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THE

Four Ancient Books

OF

WALES

CONTAINING

The Cymric Poems attributed to the Bards of The Sixth Century

BY WILLIAM F. SKENE

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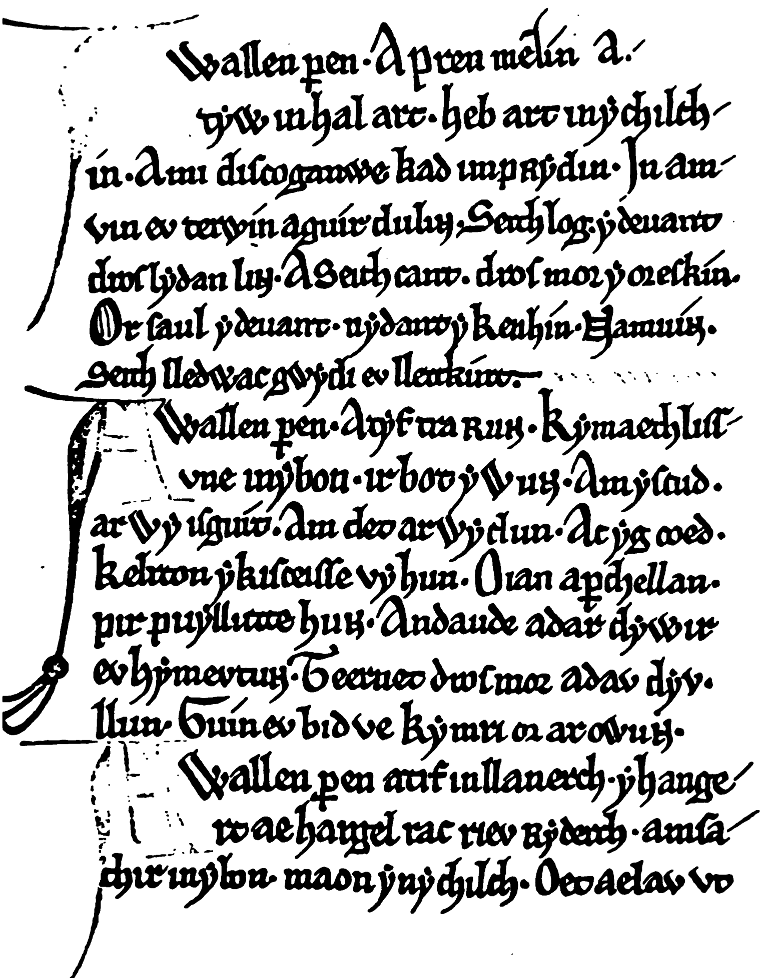

[A]vallen pen · a pren melin a ·
tyw inhal arr · heb arr iny chilch ·
in · a mi discoganwe kad impryden · In am-
vin ev teruin a guir duluy · Seith log y deuant
dros lydan luy · a seith cant · dros mor y oreskin ·
Or saul y deuant · ny dant y kenhin · namuin ·
seith lledwac gwydi ev lleitkiun ·
[A]vallen pen · a tyf tra rin · kymaeth lill-
vne inybon · ir bot y vnin · a mi ysciid ·
ar wy isguit · a mi dew ar wy clun · a ci ig coed ·
keliton y kisceisse vy hun · Oian apchellan ·
pir puyllutte hun · andaude adar dywir
ev hymevtun · Teernet dros mor a dav dyv ·
llun · Guin ev bid ve kymri or arowun ·
[A]vallen pen arif in llanerch · y hange-
rwae hargel rac riev ryderch · amsa-
thir inybon · maon yny chilch · Oed a elaw vo

Facsimile of a Page from The Black Book of Caermarthen. (Folio 25.)

Ancient Books

[illegible] Poems attributed to the Bards of the Sixth Century

[illegible]

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CHAPTER I.

THE POEMS CONTAINED IN THE FOUR ANCIENT BOOKS OF WALES.

THE dissolution of the religious houses in Wales in the reign of Henry the Eighth, and the dispersion of their libraries, led to many Welsh MSS., which had been preserved in them, passing into the hands of private individuals; and collections of Welsh MSS. soon began to be formed by persons who took an interest in the history and literature of their country.

The principal collectors in North Wales were Mr. Jones of Gelly Lyvdy, whose collection was formed between the years 1590 and 1630, and Mr. Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt, author of a work termed *British Antiquities Revived*, published in 1662, who died at Hengwrt four years after, in 1666; and in South Wales, William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, who formed a collection at Raglan Castle in 1590; and Sir Edward Mansel, whose father had received a gift of the priory of Margam in Glamorgan, in 1591.

The collections of Mr. Jones and Mr. Vaughan became united at Hengwrt, an arrangement having been made between them that the MSS. collected by each should become the property of the survivor. Mr. Jones having predeceased Mr. Vaughan, the united collection, consisting of upwards of 400 MSS., remained

at Hengwrt till within the last few years, when it was bequeathed by Sir Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt to W. W. E. Wynne, Esq. of Peniarth, in whose possession it now is.

In the following century various collections were made, and among others some valuable MSS. became the property of Jesus College, Oxford. The collection of the Earl of Pembroke at Raglan Castle was destroyed by fire in the time of Oliver Cromwell; and a similar fate overtook two of these later collections, which had become the property of Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, and were preserved at Wynnstay, but which were likewise destroyed by fire. Other collections passed into the British Museum, and the principal collections of Welsh MSS. are now the Hengwrt collection at Peniarth, those in the British Museum, the MSS. at Jesus College, and those belonging to Lord Mostyn, Mr. Panton of Plas Gwyn, and others.

In the Hengwrt collection were preserved three ancient MSS., termed the Black Book of Caermarthen, the Book of Aneurin, and the Book of Taliessin, containing a considerable collection of Welsh poetry bearing marks of antiquity; and in the library of Jesus College is a MS. which contains similar poems, termed the Red Book of Hergest. These poems are some of a historic character, and others not so, and are attributed, either by their rubric, by the title of the MS., or by tradition, to four bards termed Myrddin, Aneurin, Taliessin, and Llywarch Hen, who are supposed to have lived in the sixth century.

Two of these MSS. are still in the Hengwrt collection, and of one of them we know the history: the Black Book of Caermarthen belonged to the Priory of Black Canons at Caermarthen, and was given by the Treasurer of the Church of St. Davids to Sir John Price, a native of Breconshire, who was one of the commissioners appointed by King Henry the Eighth; the other is the Book of Taliessin, and it is not known how it was acquired.

The Book of Aneurin is now the property of Sir Thomas Phillipps of Middlehill.

The Red Book of Hergest is said to have been so termed from its having been compiled for the Vaughans of Hergest Court, Herefordshire, and seems to have come to Oxford from the Margam Collection in South Wales.

It is these four MSS.—the Black Book of Caermarthen, written in the reign of Henry the Second (1154-1189); the Book of Aneurin, a MS. of the latter part of the thirteenth century; the Book of Taliessin, a MS. of the beginning of the fourteenth century; and the Red Book of Hergest, a MS. compiled at different times in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries—that are here termed THE FOUR ANCIENT BOOKS OF WALES, and it is with the ancient poems contained in these four MSS. that we have now to do.

Numerous transcripts of these poems are to be found in other Welsh MSS., but undoubtedly it is in these four MSS. that the most ancient texts of the poems are to be found; and, in most cases, those in the other

MSS. are not independent texts, but have obviously, with more or less variation, been transcribed from these. The contents of these MSS. remained little known till the publication of the *Archæologia Britannica* in 1707, by Edward Lhuyd, who had examined all the collections which were accessible, and the account which he included in his work of the Welsh MSS. attracted some attention towards them, but none of the poems were printed till the middle of the century, when the publication of the poems of Ossian by James Macpherson, and the sudden popularity they acquired, gave a temporary value to Celtic poetry, and led to a desire on the part of the Welsh to show that they were likewise in possession of a body of native poems not less interesting than the Highland, and with better claims to authenticity. In 1764, the Rev. Evan Evans published his *Specimens of the Poetry of the Ancient Welsh Bards;* and though they mainly embraced poems written in the twelfth and subsequent centuries, translated in the style of Macpherson's Ossian, he annexed a Latin dissertation, *De Bardis,* in which he printed ten of the stanzas of the great poem of the Gododin, and a stanza from the Avallenau, as specimens of the older poems, with Latin translations. He was followed by Edward Jones, who, in his *Musical and Poetical Relics of the Welsh Bards,* published in 1784, printed a part of the Gododin, three of the poems of Taliessin—viz. the Battle of Argoed Llwyfain, the Battle of Gwenystrad, and the Mead song, one of the poems of Llywarch Hen, with metrical transla-

tions, and part of the Avallenau, with a more literal prose translation by Mr. Edward Williams. He was likewise assisted in his work by Dr. W. Owen, afterwards Dr. Owen Pughe, who, a few years afterwards, published five of the poems of Taliessin in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for the years 1789 and 1790, being the Ode to Gwallawg, the Death-Song of Owen, the Battle of Dyffryn Garant, the Battle of Gwenystrad, and the Gorchan Cynvelyn, with English translations. These translations, however, were too diffuse and too much tainted by a desire to give the passages a mystic meaning, to convey a fair idea of the real nature of the poems.

In 1792, Dr. Owen Pughe published *The Heroic Elegies, and other pieces of Llywarch Hen*, with a much more literal English version. The work contains a pretty complete collection of the poems attributed to Llywarch Hen, but it is not said from what MS. the text was printed, while the notes contain collations with the Black Book of Caermarthen and the Red Book of Hergest.*

At length, in the year 1801, the text of the whole of these poems was given to the world, through the munificence of Owen Jones, a furrier in Thames Street,

* It is remarkable that there is no reference to readings in the *Llyfr du* in the poems which are actually to be found there, while in six poems which are not in the *Black Book*, the foot of the page is full of references to the *Llyfr du* for various readings. These various readings, so far as I have been able to judge, correspond with the Red Book of Hergest, while those attributed to the *Llyfr coch* are not to be found there.

London, who, in that and subsequent years, published the *Myvyrian Archæology of Wales*, containing the chief productions of Welsh literature. He was assisted by Mr. Edward Williams of Glamorgan and Dr. Owen Pughe; but though the text of almost all of these poems is given, it is not said from what particular MSS. they were printed, and no materials are afforded for discriminating between what are probably old and what are spurious. The text is unaccompanied by translations.

If the publication of the poems of Ossian thus drew attention to these ancient Welsh poems, the controversy which followed on the poems drew forth an able vindication of the genuine character of the latter. Sharon Turner, in his *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, the first edition of which appeared in 1799, founded upon some of these poems as historical documents. He quoted the Death-Song of Geraint as containing the account of a real battle at Longporth, or Portsmouth, between Cerdic, the founder of the kingdom of Wessex, and the Britons. He referred to the poems of Taliessin on the battles of Argoed Llwyfain and Gwenystrad as real history, and he considered the great poem of the Gododin by Aneurin as describing a real war between the Britons and the Angles of Ida's kingdom. This drew upon him the criticism of the two chief opponents of the claims of Ossian—viz. John Pinkerton and Malcolm Laing—who declared that these Welsh poems were equally unworthy of credit. In consequence of this attack,

Turner published, in 1803, his *Vindication of the genuineness of the ancient British poems of Aneurin, Taliessin, Llywarch Hen, and Myrddin.* In this elaborate essay he endeavoured to demonstrate two propositions:—*First*, That these four bards were real men, and actually lived in the sixth century; and, *secondly*, that, with some exceptions, the poems attributed to them are their genuine works. He dealt, however, with the historical poems alone as sufficient for his purpose, and did not enter into any critical analysis of the poems as a whole. This vindication was, in the main, considered to be conclusive as to the poems being the genuine works of the bards whose name they bore; and it appeared to be now generally accepted as a fact, that a body of genuine poetry, of the sixth century, existed in the Welsh language, which threw light upon the history of that century.

A new view was, however, soon taken of their real meaning; and some years after, the Rev. Edward Davies brought out, in his work called the *Mythology of the British Druids*, published in 1809, his theory that there was handed down in these poems a system of mythology which had been the religion of the Druids in the pagan period, and was still professed in secret by the bards, their genuine successors. The Gododin, he endeavoured to show by an elaborate translation, related to the traditionary history of the massacre of the Britons by the Saxons at Stonehenge, called the Plot of the Long Knives; and he appended to his work a number of the poems of Taliessin, with

translations to show the mystic meaning which pervaded them. This theory was still further elaborated by the Honourable Algernon Herbert, in two works published anonymously: *Britannia after the Romans*, in 1836; and *The Neo-Druidic Heresy*, in 1838. He took the same view with regard to the meaning of the Gododin; and he combined with much ingenious and wild speculation regarding the post-Roman history of Britain, the theory that a lurking adherence to the old paganism of the Druids had caused a schism in the British church, and that the bards, under the name of Christians and the guise of Christian nomenclature, professed in secret a paganism as an esoteric cult, which he denominated the Neo-Druidic heresy, and which he maintained was obscurely hinted at in the poems of Taliessin. It would probably be difficult to find a stranger specimen of perverted ingenuity and misplaced learning than is contained in the works of Davies and Herbert; but the urgency with which they maintained their views, and the disguise under which the poems appeared in their so-called translations, certainly produced an impression that the poems of Taliessin did contain a mystic philosophy, while, at the same time, the Gododin of Aneurin and the poems of Llywarch Hen were generally recognised as genuine historical documents commemorating real historical events.

The Rev. John Williams, afterwards Archdeacon of Cardigan, an eminent Welsh scholar, and a man of much talent, announced, in 1841, a translation of the poems of Aneurin, Taliessin, and other primitive bards,

with a critical revision and re-establishment of the text; but, although these poems had occupied a large share of his attention, I believe he never seriously prepared the materials for his edition, and he died in 1858, without having done anything towards carrying it out. I have frequently heard him give as a reason the great difficulty involved, and time and labour required, "in restoring the genuine text." What he meant by this we can see in the last work he published, termed *Gomer*, where (part ii. p. 33 *et seq.*), we have several specimens of how he meant to deal with the text. His plan obviously was to restore the orthography of the words from the existing text in the Myvyrian Archæology to what he conceived must have been their form when the respective poems were composed. His mind, too, appears to have been influenced in no slight degree by the school of Davies, and he was too ready to attach a mystic meaning to the text. In 1850, some time before the Archdeacon's death, a learned Breton, the Vicomte de la Villemarqué, published his *Poèmes des Bardes Bretons du VI^e. Siècle, traduits pour la première fois, avec le texte en regard revu sur les plus anciens manuscrits;* and he, too, proceeded upon the same idea of restoring the original text. In his preface, after noticing the oldest copies of the poems, which he says formed the basis of his edition, he adds, "Apres le travail de collation, il restait a reproduire les textes avec l'orthographe convenable, mais la quelle suivre?" and he fixes upon the Breton orthography as the most ancient, and in this, which he

terms "l'orthographe historique," presents us with the text of the poems which he translates. These poems are mainly the historical pieces, and he considers with Turner that they contain fragments of real history.

A more unfortunate idea than that of thus arbitrarily restoring the text never formed the basis of an important work; and while it has destroyed the value of Villemarqué's edition, it lessens the regret we should otherwise feel that the Archdeacon never carried his announced intention into effect. To present the poems in a different shape from what they appear in the oldest transcripts, and to clothe them with a supposed older orthography, is to confound entirely the province of the editor with that of the historic critic, and to exercise, in the character of the former, functions which properly belong to the latter, while it deprives him of the proper materials on which to exercise his critical judgment. Such restoration necessarily proceeds on the assumption by the editor that the poems are the genuine works of those to whom they are attributed, and existed in the same form and substance at the era at which their reputed authors lived; while the application of historical criticism to the poems as they now exist may lead to very different conclusions. It supersedes entirely the important work of the critic, by assuming the very questions which he has to solve. The true function of the editor is to select the oldest and best MSS., and to produce the text of the poems in the precise shape and orthography in which he there finds them: neither to tamper with, nor to restore

them, but to furnish the critic with the materials on which he can exercise his skill in determining their true age and value.*

These remarks have likewise some bearing upon two very remarkable works which have inaugurated a new school of criticism of these poems, and subjected their claims to tests which they had not hitherto undergone. These two works are—*first, The Literature of the Kymry*, by Thomas Stephens, published in 1849; and, *secondly, Taliessin, or the Bards and Druids of Britain*, by D. W. Nash, published in 1858.

The main object of Mr. Stephens' work is to treat of the language and literature of the twelfth and two succeeding centuries; but it embraces likewise the poems attributed to the bards of the sixth century, in so far as he maintains that they are falsely so attributed, and are really the works of later bards. Mr. Stephens' work is written with much ability, and is, in fact, the first real attempt to subject these poems to anything like a critical analysis. He opens one of his chapters, to which he has put the title, "Poems, fictitiously attributed to Myrddin, Taliessin, Aneurin, Llywarch, Meugant, and Golyddan," with the following sentence:—"Reader! be attentive to what I am about to write, and keep a watchful eye upon the sentences as they rise before you, for the daring spirit of modern

* In 1852, an edition of the Gododin was published, with a translation, by J. Williams, at Ithel. He adopts the historical view of this poem, and has given the text, such as he had it, with much fidelity; while the translation, though somewhat too free, is the first to give anything like a fair idea of the original.

criticism is about to lay violent hands upon the old household furniture of venerable tradition;" and he certainly fulfils this promise, for he maintains that, with some exceptions, these poems contain allusions, and breathe forth a spirit and sentiment, which demonstrate that they were composed subsequent to the twelfth century; and he endeavours to indicate their real authors. Of the poems attributed to Aneurin he appears to admit the Gododin to be genuine. He considers the whole of the poems attributed to Myrddin, including even the Avallenau—which Turner maintained to be genuine—to be spurious, and the work of later bards, and endeavours to point out their real authors, hesitatingly in the text, but more decidedly in the title to one of his chapters, where he has—"The Avallenau and Hoianau, composed by Prydydd y Moch. The Gorddodau, composed by Gruffydd ab Yr Ynad Coch;" and of seventy-seven poems attributed to Taliessin, he admits only twelve to be "historical and as old as the sixth century."

His admission that some of these poems are as old as the sixth century of course neutralises any argument drawn from their orthography and grammatical or poetical structure, unless he can show that the poems he maintains to be spurious differ materially in that respect from those he admits to be genuine; and his attempt to indicate their real authors breaks down in so far as the Avallenau and Hoianau, and other poems contained in the Black Book of Caermarthen, are concerned; for the poems in that MS. must have

been already transcribed in the twelfth century, and Prydydd y Moch belongs to the succeeding century. So far as he shows that several of these poems contain direct allusions to events which occurred after the period when they are said to be composed, his criticism is successful, and may be received as well founded; but in his attempt to show that allusions, hitherto supposed to apply to events contemporaneous with the alleged date of the poem, were really intended to describe later events—which is, in fact, the main feature of his criticism—he is not equally successful. His reasoning appears to me to be quite inconclusive, the resemblances faint and uncertain, and the argument carries no conviction to the mind. For instance, in the poem attributed to Taliessin, termed Kerdd y Veib Llyr, where the lines occur—

"A battle against the lord of fame in the dales of Hafren,
Against Brochwel Powys; *he loved my song*"—

it is a fair and legitimate inference that it could not have been composed prior to the time of Brochmail, who is mentioned by Bede as having been at the battle of Caerlegion, the true date of which is 613; but when the following lines occur in a subsequent part of the same poem—

"Three races, wrathful, of right qualities,
Gwyddyl, and Brython, and Romani,
Create war and tumult,"

it is not satisfactory to be told that "they refer to the ecclesiastic dispute between Giraldus and King John respecting the see of St. David's." It is therefore not

without reason that the reader is exhorted to keep a watchful eye upon the sentences condemning the poems upon such grounds.

Mr. Nash, in his work, deals with the poems attributed to Taliessin only, and in the main he follows up the criticisms of Stephens. He goes, however, a step beyond him, as, without directly asserting it, he implies that none of the poems are older than the twelfth century, if he does not really assert that no earlier date can be assigned to them than the date of the oldest MS. in which they are found. Of the historical poems he sums up his criticism thus:—"Without, therefore, venturing to decide that these 'Songs to Urien' were not re-written in the twelfth century, from materials originally of the date of the sixth, and that there are no poetical remains in the Welsh language older than the twelfth century, we may nevertheless assert that the common assumption of such remains of the date of the sixth century has been made upon very unsatisfactory grounds, and without a sufficiently careful examination of the evidence on which such assumption should be founded. Writers who claim for productions actually existing only in MSS. of the twelfth an origin in the sixth century, are called upon to demonstrate the links of evidence, either internal or external, which bridge over this great intervening period of at least five hundred years. This external evidence is altogether wanting, and the internal evidence, even of the so-called 'Historical Poems' themselves, is, in some

instances at least, opposed to their claims to an origin in the sixth century." What he calls the mythological poems he entirely rejects, and appears to place them even in a much later age than Stephens has done.

While Mr. Nash's work must be admitted to be written with much ability, certainly the merit of candour cannot equally be attributed to it. It is less an attempt to subject the poems to a fair and just criticism than simply a very clever piece of special pleading, in which, like all special pleading, he proceeds to demonstrate a foregone conclusion by the usual partial and one-sided view of the facts—assuming whatever appears to make for his argument, and ignoring what seems to oppose it; while he makes conjectural alterations of the text when it suits his purpose, and the real sense of the poems which form the subject of his criticism is disguised under a version which he terms a translation, but which affords anything but a faithful or candid representation of their contents.

I consider that the true value of these poems is a problem which has still to be solved. Are we to attach any real historical value to them, or are we to set them aside at once as worthless for all historical purposes, and as merely curious specimens of the nonsensical rhapsodies and perverted taste of a later age?

Whether these poems are the genuine works of the bards whose names they bear, or whether they are the

production of a later age, I do not believe that they contain any such system of Druidism, or Neo-Druidism, as Davies, Herbert, and others, attempt to find in them; nor do I think that their authors wrote, and the compilers of these ancient MSS. took the pains to transcribe, century after century, what was a mere farrago of nonsense, and of no historical or literary value. I think that these poems have a meaning, and that, both in connection with the history and the literature of Wales, that meaning is worth finding out; and I think, further, that if they were subjected to a just and candid criticism, we ought to be able to ascertain their true place and value in the literature of Wales. The criticism to which they have hitherto been subjected is equally unsatisfactory, whether they are maintained to be genuine or to be spurious, mainly because the basis of the criticism is an uncertain and untrustworthy text, and any criticism on the existing texts, in the shape in which they are presented in the Myvyrian Archæology, is, comparatively speaking, valueless; and because the translations by which their meaning is attempted to be expressed, are either loose and inaccurate, or coloured by the views of the translators. Those who deal with the poems as the genuine works of the bards whose names they bear, and view them as containing a recondite system of Druidism, or semi-pagan philosophy, present us with a translation which is, to say the least of it, mysterious enough in all conscience. Those, again, who consider them to be the work of a later age, and to contain nothing but a mere farrago

of nonsense, have no difficulty in producing a translation which amply bears out that character.

The work of the editor must, however, precede that of the critic. An essential preliminary is to give the text of these poems in the oldest form in which it is to be found, and in the precise orthography of the oldest MSS., and to present a translation which shall give as accurate and faithful a representation of the meaning of the poems as is now possible as the basis of the work of the critic. The object of the present work is to accomplish this. The contents of the four MSS., here called the *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, are printed as accurately as possible,—those of the first three completely, and as much of the last as contains any of these poems. It is in these four MSS. that the oldest known texts are to be found; and in order to secure a faithful and impartial translation, I resolved, in order to avoid any risk of its being coloured by my own views, to refrain from attempting the translation myself, and to obtain it, if possible, from the most eminent living Welsh scholars. With this view, I applied to the Reverend D. Silvan Evans of Llanymawddwy, the author of the *English and Welsh Dictionary* and other works, and the Reverend Robert Williams of Rhydycroesau, author of the *Biography of Eminent Welshmen* and the *Cornish Dictionary*, both distinguished Welsh scholars, who most kindly acceded to my request. Mr. Evans has translated for me the poems in the Black Book of Caermarthen, the Book of Aneurin, and the Red Book

of Hergest, and accompanied them with valuable notes. Mr. Williams has translated for me the poems in the Book of Taliessin; and I beg to record my sense of the deep obligation under which they have laid me by the valuable assistance thus afforded. But while these eminent scholars are so far answerable for the translations, it is due to them to add that they are not responsible for any opinions expressed in this work except those contained in their own notes; and that, by permitting their names to be connected with this work, they must not be held as sanctioning the views entertained by myself, and to which I have given expression in the following chapters, or in the notes I have added.*

* The Welsh text has been printed for some years. It was put in type as soon as the collation of the manuscript copy of the poems with the original MSS. was completed, and again collated in proof, and then thrown off, in order to facilitate the work of translation. The only request made to the translators was to make their version as literal and accurate as possible, even though the meaning might be obscured thereby; and the care and time requisite to prepare such a translation deliberately has delayed the appearance of the work since then. While engaged in the preliminary investigations, I from time to time communicated fragments of what was intended to appear in the Introduction and Notes in occasional papers to the *Archæologia Cambrensis*.

CHAPTER II.

THE LITERATURE OF WALES SUBSEQUENT TO THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

PRIOR to the twelfth century there are not many poems which claim to belong to the literature of that period, besides those attributed to Taliessin, Aneurin, Llywarch Hen, and Myrddin. The Black Book of Caermarthen contains a few attributed to Cuhelyn, Elaeth, and Meigant; and the Red Book of Hergest, one to Tyssilio, son of Brochwael Yscythrog; but the number of such poems is so small, that, if the poems attributed to the bards of the sixth century really belong to that period, there is an interval of several centuries, during which such a literature either never existed or has perished, till the twelfth century, from which period a mass of poetic literature existed in Wales, and has been preserved to us. Of the genuine character of that poetry there seems to be no doubt.

In order, then, to estimate rightly the place which the poems attributed to the bards of the sixth century ought truly to occupy in the literature of Wales, it will be necessary to form a just conception of the character of her later literature subsequent to the twelfth century, as well as to grasp the leading facts of her

history during the previous centuries in their true aspect.

In the eleventh century two events happened which seem to have had a material influence on the literature of Wales. The one was the return of Rhys ap Tewdwr, the true heir to the throne of South Wales, in 1077, and the other was the landing of Gruffyd ap Cynan, the true heir to the throne of North Wales, in 1080.

On the death of Edwal, the last of the direct line of the Welsh kings, in 994, leaving an only son in minority; and of Meredith, Prince of South Wales, in 994, leaving an only daughter, the government of both provinces of Wales fell into the hands of usurpers. Cynan, who represented the North Wales line, fled to Ireland in 1041, where he married a daughter of the Danish king of Dublin, and after two fruitless attempts to recover his inheritance by the assistance of the Irish, died in Ireland, leaving a son Gruffyd. Rhys ap Tewdwr, the representative of the South Wales line, took refuge in Armorica, whence he returned in 1077; and, laying claim to the throne of South Wales, was unanimously elected by the people. Gruffyd ap Cynan invaded Anglesea with a body of troops obtained in Ireland, and having been joined by Rhys ap Tewdwr, their combined forces defeated the army of Trahacarn, then King of Wales, their opponent, at the battle of Carno in 1080, where that prince was slain, and Rhys ap Tewdwr and Gruffyd ap Cynan were confirmed on the thrones of their ancestors.

The return of these two princes to Wales—the one

from Ireland, where he had been born and must have been familiar with the Irish school of poetry, and the other from Armorica, where he probably became acquainted with Armoric traditions, created a new era in Welsh literature, and a great outburst of literary energy took place, which in North Wales manifested itself in a very remarkable revival of poetry, while in South Wales it took more the shape of prose literature. Between 1080 and 1400, Stephens enumerates no fewer than seventy-nine bards, many of whose works are preserved, and the Red Book of Hergest, concludes with a body of poetry transcribed apparently by Lewis Glyn Cothi, and attributed to bards, forty-five in number, who lived in a period ranging from 1100 to 1450. One of the earliest of these bards was Cynddelw, commonly called Prydydd Mawr, or the great bard. He was bard to Madog ap Meredyth, Prince of Powis, who died in 1159, and two elegies on his death, by Cynddelw, are contained in the Black Book of Caermarthen. There is every reason to believe that the latter part at least of this MS. was transcribed by him.

The influence produced upon Welsh literature by the return of Rhys ap Tewdwr to South Wales was of a different description; and it is probably from this period that the introduction into Wales of Armoric traditions may be dated. The appearance of the *History of the Britons*, by Geoffrey of Monmouth, was the first open manifestation of it. This work, which is written in Latin, at once attained great popularity,

and made the fabulous history which it contained, with the romantic tales of Uthyr Pendragon, and Arthur with his Round Table, familiar to the whole world. There is prefixed to this history an epistle-dedicatory to Robert, Earl of Gloucester, son of Henry I. It must therefore have been compiled prior to his death in 1147. In this epistle he states that Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, a man of great eloquence and learned in foreign histories, gave him a very ancient book in the British tongue (*quondam Britannici sermonis librum vetustissimum*), giving an account of the Kings of Britain from Brutus to Cadwaladyr, and that he had, at the Archdeacon's request, translated it into Latin; and he concludes his history by committing to his contemporary, Caradoc of Llancarvan, the history of the subsequent Kings in Wales, as he does that of the Kings of the Saxons to William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon, whom he advises to be silent concerning the Kings of the Britons, since they have not the book written in the British tongue (*librum Britannici sermonis*), which Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, brought out of Britanny (*Britannia*), and which being a true history, he has thus taken care to translate. William of Malmesbury's history is likewise dedicated to Robert, Earl of Gloucester, and is brought down to the 28th year of Henry I., or 1125, in which year it appears to have been written. Henry of Huntingdon's history of the English is dedicated to Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, and the first part terminates with the death of Henry I. in 1135, in which year it

appears to have been written. Geoffrey must therefore have finished his translation, if his account be true, or compiled his work, if it is original, before these dates; but as in his epistle-dedicatory he invites his patron to correct his work, so as to make it more polished, it is possible that there may have been editions prior to the one finally given forth as the completed work, which this epistle and postscript accompanied.

That there was such a person as Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, seems now admitted; but whether the tale of the Welsh book, brought from Britanny and translated into Latin, is a reality or one of those fictions occasionally prefixed to original works, is a question of very great difficulty; and it will be necessary to inquire whether any light is thrown upon it by the Welsh versions termed *Brut y Brenhinoedd*, or the History of the Kings. Two of these versions are printed in the Myvyrian Archæology. The second is obviously a translation from the Latin edition, as we now have it, to which it closely adheres, and is there termed *Brut Geoffrey ap Arthur*. The first is said to be taken from the Red Book of Hergest; the narrative is shorter and simpler; the epistle-dedicatory is not prefixed to it, and it contains at the end of it this postscript, "I, Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, did turn this book out of Welsh (*Cymraeg*) into Latin; and in my old age I turned it a second time out of Latin into Welsh." The editor considers this version to be the original Welsh book brought by Walter the Archdeacon from Britanny; and conjecturing that it belongs to an

earlier period, and may have been written by Tyssilio, son of Brochwael, who is said to have written a history and to have lived in the seventh century, he has without any authority termed it *Brut Tyssilio*. It is the text from which the Rev. Peter Roberts translated his English version termed *The Chronicle of the Kings of Britain, translated from the Welsh copy attributed to Tyssilio*, and published in 1811.

Now, though the text of the so-called *Brut Tyssilio* is distinctly stated both by the editor of the Myvyrian Archæology and by Roberts to be taken from the Red Book of Hergest, no such text is to be found there. The text of the *Brut y Brenhinoedd* in the Red Book is the same as the second version termed *Brut G. ap Arthur*. There are two later MSS. in the library of Jesus College, containing a text similar to that of the *Brut Tyssilio*, and from which it was probably taken. They are exactly alike, but the one bears to have belonged to David Powell of Aberystwith in 1610, and is a MS. of that period, and the other to have been written by Hugh Jones, keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, in 1695, and seems to be a copy of it. Another copy is said to be preserved in the library at Downing in North Wales, having this note attached to it:—"Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, translated this part of the Chronicle from Latin into Welsh, and Edward Kyffin copied it for John Trevor of Trevalin, A.D. 1577;" and a copy is likewise contained in the *Book of Basingwerk*, the property of Thomas T. Griffith, Esq., Wrexham, which appears to be in the

handwriting of Guttyn Owain, and to have been written in 1461. This is the oldest known transcript of this version of the *Brut*.

In the British Museum (MS. Cott., Cleop. B. v.) there is a copy of the *Brut* which differs from this, but approaches more nearly to it than to the *Brut G. ap Arthur*. It has been written about the end of the thirteenth century, and it has the epistle-dedicatory, in which the book given by Walter is termed *Llyvyr Cymraec*, but in the postscript it is stated that the *Cymraec* book which Walter gave him had been translated by him from Latin into *Cymraec*, and again by Geoffrey from *Cymraec* into Latin. The text in the Red Book is, as I mentioned, closely allied to Geoffrey's Latin version, but there is no epistle-dedicatory, and the postscript here again varies from the others. It states that the book Walter had was a Breton book (*llyfr Brvtvn*) which he translated from Breton into Cymraeg (*o Brytanec yg Kymraec*), and which Geoffrey translated into Latin. The only other MSS. which have been accessible to me are those at Hengwrt. There are several copies, some complete and some imperfect, but only one that has the postscript. It is the same text, or nearly so, as that in the Red Book, but varies in the postscript. It states Walter's book to have been a *Cymraec* book, which he translated from *Cymraec* to Latin, and which Geoffrey likewise translated from *Cymraec* to Latin, and again from Latin to *Cymraec*.

There are thus three different Welsh texts—one

represented by the first text in the Myvyrian Archæology, by the two late copies in Jesus College, the Downing MS., and the Book of Basingwerk; a second by the Cottonian MS. in the British Museum; and a third by the second text in the Myvyrian Archæology, by the text in the Red Book of Hergest and the Hengwrt MS.; but all differ in the account given of the original MS. By one it is said to have been Latin, by another Cymraec, and by a third Breton. So far we may extricate some facts:—All the MSS. of the first text agree that it was a translation by Walter the Archdeacon from Latin to Welsh; on the authority of the Hengwrt MS., we may pronounce the third to be a translation into Welsh, by Geoffrey of Monmouth, of his Latin edition; the second text probably represents an intermediate stage of the work; all seem to imply that Walter's book was at all events in Latin before it reached Geoffrey; but whether the original was in Breton, in Cymraec, or in Latin, or whether there ever was an original, there is certainly no text, either in Welsh or in Latin, which now represents it; and all of these texts must be placed in the first part of the twelfth century.

The MSS. containing the Welsh versions usually have a translation into Welsh of the history of Troy, by Dares Phrygius, prefixed to it. Those which represent the first and second texts have a chronicle termed *Brut y Saeson* annexed to it, which is expressly said by the Cotton MS. to be the work of Caradauc of Llancarvan, and gives a chronicle of events in

the history of Wales, interspersed with notices of the Saxon history; but the text in the Red Book is followed by a chronicle containing the Welsh events only, and to which, in a later hand, the title *Brut y Tywysogion* has been attached.

The Red Book of Hergest likewise contains the text of several prose tales and romances connected with the early history of Wales. They are eleven in number, and have been published, with an English translation, by Lady Charlotte Guest, in 1849, under the title of *The Mabinogion, from the Llyfr Coch o Hergest, and other ancient Welsh manuscripts, with an English translation and notes.* It is justly remarked in the preface of this collection that "some have the character of chivalric romances, and others bear the impress of a far higher antiquity, both as regards the manners they depict and the style of language in which they are composed." So greatly do these Mabinogion differ in character, that they may be considered as forming two distinct classes; one of which generally celebrates heroes of the Arthurian cycle, while the other refers to persons and events of an earlier period, and it is not difficult to assign each tale to one or other of these two classes:—

To the older class belong—

The Tale of Pwyll, Prince of Dyfed.
The Tale of Branwen, daughter of Llyr.
The Tale of Manawyddan, the son of Llyr.
The Tale of Math, son of Mathonwy.
The Contention of Llud and Llevelys.

The Story of Kilhwch and Olwen.
The Dream of Rhonabwy.

To the second class belong—

The Tale of the Lady of the Fountain.
The Story of Peredur, son of Evrawc.
The Story of Geraint, son of Erbin.
The Dream of Macsen Guledig.

Though the whole of these tales have been published under the title of Mabinogion, that name is applied in the Red Book solely to the first four, which form, in fact, one romance. The name of Arthur only occurs in the last two of this class, and it is in his earliest aspect. They are probably older than the *Bruts* as the substance of the tale called the Contention of Llud and Llevelys occurs in the earliest form of the *Brut*, and is omitted in the later.

The tales included in the second class certainly belong to the full-blown Arthurian Romance.

As early as the date of the Black Book of Caermarthen, some of the Welsh traditions appear under the form of short triads, and that MS. contains a fragment of what were probably the earliest—the Triads of the Horses. A MS. in the Hengwrt collection, which has apparently been written as far back as the year 1300, contains two sets of triads, one termed *Trioedd arbenic*—Chief or excellent Triads which are religious; and another, called *Trioedd Arthur ae gwyr*—Triads of Arthur and his warriors. And in the Red Book of Hergest are two sets of triads, one called *Trioedd ynys Brydain*, or Triads of the

Island of Britain, which contain these Triads of Arthur, with many others; and the other an enlarged edition of the Triads of the Horses. They are both published in the Myvyrian Archæology (vol. ii. p. 1); and to these may be added the *Bonhed y Seint*, or Genealogies of the Saints, which are usually found along with them.

Such is a sketch of the literature of Wales subsequent to the twelfth century, of which we know something of the history; but a branch of its literature still remains to be noticed which has exercised a powerful influence upon the history of the country, the true source and history of which, however, is wrapped in obscurity and encompassed with doubt.

One of the editors of the Myvyrian Archæology, and a chief contributor of its contents, was Edward Williams, of Flimstone in Glamorgan. He maintained that there had existed at an early period, when bardism flourished as an institution of the country, four chairs or schools of bards, and that one of these chairs still remained—the chair of Glamorgan—of which he was himself the bardic president, and he adopted the bardic title of *Iolo Morganwg*. He declared that the succession of bards and bardic presidents could be traced back to 1300; that the traditions of bardism had been handed down by them in the chair of Glamorgan; that Llywelyn Sion, who was bardic president in 1580, and died in 1616, had reduced this system to writing under the title of the "Book of Bardism, or the Druidism of the Bards of the Isle of

Britain," which he professed to have compiled from old books in the collection of MSS. at Raglan Castle. Iolo Morganwg published, in 1794, his *Poems, Lyric and Pastoral*, in which he gave to the world some account of this system, and a work which he had prepared for the press, termed *Cyfrinach Beirdd ynys Prydain*, in the Welsh language and from the MS. of Llywelyn Sion, was published after his death by his son in 1829. A further instalment, termed *Barddas*, was printed, with a translation, for the Welsh MS. Society in 1862.

