	146
Kayawc kynhorawc men y delhei	ii	142
Keint amnat am dina (diua) dy gell	lxxiv	306
Keredic caradwy e glot	xxviii	204
Keredic karadwy gynran	xxix	210
Ket bei kann wr en vn ty	xliv	248
*Kyuaruu ac ac erodu leidiat lu	cix	352

Kywyrein ketwyr kyuaruuant	verse	lvi	. 268
Kywyrein ketwyr kywrenhin	"	liv	. 266
Kywyrein ketwyr kywrenhin	"	lv	. 268
Kywyrein ketwyr kywrennin	"	liii	. 266
Llech leutu tut leu leudvre	"	xlvi	. 254
(Llech llefdir aryf gardith tith ragon: Wms., v. xciv)	note	(A)	. 256
Mat vudic ysgavynwyn asgwrn aduaon	verse	lxxxi	. 316
Moch dwyreawc y meityn	"	lxx	. 302
Moch dwyreawc y more	"	lxix	. 300
Mynawc gododin traeth e annor	"	lxxviii	. 308
Neus adrawd a vo mwy	"	xliii	. 246
*Neut eryueis y ued ar yg cerdet	"	cii	. 346
Ny mat wanpwyf ysgwyt	"	l	. 258
Nyt ef borthi gwarth gorsed	"	xlvii	. 252
Nyt wyf vynawc blin	"	xlvi	. 248
Ny wnaethpwyf neuad mor anvonawc	"	xxxv	. 230
Ny wnaethpwyf neuad mor dianaf	"	lvii	. 268
Ny wnaethpwyf neuad mor diessic	"	xxxvi	. 234
Ny wnaethpwyf neuad mor orchynnan	"	xxxiv	. 226
O gollet moryet ny bu aessawr	"	lxxix	. 310
O vreithell gatraeth pan adrodir	"	xv	. 172
O winveith a medweith Dygodolyn gwnlleith	"	lviii	. 274
O winveith a medweith yd aethant	"	lix	. 278
O winveith a medweith yt gryssyassant	"	lx	. 278
Pan gryssyei garadawc y gat	"	xxx	. 210
*Pan gyrchei yg kywlat e glot oed anvonawc	"	xcix	. 344
Pan vuost di kynnivyn clot (Williams, v. xliii)	"		. 248
Pan ym dyvyd lliaws pryder	verse	lxxxvi	. 322
Peis dinogat e vreith vreith	"	xc	. 332
Peum dodyw angkyvrwng o angkyuarch	"	xcii	. 336
Porthloed vedin Porthloed lain	"	lxxxv	. 322
*Sewyt dan wodef ny ystyngei	"	xcviii	. 342
Teithi amgant (<i>al.</i> etmygant)	"	xviii	. 180
*Tra merin iodeo trileo	"	civ	. 348
Truan yw gennyf vy gwedy lludet	"	lxxxiii	. 320
Trwm en trin a llavyn yt lladei	"	xc	. 332
*Trycan eurdorch a gryssyassant	"	xciii	. 338
*Trycant eurdohauc Gwned gar guaenauc	"	xciv	. 338
Uyg car yng wirwar nyn gogyffrawt	"	xxii	. 192

141