Among the contributions made by him to the documents printed in the Myvyrian Archæology, were the so-called Historical Triads (vol. ii. p. 57) which have been so much founded upon in writing Welsh history, and the Triads called the Wisdom of Catoc (vol. iii. p. 1), and the Triads of the Bards of Britain and Institutes of the Bards of Dyfnwal Moelmud (vol. iii. pp. 199 and 283). A volume of documents prepared by him as an additional volume of the Myvyrian Archæology, was printed after his death, with a translation, for the Welsh MS. Society, in 1848, termed *The Iolo Manuscripts.*

But the most important document which issued from him, and which has exercised the greatest influence on the popular views of Welsh literature, was the prose tale or Mabinogi, termed *Hanes Taliessin*, and containing the so-called personal history of that bard. A fragment of the Welsh text was given in the first volume of the Myvyrian Archæology; but the whole tale, with a translation, was published by Dr. Owen Pughe,

in 1833, in the *Cambrian Quarterly Magazine* (vol. v. p. 198). In his introductory remarks he states that the compiler, Hopkin Thomas Philip, wrote this piece about the year 1370. He lived in *Morganwg* or Glamorgan. The same tale was published by Lady Charlotte Guest in 1849, in the third volume of her Mabinogion; and she states that her copy was made up from two fragments—the one contained in a MS. of the library of the Welsh school in London, written in a modern hand, and dated in 1758; the other from a MS. belonging to Iolo Morganwg. The fragment in the Welsh school library was probably that printed in the Myvyrian Archæology; and the MS. belonging to Iolo Morganwg, that used by Dr. Owen Pughe, as the latter states in his introductory remarks, "Of the narrative part but one version exists." Iolo Morganwg himself states that the romance entitled *Hanes Taliessin—i.e.* the history of Taliessin—was "written so late at least as the fourteenth, or rather the fifteenth, century," and that he used the expression fifteenth century in the loose sense of the century from 1500 to 1600 is plain, as he likewise states that Hopkin Thomas Philip flourished about 1560. This is the same Hopkin Thomas Philip who, Dr. Owen Pughe says, wrote it about 1370; but there is no real difference between them as to his true age, for in his *Cambrian Biography*, published in 1803, thirty years before, Dr. Owen Pughe, then Mr. William Owen, has the following: "Hopcin Thomas Phylip, a poet who flourished between A.D. 1590 and 1630." At that

time, therefore, the compilation of the *Hanes Taliessin* was not placed further back than the end of the sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth century. The prose narrative contains a number of poems stated to have been composed by Taliessin in connection with the events of his life, but these will be noticed when we come to deal with the poetry attributed to that bard.

It is a peculiarity attaching to almost all of the documents which have emanated from the chair of Glamorgan, in other words, from *Iolo Morganwg*, that they are not to be found in any of the Welsh MSS. contained in other collections, and that they must be accepted on his authority alone. It is not unreasonable, therefore, to say that they must be viewed with some suspicion, and that very careful discrimination is required in the use of them.

CHAPTER III.

SOURCES OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF WALES.

In order to discriminate between what is true and what is fabulous in the early history of Wales as presented to us in the historic literature subsequent to the twelfth century, and to disentangle the fragments of real history contained in them, so as to enable us to form something like a true conception of its leading features, it is necessary to test it by comparing it with the statements in contemporary authorities of other countries, and by referring to such earlier native documents as have come down to us. Of the latter class there are only three, and it is requisite that we should form a right conception of their authority. The first are the works of Gildas, who wrote in Latin. They are usually considered as consisting of two pieces, the *Historia* and the *Epistola*, but they may be viewed as forming one treatise. Questions have been raised upon the lives of Gildas, as to whether there was one or two persons of the name—an earlier and a later; but, viewing the question in its literary aspect, it is of little consequence, for the treatise is evidently the work of one man, and there is evidence in the work itself of his date. The writer states that he was

born in the year in which the battle of Badon was fought, and that he wrote forty-four years after.* According to the oldest Welsh annals, the battle of Badon was fought in the year 516, which would place the composition of the treatise in the year 560; and the Irish annals record the death of Gildas in 570, ten years after.

Only three MSS. of Gildas are known to have existed, and the oldest of these has since perished. It was in the Cottonian Library (Vit. A. vi.), but fortunately the text of Josseline's edition of Gildas in 1568 was printed from it, and, according to Mr. Petrie, so correctly that it may be taken as representing it.† The other two MSS. are in the public library at Cambridge (Dd, i. 17 and Ff, i. 27)—the one of the end of the fourteenth or beginning of fifteenth centuries, and the other of the thirteenth century. The first is said to have belonged to the monks of Glastonbury, and the second to the monks of Durham. This latter MS. inserts various passages which are not to be found in the other MSS. Thus the other MSS. mention that the Saxons were invited "superbo tyranno," and the Durham MS. inserts the words "Gurthrigerno Britannorum duce." Again, where the

* Bede understood this well-known passage as implying that the battle of Badon was fought forty-four years after the arrival of the Saxons; but it is now generally admitted that this is a mistaken construction of the passage, and that the true import is as above, to which I also give my adhesion.

† Josseline says it had belonged to Christ Church, Canterbury, and was 600 years old.

other MSS. mention the "Obsessio Badonici montis," the Durham MS. inserts "qui prope Sabrinum ostium habetur." The work of Gildas had early found its way to the Northumbrian monks, as Bede evidently uses it in his history, and they are probably answerable for the additions contained in this MS. It has been remarked that the account given by Gildas of the departure of the Romans from Britain, and the events which followed, are inconsistent with the statements of contemporary Greek and Roman authors; but this appears to me to arise solely from Gildas having misplaced the only document directly quoted by him, which has forced upon his narrative a chronology inconsistent with the true sequence of events, and which, unfortunately, has likewise influenced Bede's history. Gildas narrates two devastations by the Picts and Scots, after each of which they were driven back by the Roman troops; then he states the final departure of the Roman army, followed by the occupation of the territory between the walls by the enemy. Then he quotes this document, which purports to be a letter by the Britons, addressed "Actio ter consuli," imploring assistance against the "*Barbari*, who drive them to the sea, while the sea throws them back on the *Barbari*." He understands by these "Barbari" the Picts and Scots, and places after this latter the invitation to the Saxons, who first drive back the Picts and then unite with them to subjugate the Britons. Now the exact date when this letter must have been written can be at once ascertained, for Aetius was consul for the third time in

446, and the dates of the other events have been fixed in accordance with this; but while this postdates these events when compared with the other authorities, the sequence is the same, with the single exception of the place occupied by this letter. We know from Zosimus that the Roman army really left finally in 409. We see, from Constantius' *Life of St. Germanius* that the Saxons had already, in alliance with the Picts, attacked the Britons in 429; and Prosper, a contemporary authority, tells us that in 441 "Britanniæ usque ad hoc tempus variis cladibus eventibusque latæ, in ditionem Saxonum rediguntur." It is impossible to mistake this language. The Saxons must have completed their conquest six years before the letter was written, and it follows that the "Barbari" to which it refers must have meant the Saxons, and that it was an appeal to the Romans to assist them against the Saxon invaders. The language of the letter, too, which seems exaggerated and inapplicable to the incursions of the Picts and Scots from the north, is much more natural if directed against the steady and permanent encroachment of the Saxons from the east. Take the letter from its present place, and place it after the narrative of the Saxons turning against the Britons and attacking them, and the order of events at once harmonises with the other authorities, while the necessity for postdating them in Gildas no longer exists. It was no doubt his misapprehending the meaning of this document, and misplacing it, which led to the arrival of the Saxons being supposed to have

taken place after it, and to the date of 447, the succeeding year, being affixed to it by Bede.

The second document is the work usually termed Nennius' *History of the Britons*, and it is very necessary that we should form a right conception of this work, and a correct estimate of its authority. The *Origines*, of Isidorus of Seville, who died in 636, and which must have been compiled some considerable time earlier, soon became widely known, and led to works being written in many countries upon their early history, in which the traditions of the people were engrafted upon it. Either in the same century, or the beginning of the next, a work was compiled in Britain, termed *Historia Britonum*. The author of it is unknown, but the original work appears to have been written in Welsh and translated into Latin. It seems to have acquired popularity at once, and become the basis upon which numerous additions were made from time to time. The original work appears to have belonged more to the North than to Wales, or at least the latter part of it, as the events of that part are mainly connected with the North, and it terminates with the foundation of the Anglic kingdom of Northumbria by Ida. Soon after was added what is termed the *Genealogia*, being the descent of the Saxon kings of the different small kingdoms; but here too Northumbria predominates, and most of the events mentioned in it are connected with its history. It must have been compiled shortly after 738, as that is the latest date to which the history of any of the Saxon

kingdoms is brought down; and it too bears the marks of being a translation into Latin from Welsh. An edition of the *Historia* seems to have been made in 823, the fourth year of Mervyn Frych, king of Wales, by Marc the Anchorite, when that part at least of the text which contains portions of the life of Germanus, and probably the legend of St. Patrick, must have been inserted. Another edition in 858 bears the name of Nennius. The original work was very early attributed to Gildas, but latterly the whole work bore the name of Nennius.

The oldest MSS. are of the tenth century, and are three in number. They represent two different editions of the work. The Vatican MS. bears the name of Marc the Anchorite, and contains the date of 946, and the fifth year of King Edmund. It is remarkable enough that this was the year in which that king conquered Cambria, and made it over to Malcolm, king of Scots. It would seem as if this conquest had brought it first under the notice of the Saxons, and this conjecture is further strengthened by the fact that the Paris MS. exactly corresponds with this, and that this MS. alone, of all the numerous MSS. which have come down to us, has the names of the Saxon kings in the Saxon and not in the Welsh form.

The MS. which represents the other edition is one in the British Museum (Harl. 3856). It contains in it the date of 796, but there are additions to it not found in any other MS., which must have been compiled in the year 977. These are, *first*, a later chronicle of Welsh

events, from the year 444, and though the last event recorded is in 954, the "anni" have been written down to 977; the *second* is a collection of Welsh genealogies, commencing with that of Owen, son of Howel dda, king of South Wales, who reigned from 946 to 985,—both in the paternal and maternal line,—from which we may infer that the writer was connected with South Wales. The Chronicle was made the basis of two much later chronicles, in which the events are brought down to 1286 and 1288, and the whole have been edited under the name of *Annales Cambriæ*, but the two later chronicles have in reality no claim to be incorporated with it, as the differences are not various readings of one text, but later additions. The great value of this Chronicle arises from the fact that it was compiled a century and a half before the Bruts were written, and it detracts from that value to add to it later additions taken from chronicles compiled as many years after the Bruts, and which are obviously derived from them. It is also the source from which many of the entries in the Welsh *Brut y Saeson* and *Brut y Tywysogion* have been translated. It is obvious that both the Chronicle and the Welsh genealogies were additions intended to illustrate the *Genealogia* attached to the *Historia Britonum*, and to bring the Welsh history down to the date of the compiler. The Chronicle inserts the events in the *Genealogia* in the very words of the latter; and when the *Genealogia* enumerates four Welsh kings as fighting against one of the kings of Bernicia, the Welsh genealogies give the pedigree of these four kings in the same order.

The *Historia Britonum* was translated into Irish by *Giollacaomhan*, an Irish Sennachy, who died in 1072, and various Irish and Pictish additions were incorporated in the translation.

The work, therefore, as it existed prior to the twelfth century, may be said to consist of six parts: *First*, The original nucleus of the work termed *Historia Britonum; second*, The *Genealogia*, added soon after 738; *third*, The *Memorabilia; fourth*, The Legends of St. Germanus and of St. Patrick, added by Marc in 823, the latter being merely attached to his edition, and incorporated in that of Nennius; *fifth*, The Chronicle and the Welsh genealogies, added in 977; and, *sixth*, The Irish and Pictish additions, by Giollacaomhan.* The MSS. of Nennius amount to twenty-eight in number; and of the later MSS. several seem to have been connected with Durham. To the monks of Durham many interpolations may be traced very similar to those in Gildas: in some MSS. they are written on the margin, and in others incorporated into the text. Thus, when the Mare Fresicum is mentioned, the Durham commentator adds, "quod inter nos Scotosque est." The result of my study of this work is to place its authority higher than is usually done; and, used with care and with due regard to the alterations made from

* The original work will be quoted under the title of the *Historia Britonum*, the second portion under that of the *Genealogia*, or both generally as Nennius, and the fifth as the Chronicle and Genealogies of 977. The Irish Annals will be quoted from the *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, recently published, being the first of the series of Scottish Record publications.

time to time, I believe it to contain a valuable summary of early tradition, as well as fragments of real history, which are not to be found elsewhere.

The third native authority prior to the twelfth century is *The Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales.* They were published by the Record Commission of England in 1841, and the oldest of them, the Laws of Howel dda, are of the tenth century.

Such are the native materials upon which, along with the old Roman and Saxon authorities, any attempt to grasp the leading features of the early history of Wales must be based.

CHAPTER IV.

STATE OF THE COUNTRY IN THE SIXTH CENTURY, AND ITS HISTORY PRIOR TO A.D. 560.

THE state of Wales and the distribution of the Cymric population, between the termination of the Roman dominion and the sixth century, so far as we can gather it from these ancient authorities, does not accord with what we should expect from the ordinary conception of the history of that period, but contrasts in many respects strangely with it.

We are accustomed to regard the Cymric population as occupying Britain south of the wall between the Tyne and the Solway; as exposed to the incursions of the Picts and Scots from the country north of the wall, and inviting the Saxons to protect them from their ravages, who in turn take possession of the south of Britain, and drive the native population gradually back till they are confined to the mountainous region of Wales and to Cornwall. We should expect, therefore, to find Wales the stronghold of the Cymry and exclusively occupied by them; the Saxons in the centre of Britain, and the country north of the wall between the Tyne and Solway surrendered to the barbaric tribes of the Picts and Scots. The picture presented to us, when we can first survey the platform

of these contending races, is something very different. We find the sea-board of Wales on the west in the occupation of the *Gwyddyl* or Gael, and the Cymry confined to the eastern part of Wales only, and placed between them and the Saxons. A line drawn from Conway on the north to Swansea on the south would separate the two races of the Gwyddyl and the Cymry, on the west and on the east. In North Wales, the Cymry possessing Powys, with the Gwyddyl in Gwynned and Mona or Anglesea; in South Wales, the Cymry possessing Gwent and Morganwg, with the Gwyddyl in Dyfed; and Brecknock occupied by the mysterious Brychan and his family.

On the other hand, from the Dee and the Humber to the Firths of Forth and Clyde, we find the country almost entirely possessed by a Cymric population, where ultimately a powerful Cymric kingdom was formed; but this great spread of the Cymric population to the north not entirely unbroken. On the north of the Solway Firth, between the Nith and Lochryan, was Galloway with its *Galwydel*; in the centre the great wood, afterwards forming the forests of Ettrick and Selkirk and the district of Tweeddale, extending from the Ettrick to the range of the Pentland Hills, and north of that range, stretching to the river Carron, was the mysterious Manau Gododin with its *Brithwyr*. On the east coast, from the Tyne to the Esk, settlements of Saxons gradually encroaching on the Cymry.

A very shrewd and sound writer, the Rev. W. Basil Jones, now Archdeacon of York, struck with this

strange distribution of the population in Wales, has, in his essay, *Vestiges of the Gael in Gwynedd*, revived a theory first suggested by Edward Lhuyd that the Gael preceded the Cymry in the occupation of the whole of Britain, and that these Gael in the western districts of Wales were the remains of the original population, seen, as it were, in the act of departing from the country before the presence of the Cymry; but, though maintained with much ingenuity, it runs counter both to the traditions which indicate their presence and to the real probabilities of the case. Till the year 360 the Roman province extended to the northern wall which crossed the isthmus between the Forth and the Clyde, and the Cymric population was no doubt co-extensive; but in that year barbarian tribes broke into the province, which the Roman authors tell us consisted of the Picts, Scots, and Saxons, and, though driven back, renewed their incursions from time to time. The Saxons, of course, made their descents on the east coast, and Gildas tells us that the Picts came *ab aquilone*, the Scots *a circione*, implying that they came from different directions; while all authorities concur in making Ireland the head-quarters of the latter. The Saxons made their descents on the east coast, the Picts from the north, and the Scots from the west.

Gildas tells us that the Picts finally occupied the country up to the southern wall *pro indigenis*, and settled down in the northern regions; and Nennius, in his account of the arrival of the Scots in Ireland, adds

four settlements of them *in regionibus Britanniæ*, one of which he expressly says was in Demetia, or South Wales, and terms the people expelled by Cunedda and his sons, Scotti. The Scots, therefore, probably effected a settlement on the west coast of Wales, as they did on that of Scotland; and these foreign settlements in the heart of the Cymric population of Wales and the North seem more probably to have been permanent deposits remaining from the frequent incursions of the so-called barbaric tribes on the Roman province, than vestiges of an original population.

Relieved from the erroneous chronology applied by Bede to the events narrated by Gildas, into which he was led by the false place occupied by the letter to Aetius, the statements of Gildas harmonise perfectly with the facts indicated by contemporary Roman and Greek authors. The barbaric tribes who broke into the province in 360 were driven back by Theodosius in 368, and the province restored to the northern wall. Then follows the usurpation of the title of Imperator by Maximus in 383, who takes the Roman troops over to Gaul. This is succeeded by the first *devastatio* by the Picts and Scots, when the Britons apply to the Romans for assistance. Stilicho sends a single legion, who drive them back and reconstruct the northern wall. Claudian records the defeat of the barbarian tribes, which he names Picts, Scots, and Saxons, the fortifying the wall, and the return of the legion, which was recalled in 402,

Then follows the second *devastatio* by the Picts and Scots, and the second appeal for assistance, and a larger force is sent, by whom they are again driven back. The Roman troops then elect Marcus, after him Gratian Municeps, and finally Constantine, as Imperator, who likewise passes over to Gaul with the troops in 409, after having repaired the southern wall. Then follows the third *devastatio* by the Picts and Scots, and Honorius writes to the cities of Britain that they must protect themselves. The Picts settle down in the region north of the wall, the Scots return to Ireland, soon to reappear and again effect settlements on the western sea-board. The Saxons are appealed to for help, but unite with the Picts to attack the Britons, and finally bring the greater part of the country under their subjection in 441, and the Britons vainly appeal to Aetius for assistance in 446.

Such is a rapid sketch of the events which brought about the destruction of the Roman province, when the statements of Gildas are brought into harmony with those of the classical writers, and which produced the relative position of the different races presented to us soon after the final departure of the Romans.

Passing over the legends connected with Gortigern, as involving an inquiry into his real period and history, which has no direct bearing upon our immediate object, and would lead us beyond the limits of this sketch, the first event that emerges from the darkness which surrounds the British history at this period, and which influenced the relative position

of the different races constituting its population, is the appearance of Cunedda, his retreat from the north, and the expulsion of the Gael from Wales by his descendants. We are told in the *Historia Britonum* that the Scots who occupied Dyfed and the neighbouring districts of Gower and Cedgueli "expulsi sunt a Cuneda et a filiis ejus;" and in the *Genealogia* that "Maelcunus Magnus rex apud Brittones regnabat, id est, in regione Guenedote, quia atavus illius, id est, Cunedag, cum filiis suis, quorum numerus octo erat, venerat prius de parte sinistrali, id est, de regione que vocatur Manau Guotodin, centum quadraginta sex annis antequam Mailcun regnaret, et Scottos cum ingentissima clade expulerunt ab istis regionibus." As Mailcun was the first king to reign in Gwynedd after the Scots were driven out, and he was fourth in descent from Cunedda, it is clear that the expression, that they were expelled "a Cuneda cum filiis ejus," is used somewhat loosely, and that the actual expulsion must have been effected by his descendants. In point of fact, we know from other documents that the real agent in the expulsion of the Scots from Gwynedd was Caswallawn Law Hir, the great-grandson of Cunedda and father of Mailcun. If four generations existed between Cunedda and Mailcun, this interval is well enough expressed by a period of 146 years; but an unfortunate date in the Chronicle of 977 has perplexed the chronology of this period, and led to Cunedda being placed earlier than is necessary. The Chronicle has, under the year 547, "Mortali-

tas magna in qua pausat Mailcun rex Guenedote;" and if Mailcun died in 547, a period of 146 years from the beginning of his reign would take us back to the fourth century, and place Cunedda towards the end of it; but we know from Gildas that Mailcun did not die in 547, as he was alive and rapidly rising to power when Gildas wrote in 560, and the date in the chronicle seems to be a purely artificial date, produced by adding the period 146 years to the beginning of the century. Gildas mentions that Maglocunus or Mailcun had, some time previously, retired into a monastery, from whence he emerged not long before he wrote, and this is probably the true commencement of his reign. A period of 146 years prior to 560 brings us to 414; and some years before that must be considered the true era of the exodus of Cunedda, with his sons, from Manau Guotodin. It thus coincides very closely with the period of the occupation of territory between the walls by the Picts on the final withdrawal of the Roman troops in 409.

Cunedda is termed in all Welsh documents *Guledig*, a name derived from the word *Gulad*, a country, and signifying Ruler. The same term is applied to Maximus, who is called in Welsh documents, *Maxim Guledig*. It is therefore equivalent to the title and position of Imperator conferred upon him by the troops in Britain. After Maximus, and before the Roman troops left Britain, they elected three Imperatores, the last of whom, Constantine, withdrew the army to Gaul. We know from the *Notitia Imperii*

that the Roman legionary troops were mainly stationed at the Roman wall and on the Saxon shore, to defend the province from inroads of the barbarian tribes; and when the Roman army was finally withdrawn, and Honorius wrote to the cities of Britain that they must defend themselves, the Roman troops were probably replaced by native bodies of warriors, and the functions of the Roman Imperator continued in the British *Guledig*. If this view be correct, the real fact conveyed by Nennius' intimation, that Cunedda had left the regions in the north called Manau Guotodin 146 years before the reign of Mailcun, is that in 410, on the Picts conquering the land up to the southern wall, the *Guledig* had withdrawn from the northern to within the southern wall. In the Welsh documents there is also frequent mention of the *Gosgordd* or retinue in connection with the *Guledig*, which appears to have usually consisted of 300 horse. It was certainly a body of men specially employed in the defence of the borders, as the Triads of Arthur and his warriors—a document not subject to the same suspicion as the Historical Triads—mentions the "three *Gosgordds* of the passes of the island of Britain," and the *Gosgordd mur* or Gosgordd of the wall, is also mentioned in the poems. It seems to be equivalent to the body of 300 cavalry attached to the Roman legion; three times that number, or 900 horse, forming the horse of the auxiliary troops attached to a legion.

The next *Guledig* mentioned is the notice by Gildas, in a part of his narrative that indicates a time

somewhat later, that the Britons took arms "duce Ambrosio Auerliano," a man of Roman descent whose relations had borne the purple. The term "Aurelianus" is Gildas' equivalent for *Guledig*, as he afterwards mentions Aurelius Conanus, and both are known in Welsh documents by the names of *Emmrys Guledig* and *Cynan Guledig;* and Ambrosius must have been connected by descent with prior "Imperatores" created by the Roman troops. Gildas then adds that after this "nunc cives, nunc hostes, vincebant usque ad annum obsessionis Badonici montis," and the date of this event is fixed by the chronicle attached to Nennius, which places it in the year 516, in which year Gildas was born.

The period between the success of Ambrosius and the siege of Badon Hill is filled up in the *Historia Britonum* with the account of twelve battles fought by Arthur, of which that of Badon Hill is the last. In the oldest form of the text he is simply termed Arthur, and the title only of "dux bellorum" is given him. It says, "Tunc Arthur pugnabat contra illos (*i.e.* Saxones), in illis diebus cum regibus Britannorum, sed ipse dux erat bellorum." He was not "dux" or "rex Britannorum," but "dux bellorum," a title which plainly indicates the *Guledig*. That he bears here a very different character from the Arthur of romance is plain enough. That the latter was entirely a fictitious person is difficult to believe. There is always some substratum of truth on which the wildest legends are

based, though it may be so disguised and perverted as hardly to be recognised; and I do not hesitate to receive the Arthur of Nennius as the historic Arthur, the events recorded of him being not only consistent with the history of the period, but connected with localities which can be identified, and with most of which his name is still associated. That the events here recorded of him are not mentioned in the Saxon Chronicle and other Saxon authorities, is capable of explanation. These authorities record the struggle between the Britons and the Saxons south of the Humber; but there were settlements of Saxons in the north even at that early period,* and it is with these settlements that the war narrated in the *Historia Britonum* apparently took place.

The *Historia Britonum* records among the various bodies of Saxons who followed Hengist to Britain one led by his son Octa and his nephew Ebissa, to whom he promises "regiones que sunt in aquilone juxta murum qui vocatur Gual"—the name given by Nennius to the northern wall. They arrive with forty ships, and after ravaging the Orkneys and circumnavigating the Picts, they occupy "regiones plurimas usque ad confinia Pictorum." The Harleian MS. inserts the words "ultra Frenessicum Mare," to which the Durham MSS. add, "quod inter nos Scotosque est," to show that the

* I may refer the reader on this subject to my paper on the "Early Frisian Settlements in Scotland," printed in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* (vol. iv. p. 169). For the struggle in the south, the reader cannot do better than refer to Dr. Guest's very able papers in the *Archæological Journal*.

Firth of Forth is meant. That they may have had settlements beyond the Firth is very probable, but the regions next the wall, as far as the confines of the Picts, can mean nothing but the districts lying between the Forth and Clyde, through which the northern wall passes, as far as the river Forth, which formed at all times the southern boundary of the kingdom of the Picts. These regions are nearly equivalent to the modern counties of Stirling and Dumbarton. All Welsh traditions connected with this war invariably designate Octa and Ebissa, or Eossa as they termed him, and their successors, as Arthur's opponents, and we shall see that the localities of his twelve battles, as recorded by Nennius, are all more or less connected with the districts in the vicinity of the northern wall.

The first battle was "in ostium fluminis quod dicitur Glein." There are two rivers of this name—one in Northumberland, mentioned by Bede as the river where Paulinus baptized the Angles in 627, and the other in Ayrshire. It rises in the mountains which separate that county from Lanarkshire, and falls into the Irvine in the parish of Loudoun. It is more probable that Arthur advanced into Scotland on the west, where he would pass through the friendly country peopled by the Cymry, than through Bernicia, already strongly occupied by bodies of Angles; and it is at the mouth of the latter river, probably, that he first encountered his opponents. It accords better, too, with the order of his battles, for the second, third,

fourth, and fifth, were "super aliud flumen quod dicitur Dubglas et est in regione Linnuis." Here must have been the first severe struggle, as four battles were fought on the same river, and here he must have penetrated the "regiones juxta murum," occupied by the Saxons. Dubglas is the name now called Douglas. There are many rivers and rivulets of this name in Scotland; but none could be said to be "in regione Linnuis," except two rivers—the Upper and Lower Douglas, which fall into Loch Lomond, the one through Glen Douglas, the other at Inveruglas, and are both in the district of the Lennox, the Linnuis of Nennius. Here, no doubt, the great struggle took place, and the hill called Ben Arthur at the head of Loch Long, which towers over this district between the two rivers, perpetuates the name of Arthur in connection with it.

The sixth battle was "super flumen quod vocatur Bassas."* There is now no river of this name in Scotland, and it has been supposed to have been somewhere near the Bass Rock, the vicinity of which it is presumed may have given its name to some neighbouring stream. The name Bass, however, is also applied to a peculiar mound having the appearance of being artificial, which is formed near a river, though really formed by natural causes. There is one on the Ury river in Aberdeenshire termed the Bass of Inverury, and there are two on the bank of the Carron, now called Duni-

* The printed text of the Vatican MS. of Nennius has "Lossas, but this is a mistake. The original MS. reads "Bassas."

pace, erroneously supposed to be formed from the Gaelic and Latin words *Duni pacis*, or hills of peace, but the old form of which was *Dunipais*, the latter syllable being no doubt the same word Bass. Directly opposite, the river Bonny flows into the Carron, and on this river I am disposed to place the sixth battle.

The seventh battle was "in silva Caledonis, id est, Cat Coit Celidon"—that is, the battle was so called, for *Cat* means a battle, and *Coed Celyddon* the Wood of Celyddon. This is the Nemus Caledonis that Merlin is said, in the Latin *Vita Merlini*, to have fled to after the battle of Ardderyth, and where, according to the tradition reported by Fordun (B. iii. c. xxvi.), he met Kentigern, and afterwards was slain by the shepherds of Meldredus, a regulus of the country on the banks of the Tweed, "prope oppidum Dunmeller." Local tradition places the scene of it in Tweeddale, where, in the parish of Drumelzier, anciently Dunmeller, in which the name of Meldredus is preserved, is shown the grave of Merlin. The upper part of the valley of the Tweed was once a great forest, of which the forests of Selkirk and Ettrick formed a part, and seems to have been known by the name of the *Coed Celyddon*.

The eighth battle was "in Castello Guinnion." The word *castellum* implies a Roman fort, and *Guinnion* is in Welsh an adjective formed from *gwen*, white. The Harleian MS. adds that Arthur carried into battle upon his shoulders an image of the Virgin Mary, and that the Pagani were put to flight and a great slaughter made of them by virtue of the Lord Jesus Christ and of Saint

Mary his mother. Henry of Huntingdon, who likewise gives this account, says the image was upon his shield; and it has been well remarked that the Welsh *ysgwyd* is a shoulder and *ysgwydd* a shield, and that a Welsh original had been differently translated. Another MS. adds that he likewise took into battle a cross he had brought from Jerusalem, and that the fragments are still preserved at Wedale. Wedale is a district watered by the rivers Gala and Heriot, corresponding to the modern parish of Stow, anciently called the Stow in Wedale. The name Wedale means "The dale of woe," and that name having been given by the Saxons implies that they had experienced a great disaster here. The church of Stow being dedicated to St. Mary, while General Roy places a Roman castellum not far from it, indicates very plainly that this was the scene of the battle.

The ninth battle was "in urbe Leogis" according to the Vatican, "Legionis" according to the Harleian text. The former adds "qui Britannice Kairlium dicitur." It seems unlikely that a battle could have been fought at this time with the Saxons at either Caerleon on the Esk or Caerleon on the Dee, which is Chester; and these towns Nennius terms in his list not Kaerlium or Kaerlion, but Kaer Legion. It is more probably some town in the north, and the *Memorabilia* of Nennius will afford some indication of the town intended. The first of his *Memorabilia* is "Stagnum Lumonoy," or Loch Lomond, and he adds "non vadit ex eo ad mare nisi unum flumen quod vocatur Leum"—that is the Leven. The Irish Nennius gives the name

correctly *Leamhuin*, and the Ballimote text gives the name of the town, *Cathraig in Leomhan* (for *Leamhan*), the town on the Leven. This was Dumbarton, and the identification is confirmed by the *Bruts*, which place one of Arthur's battles at Alclyd, while his name has been preserved in a parliamentary record of David II. in 1367, which denominates Dumbarton "Castrum Arthuri."

The tenth battle was "in littore fluminis quod vocatur Treuruit." There is much variety in the readings of this name, other MSS. reading it "Trath truiroit," or the shore of Truiroit; but the original Cymric form is given us in two of the poems in the *Black Book:* it is in one *Trywruid*, and in the other *Tratheu Trywruid.* There is no known river bearing a name approaching to this. *Tratheu*, or shores, implies a sea-shore or sandy beach, and can only be applicable to a river having an estuary. An old description of Scotland, written in 1165 by one familiar with Welsh names, says that the river which divides the "regna Anglorum et Scottorum et currit juxta oppidum de Strivelin" was "Scottice vocata *Froch*, Britannice *Werid.*"* This Welsh name for the Forth at Stirling has disappeared, but it closely resembles the last part of Nennius' name, and the difference between *wruid*, the last part of the name

* *Chronicle of the Picts and Scots*, p. 136.—It may seem strange that I should assert that Gwryd and Forth are the same word. But *Gwr* in Welsh is represented by *Fear* in Irish, the old form of which was *For*, and final *d* in Welsh is in Irish *ch*, in Pictish *th*. The river which falls into the Dee near Bala, in North Wales, is called the Try-weryn, a very similar combination.

Try-wruid, and Werid is trifling. The original form must have been Gwruid or Gwerid, the G disappearing in combination. If by the *traetheu Try-wruid* the Links of Forth are meant, and Stirling was the scene of this battle, the name of Arthur is also connected with it by tradition, for William of Worcester, in his *Itinerary*, says "Rex Arthurus custodiebat le round table in castro de Styrlyng aliter Snowdon West Castle."

The eleventh battle was fought "in monte qui dicitur Agned,"—that is in *Mynyd Agned*, or Edinburgh, and here too the name is preserved in *Sedes Arthuri* or Arthur's Seat. This battle seems not to have been fought against the Saxons, for one MS. adds "Cathregonnum," and another "contra illos que nos Cathbregyon appellamus." They were probably Picts.

The twelfth battle was "in Monte Badonis." This is evidently the "obsessio Montes Badonici" of Gildas, and was fought in 516. It has been supposed to have been near Bath, but the resemblance of names seems alone to have led to this tradition. Tradition equally points to the northern Saxons as the opponents, and in Ossa Cyllellaur, who is always named as Arthur's antagonist, there is no doubt that a leader of Octa and Ebissa's Saxons is intended; while at this date no conflict between the Britons and the West Saxons could have taken place so far west as Bath. The scene of the battle near Bath was said to be on the Avon, which Layamon mentions as flowing past Badon Hill. But on the Avon, not far from Linlithgow, is a very remarkable hill, of considerable size, the top of which is strongly fortified with double ramparts, and

past which the Avon flows. This hill is called Bouden Hill. Sibbald says, in his *Account of Linlithgowshire in* 1710:—"On the Buden hill are to be seen the vestiges of an outer and inner camp. There is a great cairn of stones upon Lochcote hills over against Buden, and in the adjacent ground there have been found chests of stones with bones in them, but it is uncertain when or with whom the fight was." As this battle was the last of twelve which seem to have formed one series of campaigns, I venture to identify Bouden Hill with the Mons Badonicus.

According to the view I have taken of the site of these battles, Arthur's course was first to advance through the Cymric country, on the west, till he came to the Glen where he encountered his opponents. He then invades the regions about the wall, occupied by the Saxons in the Lennox, where he defeats them in four battles. He advances along the Strath of the Carron as far as Dunipace, where, on the Bonny, his fifth battle is fought; and from thence marches south through Tweeddale, or the Wood of Celyddon, fighting a battle by the way, till he comes to the valley of the Gala, or Wedale, where he defeats the Saxons of the east coast. He then proceeds to master four great fortresses: first, *Kaerlium*, or Dumbarton; next, Stirling, by defeating the enemy in the *tratheu Tryweryd*, or Carse of Stirling; then *Mynyd Agned*, or Edinburgh, the great stronghold of the Picts, here called *Cathbregion;* and, lastly, Boudon Hill, in the centre of the country, between these strongholds.

The *Bruts* probably relate a fact, in which there is

a basis of real history, when they state that he gave the districts he had wrested from the Saxons to three brothers—Urien, Llew, and Arawn. To Urien he gave Reged, and the district intended by this name appears from a previous passage, where Arthur is said to have driven the Picts from Alclyde into "Mureif, a country which is otherwise termed *Reged*," and that they took refuge there in Loch Lomond. Loch Lomond was therefore in it, and it must have been the district on the north side of the Roman wall or *Mur*, from which it was called *Mureif*. To Llew he gave Lodoneis or Lothian. This district was partly occupied by the Picts whom Arthur had subdued at the battle of *Mynyd Agned;* and this is the Lothus of the Scotch traditions, who was called King of the Picts, and whose daughter was the mother of Kentigern. And to Arawn he gave a district which they call *Yscotlont* or *Prydyn*, and which was probably the most northern parts of the conquered districts, at least as far as Stirling.

In 537, twenty-one years after, the Chronicle of 977 records, "Gweith Camlan in qua Arthur et Medraut coruere;" the battle of Camlan, in which Arthur and Medraut perished. This is the celebrated battle of Camlan, which figures so largely in the Arthurian romance, where Arthur was said to have been mortally wounded and carried to Avallon, that mysterious place; but here he is simply recorded as having been killed in battle. It is surprising that historians should have endeavoured to place this battle in the south, as the same traditions, which encircle it

with so many fables, indicate very clearly who his antagonists were. Medraut or Modred was the son of that Llew to whom Arthur is said to have given Lothian, and who, as Lothus, King of the Picts, is invariably connected with that part of Scotland. His forces were Saxons, Picts, and Scots, the very races Arthur is said to have conquered in his Scotch campaigns. If it is to be viewed as a real battle at all, it assumes the appearance of an insurrection of the population of these conquered districts, under Medraut, the son of that Llew to whom one of them was given, and we must look for its site there. On the south bank of the Carron, in the very heart of these districts, are remains which have always been regarded as those of an important Roman town, and to this the name of Camelon has long been attached. It has stronger claims than any other to be regarded as the Camlan where Arthur encountered Medraut, with his Picts, Scots, and Saxons, and perished; and its claims are strengthened by the former existence of another ancient building on the opposite side of the river—that singular monument, mentioned as far back as 1293 by the name of "Furnus Arthuri," and subsequently known by that of Arthur's O'on.

In thus endeavouring to identify the localities of these events connected with the names of Cunedda and of Arthur, I do not mean to say that it is all to be accepted as literal history, but as a legendary account of events which had assumed that shape as early as the seventh century, when the text of the *Historia Britonum* was first put together, and which are commemorated in local tradition.

CHAPTER V.

STATE OF BRITAIN IN A.D. 560 WHEN GILDAS WROTE, AND KINGS OF THE LINE OF *DYFI*.

GILDAS, in his epistle, written probably from Armorica, draws a dark picture of the state of Britain. The colours may be overcharged and the lines deepened; but, exaggerated though it may be by a Christian zeal, which may have driven him from the country, his language, if there is any reality in it at all, implies a great departure from the Christian faith, and a deep corruption of manners. The expressions which he employs regarding the state of the princes of Wales are but an echo of what is used by other writers regarding the more northern Cymry. In the oldest life of Saint Kentigern, Llew, or Lothus as he is there called, whose daughter was his mother, is described as "vir semi-paganus;" and Joceline, who used older documents, calls him "secta paganissimi," and describes the infant church, which had been founded shortly before at Glasgow by Kentigern, as being oppressed by "quidam tyrannus vocabulo Morken," that he "viri Dei vitam atque doctrinam sprevit atque despexit," and that after his death his "Cognati" obliged him to take refuge in Wales, where, under Caswallawn law Hir, the father of Maelgun, Kentigern founded the mon-

astery of Llanelwy, or St. Asaph's. He also says of the Picts, "Picti vero prius per Sanctum Ninianum ex magna parte; postea per Sanctos Kentegernum et Columbam fidem susceperunt; dein in apostasiam lapsi, iterum per predicationem Sancti Kentegerni, non solum Picti, sed et Scoti, et populi innumeri in diversis finibus Britanniæ constituti, ad fidem conversi vel in fide confirmati sunt." There is here indicated a wide-spread apostasy from the Christian church founded by Ninian, which drove Kentigern from Glasgow, and which, on his return from Wales, he was mainly instrumental in healing. His expulsion from Glasgow must have taken place between 540 and 560, as he was a considerable time in Wales and returned in 573. It therefore closely followed the battle of Camlan. Arthur was pre-eminently a Christian leader. The legends connected with the battle in which he carried the image of Saint Mary on his shield, and the cross he obtained from Jerusalem, indicate this. Medraut was the son of that "vir semipaganus" Llew or Loth, and his insurrection with his Pictish and Saxon allies seems like the outburst of a Pagan party. The arrival in 547, no long time after, of Ida, the Anglic king, and the consolidation of the Saxon settlements on the eastern sea-board of the north into the Anglic kingdom of Bernicia, stretching first from the southern wall to the Tweed, with Bamborough for its capital, and pushing its way north until it eventually reached the Firth of Forth, must have strengthened the increasing Paganism, both by the direct sub-

jugation of British and Pictish population by a Pagan king, but also by the insensible influence of the vicinity of a Pagan power. A struggle seems to have taken place between the Christian and Pagan elements in the country, in which the latter at first prevailed, but which terminated in the triumph of the Christian party, and the consolidation of the various petty states into regular kingdoms under its leaders.

Gildas, in his Epistle, addresses five kings by name, and of these he sufficiently indicates the locality of three. The first is Constantine, whom he terms "The tyrannical whelp of the unclean lioness of Damnonia" (immundæ leænæ Damnoniæ tyrannicus catulus), and who must have reigned in Devon and Cornwall. The second is Aurelius Conanus, whom he addresses as "Thou lion's whelp" (Catule leonine). His title of Aurelius is equivalent to *Guledig*. The third was Vortipore, whom he calls "Thou foolish tyrant of the Demetians" (tyrannus Demetarum), and who must have ruled over Dyfed and the regions in South Wales rescued from the Scots by Cunedda and his sons. The fourth was Cuneglase, whom he addresses as "Thou bear, thou rider and ruler of many, and guider of the chariot which is the receptacle of the bear" (urse multorum sessor aurigaque currus receptaculi ursi); and the fifth was Maglocunus, whom he calls "Thou dragon of the island" (insularis draco). This was Maelgun, who, we learn from the *Genealogia*, ruled in Gwynedd, and was called the Island Dragon, from Mona or Anglesea, from which his father Caswallawn law Hir had expelled the Gwyd-

dyl. The two kings, whose possessions are not indicated, probably possessed the two eastern kingdoms of Powys and Gwent, and Conan, the former, as the genealogies attached to Nennius call Brochwail Powys, who fought in 613, son of Cynan or Conanus.

It is plain, from the language of Gildas, that Maglocunus was one who swayed between Christianity and Paganism, and was rapidly rising into power over the other kings. He describes him as having "deprived many tyrants as well of their kingdoms as of their lives," as "exceeding many in power," and "strong in arms," and that the King of kings had made him, as well in kingdom as in stature of body, higher than almost all the other chiefs of Britain. He also describes him as in the beginning of his youth oppressing with sword, spear, and fire, the king his uncle; then repenting "and vowing himself before God a monk," and taking refuge "in the cells where saints repose;" and then being seduced by a crafty wolf out of the fold, and returning to evil, slaying his brother's son and marrying his widow; and he concludes by an urgent appeal to him again to repent and be converted.

There is a curious legend preserved in the old Welsh Laws. It is as follows:—

After the taking of the crown and sceptre of London from the nation of the Cymry, and their expulsion from Lloegyr, they instituted an inquiry to see who of them should be supreme king. The place they appointed was on Traeth Maelgwn at Aber Dyvi, and thereto came the men of Gwynedd, the men of Powys, the men of South Wales, of Reinwg, Morganwg, and of Seissyllwg. And there Maeldav the elder, son of Unhwch Unachen, chief of

Moel Esgidion in Meirionydd, placed a chair composed of waxed wings under Maelgwn, so when the tide flowed no one was able to remain excepting Maelgwn because of his chair. And by that means Maelgwn became supreme king, with Aberfraw for his principal court, and the Jarll Mathraval, and the Jarll Dinevwr, and the Jarll Kaer Llion, subject to him, and his word paramount over all, and his law paramount, and he not bound to observe their law. (P. 412.)

The Dyvi or Dovey flows into the sea in Cardigan Bay, and terminates in an estuary which divides North from South Wales. On the north shore of the estuary rise the hills of Merioneth. On the south shore is an extensive and dreary moss, extending to the Cardigan hills in the background, and interspersed with a few green knolls rising here and there. Between this moss and the estuary is a flat sandy beach, left dry far into the estuary at low water. The moss is called *Corsfochno*, the sandy shore *Traeth Maelgwn;* and here some transaction took place—some struggle hidden under the disguise of this fable—by which Maelgwn made himself supreme over the other three kings of Wales. This struggle, I take it, was the *Gwaeth Corsfochno*, or the affair of Corsfochno, of the Bards.

But the true field of the contest between the Christian and semi-pagan chiefs was further north, where the great struggle for the mastery took place not long after. The chronicle of 977 records, in 573, "Bellum Armterid." About nine miles north of Carlisle, on the western bank of the river Esk, are two small rising grounds or knolls, called the Knows of Arthuret, and still further north is a ravine, in which a stream

called the Carwinelow falls into the Esk. On the north side of that stream the ground rises till it reaches an elevation terminating abruptly in a cliff which overhangs the river Liddel, and on the summit of this cliff is a magnificent native stronghold, with enormous earthen ramparts, now called the Moat of Liddel.

Arthuret is the *Roddwyd Ardderyd*, or Pass of Ardderyd, forming the great western pass leading from the Roman wall into Scotland. Carwinelow is Caer Wendolew, or the city of Gwenddolew, so called from the adjacent stronghold; and here, in 573, was fought the great battle of Ardderyd,* between Gwenddolew, whose name is surrounded by bardic tradition with every type and symbol of a semi-pagan cult, and on the other side three leading chiefs, who each became the founder of a kingdom—Maelgwn Gwynedd, Rydderch Hael, and Aedan, son of Gafran, called Fradawg, or the treacherous. The importance of this battle may be inferred from the part it plays in bardic tradition, from the exaggeration with which it is attended when 80,000 Cymry are said to have been engaged in it, and, historically, from the results which followed. Rydderch Hael established himself in Alclyde, or Dumbarton, as the first monarch of the kingdom of Cambria, or Strathclyde, embracing all the petty Cymric states from the Derwent to the Firth of Clyde, and recalled Kentigern from Wales to resume his ecclesias-

* For these identifications, see notice of the site of the battle of Ardderyd, *Proc. Ant. Sect.* vol. vi. p. 91.

tical primacy over that region as Bishop of Glasgow; and Aedan was solemnly inaugurated king of Dalriada by St. Columba in the island of Iona.*

The establishment of these kingdoms seems to have terminated the functions of the *Guledig*, and more thoroughly separated the north, or *Y Gogled*, from Wales, or *Cymru*—Rydderch Hael being now the monarch of the one, and Maelgwn Gwynedd of the other; but when we read in Bede of Aedan, the petty king of the small Scottish state of Dalriada, invading the kingdom of Bernicia in 603 at the head of an immense and mighty army, it is difficult to avoid the suspicion that he was for the time the Dux Bellorum, or *Guledig*, in the north, and had ranged under him the whole Celtic force of the country. Maelgwn, however, by this time must have been dead, the latest date assigned by any writer for the termination of his reign being 586. According to the Bruts he did not transmit his kingdom to his son, and the subsequent history, as given by Welsh authorities, is as follows:—Maelgwn was succeeded in the sovereignty of Britain by Caredig, and in Gwynedd, or North Wales, by Iago, son of Beli, his great-grandson. Under Caredig, the Cymry were finally driven by the Saxons across the

* I cannot help suspecting that the advantages held out by the ecclesiastics were the main cause of uniting these Celtic leaders against the paganism of the country. Columba certainly made Aedan the first independent king of Dalriada, Kentigern was closely leagued with Rydderch, and the Maeldav of the Welsh Laws was probably an ecclesiastic who had undertaken to make Maelgwn supreme king of Wales by some stratagem cloaked under the fable of the floating chair.

Severn, and confined to Cornwall and Wales. Iago was slain in 603 by Cadavael, and was succeeded in North Wales by his son Cadvan, who joined Brochwel, Prince of Powis, and defeated Ethelfirth, king of Bernicia, on the banks of the Dee, in the year 607. Edwin, the son of Ella, had taken refuge with Cadvan, and was brought up along with his son Cadwallawn, who succeeded his father in the same year that Edwin obtained the throne—that is in 617. Cadwallawn was, after two years, expelled from his throne by Edwin, who defeated him in a great battle, and driven to Ireland; but after some years he obtained assistance from Salomon, king of Armorica, returned to Britain, and encountered Penda, king of Mercia, whom he defeated and took prisoner, but, having afterwards united with him, they jointly attacked Edwin, and defeated and slew him. During the reign of Oswald, Cadwallawn joined Penda in the war against him, which resulted in Oswald's defeat and death. He likewise took part in the war with his successor Oswy, when Penda was slain in 657, and died after a reign of forty-two years. This brings us to the year 659. Cadwaladyr succeeded him, and reigned twelve years, when the plague broke out in Britain, before which he fled to Armorica. The plague lasted eleven years, and these two periods bring us to the year 682. Cadwaladyr applies to Alan, king of Armorica, who sends his son Ivor, and his nephew Ynyr, with a large force, who carry on the war against the Saxons for twenty-eight years, while Cadwaladyr himself goes to Rome, where

he dies. The date of his death is variously given in the Bruts as 12th May 687, 12th May 688, and 12th day before the kalends of May 689. It is necessary to give this narrative simply as we find it in the Bruts, without attempting to adjust it to the true history, as has been done in later authorities. The *Brut y Brenhinoed* terminates with the death of Cadwaladyr. The *Brut y Tywysogion* states that Ivor carried on the war for fifty-eight years, and was succeeded in 720 by Rodri Molwynog, son of Idwal Iwrch, son of Cadwaladyr.

This narrative will not stand the test of a comparison with older authorities, and the attempts to bring them more into harmony have not been very successful. The connecting links are of course the battles, which are likewise recorded by Bede. The first battle, or that fought with Brochwel on the banks of the Dee, is mentioned by Bede without the date being given, but both the Chronicle of 977 and the Irish Annals of Tighernac agree in assigning it to the year 613. It is plain, however, from Bede's narrative, that the Britons were not the victors, but were defeated, and the death of Iago, son of Beli, is placed by both chronicles in the same year. The Welsh Chronicle records in 616 the death of Ceretic, so that it is probable that a king of that name did succeed Maelgwn in the sovereignty over all Wales. In the following year the Chronicle records, "Etguin incipit regnare," which likewise indicates the year of Cadwallawn's accession, who thus appears to have succeeded Ceretig in the sovereignty

of Britain, while his father Cadvan had succeeded Iago in 613 in the kingdom of Gwynedd, and his not having possessed the sovereignty of all Wales will account for his not being mentioned in the Chronicle. The Welsh Chronicle records, in 629, "Obsessio Catguollauni regis in insula Glannauc," which may indicate the war between him and Edwyn.

Bede narrates that, after a reign of seventeen years, Cadwalla, king of the Britons, rebelled against Edwin, being supported by Penda, a most warlike man of the royal race of the Mercians, and that a great battle was fought in the plain called Haethfelth, when Edwin was killed, on the 12th October 633, and all his army either slain or dispersed. This battle is called by Nennius "Bellum Meicen," in which he says Edwin and his sons were slain "ab exercitu Catguollauni regis Gwenedote regionis;" and the Welsh Chronicle records, in 630, "Gueith Meiceren et ibi interfectus est Etguin cum duobus filiis suis. Catguollaun autem victor fuit." Tighernac places it in 631, and says that Edwin was slain "a Chon rege Britonum et Panta Saxano."

Bede tells us that a great slaughter was made of the church or nation of the Northumbrians, and that Cadwalla ravaged the whole country for a long time. The kingdom of Deira had devolved upon Osric, son of Edwin's uncle Elfric, and the kingdom of Bernicia upon Eanfred, the son of Ethelfrid, who had, during Edwin's life, lived in banishment among the Picts or Scots, but Cadwalla slew them both, Osric the next

summer, and Eanfred after Cadwalla had ruled over Northumberland for an entire year. Bede then tells us that after the death of his brother Eanfred, Oswald advanced with an army, small indeed in number, but strengthened by the faith of Christ, and that the "impious commander of the Britons" (infandus Britonum dux) was slain, though he had most numerous forces, at a place called Denises-burn near the Roman wall.

It has been assumed that this "infandus Britonum dux" was the same Cadwalla who had defeated Edwin, and that the Bruts misrepresent his history in continuing his reign through those of Oswald and Oswy when he was in reality slain in 634; but it is remarkable that while Bede names Cadwalla on every occasion when he has to record his previous acts, he does not do so here, but says simply that the "dux Britonum" was slain. Nennius calls this battle "Bellum Catscaul"—that is *Cad ys guaul*, the battle at the wall, and says the commander slain was "Catgublaun, rex Gwenedote regionis," while he calls Cadwalla, *Catguollaun;* and Tighernac still further varies the name, for in 632 he records a battle by *Cathlon*, "in quo Oswalt mac Etalfraith victor erat et Cathlon rex Britonum cecedit;" while he had named Cadwalla *Chon* in the previous year. There seems, therefore, some indication that the Cadwalla who defeated and slew Edwin, and the "dux Britonum" who was slain by Oswald, were different persons, and the probability is that the two kings—Cadvan king of Gwynedd, and Cadwallon

king of Wales—reigned during some years together, that their real names approached each nearly in sound, and that it was Cadvan, the father, who was slain in 634, while the Bruts are in this instance not unworthy of credit in representing the reign of Cadwallawn, the son, as lasting many years longer. There is every reason to believe that he continued in successful hostility to the Angles at least as long as the war with Penda lasted, and the remark of Bede that the occupation of Northumbria by Cadwallawn was looked upon as so unhappy and hateful, that it had been agreed by all who have written about the reigns of kings to interdict the memory of those perfidious monarchs and to assign that year to the reign of the following king, Oswald, shows that there was a strong desire to suppress as much as possible the acts of Cadwallawn. It is therefore not unlikely that Cadwallawn assisted Penda in the war when Oswald was slain, and in the war between Oswy and Penda, in 655, when Penda was eventually slain. It is stated by Bede that Penda had thirty legions with him, led on by thirty commanders who had come to his assistance. Tighernac, in narrating the same event, calls them *reges*, and Nennius says that the "reges Britonum interfecti sunt, qui exierant cum rege Pantha in expeditione," but that "solus autem Catgabail rex Guenedote regionis cum exercitu evasit de nocte consurgens." That the Britons largely assisted in this war is therefore plain, and by Catgabail here probably Cadwallawn is meant. His death four years after, in 659, as stated by the

Bruts, seems to me, therefore, quite in accordance with probability.

No such view, however, can be taken of the two subsequent reigns. In them, as stated by the Bruts, there are the obvious marks of fabrication. Cadwaladyr goes to Rome, where he dies on the 12th day before the kalends of May 689. Ceadwealla, king of the West Saxons—a Saxon by birth and descent—likewise goes to Rome, where he dies on the 20th of April 689; and the actions of Ivor, Cadwaladyr's successor on the throne of Wales, precisely correspond with those of Ina, Ceadwealla's successor on the throne of Wessex. There are, therefore, the obvious signs of artificial construction here, and the process seems to have been this:—The plague or pestilence before which Cadwaladyr is said to have fled to Armorica really took place, as we learn from Bede and Tighernac, in 664, and it did not last for eleven, but for only one year; and Nennius states explicitly that Cadwaladyr died in it. "Dum ipse (Osguid) regnabat venit mortalitas hominum, Catgualart regnante apud Britones post patrem suum *et in ea periit.*" As Osguid or Oswy died in 670, there can be no doubt that the plague in 664 is meant; but in the Chronicle of 977, it is advanced nearly twenty years, and there we read, in 682—"Mortalitas magna fuit in Britannia in qua Catgualart filius Catguollaun obiit." When this chronicle is woven into still later chronicles, instead of "in qua Catgualart filius Catguollaun obiit," we read, "pro qua Catwaladir filius

Catwallaun in Minorem Britanniam aufugit;" and Geoffrey of Monmouth adds the pilgrimage to Rome, and his death there.

The steps are plain enough. First, the plague and the death of Cadwaladyr in it, advanced from 664 to 682; and secondly, the death denied, and Cadwaladyr said to have retired to Armorica; and thirdly, the incident which really terminated the life of Ceadwealla of Wessex adopted and applied to that of Cadwaladyr.

The motives which led to this fabrication are probably the same with those which led to the *consensus* of English historians to suppress the acts of Cadwalla. Cadwallawn was evidently a powerful king, and had waged, in conjunction with Penda, a successful war against the Angles of Northumbria. For one year he had actually been in possession of the kingdom, and his successful career of upwards of twenty years must have raised the courage and the hopes of the Cymry to the highest. Then came the disaster of 655, when Oswy crushed the combination against him, when Penda and most of his British auxiliaries were slain, and Cadwallawn only escaped with his life, and died four years after. The result of this victory was that Oswy brought the Britons into subjection under him—a subjection which continued during his reign and that of his successor Ecfrid, till the latter was slain in the battle of Dunnichen in 686, and as, in the case of Northumbria, the year of Cadwalla's occupation was added to the reign of Oswald, so the twenty years

of this subjection was added to the reign of Cadwaladyr. The fact that he had died in the pestilence was not altered, but the date of it was advanced from 664 to 682; and, subsequently, the death was denied, and he was said to have retired to Armorica, whence the Cymry looked for him to return and re-establish the supremacy over the Angles lost by the disaster of 655. When the battle of Dunnichen terminated this subjection, Bede records that, "Nonulla pars Britonum" —some but not all—recovered their liberty, and this part was the kingdom of the northern Britons of Cumbria, for the Chronicle of 977 records no king of Wales between the death of Cadwaladyr in 664 and that of Rodri in 754, when it has the entry, "Rotri rex Britonum moritur," but during that period records the deaths of the kings of Strathclyde. In 722, "Beli filius Elfin moritur;" and, in 750, "Teudubr filius Beli moritur." This interval was filled up by the fictitious reign of Ivor, the events of which were taken from those of Ina, the successor of Ceadwealla.

Rotri, or, as he is usually termed, Rodri Molwynog, was the first real king of Wales after the death of Cadwaladyr; and when the Chronicle of 977 records, in 722, "Bellum Hehil apud Cornuenses; Gueith Gartmailauc; Cat Pencon apud dextrales Brittones et Brittones victores fuerunt in istis tribus bellis," it probably narrates the successes which led to the termination of the subjection of the Britons to the Saxons, and the re-establishment of the Welsh kingdom in the person of Rodri. He died in 754, and was succeeded by his son

Conan or Cynan Tindaethwy, whose death is recorded by the Welsh Chronicle in 816, "Cinan rex moritur," in whom the direct line of Cadwaladyr failed, and the marriage of his only daughter placed a new family on the throne.

Her husband was Morvyn Frych, king of Manau; or, as he is designated in the Cyvoesi, *o dir Manau*, from the land of Manau.

CHAPTER VI.

MANAU GODODIN AND THE PICTS.

THE name of Manau was applied by the Welsh to the Isle of Man. Thus, in Nennius, "tres magnas insulas habet, quarum una vergit contra Armoricas et vocatur Inisgueith; secunda sita est in umbilico maris inter Hiberniam et Britanniam et vocatur nomen ejus Eubonia, id est, Manau." Thus the Latin form was Eubonia, the Cymric, Manau; but it appears from Nennius that this name of Manau was also applied to a district in North Britain, when he says that Cunedda with his sons "venerat prius de parte sinistrali, id est, de regione que vocatur Manau Guotodin."

The Irish name for the Isle of Man is Manand or Manann; and it appears from the Irish Annals that a district on the north was likewise known by that name, as they record in 711 a slaughter of the Picts by the Saxons *in Campo Manand*, or the Plain of Manann, as distinguished from the island. It is, of course, difficult to discriminate between the two places, and to ascertain whether an event recorded as taking place in Manau or Manann belongs to the island or the district. Events which really belong to the one are often attributed to the other; and the fact that there existed a district

bearing this name, having become comparatively forgotten, has led to the presumption in almost every case that the events recorded in connection with the word Manau or Manann belong to the island. It may help us to discriminate between the two to refer to the legendary matter, both Irish and Welsh, connected with this name of Manau or Manann.

From Manau in Welsh is formed the word Manawyd, and from Manawyd the personal name Manawydan. From Manann in Irish is formed the personal name Manannan. Manawydan in Welsh and Manannan in Irish are synonymous terms. In a curious tract in the Irish MS., termed the Yellow Book of Lecan, is the following account of the different persons bearing the name of Manannan:—

There were four Manannans in it. It was not in the same time they were.

Manandan mac Alloit, a Druid of the Tuath De Danann, and in the time of the Tuath De Danann was he. Oirbsen, indeed, was his proper name. It is he, that Manannan, who was in Arann, and it is of him it is called Eamain Abhlach.* And it was he that was killed in the battle of Cuilleann by Uilleann Abradhruadh, son of Caithir, son of Nuadad of the silver hand, in defending the sovereignty of Connaught. And when his grave was dug, it was there sprang forth Loch

* The island of Arran in the Firth of Clyde, here called Eamhain Ablach, or Eamania of the Apple Trees. Eamain is said in Cormac's Glossary to be derived from Eomain, and that from *Eo* i. *rind*, or breast-pin, and *Muin* i. *braige*, or neck. This word Muin is represented in Welsh by Mynyw, as St. David's is called in Irish Cillemuine, in Welsh, Mynyw. I conjecture, therefore, that Arran being called Eamain is the Insula Minau or Mynyw mentioned in the life of Gildas.

Oirbsen over the land, so that from him (is named) Loch Oirbsen. This was the first Manannan.

Manannan mac Cirp, king of the Isles and of Manann, in the time of Conaire, son of Edersceoil, was he. And it was he made the espousal of Tuaide, daughter of Conall Collamrach, the foster child of Conaire, and from him is named Tuagh Inbhir.

Manannan mac Lir, *i.e.* a celebrated merchant was he between Erin, and Alban, and Manann, and a Druid was he also, and he was the best navigator that was frequenting Erin, and it was he used to know through science, by observing the sky, the period that the calm or the storm should continue, and of him the one Manannan nominabatur et ideo Scoti et Britones eum dominum maris vocaverunt et inde filium maris esse dixerunt ut deum et ideo adorabatur a gentibus ut deum quia transformat se in multis formis per gentilitatem.

Manandan mac Atgnai was the fourth Manannan. He it was that came to avenge the children of Uisnech, and it was he that had sustained the children of Usnech in Alban, and they had conquered what was from Manann northwards of Alban, and it was they that drove out the three sons of Gnathal, son of Morgann—viz. Iathach, and Tuathach, and Mani Lamhgarbh—from these lands, for it was their father that had dominion of that country, and it was the children of Usnech that killed him.—(*Yellow Book of Lecan*, Trin. Coll. Dub. H. 2. 16.)

An account of Manannan mac Llyr is found almost in the same words in Cormac's Glossary, and by other Irish traditions he is made the same person with Manannan mac Alloid, as in the following stanza in an old Irish poem :—

Manannan, son of Lir, from the Lake,
Fought many battles:
Oirbsen was his name; after hundreds
Of victories, of death he died.

Both of them belong to the mythic people termed in Irish traditions, Tuatha De Danann. The second

people who are said to have colonised Ireland, according to the oldest traditions, which seem to have furnished the account in Nennius, were the Nemedians or children of Nemeid. They were driven out of Ireland by the pirates called the *Fomoire*. They left in three bodies, commanded by the three grandsons of Nemeid. Simon Breac, son of Starn, son of Nemeid, went to Thrace with his band, and from him descended the Firbolg; Jobaath, son of Jarbhainel, son of Nemeid, went to the north of Europe, and from him descended the Tuatha De Danann; and Briotan Maol, the son of Fergus Leithdearg, son of Nemeid, went to Dovar and Iardovar in Alban, and dwelt there with his posterity; and this colony is mentioned in the Albanic Duan, where the Nemedians are said to have been the second people in Alban. The third colony in Ireland were the Firbolg, and the fourth the Tuatha De Danann, who came from the north of Europe to Alban, and remained seven years in Dovar and Iardovar, whence they went to Ireland. There they found the Firbolg and drove them out, a part of whom, according to Irish tradition, passed over into Manann, Ili or Isla, Recra, and other islands. The Irish Nennius mentions this occupation of Manann and other islands by the Firbolg; and it is obviously the same event which is stated in the Latin Nennius as one of the four settlements of Scots in Britain, "Builc autem cum suis tenuit Euboniam insulam et alias circiter."

The only other Irish traditionary notices of

Manann are that Cormac Ulfata, a king of Ireland, said to have reigned in the third century, was so named from having banished the *Uladh*, or Picts of Ulster, from Ireland, and driven them to Manann; and that an ancient Irish tract in the Book of Ballimote mentions Scal balbh *Ri Cruithentuaith acus Manaind*—that is, king of Pictland in Alban and of Manann.

According to Welsh traditions, Manawydan was the son of a British king called Llyr Lediaith. It is hardly possible to doubt the identity of the Manannan mac Llir of the Irish legends, and Manawydan ap Llyr of the Welsh, and the epithet *Lediaith* indicates that he was not of a people speaking a pure Cymric dialect. There are three very significant words which are applied in Welsh to indicate the mutual relation of languages. These are—*Cyfiaith*, where two tribes have a common speech; *Lediaith*, or half-speech, where is a certain amount of deviation or dialectic difference; and *Anghyfiaith*, the opposite of *Cyfiaith*, where the languages are considered as foreign to each other; and the epithet of *Llediaith* indicates that Llyr belonged to a race who spoke a peculiar dialect of Cymric. One of the kings in the list of shadowy monarchs of Britain contained in the Bruts is Llyr. He is the King Lear of Shakespeare, and the father of Gonorylla, Ragan, and Cordeylla; but Creidylad, who is the same as Cordeylla, is by other traditions the daughter of Llud Law Ereint. There seems, therefore, to have been the same juggle between the names Llyr and Llud in the Welsh legends as between Lir and Alloit in the Irish.

Cunedda is said in the *Genealogia* to have gone

with his sons from a *regio* in the north called Manau Guotodin, and in the Welsh genealogies attached to Nennius his eldest son Typipaun is said to have died "in regione que vocatur Manau Guodotin."

According to the *Bonhed y Saint* there were three holy families of Britain. The second was the family of Cunedda. The third was that of Brychan. He is said to have been the son of Anllech or Aullech, a Gwyddelian, who married Marchell, daughter of Tewdwr, king of Garthmadrin, the region afterwards known by the name of Brecknock which took its name from Brychan, and to have had twenty-four sons and as many daughters. It has been supposed that there were more persons than one of the name, and the families of different Brychans have been combined by tradition in one; but be this as it may, some of the sons are connected with Manau and several of the daughters with the Men of the North. Thus Rhun Dremrudd and Rhawin, two of the sons, are said to have been slain by the Saxons and Picts, and to have founded churches in Manau. Another son, Arthen, was buried in Manau, and Rhun had a son Nevydd, who is said to have been a bishop in *y Gogledd*, where he was slain by the Saxons and Picts. Of the daughters, Nefyn was the wife of Cynvarch, and mother of Urien; Gwawr was the wife of Eledyr Lydanwyn, and mother of Llywarch Hen; Lleian was the wife of Gafran, and mother of Aeddan; Nefydd was the wife of Tudwal, and a saint at Llech Celyddon in the north; Gwrgon Goddeu was the wife of Cadrod Calchvynydd, and Gwen was the wife of Llyr Merini, and mother of

Caradawc. These were all of the *Gwyr y Gogledd*, or Men of the North, and Corth or Cymorth, another daughter, was wife of Brynach Wyddel, the father of Daronwy, and one of the Gwyddel of Gwynedd. In the *Cognatio de Brachan*, in the Cotton Library (Vesp. A. xiv.), the sepulchre of Brychan is said to be "in insula que vocata Enysbrachan que est juxta Manniam."

Lastly, we have in a poem, which is not in either of the Four Books, but is placed by Stephens in the tenth century, mention of the *Brithwyr du o Fanaw*, or Black Brithwyr from Manau.

That these notices of Manau or Manann in the Irish and Welsh legends do not all apply to the same place seems plain enough, and it remains to find a clue to disentangle them. That the second of the four Manannans belongs to the island, and the fourth to the region in Alban, seems obvious. The first and third, whether they are to be viewed as the same or different Manannans, equally belong to the legend of the Tuatha De Danann; and as they occupied a district in Alban, it is probable that they are associated with both island and region. The Manann colonised by the Firbolg was certainly the island; on the other hand, Cunedda came from the region in the north, and the family of Brychan, whose sons were slain in Manau by the Picts and Saxons, and whose daughters married Men of the North, also belongs to the region in the North.

The clue seems to be that the island was associated with the name of the Scots, and the region with that of the Picts. Nennius includes the settlement of "Builc

cum suis," or of the Firbolg, in Man and other islands, among the colonies of the Scots in Britain; and Orosius, who wrote in the fifth century, says that "Mevania insula a Scotorum gentibus habitatur." On the other hand, the Picts seem peculiarly connected with the region of Manau in the north. Cormac drove Picts of Ulster to Manann, and it is connected with the kingdom of *Cruithentuath*, or Pictland in Alban. Nennius calls the people whom Arthur defeated at Mynyd Agned, or Edinburgh, *Cath Bregion*, and the *Brithwyr* are frequently mentioned in the poems. The words which form the root of these epithets are, *Brith*, forming in the feminine *Braith*, Diversicolor, Maculosus, and *Brych*—the equivalent in Cymric of the Gaelic *Breac*—Macula. Both refer to the name Picti, or painted; and Agned or Mynyd Agned probably comes from an obsolete word, *agneaw*, to paint, *agneaid*, painted. It is singular enough that in the pedigree of Cunedda, given in the Welsh genealogies as 977, it is deduced from a certain *Brith*guein, grandson of Aballec, son of Amelach, son of Beli Mawr, and the name of Brychan obviously comes from *Brych*.

The history of this region, so far as we can trace it, will likewise show the connection of these painted men, or Picts, with it. The first event that seems founded on some historic truth is the battle fought at Mynyd Agned, by which the people called the *Cath Bregion* were defeated, and the establishment of Llew as ruler over Lothian. He is the Lothus of the legends of Saint Kentigern, and is said to have been buried near Dunpender Law, in East Lothian. His

daughter Thenew, the mother of Kentigern, after an attempt to put her to death, in one legend on Dunpender, in another on Kepduff, now Kilduff, is cast adrift in a boat from Aberlady Bay.

Some of the localities connected with this district also emerge in the legends of Saint Monenna or Darerca of Killsleibeculean, in Ulster, who is recorded by Tighernac as dying in the year 518. There are three lives of St. Monenna, but they do not differ much in the leading incidents of her life. She was born in Ireland, and associated eight virgins with her, and, according to all of the lives, a widow (una vidua), with her son Lugar. In Scotland, she founded, according to one life, a church in Galloway, called Chilnacase; according to another life, three churches in Galloway; and the following churches on the summits of several mountains in Scotland, in honour of St. Michael: one "in cacumine montis qui appellatur Dundevenel;" another "in monte Dunbretan;" a third "in Castello quod dicitur Strevelin;" a fourth "in Dunedene que Anglica lingua dicitur Edineburg," where she left five virgins; and a fifth on the "Mons Dunpeledur." The first was on Dundonald in Ayrshire, near the mouth of the Irvine, into which the Glen flows, where Arthur's first battle was fought; and the three next were on the three fortified rocks of Dumbarton, Stirling, and Edinburgh, where Arthur fought three of his battles; while Dunpeledur, on which she founded another, is associated with Llew or Lothus, on whom Arthur bestowed the territory of Lothian. As Arthur was pre-eminently a Christian

hero fighting against pagan Saxons and apostate Picts, these foundations appear to synchronise with the re-establishment of the Christian church there; and as one of Monenna's churches was on Dunpender Law, it seems not improbable that Thenew, the mother of Kentigern, was, in point of fact, one of the virgins in that church. Kentigern must have been born about 518, which synchronises with the date of Monenna's death; and one of her virgins, called Tannat, is said in one of the lives to have died three days after her. Monenna's church was in that part of Ulster called Dalaraidhe, and peopled by the Irish Picts; and her foundations in Scotland being in Galloway and in the regions near Edinburgh, show that her mission mainly was to the Picts of Galloway and of Manann.

The connection between the Picts of Ulster and the Picts of Manann, obscurely shadowed forth in the legendary expulsion of the Ultonians to Manann, by Cormac, king of Ireland, in the third century, appears to have existed at this time. An old notice in some of the Irish MSS. states that Baedan, son of Cairill, king of Ulster, "cleared Manann of Galls or strangers, so that the sovereignty belonged to the Ultonians thenceforth, and the second year after his death the Gael abandoned Manann."* Baedan died, according to Tighernac, in 581. In 577, he records, "primum periculum *Ulad an Eaman;*" and, in 578, "abreversio Ulad de Umania." The Annals of Ulster give these names as Eufania and Eumania. It has

* *Chron. Picts and Scots*, p. 127.

been supposed that Eamania or Eaman, the old capital of Ulster, is meant; but the expression "abreversio" could hardly be used with reference to a place within Ulster, and the Irish annalists were not likely to pervert the name of a place so celebrated as that of Eamania. These names Eumania and Eufania are more probably attempts to express the Latin name Eubonia, and to refer to Manann, and to the expedition by which Baedan cleared it of Galls. Two years after his death the Gael are said to have left it; and, in 583, Tighernac records the battle of Manann by Aedan mac Gabran, king of Dalriada, which likewise appears in the old Welsh chronicle in 584 as "Bellum contra Euboniam." It was therefore a battle fought between Aedan and the people of Manann.

The next event recorded in connection with Manann is the war between Penda with the aid of the Britons, and Oswy, in which the former was overthrown and slain, and the latter extended his dominion over the Britons, and wrested from the Picts a part of their "Provincia." Bede tells us that in a year which he does not specify, but which must have been after the year 653, Oswy was exposed to the fierce and intolerable eruptions of Penda, king of the Mercians, and promised to give him more and greater royal ornaments than can be imagined to purchase peace, provided the king would return home and cease to ravage and destroy the provinces of his kingdom; but that Penda refused to grant his request, and resolved to destroy and extirpate all his nation. Whereupon Oswy attacked him with a small army, though he had thirty legions led on by most skil-

ful commanders, the Pagans were defeated and slain, the thirty royal commanders were almost all of them killed; and he adds, "The battle was fought near the river Winwaed." The same transaction is narrated by the author of the *Genealogia*, but it is obvious that he is making use of two separate accounts; for the second paragraph narrates what must have preceded the conclusion of the first, and in the one the king of Mercia is called Pantha, and in the other Penda. By this account, the thirty commanders were kings of the Britons, who go with Pantha on an expedition as far as the city of *Iudeu* (usque in urbem que vocatur Iudeu), and Oswy gave to Penda all the wealth that he had in the city, even into Manau (reddidit divitias cum eo in urbe, usque in Manau, Pendæ), and Penda gave it to the British kings, and this was called *Atbret Iudeu*—the ransom of Iudeu. Oswy then attacked Penda, and slew the thirty kings, Catgabail alone escaping, and this was the "Strages Gai Campi." The one is the Anglic account, the other is the Cymric. By the latter, Oswy bought off the attack upon the city of Iudeu, and the city itself, and the battle which followed must have been in or near Manau. The two accounts are not inconsistent, except in so far as Bede says that Penda refused the redemption-money, while the Welsh account says he took it and gave it to the British kings. Both agree that he was attacked, and the thirty commanders slain. Bede does not say where this happened, except that the battle was near the river Winwaed. The Welsh account says it was in the north, and is corroborated both by Florence of Worcester, who

says that Penda invaded Bernicia, and by Tighernac, who says that he was accompanied by thirty kings. Bede does not expressly say that Penda was slain in that battle, but in the next section he adds that Oswy brought the war to a conclusion by his slaughter, "in regione Loidis," on the 15th November in the thirteenth year of his reign, which represents in Bede the year 655; and the Chronicle of 977 implies that the two events were not the same, for it has in 656 "Strages Gai Campi," and in the following year, 657, "Pantha occisio."

This defeat was followed by the subjugation of the greater part of the Picts, who had probably aided Penda and Cadwalla, and not only Manau and Galwethia, or Galloway, became subject to Oswy, but a part of the "provincia Pictorum" on the north of the Firth of Forth. This subjection lasted for nearly thirty years, till the defeat of Ecfrid at Dunnichen in 686 enabled the Picts to regain that part of their provincia which had been wrested from them. Manau and Galloway seem, however, to have been considered still part of the Anglic kingdom, and their Pictish population subject to them, as we find the Angles establishing a Bishopric in Galloway after 686, and the Picts of Manann or Manau obviously rebelling against them. In 698 Tighernac records a "battle between the Saxons and the Picts, in which the son of Bernith, who was called Brechtraig, was slain," and the Saxon Chronicle mentions the same transaction under the year 699,—"In this year the Picts slew Beorht, the alderman." He was probably their Saxon governor. In 711, Tighernac also records "the slaughter of the

Picts on the plain of Manann (in campo Manand) by the Saxons, where Findgaine, the son of Deleroith, perished by immature death;" and the Saxon Chronicle thus records the same event in 710,—"In the same year the alderman Beorhtfrith fought against the Picts between Haefe and Cacre." Florence of Worcester says that "Berhfrid, the prefect of King Osred, fought against and overcame the Picts." Here again, Beorhtfrith appears as the Saxon Governor under the king of Northumberland, and the name of the leader of the Picts is also given as Findgaine, son of Deleroith. In the year 716, Osred, king of Northumberland, was slain; and in recording this event, the Annals of Ulster add that Garnat, son of Deleroith, obviously of the same Pictish family of Manann, died. In 729 a great battle was fought between the army of Angus, king of the Picts, and the host of Nechtain; and the annalist adds, that the "exactatores" of Nechtain fell —viz. Biceot son of Moneit, and his son, and Finguine son of Drostan, Ferot son of Finguine, and many others. This word "exactatores," or rather "exactores," was a word expressive of a Saxon officer, and was the Latin equivalent of "Gerefa," and the names show the connection of these leaders with the Picts of Manann, with whom the name of Finguine was especially connected.

We have no further notice of Manann. It owes its separate existence, and its loose connection with the Anglic kingdom, to its inhabitants possessing a community of race with the powerful kingdom of the Picts north of the Forth; and after the termination of that kingdom, when the name of Pict was merged in

that of Scot, it too disappears as possessing any separate position from the other inhabitants of Lothian.

It has been necessary to be thus minute in giving these notices of Manau or Manann as its history as a separate region in North Britain has, in fact, to be reconstructed, and it will enable us now better to determine its precise situation and extent.

When the notices of the slaughter of the Picts in 710 by the Irish annalists and the Saxon historians are compared, they give us the situation of the "Campus Manann"—a battle fought on it was "between Haefe and Caere." It is impossible here to mistake the rivers Avon and Carron, which flow within some miles of each other; and the Avon rises in a moor called now Slamannan, and of old Slamannan Moor. This name is, in fact, *Sliabhmannan*, the moor or plain of Manann. *Mynyd Agned*, or Edinburgh, was in it, where the population of the region about it was called *Catbregion*. The Dovar and Iardovar of the Irish legends formed the whole or part of it. Bede tells us that of the two firths of the sea, one of which runs in far and broad into the land of Britain from the Eastern Ocean and the other from the Western, though they do not reach so as to touch one another, the Eastern has in the midst of it the city *Giudi* (orientalis habet in medio sui urbem Giudi), the Western has on it, that is, on the right hand thereof, the city Alcluith, which in their language signifies the "rock Cluith," for it is close by the river of that name. Bede's city of *Giudi* is the same as Nennius' urbs *Iudeu*, the G falling away in Welsh in combination, and in an old tract in the Book

of Lecan ascribed to Angus the Culdee, who lived in the ninth century, Cuilennros or Culross is said to be between the *Sliabhnochel*, or range of the Ochils, and *Muir-n-Giudan*, or the Sea of Giudan (Reeves' *Culdees*, p. 124), and we learn from Simeon of Durham that the see of Lindisfarne, which marks the actual possessions of the Angles, extended to the river Esk, beyond which they only possessed settlements.

Manau or Manann, therefore, in its widest sense included Slamannan, and the western frontier proceeded in a line from thence to the Pentland Hills, so as to take in the great moor formerly called Cal*dover* Moor, consisting of what is now the three parishes of West, Mid, and East Calder, and thus included that mountainous region forming the west part of Linlithgowshire, embracing the parishes of Torphichen, Bathgate, and Whitburn. It probably also included that part of the range of the Pentland Hills called of old Pentland Moor, till it came down upon the North Esk, which formed its eastern boundary to the sea. On the northwest there lay between it and the Carron the district of Calatria or *Calathros*, containing on the coast the parishes of Kinnell and Carriden, while from Carriden to the Esk the coast would belong to Manann. At the point now called the Queensferry, it approaches within a short distance of the opposite coast, and the name of Clackmannan on the northern shore indicates that that district likewise belonged to it. On some one of the islands in the Firth which lie between the mouth of the Esk and Carriden was the city of Giudi or Iudeu, which may have been founded by

the people Bede terms the Jutes, while the fortified rock of Mynyd Agned or Dunedin was the great stronghold of its Pictish inhabitants.

Lying as this region did in the intermediate part of the country where the kingdoms of the Picts in the north, the Angles in the east, and the Cymry in the west, approached each other, and the Pictish, Anglic, and Cymric populations met, it could not but have had a mixed population. We see that an early colony of Saxons had obtained settlements in this part of the country. Arthur fought several of his battles against them within its limits; and the king of Ulster cleared Manand of *Galls*. Here also dwelt the Picts of Lothian, known under the names of *Brithwyr* and of *Catbregion*. The former name comes from *Brith*, which in its primary sense means speckled or spotted; but in its secondary sense mixed, and may indicate a mixed people. Bregion comes from *Brych* or *Breac*, and this word crops up here and there over the district. Falkirk was in Gaelic, *Eglais Breac*, and in Saxon, *Fahkirk*, the spotted or brindled church; *Mynyd Agned*, the Painted Mount; while Caldovar Moss is bounded on the west by the river Brych. When Medrawd, the son of Llew, rebelled against Arthur, it was with a mixed army of Picts, Saxons, and Britons.

From this region Cunedda went with his sons, and gave a royal house to the throne of Wales in the person of Maelgwn and his descendants. When this house failed in the person of Cynan Tyndathwy, there is every reason to believe that the same region gave a

second royal house to Wales, in the person of Mervyn *Frych*, and that he came from the region of Manau, and not from the island. His epithet of *Brych* points to this. He was the son of Gwriad, who married Nest, daughter of Cadell Deyrnllug, Prince of Powys, and *Gwriad* is the same name as the Pictish *Ferat*. His pedigree is deduced from Dwywc, a son of Llywarch Hen, and Llywarch Hen was one of the Men of the North, and his mother was a daughter of Brychan. Mervyn is said in the Cyvoesi to be *o dir Manau*, from the region of Manau, and not *o ynys Manau*, from the island of Manau. This derivation of the kings of the house of Mervyn Frych explains a passage in a tract contained in the text of the Irish Nennius, preserved in the Book of Ballemote, but which is not to be found elsewhere. After stating the first departure of the Romans, this text proceeds to say that Sarran then assumed the sovereignty of Britain, and established his power over the Saxons and Picts. That his eldest son was Luirig, and that Mucertach mac Erca having taken his wife, she bore him four sons, two of whom were Constantine and Gaidel Ficht, from whom descended the provincial kings of Britain and the kings of Cornwall.* This legend seems to apply to Manann, and if the house of Mervyn Frych sprang from its mixed population, we can understand in what sense the kings of Wales and Cornwall were said to be descended from Gaidel Ficht. Mervyn Frych married Essyllt, the daughter of Cynan, the last king of the house of Maelgwn Gwynedd, and inherited Powys

* *Chron. Picts and Scots*, p. 54.

through his mother, and acquired Gwynedd through his wife. His death is recorded in 844, so that he died in the very year that the kingdom of the Scots superseded that of the Picts, when all the old landmarks of the North British districts were changed, and the memory of Manau Gododin, as a region in the north distinct from the island of Manau, passed away for ever. Mervyn Frych was succeeded by his son Rodri Mawr, who acquired South Wales through his wife, and thus became king of all Wales. He divided Wales into three petty kingdoms among his three sons —Anaraut, Cadell, and Mervyn—the eldest, Anaraut, obtaining Gwynedd, with Aberfraw in Anglesea as his capital; Cadell, South Wales, with Dynevor for his capital; and Mervyn, Powis, with Mathraval for his capital; and the king of Gwynedd was to be supreme over the other two. He was succeeded by his eldest son Anarawd, who died in 913, and he by his son Edwal foel, after which Howel dda, son of Cadell, king of South Wales, obtained the dominion of the whole of Wales, from 940 to his death in 948. After his death a struggle commenced between the descendants of Edwal foel and of Howel dda for supremacy in Wales till the year 1000, when the sovereignty was usurped by Aeddan ap Blegwred, and a period of confusion ensued both in North and South Wales, during which Cynan, the rightful heir of North Wales, took refuge in Ireland, and Rhys, the rightful heir of South Wales, in Armorica, and which was only terminated when Rhys ap Tewdwr succeeded in establishing himself in South Wales, in the year 1077,

and Gruffudh, the son of Cynan, in North Wales, in 1080.

The kingdom of South Wales soon came to an end, in consequence of Jestin, the Lord of Glamorgan, having called in the assistance of Robert Fitzhamon, a Norman knight. Rhys ap Tewdwr was defeated in battle and slain by him in 1090, and, according to the Brut y Tywysogion, "then fell the kingdom of the Britons," and Robert Fitzhamon, with his Norman knights, took possession of Glamorgan, and "the French came into Dyned and Ceredigion, which they have still retained, and fortified the castles, and seized upon all the land of the Britons." This was true of South Wales only, as in North Wales the native princes still ruled till the year 1282, when the death of Llywelyn, the last prince of North Wales, was followed by the subjugation of all Wales by King Edward the First.

Rhys ap Tewdwr had an only daughter, Nest, who had a son by King Henry the First, Robert, Earl of Gloucester. By marriage with the daughter of Robert Fitzhamon, he succeeded to all his possessions in South Wales; and, as the son of Nest, the only daughter of Rhys, was regarded by the Welsh as representing in some degree the princes of South Wales. He died in the year 1147.

CHAPTER VII.

THE RACES OF BRITAIN AND THE PLACE OF THE PICTS AMONG THEM.

SUCH being the aspect in which the leading features of the history of the Celtic population of Britain is presented to us, on a careful analysis of the authorities, it remains to inquire what they tell us of the mutual relation of the races of which it was composed, and of the true place of the Picts among them.

In human beings the recollections of infancy are the most vivid and tenacious, and every change of circumstance or of place in early years impresses itself with an indelible mark on the memory, so that, while the recollections of middle life become faint and dim with advancing years, those of the nursery still stand out in the background with a clear and distinct light, and can be produced in all their original vividness. In like manner with races of men in an early stage of their social condition, the events of the infancy of the race, its migrations and settlements, seem to be indelibly impressed on the national memory, are the subject of songs and ballads, and become interwoven into such oral literature as they possess, while their history, after they become a settled people, may become to them a dreary blank, till the progress of civil-

isation and society creates something like national annals among them.

Such ethnological traditions, however, in time lose the form of simple narrative, and assume a mythic and symbolic shape, which, though bearing the outward semblance of fable, still preserve the recollection of real ethnological fact. This mythic and symbolic form of the early ethnological traditions of the various tribes which form the population of the country, usually presents itself in two different aspects, according as the one idea or the other prevailed. According to the one, these tribes were a series of colonies arriving in the country at different times, and succeeding each other as occupants of the land, and their migrations from some distant land, in which some fancied resemblance in name or customs had fixed their origin, are minutely detailed. According to the other, each race is represented by an *eponymus*, or supposed common ancestor, bearing a name derived from that of the people, and the several *eponymi* representing the population of the country are connected in an ethnological genealogy, in which they appear as fathers, brothers, or cousins, according to their supposed relation to each other. We have a classical instance of this in the Greek traditions, where Hellen, the *eponymus* of the Hellenes, is father of Æolus, Dorus, and Xuthus, and the latter of Achæus and Ionus, while the Æolians and Dorians appear in other traditions as successively overrunning the country. In Britain we have the same twofold myth; Brutus,

the *eponymus* of the Britons, being, in the Bruts, father of Camber Locrinus and Albanactus, while, in the Triads, the Kymri, the Lloegri, and the Brython, are successive colonies which entered the country from different lands. It does not follow that, in the one case, the relationship was other than a geographical one, or, in the other, that the tribes were really of different origin, or inhabited the country at different times. These are but the adventitious, mythic, or symbolic forms, in which real ethnological relations had clothed themselves, under the operation of definite laws.

The earliest record of such ethnological traditions connected with the British Isles is probably to be found in the *Historia Britonum*. In it the ethnological traditions are given in both shapes. In that in which they were symbolised by a genealogy, and which is certainly part of the original tract, the author states as his source "veteres libri veterum nostrorum," and concludes the chapter by stating, "Hanc peritiam inveni ex traditione veterum, qui incolæ in primo fuerunt Britanniæ." In this genealogy he says, "Hessitio autem habuit filios quatuor, hi sunt, Francus, Romanus, *Britto*, *Albanus*. . . . Ab Hesitione autem ortæ sunt quatuor gentes, Franci, Latini, *Albani*, et *Britti*."

In the Albanic Duan, which seems to have belonged to some collection of additions to Nennius, and which contains the oldest record of the ethnological traditions of Scotland, the brothers Brittus and Albanus appear as the *eponymi* of the two Celtic races inhabiting respectively Britain and Alban, or Scotland. Thus—

"O, all ye learned of Alban,
Ye well-skilled host of yellow hair,
What was the first invasion? Is it known to you?
Which took the land of Alban?
Albanus possessed it; numerous his hosts.
He was the illustrious son of Isacon.
He and *Briutus* were brothers without deceit.
From him Alban of ships has its name.
Briutus banished his active brother
Across the stormy sea of Icht.
Briutus possessed the noble Alban
As far as the conspicuous promontory of Fothudain."*

Here the two brothers, Brittus and Albanus, appear, and the latter is the *eponymus* of the inhabitants of Alban or Scotland, while the tradition of the retreat of the race of the one before that of the other seems to be preserved.

What races, then, were typified by the brothers Brittus and Albanus? A passage in one of the old poems preserved in the Book of Taliessin indicates this very clearly. The *Historia* had given us three of the sons of Hessitio—Romanus, Brittus, and Albanus; the brotherhood in such a genealogy implying no more than their mutual presence in the same country; and in the poem referred to there is an obvious reference to the same tradition—

"Three races, wrathful, of right qualities:
Gwyddyl and Brython and Romani,
Create war and tumult."

* *Chron. Picts and Scots*, p. 57.—The Irish *f* is the *digamma* placed before an initial vowel; and the word *F*othudain seems to express Ptolemy's Ottadeni, who extended to the river Eden in Fife. The promontory of Fife, called Fifeness, is probably the promontory meant.

Here the *Romani* and *Brython* represent Romanus and Brittus, and *Gwyddyl* comes in place of Albanus.

This term *Gwyddyl*, though latterly used by the Welsh as synonymous with Irish, was formerly applied to the whole Gaelic race as distinguished from the Cymric. This is apparent from another poem in the Book of Taliessin, where the Celtic inhabitants of the British Isles are thus enumerated :—

> "Let us make great rejoicing after exhaustion,
> And the reconciliation of the Cymry and men of Dublin,
> The Gwyddyl of Iwerdon, Mon, and Prydyn,
> The Cornishmen and the Clydemen."

Here the Cymry of Wales and the Britons of Cornwall and Strathclyde are contrasted with the Gwyddyl of Ireland, Anglesea, and Scotland; in short, the Gaelic race in its full extension at that period, including Prydyn, or North Britain, and Mona, or Anglesea, as well as Ireland. To which of these two races then did the Picts belong, and was their language identical either with the Cymric or the Gaelic, or, if it was a different dialect, to which did it approach nearest?

Among the additions made to the *Historia Britonum*, some Pictish traditions seem to have been attached to it as early as the year 796; and these are preserved partly in the Irish translation of Nennius, and partly in the first part of the old chronicle in the Colbertine MS. usually called the *Pictish Chronicle*, and which bears evident marks of having been formed from such additions to the *Historia*. This chronicle contains a very important addition to the statement in the

Historia. The *Historia* had said that Brittus and Albanus were brothers, and sons of Hessitio, and that from them proceeded the nations of the Britti and the Albani. The *Pictish Chronicle* adds, after quoting a passage from *Isidorus* giving the etymology of the name Albani, "*de quibus originem duxerunt Scoti et Picti;*"* that is, that both Scots and Picts belonged to the race of which Albanus was the *eponymus.*

Now the testimony of the entire literature of Wales is to the fact that the Picts belonged to the race of the Gwyddyl, and not to the Cymric race. To take, first, the perhaps doubtful authority of the *Triads,* in which the ethnology of the inhabitants of Britain is conveyed under the form of successive colonies, or invasions, they are thus represented: "Three social tribes of the Isle of Britain—the nation (*cenedl*) of the Kymry, the race (*al*) of the Lloegrwys and the Brython—and these are said to be descended from the original nation of the Cymry, and to be of the same language and speech. Three refuge-seeking tribes that came to the Isle of Britain—the tribe of Celyddon *yn y Gogled,* the race (*al*) of the Gwyddyl that are in Alban, and the men of Galedin. Three invading tribes that came to the Isle of Britain—the Coraniaid, the Gwyddyl Ffichti who came to Alban by the sea of Llychlyn, and the Saeson;" and it is added that the Gwyddyl Ffichti "are in Alban, on the shore of the sea of Llyddyn." "Three treacherous invasions of the Isle of Britain—the Gwyddyl *Coch*

* *Chron. Picts and Scots,* p. 393.

o'r Iwerddon, who came into Alban; the men of Llychlyn, and the Saesons." Here it will be observed that three tribes only are brought to Alban, and all three are said to have remained in it, and all are said to be Gwyddyl or Gael. These are, *first*, the race of the Gwyddyl generally; *secondly*, the red Gwyddyl from Ireland; and *thirdly*, the Ffichti Gwyddyl. The red Gwyddyl are obviously the Gaelic Scots, who came from Ireland in the year 503, and settled in Dalriada or Argyll. The Gwyddyl Ffichti have been usually translated the Irish Picts, from the word Gwyddyl having been latterly used as synonymous with Irishman; and a very disingenuous use of this has been made by Mr. Herbert in his notes to the Irish Nennius; but the translation is erroneous, for the word Gwyddyl was at that time a name of race, and not a geographical term, and was applied to the whole Gaelic race; and, moreover, it is not an adjective, but a substantive; Gwyddyl Ffichti meaning the Ffichti or Pictish Gwyddyl, just as Gwyddyl Coch means the red Gwyddyl. That by these Ffichti Gwyddyl, the Picts of the Pictish kingdom in Scotland are meant, and not Irish Picts (in the sense of Picts dwelling in or emigrating from Ireland), is plain; for in the *Triad* they are said to have crossed the sea of Llychlyn, or German Ocean, to Alban or Scotland, and to dwell in Alban along the shore of the German Ocean. That it was applied to the Picts forming the great Pictish kingdom of Scotland, is also clear from the *Bruts* compared with each other and with the Irish annalist

Tighernac. In the year 750 a great battle was fought between the Britons of Strathclyde and the Picts of Scotland, at a place called by the Welsh chronicles Magedauc or Maesedauc, now Mugdoch, in Dumbartonshire, the ancient seat of the Earls of Lennox, which is thus described by Tighernac: "A battle between the Pictones and the Britones—viz. Talorgan, the son of Fergus, and his brother, and the slaughter of the Piccardach with him." In the *Brut y Tywysogion* it is thus given:—"The action of Mygedawc, in which the Britons conquered the *Gwydyl Ffichti* after a bloody battle." Talorgan, who commanded them, was brother of Angus Mac Fergus, king of Fortren, or the Picts of Scotland, and they are here termed Gwyddyl Ffichti. Although the authority of the *Triads* is not unexceptionable, it is confirmed by the more authentic Triads of Arthur and his warriors, where "three tribes came into this island and did not again go out of it," and the second is "the tribe of the Gwyddyl Ffichti."

The statement here given of that form of the tradition which represents the ethnology of the inhabitants of North Britain under the form of successive colonies, so exactly accords with what we find in other statements of it as to leave little doubt that it is a faithful representation of this form of the tradition; and its harmony with the older statement of the other form of it in the *Historia Britonum* is apparent. In the one we have Albanus, the *eponymus* of the Gwyddyl, called the brother of Brittus, and progenitor of the Albani

from whom the Picti and Scoti took their origin. In the other we have the race of the Gwyddyl in Alban, and the successive colonies in Alban after them, the Gwyddyl Ffichti from Llychlyn, and the Gwyddyl Coch from Iwerdon or Ireland; the former being, as shown by the *Brut y Tywysogion*, the Picts of Scotland, and the latter the Scots of Dalriada.

The legend of the origin of the Picts, as contained in the *Bruts*, is that they came from Scythia and settled in Alban; that they asked wives of the Britons and were refused, and then married wives of the Gwyddyl. The text of the *Brut* in the Red Book of Hergest adds, "And their children and offspring increased, and the people multiplied. This people are the *Gwyddyl Ffichti*, and it is thus they came and were first continued in this island, and to this day have remained without going from it." Another text in one of the Hengwrt MSS. adds, "And thus arose this people; and this people were called *Gwyddyl Ffichtieit*, and this is the reason that they were called *Gwyddyl Ffichtieit*; and they are still a tribe among the Britons."* The tale that they were refused wives of the Britons and married wives of the Gwyddyl certainly implies that the Welsh considered that they did not speak a Cymric but a Gaelic dialect, for the legend is based upon the idea that the spoken language of a people was derived from their mothers, and is conveyed in the popular expression, the mother-tongue; and it is so understood in Layamon's *Brut*:—

* *Chron. Picts and Scots*, p. 123.

"Through the same woman,
Who there long dwelt,
The folk 'gan to speak
Ireland's speech."

And in one of the poems in the Book of Taliessin, where the Picts are symbolised by the expression, "y Cath Vreith," there is this line: "The Cat Vreith of *a strange language* (anghyfieithon) is troubled from the ford of Taradyr to Port Wygyr in Mona." There is no doubt that the allusion here is to the Picts.

The name of Gwyddyl Ffichti, as applied to the Picts, thus rests on better authority than that of the *Triads*. In the old poems, though the Picts are usually termed the Brithwyr, yet this name of Gwyddyl Ffichti is also applied to them, as in a curious old poem in the Book of Taliessin: "Five chiefs there shall be of the Gwyddyl Ffichti." The Picts are thus clearly assigned by the Welsh authorities to the race of the Gwyddyl; and if they were really, according to the prevailing modern theory, a Cymric people speaking a Cymric dialect, it is hardly conceivable that the Cymri themselves should have thus so invariably classed them with the Gwyddyl, and attached that word to their name.

The whole testimony of the Britons themselves, and the inferences to be drawn from tradition, thus clearly range the Picts as a people with the Gwyddyl, or Gaelic division of the great Celtic race, and not with the Cymric or British, and point to their race and language both being Gaelic; but though this may

be true of the core or central body of the people, there are yet indications that the more outlying or frontier portions were extensively mixed with other people, and especially with the three races of the Saxons, the Scots of Ireland, and the Britons.

And first of the Saxons. It is somewhat remarkable that when Ammianus Marcellinus narrates the first great outburst of the barbarian, or ex-provincial tribes, against the Romans in 360, he enumerates them as consisting of the "gentes Scotorum Pictorumque." In the second invasion, in 364, they were joined by two other nations, and consisted of the "Picti Saxonesque, et Scotti et Attacotti;" and in the third invasion, in 368, of the "Picti in duas gentes divisi Dicaledones et Vecturiones, itidemque Atticotti bellicosa hominum natio, et Scotti per diversa vagantes." It is hardly possible to avoid the suspicion that the epithets applied here to each people point to characteristics connected with their name. In Cormac's glossary the old form of the name Scot is given as "Scuit." "Scuite" signifies wanderers; and the epithet "vagantes" is attached to the Scots. "Cath" (war) seems to enter into the name Atti*cotti*, and they are "bellicosa natio." So the peculiarity of the Picti was, that they were "in duas gentes divisi." This seems to imply that the "duæ gentes" were of different race. Now it is remarkable that while the Picti and the Saxones are connected together in the second invasion, the Saxones are omitted from the third; and the Picti then, for the first time, appear as composed of two "gentes;" while Claudian, in writing of the same

invasion, expressly mentions the Saxones along with the Picts as forming part of the ravagers, and names the Orkneys as their seat.

> "——— Maduerunt *Saxone* fuso
> Orcades, incaluit *Pictorum* sanguine Thule
> Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne."

I have elsewhere shown* that the tradition given by Nennius, that Octa and Æbussa, the son and nephew of Hengist, led a body of Saxons past the Orkneys, and took possession of a part of Scotland, "usque ad confinia Pictorum," indicated a real settlement of Saxons on the east coast of Scotland as early as the year 374; and it is not impossible that they may have allied with the Picts proper so closely as to form one of the two *gentes*, and that the Vecturiones included them, a conjecture perhaps strengthened by the appearance of the Picts and Saxons in close union in 429 in Constantius' *Life of St. German*, by the fact that the ancestor of the Jutes, who were Octa's people, was Vecta, the son of Odin, and that another part of the same people were termed by Bede, Vectuarii. Be this as it may, there seem undoubtedly to have been settlements of Saxons at a very early period along the east coast of Scotland among that part of the Picts.

But if there were Saxon settlements among the Picts on the east coast, the Scots made a settlement in their western district, in part of Argyllshire, which they called Dalriada. Bede gives the best indica-

* The Early Frisian Settlements in Scotland.

tion of the nature of this settlement. He says of the Firth of Clyde that it was a "sinus maris permaximus, qui antiquitus gentem Brittonum a Pictis secernebat," that "Britannia post Brittones et Pictos tertiam Scottorum nationem *in parte Pictorum* recepit," and that they settled "ad cujus videlicet sinus partem septentrionalem." We know that this mythic colony of the Scots represented an actual settlement of them in Dalriada, which took place in the year 503, if not earlier, and that they too settled among the Picts.

On their southern frontier they seem to have become mixed with the Britons. The indication afforded by the Albanic Duan of an early encroachment of the tribes represented by the name Britus upon those represented by Albanus, as far as Fifeness, has already been noticed. In several of the old poems contained in the Book of Taliessin, allusion is made to a combination between the Brython and the Gwyddyl, and the name of *Brithwyr*, which means mixed men as well as painted men, seems to have been applied to this mixed part of the Pictish nation. Higden, in his *Polychronicon*, in giving the fable of Carausius settling a body of Picts in Albania, adds, "*ubi permixti cum Britonibus* per subsequens ævum premanserunt," which implies that such a mixture of the two people had been known as a fact, and one of the Pictish legends preserved in the Irish Nennius indicates this also. One version of it bears that Cruthnechan mac Inge, the *eponymus* of the Picts,

was sent from Ireland "to assist the Britons of Fortrenn to war against the Saxons, and they made their children and their swordland—*i.e.* Cruthentuaith—subject to them." Another versions bears, "And when they (the Picts) had cleared their swordland yonder among the Britons—viz. Magh Fortreinn *primo*, and Magh Girgin *postea*."* Now Fortren or Magh Fortren was the district lying between the river Forth and the river Tay, and is here said to have been peopled by Britons, but afterwards obtained by the Picts who dwelt among them; and Magh Girgin is a district on the east coast, now called Mearns, which the Picts won when warring against the Saxons, and where they subjected their children. The presence, therefore, both of Britons and Saxons as part of the population of the districts which, under the name of Cruthentuaith, was the territory of the Pictish kingdom, is here indicated.

So far as race is concerned, therefore, the Pictish nation presents itself to us in the following aspect. The main body and centre of the nation, pure Albanic or old Gwyddyl, with the outlying parts mixed with other races—Saxons on the east coast, Scots in Argyll, and Britons south of the Tay—each having occasionally seen a king of their own race on the throne, and the Scots succeeding in converting the accession of one of their race to the throne, in right of his Pictish blood through his female descent, into their permanent supremacy over the Pictish population of the country—people and

* *Chron. Picts and Scots*, pp. 319, 329.

language gradually merging and disappearing under the general term of Scottish.

In endeavouring to determine the ethnological position of any people who, like the Picts, once existed as a distinctive element in the population of the country, but who have left no living representative to bear witness to their characteristics, there are other sources of information to which we may resort besides the evidence of writers contemporaneous with their existence as a known and distinct people, as to the particular race among the inhabitants of the country to which they belonged, or as to the existence among them of a living tradition of their origin. There is the evidence afforded by an analysis of such remains of their language as may have come down to us, indicating its philological relation to the languages spoken by the other races in the country; and there is likewise the inference to be derived from the topography of the districts which they are known to have occupied.

The evidence afforded by these three sources of information does not always correspond; and it is necessary carefully to discriminate between them in their bearing upon each other, and upon the problem to be solved.

Where a people remains unmixed in race, and has retained the spoken language originally peculiar to them, unmodified by foreign influences, and where that people has always formed the sole inhabitants of the districts occupied by them, the evidence afforded

by each of these sources of information may be expected exactly to reflect the conclusions of the others. The traditions of the people, and the statements of contemporary writers, will refer them to a race speaking a language similar to their own; and the vocables which enter into the topography of the districts occupied by them will manifestly belong to the same original language. But where such a people forms merely one element in the population of a country made up of different races, and is not protected from foreign influences by any peculiar combination of physical, social, and political obstacles, this is rarely found to be the case, and the original harmony of race, language, and topography, soon ceases to be preserved in its integrity. Amid the clash of contending races, and the struggle for supremacy on the one hand, or for existence on the other, this condition suffers great modification. The race may remain pure and unmixed, and yet the language may suffer great modification from the influence of others. A part of the people may retain the old language; another part may have adopted the language of a people who have subjugated them; and the language of a third part may have become mixed with, or assimilated to, that of a neighbouring people speaking a kindred though not an identic dialect, through contact with them, or from the gradual spread of the one race into the territories of the other.

On the other hand, the people may have ceased to be a homogeneous race, from other races being inter-

mingled with them; or a common name may have been applied to a combination of tribes originally distinct, but politically connected; and yet the language of one of these tribes may have spread over the whole nation, or a form of the spoken language may have been adopted as the medium of official intercourse, or selected for the purpose of conveying the knowledge of Christianity, and become the vehicle of instruction and civilisation; and the remains of the language which have come down to us, and with which we have to deal, may represent this form, or the written speech, only.

The topography, too, of the districts occupied by them may have retained unmixed the vocables of the language spoken by its earliest inhabitants; or it may have received the impress of foreign invading or immigrating races who may have, from time to time, occupied a part of the country, or have permanently succeeded the race in question; or it may have retained names which belong to the language of a still older and more primitive people who may have preceded them.

It is necessary, therefore, in endeavouring to ascertain the ethnological position of a people long since passed away, to look separately at these three sources of information, and to weigh well their bearing upon each other, and upon the race to which the people belonged. The Picts unquestionably existed as a known people, and as an independent nation possessing a political organisation and a known language,

till the middle of the ninth century. From that date till the twefth century the name of the Picts is known as the denomination of one element in a population formed of two different races, but combined into one monarchy, and had no independent existence. After the twelfth century the name disappears as applied to, or borne by, any portion of the population of Scotland. Bede, who wrote prior to the ninth century, and during the first period, has the following passage:—"Hæc (*i.e.* Britannia) in præsenti juxta numerum librorum quibus lex divina scripta est quinque gentium linguis unam eandemque summæ veritatis et veræ sublimitatis scientiam scrutatur et confitetur Anglorum, videlicet, Brittonum, Scottorum, Pictorum, et Latinorum quæ meditatione Scripturarum cæteris omnibus est facta communis." In another place he says of Oswald, king of Northumbria:—"Denique omnes nationes et provincias Britanniæ quæ in quatuor linguas, id est, Brittonum, Pictorum, Scottorum, et Anglorum divisæ sunt, in ditione accepit;" and afterwards, in narrating the letter written by Ceolfrid, abbot of Jarrow in Northumberland, to Naiton:—"Rex Pictorum qui septentrionales Britanniæ plagas inhabitant" in the year 710, that is, during his own lifetime; he says, "Hæc epistola cum præsente rege Naitono multisque viris doctoribus esset lecta ac diligenter ab his qui intelligere poterant in linguam ejus propriam interpretata." Henry of Huntingdon, who wrote about 1135, and therefore in the second period, repeats the statement of Bede:—"Quinque

autem linguis utitur Britannia, Brittonum, videlicet, Anglorum, Scottorum, Pictorum, et Latinorum quæ doctrina Scripturarum cæteris omnibus est facta communis," but adds this qualification :—" quamvis Picti jam videantur deleti et lingua eorum ita omnino destructa ut jam fabula videatur quod in veterum scriptis eorum mentio invenitur."

Bede, therefore, knew of the Picts as an existing people, and of a language termed the Pictish, and, in his own day, tells of a letter translated into it as the language of the kingdom of Naiton or Nectan; and when Henry of Huntingdon wrote, the people and their language had apparently so entirely passed away that it appeared like a fable that any kingdom of the Picts, and any such language, had ever existed.

It seems strange that Henry of Huntingdon should have made this statement almost in the very year in which the Picts, as a body, formed an entire division of the Scottish army at the Battle of the Standard, and when Reginald of Durham, in the same century, refers to their language as then spoken at Kirkcudbright in Galloway; but the truth is, that, notwithstanding the language of Henry of Huntingdon, neither the people nor their language may, in point of fact, have ceased to exist in Scotland, the one as an element in the conglomerate of different races which composed the population of the monarchy, and the other as the *patois* of a district; nor does it follow, from the language of Bede, that the Picts must of necessity have been a different race, and their language a different language

from any of the other peoples and languages enumerated in the same passage.

What, then, did Bede and Henry of Huntingdon mean when the former enumerated the Pictish as a separate and distinct language, and the latter said that this people and language were destroyed, while it is evident that large bodies of the people remained, and that a language called the Pictish was still spoken by some portion of the inhabitants of the country.

If the language referred to by Bede was the spoken language of a people of unmixed race, possessing but one common form of speech, then these statements certainly imply that it was something distinct as a language from that of the Angles, Scots, or Britains, and that in Henry's time the people called the Picts had been either entirely extirpated, or so completely subjugated that all distinctive character had been lost, and that they now spoke the language of their conquerors. If, however, the Picts were a people consisting of various tribes, politically combined into one nation, and the language referred to was that form of language adopted as the medium through which they had been instructed in knowledge, and in which all public affairs were carried on, then this by no means follows. Such a language might have perished when the kingdom was destroyed. It may have been merely a different form of a language analogous either to that of the Angles or Scots or Britains, and the spoken language of the Pictish tribes, or of some of them, may have remained as the vernacular dialect of those who

survived the revolution which destroyed their inde pendence.

The language, referred to by Bede and Henry o Huntingdon, was a cultivated or literary language which had been brought under the trammels of writte forms. It was a language in which the word of Go was studied, and we know how the dialect selected fo the teaching of the Christian Church becomes elevate above the spoken dialects into a fixed standard for th whole nation. It was a language into which Ceolfrid' letter was translated by the "Viri doctores" of th court, and it was this same language which is state to have ceased to exist in Henry's time. Its position in this respect, is analogous to the German literar language, technically called New High German. Lik the Celtic, the German spoken dialects fall into tw classes, which are usually called High German an Low German. The differences between them are no so broad or so vital as those between the two type of the Celtic, the Gaelic, and the Cymric dialects and they are more of a geographical than of a philo logical character. Grimm remarks this when he say that language is susceptible of a physical as wel as an intellectual influence, and, though its principa elements remain the same, is, by long residence i mountains, woods, plains, or sea-coast, differently toned so as to form separate subordinate dialects. "All ex perience shows," says he, "that the mountain-air make the sounds sharp and rough; the plain, soft and smooth On the Alps the tendency is to diphthongs and aspi

rates; on the plain to narrow and thin vowels, and to *mediæ* and *tenues* among the consonants." The former represents the High German dialects; the latter the Low. The written language, however, or the literary German, is not identic with any one spoken dialect; it approaches more nearly to the High than to the Low German, but it is, in fact, an independent form of the language, the creation, in a sense, of Martin Luther, who, with the view of making his translation of the Bible adapted to all Germany, adopted as his medium a form of the language based upon the Upper Saxon and the official language of the German Empire, and this form of the language, stamped with the impress of his vigorous intellect, and popularised through the first Protestant version of the Bible, was adopted as the language of the literature of Germany, and, subjected to the cultivation it necessarily produced, became the language of the educated classes. The language of Holland or the Dutch is a Low German dialect, and is more nearly allied to the Low German than the latter is to the High German; but it is an independent language, and has its own cultivation and literature, and its own translation of the Bible.

Now, a historian might well say that the word of God was studied in the five languages of the English, the French, the Dutch, the German, and the Latin, and yet one of them—the Dutch—would be closely allied to one form of the German. Again, if we could suppose Germany conquered by the Dutch, the German written and cultivated language would be

superseded by the Dutch equally written and cultivated language; the Low German dialects would be as closely assimilated to the literary Dutch as the High German dialects now are to the literary German, and the latter would occupy the same position in which the Low German now is. In such a case we could well understand a writer, three centuries after the event, saying that the Germans had disappeared, and the German language was so completely destroyed that the mention of it and its literature in former writers appeared like fables. And yet the people and the spoken dialects of Germany would have remained unchanged and been there just as they always had been.

Substitute Scot for Dutch and Pict for German, and this is exactly the state of matters producing the phenomena noted by Bede and Henry of Huntingdon, and it is perfectly possible that the Picts may have been very nearly allied, both in race and language, with either the Britons or the Scots, who conquered them; and that they may have remained as an element in the population, and their language as the *patois* of a district, long after the days of Henry of Huntingdon, in a country in which both Scot and Briton entered so largely into its population. I have thought it necessary to enter at some length into the consideration of the meaning and import of these passages of Bede and Henry of Huntingdon, as a right understanding of them has a most material bearing upon the question.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CELTIC DIALECTS AND THE PROBABLE CHARACTER OF THE PICTISH LANGUAGE.

THERE is a fallacy which lurks in many of the arguments regarding the ethnological character of the old Celtic nations, based upon the modern languages. In arguing from the modern languages, it is always assumed that the language of each branch of the old Celtic race must be represented by one or other of the modern Celtic dialects. This fallacy pervades the writings of almost all of our ethnological writers, who argue as if, when a classical writer states that a difference existed between the language of two divisions of the old Celtic people, and when there is reason to suppose that the language of the one resembled the Welsh, then it must of necessity follow that the language of the other was the Gaelic. But this by no means follows; nor is it at all self-evident that these modern Celtic languages represent all the ancient dialects. On the contrary, analogy and experience would lead us to a different conclusion. The ruder a language is, the more multiplied are its dialects; and the great medium for reducing their number is its cultivation. Before the introduction of writing, the means of such cultivation were to a great extent wanting. The Christian church was the great

civiliser; and it was through its agency that these dialects received their cultivation, and one of their forms raised to the position of a written language. In the ante-Christian period of the Celtic language, the diversity of dialects must have been very great, and there may be many which have no direct representative among the modern languages. There may be many lost dialects on the Continent; and one such certainly existed, as we have seen in our own island, which has long ago disappeared—viz. the Pictish.

There run, however, through the whole of the modern Celtic languages two great distinctive dialectic differences, which lie deep in the very groundwork of the language, and must have existed before their entrance into Great Britain, if not before their entrance into Europe. These differences separate these languages into two classes, each consisting of three of the spoken tongues. The one class, which we shall call the Cymric, consists of the Breton, the Welsh, and the Cornish; the other, which we shall call the Gaelic, consists of the Irish, the Manx, and the Scotch Gaelic. The three Gaelic dialects are much more closely allied to each other than the three Cymric dialects; but each of the dialects composing the one class possesses in common those great distinctive differences which separate them from the three dialects composing the other class.

But while this great diversity exists, there are also analogies so close, vital, and fundamental, as to leave no doubt that they are all children of one common parent. Their vocabulary is, to a great extent, closely

allied. A distinguished Welsh scholar of the present day estimates that two-thirds of the vocabulary of the six dialects are substantially the same; and I believe this conclusion to be correct. A number of the primitive adjectives expressing the simplest conceptions are the same. It is a peculiarity of both classes that the irregular forms bear a smaller proportion to the regular forms than is usual; but these irregular forms, which are, in fact, the deposit of an older stage of the language, bear a very remarkable analogy to each other.

The great and leading peculiarity in both classes of the Celtic languages, however, is the mutation of initial consonants; and while these initial mutations exist in each class, and are governed by the same laws, and thus afford additional evidence of their common origin, they at the same time present us with a means of discriminating between the different dialects, and distinguishing their mutual position as such, quite as effectual as Grimm's law has been among the German dialects. The consonants most readily affected by initial mutation are the mute consonants; and the following tables will show what the initial mutations in Welsh and Irish are:—

TABLE I.—INITIAL MUTATION OF MUTE CONSONANTS.

	WELSH.					IRISH.		
	Radical.	Medial.	Aspirate.	Nasal.		Radical.	Eclipsis.	Aspirate.
Labial .	P	B	PH	MH	...	P	B	PH
Guttural .	C	G	CH	NGH	...	C	G	CH
Dental .	T	D	TH	NH	...	T	D	TH
Labial .	B	F		M	...	B	M	BH
Guttural .	G	—		NG	...	G	NG	GH
Dental .	D	DD		N	...	D	N	DH
						F	BH	FH

But while these consonants thus undergo a change according to fixed laws *within* the limits of the language itself, there is also a similar interchange of sounds *between* the different spoken languages; and it is obvious that if the changes which the same words undergo in different dialects follow regular laws, the phonetic laws of these languages are of the utmost importance in discriminating their dialectic differences. The phonetic law which governs the relations of Welsh and Gaelic, so far as regards the mute consonants, is this:—Each mute consonant in Welsh has two changes in Gaelic, either into its own middle sound, or into another consonant of the same character, but of a different organ. Thus the labial *p* passes into its middle sound *b*, as in

Penn, a summit.	*Beann*, a hill.
Prydydh	*Breagha*, pretty.
Pincen	*Beangan*, a sprig.

or into the guttural *c*, as in

Penn	*Ceann*, a head.
Pren	*Crann*, a tree.
Plant	*Clann*, children.
Pwy	*Cia*, who.

This latter change is deeply rooted in Welsh and Gaelic, and enters into the very life of the language, of which we have two very remarkable instances. The word *Pascha*, for Easter, can only have entered these languages after the establishment of the Christian church, when the languages, under the influence of its teaching, were passing into the fixed form of a written and cultivated speech; but while in Welsh it becomes

pasg, in Gaelic, under the operation of this law, it becomes *casg*. On the other hand, St. *Ciaran*, an Irish saint, and the founder of Clonmacnois, passed over, in the sixth century, into Cornwall, and had no sooner put his foot on Cymric ground than he became St. *Pieran*.

In the next class of the mutes the converse takes place, for the Welsh guttural *g* either disappears or passes into the dental *d*, as in

Gel	*Daoil*,	a leech.
Gloin	*Dealan*,	coal.
Gwneyd	*Deanadh*,	to do.
Gobaith	*Dobhchais*,	hope.

There is here, however, a slight deviation from the general rule: *g* in Welsh is usually combined with *w*, and is in this combination the Welsh digamma; but instead of passing into *w*, according to the law, it becomes in Gaelic *f*; that is, the guttural in Welsh passes into an aspirated labial in Gaelic, as in

Gwyn	*Fion*,	wine.
Gwyr	*Fior*,	true.
Gwr	*Fear*,	a man.
Gwynn	*Fionn*,	white.

This is sufficient to illustrate the law of this double change; but it is rather remarkable that while the one change is into a different character of the same letter, and in strict accordance with the phonetic change within the language itself, the other change is from a letter of one organ to that of another, as from labial to guttural, and guttural to dental. The operating cause

of this rather startling change is to be found within the laws which govern the sounds of the whole languages of this class, and in consequence of which the same phenomenon presents itself in other members of the Indo-European family.

There are two influences at work in all languages, antagonistic and mutually destructive of each other—the etymologic and the phonetic. The one governs the formation of a language, the other aids in its disorganisation. The etymologic influence has reference to meaning only, and brings together sounds which do not harmonise. These are immediately assailed by the phonetic influence, and modified till they are brought to a more simple and harmonious sound. History knows nothing of the formation of languages, and the phonetic influence is at work, and language in a process of decay, before the people which speak it have entered the historic period; but when these phonetic laws have become known, we are able to trace back the sounds, however impaired, to their original constituent elements. These contrasts, then, of labial and guttural, and guttural and dental, draw us back to a time when there were complex sounds which the human ear could not long tolerate, and which, by the modification of one or other element, passed over into the more simple sound, and in their divorce from each other present this great contrast. There was probably a complex sound composed of a guttural and labial; *k*, or hard *c*, and *v* or *p*. By one member of the family the *c* will be softened to *s*, and then disappear; while the *v* will

be hardened to *p*, and remain alone. In another, the hard *c* will remain, and the *v* be softened to *u*, and then disappear, leaving the *c* alone. An instance of this is the word for a "horse," which runs through most of the languages of the Indo-European family. The original term must have been *acvas*; in Sanscrit it becomes *asvas*; in Zend, *aspas*; in Greek, *ippos*; and in Gaulish or old Celtic, *epo*. In Latin the hard *c* is retained, and *v* modified, and it becomes *equus*; and in Gaelic, *ech*. The same process would seem to have been gone through within the Celtic languages, as the old inscriptions indicate that the old Celtic word for a "son" was *maqvas*. By one branch of the race the hard *c* was softened, and then dropped; while the *v* was hardened to *p*, producing the Welsh *map* (a son). By the other, the hard *c* was retained, but the *v* softened to *u*, in which form we have it as *maqui*, and finally dropped, leaving the Gaelic *mac*. The digamma, too, was originally a complex sound, which in Welsh is *gw*, and in Latin *v*, and in Gaelic *f*.

The consonantal changes between Welsh and Gaelic are, then, as follow:—

TABLE II.—PHONETIC LAWS BETWEEN WELSH AND GAELIC.

P *into* C *or* B	G *into* D	W *into* O
C *into* T *or* G	GW *into* F	Y *into* E
B *into* G	H *into* S *or* F	E *into* EA

The vowel-changes from Welsh to Gaelic are from *w* to *o* and *y* to *e*, which are likewise the masculine and feminine forms in Welsh, as—

WELSH.		GAELIC.
Trwm m	*Trom* f	*Trom*
Crwm m	*Crom* f	*Crom*
Bychan m	*Bechan* f	*Began*
Bryck m	*Brech* f	*Breac*

The vowel *e* becomes *ea*, as in *pen* (a head), *ceann*, and *beann*, G.

Such being the relations between Gaelic and Welsh, it must be obvious that they are of a nature to enable us to fix, from the form of the words, the relative position of almost any Celtic dialect to these two great types of the twofold division of the language; and the question at once arises, whether they may not enable us to determine the position of that one Celtic dialect in Great Britain of which we have no direct living representative—viz. the Pictish. Of this language only five words have been handed directly down to us; but still, if these words are of such a kind as to exhibit some of the phonetic laws of the language, we are not without the means of determining this question. These five words are—

1. PEANFAHEL.—Bede, who wrote in the eighth century, says that the Roman Wall commenced about two miles west of the monastery of Abercorn, "in loco qui sermone Pictorum Peanfahel, lingua autem Anglorum Penneltun appellatur;" and Nennius adds that the wall was called "Britannico sermone Guaul," and extended "a Penguaul quæ villa Scotice Cenail, Anglice vero Peneltun dicitur." This gives us *Penguaul* as the British form, *Peanfahel* as the Pictish, and *Cenail* as the Scottish.

2. Ur.—One of the Pictish legends which had been added to the *Historia Britonum*, and has been preserved in the Irish *Nennius*, is expressly stated to have been taken from the books of the Picts, and has so important a bearing on this question that I insert it here entire:—

"Of the origin of the Cruithneach here. Cruithne, son of Cing, son of Luctai, son of Partalan, son of Agnoin, son of Buain, son of Mais, son of Fathecht, son of Iafeth, son of Noe. He was the father of the Cruichneach, and reigned a hundred years. These are the seven sons of Cruithne—viz. Fib, Fidach, Fodla, Fortrend, warlike, Cait, Ce, Cirig—and they divided the land into seven divisions, as Columcille says:—

"Seven children of Cruithne
Divided Alban into seven divisions:
Cait, Ce, Cirig, a warlike clan,
Fib, Fidach, Fotla, Fortrenn.

And the name of each man is given to their territories, as Fib, Ce, Cait, and the rest. Thirteen kings of them took possession. Fib reigned twenty-four years; Fidach, forty years; Fortrend, seventy years; Cait, twenty-two years; Ce, twelve years; Cirig, eighty years; Aenbecan, son of Cait, thirty years; Finecta, sixty years; Guidid Gadbre, *id est*, Geis, one year; Gest Gurid, forty years; Urges, thirty years; Brude Pont, thirty kings of them; and Brude was the name of each man of them, and of the divisions of the other men. They possessed an hundred and fifty years, *as it is in the Books of the Cruithneach.*

"Brude Pont, B. urpont, B. Leo, B. urleo, B. Gant, B. urgant, B. Gnith, B. urgnith, B. Fech, B. urfeich, B. Cal, B. urcal, B. Cint, B. urcint, B. Feth, B. urfeth, B. Ru, B. ero, B. Gart, B. urgart, B. Cind, B. urcind, B. Uip, B. uruip, B. Grith, B. urgrith, B. Muin, B. urmuin."*

Thus ends this very curious fragment, which

* *Chron. Picts and Scots*, p. 24.

undoubtedly contains a number of Pictish vocables. I shall advert to these afterwards; at present I have to do with only one. It will be observed that the names of the thirty kings descended from Bruide Pont consist of only fifteen vocables, each name being repeated with the syllable *ur* prefixed. We have something exactly analogous to this in the old Welsh genealogies annexed to the Harleian MS. of Nennius, and written in the year 977. The ancestry of Cunedda Guledig is there thus given:—Cunedda, son of Patern, son of Tacit, son of Cein, son of *Gwr*cein, son of Doli, son of *Gwr*doli, son of Duvn, son of *Gwr*duvn. This is evidently the same thing—*guor*, *gur*, or *gwr*, representing the Pictish *ur*. Again, one of the Pictish names is Urgest; and this name is repeated afterwards in the list of Pictish kings, where we twice have Ungust, son of Urgest; while the *Irish Annals* give the Irish equivalent as Aongus, son of Feargus —*fear* representing *ur*. We thus get the following forms:—Cymric, *gwr*; Pictish, *ur*; Gaelic, *fear*.

3. Scolofth.—Reginald of Durham, in his *Libellus de admirandis Beati Cuthberti Virtutibus*—a work of the twelfth century—tells of a certain "Scolasticus Pictorum apud Cuthbrictiskchirch," or Kirkcudbright in Galloway; and says he was one of those "clerici qui in ecclesia illa commorantur qui Pictorum lingua Scollofthes cognominantur." *Scolasticus* in Welsh is *yscolheic*; in Irish, *sgolog*.

4. Cartit.—Cormac, in his old *Irish Glossary*, compiled in the ninth century, has—"*Cartit*, id est

delg, id est *belra cruithnech*, id est *delg for a curtar a choss;*" that is, "*cartit*, a buckle, is a Pictish word. It is a buckle for putting on the foot." The Welsh equivalent is *gwaell;* the Irish is given by Cormac, *dealg.*

5. DUIPER.—In another of the Pictish fragments, which also formed part of the *Pictish Chronicle*, one of the mythic kings is thus given, "Gartnaidh Duiper." In the *Chronicle of the Priory of St. Andrew*, which contains a Scottish list of the same kings, the epithet is translated thus—"Gartnech *dives*," or rich. "Rich" in Welsh is *goludog;* in Irish, *saoibher.*

From these five words we gather the following phonetic changes. In the first we see the initial *p* in Cymric and Pictish passing over into *c* in Gaelic, the Cymric *e* passing into *ea* in Pictish and Gaelic, and the Cymric *gu* passing into *f* in Pictish, and neutralised by aspiration in Gaelic. In the second, *gwr* becomes *ur* in Pictish, *fear* in Gaelic. In the third we see the final guttural in Cymric and Gaelic softened to the dental in Pictish. The fourth is a peculiar word, but the Welsh and Irish equivalents furnish an example of *g* passing into *d.* In the fifth, the Pictish *duiper* and the Gaelic *saoibher* are the same word, showing *d* passing into *s.*

From these examples, Pictish appears to occupy a place between Cymric and Gaelic, leaning to the one in some of its phonetic laws, and to the other in others. Thus in the initial of the first word we have a Cymric form. The vowel-changes are Gaelic, and

the initial of the second syllable also Gaelic; and on comparing the first two words we see that, while *gw* in Cymric ought, according to the general law, to pass into *u* in Gaelic—but in reality passes into *f*—the Pictish law combines both; and the Pictish canon is that *gw* in Cymric before a consonant becomes *u* in Pictish, and before a vowel becomes *f* in Pictish as in Gaelic.

The other words do not help us at this stage of the inquiry; but we have another source of information in the proper names, of which we have in the lists of the Pictish kings the Pictish forms in the Irish *Nennius* and the *Pictish Chronicle*, and the Irish or Gaelic forms in the *Chronicle of the Priory of St. Andrew* and the *Irish Annals*, while the Welsh genealogies furnish Cymric equivalents. The phonetic laws which govern these are equally available for our purpose. First, the Pictish law which changes *gw* into *u* before a consonant and *f* before a vowel, appears in the Pictish names Urgest, Uroid, and Fingaine; the Cymric equivalents of which are Gwrgust, Gwriad, and Gwyngenau; and the Gaelic, Feargus, Ferat, and Fingon. Then in the Pictish Drust, Deriloi, and Dalorgan, the Cymric equivalents of which are Grwst, Gwrtholi, and Galargan, we have the *g* passing into *d*, which is a Gaelic form. In the Pictish Domnall, the Cymric equivalent of which is Dwfnwall, we have the vowel-change of *w* into *o*, also a Gaelic form. The following table will show the result of this analysis:—

TABLE III.—COMPARISON OF CYMRIC, PICTISH, AND GAELIC WORDS.

C	Penguaal	Gwr	Yscolheic	Gwaell	Goludog
P	Peanfahel	Ur	Scolofth	Cartit	Duiper
G	Cen(fh)ail	Fear	Sgolog	Dealg	Saoiber
C	Gwyngenan	Gwrgust	Dwfnwal	Grwst	Caran
P	Fingaine	Urgest	Domnall	Drust	Taran
G	Fingon	Feargus	Domnall		Sarran
C		Gwriad		Gwrtholi	
P		Uroid		Deriloi	
G		Ferat			
C				Galargan	
P				Dalorgan	
G					

The Pictish tradition which I have given at length, besides yielding the word *ur*, furnishes us with a series of Pictish vocables. These are, first, the seven sons of Cruithne. They are said to have divided the land into seven portions, and to have given their names to them. We can identify some of them. "Fib" is plainly Fife, the old form of which was Fibh. "Fodla" is Atholl, the old form of which name was Ath*fodla*. "Fortrenn" is the well-known name of the central district of the Pictish kingdom, which has now disappeared. "Cirig" or "Circin," as in the *Pictish Chronicle*, is the district of Girgin or *Maghghirghin;* now corrupted into Mearns, or Kincardineshire. "Caith" is Caithness, as in the old poem in the Irish *Nennius*,—

> "From thence they conquered Alba,
> The noble nurse of fruitfulness,
> Without destroying the people or their houses,
> From the region of Cait to Forcu;"

that is, from Caithness to the Forth, the southern boundary of the Pictish kingdom. "Ce" and "Fidach" I cannot identify. But it will be observed, of these seven sons, the names of four begin with *f*, and the other three with *c*, obvious Gaelic forms; and I am inclined to think that they mark out a division of the Pictish race into two, of which one affected the guttural *c*, and the other the softer sound of the *f*.

Of the six names which follow, Aenbecan and Finecta are Gaelic forms; Guidid, Cymric; Gest, Urgest, and Brude, Pictish, as distinguished from either; and the untranslated epithets, Gadbre, Geis, and Gurid, are probably Pictish words.

The names of the thirty Brudes yield also fifteen Pictish monosyllables. These are, alphabetically, Cal, Cint, Cind, Fech, Feth, Gant, Gart, Geis, Gnith, Grith, Leo, Muin, Pont, Ru, Uip; and here also the prevalence of the gutturals, *c*, *g*, and the soft *f*, is apparent. Some of these monosyllables have a resemblance to the names of the old Irish letters which signify trees, as *cal*, the name for *c*, a hazel; *feth* seems the same as *pet*, the name for *p*; *gart*, like *gort* (ivy), the name for *g*; *muin*, the vine, is the name for *m*; and *leo* resembles *luis*, and *ru*, *ruis*, ash and elder, the names for *l* and *r*. In the same manner three of the names of the seven sons of Cruithne have a resemblance to three of the numerals, as fib, *pump*, five; ce, *se*, six; caith, *saith*, seven. These, however, may be casual resemblances.

The relation of the fifteen vocables to the proper

names is more apparent. On analysing the proper names of the Cymri and the Gael we find that both are produced by the same process—viz. a certain number of monosyllables forms the first half of the name, and to these are affixed a certain number of endings, the combination of which forms the proper names. In Cymric the initial syllables are—Ael, Aer, Arth, Bed, Cad, Car, Col, Cyn, Dog, Dygvn, El, Eur, Gar, Gor, Gwen, Gwyn, Gwyd, Gwr, Id, Mael, Mor, Tal, Tud, Ty. The Irish initial syllables are—Aen, Ain, Air, Ard, Art, Cath, Con, Corb, Cu, Domh, Donn, Dubh, Dun, Each, Echt, Eoch, Er, For, Fian, Fin, Finn, Fedh, Fear, Fail, Flaith, Flann, Gorm, Ir, Laigh, Lear, Lugh, Maen, Muir, Ragh, Reacht, Ruadh, Rud, Saer, Tuath. It would be endless to enumerate the affixes; but the most common Cymric are—deyrn, varch, wyr, swys; as, Aelgyvarch, Cadvarch, Cynvarch, Aerdeyrn, Cyndeyrn, Arthwys, Cynwys, etc.; and in Irish, cal, or in oblique case, gal and gusa; as, Aengus, Artgal, Ardgal, Congus, Congal, Dungus, Dungal, Feargus, Feargal, and so forth. Now these fifteen Pictish vocables likewise enter into the Pictish names, as Gart in Gartnaidh, and Dergart and Geis in Urgest; Leo in Morleo, Muin in Muinait, Uip in Uipog, and so forth. On the whole, the Pictish vocables coincide more with the Irish than with the Cymric, as Cal with Gal, Geis with Gusa, and so forth.

Further, on comparing the initial forms in Irish and in Cymric, we see in Cymric no words beginning with *f*, while in Irish there are nine; so that the vocables in

Pictish with initial *f* are Gaelic. On the other hand, six vocables begin with *g* in Cymric, and only one in Irish; so that here the Pictish draws to the Cymric, and stands between the two with a greater leaning to the Gaelic.

The same fallacy which pervades the ethnological deductions regarding the Gauls also affects this Pictish question. It has been too much narrowed by the assumption that, if it is shewn to be a Celtic dialect, it must of necessity be absolutely identic in all its features either with Welsh or with Gaelic. But this necessity does not really exist; and the result I come to is, that it is not Welsh, neither is it Gaelic; but it is a Gaelic dialect partaking largely of Welsh forms.

It has always appeared to me that we can trace in the Celtic languages a twofold subordinate dialectic difference lying side by side, which is very analogous to some of the differences between high and low German. I do not mean to say that the differences between these subordinate Celtic dialects are absolutely parallel to those between high and low German; but merely that they are of a nature which renders this nomenclature not inapplicable, while it affords a convenient term of distinction. A leading distinction between the high and low German is the preference of the latter for the sharp sounds, *p*, *t*, and *k*, instead of *f* or *pf*, *s* or *z* and *ch*; and the instance most familiar to us is the substitution of *t* for *s*, as *wasser* in high German becomes *water* in low, and *water* in English; *dass* in high German is *dat* in low, and *that* in English.

Now, a similar distinction is, in one point of view, observable among the three dialects of the Cymric. Of these dialects, the Cornish and Breton are much nearer to each other than either is to the Welsh. It is, in fact, a mistake to suppose, as is frequently asserted, that a Welshman and a Breton can understand each other. One of our best Welsh scholars, Mr. Price, who visited Bretagne, remarks: "Notwithstanding the many assertions that have been made respecting the natives of Wales and Brittany being mutually intelligible through the medium of their respective languages, I do not hesitate to say that the thing is utterly impossible. Single words in either language will frequently be found to have corresponding terms of a similar sound in the other, and occasionally a short sentence deliberately pronounced may be partially intelligible; but as to holding a conversation, that is totally out of the question." Cornish and Breton are much more nearly allied. Now, it is remarkable that in many cases *d*, *dd*, and *t*, in Welsh, pass into *s* in Cornish and *z* in Breton, as in

W. *Tad.*	C. *Tas.*
W. *Goludog.*	C. *Gallosak.*
W. *Bleidd.*	B. *Bleiz.*
W. *Noeth.*	B. *Noz.*

which is exactly analogous to one of the leading differences between high and low German; and Welsh, like the latter, shows a great preference for the dentals and its aspirates. I am therefore inclined to introduce the same nomenclature among the Celtic languages,

and to call Welsh "low Cymric," Cornish and Breton "high Cymric" dialects.

The three dialects which compose the Gaelic class are much more nearly allied to each other than even Cornish and Armoric, and may be held to represent the old Scottish. On the same analogy they all belong to a high Gaelic dialect. There are to be found, however, among the synonyms in the Gaelic dialects, low Gaelic forms accompanying high Gaelic forms, as in

Suil,	*Duil*, hope.
Seangan,	*Deangan*, an ant.
Seas,	*Deas*, stay.
Samh,	*Damh*, learning.
Seirc,	*Deirc*, almsgiving.
Sonnach,	*Tonnach*, a wall.

which seems to indicate that a low Gaelic dialect has been incorporated or become blended with it.

The Pictish language appears to have approached more nearly to the old Scottish than even Breton to Welsh, according to Mr. Price's view; for Adomnan, who, in the seventh century, wrote the *Life of St. Columba*, the Scottish missionary to the Picts, describes St. Columba, the Scot, as conversing freely with the Picts, from the king to the plebeian, without difficulty; but when he preached to them the Word of God, he was obliged to make use of an interpreter: that is, he could make himself understood in conversing, but not in preaching; and, conversely, a Pict understood what he said in Scottish, but could not follow a Scottish sermon. This is a point, in fact, as to which there exists much misapprehension; and we are apt to forget how

very small a difference even in pronunciation will interpose an obstacle to mutual intelligence. Even in Breton and Cornish, the two Cymric dialects which most nearly approach each other, Norris, the highest Cornish authority, says, "In spite of statements to the contrary, the writer is of opinion that a Breton within the historical existence of the two dialects could not have understood a Cornishman speaking at any length, or on any but the most trivial subjects;" and between Irish and Scotch Gaelic it would not require very much additional divergence to prevent the one from understanding the other.

Such being probably the mutual position of Pictish and Scottish, the few words we are able to compare show the difference between them to have been of the same character as between the high and low dialects; for we find *saoibher* (rich) in Irish represented by *duiper* in Pictish; and in proper names, Sarran by Taran, showing *s* in the one represented by *d* and *t* in the other; while the words *sgolofth, cartit,* and the proper names, *Bargoit, Wroid, Wid,* show the preference of the Pictish for dental in place of guttural terminations. I consider, therefore, that Pictish was a low Gaelic dialect; and, following out the analogy, the result I come to is, that Cymric and Gaelic had each a high and a low variety; that Cornish and Breton were high Cymric dialects, Welsh low Cymric; that old Scottish, spoken by the Scotti, now represented by Irish, Scotch Gaelic, and Manx, was the high Gaelic dialect, and Pictish the low Gaelic dialect.

This analogy is confirmed by the legendary origins of these different races, in which, under the form of a mythic migration, the traces of a rude and primitive ethnology often lie hid. The tendencies which produce the high and low German are, as we have remarked, associated with the character of the country peopled by them. The low German forms are connected with the level and marshy plains which border on the German Ocean, the high German with the more mountainous region of the south of Germany; but the same characteristics mark the mythic migrations of the Celtic races which peopled Britain. In the Welsh traditions, the Cymry, which are represented by the Welsh or low Cymric people, are said to have crossed the German Ocean from the north of Germany; the Lloegrys, represented by the Cornish or high Cymric, are brought from the south. In the old Irish traditions, the different races said to have peopled Ireland fall into two classes: the one is said to have penetrated through Europe by the Rhiphaean Mountains to the Baltic, and to have crossed the German Ocean; and the other is brought by the Mediterranean and the south of Europe.* The former alone are said to have made settlements in Scotland; and Bede, in giving the tradition of the origin of the Picts, brings them likewise from the north of Germany across the German Ocean. This population which preceded the German races was, in fact, the race of the Celts, who seem to have been driven westward by the

* The one class consists of the Nemedians and the Tuatha de Danaan; the other of Partholan and his colony, the Firbolg and the Milesians.

pressure of the Teutonic movement; and, like the German, to have shown a twofold minor difference, produced by the same physical influence, which is known by the names of "high" and "low" German.

The platform occupied by the Pictish people was not confined to Scotland alone, for they certainly extended over part of the north of Ireland, and formed, in all probability, an earlier population of the north half of Ireland, which became subjugated by the Scots. On the other hand, the Scots at an early period occupied the district of Argyll. In the north of Ireland and the west of Scotland the Picts must, at an early period, have become blended with the Scots, and their form of the Gaelic assimilated to the Scottish. In Scotland, south of the Tay, where they occupied the districts from the Tay to the Forth, the region of Manau or Manann, and Galloway, they came in contact with the Cymric people, and the one being a low Gaelic dialect, and the other a low Cymric dialect, their forms must have so far resembled each other as to lead to an admixture presenting that mixed language of low Gaelic with Cymric forms, known to Bede as the Pictish language.

CHAPTER IX.

THE CELTIC TOPOGRAPHY OF SCOTLAND, AND THE DIALECTIC DIFFERENCES INDICATED BY IT.

THE etymology of the names of places in a country is either a very important element in fixing the ethnology of its inhabitants, or it is a snare and a delusion, just according as the subject is treated. When such names are analysed according to fixed laws, based upon sound philological principles and a comprehensive observation of facts, they afford results both important and trustworthy; but if treated empirically, and founded upon resemblance of sounds alone, they become a mere field for wild conjectures and fanciful etymologies, leading to no certain results. The latter is the ordinary process to which they are subjected. The natural tendency of the human mind is to a mere phonetic etymology of names, both of persons and of places, in which the sounds of the name of the place appear to resemble the sounds in certain words of a certain language, the language from which the etymology is derived being selected upon no sound philological grounds, but from arbitrary considerations merely.

Unhappily, an etymology founded upon mere resemblance of sounds has hitherto characterised all

systematic attempts to analyse the topography of Scotland, and to deduce ethnologic results from it. Prior to the publication of the *Statistical Account of Scotland* in 1792, it may be said that no general attempt had been made to explain the meaning of the names of places in Scotland, or to indicate the language from which they were derived. We find occasionally, in old lives of the saints and in charters connected with church lands, that names of places occurring in them are explained; and these interpretations are very valuable, as indicating what may be termed the common tradition of their meaning and derivation at an early period. Of very different value are a few similar derivations in the fabulous histories of Boece, Buchanan, and John Major, which are usually mere fanciful conjectures of pedantry.

The first impetus to anything like a general etymologising of Scottish topography was given when Sir John Sinclair projected the *Statistical Account of Scotland.* In the schedule of questions which he issued in 1790 to the clergy of the Church of Scotland, the first two questions were as follows:—

1. What is the ancient and modern name of the parish?
2. What is the origin and etymology of the name?

This set every minister thinking what was the meaning of the name of his parish. The publication of the *Poems of Ossian;* and the controversy which followed, had tended greatly to identify national feeling and the history of the country with Gaelic

literature and language, and, with few exceptions, the etymology was sought for in that language. The usual formula of reply was, "The name of this parish is derived from the Gaelic," and then followed a Gaelic sentence resembling in sound the name of the parish, and supposed admirably to express its characteristics, though the unfortunate minister is often obliged to confess that the parish is remarkably free from the characteristics expressed by the Gaelic derivation of its name. These etymologies are usually suggested irrespective entirely of any known facts as to the history or population of the parish, and are purely phonetic.

After the publication of the Statistical Account, Gaelic was in the ascendant as the source of all Scottish etymologies, till the publication of Chalmers' *Caledonia* in 1807. John Pinkerton had indeed tried to direct the current of popular etymology into a Teutonic channel, but his attempts to find a meaning in Gothic dialects for words plainly Celtic were so unsuccessful that he failed even to gain a hearing. Chalmers was more fortunate. His theory was that a large proportion of the names of places in Scotland are to be derived from the Welsh, and indicate an original Cymric population. And this he has worked out with much labour and pains. In doing so, he was the first to attempt to show evidence of the dialectic difference between Welsh and Gaelic pervading the names of places, and to discriminate between them; but for almost all the names of places in the Lowlands of

Scotland he furnishes a Welsh etymology, which, like his predecessors the Scottish clergy, he supposes to be expressive of the characteristics of the locality. His theory has, in the main, commanded the assent of subsequent writers, and is usually assumed to be, on the whole, a correct representation of the state of the fact. Yet his system was as purely one of a phonetic etymology, founded upon mere resemblance of sounds, as those of his predecessors. The MSS. left by George Chalmers show how he set about preparing his etymologies, and we now know the process he went through. He had himself no knowledge of either branch of the Celtic language, but he sent his list of names to Dr. Owen Pughe; and that most ingenious of all Welsh lexicographers, who was capable of reducing every word in every known language in the world to a Welsh original, sent him a list of Welsh renderings of each word, varying from twelve to eighteen in number, out of which Chalmers selected the one which seemed to him most promising. His other etymologies are equally founded on a mere resemblance of sounds between the modern form of the word and the modern Welsh, as those of the clergy in the Statistical Account were between the modern form of the word and the modern Gaelic.

That system of interpreting the names of places, which I have called phonetic etymology, is, however, utterly unsound. It can lead only to fanciful renderings, and is incapable of yielding any results that are either certain or important. Names of places are, in

fact, sentences or combinations of words originally expressive of the characteristics of the place named, and applied to it by the people who then occupied the country, in the language spoken by them at the time, and are necessarily subject to the same philological laws which governed that spoken language. The same rules must be applied in interpreting a local name as in rendering a sentence of the language. That system, therefore, of phonetic etymology which seeks for the interpretation of a name in mere resemblance of sound to words in an existing language, overlooks entirely the fact that such names were fixed to certain localities at a much earlier period, when the language spoken by those who applied the name must have differed greatly from any spoken language of the present day.

Since the local names were deposited in the country, the language itself from which they were derived has gone through a process of change, corruption, and decay. Words have altered their forms—sounds have varied—forms have become obsolete, and new forms have arisen; and the language in its present state no longer represents that form of it which existed when the local nomenclature was formed. The topographical expressions, too, go through a process of change and corruption, till they diverge still further from the spoken form of the language as it now exists. This process of change and corruption in the local names varies according to the change in the population. When the population has remained unchanged, and

the language in which the names were applied is still the spoken language of the district, the names either remain in their original shape, in which case they represent an older form of the same language, or else they undergo a change analogous to that of the spoken language. Obsolete names disappear as obsolete words drop out of the language, and are replaced by more modern vocables. Where there has been a change in the population, and the older race are replaced by a people speaking a kindred dialect, the names of places are subjected to the dialectic change which characterises the language. There are some striking instances of this where a British form has been superseded by a Gaelic form, as, for instance, Kirkintulloch, the old name of which, Nennius informs us, was Caerpentalloch, *kin* being the Gaelic equivalent of the Welsh *pen;* Penicuik, the old name of which was Peniacop; Kincaid, the old name of which was Pencoed.

When, however, the new language introduced by the change of population is one of a different family entirely, then the old name is stereotyped in the shape in which it was when the one language superseded the other, becomes unintelligible to the people, and undergoes a process of change and corruption of a purely phonetic character, which often entirely alters the aspect of the name. In the former cases it is chiefly necessary to apply the philologic laws of the language to its analysis. In the latter, which is the case with the Celtic topography of the low country, it is necessary,

before attempting to analyse the name, to ascertain its most ancient form, which often differs greatly from its more modern aspect.

It is with this class of names we have mainly to do, as presenting the phenomena I am anxious to investigate.

When the topography of a country is examined, its local names will be found, as a general rule, to consist of what may be called generic terms and specific terms. What I mean by generic terms are those parts of the name which are common to a large number of them, and are descriptive of the general character of the place named; and by specific terms, those other parts of the name which have been added to distinguish one place from another. The generic terms are usually general words for river, mountain, valley, plain, etc.; the specific terms, those words added to distinguish one river or mountain from another. Thus, in the Gaelic name Glenmore, *glen* is the generic term, and is found in a numerous class of words; *more*, great, the specific, a distinguished term, to distinguish it from another called Glenbeg. In the Saxon term Oakfield, field is the generic term, and oak the specific, to distinguish it from Broomfield, etc.

When the names of places are applied to purely natural objects, such as rivers, mountains, etc., which remain unchanged by the hand of man, the names applied by the original inhabitants are usually adopted by their successors, though speaking a different lan-

guage; but the generic term frequently undergoes a phonetic corruption, as in the Lowlands, where Aber has in many cases become Ar, as in Arbroath, Arbuthnot; Ballin has become Ban, as in Bandoch; Pettin has become Pen, as in Pendriech; Pol has become Pow; and Traver has become Tar and Tra, as in Tranent.

On the other hand, where the districts have been occupied by different branches of the same race, speaking different dialects, the generic terms exhibit the dialectic differences when the sounds of the word are such as to require the dialectic change; thus in Welsh and Gaelic:—

Pen and Ceann—a head,
Gwynn and Fionn—white,

show the phonetic difference between these dialects.

The comparison of the generic terms which pervade the topography of a country affords a very important means of indicating the race of its early inhabitants, and discriminating between the different branches of the race to which the respective portions of it belong. It was early observed that there existed in the Celtic generic terms a difference which seemed to indicate dialectic distinction. Even in the *Old Statistical Account*, the minister of the parish of Kirkcaldy remarks—

"To the Gaelic language a great proportion of the names of places in the neighbourhood, and indeed through the whole of Fife, may unquestionably be traced. All names of places beginning with Bal, Col or Cul, Dal, Drum, Dun, Inch, Inver, Auchter, Kil, Kin, Glen, Mon, and Strath, are of Gaelic origin. Those beginning with Aber and Pit are supposed to be Pictish

names, and do not occur beyond the territory which the Picts are thought to have inhabited."

Chalmers states it still more broadly and minutely. He says—

"Of those words which form the chief compounds in many of the Celtic names of places in the Lowlands, some are exclusively British, as Aber, Llan, Caer, Pen, Cors, and others; some are common to both British and Irish, as Carn, Craig, Crom, Bre, Dal, Eaglis, Glas, Inis, Rinn, Ros, Strath, Tor, Tom, Glen; and many more are significant only in the Scoto-Irish or Gaelic, as Ach, Ald, Ard, Aird, Auchter, Bar, Blair, Ben, Bog, Clach, Corry, Cul, Dun, Drum, Fin, Glac, Inver, Kin, Kil, Knoc, Larg, Lurg, Lag, Logie, Lead, Letter, Lon, Loch, Meal, Pit, Pol, Stron, Tullach, Tullie, and others."

This attempt at classification is, however, exceedingly inaccurate. Two of the words in the first class, Llan and Caer, are common to both British and Irish; and a large portion of the third class are significant in pure Irish, as well as in the Scoto-Irish or Gaelic. No attempt is made to show, by the geographical distribution of these words, in what parts of the country the respective elements prevail.

The most popular view of the subject, and that which has recently been most insisted in, is the line of demarcation between a Cymric and a Gaelic population, supposed to be indicated by the occurrence of the words Aber and Inver. This view has been urged with great force by Kemble, in his *Anglo-Saxons;* but I may quote the recent work of Mr. Isaac Taylor, on words and places, as containing a fair statement of the popular view of the subject:—

"To establish the point that the Picts, or the nation, whatever was its name, that held central Scotland, was Cymric, not Gaelic, we may refer to the distinction already mentioned between *Ben* and *Pen*. *Ben* is confined to the west and north; *Pen* to the east and south. *Inver* and *Aber* are also useful test-words in discriminating between the two branches of the Celts. The difference between the two words is dialectic only; the etymology and the meaning is the same—a confluence of waters, either of two rivers or of a river with the sea. Aber occurs repeatedly in Brittany, and is found in about fifty Welsh names, as Aberdare, Abergavenny, Abergele, Aberystwith, and Barmouth, a corruption of Abermaw. In England we find *Aber*ford in Yorkshire, and *Ber*wick in Northumberland and Sussex; and it has been thought that the name of the Humber is a corruption of the same root. *Inver*, the Erse and Gaelic forms, is common in Ireland, where *Aber* is unknown. Thus, we find places called Inver in Antrim, Donegal, Mayo, and Invermore in Galway and in Mayo. In Scotland the *Invers* and *Abers* are distributed in a curious and instructive manner. If we draw a line across the map from a point a little south of Inveraray to one a little north of Aberdeen, we shall find that (with very few exceptions) the *Invers* lie to the north of the line and the *Abers* to the south of it. This line nearly coincides with the present southern limit of the Gaelic tongue, and probably also with the ancient division between the Picts and the Scots."

Nothing can be more inaccurate than this statement. *Ben* is by no means confined to the west and north; and as examples of *Pen* he refers, among others, to the Pentland Hills, Pentland being a Saxon word, and corrupted from Pectland; and to Pendriech in Perthshire, which is a corruption from Pittendriech. So far from Inver being common in Ireland, it is very rare. The *Index locorum* of the *Annals of the Four Masters* shows only six instances. On the other hand, Aber is not unknown in Ireland. It certainly

existed formerly to some extent in the north of Ireland; and Dr. Reeves produces four instances near Ballyshannon.

The statement with regard to the distribution of Aber and Inver in Scotland here is, that there is a line of demarcation which separates the two words—that, with few exceptions, there is nothing but Invers on one side of this line, nothing but Abers on the other; and that this line extends from a point a little south of Inveraray to a point a little north of Aberdeen. This is the mode in which the distribution of these two words is usually represented, but nothing can be more perfectly at variance with the real state of the case. South of this line there are as many Invers as Abers. In Perthshire, south of the Highland line, there are nine Abers and eight Invers; in Fifeshire, four Abers and nine Invers; in Forfar, eight Abers and eight Invers; in Aberdeenshire, thirteen Abers and twenty-six Invers. Again, on the north side of this supposed line of demarcation, where it is said that Invers alone should be found, there are twelve Abers, extending across to the west coast, till they terminate with Abercrossan, now Applecross, in Ross-shire. In Argyllshire alone there are no Abers. The true picture of the distribution of these two words is—in Argyllshire, Invers alone; in Inverness and Ross shires, Invers and Abers in the proportion of three to one and two to one; and on the south side of this supposed line, Abers and Invers in about equal proportions.

Again he says, quoting Chalmers, "The process of

change is shown by an old charter, in which King David grants to the monks of May 'Inverin qui fuit Aberin.' So Abernethy became Invernethy, although the old name is now restored." In order to produce the antithesis of Inverin and Aberin, one letter in this charter has been altered. The charter is a grant of "Petneweme et Inverin quæ fuit Averin;" and I have the authority of the first charter antiquary in Scotland for saying that this construction is impossible: "quæ fuit" does not, in charter Latin, mean "which was," but "which belonged to," and Averin was the name of the previous proprietor of the lands. Abernethy and Invernethy are not the same place, and the former never lost its name. Invernethy is at the junction of the Nethy with the Earn, and Abernethy is a mile further up the river.

When we examine these Abers and Invers more closely, we find, 1*st*, that in some parts of the country they appear to alternate, as in Fife—Inverkeithing, Aberdour, Inveryne, Abercrombie, Inverlevin, and so forth; 2*d*, That some of the Invers and Abers have the same specific terms attached to them, as Abernethy and Invernethy, Aberuchill and Inveruchill, Abercrumbye and Invercrumbye, Abergeldie and Invergeldie; and 3*d*, That the Invers are always at the mouth of the river, close to its junction with another river, or with the sea; and the Abers usually a little distance up the river where there is a ford. Thus Invernethy is at the mouth of the Nethy; Abernethy a mile or two above. These and other facts lead to the conclusion that they

are part of the same nomenclature, and belong to the same period and to the same people.

When we look to the south of the Forth, however, we find this remarkable circumstance that in Ayrshire, Renfrew, and Lanarkshire, which formed the possessions of the Strathclyde Britons, and were occupied by a British people till as late a period as the more northern districts were occupied by the Picts, there are no Abers at all. What we have, therefore, is the Scots of Argyll with nothing but Invers, the Picts with Abers and Invers together, and the Strathclyde Britons with no Abers. N3.

As a mark of discrimination between races this criterion plainly breaks down, and the words themselves contain no sounds which, from the different phonetic laws of the languages, could afford an indication of a dialectic difference. The truth is, that there were three words expressive of the junction of one stream with another, and all formed from an old Celtic word, *Ber*, signifying water. These were *Aber*, *Inver*, and *Conber* (pronounced in Welsh *cummer*, in Gaelic *cumber*). These three words were originally common to both branches of the Celtic as derivations from one common word. In old Welsh poems we find not only Aber as a living word in Welsh, but Ynver likewise.* and Dr. Reeves notices an Irish document in which Applecross or Appurcrossan is called Conber Crossan. Ynver, however, became obsolete in Welsh, just as Cummer or Cumber and Aber became obsolete in Irish;

* *Ynver* occurs twice in the Book of Taliessin

but we have no reason to know that it did so in Pictish. In the Pictish districts, therefore, the Abers and Invers were deposited when both were living words in the language. When the Scots settled in Argyll, Aber had become obsolete in their language, and Inver was alone deposited, and in Strathclyde both words seem to have gone into desuetude.

In the same manner *Dwfr* or *Dwr*, is quoted as a word for water, peculiar to the Welsh form of Celtic, and an invariable mark of the presence of a British people, but the old form of this word in Scotland was *Doboir*, as appears from the Book of Deer, where Aberdour is written *Abber-doboir*, and in Cormac's Glossary of the old Irish, *Doboir* is given as an old Irish word for water. In another old Irish glossary we have this couplet:—

> "Bior and An and Dobar,
> The three names of the water of the world."

These words, therefore, form no criterion of difference of race, and to judge by them is to fall into the mistake of the phonetic etymologists—viz. to apply to old names, as the key, the present spoken language, which does not contain words which yet existed in it in its older form.

In order to make generic terms a test of dialect, they must be words which contain sounds affected differently by the different phonetic laws of such dialects—such as *Pen*, *Gwynn*, *Gwern*, and *Gwydd* which all enter copiously into Welsh topography, and the equivalents of which in the Gaelic dialects

are *Ceann*, *Fionn*, *Fearn*, and *Fiodh*. Such generic terms afford a test by which we can at once determine whether the Celtic topography of a country partakes most of the Cymric or the Gaelic character. The earliest collection of names in North Britain is to be found in Ptolemy's Geography in the second century, but we know too little of the origin of his names, whether they were native terms, or names applied by the invaders, to obtain from them any certain result. After Ptolemy, the largest collection of names in Great Britain is in the work of the anonymous geographer of Ravenna, a work of the seventh century. The exact localities are not given, but the names are grouped according to the part of Britain to which they belong. Those which commence the topography of Scotland are placed under this title:—"Iterum sunt civitates in ipsa Britannia quæ recto tramite de una parte in alia, id est, de oceano in oceano existunt, ac dividunt in tertia portione ipsam Britanniam." They commence with the stations on the Roman wall between the Tyne and the Solway, and then proceed northwards. Among these we find two names together, Tadoriton and Maporiton, and as *Tad* and *Map* are Cymric forms for father and son, we have no doubt that here we are on the traces of a Cymric population. The next group is arranged under this head:—"Iterum sunt civitates in ipsa Britannia recto tramite una alteri conexæ, ubi et ipsa Britannia plus angustissima de oceano in oceano esse dinoscitur." This part of Britain, which is *plus angustissima*, is the

isthmus between the Forth and the Clyde, and in proceeding with the names northwards we come to one called Cindocellum. The Ocelli Montes were the Ochills, and here the Gaelic form of Kin is equally unmistakable. When we apply to the present topography the testing words Pen, Gwynn, Gwern, and Gwydd, the Gaelic equivalents of which are Kin, Fionn, Fearn, and Fiodh, we find that, with one exception, Pen, though frequent south of the Forth, where there was a British population, does not occur north of the Forth, while it is full of Kins, and Gwynn, Gwern, and Gwydd occur only in their Gaelic equivalents.

Such then being the aspect in which the question really presents itself, it becomes important, with a view to ethnological results, to ascertain more closely the geographical distribution of the generic terms over Scotland, and in order to show this I have prepared a table of such distribution. The generic terms are taken from the index to the Scottish Record of Retours; and as this record relates to properties, and not to mere natural objects, the generic terms they contain are to a great extent confined to names of places connected with their possession by man, and more readily affected by changes in the population. For the purposes of comparison, I have framed a list of generic terms contained in Irish topography from the index to the *Annals of the Four Masters*, and of those in Welsh topography from a list in the *Cambrian Register*. I have divided Scotland into thirteen districts, so as to show the local character of the topography of each

part of Scotland, and opposite each generic term in Scotch topography is marked—1*st*, if it occurs in Ireland, and how often; 2*d*, if it occurs in Wales; and 3*d*, I have marked the number of times it occur in each district of Scotland from the Index of Retours.

On examining this table, it will be seen that there are five terms peculiar to the districts occupied by the Picts. These are Auchter, Pit, Pitten, For, and Fin. Now none of these five terms are to be found in Welsh topography at all, and For and Fin are obviously Gaelic forms.

It is necessary, however, in examining these terms, which may be called Pictish, to ascertain their old form. Auchter appears to be the Gaelic *Uachter*, upper; and as such we have it in Ireland, and in the same form, as in Scotland Ochtertire, in Ireland Uachtertire. It does not occur in Wales.

The old form of Pit and Pitten, as appears from the Book of Deer, is *Petle*, and it seems to mean a portion of land, as it is conjoined with proper names, as Petle MacGarnait, Petle Malduib. But it also appears connected with Gaelic specific terms, as *Petle an Mulenn*, the Petle of the Mill, and in a charter of the Chartulary of St. Andrews, of the church of Migvie, the terra ecclesiæ is said to be vocatus Pettentaggart—"an taggart" being the Gaelic form of the expression "of the priest."

The old forms of For and Fin are Fothuir and Fothen. The old form of Forteviot is Fothuirtabaicht, and of Finhaven is Fothen-evin. The first

of these words, however, discloses a very remarkable dialectic difference. Fothuir becomes For, as Fothuir-tabacht is Forteviot; Fothuir-duin is Fordun; but Fothuir likewise passes into Fetter, as Fothuiresach becomes Fetteresso; and these two forms are found side by side, Fordun and Fetteresso being adjacent parishes. The form of For extends from the Forth to the Moray Firth—that of Fetter from the Esk, which separates Forfar and Kincardine, to the Moray Firth.

An examination of some other generic terms will disclose a perfectly analogous process of change. The name for a river is Amhuin. The word is the same as the Latin Amnis. The old Gaelic form is Amuin, and the *m*, by aspiration, becomes *mh*, whence Amhuin, pronounced Avon. In the oldest forms of the language the consonants are not aspirated, but we have these two forms, both the old unaspirated form and the more recent aspirated form, in our topography, lying side by side in the two parallel rivers which bound Linlithgowshire—the Amond and the Avon. There is also the Amond in Perthshire. We know from the Pictish Chronicle that the old name was Aman, and the Avon, with its aspirated *m*, is mentioned in the Saxon Chronicle. It is a further proof that Inver is as old as Aber in the eastern districts, that we find Aman in its old form conjoined with Inver in the Pictish Chronicle in the name "Inveraman."

In Dumbartonshire we find the names Lomond and Leven together. We have Loch Lomond and Ben

Lomond, with the river Leven flowing out of the loch through Strathleven; but we have the same names in connection in Fifeshire, where we have Loch Leven with the two Lomonds on the side of it, and the river Leven flowing from it through Strathleven. This recurrence of the same words in connection would be unaccountable, were it not an example of the same thing. Leven comes from the Gaelic *Leamhan*, signifying an elm-tree, but the old form is Leoman, and the *m* becomes aspirated in a later stage of the language and forms *Leamhan*, pronounced Leven. Here the old form adheres to the mountain, while the river adopts the more modern.

A curious illustration of two different terms lying side by side, which are derived from the same word undergoing different changes, will be found in Forfarshire, where the term Llan for a church appears, as in Lantrethin. It is a phonetic law between Latin and Celtic, that words beginning in the former with *pl* are in the latter *ll*. The word Planum, in Latin signifying any cultivated spot, in contradistinction from a desert spot, and which, according to Ducange, came to signify Cimiterium, becomes in Celtic Llan, the old meaning of which was a fertile spot, as well as a church. In the inquisition, in the reign of David I., into the possessions of the See of Glasgow, we find the word in its oldest form in the name Planmichael, now Carmichael; and as we find Ballin corrupted into Ban, as Ballindoch becomes Bandoch, so Plan becomes corrupted into Pan, and we find it in this form likewise

in Forfarshire, Panmure and Panbride. In the Lothians and the Merse this word has become Long, as in Longnewton and Longniddrie.

The Celtic topography of Scotland thus resembles a palimpsest, in which an older form is found behind the more modern writing. I shall not lengthen this chapter by going through other examples. The existence of the phenomenon is sufficiently indicated by those I have brought forward, and I shall conclude by stating shortly the results of this investigation.

1*st*, In order to draw a correct inference from the names of places as to the ethnological character of the people who imposed them, it is necessary to obtain the old form of the name before it became corrupted, and to analyse it according to the philological laws of the language to which it belongs.

2*d*, A comparison of the generic terms affords the best test for discriminating between the different dialects to which they belong, and for this comparison it is necessary to have a correct table of their geographical distribution.

3*d*, Difference between the generic terms in different parts of the country may arise from their belonging to a different stage of the same language, or from a capricious selection of different synonyms by separate tribes of the same race.

4*th*, In order to afford a test for discriminating between dialects, the generic terms must contain within them those sounds which are differently affected by the phonetic laws of each dialect.

5*th*, Applying this test, the generic terms do not show the existence of a Cymric language north of the Forth.

6*th*, We find in the topography of the north-east of Scotland traces of an older and of a more recent form of Gaelic—the one preferring labials and dentals, and the other gutturals; the one hardening the consonants into tenues—the other softening them by aspiration; the one having Abers and Invers—and the other having Invers alone; the one a low Gaelic dialect—the other a high Gaelic dialect; the one I conceive the language of the Picts—the other that of the Scots.*

* The substance of these three chapters has already appeared in a different shape in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, and the last in the *Transactions of the Royal Society*. They were written with a view to this work.

Generic Terms.	Ireland.	Wales.	Scotland.										
			Angli.	Britones.				Picti.					Scoti.
			Berwick, Roxburgh, Haddington.	Mid-Lothian, Linlithgow.	Selkirk, Peebles.	Dumfries.	Ayr, Renfrew, Lanark.	Stirling, Dumbarton.	Perth.	Fife, Kinross.	Forfar.	Kincardine, Aberdeen, Banff.	Elgin and Nairn, Inverness, Ross, and Sutherland.	Kirkcudbright, Wigton.	Argyll, Bute.
Aber	...	W	3	3	...	4	...	...	12	4	7	18	6	...	...
Ard	66	...	...	...	...	...	...	16	34	6	14	66	51	5	93
Arn	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	15	5	...	...	...	...	...
Ar	...	W	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	15	...
Auch	25	...	...	...	...	...	25	...	24	6	27	162	153	12	107
Auchin	...	...	...	4	...	23	88	34	30	...	...	22	8	25	...
Auchter	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	10	6	12	4	...	...
Auld	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	33	9	...	...
Bal	...	...	...	...	...	...	36	63	90	88	127	67	59	56	39
Balna	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	...	...	...
Ballie	104	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ballin	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...
Belloch	36	W	...	...	...	...	9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bellie	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	14
Ban	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	16	...	...	...	...	...
Bar	...	...	...	...	...	27	66	6	...	...	11	...	...	90	19
Barn	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	...
Blair	...	...	...	...	...	...	16	51	29	8	...	11	8	...	...
Bo	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	10	...	...
Carn	28	...	...	...	...	...	11	...	13	8	8	54	15	4	...

Car	...	W	8	6	...	12	36	12	7	18	10	18	5	15	...
Col	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	...	...	17	...	...	...
Corrie	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	...	...	...	8	...	...
Cambus	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	12	...	...	...	...	...	...
Clon	93	...	...	...	...	8	13	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	...
Craig	16	W	...	19	...	21	42	21	43	25	12	46	8	31	19
Cors	...	W	...	...	...	11	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	...
Cul	39	...	...	...	...	...	47	...	25	11	...	22	22	7	...
Cumber	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Cult	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dal	10	W	...	...	...	20	82	8	52	...	...	...	...	24	...
Drum	64	...	...	4	...	30	50	26	51	33	25	56	36	57	25
Dun	95	...	3	6	...	14	16	17	26	11	17	...	20	...	14
Fetter	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...
For	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	13	9	11	22	...	...	...
Fin	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	14	6	4	...	3	...	...
Glen	35	W	5	...	17	42	44	...	56	...	23	52	54	61	52
Gar	...	...	...	...	...	...	34	...	...	...	...	17	...	23	...
Garth	...	W	...	...	...	...	10	23	13	...	...	...	...	...	10
Inch	90	...	...	...	...	...	...	18	30	25	10	17	31	...	...
Iron	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	15	...
Inver	6	...	...	2	...	...	...	5	32	10	16	37	69	...	24
Kin	30	...	...	3	...	...	...	6	43	34	52	88	57	...	7
Knock	29	...	...	...	...	5	64	...	6	...	...	32	30	37	31
Larg	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	13	...
Lin	...	W	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	8	...	...	...	...
Lan	3	W	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	...	...	...	6
Lath	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	...	...	...	...	...
Loch	100	...	...	7	...	14	34	16	30	18	...	15	19	26	...
Locher	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Led	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	e	e	...	...	...	...	...	...

Generic Terms.	Ireland.	Wales.	Angli.		Britones.				Pictl.						Scotl.
			Berwick, Roxburgh, Haddington.	Mid-Lothian, Linlithgow.	Selkirk, Peebles.	Dumfries.	Ayr, Renfrew, Lanark.	Stirling, Dumbarton.	Perth.	Fife, Kinross.	Forfar.	Kincardine, Aberdeen, Banff.	Elgin and Nairn, Inverness, Ross, and Sutherland.	Kirkcudbright, Wigton.	Argyll, Bute.
Mon	14	...	...	...	...	7	...	...	11	13	13	31	...	...	...
Mul	15	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	...	...
Pen	...	W	9	3	...	5	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	11
Penny	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pet	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	30	5	...	11
Pit	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	75	52	38	69	30	...	...
Pitten	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	9	...	...	...	...	...
Pol	...	...	...	...	...	13	7	6	9	...	...	...	17	9	...
Port	22	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	8	...
Ra	63	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	17	6	...	...	...	...	...
Strath	...	—	...	...	...	...	...	...	19	13	...	27	35	...	13
Stron	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	17
Stuck	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	6
Tar	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	14	...	...	...
Tra	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	...
Tom	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	11	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Tor	...	...	...	11	...	11	...	...	...	9	...	21	22	10	19
Tullie	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	38	...	...	...
Tulli	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	7	25	...	11	42	7	...	...
Tulloch	17	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	10	...	...	...

CHAPTER X.

CUMBRIA AND THE MEN OF THE NORTH.

THE districts comprehended at an early period under the name of Cumbria were of considerable extent; and, as its name indicates, occupied by a Cymric population.

Joceline, who wrote about the year 1180, in his life of Kentigern, states that the limits of his bishopric were coextensive with those of the "regio Cambrensis," and extended from the Roman wall to the "flumen Fordense;" but it originally extended even further south than this, for Joceline was judging by the extent of the diocese of Glasgow, and Carlisle and the district surrounding it had, after the Norman Conquest of England, been formed into an earldom, and in 1132 erected into the diocese of Carlisle. In a document printed in the Iolo MSS., the extent of many of the old Welsh districts is given, and the district of Teyrnllwg is said to have extended from Aerven to *Argoed Derwennydd*—that is, to the Forest upon the Derwent. This river, which falls into the Western Sea at Workington, now divides the diocese of Chester from that of Carlisle; and as soon as we pass the Derwent, dedications of churches to Kentigern commence. The district south of the Derwent had very early come under the power of the kings of North-

umberland, and the independent states of the Cymry probably extended from the Derwent and from Stanmore to the Clyde, including Westmoreland (with the exception of Kendal), and the central districts in Scotland, of Teviotdale, Selkirk, and Tweeddale. It comprehended what afterwards formed the dioceses of Glasgow and Carlisle; and its Cymric population appears as a distinct people, even as late as the battle of the Standard, in 1130, where they formed one of the battalions in King David's army, consisting of the Cumbrenses and Tevidalenses.

They appear to have been composed of numerous small states under their petty kings.

There is a document in one of the Hengwrt MSS., transcribed about 1300, with the title of *Bonhed Gwyr y Gogledd*, or Genealogies of the Men of the North—a name used to designate these Northern Cymry. It gives the pedigrees of twelve families, and they fall into three groups—one consisting of six families, whose descent is traced from Ceneu, son of Coel; the second, of five families descended from Dyfnwal Hen, or the aged, grandson of Macsen Guledig, the Roman Emperor; and the third, of one family connected with the north, apparently through the female line. The first group again falls into two branches respectively derived from two sons of Ceneu, son of Coel, Gorwst Ledlwm, and Mar or Mor. To Merchion Gul, the son of Gorwst Ledlwm, are given two sons—Cynvarch, the father of Urien and Elidir Lydanwyn, father of Llywarch Hen. To Garthwys

or Arthwys, son of Mor, are given four sons—Ceidiaw, the father of Gwenddolew, Nudd, and Cov; Elivir Gosgorddvawr, or of the large retinue, the father of Gwrgi and Peredur; Pabo Post Prydain, or the pillar of Britain, the father of Sawyl Benuchel, Dunawd Vawr, and Carwyd; and Cynvelyn, the grandfather, by his son Cynwyd Cynwydion, of Clyddno Eiddyn, Cynan Genhir, Cadrod Calchvynydd, and Cynvelyn Drwsgl.

The second group, consisting of the descendants of Dyfnwal Hen, also falls into four branches, descended of four sons of Dyfnwal Hen:—Cedig, father of Tudwal Tudclud, the father of Rydderch Hael, Senyllt, father of Nudd Hael, and Servan, father of Mordav; Garwynwyn, father of Caurdav, father of Gwyddno Garanhir; Aeddan Vradog; and Gorwst Briodawr, father of Elidr Mwynvawr.

The genealogies annexed to Nennius in 977 do not greatly differ from this. In the first group of families descended from Coel they add the pedigrees of two additional families—that of Gwallawg ap Leenawg and of Morcant. In the second group, the most important variation is that the descent of Dyfnwal Hen, the common ancestor, is not brought from Macsen Guledig, but from a Caredig Guledic, whose pedigree is taken back to a Confer the Rich; and that the descent of the later kings of Strathclyde from Dyfnwal Hen is given.

Adding, therefore, the two additional families descended from Coel, we have eight in the first group, and five in the second—in all, thirteen; and the following tables will show their connection:—

TABLE OF THE THIRTEEN KINGS OF "Y GOGLEDD" IN THE NORTH.

TABLE I.

Kings of the Race of Coel Hen.

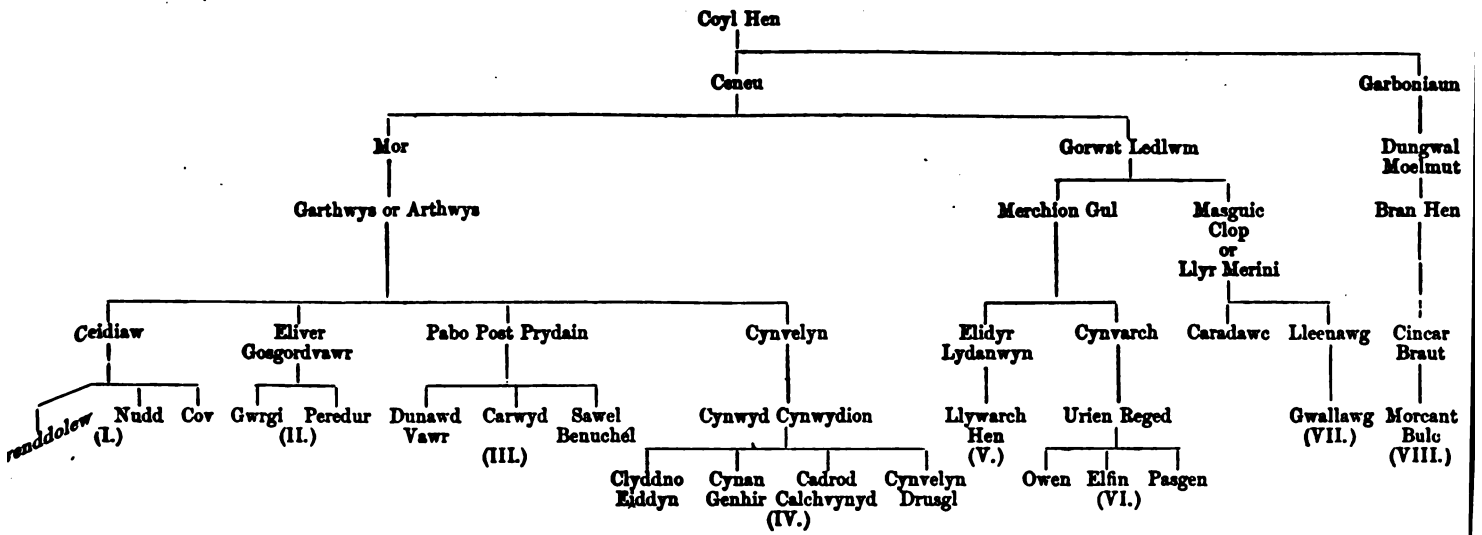
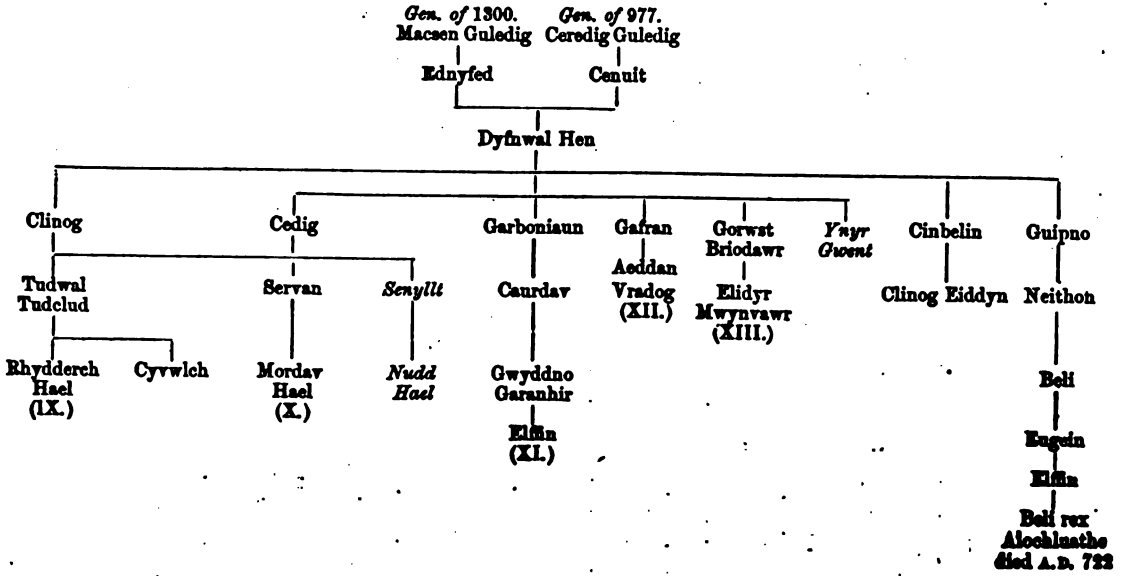


TABLE II.

Kings of the Race of Macsen Guledig.



It is, of course, not maintained that these genealogies are, strictly speaking, historical, and that each link in the pedigree represents a real person; but they are valuable as conveying a general idea of the period and tribal connection of these "Gwyr y Gogledd," or Men of the North. The thirteen families no doubt represented as many petty states in Cumbria; and in the two groups we can see the mixture of two races—the provincial Roman and the native Cymric — and the small septs into which they were respectively divided.

There are indications, derived from their names, their history, and from local tradition, which connect most of these families with localities within the limits of Cumbria. Beginning with the first group, Ayrshire—divided into the three districts of Cuningham, Kyle, and Carrick—seems to have been the main seat of the families of the race of Coel, from whom indeed the district of Coel, now Kyle, is said traditionally to have taken its name. There is every reason to believe that Boece, in filling up the reigns of his phantom kings with imaginary events, used local traditions where he could find them; and he tells us "Kyl dein proxima est vel Coil potius nominata, a Coilo Britannorum rege ibi in pugna cæso;" and a circular mound at Coilsfield, in the parish of Tarbolton, on the highest point of which are two large stones, and in which sepulchral remains have been found, is pointed out by local tradition as his tomb. He likewise connects two of his early kings with this part of the country. These are Caractacus and

Corbredus Galdus, son of his brother Corbredus. He identifies the first with the British king Caractacus, and the second with Galgacus, who fought against Agricola; but he says of them—"Horum quæ de Carataco, Corbredo ac Galdo Scotorum regibus, his voluminibus memoriæ dedimus, *nonulla ex nostris annalibus*, at longe uberiora ex Cornelio Tacito sunt deprompta." While adapting the events from Tacitus, he likewise made use of native traditions. His Caratacus is obviously the name Caradawg; and his Galdus I believe to be taken from Gwallawg ap Lleenawg. It is curious that these two warriors of the "Gwyr y Gogledd" should have the same relationship of uncle and nephew. Now he says that in Carrick, one of the three divisions of Ayrshire, and lying to the south of Kyle, "erat civitas tum maxima a qua Caractani regio videtur nomen sortita. In ea Caratacus natus, nutritus, educatus." Of Galdus or Gwallawg he says that, on his death, "Elatum est corpus . . . in vicino campi ut vivens mandaverat, est conditum ubi ornatissimum ei monumentum patrio more, immensis ex lapidibus est erectum." Symson, in his *Description of Galloway*, written in 1684, says—"In the highway between Wigton and Portpatrick, about three miles westward of Wigton, is a plaine called the Moor of the Standing Stones of Torhouse, in which there is a monument of three large whinstones, called King Galdus's tomb surrounded, at about twelve feet distance, with nineteen considerable great stones, but none of them so great as the three first mentioned, erected in a circum-

ference." And a similar monument is described in a MS. quoted by Dr. Jamieson, in his edition of Bellenden's *Boece*, as existing in Carrick:—"There is 3 werey grate heapes of stonnes, callit wulgarley the Kernes of Blackinney, being the name of the village and ground. At the suthermost of thir 3 cairnes are ther 13 great tall stonnes, standing upright in a perfyte circkle, aboute some 3 ells ane distaunt from ane other, with a gret heighe stonne in the midle, which is werily esteemid be the most learned inhabitants to be the buriall place of King Caractacus." The names of Caradawg and of Gwallawg seem, therefore, connected with the district of Carrick and that of Wigton, extending between Carrick and the Solway Firth.

Gwenddolew, the son of Ceidiaw, is clearly connected with Ardderyd, now Arthuret, where his name still remains in Carwhinelow; and between this and the southern boundary of Cumbria, at the Derwent, others of the descendants of Coel may have had their seat. We have Urien connected with the district at the northern wall, termed Murcif or Reged, in which Loch Lomond was situated. And of the family of Cynwyd Cynwydion one son, Clyddno Eiddyn, is connected by his name with Eiddyn or Caer Eiddyn, now Caredin, termed in the *Capitula* of Gildas "civitas antiquissima;" and another, Catrawd Calchvynyd, with Kelso. *Calchvynyd* is simply *Calch* Mountain, or chalk mountain; and Chalmers, in his *Caledonia* (vol. ii. p. 156), says: "It (Kelso) seems to have derived its an-

cient name of Calchow from a calcareous eminence which appears conspicuous in the middle of the town, and which is still called the Chalk Heugh."

The other group of families descended from Dyfnwal Hen are not so easily placed, as they soon acquired the supremacy over the whole region, but it is probable that they were more immediately connected with the central districts, Annandale, Clydesdale, Teviotdale, Yarrow, Selkirk, and Tweeddale. After Kentigern was recalled to Cumbria, it is stated by Joceline that he placed his episcopal seat for some time at Hoddelm or Hoddom in Annandale, where Rydderch's power may have been greatest, and his father's name of Tutgual Tut*clud* seems to connect him with the "flumen Clud," probably the upper part, as we read in the acts of St. Kentigern of a "regina de Caidzow" or Cadyow, the old name of the middle district of the vale of the Clyde, which indicates a separate small state.

Between Strathclyde and Ayrshire lay the district of Strathgryf, now the county of Renfrew, and this part of Cumbria seems to have been the seat of the family of Caw, commonly called Caw Cawlwydd or Caw Prydyn, one of whose sons was Gildas. In one of the lives of Gildas he is said to be son of Caunus who reigned in Arecluta. In the old description of Scotland we are told that Aregaithel means Margo Hibernensium. The name Arecluta is similarly composed, and signifies a district lying along the Clyde, and Strathgrife or Renfrewshire lies in its whole extent along the south bank of the Clyde. In the life of St. Cadocus a singular

legend is preserved. He is said to have visited Scotland, and while he was building a monastery there near the mountain Bannawc he found the grave of a giant, who rose and informed him that he was Caw of Prydyn, and that he had been a king who reigned beyond the mountain Bannawc, and in another legend we are told that this monastery was in regione Lintheamus (*Lives of Cambro British Saints*). Now the parish of Cambuslang, on the Clyde, is dedicated to St. Cadoc, and through the adjoining parish of Carmunnock, formerly Carmannock, runs a range of hills, now called the Cathkin hills, which separates Strathclyde from Ayrshire and terminates in Renfrewshire. This must be the mountain Bannawc, and the name is preserved in Carmannock, B passing into M in Welsh in combination, and Caw is thus represented in this legend also as reigning in Strathgryf or Renfrewshire. The name Lintheamus is probably meant for Linthcamus or Cambuslang.

There is a curious legend preserved in the Venedotian code of the old Welsh laws, which is as follows:

"Here Elidyr Muhenvaur, a man from the north was slain; and, after his death, the "Gwyr y Gogled," or Men of the North, came here to avenge him. The chiefs, their leaders, were Clyddno Eiddin; Nudd Hael, son of Senyllt; and Mordaf Hael, son of Seruari, and Rydderch Hael, son of Tudwal Tudglyd; and they came to Arvon, and because Elidyr was slain at Aber Mewydus in Arvon, they burned Arvon as a further revenge. And then Run, son of Maelgwn, and the men of Gwynedd, assembled in arms, and proceeded to the banks of the Gweryd "yn y Gogledd," or in the north, and there they were long disputing who should take the lead through the river Gweryd. Then Run despatched

a messenger to Gwynedd to ascertain who was entitled to the lead: some say that Maeldaf the elder, the Lord of Penardd, adjudged it to the men of Arvon; Joruerth, the son of Madog, on the authority of his own information, affirms that Idno the aged assigned it to the men of the black-headed shafts. And thereupon the men of Arvon advanced in the van, and were valorous there. And Taliessin sang—

"Behold! from the ardency of their blades,
With Run, the reddener of armies,
The men of Arvon with their ruddy lances."

Old Welsh Laws, p. 50.

Elidyr Mwynvawr was the head of one of the families descended from Dyfnwal Hen, and so were Rydderch Hael, Nudd Hael, and Mordav Hael, and Clyddno Eiddyn was of the race of Coel. They are called "Gwyr y Gogledd," or Men of the North, and the scene of the dispute as to who should lead was the banks of the river Forth, for the river Gweryd in the north is the Forth, it having been, according to the old description of 1165, called, "Britannice, Weryd."

The author of the *Genealogia* annexed to Nennius describes four of these kings of the north—Urien, Rydderch, Gwallawg, and Morcant—as warring against Hussa, son of Ida, the king of Bernicia, who reigned from 567 to 574; and the battle of Ardderyd, fought in 573, by which the anti-Christian party were finally crushed, resulted in the consolidation of these petty states into the kingdom of Cumbria or Strathclyde, and the establishment of Rydderch as king in the strong fortress of Alclyde or Dumbarton rock, which became from henceforth the chief seat of the kingdom. Here we find Rydderch established when he sent a

message to St. Columba, to consult him, as supposed to possess prophetic power, whether he should be slain by his enemies, as recorded by Adomnan in his *Life of St. Columba*, who calls him "Rex Rodarcus filius Totail qui Petra Cloithe regnavit." St. Columba's reply—"De eodem rege et regno et populo ejus"—was, that he would not fall into the hands of his enemies, but die in his own house: which prophecy, adds Adomnan, was fulfilled, as he died a peaceful death.

If Joceline reports a real fact, when he says that he died in the same year as St. Kentigern, his death must have taken place either in the year 603 or 614, according to which is the true date of St. Kentigern's death;* and during that time he consolidated his power, and re-established the bishopric of Glasgow.

The chronicle of 977 records, in 580, the death of Gwrgi and Peredur, the sons of Eliver Gosgorddvaur, another of these northern kings, and, in 593, the death of Dunawd, son of Pabo Post Prydain; and the *Genealogia* state that against Theodric, son of Ida, who reigned in Bernicia from 580 to 587, Urien with his sons fought valiantly, and adds, "In illo tempore aliquando hostes, nunc cives, vincebantur," showing the character of the struggle which was taking place between the Cymric population and the increasing power of the Angles.

* The Chronicle of 977 places Kentigern's death in 612; but the Aberdeen Breviary, in the Life of Baldred, places his death on Sunday, the 13th January 603. The 13th of January is St. Kentigern's day, and it fell upon a Sunday in 603 and also in 614. The first date is to be preferred.

In 603 a great effort appears to have been made by the Celtic tribes to drive back the Angles, under Aidan, king of the Scots who inhabit Britain, whom Bede describes as invading Bernicia with an immense and brave army, and being defeated and put to flight at Degsastan, now Dawston, in Liddesdale, where almost all his army were slain, and he himself escaped with a few only of his followers. This disaster must have crushed the efforts of the Celtic tribes to resist the Angles for the time, and enabled the latter to extend their territories unresisted, till in the reign of Edwin they reached the shores of the Firth of Forth.

After the death of Edwin, when Cadwallawn had established his power, Tighernac records, in 638, the battle of Glenmairison, in which the people of Donaldbrec were put to flight, "et obsessio Etain," and afterwards, in 642, that Donaldbrec was slain in the fifteenth year of his reign in the battle of Strathcauin by Ohan, king of the Britons, and in the same year a battle between Oswy and the Britons. The same transactions are repeated at a later date in Tighernac, when the first battle is said to have been in *Calithros*, and the second in Strathcarn, while the name of the British king is given as Haan; but the first are the true dates.

Donaldbrec was the king of Dalriada, and the son of that Aidan who had been defeated in 603. Glenmairison must not be confounded with the glen called Glenmoriston on Loch Ness. It was in *Calithros*, and Calithros appears to have been the same with the district called Calatria, in which Callander is situated. It

lay between the Carron and the Avon, extending on the west at least to the place called Carriden on the Avon, and bounded on the east by the Firth of Forth, including in its limits the parishes of Kineil and Careden; and within this district Glenmairison must have been situated, though it cannot now be identified. Etain was no doubt Eiddyn or Caereden, and the upper part of the valley of the Carron was called Strath Carron, in which there was a royal forest termed in old charters Strathcawin. These events then indicate a great struggle between Donaldbrec and the Britons, in which the former was defeated and finally slain in 642. If my conjecture is correct, that Aidan led a combined force of Scots and Britons, he was in fact for the time performing the functions of *Guledig* or "Dux Bellorum" in the north; and this struggle probably indicated an attempt on the part of Donaldbrec to maintain the same position. Who Ohan or Haan was, we do not know. He may have been a king of Alclyde and a successor of Rydderch, but it is more probable that he was no other than Cadwallawn himself, whom Tighernac calls Chon, and that the object of the war was whether Donald should retain his father's position, or whether Cadwallawn, who had now become powerful in the south, should extend his supremacy over the north likewise.*

* The passages quoted from Tighernac will be found in the *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, recently published in the series of Scottish Records, and an account of Calatria will be found in the introduction, p. lxxx.

The great defeat of the combined forces of the Mercians and Britons in 655 by Oswy, king of Northumbria, in which Penda, king of the Mercians, was slain, and Cadwallawn escaped with his life, terminated the power of the latter, and led to the subjection of the Cumbrian Britons to the kings of Northumbria, and two years afterwards the Annals of Ulster record the death of Gurcit or Guriad, king of Alclyde. The subjection of the Britons to the Angles lasted till the year 686, when Ecfrid, king of Northumbria, was slain in the battle of Dunnichen, and during that time no king of Alclyde is recorded. It was also during this time that Ecfrid granted to Lindisfarne, Carlisle, with territory to the extent of fifteen miles round it; but the result of the defeat and death of Ecfrid was, as Bede tells us, that a part of the Britons recovered their liberty, and that this part was the British kingdom of Cumbria or Strathclyde appears from this, that the kings of Alclyde again appear in the Annals as independent kings.

In 694 died Domnall MacAuin rex Alochluaithe, and, in 722, Beli filius Elfin rex Alochluaithe. In the Welsh pedigrees annexed to Nennius, a genealogy is given, in which this Beli, son of Elfin, appears, and his descent is there given from Dyfnwal Hen, the ancestor of Rydderch Hael, and stem-father of the second group of northern families.

Although the Britons of Strathclyde had recovered their liberty, and the Picts had regained that part of the "Provincia Pictorum" north of the Forth which the

Angles had subjected, it would appear that the Pictish population south of the Forth still remained subject to them. The Picts of Manann had come under their power as early as the reign of Edwyn, and therefore still remained within the Anglic kingdom, as appears from their subsequently rebelling against its kings; and the Picts of Galloway seem likewise to have remained under their subjection, as Bede tells us that in 731, when he closes his history, four bishops presided in the province of the Northumbrians, one of whom was Pecthelm in the church which is called Candida Casa, or Whitehorn, "which," he says, "from the increased number of believers, has lately become an additional Episcopal see, and has him for its first prelate." This implies that Whitehorn still remained in the province of the Northumbrians; and in 750, we are told, in the chronicle annexed to Bede, that Ecbert, king of Northumbria, "Campum Cyil cum aliis regionibus suo regno addidit;" that is, Kyle and Carrick, which lay between it and Galloway, and possibly Cuningham, forming modern Ayrshire.

In the same year, however, a great battle is recorded both in the Welsh and the Irish Annals between the Britons and the Picts, in which the Picts were defeated, and Talorgan, brother of Angus, the king of the Picts, slain. The place where this battle was fought is termed in the Chronicle of 977, Mocetauc, in the *Brut y Saeson*, Magdawc, and in the *Brut y Tywysogion*, Maesydawc. *Maes* is the Welsh equivalent for *Magh* in Gaelic, meaning a plain, and the place meant was no doubt

Mugdock in the parish of Strathblane, Stirlingshire, the ancient seat of the Earls of Lennox. In old charters it is spelt Magadavac. In the same year, according to the Welsh Chronicle, and two years after, according to Tighernac, died Teudwr, son of Bile, king of Alclyde, and in 756 Eadbert, king of Northumbria, and Angus, king of the Picts, appear to have united their forces, and we are told by Simeon of Durham that they led their army "ad urbem Alcwith, ibique Brittones inde conditionem receperunt, prima die mensis Augusti."

In 760 the Welsh Chronicle records the death of Dungual, son of Teudwr. From this date there is a blank in the kings of Alclyde for an entire century—the first notice we have of them again being in 872, when Arthga "rex Britonum Strathcluaide" is slain, "Consilio Constantini filii Cinadon." This Constantine was king of the Scots, and Arthga or Arthgal appears in the Welsh genealogy as descendant in the fourth degree from Dungual. Alclyde is recorded, however, in the Annals of Ulster as having been burnt in 780 and besieged 870 by the Norwegian pirates, who, after a siege of four months, took and destroyed it. According to the Welsh Chronicle, "Arx Alclut a gentilibus fracta est." Strathclyde was again ravaged by them in 875. Arthgal appears to have been succeeded by his son Run, who is called in the Pictish Chronicle "rex Britonum," and said to be the father of Eocha, who reigned along with Grig, by a daughter of Kenneth MacAlpin. This is the last name given in the Welsh genealogy, and one of the copies of the *Brut y*

Tywysogion has the following entry in 890, which, if containing a true fact, will explain this.

"The men of Strathclyde who would not unite with the Saxons were obliged to leave their country and go to Gwynned, and Anarawd (king of Wales) gave them leave to inhabit the country taken from him by the Saxons, comprising Maelor, the vale of Clwyd, Rhyvoniog, and Tegeingl, if they could drive the Saxons out, which they did bravely. And the Saxons came on that account a second time against Anarawd, and fought the action of Cymryd, in which the Cymry conquered the Saxons and drove them wholly out of the country; and so Gwynned was freed from the Saxons by the might of the 'Gwyr y Gogledd' or Men of the North."

That the British line of the kings of Strathclyde came to an end very soon is certain, for the Pictish Chronicle tells us that on the death of Donald "rex Britannorum," who must have died between 900 and 918, "Dunenaldus filiis Ede rex eligitur." He was brother to Constantine, the king of the Scots, and thus a Scottish line was established in the kingdom of Strathclyde. It must have been so much weakened by the loss of Kyle and the other regions wrested from it by the Saxons, and the attacks upon it by the Norwegian pirates, that we can well believe that a large portion of the population fled to Wales for refuge, and that the influence of the new and powerful kingdom of the Scots led to a prince of that race being placed upon the throne.

In 946 it was overrun and conquered by Edmund, king of Wessex. He bestowed it upon Malcolm, king of the Scots, and from this time it became an appanage of the Scottish crown. The Saxon historians name the region conquered by Edmund as Cumbria, but that

this kingdom of Strathclyde is meant, appears from the Chronicle of 977, now a contemporary record, which has, in 946, "Strat Clut vastata est a Saxonibus."

It is unnecessary for the purpose of this work to follow the history further. Suffice it to say that, in the reign of Malcolm Canmore, Carlisle and that part of Cumbria south of the Solway Firth belonged to the Norman conqueror, and was erected into an earldom for one of his followers; that, on the death of Edgar, that part of it which lay north of the Solway Firth was given to his brother, Prince David, and on his accession to the throne in 1124 became united to the Scottish crown; but that its population remained a distinct element in the population of Scotland for some time after, under the names of Cumbrenses, Brits, and Strathclyde Wealas.

CHAPTER XI.

RECENT CRITICISM OF MYTHOLOGICAL POEMS EXAMINED.

SUCH then being, so far as we can gather it from the scanty materials afforded to us, the real position of the Cymric population, and the leading features of their history prior to the twelfth century, as well as of their literature subsequent to that period, the question before us is this, What place does this very peculiar body of ancient poetry really occupy? Are we to regard them as ancient poems which have come down to us from an early period of Cymric literature, and possessing from their antiquity an historic value independently of their literary merit, if they have any? or are we to set them aside as so beset with suspicion, and as evincing such evidence of fabrication in a later age, as to render them valueless for all historic purposes?

That the bards to whom these poems are in the main attributed, are recorded as having lived in the sixth century, is certain. We have it on the authority of the *Genealogia* annexed to Nennius, written in the eighth century. That this record of their having lived in that age is true, we have every reason to believe, and we may hold that there were such bards as Taliessin, Aneurin, Llywarch Hen, and Myrddin, at

that early period, who were believed to have written poems. That the poems which now bear their name do not show the verbal forms, and orthography of that age, and that the form of the language of these poems has not the aspect which the language of the sixth century ought to exhibit, is equally certain. But this implies no more than that we do not possess transcripts of these poems made at that period. With the exception of two fragments, the oldest transcript we now possess is that in the Black Book of Caermarthen, a MS. of the twelfth century, and the orthography and verbal forms are those of that period, but this is not conclusive. All transcripts show the orthography and forms of their period. There may have been earlier transcripts, and if these had been preserved they would have shown earlier forms.

Before proceeding further, then, with this view of the subject, we may inquire whether these poems exhibit other marks of a later date, independently of the orthography and form of the language, so clear and decisive, as to lead us at once to the conviction that they could not belong to an earlier period than the date of the MS. in which we find the oldest text. If this question is answered in the negative, we may then inquire how far they show us clear and decisive marks of having been the work of an earlier age; and having determined their date, the literary question will become easily disposed of. If, on a fair and candid examination of these poems, it must be answered in the affirmative, *cadit quæstio.*

These poems have recently been arraigned at the bar of criticism by Mr. Stephens and Mr. Nash; and though they differ somewhat in the extent to which they answer this question in the affirmative, yet on the whole their verdict is against the antiquity of the poems, and the grounds upon which they arrive at this conclusion partake to a great extent of one common character. It will, therefore, be convenient to deal with these works together as really forming one body of criticism, and to examine first the case for the prosecution, as it were, and the real bearing of that criticism upon the question.

Both of these writers group the poems into two classes, which they call Mythological and Historical, and the objections which they urge against them may be comprised under the three following propositions:—

I. The so-called mythological poems do not contain, as is supposed, a system of mystical and semi-pagan philosophy, handed down from the Druids, and preserved in these poems by their successors, the Bards of the sixth century, as an esoteric creed; but they are the work of a later age, and are nothing but the wild and extravagant emanations of the fancy of bards of the twelfth and subsequent centuries, and contain such allusions to the prose tales and romances of the middle ages as to show that they must have been written after these tales were composed.

II. The so-called historical poems not only contain direct allusions to later events, but it can be shown

that other allusions, which have been supposed to apply to events of the sixth century, were really intended to refer to later events.

III. The orthography and poetic structure of these poems show that they could not have been written earlier than the date of the MSS. in which they first appear.

Mr. Stephens embraces in his criticism the whole of these poems; Mr. Nash deals with those of Taliessin alone; and it may be as well to consider the bearing of this criticism on the poems attributed to Taliessin first.

Mr. Stephens, in his work on the Literature of the Kymry, does not go minutely into them, but deals with a few specimens only, and states the result of his examination of seventy-seven poems, attributed to Taliessin, in the following classification :—

HISTORICAL, AND AS OLD AS THE SIXTH CENTURY.

Gwaith Gwenystrad.	The Battle of Gwenystrad.
Gwaith Argoed Llwyfain.	The Battle of Argoed Llwyfain.
Gwaith Dyffryn Gwarant.	The Battle of Dyffryn Gwarant.
I Urien.	To Urien.
I Urien.	To Urien.
Canu i Urien.	A Song to Urien.
Yspail Taliessin.	The Sports of Taliessin.
Canu i Urien Rheged.	A Song to Urien Rheged.
Dadolwch Urien Rheged.	Reconciliation to Urien.
I Wallawg.	To Gwallawg (the Galgacus of Tacitus).
Dadolwch i Urien.	Reconciliation to Urien.
Marwnad Owain ap Urien.	The Elegy of Owain ap Urien.

DOUBTFUL.

Cerdd i Wallawg ap Lleenawg.	A Song to Gwallawg ap Lleenawg.
Marwnad Cunedda.	The Elegy of Cunedda.
Gwarchan Tutvwlch.	The Incantation of Tutvwlch.
Gwarchan Adebon.	The Incantation of Adebon.
Gwarchan Cynfelyn.	The Incantation of Cynvelyn.
Gwarchan Maelderw.	The Incantation of Maelderw.
Kerdd Daronwy.	The Song to Daronwy.
Trawsganu Cynan Garwyn.	The Satire on Cynan Garwyn.

ROMANCES BELONGING TO THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES.

Canu Cyntaf Taliesin.	*Taliesin's first Song.*
Dehuddiant Elphin.	*The Consolation of Elphin.*
Hanes Taliesin.	*The History of Taliesin.*
Canu y Medd.	The Mead Song.
Canu y Gwynt.	The Song to the Wind.
Canu y Byd Mawr.	The Song of the Great World.
Canu y Byd Bach.	The Song of the Little World.
Bustl y Beirdd.	*The Gall of the Bards.*
Buarth Beirdd.	The Circle of the Bards.
Cad Goddeu.	The Battle of the Trees.
Cadeir Taliesin.	The Chair of Taliesin.
Cader Teyrnon.	The Chair of the Sovereign On.
Canu y Cwrwv.	The Song of the Ale.
Canu y Meirch.	The Song of the War-horses.
Addvwyneu Taliesin.	The Beautiful Things of Taliesin.
Angar Kyvyndawd.	The Provincial Confederacy.
Priv Cyfarch.	The Primary Gratulation.
Dehuddiant Elphin.	*Elphin's Consolation.*
Arymes Dydd Brawd.	The Day of Judgment.
Awdl Vraith.	*The Ode of Varieties.*
Glaswawd Taliesin.	The Encomiums of Taliesin.
Divregawd Taliesin.	*Past and Future Ages.*
Mab gyfreu Taliesin.	Taliesin's Juvenile Accomplishments.
Awdl Etto Taliesin.	*Another Ode by Taliesin.*
Kyfes Taliessin.	*The Confession of Taliessin.*

THESE SEEM TO FORM PORTIONS OF THE MABINOGI OF TALIESIN, WHICH WAS COMPOSED BY THOMAS AB EINION OFFEIRIAD.

Cadair Keridwen.	The Chair of Keridwen.
Marwnad Uthyr Pendragon.	The Elegy of Uthyr Pendragon.
Preiddeu Annwn.	The Victims of Annwn (Hell).
Marwnad Ercwlf.	The Elegy of Hercules.
Marwnad Mad. Ddrud ac Erov y greulawn.	The Elegy of Madoc the Bold and Erov the Fierce.
Marwnad Aeddon o Von.	The Elegy of Aeddon of Mon.
Anrhyveddodau Alexander.	The not wounding of Alexander.
Y Gofeisws Byd.	A Sketch of the World.
Lluryg Alexander.	The Lorica of Alexander.

PREDICTIVE POEMS—TWELFTH AND SUCCEEDING CENTURIES.

Ymarwar Llud Mawr.	The Appeasing of the Great Llud.
Ymarwar Llud Bychan.	The Appeasing of Llud the Little.
Gwawd Llud Mawr	The Praise of Llud the Great.
Kerd am Veib Llyr.	Song to the Sons of Llyr.
Marwnad Corroi ab Dairy.	Elegy on Corroy, Son of Dayry.
Mic or Myg Dinbych.	The Prospect of Tenby.
Arymes Brydain.	The Destiny of Britain.
Arymes.	The Oracle.
Ayrmes.	The Oracle.
Kywrysedd Gwynedd a Debeubarth.	The Contention of North and South Wales.
Awdl.	A Moral Ode.
Marwnad y Milveib.	Elegy on a Thousand Saints.
Y Maen Gwyrth.	The Miraculous Stone.
Can y Gwynt.	The Song of the Wind.—Subject, Owen Gwynedd.
Anrhec Urien.	The Gift of Urien.

THEOLOGICAL—SAME DATE.

Plaeu yr Aipht.	The Plagues of Egypt.
Llath Moesen.	The Rod of Moses.
Llath Moesen.	The Rod of Moses.
Gwawd Gwyr Israel.	Eulogy of the Men of Israel.

NOTE.—The poems printed in italics are not in the Book of Taliessin.

Since the publication of that work, several papers have appeared in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, in which he has given his more matured views of the poems, modifying somewhat this classification.

Mr. Nash deals with them in the two classes only, and on the whole considers the entire body of poetry connected with the name of Taliessin to belong to the twelfth and subsequent centuries.

It is with the poems attributed to Taliessin that the objections under the first proposition mainly deal. The great body of those included under the head of mythological poems bear his name, or are said to be composed by him, and to these the school of Owen Pughe and Edward Williams, of Davies and Herbert, has given a mystic sense, and has supposed that a species of Druidic superstition was handed down in them. Now, I go a certain length with them in this objection. I agree with them in thinking that these poems do not contain any such esoteric system of semi-pagan philosophy, and so far as their criticism goes to demolish the fancies of this school, I think it is well founded. But there I stop. It does not follow that because the poems are not what Davies and Herbert represent them to be, they are therefore not genuine. It does not follow that because a mistaken meaning has been applied to them, therefore they can have no rational meaning whatever. Like all poems of this description, they are full of obscure allusions and half-expressed sentiments, and where the real drift of the poem is not understood, it will of course have the aspect of meaningless verbiage, just

as the ritual of a church, to one who does not know what it is intended to convey or to symbolise, appears mere mummery; but as soon as a clue is obtained to the real meaning of the poet, the allusions in the poem, however obscure they appear, become intelligible and consistent; and before the critic can justly urge this objection, he must be very sure that he has grasped the real meaning of the poet, as well as comprehended the true bearing and place in literature of the poems he is dealing with. That these poems are really intended to convey a definite meaning I do not doubt. They will be found to harmonise with the history and intellectual character of the place and period to which they belong, and the first work of the critic is to ascertain, on definite grounds, what that place and period really is.

The other ground given for doubting these poems is more tangible—viz. that they contain such allusions to the prose tales and romances of the middle ages as to show that they must have been written after these tales were composed, and here Mr. Nash makes a special case against the poems attributed to Taliessin. He states that a prose tale, containing the personal history of Taliessin and his transmigrations, was composed in the thirteenth century, and that a copy of this tale contained in the Red Book of Hergest has been published, with an English translation, by Lady Charlotte Guest, in her collection of Mabinogion. This prose tale is interspersed with poems said to have been sung by Taliessin, and Mr. Nash maintains that

it is in the main the basis from which the greater part of the so-called poems of Taliessin has sprung, and that a large number, besides those contained in the Mabinogi of Taliessin, derive their inspiration from it.

It seems rather strange that so severe a critic as Mr. Nash, who will accept none of the poems which are the subject of his criticism as ancient or genuine, except upon the clearest evidence, should yet assume at once the genuineness and antiquity of the Mabinogi of Taliessin. It is beyond question, that the only text of it before him is written in much more modern Welsh than any of the poems it is supposed to have given birth to, and yet he makes no difficulty. It is further strange that in founding upon this prose tale as the very basis of his argument throughout, and his most formidable weapon, he should not have taken means to ascertain whether it really is in the Red Book of Hergest. No copy of this tale is to be found in the Red Book of Hergest at all, and as that valuable MS. contains all the other prose tales of that period, this of itself is an argument against its authenticity.

But, moreover, no copy of it is to be found in any known MS. prior to the eighteenth century. Dr. Owen Pughe, who published it in 1833, says explicitly that there was but one version of the prose narrative, and that version was furnished by Iolo Morganwg. Every notice regarding it upon which Mr. Nash founds emanates from him, and is not to be found elsewhere. Even if we accept the account given by Dr. Owen

Pughe, his explicit statement is, that it was composed by Hopkin Thomas Philip, and it cannot be taken farther back than 1590 or 1600, long after every poem we are dealing with had been transcribed; but its history is so questionable as to lead to the suspicion that it had no earlier origin than the school which produced it, and it is quite as necessary for Mr. Nash, before he can legitimately found upon it, to bridge over the interval between Einion Offeiriad in the thirteenth century, if he lived then, or if he ever lived at all, and Dr. Owen Pughe in the nineteenth, as it is for the advocates of the authenticity of the poems to bridge over the interval between the sixth century and the Black Book of Caermarthen.

So much for the prose narrative. With regard to the poems imbedded in it, whether naturally or artificially, the text published by Dr. Pughe in 1833 contains eleven poems; that published by Lady Charlotte Guest in 1849, fourteen, but in the notes we are informed that four of these poems were added to her edition from the Myvyrian Archæology, and were not in the MSS. from which she printed. Now, of these eleven poems contained in the MSS. of the prose tale printed by Dr. Owen Pughe and Lady Charlotte Guest, not one is to be found in the Book of Taliessin; and of the four poems which she added from the Myvyrian Archæology, only two are in that Book.

At the time, therefore, when the Book of Taliessin was transcribed, the poems inserted in the prose tale had either not been written, or were known to be

spurious, and not to belong to the body of poems at that time attributed to Taliessin. Moreover, several of these poems are said to have been in reality the work of *Jonas Athraw o Fynyw*, or Jonas, the Doctor or Divine of St. Davids, of whom, however, and the true period in which he lived, we know really nothing, but one of these poems appears among the poems transcribed in the end of the Red Book of Hergest in the fifteenth century. The poems attributed to Jonas Athraw of St. David's are—

1. Hanes Taliessin, beginning "Prifardd Cyffredin."
2. Fustl y Veirdd, beginning "Cler o gam."
3. Dyhuddiant Elfin, beginning "Gognawd Gyrra."
4. Divregwawd Taliessin, beginning "Goruchel Dduw." This is the poem contained in the Red Book of Hergest.
5. Yr awdl Fraith, beginning with the line "Ef a wnaith Panton."

It is the last of these poems from which the well-known sentiment has been so often quoted, as a saying of Taliessin—

Eu ner a volant
Eu hiaith a gadwant
Eu tir a gollant
Ond gwyllt Walia.

Their God they shall adore,
Their language they shall keep,
Their country they shall lose,
Except Wild Wales.

Indeed, it is generally considered that the history

of Wales cannot be referred to with any propriety without quoting these lines.

None of these poems, however, appear in the Book of Taliessin; and a verse in this poem might have shown that it made no claim to being the genuine work of the bard whose name it bears:—

> Joannes the Divine
> Called me Merddin;
> At length every king
> Will call me Taliessin.

And called Taliessin it has been ever since, and it has been subjected by Mr. Nash, along with the other spurious poems, to one common criticism with those which are to be found in the Book of Taliessin, and the estimate formed of the spurious poems maintained equally to invalidate those professing to be genuine. These poems are all included in Mr. Stephens's third class; and the criticism, so far as based upon them, may now be set aside as having little or no bearing upon the real question.

Having thus disposed of the so-called Mabinogi, or romance of Taliessin, which plays so great and illegitimate a part in modern criticism, we must now advert to the allusions said to be made to the other prose tales really contained in the Red Book of Hergest, and usually called the Mabinogion, and which it is maintained show that the poems containing such allusions must have been written after these prose tales were composed. It is admitted that these allusions are made to the Mabinogion of the oldest class only, and they certainly possess a

considerable antiquity. Here, the first feature in this proposition which startles us is, that if well founded, it inverts the usual sequence in the early literature of most countries, and supposes that prose tales were first composed, and poems afterwards written from them. We usually find the reverse of this. The literature of most countries commences with lays in which the traditions and knowledge of the people in the infancy of their society are handed down to succeeding generations; and then, as cultivation advances, and the intellect of the nation developes, it passes over into chronicles and prose romances. In Wales we must suppose the progress to be different. If the poems we are dealing with belong to a later age, none others have come down to us, and we must suppose that the fancies and dim imaginings of the people in their earlier stages first developed themselves in prose romances. The fallacy which leads to this is the assumption that these tales are so far fictions, invented romances, in which, though the names may be real, the incidents are fictitious, and thus that any allusion to them, however slight, or even any mention of the mere names of the heroes of them, infallibly demonstrates a later composition of the poem which contains them. It is in this spirit that Mr. Stephens deals with them, and he sends ruthlessly every poem to a later age in which the mere name of Arthur occurs, as having been composed after the Arthurian romance was introduced from Britanny.

But these tales are, equally with the poems, founded

to some extent upon older legends and traditions, and the germ of their narrative had a prior existence in the earlier oral tales of the people. It is true that there is a marked difference in character between the older legend and the romantic tale founded upon it. The former is part of a more primitive literature, running parallel to and in harmony with the history and progress of the people. Tales and incidents connected with their history were the subject of lays and poetic narratives, and the early philosophy of the people, the common-sense of the nation in the primitive meaning of the term, became crystallised into proverbs. Symbolical and figurative language was largely used. Revolutions and invasions were compared to convulsions of nature and the ravages of monsters; tyrants were denounced by obscure epithets, sentiments were conveyed in proverbs, and fragments of real history were encrusted in them, like the masses of primitive rock protruding through a later formation, or the boulders deposited upon its surface; while the oral transmission of this early poetic literature was secured by a complicated system of metre and an intricate rhyme which enabled the writer more readily to employ the right expressions. With a fixed and unalterable number of syllables in the line, a rhyme recurring in the middle of one line and the end of another, with one stanza commencing with the last word of the preceding stanza, or with certain words commencing with the same letter, it was difficult for the reciter to misplace a letter or sentence; the right word must be found, and the general sen-

timents expressed were retained in his mind by their taking the shape of proverbs.

This is what we should expect early poetry of this description to be, and this, to a great extent, characterises the poems with which we are dealing; but when the period arrives when prose tales or romances are preferred, the recollection of the real incidents alluded to, the real events symbolised, has passed away; the taste of the age soon requires social tales rather than historical romances, the incidents become trivial, the heroes dwindle down to ordinary mortals, the ancient warriors, to private lords of a district, the symbolic representations become real convulsions of nature and actual wild beasts, and what originally sprang from some great internal change or some external invasion, now becomes the hunt of a wild animal or a quest after some treasure. The names of the heroes of these legends are retained in the prose tales, but the events in which they figure are changed, and assume a totally different character and aspect.

This to a great extent characterises the Mabinogion, and if we find evidence in them of the characteristics of this stage in the literature, why are we to presume that the earlier stages had no existence? In point of fact, we do find traces of the earlier existence of the germs of these tales. Thus, in the tale of Llud and Llefelys, at the end of the narrative as printed by Lady Charlotte Guest, is this notice—"And this tale is called the *Story* of Llud and Llevelys, and thus it ends." The expression in the original Welsh, however, is "Ar

chwedyl hwnn aclwir *Kyfranc* Llud a Llevelys." The word "Kyfranc" does not mean a story, but a quarrel or contention, and the reason of this great alteration is, that there is not a trace throughout the whole tale of any quarrel or contention between the two brothers Llud and Llevelys; on the contrary, they are represented as a perfect model of two affectionate brothers, living in perfect harmony with and mutually aiding one another. The tale, as it stands, is as old as the first edition of the Bruts where the substance of it occurs, and there must apparently have been an earlier legend, the facts of which had been forgotten while the name was recollected and applied to the later tale. Now, one of the poems attributed to Taliessin (B. T. 54, Ymarwar Lludd Bychan) is condemned because it is supposed to contain an allusion to this tale. The whole of the allusion is simply this: "Before the reconciliation of Llud and Llefelys." But there cannot be a reconciliation without a previous contention, and it is obvious that the reference here is to the earlier legend. There is, however, one striking difference between the poem and the tale. In the prose tale one of the chief incidents is the invasion of a mysterious people called Corraniad, who use enchantments and possess magic powers; but when we refer to the poem, it is the real invasion of the Romans which forms the chief incident.

Another of the Mabinogion supposed to be referred to is that of Kilhwch and Olwen. The chief incident in this curious tale is the hunt of the Twrch Trwyt, or the Boar Trwyt. The poem called the Gorchan Cyn-

velyn is supposed to refer to it, but, like the other poem, the allusion is comprised in a few lines:—

> Stalks like the collar of Twrch Trwyth,
> Monstrously savage, bursting and thrusting through,
> When he was attacked on the river,
> Before his precious things.

The allusion to the legend is plain enough, but the mere fact of Arthur and his warriors being represented in the prose tale as finding the boar with seven young pigs in Ireland, and hunting him to Dyfed and through the whole of Wales, and then by the Severn into Cornwall, whence he was driven into the sea again, shows that this is a tale in which what were originally figurative and symbolical representations of real events have been converted into realities. Even in its present shape the legend is old, for in the *Memorabilia* of Nennius he mentions a stone bearing the mark of a dog upon it, and explains, "Quando venatus est *porcum Troit* impressit Cabal, qui erat canis Arthuri militis, vestigium in lapide."

A poem in the Black Book of Caermarthen (No. 31) is also supposed to refer to it. This poem certainly mentions many of the characters in it, but not one syllable of the plot of the prose tale; neither Kilhwch and Olwen, the hero and heroine, nor the hunt of the boar, the chief incident, are once alluded to. The real allusions are to two of Arthur's battles, and the scenery is in the north—*Try-weryd*, *Mynyd Eiddyn* or Edinburgh, and *Manauid* or Manau Guotodin.

The other tales supposed to be alluded to, are the

four which form what is strictly speaking the Mabinogi, and are all connected with one another. They are the following :—

The Tale of Pwyll, Prince of Dyfed ;
The Tale of Branwen, daughter of Llyr ;
The Tale of Manawyddan, the son of Llyr ;
The Tale of Math, son of Mathonwy.

The supposed allusions run through a considerable number of the poems attributed to Taliessin, and form an important group of these poems. Now there is this peculiarity in these four tales forming the Mabinogi proper, that they do not mainly refer to Wales as the country of the Cymry, but to the period when Mona and Arvon were possessed by a Gwyddel population, and it is the legendary kings of the Gwyddel who are the main actors in the tales. These are probably the oldest of the tales, but the previous remarks as to the form in which such legends appear in the prose tales are here equally applicable. The characters which appear in these tales are, in the first, Pwyll, prince of Dyfed, and Arawn, king of Annwfn or Hell ; in the second, Bran and Manawyddan, the sons, and Branwen, the daughter, of Llyr, and Matholwch, king of Ireland ; in the third, Manawyddan, son of Llyr, and Pryderi, son of Pwyll ; and in the fourth, Math, son of Mathonwy, king of Arvon and Mona, Gwydyon ap Don, and Arianrod his sister, Llew Law Gyffes and Dylan eil Ton, her sons, the first of whom became king of Gwynedd, and Pryderi, son of Pwyll, king of

Dyfed. Pwyll is only mentioned in one poem (B. T. 30, called Preiddeu Annwfn), and it has no reference to the Mabinogi. Arawn is one of the three brothers, Llew, Arawn, and Urien, whom I have already noticed in the historical sketch, and whom we found obtaining lands conquered from the Saxons by Arthur. Arawn is said to have obtained the most northern portion, and from the expressions used he must have been seated almost beyond the limits of the Cymric population. This northern region must always have been viewed by the more southern population as a dreary and barren wilderness, and invested with superstitious attributes. Even as early as the time of Procopius, who flourished in the sixth century, he thus describes it:—

"In this isle of Britain men of ancient time built a long wall, cutting off a great portion of it, for the soil and the men, and all other things, are not alike on both sides; for on the eastern (southern) side of the wall there is a wholesomeness of air, in conformity with the seasons, moderately warm in summer and cool in winter. Many men inhabit here, living much as other men. The trees, with their appropriate fruits, flourish in season, and their corn-lands are as productive as others, and the district appears sufficiently fertilised by streams. But on the western (northern) side all is different, insomuch indeed that it would be impossible for man to live there even half-an-hour. Vipers and serpents innumerable, with all other kinds of wild beasts, infest that place, and what is most strange, *the natives affirm that if any one passing the wall should proceed to the other side, he would die immediately*, unable to endure the unwholesomeness of the atmosphere. Death also, attacking such beasts as go thither, forthwith destroys them. But as I have arrived at this point of my history, it is incumbent on me to record *a tradition* very nearly allied to fable, which has never appeared to me true in all respects, though constantly spread abroad by men without number, who

assert that themselves have been agents in the transactions, and also hearers of the words. I must not, however, pass it by altogether unnoticed, lest when thus writing concerning the island Brittia I should bring upon myself an imputation of ignorance of certain circumstances perpetually happening there. *They say*, then, *that the souls of men departed are always conducted to this place.*"

And when the Cymric population looked northwards to these mountain-barriers, shrouded often with mist, from whose bosom poured the wintry blasts, and from whose recesses issued those fearful bands of Pictish savages, we may well suppose that they regarded it with awe and terror, and could give *Uffern* itself no more terrible an epithet than to call it "A cold hell." Whether Arawn's territory really bore the name of Annwfn, as its opposite Dwfn certainly did enter into that of the Damnonii, who are placed in that part of Scotland by Ptolemy, we can only conjecture.

The oldest legends connect Manawyddan ap Llyr with Manau or Manauid. He is only mentioned in two poems. In one (B. B. 31) he is mentioned in connection with Arthur's battles in the north:—

> Manawyddan, the son of Llyr,
> Deep was his counsel.
> Did not Manauid bring
> Perforated shields from Trywruid?

In the other (B. T. 14 Kerdd am veib Llyr) the references are as follow:—

> A battle against the sons of Llyr at Eber Henvelen.
> I have been with Bran in Ywerddon,
> I saw when was killed Mordwydtyllon,
> Is it known to Manawyd and Pryderi?

Of Gwydyon ap Don and Llew, the former is associated with all the legends connected with the settlements of the Gwyddyl, and the latter is one of the three brothers in the north. He was placed over Lothian, including part of the county occupied by Pictish tribes, and is the Lothus, king of the Picts, of Scottish tradition. Now throughout these poems we find allusion to a confederacy or union between Brython and Gwyddel, in connection with the names of Llew and Gwydyon.

In one poem (B. T. 14) we have:—

I have been in the battle of Godeu with Llew and Gwydion,
I heard the conference of the Cerddorion (British Bards),
And the Gwyddyl, devils, distillers.

In another (B. T. 1, and R. B. 23):—

Truly Llew and Gwydyon
Have been skilful ones.
Thou wilt remember thy old Brython,
And the Gwyddyl, furnace distillers.

Again, in the Cad Goddeu—

Minstrels were singing,
Warriors were hastening,
The exaltation to the Brython,
Which Gwydion made.

This was the alliance between the Brython represented by Llew, and the Gwyddel by Gwydyon, which resulted in the insurrection of Medraut, son of Llew, against Arthur with his combined army of Picts, Britons, and Saxons, and which arose from a section of the Britons in the north being drawn over to apostasy by the pagan Saxons and semi-pagan Picts.

These poems then contain, under figurative and symbolic language, allusions to real facts; but when we come to the Mabinogi all is changed. The heroes mentioned may be the same. The events are of a totally different character. Bran goes to Ireland to resent a slap given by Matholwch to Branwen. There is no battle against the sons of Llyr at Eber Henvelen, but they gaze at it from a window after waking from an enchanted sleep. There is no slaughter of Mordwydtyllon. Math, son of Mathonwy, is there the leading figure, and Gwydion is a mere adventurer, stealing pigs and forcing Arianrod to acknowledge her son Llew by enchantments, while Arawn is placed under the earth as king of Annwfn, which represents the actual region of departed spirits.*

Mr. Nash, in his criticism on the Cad Godeu, quotes from the Myvyrian Archæology a fragment which he thus translates—

"ENGLYNION, OR VERSES ON THE CAD GODDEU.

"These are the Englyns that were sung at the Cad Goddeu, or, as others call it, the Battle of Achren, which was on account of a white roebuck and a whelp; and they came from Annwn, and Amathaon ap Don brought them. And therefore Amathaon ap Don, and Arawn, king of Annwn, fought. And there was a man in that battle, unless his name were known he could not be overcome; and there was on the other side a woman called Achren, and unless her name were known her party could not be overcome. And Gwydion ap Don guessed the name of the man, and sang the two Englyns following:—

* I do not here notice the poem (B. T. 16, Kadeir Kerrituen), as I consider it of later date, and to belong to a different period and class of poems.

"Sure-hoofed is my steed before the spur,
The high sprigs of alder were on thy shield,
Bran art thou called of the glittering branches."

"And thus—

"Sure-hoofed is thy steed in the day of battle,
The high sprigs of alder are in thy hand,
Bran, with the coat of mail and branches with thee,
Amathaon the good has prevailed."*

and maintains that this is a fragment of a story or romance called Cad Godeu, and that this real Cad Godeu must not be confounded with the Cad Godeu ascribed to Taliessin, which he adds is one of the very latest of these productions, and very inferior in style and spirit to the compositions worked up by Thomas ab Einion.

I am exactly of the opposite opinion. Mr. Nash, as usual, assumes the genuineness of the prose document; but there is no indication of where it came from. It exists in no known MS., and I doubt not came from the same workshop as the so-called compositions of Thomas ab Einion; but assuming it to be a fragment of a prose tale, it truly bears out the remarks I have made. The poem called "Cad Godeu" contains no description of a battle; but Godeu is repeatedly mentioned in other poems, and always in close connection with Reged, which takes us to the "Gogledd," as do also the names of Llew and Arawn. It describes in highly figurative language a hateful appearance in Britain, passing before the Guledig, "like horses in the middle—like fleets full of wealth—like a

* The translation is Mr. Nash's.

monster with great jaws and a hundred heads—like a toad with black thighs and a hundred claws—like a speckled snake." The word *breith*, or "speckled," betrays its character. It was the exaltation Gwydion gave to the Brython—the alliance with the speckled race of the Picts—which filled the bard with these gloomy pictures, and this idea runs through the whole poem.

When we come to the prose tale, if it be one, it is a battle between Amathaon and Arawn, king of Annwfn, for a whelp and a white roebuck, and which was settled by the device of Gwydion guessing the name of a man.

CHAPTER XII.

RECENT CRITICISM OF HISTORICAL POEMS EXAMINED.

THE objections under the second proposition apply mainly to the poems classed by Mr. Stephens and Mr. Nash as historical. Mr. Stephens maintains that there are not only in some of these poems direct allusions to persons and events of a later date than the period when the poems must have been composed, if they are genuine, but also that, in most of the poems, it can be shown that allusions which have been supposed to refer to early events were really intended to apply to those of a later date, and that later persons are indicated under the names of earlier heroes.

Now, here also I go along with the objection, so far as direct allusions are made to later persons and events, but there I stop.

When I find in the Black Book a poem on the death of Howel ap Goronwy, in which he is named, I can have no difficulty in believing it to apply to Howel ap Goronwy, who died in 1103, and that it must have been written after that date. The poems in the Black Book bearing to be the composition of Cynddelw are of course not within the scope of our inquiry. The poem in the Red Book attributed to Myrddin, which mentions *Coch o Normandi*, I can

have no doubt refers to William Rufus, as I find him called *Y Brenhyn Coch* in the *Brut y Tywysogion*. The poems referring to Mab Henri, or the son of Henri, I can have equally little doubt proceeded from Glamorgan, and refer to Robert, Earl of Gloucester, the son of King Henry I.; and the Hoianau, which mentions the five chiefs from Normandy, and the fifth going to Ireland, must have been composed, either in whole or in part, in the reign of Henry II.

The attempt which Mr. Stephens makes, however, and in which he is followed by Mr. Nash, to show that the greater proportion of these poems contain indirect allusions to later events, is, in my opinion, unsuccessful, and will not bear examination. It is this criticism which mainly affects a large number of the poems attributed to Taliessin, and it appears to me to be superficial and inconclusive in its reasoning, and based upon fancied resemblances, which have no true foundation in fact. Mr. Stephens, in a series of articles on the poems of Taliessin, which appeared in the *Archæologia Cambriensis* subsequent to the publication of the *Literature of the Cymry*, has, to some extent, modified the views expressed in the latter work. Of the poems which he there classed as doubtful he now removes three, and, of those in the fifth class, two, to the first class of genuine poems; but the mere fact that he does so on a more careful examination will show how superficial the grounds must have been on which he made that classification.

The mode in which he has dealt with two of the poems will afford a good illustration of the character of this criticism. Among the poems in the Book of Taliessin is one called *Marwnad Corroi m. Dayry*, or the death-song of Corroi, son of Dayry (B. T. 42). In his *Literature of the Kymry* Mr. Stephens places this poem in his fifth class of "Predictive poems, twelfth and succeeding centuries," but in a paper in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* (vol. ii. p. 151) he gives his more matured views, and reverses this verdict. He now considers it to have been written about 640. The grounds upon which he comes to this conclusion are these. The poem alludes to a contention between Corroi and Cocholyn (*Kyfranc Corroi a Chocholyn*). Here is his own account of his process:—"The name of Corroi's opponent piqued my curiosity. I forthwith went in search of his history in the Anglo-Saxon Annals, and, much to my delight, the personage whom I sought appeared in good company, being Cuichelm, one of the West Saxon kings." He then gives extracts from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle of the events connected with Cuichelm from A.D. 611 to 626, when he died. He confesses he can make nothing of Corroi, but he immediately identifies Cocholyn with Cuichelm, and forthwith removes the date of the composition of the poem from the twelfth to the seventh century. This is a good specimen of the mode in which this kind of criticism is made to tell upon the dates of the poems. If there is any poem in which we can predicate with certainty of the subject of it, it is this; and if Mr.

Stephens, instead of betaking himself to the Saxon Chronicle, had gone to Ireland for his hero, he would have been more successful. Cocholyn is no other than the celebrated Ossianic hero Cuchullin, and Corroi, son of Dayry, was the head of the knights of Munster. They are mentioned together in an old Irish tract, which says, "This was the cause which brought Cuchulain and Curoi son of Daire from Alban to Erin."* The allusions in the poem are to the events of a legendary tale in which these heroes figure, and there are none to any other events. The poem belongs to a period when there was more intercommunion between the different branches of the British Celts, and when they had a common property in their early myths.

The other poem is one in the Red Book of Hergest commonly called Anrhec Urien (R. B. 17). It is likewise placed by Mr. Stephens in the same class of Predictive poems of the twelfth century, and in an article in the same volume of the *Archæologia Cambrensis* (p. 206), Mr. Stephens adheres to this opinion as to its date, and maintains that it refers to events of the eleventh century. These events are supposed to be contained in a series of extracts from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and the *Brut y Tywysogion*, ranging from 1055 to 1063, but the reader will seek in vain for anything but the most vague and general resemblance, which might be equally well traced between the allusions in the poem and any other series of events. Mr. Nash makes much

* *Chron. Picts and Scots*, p. 319.

shorter work of it. His argument is this:—The poem mentions a battle of Corsfochno. The Hoianau also refers to a battle of Corsfochno. The Hoianau was written in the twelfth century, therefore this poem also was written in the twelfth century! Admitting that the Hoianau was written in the twelfth century, does it follow that a poem of that date may not refer to an event of an earlier period? The Hoianau mentions likewise Rhydderch Hael and the battle of Argoed Llwyfain, and both belong to an early period. There can be no doubt as to Rhydderch Hael being a real person in the sixth century, and as little that the battle of Argoed Llwyfain was a real event of the same century. Both Mr. Stephens and Mr. Nash admit it. Mr. Stephens, in his *Literature of the Kymry*, says, with his usual candour: "Corsfochno is in Cardiganshire, but I can find no other notice of this battle than another prediction;" but in his article on this poem he endeavours to find a notice of it in some lines of Gwalchmai, who flourished in the twelfth century, and Mr. Nash adopts the conclusion at once. Corsfochno, however, was a real place, and these lines only refer to events in South Wales having been *tra Corsfochno*, beyond Corsfochno.

Let us now see whether another construction may not be put upon this poem, which is, to say the least of it, equally well borne out. The poem opens with a greeting of Urien Reged. It then mentions three of the sons of Llywarch Hen—Jeuaf, Ceneu, and Selev. It then alludes to a competition between "four men

maintaining their place with four hundred, with the deepest water." One of these is mentioned as

A Dragon from Gwynedd of precipitous lands and gentle towns.

Surely this was enough to have indicated at once Maelgwn Gwynedd, whom Gildas calls "the insular dragon," as the person probably alluded to. Then another is thus alluded to as

A Bear from the South, he will arise,

and Cyneglas is called by Gildas a "Bear and the Charioteer of a Bear." If two of the four men thus indicate two of Gildas's kings, we may well presume that the four men meant are his four kings of Wales. It is said of the Dragon of Gwynedd—

Killing and *drowning* from Eleri (a river in Corsfochno)
to Chwilfynydd,
A conquering and unmerciful one will triumph;
Small will be his army on returning from the (action of)
Wednesday.

And again—

He that will escape from the affair of Corsfochno will be
fortunate.

Now, does not this contest between the four men, in which the deep waters play a part, and the Dragon of Gwynedd triumphs, and which is said to be the affair of Corsfochno, very plainly refer to the transaction at Corsfochno, whatever it really was, by which Maelgwn Gwynedd, the insular dragon, became supreme sovereign of Wales, and in which these northern chiefs may have taken a part? The reference to Urien at the end—

Urien of Reged, generous he is and will be,
And has been since Adam.
He, proud in the hall, has the most wide-spreading sword
Among the thirteen kings of "Y Gogledd," or the North—

is conclusive as to the antiquity of the poem. If it had been composed in the twelfth century, when all memory of the Cymric states in the north had passed away, Urien would have been brought to South Wales, where the later bards had provided a Reged for him between the Tawy and the Towy.

It is needless to examine more of this criticism. These two specimens will suffice, and the notes to the poems will indicate, as far as possible, the real events referred to. The real character and bearing of this criticism upon the poems may be sufficiently indicated by a short illustration. Let us suppose that the question is the genuinness of the poem called *The Wallace*, attributed to a popular minstrel Blind Harry. Why, we might suppose Mr. Stephens and Mr. Nash would say, Here is a battle fought by Wallace against the English at Falkirk. We know the real battle of Falkirk was fought against the English by Prince Charles Edward in 1746. Wallace heads an insurrection against the English, so does Prince Charles. It is quite clear that the battle of Falkirk in 1746 is the real battle; under the name of Wallace, an ancient hero, Prince Charles is meant, and we must bring down the age of the poem to the eighteenth century. In using this illustration I do not think I am caricaturing this branch of the recent criticism.

The objections taken to these poems under the third proposition are, that the orthography and verbal forms are not older than the date of the MSS. in which they were transcribed, and that the poetical structure and the sentiments they breathe are analogous to the poetry of a later age. Mr. Stephens, by admitting that some of the poems are genuine, neutralises the first branch of this objection entirely, and the second to some extent. If some of the poems are pronounced to be ancient, notwithstanding the orthography being of a later date, so may all, and Mr. Stephens is bound to show that there is a marked difference between the poetical form and the sentiments of the poems he rejects and those he admits to be genuine, before he can found upon such an argument. Mr. Nash, however, goes further. He does not absolutely deny that some of the poems may be genuine, but he does not admit that any are older than the MSS. in which they appear, and he throws upon the advocates of their authenticity the burden of proving that they are older, notwithstanding their structure and orthography.

It may be admitted that these poems, as well as all such documents, whatever their age may be, usually appear, in so far as their orthography and verbal forms are concerned, in the garb of the period when the MS. in which they appear was transcribed. The scribes of those times had not the spirit of the antiquaries of the present, which leads them to preserve the exact spelling and form of any ancient document they print. When such poems were handed down orally, those who recited

them did not do so in the older forms of an earlier period, but in the language of their own. In their vernacular forms, a process of phonetic corruption and alteration was going on, but it was a gradual and insensible one, and the language of the poems was easily adapted to it as their spoken idiom. The reciters and the hearers both wished to understand the historic and national lays they were dealing with; and the reciter no more thought it necessary, in transcribing them from older MSS., to preserve their more ancient form, than he did, in reciting them orally, to preserve any other form of the language than the one in which he heard them repeated. This is not peculiar to Welsh MSS., but is true of all such records. The only exception was when the scribe did not understand the piece which he was transcribing, and retained the old forms, and hence arise those pieces which appear in an obsolete form of the language with glosses. There was also this peculiarity in Welsh MSS., that there had been at intervals great and artificial changes in the orthography, and the scribe was no doubt wedded to the orthographic system of the day.

It is fortunate, however, that these poems are contained in MSS. of different dates, as it affords at once a test of the soundness of this objection. Between the Black Book of Caermarthen and the Red Book of Hergest there is an interval of two centuries, and the Books of Aneurin and Taliessin stand between them. Now, there are poems in the Red Book of Hergest and in the Book of Taliessin which are also to be found in

the Black Book of Caermarthen. Had this latter MS. not been preserved, there would have been no older text of these poems than in the two former MSS., and Mr. Nash's argument as to their being no older than the MS. in which they appear would have applied with equal force, but here we have the same text nearly two centuries earlier.

Let us then compare a few lines of the same poem in each Book :—

BLACK BOOK OF CAERMARTHEN.

Adwin caer ỳssit ar lan llỳant
Adwin ỳd rotir ỳ pauper ỳ chwant.
Gogỳwarch de gwinet boed tev wỳant,
Gwaewaur rrin. Rei adarwant.
Dỳv merchir. gueleisse guir ỳg cvinowant.
Dỳv iev bv. ir. guarth. it adcorssant.
Ad oet brỳger coch. ac och ar dant.
Oet llutedic guir guinet. Dit ỳ deuthant.
Ac am kewin llech vaelvỳ kỳlchuỳ wriwant
Cuỳtin ỳ can keiwin llv o carant.

BOOK OF TALIESSIN.

Aduǒyn gaer yssyd ar lan lliant.
Aduǒyn yt rodir y paǒb ychwant.
Gogyfarch ti vynet boet teu uǒyant.
Gǒaywaǒr ryn rein a derllyssant.
Duǒ merchyr gǒcleis wyr ygkyfnofant.
Dyfieu bu gǒartheu a amugant
Ac yd oed vrỉger coch ac och ardant.
Oed lludued vynet dyd y doethant
Ac am gefyn llech vaelǒy kylchǒy vriwant
Cǒydyn ygan gefyn llu o garant.

BLACK BOOK OF CAERMARTHEN.

Rac gereint gelin kỳstut
Y gueleise meirch can crinvrut
A gwidỳ gaur garv achlut

RED BOOK OF HERGEST.

Rac gereint gelyn kỳthrud
Gǒeleis y veirch dan gymryd
A gǒedy gaǒr garǒ achlud.

But there are indications in the Black Book of Caermarthen that in some of the poems the writer had transcribed from some older record, and had not always understood what he wrote. The fact that no older record has come down to us, is no proof that it never existed; and had such record been preserved, we no doubt would have found a difference between its text and that of the Black Book, analogous to the difference between the latter and the Red Book of Hergest. Had we the Book that Scolan confesses to have drowned, it might have settled the question.

But though we have no older record of any of the existing poems than the Black Book of Caermarthen, we have two fragments of other poems of older date, and these may help us to penetrate still a little further back. The first is a verse preserved in the old Welsh Laws, and there expressly said to have been sung by Taliessin. The other is the short poem preserved in the Cambridge Juvencus, and printed in vol. ii. p. 2. It is not attributed to any bard, but it

approaches so closely, in style, structure, and sentiment, to one of the poems attributed to Llywarch Hen, as to leave no rational doubt that they are by the same author. Though we cannot compare them with the same passages in the later MSS., we may place them in contrast with passages as nearly approaching to them in metre and style as we can find.

In comparison with the first, let us take three lines in the same metre out of the first poem in the Book of Taliessin, which is also to be found in the Red Book of Hergest. And with the other let us compare a few stanzas in the poems of Llywarch Hen which most nearly approach it:—

I.

Old Welsh Laws.

Kickleu odures eu llaueneu
Kan Run en rudher bedineu
Guir Aruon rudyon euredyeu

Book of Taliessin.

Achyn mynhóyf derwyn creu
Achyn del ewynuriό ar vyggeneu
Achyn vyghyfalle ar y llathen preu

Red Book of Hergest.

A chynn mynnóyf deruyn creu
A chynn del ewynriό ar vynggeneu
A chynn vyngkyualle ar llathen preu

II.

CAMBRIDGE JUVENCUS.

Niguorcosam nemheunaur
Henoid. Mitelu nit gurmaur.
Mi amfranc dam ancalaur

Nicanu niguardam nicusam
Henoid. Cet iben med nouel.
Mi amfranc dam an patel

RED BOOK OF HERGEST.

Stauell gyndylan ystywyll
Heno. Heb dan heb gannwyll
Namyn duó póy am dyry póyll

Stauell gyndylan ystywyll
Heno. Heb dan heb oleuat.
Elit amdaó am danat

Pan wisgei garanmael, gat peis kynndylan
A phyrydyaó y onnen
Ny chaffei *ffranc* tranc oe benn

BLACK BOOK OF CAERMARTHEN.

Oet re rereint dan vortuid
Gereint. Garhirion graun guenith
Rution ruthir eririon blith.

Oet re rerient dan vortuid
Gereint. Garhirion graun ae bó
Rution ruthir eriron dó.

There can be no doubt that the analogy here carries us back to the ninth century, but before we can advance further it will be necessary to revert to the historic argument as to the true date and place of these poems in Cymric literature.

To enter into an inquiry with regard to the metrical structure and poetic character of these poems, in order to show the extent to which they indicate that they are the work of an earlier age, and the essential difference between them and the poetry of the twelfth and succeeding centuries, would exceed the limits of this work. It would involve a detailed examination of the whole of these poems, which is here impossible. The examples above given will show that the metre of most of the poems attributed to Llywarch Hen, and which is usually called the Triban Milwyr, or warrior's triplet, is at least as old as the ninth century, and one of Taliessin's metres as the tenth.

There is a remarkable admission by Iolo Morganwg himself as to the difference in character between the genuine and the spurious poems attributed to Taliessin. He says of the Mabinogi of Taliessin—

"This romance has been mistaken by many for true history; but that it was not, might have been easily discovered by proper attention to the language and its structure—to the structure of the verse in the poems attributed in this fiction to Taliessin having nothing but the externals of the verse of the genuine Taliessin, and nothing of its internal rhythm and other peculiarities."

No one knew better than Iolo Morganwg where these spurious poems really came from.

The poems attributed to Taliessin have been subjected to criticism both by Mr. Stephens and by Mr. Nash, but the poems attributed to Myrddin, with which Mr. Nash does not profess to deal, are likewise included within the scope of Mr. Stephens' criticism. We have only to deal with those, the texts of which are to be found in the four ancient MSS. There are four in the Black Book of Caermarthen, and two in the Red Book of Hergest, and no doubt the legendary connection of the name of Caermarthen with that of Myrddin led to their occupying a prominent place in the former MS. The first poem in that book (B. B. 1) is a dialogue between Myrddin and Taliessin, and the last stanza—

> Since I, Myrdin, after Taliessin
> Let my prophecy be made common,

indicates Myrddin as the author. The subject is the Battle of Ardderyd, and one of Arthur's battles—that at Trywruid—is alluded to in it; but there is one allusion in it which marks great antiquity—that to a place called *Nevtur*—which can be no other than *Nemhtur*, the most ancient name of Dumbarton, and one not applied to it, or indeed known, after the eighth century.

The other three are Nos. 16, 17, and 18, the two last being the Avallenau and the Hoianau. Mr. Stephens considers both to be spurious, and the work of Llyward Prydydd y Moch, the bard of Llywellyn, prince of North Wales from 1194 to 1240, but the poems had evidently been already transcribed

before his time. Mr. Stephens is of course dealing with the text in the Myvyrian Archæology; but while the texts of the Hoianau in the Black Book and in the Myvyrian Archæology are substantially the same, there is a great difference between the two texts of the Avallenau. That in the Archæology contains twenty-two stanzas, while the text in the Black Book has only ten, and the order is different; but further, the stanzas omitted in the Black Book are just those upon which Mr. Stephens founds his argument for its later date. While, therefore, I agree with Mr. Stephens in considering the Hoianau as a spurious poem written in imitation of the Avallenau, I consider that his criticism is not applicable to the text of the latter as we have it in the Black Book, and that it is an old poem to which the stanzas founded upon by Mr. Stephens have been subsequently added. The poem No. 16 I rank along with the Hoianau.

The two poems contained in the Red Book of Hergest are the first two in the MS. The first is the Cyfoesi Myrdin, but this poem will be more conveniently considered in the next chapter, in connection with the historical argument. The second is the Guasgardgerd Vyrddin; and from the direct allusions to a king under the name of *Coch o Normandi*, who can be no other than William Rufus, as he is invariably termed in the Bruts *Y Brenhin Coch*, and to *Mab Henri*, or the son of Henri, whom I believe to be intended for Robert, Earl of Gloucester, son of

Henry the First, I can have no hesitation in assigning it to the beginning of the twelfth century.

None of these three poems, which I consider to be unquestionably spurious, ought in my opinion to be assigned to any bard of North Wales. They, along with some other poems of the same class contained in the Red Book of Hergest, emanate very plainly from South Wales, and probably from Glamorgan.

CHAPTER XIII.

TRUE PLACE OF THE POEMS IN WELSH LITERATURE.

HAVING thus examined the recent criticism, by which the poems attributed to the bards of the sixth century are maintained really to belong to a much later period, so far as the limits of this work will permit, we have now to approach the true problem we have to solve, and endeavour to assign to them their real place in Cymric literature; and the first question is, Do the poems themselves afford any indications by which we may judge of their antiquity? It is obvious, viewed in this light, that if these poems are genuine they ought to reflect the history of the period to which they belong. If we find that they do not re-echo to any extent the fictitious narrative of the events of the fifth and sixth centuries as represented in the Bruts, but rather the leading facts of the early history of Cymry, as we have been able to deduce them from the older authorities, it will be a strong ground for concluding that they belong themselves to an earlier age. This is an inquiry which of course can only affect the so-called historical poems, with such others of the class of mythological poems as contain historical allusions; but when their true place and period are once ascertained, the other poems must be

judged of by their resemblance to these in metrical structure, style, and sentiment.

Following, then, the course of the history, as we have traced it, we have first the *Marwnad* or Death-song of Cunneddaf (B. T. 46). Cunedda, as we know, was Guledig in the fifth century, and retired from the northern wall to beyond the southern. In the poem we are told—

> There is trembling from fear of Cunedda the burner,
> In Caer Weir and Caer Lliwelydd;

that is, in Durham and Carlisle—two towns, the one behind the west end, and the other the east end of the wall. And again—

> He was to be admired in the tumult with nine hundred horse.

Here he is represented as commanding 900 horse, the exact amount of auxiliary cavalry attached to a Roman legion. The Roman wall, or *mur*, is likewise alluded to in two other of those death-songs (B. T. 40, 41)—one where Ercwlf is called the Wall-piercer, and the other where Madawg, the son of Uthyr, is called the Joy of the Wall.

It is very remarkable how few of these poems contain any notice of Arthur. If they occupied a place, as is supposed, in Welsh literature, subsequent to the introduction of the Arthurian romance, we should expect these poems to be saturated with him and his knights, and his adventures, but it is not so. Out of so large a
13. body of poems, there are only five which mention him at all, and then it is the historical Arthur, the Guledig, to whom the defence of the wall was entrusted, and

who fights the twelve battles in the north, and finally perishes at Camlan. In one of them, the Cadeir Teyrnon (B. T. 15), this idea pervades the whole poem. Arthur is the

> Person of two authors
> Of the race of the steel Ala.

He is mentioned as being

> Among the Gosgordd of the wall.

The Bard asks

> Who are the three chief ministers
> That guarded the country?

And finally

> From the destruction of Chiefs,
> In a butchering manner;
> From the loricated Legion
> Arose the Guledig.

In another, the poem in the Black Book which has been supposed to refer to the Mabinogi of Kilhwch and Olwen, Arthur again appears as the warrior fighting in the north, and two of his twelve battles are mentioned—

> In Mynyd Eiddyn
> He contended with Cynvyn.

And again—

> On the strands of Trywruyd
> Contending with Garwluyd,
> Brave was his disposition.
> With sword and shield.

And the same body of legionary cavalry is alluded to—

> They were stanch commanders
> Of a legion for the benefit of the country,
> Bedwyn and Bridlaw,
> *Nine hundred* to them would listen.

Again, in the Spoils of Annwfn (B. T. 30), in which, in its historical sense, an expedition to the dreary region north of the wall would be intended—

Thrice twenty Canhwr stood upon the *mur* or wall.

Canhwr is a *centuriâ*, or body of 100 men, and there were sixty centuries in the Roman legion, here represented as stationed at the wall.

In the *Historia Britonum*, the author describes the Britons as having been, for forty years after the Romans left the island, "sub metu," which expression he afterwards explains as meaning, "sub metu Pictorum et Scotorum," and the memory of these fearful and destructive outbursts of ravaging and plundering bands of Picts from beyond the wall must have long dwelt in their recollection. This we might also expect to find reflected in the poems.

When a poem opens with these lines:—

How miserable it is to see
Tumult and commotion,
Wounds and confusion,
The *Brithwyr* in motion,
And a cruel fate,
With the impulse of destiny,
And for the sake of Heaven,
Declare the discontinuance of the disaster—

is it possible to doubt that that poem was written at a time when the country was still smarting from the recollection of their ravages? Thus, in another poem (R. B. 23), we have

Let the chief architects
Against the fierce Picts
Be the Morini Brython—

alluding to the attempt by the Britons to protect themselves by the wall. Then, in two other poems, one commonly called the Mic Dinbych (B. T. 21), where the billows which surround one of the cities are said

To come to the green sward from the region of the Ffichti;

and in another (B. T. 11), where it is said—

Hearndur and Hyfeid and Gwallawg,
And Owen of Mona of Maelgwnian energy,
Will lay the *Peithwyr* prostrate—

is it possible to doubt that they must have been written when the Picts were still a powerful people in Britain, and before their kingdom was merged in that of the Scots?

The mode in which Mr. Nash deals with these passages is characteristic. He ignores the first poem altogether, and he so disguises the other passages in his translation as to banish the Picts as effectually from them as they were ever expelled by the Roman troops from the province. In the passage quoted from the second poem, he translates the line — *Rac Ffichit leuon*, before twenty chiefs. Now, *Ffichit* does not mean twenty in Welsh, but *Fichead* means twenty in Gaelic; and he would rather suppose that the bard had introduced a Gaelic word than that he could have alluded to such embarrassing people as the Picts.

In the next passage he translates the line—*Adaw hwynt werglas o glas Ffichti*, "promised to them are the drinking-cups of painted glass." If *A daw hwynt* means they came, *Adaw* means a promise; but how *Gwerlas* can mean drinking-cups I cannot conceive.

It is always used as meaning "the green sward." Then he evidently supposes that *glas* is the English word "glass," instead of the middle form of *clas*, a region; and thus here, too, he would rather suppose that the bard had used the English word "glass," and the Latin word "pictus" in its corrupt form *ffichti*, than that the Picts could have been mentioned; but the technical use in Welsh of *Ffichti* for the Picts is quite established.

The last passage he thus translates:—"Hearnddur and Hyfeid Hir, and Gwallawg and Owen of Mona, and Maelgwn of great reputation, they would prostrate the foe;" thus quietly suppressing the word *Peithwyr*, which certainly does not mean simply "foe."*

Nennius mentions the Picts whom Arthur defeated at the battle of *Mynyd Eiddyn*, or Edinburgh, by the strange and unusual name of *Catbregion*; but we find them appearing under that name in another poem in the Book of Taliessin (50):—

> The *Catbreith* of a strange language will be troubled,
> From the ford of Taradyr to Portwygyr in Mona.

The ford of Taradyr is the ford of Torrador, across the river Carron, the northern boundary of the Picts of Manau, near Falkirk.

* In noticing Mr. Nash's so-called translations, I may remark that he invariably translates Welsh on the principle that, if any Welsh word resembles an English word, it must be the English word that is used. He carries this so far as to translate the well-known word for a ford in Welsh, *rhyd*, by the English word "road." He appears to me to translate Welsh somewhat in the same fashion as Hood's school-boy translated the first line of Virgil—Arma, virumque cano—An arm, a man, and a cane.

This poem, too, is ignored by Mr. Nash.

Another portion of these poems must evidently have been known to the author of the *Genealogia*, written in the eighth century. After narrating the reign of Ida, king of Northumbria, who died in 559, he says:—"Tunc Talhaern Cataguen in poemate claruit et Neirin et Taliesin et Bluchbard et Cian qui vocatur Gueinthgwant simul uno tempore in poemate Britannico claruerunt." Of these four who shone in British poetry, it is admitted that the first three are Aneurin, Taliessin, and Llywarch Hen, and being mentioned in the course of his notice of Bernicia, they must have been connected with the north. The expression used with regard to them is remarkable. It does not simply say that they flourished then, but "in *poemate Britannico* claruerunt." Could he have used that expression had there not been *poemata Britannica*, Welsh poems, then well known? and then connect with this some of the subsequent notices, "Contra illum (*i.e.* Hussa) quatuor regis Urbgen et Ridderch Hen et Guallauc et Morcant dimicaverunt." The idea that runs through these notices, and accounts for the otherwise apparently unconnected and intrusive mention of the bards, is this: Aneurin, Taliessin, and Llywarch Hen, wrote Welsh poems, and it was against Hussa that Urien, Ridderch Hen, Gwallawg, and Morcant fought. Add to this, that the subject of a number of the poems of Taliessin and Llywarch Hen was the wars of these very heroes against the Saxons; and can we reasonably doubt that these poems were

known to the writer? The next notice is still more significant "Deodric, contra illum Urbgen cum filiis dimicabat fortiter." There is but one poem in which Urien is mentioned as fighting along with any of his sons. It is the Battle of Argoed Llwyfain, attributed to Taliessin (B. T. 35), in which Urien and his son Owen are attacked by Flamddwyn, the Saxon king, and fight valiantly against him. Must this poem not have been in the mind of the writer when he here notes—It was against Deodric that Urien and his sons fought,—thus identifying him with Flamddwyn? There is another allusion of the same kind equally significant. After narrating the war between Oswy and Penda, with the thirty British kings who assisted him, and their slaughter in Campo Gai, he adds, "Et nunc facta est strages Gai Campi." Is the idea not this—And it was now that the well-known slaughter of *Catraeth* took place? for *traeth*, a shore, is here rendered by Campus and *Ca*, forming in combination *Ga*, as in *Gatraeth*, is the adjective Gaus agreeing with Campus, and the great poem of the Gododin, including the mixed portion, which belongs to this period, must have been known to the writer. If these inferences are at all legitimate, a body of historical poems attributed to the same bards, and narrating the same events by the same warriors as those which we now have, must have been in existence when the author of the *Genealogia* wrote—that is, in the eighth century.

Further, in examining these poems, we find that there runs through the poems in each of the four books

a date indicated in the poem itself, which is nearly the same in all, and is comprised within the first sixty years of the seventh or immediately preceding century. Thus, in the Book of Caermarthen, there is what I conceive to be the text of the Avallenau in its original shape, and in this text the bard says—

> Ten years and forty, with my treasures,
> Have I been sojourning among ghosts and sprites.

And the first poem tells us that, after the battle of Ardderyd,

> Seven score generous ones become ghosts.
> In the wood of Celyddon they came to an end.

The battle of Ardderyd was fought in the year 573, and ten years and forty will bring us to 623, not long after which the poem may have been composed.

In the Book of Aneurin, the bard who wrote the last part of the Gododin tells us that "from the height of Adoyn he saw the head of Dyfnwal Brec devoured by ravens;" but Dyfnwal Brec is no other than Donald Brec, king of Dalriada, and the year of his death is a fixed era. It was in 642.

In the Book of Taliessin there is a poem (49) which has been much misunderstood. It contains these verses:—

> Five chiefs there will be to me
> Of the Gwyddyl Ffichti,
> Of a sinner's disposition,
> Of a race of the knife;
> Five others there will be to me
> Of the Norddmyn place;
> The sixth a wonderful king,
> From the sowing to the reaping;

The seventh proceeded
To the land over the flood;
The eighth, of the line of *Dyfi*,
Shall not be freed from prosperity.

The *Dyfi* or Dovey flows past Corsfochno; and the *Traeth Maelgwn*, where Maelgwn Gwynedd established the sovereignty in his family, is on its shore. The kings of his race are the only kings who could be said to be of the line of *Dyfi* or Dovey. The word *Norddmyn* is probably the word translated by the author of the *Genealogia*, where he calls Oswald "Rex Nordorum." It is only used on this one occasion, and seems, during his reign, to have been applied to the kings of the Nordanhymbri. We know that the Saxons of Bernicia superseded a Pictish population; and there is but one king of the line of *Dyfi* who became a king of Bernicia, and he was Cadwallawn, a descendant of Maelgwn Gwynedd. The passage, therefore, appears to refer to Bernicia, which lay south of the Firth of Forth. We have first five kings of the Gwyddyl Ffichti, then five kings of the Norddmyn—Ida, Ella, Ethelric, Ethelfred, and Edwin. The sixth, from the sowing to the reaping—that is, from spring to harvest—was Osric, who only reigned a few months, when he was slain in autumn by Cadwallawn. The seventh was Eanfrid, who crossed the flood—that is, the Firth of Forth—from the land of the Picts, where he had taken refuge, and was likewise slain by Cadwallawn, who is the eighth king of the line of *Dyfi*, and the poem must have been written before his

reverse of fortune in 655. In the poem called Cerdd y Vab Llyr (B. T. 14) there is this line—

> A battle against the lord of fame in the dales of Severn,
> Against Brochmail of Powys, who loved my *Awen*.

which implies that the bard was contemporary with Brochmail, who is mentioned by Bede as being present at the battle fought in 613. In the Red Book of Hergest, in the historical poems attributed to Llywarch Hen, there occurs throughout a current of expressions which imply that the bard witnessed the events he alludes to, and must have lived during the period extending from the death of Urien to that of Cadwallawn in 659. But what was this period thus indicated in so many of the poems, and running through the four ancient books? It was that of the great outburst of energy on the part of the Cymry under Cadwallawn, when they even, for the time, obtained supremacy over the Angles of Northumberland, and throughout his life presented a formidable front to their Saxon foes—when their hopes must have been excited, and their exultation equally great, till, after the first reverse in 655, they were finally quenched by the death of Cadwaladyr, in the pestilence of 664, who, they fondly hoped, would have re-established the power they had enjoyed under his father.

The first poem in the Red Book of Hergest is the Cyvoesi Myrddin, and its peculiar form requires special consideration. It is a species of chronicle written in the shape of a dialogue between Myrddin and his sister Gwendydd, in which the latter appeals

to her brother's prophetical power to foretell the successive rulers over Britain. This is a device of which there are other examples, and it is a favourite one in rude times. A record of past events is written in the shape of a prophecy of future events, and the period of its composition is indicated by the termination of a distinct and literal record, and the commencement of one clothed in figurative and obscure language. This is a species of poetic chronicle which is peculiarly adapted to addition and interpolation. A few imitative verses in the same style can be inserted or added, bringing the record from time to time further down.

The Cyvoesi commences with Rydderch Hael, in whose time the prophecy is supposed to be uttered, and the bard foretells the rule of Morcant after him; after Morcant, Urien; and after Urien, Maelgwn Hir. He then takes the line of Maelgwn's descendants down to Cynan Tindaethwy, when he introduces Mervyn *o dir Manau*, and follows his descendants to Howel dda. The record then changes its character, and proceeds to foretell a succession of kings under descriptive names, until it announces the coming again of Cadwaladyr, who is said to reign 303 years and 3 months, and to be succeeded by Cyndaf; and after some further obscure references, the poem assumes a more personal character, in which the bard is described as having been imprisoned beneath the earth, and concludes.

It has been supposed that this poem must have been composed in the reign of Howel dda, who died in 948, as after his name the style of the poem changes from the direct mention of historic kings

under their real names to that of a list of apparently imaginary kings, designated by obscure epithets; but Mr. Stephens does not admit this, and maintains that these obscure epithets can be so easily identified as to show that the bard was in fact recording the historic successors of Howel dda. An example of this identification will suffice: The bard, when asked, Who will rule after Howel? answers *Y Bargodyein*, the borderers. Mr. Stephens thinks this word plainly indicates Jevan and Jago, the sons of Edwal Voel, king of North Wales, because their claim to the throne which they usurped only *bordered* on a rightful title.*

There is reason to think, however, that parts of this poem were compiled at an earlier date than the reign of Howel dda. It may in fact be divided into four parts—the first, from the beginning to the end of the 26th stanza, containing the stanza mentioning Cadwaladyr; the second, from the 26th stanza to the 65th; the third, from the 66th stanza to the 102d; and the fourth, from the 102d stanza to the end.

Now there is this peculiarity in the first part of the poem, that it names as the kings who ruled before Maelgwn, Urien, Morcant, and Rydderch Hael. Is it possible to conceive that any chronicle containing such a succession of kings could have been composed in Wales even so early as the tenth century? Would the author not have given, in preference, the kings said to have ruled in Wales? Its connection, however, with Nennius and with Bernicia is apparent. Nennius states that the British kings who fought against the Bernician

* The italics are Mr. Stephens'.

kings were Urien, Rydderch, Gwallawg, and Morcant, and the Cyvoesi begins its list with three of them—Rydderch, Morcant, and Urien—and then says that Maelgwn reigned over Gwynedd only. This part of the chronicle must have been composed in the north, but after Cadwaladyr there is an obvious break. Throughout the previous part, the questions and answers alternate, each answer being followed by a question, Who ruled next? But the verse naming Cadwaladyr is not followed by a question. The verses are as follows—

25 Though I see thy cheek is direful,
It comes impulsively to my mind
Who will rule after Cadwallawn.

26 A tall man holding a conference,
And Britain under one sceptre:
The best of Cymro's sons, Cadwaladyr.

27 He that comes before me mildly,
His abilities are they not worthless?
After Cadwaladyr, Idwal.

The question before this last stanza is omitted, but if we go on to the mention again of Cadwaladyr, in the 102d stanza, which commences the fourth portion of the Cyvoesi, we shall find that it must originally have immediately succeeded the 26th stanza. Let us place them together:—

25 Though I see thy cheek is direful,
It comes impulsively to my mind
Who will rule after Cadwallawn.

26 A tall man *holding a conference*,
And Britain under one sceptre:
The best of Cymro's sons, Cadwaladyr.

102 Do not separate abruptly from me,
From a dislike *to the conference.*
Who will rule after Cadwaladyr?
103 To Gwendydd I will declare,
Age after age I will predict,
After Cadwaladyr, Cyndav.

As Cyndav is an imaginary king, I hold that the original poem, of which we have a part in the first 26 stanzas, must have been composed before the death of Cadwaladyr, while he was still the hope of the Cymry, and must have belonged to the north.

The second part, which contains the real names of the kings to Howel dda, and a list of imaginary kings after him, must, I think, notwithstanding Mr. Stephens' attempt to identify them, have been added in the reign of Howel dda; and this is confirmed by the fact that the successor of Cadwaladyr is made to be his son Idwal, and that there is no appearance of Ivor from Armorica, who would certainly have been mentioned had the poem been composed after the appearance of the Bruts.

The third portion, extending from stanza 66 to stanza 102, has probably been added in South Wales in the twelfth century. The lord of eight fortresses, mentioned in the 65th stanza, may have been Robert Fitz-Hamon, the first Norman who obtained Glamorgan, and built castles; and *Mab Henri*, in the 68th stanza, Robert, Earl of Gloucester, who succeeded him in Glamorgan, and was son of Henry the First.

This part of the poem contains a prophecy that Cadwaladyr would reappear with a powerful host to

defend the men of Gwynedd, that he would descend in the vale of Tywi, and would reign 303 years.

There were, however, two very distinct forms in which this prophecy of the reappearing of Cadwaladyr was conveyed. The first we find in the Afallenau, the text of which, as it appears in the Black Book, I consider to be that of an old poem.

The poem in that text concludes with this stanza:—

Sweet apple-tree, and a tree of crimson hue
Which grows in concealment in the wood of Celyddon,
Though sought for their fruit, it will be in vain,
Until Cadwaladyr comes from the conference of the ford of Rheon,
And Cynan to meet him advances upon the Saxons.
The Cymry will be victorious, glowing will be their leader;
All shall have their rights, and Britons will rejoice,
Sounding the horns of gladness, and chanting the song of peace and happiness.

The other form of the prophecy we find in the Hoianau, which I agree with Mr. Stephens in considering to be spurious.

In it the expressions are as follows:—

And I will predict that two rightful princes,
Will produce peace from heaven to earth—
Cynan and Cadwaladyr—thorough Cymry,
May their councils be admired.

. . . . . .

And when Cadwaladyr comes to the subjugation of Mona,
The Saxons will be extirpated from lovely Britain.

. . . . . .

Stout Cynan appearing from the banks of the Teifi,
Will cause confusion in Dyfed.

The form of the prophecy in the Hoianau is obviously the same with that in the third part of the Cyvoesi, which I consider to have been produced in

South Wales in the twelfth century. In the one, Cadwaladyr comes to Mona, and Cynan from the valley of the Teifi in *Dyfed* or South Wales; in the other, Cadwaladyr comes to Gwynedd, and descends in the vale of the Tywi in South Wales.

But the form of the prophecy in the Avallenau is very different. There Cadwaladyr comes from a conference at *Ryd Rheon*, or the ford of Reon, and this is evidently the same place as *Llwch Rheon*, which we can identify with Loch Ryan in Galloway, and he goes to the wood of Celyddon to meet Cynan.

In the later form of the prophecy Cynan and Cadwaladyr come from Armorica. Thus, in the *Vita Merlini*, Geoffrey says—

> The Britons their noble kingdom,
> Shall for a long time lose through weakness,
> Until from Armorica Conan shall come in his car,
> And Cadwaladyr, the honoured leader of the Cymry.

And the prophecy can only have assumed this shape after the fictitious narrative of Cadwaladyr taking refuge in Armorica was substituted for his death in the pestilence, and the scene of his return is placed in South Wales, whence this form of the prophecy emerged.

But the prophecy which connects his reappearance with the conference at the ford of Loch Ryan, and places the meeting with Conan in the wood of Celyddon, must be much older, and the Cumbrian form of the prophecy; and with this form of it, the first passage in the Cyvoesi is obviously connected, which describes Cadwaladyr as a tall man holding a conference.

CHAPTER XIV.

RESULT OF THE EXAMINATION OF THE POEMS, AND THEIR CLASSIFICATION.

Of a large proportion, then, of the historical poems, the scenery and events lie in the north; the warriors whose deeds they celebrate were "Gwyr y Gogled," or Men of the North. They are attributed to bards connected with the north, and there is every reason to believe them older than the tenth century. They are, in point of fact, the literature of the Cymric inhabitants of Cumbria before that kingdom was subjugated by the Saxon king in 946.

As soon as this view of their birthplace and home is recognised, localities are identified, warriors recognised, and allusions heretofore obscure become intelligible. During the last half-century of the Roman dominion in Britain, the most important military events took place at the northern frontier of the province, where it was chiefly assailed by those whom they called the barbarian races, and their troops were massed at the Roman walls to protect the province. After their departure, it was still the scene of a struggle between the contending races for supremacy.

It was here that the provincial Britons had mainly to contend under the Guledig against the invading Picts and Scots, succeeded by the resistance of the native Cymric population of the north to the encroachment of the Angles of Bernicia.

Throughout this clash and jar of contending races, a body of popular poetry appears to have grown up, and the events of this never-ending war, and the dim recollections of social changes and revolutions, seem to have been reflected in national lays attributed to bards supposed to have lived at the time in which the deeds of their warriors were celebrated, and the legends of the country preserved in language, which, if not poetical, was figurative and obscure.

It was not till the seventh century that these popular lays, floating about among the people, were brought into shape, and assumed a consistent form. The sudden rise of the Cymric population to power under Cadwallawn, and the burst of national enthusiasm and excited hope, found vent in poetry. The Cymry were stimulated to combined effort by the voice of the bards, and poems were composed, and the more ancient lays either adapted to their purpose, or embedded as fragments in their own compositions. It is in the seventh century that I place these poems in their earliest consistent shape, and I do not attempt to take them further back.

The hopes excited by the success of Cadwallawn, and the expectations formed of his son Cadwaladyr, were extinguished by the final defeat of the former in

655, and the subjection of the Britons to the Angles, which lasted nearly thirty years as to the northern Britons, and probably much longer as to the southern; and we may well suppose that during this subjection the national spirit was kept alive by these popular lays, and by prophetic strains as to a possible future regeneration of the Cymry, accompanied by the usual fable that the king on whom they built so much and who was said to have perished in the pestilence of 664, had not really died, but would re-appear to renew the success of his father.

The accession to the throne of Wales of Mervyn Frych, from the northern region of Manau, seems to have brought the knowledge of the *Historia Britonum* to Wales, and the emigration of large bodies of the Cymric population to Wales during the reign of Anaraut, and the termination of their kingdom in 946, when Howel dda, Prince of South Wales, occupied the throne of all Wales, probably made them acquainted with these poems.

But they appear to have found their new home in South Wales. By degrees the memory of the Northern Cymric kingdom passed away, the name of "Y Gogledd" was transferred from Cumbria to Gwynedd, and much of the traditionary history of the north, obscurely reflected in these poems, was applied to North Wales, while the warriors celebrated in them had new homes found for them in South Wales. To adopt the language of an able modern writer:— "To the inhabitants of the south, Gwynedd (of the

past) was an unknown land. Their imagination filled it with giants, fairies, monsters, and magicians. The inhabitants exercised strange arts; they had cauldrons of like virtue with that which renewed the youth of Aeson; a red dragon and a white were buried as a palladium of their metropolis. Among their monarchs was a veritable cat, the offspring of a wandering sow. Their chief philosopher was of gigantic stature, and sat on a mountain-peak to watch the stars. Their wizard-monarch, Gwydion, had the power of effecting the strangest metamorphoses. The simple peasant, dwelling on the shore of Dyfed, beheld across the sea those shadowy mountain-summits pierce the air—guardians, as it seemed, of some unearthly region. Thence came the mists and storms; thence flashed aloft the northern streamers; thence rose through the silent sky the starry path of Gwydion."

It is to this period that I attribute the composition of the oldest group of the prose tales and romances, and especially those peculiarly called the Mabinogi; and while, soon after, a new school of Welsh poetry, which speedily assumed large dimensions and exercised a powerful influence, arose in North Wales, the literary spirit of South Wales manifested itself more in prose composition and in the gradual appearance of spurious poetry, written in the style and sentiments of this older poetry of Cumbria.

The introduction of the Arthurian romance into South Wales from Armorica led to the appearance of the Bruts and to the later class of prose tales and

romances, and when the kingdom of South Wales terminated by the death of Rhys ap Tewdwr, and the occupation of Glamorgan by the Normans, the extent to which the affections of the people seem to have centred upon Robert, Earl of Gloucester, as the son of Nest, the daughter of their last king, Rhys ap Tewdwr, by Henry the First, manifested itself in the last phase of this poetry.

There are therefore four eras connected with these poems, each of which was succeeded by a period of confusion or national depression :—

The era of Cadwallawn and Cadwaladyr, in which they were first brought into shape; that of Howel dda when they were transferred to South Wales, and when some of the later poems in the Book of Taliessin may have been composed; that of Rhys ap Tewdwr and his grandson Robert Mab Henri, when much of the spurious poetry was written, none of which, however, appears in the Book of Taliessin; and the reign of Henry the Second, when some of these poems, with others of the period, were first transcribed in the Black Book of Caermarthen.

The translation of these poems contained in this work comprises the whole of the poems attributed to these ancient bards, whether genuine or spurious, as we find them in the four books—the Black Book of Caermarthen, the Book of Aneurin, the Book of Taliessin, and the Red Book of Hergest; but in these MSS. they do not appear in chronological order, or in any systematic shape. They are transcribed without reference to date,

subject, or supposed author, and are interspersed with poems by authors of the later period. To print the translations in the exact order in which they appear in the MSS. would be to present them in a confused and unintelligible shape, and where the same poem appears in more than one MS., would lead to double translations. It has been thought better, therefore, while the translation has been made as literal and exact a representation of the text in the MSS. as possible, to group the poems so as to bring those which relate to the same subject together, and thus afford the means of easy comparison as well as facilitate a sounder criticism, based upon a true conception of their character in their mutual bearing upon each other.

The translations are therefore printed in the following order:—The poems which are either, strictly speaking, historical, or which contain historical allusions, are separated in each of the four books from those which contain merely the sentiments of the poet, and the latter are classed under the head of "Miscellaneous Poems." Those that may be called "Historical" fall into two divisions. The first comprises those which contain allusions to early traditions or events prior to the year 560 when Gildas wrote, and to the time when the warriors fought with the kings of Bernicia, whose names are recorded by the author of the *Genealogia*. This division contains the whole of those poems which contain allusions to the persons mentioned in the oldest class of the prose tales or Mabinogion. There

are, first, grouped together under letter A, five poems which refer to early traditions; under letter B, four poems which mention Arthur by name; and it is somewhat remarkable that out of this large body of popular poetry there are only these four preserved, and one other, placed in another group, which mention him at all. Under letter C, eight poems, which refer to Llew and Gwydion, and the combination of the Brython and Gwyddyl, or to the Brithwyr. Under letter D has been placed a poem in the Black Book of Caermarthen relating to Gwyddno Garanhir and the mythic Gwynn ap Nudd. Under the letter E four poems in the Book of Taliessin, which belong to a later period; one of these, "the Kadeir Kerritwen," mentions the Books of Beda, and must have been written after his death; another mentions the line of Anaraut, who died in 913; and the other two contain allusions to the name of Hu, who belongs to a later school. One poem in the Black Book attributed to Gwyddneu is also included in this group. And under letter F are placed five poems, two relating to cities of the Cymry, either real or symbolical, and three relating to the legendary heroes generally, and consisting of the Triads of the Heroes in the Black Book of Caermarthen, the Song of the Horses in the Book of Taliessin, and the Graves of the Warriors in the former book.

The second division comprises the poems more strictly historical, and alluding to events subsequent to 560. Under letter G are placed four poems attributed to Llywarch Hen, in which the war be-

tween his son Mechyd and Mwg Mawr Drefydd is referred to. Under letter H are three poems relating to Gwallawg ap Lleenawg, one of the four kings recorded to have fought against Hussa, who reigned from 567 to 574. Under letter I are nine poems relating to Urien, another of the four kings, concluding with his Death-song. And under letter J are three poems relating to his son Owen, one of the sons who was recorded to have fought with their father Urien against Theodric, who reigned from 580 to 587, and concluding with the Death-song of Owen.

Under letter K is the first poem in the Book of Caermarthen, which relates to the battle of Ardderyd, fought in 573, and the Avallenau, which is placed appropriately after it. Under letter L are the poems relating to the Gododin and the battle of Catraeth. Under letter M are three poems relating directly to Cadwallawn, and concluding with his Death-song; and under letter N the two poems termed *Arymes*, or the Omen, and another prophetic poem relating to Cadwaladyr. Under letter O are two poems relating to events in Powys—one from the Book of Taliessin, and the other from the Red Book of Hergest. Under letter P the Cyvoesi is first placed, which, as we have seen, ranges in its composition from the time of Cadwaladyr in the seventh to that of Robert, Earl of Gloucester, in the twelfth centuries; and after it are placed six poems, which I conceive to have emerged from South Wales. And this concludes the group of poems which I denominate historical.

The "Miscellaneous poems" consist first of those in the Black Book of Caermarthen, and are placed in three groups. Under letter Q are placed five poems attributed to other bards—Meigant, Cuhelyn, and Elaeth. Under letter R ten anonymous poems on religious subjects; and under letter S two poems, which seem connected, and the first of which is the curious poem relating to Yscolan.

There is only one poem in the Book of Aneurin, the Gorchan Adebon, which is not historical. It is placed under letter T.

The "Miscellaneous poems" from the Book of Taliessin are placed under three groups. Under letter U are twelve poems, containing allusions to the personal history of Taliessin, or expressing his opinions on philosophy or religion. Under letter V four poems, containing allusions to the history of the Israelites. Under letter W two poems, relating to the legends connected with Alexander the Great.

The "Miscellaneous poems" from the Red Book of Hergest consist of three groups—one, under letter X, of seven poems attributed to Llywarch Hen, which are not historical; under letter Y, of two poems, beginning Eiry Mynyd, one of which is called the Colloquy of Llywelyn and Gwrnerth; and under letter Z, of two other anonymous poems, the last of which is termed the Viaticum of Llevoed Wynebglawr.